

# **The Functions of Manuscripts for the Turfan Manichaean Community (9th-11th Centuries)**

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Grades des Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)  
an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften  
der Universität Hamburg

im Promotionsfach Sinologie

vorgelegt von  
**Shutao Wang (王舒韬)**  
aus China

Hamburg 2024

Erster Gutachter:  
Prof. Dr. Michael Friedrich

Zweiter Gutachter:  
Prof. Dr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst

Dritter Gutachter:  
Prof. Dr. Shervin Farridnejad

Der Tag der mündlichen Prüfung:  
10 Juli, 2024  
Hamburg, Deutschland

## Declaration

I hereby declare upon oath to have written this dissertation independently and not to have used any other resources and aids than those specified.

This dissertation is totally original and has not been submitted in part or full by me for any doctoral degree at any other university.

Shutao Wang

Date: 3 January, 2024

Place: Hamburg, Germany

王舒韬

Shutao Wang

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my two supervisors Prof. Dr. Michael Friedrich and Prof. Dr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst for their guidance and supervision over my PhD studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Hamburg.

Then, I would like to thank the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (in the University of Hamburg) for giving me such a nice chance to research the manuscripts, and the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst/DAAD) for sponsoring my PhD studies in Germany. During my PhD studies, I attended various academic activities at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures and the Asia Africa Institute (in the University of Hamburg), and the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, which all benefited me a lot.

Also, I would like to thank my dear parents Guanghui Wang and Shilian Cai for their full support to my completion of PhD studies in Hamburg, Germany.

## **Abstract**

This dissertation is a religious-social study of the Manichaean community of the Turfan region during the 9th-11th centuries and its relationship with the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts. Manichaeism, as an official religion of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (based in the Turfan region), was replanted to Turfan from the Mongolian Steppe by Uyghurs. It has been known that the Turfan Manichaean community was sustained by Sogdian missionaries and merchants, and Uyghur nobles. Accordingly, the Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts were more often used by the auditors (lay believers), while the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean ones were mainly intended for the elects (priests).

Along with the use of the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts, Manichaeism was introduced and practiced in the realm of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. The communications between the Turfan Manichaeans and other Central Asian Manichaean communities can be also attested by the Turfan Manichaean materials. But, the previous scholarship has paid too much attention either to the textual contents and linguistic aspects of the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts or to the analysis of historical events in the eastern Manichaean contexts. However, the actual operation of the Turfan Manichaean community and the Turfan Manichaean use of the manuscripts have not yet been sufficiently researched.

Therefore, this dissertation investigates how the Mesopotamian dualist religion (Manichaeism) under the Qocho Uyghur administration successfully took root in the Turfan region, and how the Turfan Manichaean community itself was built up with the manifold use of manuscripts. The manuscripts had various functions and significances for the Turfan Manichaean community. This dissertation answers three questions: First, how the texts and pictures on the Manichaean manuscripts functioned in the Turfan Manichaean missionary and religious practices; secondly, how the Manichaean manuscripts that were used by elects functioned to construct the Turfan Manichaean community; thirdly, what roles the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and texts played regarding the secular sphere and what they meant to the lay Manichaeans. In brief, this dissertation attempts to reconstruct a relatively more complete image of the Turfan Manichaean community by seeing it from the inside, based on the surviving Manichaean textual and pictorial materials from the Turfan region.

## **Kurzzusammenfassung**

Diese Dissertation ist eine religiös-soziale Forschung über die manichäische Gemeinschaft in der Turfan-Region im 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert und deren Beziehung zu den manichäischen Manuskripten von Turfan. Der Manichäismus, als offizielle Religion des Uigurischen Königreichs von Qocho (mit Sitz in der Turfan-Region), wurde von Uiguren aus der mongolischen Steppe nach Turfan gebracht. Es ist bekannt, dass die manichäische Gemeinschaft in Turfan von sogdischen Missionaren und Kaufleuten und uigurischen Adligen unterstützt wurde. Dementsprechend wurden die uigurischen manichäischen Manuskripte häufiger von den Auditoren (Laiengläubigen) verwendet, während die mittelpersischen, parthischen und sogdischen manichäischen Manuskripte hauptsächlich für die Auserwählten (Priester) bestimmt waren.

Zusammen mit der Verwendung der manichäischen Manuskripte in Turfan wurde der Manichäismus im uigurischen Königreich von Qocho eingeführt und praktiziert. Die Kommunikation zwischen den Manichäern von Turfan und anderen zentralasiatischen manichäischen Gemeinschaften wird ebenfalls durch die manichäischen Materialien von Turfan bestätigt. Bisherige Forschungen haben jedoch entweder den Inhalten und sprachlichen Aspekten der manichäischen Manuskripte von Turfan zu viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt oder sich auf die Analyse historischer Ereignisse im östlichen manichäischen Kontext konzentriert. Der tatsächliche Betrieb der manichäischen Gemeinschaft in Turfan und die Verwendung der Manuskripte durch diese Gemeinschaft sind jedoch noch nicht ausreichend erforscht.

Daher untersucht diese Dissertation, wie die mesopotamische dualistische Religion (Manichäismus) unter der Herrschaft der Qocho-Uiguren erfolgreich in der Turfan-Region etabliert wurde und wie die manichäische Gemeinschaft in Turfan selbst durch die vielfältige Verwendung von Manuskripten aufgebaut wurde. Die Manuskripte hatten mehrere Funktionen und Bedeutungen für die manichäische Gemeinschaft von Turfan. Diese Dissertation beantwortet drei Fragen: Erstens, wie die Texte und Bilder der manichäischen Manuskripte in den Missions- und Religionspraktiken der Manichäer von Turfan funktionierten; zweitens, wie die von den Auserwählten verwendeten manichäischen Manuskripte zur Entwicklung der manichäischen Gemeinschaft in Turfan beitrugen; drittens, welche Rolle die manichäischen Manuskripte und Texte im weltlichen Bereich spielten und was sie für die Laienmanichäer von Turfan bedeuteten. Kurz gesagt, diese Dissertation versucht, ein umfassenderes Bild der manichäischen Gemeinschaft von Turfan zu rekonstruieren, indem sie diese aus der Perspektive des Manichäismus betrachtet, basierend auf den erhaltenen manichäischen Text- und Bildmaterialien aus der Turfan-Region.

### Key words:

Turfan Manichaean Community; Qocho Uyghur Kingdom; Manuscript Culture

# Contents

<b><u>Introduction</u></b> .....	9
Maps.....	24
<b><u>Chapter 1: The Function of Texts and Pictures in the Turfan Manichaean Missionary and Religious Practices</u></b> .....	27
1.1 <u>The Manichaean Historical Narratives</u> .....	27
1.1.1 Mar Ammo - The Origin of Eastern Manichaeism.....	29
1.1.2 Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, the Founder of the Eastern Manichaean Church....	36
1.1.3 The Other Eastern Manichaean Church Leaders.....	40
1.1.4 The Interaction between the Steppe Uyghurs and Manichaeism.....	44
1.1.5 The Steppe Manichaean History.....	48
1.2 <u>The Parables and Their Paratexts</u> .....	58
1.2.1 The Intention of the Manichaean Parables.....	60
1.2.2 The Interpretations of the Manichaean Parables.....	64
1.2.3 The Paratexts to the Manichaean Parables.....	70
1.2.4 The Use of the Manichaean Parables.....	79
1.3 <u>The Pictures and Illuminated Manuscripts</u> .....	85
1.3.1 The Images Not for Worship in Early Manichaeism.....	87
1.3.2 The Buddhist Influence on the Manichaean Images.....	89
1.3.3 The Paintings of the Manichaean Monasteries.....	92
1.3.4 The Sideways-Oriented Images and Their Accompanying Texts.....	100
1.4 <u>The Merit of Reciting and Copying Texts</u> .....	117
1.4.1 The Merit Accumulation of Auditors in Early Manichaeism.....	118
1.4.2 The Independent Trend of the Auditors.....	120
1.4.3 Reciting the Manichaean Texts for Merit.....	122
1.4.4 Copying the Manichaean Texts for Merit.....	128
<b><u>Chapter 2: The Function of Manuscripts for the Internal Construction of the Turfan Manichaean Community</u></b> .....	141
2.1 <u>The Role of Scribes and the Scribal Training</u> .....	141
2.1.1 The Textual and Pictorial Records of the Scribes.....	142
2.1.2 The Elect Scribes and the Lay Scribes.....	146
2.1.3 The Institution of Training Manichaean Scribes in the Turfan Region...	150
2.1.4 The Teaching of the Scripts.....	154
2.2 <u>The Role of <i>Xošturs</i> in the Turfan Manichaean Community</u> .....	165
2.2.1 The Turfan Manichaean Letters with the <i>Xoštir</i> .....	167
2.2.2 The <i>Xoštir</i> as the Bond Connecting Auditors with the Manichaean Church.	169
2.2.3 The <i>Xoštir</i> Carrying the Uyghur Manichaean Letters with Caravans.....	179
2.2.4 The Role of <i>Xoštir</i> in the Sogdian Manichaean Letters.....	181
2.2.5 The <i>Xoštir</i> in the Manichaean Rituals.....	187

2.2.6	The Standing of <i>Xoštir</i> in a Manichaean Wall Painting.....	189
2.2.7	The Literary Aspect of the <i>Xoštirs</i> .....	191
2.3	<u>Reporting the Crisis of the Turfan Manichaean Community</u> .....	196
2.3.1	The Religious Competitions that Manichaeism Faced.....	198
2.3.2	The Internal Challenge within the Turfan Manichaean Community...	208

**Chapter 3: The Function of Manuscripts for the Secular Sphere of the Turfan Manichaean Community.....213**

3.1	<u>The Manichaean Texts Dedicated to Uyghur Rulers</u> .....	213
3.1.1	The Complementary Relation between Eastern Manichaean Church and Uyghur Rulers.....	215
3.1.2	The Manichaean Ceremonies for the Uyghur Secular Rulers.....	223
3.1.3	The Hierarchy of the Auditors.....	229
3.1.4	The Head of Auditors.....	232
3.1.5	The Divinization of the Uyghur Secular Authority.....	235
3.2	<u>The Interaction between Manichaean Monasteries and Uyghur Rulers</u> ..	241
3.2.1	Eastern Manichaean Monasticism.....	241
3.2.2	A Qocho Uyghur Official Document for Manichaean Monasteries...	246
3.2.3	The Religion Inside and the Realm Outside.....	254
3.2.4	The Leadership of the Turfan Manichaean Community.....	265
3.3	<u>The Development of the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy</u> .....	271
3.3.1	The Qocho Uyghur Court and the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy.....	272
3.3.2	A Comparison between the Qocho Uyghur Official Documents for Manichaean and Buddhist Monasteries.....	274
3.3.3	The Qocho Uyghur Official Donations to the Manichaean and Buddhist Monasteries.....	277
3.3.4	The Qocho Uyghur State’s Supervision over the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy.....	280
3.4	<u>The Turfan Manichaean Community and International Relations</u> .....	286
3.4.1	The Political Changes of East Central Asia.....	288
3.4.2	The Economic Ties between East Central Asian Manichaean Communities.....	290
3.4.3	The Qocho Uyghur Diplomacy.....	298

**Conclusion.....305**

Appendix of Research Materials.....	313
-------------------------------------	-----

Bibliographic References.....	331
-------------------------------	-----



## Introduction

This dissertation aims to find out how the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts functioned, and how they were used by elects (priests/monks) and auditors (lay believers) for constructing or sustaining the Turfan Manichaean community (during the 9th-11th centuries). There has been a great number of Manichaean manuscript fragments found in the Turfan region since the archeological discoveries of the early 20th century, which is first-hand material to us about Manichaeism. This dissertation investigates the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and texts, to testify to their functions and meanings to the Turfan Manichaean community. The presence of Manichaean ideas in the texts is not sufficient to establish that they were appropriated by the elects and auditors. Rather, we need to grasp how the manuscripts and texts functioned and were used, and how the interplay between manuscripts and religious practices did impact the Manichaean community. This dissertation analyzes the Manichaean written tradition which occupied a central position in the Turfan Manichaean community. The Manichaean manuscripts had instructional, administrative, and/or devotional functions for the Turfan Manichaean community, by preaching the Manichaean doctrines and notions among auditors, with the manuscripts and texts used in both communal and individual practices. The Manichaean religious literature was learned, read, sung, copied, and circulated among the members of the Turfan Manichaean community.

### **Basic Knowledge**

Manichaeism, founded by Mani (216-274/276 CE) in Mesopotamia (as a part of Sassanian Iran), is a dualistic religion with strong worldwide missionary intention. Mani was the “final prophet” in a long divine prophetic lineage starting from Adam and including Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus Christ,<sup>1</sup> which is supported by his innovative idea of making

---

<sup>1</sup> In one of Mani’s own writings - *Book of the Giants*, it is proclaimed as – “But God, in each epoch, sends apostles: Šīt[īl, Zarathuštra,] Buddha, Christ, ...” (in the Turfan Manichaean fragment M 101b). See Henning, W.B. “The Book of the Giants”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11(1), 1943, 52-74. p. 63. In his special writing presented to the Sassanid emperor Šābuhr I (r. 239-270) - *Šābuhragān*, Mani says: “Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha, to India, to another by Zaradust to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down and this prophecy has appeared in the form of myself, Mani, the envoy of the one true God in the

his new religion superior to all the previous religious traditions. Mani proclaimed his mission as not merely the “Apostle of Light”, but also the “final prophet” which fulfills the universal messianic expectation, such as the well-known Judeo-Christian messianism.<sup>2</sup> In order to avoid any corruption of his original doctrines, Mani himself wrote canonical books and painted canonical pictures for teaching his followers. The Manichaean canon includes seven writings (originally in Syriac) and one picture(-collection) (all attributed to Mani): the *Gospel*, the *Treasure of Life*, the *Epistles*, the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Pragmateia*, the *Book of Giants*, and the *Psalms and Prayers*, plus the *Picture-Book*, according to the Chinese “Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light” (*Moni Guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略, on the manuscript of Or. 8210/S. 3969 + P. 3884, found in Dunhuang).<sup>3</sup> The same canonical booklist is also numerated by the Coptic Manichaean material (of western Manichaean tradition), such as the *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (codex no. 5)<sup>4</sup>, the *Homilies* (codex no. 25)<sup>5</sup>, and the *Psalm-Book* (codex no. 46-47)<sup>6</sup>. In addition, the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān* was written by Mani, dedicated to the contemporary Sassanian emperor - Šābuhr I (r. 239-270 CE). Although the *Šābuhragān* was not treated as a canonical writing by the Manichaean accounts themselves, it is listed as one of the Manichaean canonical writings by medieval Arabic Muslim sources, such as Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*,<sup>7</sup> and Ahmad al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Tārīkh al-Ya‘qūbī*.<sup>8</sup> However, Mani encouraged his followers to translate his writings into other languages.

---

Land of Babylon” (from an Arabic text). See Al-Bīrūnī (author); E. Sachau (transl.). *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*. London, 1879. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. “Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus”, in W. Heissig & H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.). *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1987. 58-75. p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Lin Wushu. *Dunhuang wenshu yu Yijiao yanjiu* 敦煌文書與夷教研究. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011. pp 22-39.

<sup>4</sup> Gardner, I. (ed.). *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1995. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Pedersen, N.A. (ed.). *Manichaean Homilies*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Allberry, C.R.C. (ed.). *A Manichaean Psalm-Book (Part II)*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938. pp 46-47.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-995 CE), “Mani wrote seven books, one of them in (Middle) Persian and six in Syriac, the language of Syria”. In his *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm also listed the titles of Mani’s books, including the *Book of Mysteries*, the *Book of Giants*, *Al-Shābuqān* (i.e., the *Šābuhragān*), the *Book of the Living*, and the *Pragmateia* (the other 2 titles are missing). See Ibn al-Nadīm (author); B. Dodge (ed. & transl.). *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture (Abū 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. pp 797-798.

<sup>8</sup> Houtsma, M. Th. (ed.). *Ibn-Wādhīh Qui Dicitur al-Ja‘qūbī, Historiae. Pars Altera Historiam Islamicam Continens II*. Lugduni Batavorum, Apud E.J. Brill, 1883. p. 181.

The elects and the auditors jointly maintained the operation and supported the unity of the dualistic Manichaean Community. In the church hierarchy of Manichaeism, every member was assigned a position by Mani's salvation doctrines. Accordingly, the auditors and the elects were different but complementary, which was reflected in their required lifestyles, recorded by the Turfan Manichaean liturgical and homiletic documents. The Turfan Manichaean texts not only introduced the Manichaean church hierarchy and the Manichaean codes of conducts to the elects and auditors of the Turfan region but were also used by the Manichaean church leaders to set up a Manichaean monastic institution and install practical positions in the Turfan Manichaean community.

During Mani's lifetime, Manichaeism had spread to the eastern provinces of the Persian Sassanian Empire. Despite severe persecutions, the Manichaean Church's headquarter in Mesopotamia maintained itself until the Arab Muslim Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258). But the eastern Manichaean communities became more and more independent from the authority of the Manichaean headquarter in Mesopotamia. Manichaeism expanded to China along with the eastern Silk Road in the 7th century and reached the Chinese court of the Tang Empire in 694. Although Manichaeism was long considered as a Buddhist "heresy" by outsiders in the East, the eastern Manichaean communities insisted on their unique characteristics.

During the time of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (744-840) in the Mongolian Steppe, there was a sudden change regarding the beliefs of the Uyghur nobles, as the third king of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom - Būgü Khan (r. 759-779) accepted Manichaeism as the state religion since 762/763 and gave sponsorship to the Manichaean Church and its adherents.<sup>9</sup> Manichaeism remained dominant in the Steppe Uyghur state until its overthrow in 840. After the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, many of the Uyghurs moved westward to the Turfan region (of East Central Asia) where they founded the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (866-1132/1283).<sup>10</sup> Since then, Manichaeism survived in the Turfan region probably until the Mongol occupation in the 13th century.

Turfan (also *Turpan* in Uyghur, *Tulufan* in Chinese) is a large oasis (ca.

---

<sup>9</sup> Clark, L. "The Conversion of Būgü Khan to Manichaeism", in R.E. Emmerick et al (eds.). *Studia Manichaica IV. International Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000. 83-123; Moriyasu, T. "New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism", *Open Theology* 1, 2015, 316-333. pp 319-322.

<sup>10</sup> Ci Disheng, Li Xiao & Narengaowa. *Gaochang shehui bianqian ji zongjiao yanbian* 高昌社會變遷及宗教演變. Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2010. p. 37.

170 km<sup>2</sup>) in today's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which was once a booming mercantile and agricultural center on the eastern Silk Road. The Turfan region also became famous as an archaeological area, yielding a great amount of art objects and manuscripts in many languages and scripts. The surviving Manichaean art objects and manuscripts were mainly found in four places of the Turfan region - Qocho (city ruins), Toyuq (valley), Murtuq (valley) (including Bezeklik caves), and Yar (city ruins). (Please see Map 2 at the end of the Introduction.)

The early rulers of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom continued to use Manichaeism as the source of legitimation, with their ancestral legend of the Manichaean king - Būgū Khan of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. Manichaeism was originally a Gnostic religion with a negative attitude to the human body and worldly affairs, and then it was persecuted by secular rulers in most places of the world. But under the Uyghur rule, Manichaeans could feel at home in the world, unlike the followers of other Gnostic traditions. So, the eastern Manichaean Church began to hold a relatively positive attitude to this world and secular rulers. In exchange, the eastern Manichaean Church gave its divine support for the legitimation of the Uyghur rulers by dedicating Manichaean texts to them, some of which were probably produced for and used in church ceremonies. The Manichaean heritage of the Steppe Uyghur period was replanted in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, in which the Manichaean monastic economy was developed. The early Qocho Uyghur rulers not only promised official economic support to the Turfan Manichaean monasteries but set out detailed regulations for managing them.

Multilingualism is a striking feature of Turfan Manichaeism. The Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean sources found in Turfan manuscripts transmitted the sacred texts that were about the theological, cosmological, and anthropological essences of Manichaeism, in which the Manichaean Church as a holy entity and its structure were always depicted. Along with the independence of the eastern Manichaean Church from the Manichaean headquarter in Mesopotamia, some Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns in honor of the Church and Community started with the praise to the Head of the eastern Manichaean Church. But they lack information about the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaean community, which can be largely found in Sogdian and Uyghur Manichaean texts. The functions and duties of auditors were specified in the Manichaean texts that were devoted to non-sacred occasions, such as the Qocho Uyghur official text of regulating Manichaean monasteries (on the Turfan manuscript Zong 8782 T.82), and the text mentioning Uyghur royal auditors as the introductory part of a

Middle Persian Manichaean hymn-book (on the Turfan manuscript M 1).

For the Turfan Manichaean community, the parables and pictures were two important ways of attracting the lay people to the Manichaean Church, with the guidance of the literate elects. Colditz identifies the oral background of the Turfan Manichaean parables by comparing the original long versions of parables with the short versions of the parables, which probably functioned as a memory aid for oral transmission.<sup>11</sup> Reck suggests: “a narrative becomes a parable, when it is employed in order to demonstrate a teaching”.<sup>12</sup> Then, the survivals of Turfan Manichaean art and the writings about it, demonstrate an obvious preference towards instructional use.<sup>13</sup> During the Qocho Uyghur period, the Manichaean didactic art became more public than before, as the Qoco Uyghur court officially sponsored the Manichaean community, and the Turfan region was at the crossroad of multicultural communications. In the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, the miniatures were often not related to their accompanying texts. Durkin-Meisterernst thinks that the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts were used for two simultaneous, complementary but also competing purposes, combining the task of a text with that of an album.<sup>14</sup>

Politics and economy were important elements for a religious community. The Uyghur nobles and Sogdian traders had great influence on the development of Manichaeism during the Steppe Uyghur period. The Sogdian people as a commercial nation played a significant role in promoting the eastern Manichaean Church and spreading Manichaeism further eastwards.<sup>15</sup> But it remains unknown how far the Manichaean eastward missions were able to get support from local kings or royal families, before coming to the Uyghurs. There were probably some

---

<sup>11</sup> Colditz, I. “Parabeln und Parabelabstrakta”, in Z. Özertural & J. Wilkens (eds.). *Der östliche Manichäismus - Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011. 13-25.

<sup>12</sup> Reck, C. “Soghdische manichäische Parabeln in soghdischer Schrift mit zwei Beispielen: Parabeln mit Hasen”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck & D. Weber (eds.). *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009. 211-224. p. 213.

<sup>13</sup> Gulácsi, Z. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. Leiden: Brill, 2016. p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst, D. “Die Orientierung der Bilder in manichäischen Bücherfragmenten in der Turfansammlung”, in C. Marksches & J. van Oort (eds.). *Zugänge zur Gnosis. Akten zur Tagung der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.-05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*. Leuven: Peters, 2013. 277-284 & 336-346. p. 283.

<sup>15</sup> Lin Wushu. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian 摩尼教及其東漸 [Manichaeism and Its Eastward Spread]*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987. p. 40.

Manichaean centers in Sogdiana (between the Oxus River and the Ferghana Valley, in today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) which was the homeland of Sogdian merchants. However, it is difficult to identify whether the Manichaeans in Sogdiana were under any royal protection or sponsorship. Little is known about the relationship between the Manichaean Church and the pre-Turkic kingship of Central Asia. According to the evidence from the Turfan Manichaean texts, it seems that the eastern Manichaean Church incorporated the Uyghur secular/political realm into its religious narratives for the Turfan Manichaean community.

### *State of the Art*

Before the 20th century, due to the lack of first-hand Manichaean material, the research on Manichaeism was based on the secondary sources such as the ancient records of Christians and Muslims who opposed Manichaeism. This situation did not change until the early 20th century when the Turfan and Dunhuang Manichaean manuscripts began to be discovered and interpreted one by one.

Since the late 19th century, Western archeological explorers came to East Central Asia, and discovered a huge amount of ancient manuscripts in multiple languages and various kinds of paintings. In the early 20th century, a German expedition first found some Manichaean temple remains and wall-paintings in the Qocho city ruins, the Bezeklik Thousand-Buddhas Caves, and other sites of the Turfan region.<sup>16</sup> From there, the German expedition team took thousands of Manichaean manuscript fragments, which started a new era of Manichaean studies. Then, more and more Manichaean manuscript fragments were found in the Turfan region, and now they are mostly preserved in Germany, U.K., Russia, Finland, Japan, and China. The currently known Turfan Manichaean texts were written mainly in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian or Uyghur language, and a few of them were in Chinese, Tocharian B and Bactrian languages. On the other hand, since the early 20th century, several Chinese Manichaean manuscripts were found in Dunhuang caves, which help us to better understand the eastern Manichaean missions though they were not directly relating to the Turfan Manichaean community.

---

<sup>16</sup> Grünwedel, A. *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902-1903*. München: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1909. Dreyer, C. *Abenteuer Seidenstraße: Die Berliner Turfan-Expeditionen 1902-1914*. Leipzig: Seemann Henschel, 2015.

The support of the Qocho Uyghur kings resulted in an unprecedented flourishing of Manichaean activities in Turfan. This Uyghur period of Manichaean history is richly documented in the Turfan archaeological findings, consisting of nearly 5000 manuscript fragments. Among them, about 4000 are Middle Iranian (Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian languages) Manichaean fragments, in which about 3500 are in Manichaean script and about 500 are in Sogdian script.<sup>17</sup> The amount of Turfan Manichaean fragments in Uyghur language is at least 594.<sup>18</sup> As Wang Ding estimates, the Manichaean manuscript fragments occupy around 10% of the sum of manuscript fragments found in the Turfan region.<sup>19</sup>

Modern scholars such as Boyce, Asmussen, von Gabain, Sundermann and Clark have categorized the Turfan Manichaean textual material in different ways. Concerning the Middle Iranian Manichaean writings, Boyce divided them into four groups - canonical works, prose-works (such as church history), hymns, and miscellaneous (such as glossaries); and then Boyce categorized them according to their contents: church history, precepts for auditors, texts of cosmogony and eschatology, texts on the soul and salvation, hymns, texts on Jesus the Messiah and other deities, hymns to Mani and other church leaders, liturgical texts, (Parthian) hymn-cycles, parables, prayers, and invocations.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Asmussen distinguished the Middle Iranian and Uyghur Manichaean writings according to their contents: doctrines, missionary work, auditors and elects, literature, science and magic, the Divine Light, Mani's passion, the community life, hymn-cycles, Jesus in Manichaeism, and mythology.<sup>21</sup> Von Gabain grouped the Uyghur Manichaean writings into stories, prayers and hymns, classical works and doctrinal texts, regulations for elects and auditors, and confessions.<sup>22</sup> But such classifications are from

---

<sup>17</sup> Wang Ding. "Bolin Tulufan tecang zhong de yijian chuzi Jiaohe de Hanwen Monijiao wenshu 柏林吐魯番特藏中的一件出自交河的漢文摩尼教文書", in T. Takata (ed.). *Tangdai zongjiao wenhua yu zhidu 唐代宗教文化與製度*. Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho 京都大学人文科学研究所, 2007, 41- 66. p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> The Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts catalogued by Wilkens in 2000, have reached 594 pieces, and later a few are added. See Wilkens, J. *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Wang Ding. "Bolin Tulufan tecang zhong de yijian chuzi Jiaohe de Hanwen Monijiao wenshu 柏林吐魯番特藏中的一件出自交河的漢文摩尼教文書". p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Boyce, M. "The Manichaean Literature in Middle Iranian", *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 4/2, 1968, 67-76. Boyce, M. "The Manichaean Middle Persian Writings", in E. Yarshater (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Iran, III* (2). Cambridge University Press, 1983. 1196-1204. Boyce, M. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.

<sup>21</sup> Asmussen, J.P. *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*. Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975.

<sup>22</sup> Gabain, von A. "Die alttürkische Literatur", in L. Bazin et al. (eds.). *Philologiae Turcicae*

the perspectives of the scholarship on Manichaean studies, rather than the concerns from the medieval Manichaean community itself. Thus, Sundermann conducted an examination of the terms used for genres within the Manichaean literature itself, regarding the prose literature in general and the historiographical genres in particular.<sup>23</sup> Within the prospectus of the Manichaean literature, Clark divided the Uyghur Manichaean writings into three broad categories (with various types of texts), which is also appropriate to all the Manichaean literature: (1) “Doctrinal literature” (scriptures, sermons, other homiletic literature, and cosmogonical and eschatological texts); (2) “Liturgical literature” (service hymns, and confession texts); (3) “Ecclesiastical literature” (early church history and hagiography, church records and letters, hymns and benedictions, colophons, scribal notes, captions, monastic documents, and other literature of stories).<sup>24</sup>

As to the Turfan Manichaean pictorial material, its identification and interpretation remain largely controversial. Klimkeit contributed a lot to the research of Uyghur Manichaean art.<sup>25</sup> The Uyghur Manichaean works of art only survive from the archaeological sites of the Turfan region. So far, there are about 120 known fragments of works of art from Uyghur Manichaean period, including remnants of illuminated manuscripts and decorated book covers, picture books and pictorial textile displays (i.e. hanging scrolls and mortuary banners), as well as wall-painting and remnants of some buildings and caves. In her book *Mani's Pictures*, Gulácsi identified 29 Turfan pictorial fragments as Manichaean art with clear didactic function.<sup>26</sup> The vast majority of these Manichaean didactic images can be dated to the 10th century according to Gulácsi's deduction.

Based on the above first-hand Manichaean textual and pictorial materials, modern scholars have also studied the relations between Uyghur kingdoms and eastern Manichaeism from historical and religious perspectives. Clark investigated the topic of Bügü Khan's conversion to Manichaeism, and found that the first introduction of Manichaeism into

---

*Fundamenta II*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964. 211-243. pp 231-236.

<sup>23</sup> Sundermann, W. “Die Prosaliteratur der iranischen Manichäer”, in W. Skalmowski & A. van Tongerloo (eds.). *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 17.-20. May 1982*. Leiden: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1984. 227-241.

<sup>24</sup> Clark, L. “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”, in P. Mirecki & J. DeBuhn (eds.). *Emerging from Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden: Brill, 1997. 89-141.

<sup>25</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. Leiden: Brill, 1982. Klimkeit, H.-J. *Manichäische Kunst an der Seidenstraße: Alte und neue Funde* (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vorträge G 338). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996.

<sup>26</sup> Gulácsi, Z. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.



the Steppe Uyghurs might be earlier than the year 762/763.<sup>27</sup> Klimkeit researched the relations between Uyghur Manichaeism, Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, based on the medieval texts of manuscripts found in the Turfan region.<sup>28</sup> In combination with Chinese historical records, Lieu and Moriyasu researched the Uyghur Manichaean history.<sup>29</sup> In his monograph, Moriyasu further investigated the development and decline of Manichaeism in Qocho Uyghur Kingdom with detailed arguments, and revealed the specific years of the emergence or production of a great number of Turfan fragmentary manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, based on the Chinese Manichaean manuscripts found in the Dunhuang region, Lin Wushu studied the issues of the early introduction of Manichaeism to China through Central Asia, and interpreted the (Dunhuang) Chinese Manichaean literature.<sup>31</sup> Then, Wang Yuanyuan discussed the history of the Manichaean spread to Central Asia and China, with comprehensive understanding of Manichaean doctrines, rituals and church regulations, based on the multilingual Manichaean manuscripts found in the Turfan region and the Chinese historical records.<sup>32</sup>

However, modern scholars of Manichaean studies often focused on the Turfan Manichaean texts from linguistic and philological aspects, but ignored the manuscripts (that the texts or pictures were written or painted on) and their significance to the Turfan Manichaean community itself. The previous scholarship has not yet investigated the practical use and functions of manuscripts within the Turfan Manichaean community. It remains unclear how the elects and auditors specifically dealt with the manuscripts in the Qocho Uyghur context, for sustaining the Turfan Manichaean community. It has been known that there was a close connection and mutual support between the eastern Manichaean Church (based in the Turfan region) and the Uyghur secular kingship. But it is not

---

<sup>27</sup> Clark. "The Conversion of Būgū Khan to Manichaeism". 83-123.

<sup>28</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. "Christians, Buddhists and Manichaeans in Medieval Central Asia", *Buddhist-Christian Studies* Vol. 1, 1981, 46-50. Klimkeit, H.-J. "Jesus' Entry into *Parinirvāna*: Manichaean Identity in Buddhist Central Asia", *Numen*, Vol. 33, 1986, 225-240. Klimkeit, H.-J. (transl.). *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993.

<sup>29</sup> Lieu, S.N.C. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Leiden: Brill, 1998. pp 1-97. Moriyasu, T. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究" [A Study on the History of Uyghur Manichaeism], *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 31/32, 1991, 1-250. Moriyasu, T. (author); C. Steineck (transl.). *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004. Moriyasu. "New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism", 316-333.

<sup>30</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究", 1-250.

<sup>31</sup> Lin Wushu. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian 摩尼教及其東漸*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

<sup>32</sup> Wang Yuanyuan. *Cong Bosi dao Zhongguo: Monijiao zai Zhongya he Zhongguo de chuanbo 从波斯到中國：摩尼教在中亞和中國的傳播*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

yet clarified how they specifically complemented each other, and how their relationship had been presented and perceived in the Turfan Manichaean texts.

### **Research Questions and Materials**

As a new institutionalized religion since the 3th century, Manichaeism often challenged old social orders (for instance Zoroastrianism in the Persian Empire, and Christianity in the Roman Empire), and experienced persecutions in the places where it was introduced. In the East, Manichaeism eventually obtained official status in the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and then the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. In particular, the Turfan region became the eastern Manichaean center during the 9th-11th centuries. During the early Qocho Uyghur period, the Turfan Manichaean community was prosperous with producing abundant manuscripts, which made great achievements in the Manichaean history. Investigating the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and texts helps us to reconstruct a relatively more complete image of an eastern Manichaean community during medieval times. As an important part of the history of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, the Turfan Manichaean community and its situations are worthy of further research.

This dissertation gives a new perspective on the Turfan Manichaean community, by seeing it from the inside, and by revealing what the manuscripts meant to the community and how they functioned within the community. How did the texts and pictures on the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts function in the Manichaean missionary activities and religious practices? How did the Manichaean manuscripts that were used by elects function in developing the Turfan Manichaean community? How did the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and texts function with the secular sphere? What did they mean to lay Manichaeans?

Due to the generally fragmentary condition of the Manichaean manuscripts found in the Turfan region, there is limited information that can be extracted from them. The dates of most of the surviving Turfan Manichaean manuscripts are unknown, as they are too fragmentary or their colophons are missing. Accordingly, it is difficult to reconstruct the situation of the Turfan Manichaean community, because of the lack of sources. We need to carefully weigh various possibilities regarding the material while researching the Turfan Manichaean community. However, the time frame of the currently known Turfan Manichaean manuscripts can be deduced to be from the late 8th through the 11th century, though the composition of some Middle Persian and Parthian texts on them can

be traced to as early as the era of Mar Mani and Mar Ammo (i.e. the 3th century). Since the 750s, the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom expanded its territory to the Turfan region. In the late 8th century, Manichaeism became developed in the territory controlled by the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom including the Turfan region, with state sponsorship. The majority of the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and art objects were probably made during the early period of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (866-1132, based in the Turfan region). The currently datable texts from the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts can be dated at the latest to the early 11th century, as Manichaeism seems to start declining in the late 10th or early 11th century. Although it cannot be excluded that the Turfan Manichaean texts possibly continued to be copied after the early 11th century, the Turfan Manichaean community was not as active as before and was gradually replaced by Buddhism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

The selected research materials of this dissertation include four types:

- (1) 129 Turfan Manichaean manuscripts (218 fragments before regrouping);
- (2) 5 Dunhuang Manichaean manuscripts (6 fragments before regrouping);
- (3) 2 items of Western Manichaean material (i.e., 1 Coptic Manichaean manuscript and 1 Latin anti-Manichaean transmitted text);
- (4) 28 items of Central Asian or West Asian non-Manichaean material (i.e., 18 manuscripts, 1 edited text on manuscripts, and 9 transmitted texts).

The selected research material is also grouped according to their contents, in the appendix of the dissertation.

- (1) This dissertation involves 129 Turfan Manichaean manuscripts (whose forms, languages and scripts are all diverse as below):

<i>Form</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i>
<b>Textual codex</b>	81	<b>Only Middle Persian</b>	22	<b>Manichaean</b>	65
<b>Illuminated codex</b>	2	<b>Only Parthian</b>	11	<b>Sogdian</b>	50
<b>Textual scroll</b>	27	<b>Only Bactrian</b> <sup>34</sup>	1	<b>Orkhon</b> <sup>35</sup>	2
<b>Illuminated scroll</b>	2	<b>Only Sogdian</b>	12	<b>Manichaean + Orkhon</b>	1 [bi-script text]

<sup>33</sup> For the Turfan and Dunhuang Manichaean materials, the term “quantity” here refers to the amount of items, i.e. manuscripts after regrouping fragments.

<sup>34</sup> Sims Williams, N. “The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M 1224)”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck & D. Weber (eds.). *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009. 245-268.

<sup>35</sup> The Orkhon script (also known as Göktürk script, Old Turkic script, and Turkic Runic script) is based on an unknown prototype of Aramaic alphabet. The Orkhon script was used by the Göktürks and other early Turkic khanates between the 8th and 10th centuries in the Mongolian Steppe and Siberia, particularly in their inscriptions.

<b>Pothi (palm-leaf form)</b>	1	<b>Only Uyghur</b>	50 [including 1 manuscript that is composed of 39 only Uyghur fragments and 1 bilingual (Uyghur + Tocharian B) fragment] <sup>36</sup>	<b>Manichaean + Sogdian</b>	3 [multiple texts in manuscripts]
<b>Textile</b>	1	<b>Middle Persian (on the verso of a Chinese fragment)</b>	1	<b>Sogdian + Orkhon</b>	2 [multiple texts in manuscripts]
<b>Wall-painting</b>	2	<b>Sogdian (on the verso of a Chinese fragment)</b>	4	<b>No text (i.e., only image)</b>	6
<b>Codex or scroll (?)</b>	13	<b>Uyghur (on the verso of a Chinese fragment)</b>	8	<b><i>In total: 129</i></b>	
<b><i>In total: 129</i></b>		<b>Middle Persian + Parthian</b>	6 [multiple texts in manuscripts: 4; bilingual texts: 2]		
		<b>Middle Persian + Sogdian</b>	1 [multiple texts in a manuscript]		
		<b>Middle Persian + Uyghur</b>	1 [bilingual text]		
		<b>Sogdian + Uyghur</b>	1 [multiple texts in a manuscript]		
		<b>Language unidentifiable</b>	1		
		<b>Not applicable</b>	4 [including 1 on the verso of a Chinese scroll]		
		<b>No text (i.e., only image)</b>	6		
		<b><i>In total: 129</i></b>			

Among the 129 selected Turfan Manichaean manuscripts, 99 were found in unspecified sites of the Turfan region, 6 were found in the Qocho ruins (whose locations are unspecified), 3 were found in Qocho ruin K, 4 were found in Qocho ruin  $\alpha$ , 8 were found in Toyuq, 7 were found in Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves of Murtuq, 1 was found in Murtuq (whose location is unspecified), and 1 was found in the Yar ruins. Now, the vast majority of the 129 manuscripts are preserved in Berlin, and the rest of them are in London, St. Petersburg, Helsinki, Kyoto, Beijing, and Turfan. Among the 129 manuscripts, 10 have been clearly dated, and 8 are dated ambiguously.

<sup>36</sup> Clark, L. "The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9, 1982, 145-218.

(2) This dissertation involves 5 Dunhuang Manichaean manuscripts:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Quantity (items)</i>
<b>Textual scroll</b>	5 (1 containing a figural graffiti at the end)	<b>Chinese</b>	3	<b>Chinese</b>	3
		<b>Uyghur</b>	2	<b>Manichaean</b>	1
				<b>Sogdian</b>	1
<b><i>In total: 5</i></b>		<b><i>In total: 5</i></b>		<b><i>In total: 5</i></b>	

The 5 selected Manichaean manuscripts found in Dunhuang region, include 3 Chinese Manichaean scroll, 1 Uyghur Manichaean scroll, and 1 fragment of a Chinese Buddhist scroll with Uyghur Manichaean verso. But the specific relationship between the Dunhuang Manichaean manuscripts and the Turfan Manichaean community needs more investigation.

(3) This dissertation involves 2 items of Western Manichaean material: 1 Coptic Manichaean manuscript (a single papyrus codex found in Egypt), and 1 Latin anti-Manichaean transmitted text (written by an ex-Manichaean).

(4) This dissertation also involves 28 items of non-Manichaean material from various regions of Asia: 12 Uyghur manuscripts and 1 Uyghur edited text on manuscripts, 2 Chinese manuscripts, 1 Sogdian manuscript, 1 trilingual (Uyghur, Sogdian, and Chinese) manuscript, 2 wall-paintings, and 9 transmitted texts of various non-Manichaean backgrounds (written in Arabic, Chinese, Old Turkic, and New Persian languages respectively).

*Note:* In this dissertation, the photos of manuscripts are all from the website of the *Digitales Turfan-Archiv*,<sup>37</sup> unless they are specifically marked with other sources.

### **Structure of the Dissertation**

This dissertation discusses the functions of manuscripts for the Turfan Manichaean community, in three chapters: the function of texts and pictures in the Turfan Manichaean missionary and religious practices, the function of manuscripts for the internal construction of the Turfan Manichaean community, and the function of manuscripts for the secular sphere and external relation of the Turfan Manichaean community.

Chapter 1 investigates the Turfan Manichaean missionaries' use of the newly shaped historical narratives, the parables and their paratexts, and the pictures and illuminations, as well as the Manichaean religious practices of the merit and its transfer. The Turfan Manichaeans built up authority and lineage for the eastern Manichaean Church through

<sup>37</sup> The *Digitales Turfan-Archiv* of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW): <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>

historical narratives. The Turfan Manichaean texts and pictures also offered the auditors devotional space to appropriate the Manichaean ideas as part of their Manichaean religious practices, such as self-accumulation of merit. The Turfan Manichaean art had instructional or/and decorative functions, and there also emerged the image worship in the Turfan Manichaean monasteries, with making holy pictures (or statues) for divine beings and painting miniatures in the Manichaean books.

Chapter 2 analyses the scribes and the *xoštirs* in their contribution to building up the Turfan Manichaean community by using manuscripts. There must have existed an institution of training Manichaean scribes in the Turfan region, according to the Manichaean abecedarian manuscripts found in Toyuq (a town in the Turfan region), which testify the demand for professional scribes and the need of copying Manichaean texts for the Turfan Manichaean community members. The Manichaean abecedarian manuscripts reveal to us the practicing situation of the Turfan Manichaean scribes between the 9th and the 11th century. The *xoštirs* played a role as the mediator between elects and auditors within the Turfan Manichaean administrative system, whose role was crucial for maintaining the Manichaean community and its unity in the Turfan region. In addition, the Turfan Manichaean community faced challenges from both internal and external sides to its religious authority, which were recorded on manuscripts, to enhance the unity of the Turfan Manichaean community and maintain its survival.

Chapter 3 discusses the leadership of the Turfan Manichaean community, which was under both the Manichaean church leaders and the Uyghur secular rulers. The Turfan Manichaean texts reveal the external cooperation of the eastern Manichaean Church (based in the Turfan region). The Turfan Manichaeans formed a hierarchy for the auditors, in which the Uyghur kings were promoted to a high and divine status. On the other hand, the eastern Manichaean Church did find its position in the secular world under the Uyghur rule and was able to grant the divine blessings of Manichaean deities to this secular world. After the spread of Manichaeism among Uyghurs, the divinity was placed on the Uyghur secular kingship which accepted or permitted Manichaeism. Then, the Uyghur secular kingship became strengthened by the Manichaean divinity. Meanwhile, the Turfan Manichaean texts depicted the Manichaean monasteries and the Uyghur rulers as the “religious inside” and the “secular outside”, which were two interactive components of the Turfan Manichaean community. In other words, the Turfan Manichaean community was led by both the religious authority and the secular authority. The interaction between the Turfan Manichaean monasteries

and the Qocho Uyghur court had great influence on the development of the Turfan Manichaean community, as the latter incorporated the former into the state system, particularly in economic field. Though there were dramatic political changes in East Central Asia during the 9th century, the Turfan Manichaean community maintained the communications and economic ties with other Manichaean communities. But according to the evidence that we have so far, it does not seem that the role of the Turfan Manichaean community in international politics was as active as before (i.e., Steppe Uyghur period). Meanwhile, the Turfan Buddhist community evidently participated in the international affairs of the Qocho Uyghur court, since the early Qocho Uyghur period.

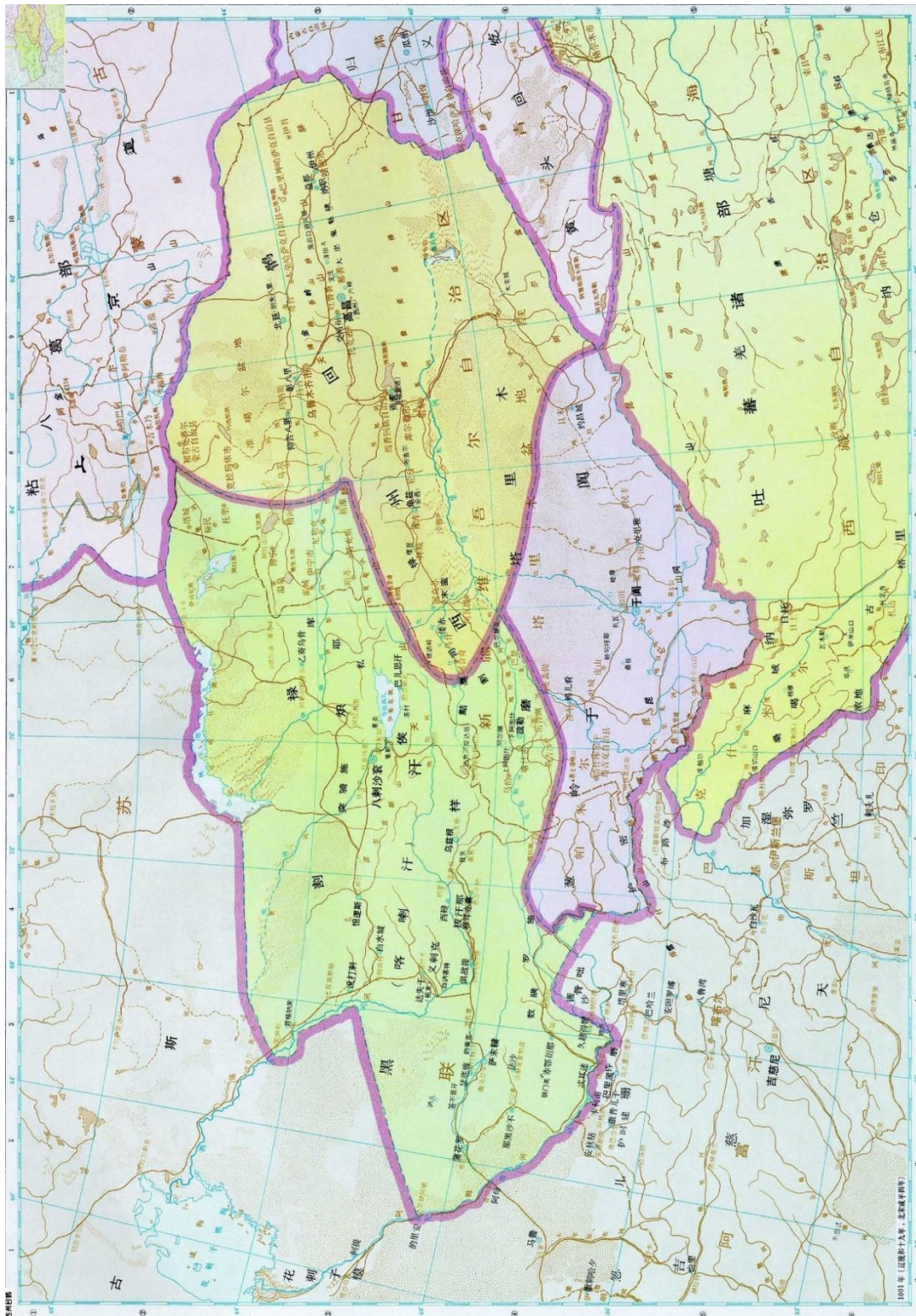


Photo: A Corner of the Qocho City Ruins,  
in Turfan Prefecture, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China  
(中國新疆維吾爾自治區吐魯番市高昌故城遺址)<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Photo from the magazine *Chinese National Geography* (中國國家地理), October, 2013 (*Xinjiang Special* 新疆專輯), pp 184-185.

# Maps



Map 1: Qocho/Xizhou Uyghur (高昌/西州回鹘), Khotan (于阗) & Qara-Khanid (黑汗喀喇汗) (around 1001 CE)<sup>39</sup>



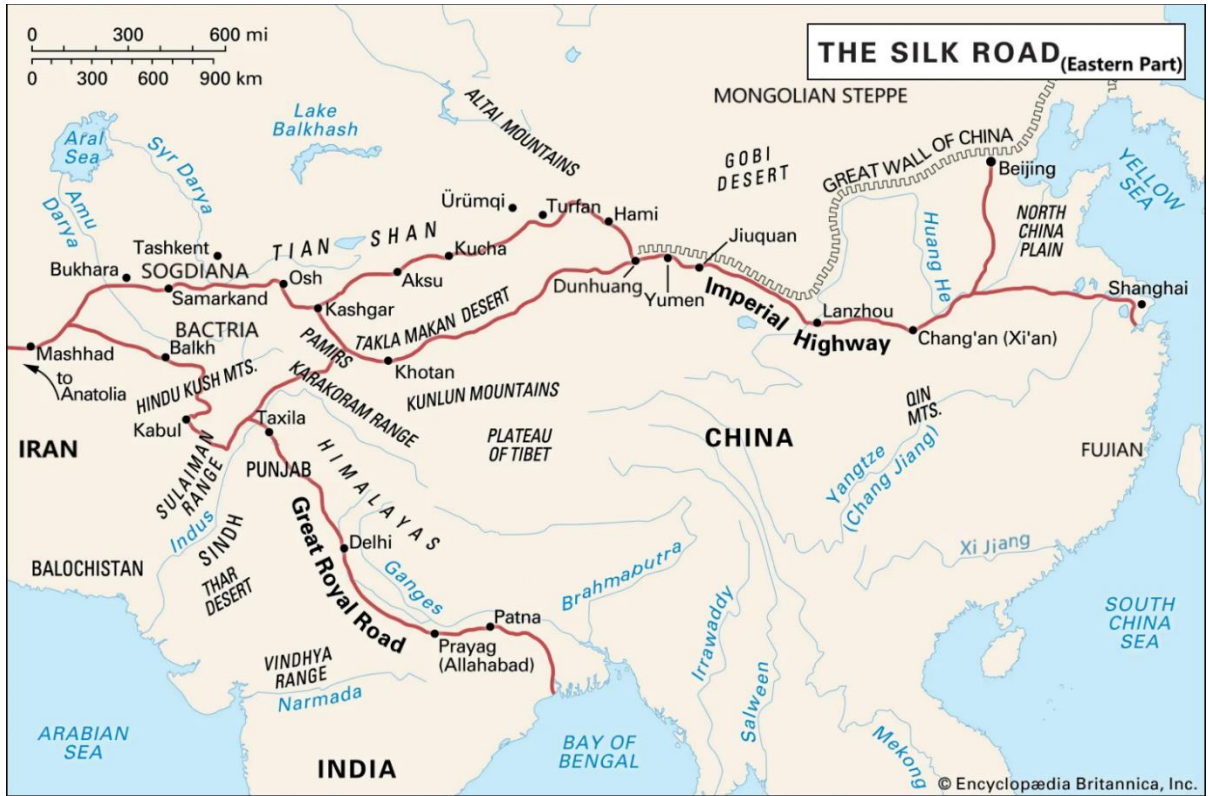
<sup>39</sup> This Chinese map's scale is 1:9,800,000. Tan Qixiang (chief ed.). *Zhongguo lishi dituce* 中國歷史地圖冊, Vol. 6. Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982. pp 38-39.





Map 2: The Qocho Uyghur Kingdom as of ca. 1001 CE  
 (from *Wikimedia Commons* based on Map 1,<sup>40</sup> with my modification) **North** ↑

<sup>40</sup> Webpage: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Qocho\\_Uyghurs.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Qocho_Uyghurs.png) (edited in 7/4/2018)



Map 3: The Eastern Part of the Silk Road (in medieval times)  
 (from *Encyclopædia Britannica*,<sup>41</sup> with my modification)



<sup>41</sup> Webpage: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Silk-Road-trade-route> (updated in 1/11/2024)

# **Chapter 1:**

## **The Function of Texts and Pictures in the Turfan Manichaean Missionary and Religious Practices**

### **1.1 The Manichaean Historical Narratives**

The Manichaean church documents found in the Turfan region, contain records of Mani's biography, Manichaean missionary history, and church organization and activities, as well as letters of church leaders and high priests, which reveal the developing process of Manichaeism from its original land to the East. Manuscripts of Mani's biography and Manichaean missionary history were in general written in Middle Persian and Parthian, with some corresponding Sogdian translations circulated, and with a few exceptions in Uyghur (only about the eastern Manichaean missions). Although both eastern and western Manichaean missionary histories were concerned and reflected by the Turfan Manichaean literature, the Turfan Manichaeans focused more on the eastern Manichaean missionary history and the eastern Manichaean Church which was namely established by one of Mani's chief disciples - Mar Ammo. The Turfan Manichaean manuscripts of church organization and activities, as well as letters of church leaders and high priests, were mostly in Sogdian or Uyghur, which reflect the Manichaean localization in East Central Asia. Mani's other important early disciple - Mar Adda led the westward mission to the Roman Empire, which was also recorded by the Turfan Manichaean documents. Although such texts of the western Manichaean missionary history were works of eastern Manichaean authors and scribes during the 9th-10th centuries,<sup>42</sup> they still included useful information about early Manichaeism, which could be directly traced to the early missionary accounts written in Syriac or other languages. In addition, the Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean fragments found in Turfan, contain a large number of hymns, which were addressed to the early church leaders and other dignitaries of the Manichaean Church, especially those to Mani. The church leaders who were named as addressees of hymns include the great eastern Manichaean church leader Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, in addition to Mar Ammo, Mar Zaku, and Mar Dōšist-Āryāmān. The Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean

---

<sup>42</sup> On the Middle Iranian accounts of early Manichaean missionary history related to Mar Adda's mission to the Roman Empire, see Sundermann, W. "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer II", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13/2, Berlin, 1986, 239-317. pp 246-250.

hymns praise these personalities or commemorate their inauguration or death.

So far, the extent of the eastward spread of Manichaeism in Bactria (in today's north Afghanistan) and Sogdiana (in today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) is little known due to the lack of Manichaean material evidence found in these regions. We have to look forward to future archaeological finds or other sources from the regions of Bactria and Sogdiana, for reconstructing the early eastern Manichaean history of which the *Dēnāwar* sect (in Arabic *Dīnāwarīya*) was prominent. According to the records of the Abbasid Muslim scholar and bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-990) in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, the relationship between the eastern Manichaean Church and the Manichaean headquarter in Mesopotamia became quite loose, due to the rise of the eastern Manichaean Church, challenging the Head of the entire Manichaean Church, which led to a schism that is the independence of the *Dīnāwarīya* in the East.<sup>43</sup> The establishment time of the *Dēnāwar* sect is in dispute among scholars. Henning and Sundermann speculate that the *Dēnāwar* sect (*Dīnāwarīya*) may have been shaped as early as the time of Mani or soon after Mani's death.<sup>44</sup> Henning even suggests that the Manichaean writings found in the Turfan region were certainly all due to this sect. Among them, there are Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns dedicated to the eastern Manichaean church leader Mar Šād-Ohrmezd (residing in Marv, d. 600)<sup>45</sup>. Colditz has investigated the connection between the eastern Manichaean church leader Mar Šād-Ohrmezd and the *Dēnāwar* sect and suggests that Mar Šād-Ohrmezd was "the first leader of the independent eastern Manichaean Church" (i.e. the exact founder of the *Dēnāwar* sect).<sup>46</sup> After the Arab Muslim conquest of Sogdiana (during the 8th century), the eastern Manichaean Church extended its influence to a greater territory east of Sogdiana and then started to build up more Manichaean communities there in the form

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-995 CE) (author); B. Dodge (ed. & transl.). *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture (Abū 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. p. 792.

<sup>44</sup> Andreas, F.C. & W. Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933. p. 14, note 1. Sundermann, W. "Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis", *Acta Orientalia Hauniensia* 36, 1974, 125-149.

<sup>45</sup> Müller, F.W.K. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913. p. 37.

<sup>46</sup> Colditz, I. "Šād-Ohrmezd and the Early History of the Manichaean *Dīnāwarīya*-Community", in I. Baldauf & M. Friedrich (eds.). *Bamberger Zentralasienstudien. Konferenzakten ESCAS IV Bamberg 8.-12. Oktober 1991*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1994. 229-234.

of monasteries.<sup>47</sup> Beside early Manichaean missionary history, the Turfan Manichaeans also put much emphasis on the Uyghur Manichaean history that started from Būgü Khan (759-780) of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. Clark finds that some Uyghur Manichaean texts of hymns and songs contain commemorative themes of eastern Manichaean history in the Mongolian Steppe, which were intended for use at the ceremonies of Turfan Manichaeans.<sup>48</sup>

But it is yet to be known what the significance of these Manichaean historical documents may have been for the Turfan Manichaean community. Their instructional function on the Turfan Manichaeans can be considered. The Turfan Manichaean historical narratives are composed of two parts: the early Manichaean history, particularly the eastward mission history, centered on the great religious figures such as Mar Ammo and Mar Šād-Ohrmezd; and the Uyghur Manichaean history, centered on the Manichaean rulers of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (744-840). This part analyzes the Manichaean historical narratives and investigate the instructional aspects of the Turfan Manichaean historical documents. This part also finds out how the Turfan Manichaeans built up authority and lineage of the eastern Manichaean Church through historical narratives, and what the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts of mission history meant to the audience of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (866-1132). From the Manichaean historical documents found in Turfan, we can not only obtain information on how the Turfan Manichaeans understood and recorded the Manichaean history starting from Prophet Mani and Mar Ammo to the conversion of the Steppe Uyghur khans, but also find out how the Manichaean religion was adapted to the Turfan context.

### **1.1.1 Mar Ammo - The Origin of Eastern Manichaeism**

The Turfan Manichaean records of Mar Ammo's eastward mission history reveal to their audience the origin of the Manichaean canons and their authenticity and the religious authority that was inherited from Mani and his early disciples. Especially, Mar Ammo was regarded as the first Head of the eastern Manichean Church, and by which Middle Persian, Parthian,

---

<sup>47</sup> In the Middle Iranian Manichaean text of M 801a. Henning, W.B. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937. Nr. 214-267, pp 24-25. Boyce, M. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi / Leiden: Brill, 1975. cu 22-26, pp 156-157.

<sup>48</sup> Clark, L. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. p. 162.

Bactrian, and (later) Sogdian Manichaean materials had been able to be transmitted to the further east and the later generations.

(1) The legends of Mar Ammo in the Turfan Manichaean material represented the authoritative source of eastern Manichaeism. When Mani was alive, he had already sent his disciples to different lands as missionaries. Mar Ammo's major missionary work was performed in the northeastern parts of the Sassanian Empire (in the homelands of Parthians). The Turfan Manichaean historical narratives treat the legendary encounter between Mar Ammo and the spirit Bagard at the frontier of the East (*Xwarāsān*)<sup>49</sup> as a symbol of the earliest entry of the Manichaean religion into Central Asia. Mar Ammo's mission may have arrived at the Oxus River (i.e., Amu Darya) that defined the border between the Sassanian Empire and the Central Asian states.

M 2 is an almost completely preserved bifolio found in the Turfan region. M 2 belongs to a large bifolio manuscript of multiple texts. M 2 folio I is written in Middle Persian, about early Manichaean missionary history with legends - missions of Mar Ammo to the East, and Mar Adda to the West; M 2 folio II is written in Parthian, containing parts from the final chapter of an eschatological work, probably a translation from one of Mani's writings.<sup>50</sup> The Middle Persian text of M 2 I contains a report on Mar Ammo's travel to the northeast of the Sassanian Empire - with a legend in a folk etymological way explaining the name "*Dēnāwar*", and thus attributing the emergence of the eastern Manichaean Church to the era of Mani and Mar Ammo (around the late 3rd century). The text of M 2 I narrates in detail the legendary encounter between Mar Ammo and the guarding spirit Bagard (in the form of a girl) at the eastern frontier (i.e., a watch-post of the former Kushan Empire) (M 2 I recto, col. 2, line 16 - I verso, col. 1, line 31).<sup>51</sup> In the beginning, the guarding spirit Bagard at the border of the East (*Xwarāsān*) refused Mar Ammo's entry to the East. Mar Ammo said to the guardian spirit Bagard: "I am a *Dēnāwar*, a disciple of the Apostle Mani"; and then with Mar Ammo's further explanation, Bagard started to call Mar Ammo as a "true bringer of religion" (*Dēnāwar ī rāst*).<sup>52</sup> The term *Dēnāwar* means "bringer of religion". After Mar Ammo's explanation, he was eventually permitted by

---

<sup>49</sup> Evidently, *Xwarāsān* was used in this context in its general meaning of "East" rather than as a particular territorial designation.

<sup>50</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> See the transliteration in Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. h 4-6, pp 40-42. See the translation in Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 203-204.

<sup>52</sup> Andreas & Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. pp 13-14.

the guardian spirit Bagard to enter the East for spreading Manichaeism. Thus, the gate of the whole East was opened to Mar Ammo and his mission. The narrative of the legendary encounter between Mar Ammo and the spirit Bagard at the frontier of the East implies that there were many lingual and cultural obstacles and difficulties between different regions and peoples that the Manichaean missions had to overcome. On the other hand, Mar Ammo's role as the pioneer of the eastern Manichaean Church is much stressed in the Turfan Manichaean historical narratives.

The term *Dēnāwar* directly appears in the text of M 2 I. In the middle of this text (M 2 I recto, col. 2, line 21), there is a sharp transition of expression from the 3rd person to the 1st person, and from this line downward the text begins to adapt the form of self-narrative or self-declaration, which suggests the missionary work of Mar Ammo to be the root of the *Dēnāwar* sect. As the term *Dēnāwar* appears to be directly connected with Mar Ammo's mission, M 2 I implies that the establishment of the *Dēnāwar* sect could be traced back to as early as the 3rd century and to Mar Ammo himself. But it is doubtful how much genuine material the text of M 2 I may contain, as some linguistic features of later time can be found in it. However, Mar Ammo is regarded by the Turfan Manichaean historical narratives as the origin of the eastern Manichaeism, regardless of whether they concerned the *Dēnāwar* sect or not. So, for the Turfan Manichaeans, Mar Ammo is the definitely "historical" founder of their denomination, with the title - the "true bringer of religion" (*Dēnāwar ī rāst*). But the significance of the *Dēnāwar* sect may have been exaggerated by the later Manichaeans who wanted a renewed reflection on the origin and authority of the eastern Manichaean Church. The "historical" narrative of M 2 I may be purported to strengthen the self-confidence of the later Manichaeans of the East, including the Turfan Manichaean community.

(2) The character of Manichaeism as the "Religion of Book and Picture" is revealed by the narratives about Mar Ammo's mission in which the eastern church language - Parthian - had a high status. A Middle Persian Manichaean account of early Manichaean church history (M 2, found in Turfan) records Mar Ammo's missionary travel in the command of Mani:

When the Apostle of Light (i.e., Mani) was in the provincial capital of Holvān (in Mesopotamia),<sup>53</sup> he let the teacher Mar Ammo come, who knew the Parthian script (*phlw'nyg dbyryy*) and language ('*zw'n*) and was familiar with [...] <sup>54</sup>. He

<sup>53</sup> The ancient Holvān province, located between al-Mada'in (in today's Iraq) and Hamadan (in today's Iran).

<sup>54</sup> Henning reads *h(m) m[...] (y)n(y)n 'šn'g* as "(und) auch mit [...] vertraut war / (and) was

sent him (Mar Ammo) to Abarshahr (in northeast Iran)<sup>55</sup> together with Prince Ardabān and brother-scribes (*br'dr'n dbyr'n*), with the books (*nbyg'n*) and the picture-book (*ng'r*).<sup>56</sup>

It is particularly mentioned that Mar Ammo mastered the Parthian script and language, and he started the missionary work together with a noble called “Prince Ardabān”, and some brothers (i.e., elects) who could write, as well as the “books” and the “picture-book” (i.e., the Manichaean canons and canonical *picture-book*), to the East. Boyce speculates this “Prince Ardabān” as “evidently a member of the fallen house of the Arsacids (i.e., Parthians), and as such kinsman of Mani’s, and as such a man who spoke Parthian”.<sup>57</sup> The emphasis on mastering the Parthian language and its script in M 2 reveals the multilingual request of early Manichaean missions. Then, the text of the Turfan fragment So. 18220 is a Sogdian translation of the Middle Persian account of M 2, which gives similar information:

When the Apostle of Light, the Lord Mar Mani, stayed in the region of Holvān, he called Mar Ammo, the teacher, who knew the Parthian language (*pxl'w'n'k'zβ'kh*) and script (*δp'yry'kh*) and who was acquainted with lords and ladies and with many nobles in those places. And he sent him together with Prince Ardabān to [Abarshahr]. And afterwards [he] also sent yet other [scribes and illuminators with] the scriptures (*np'ykty*).<sup>58</sup>

In So. 18220, Mar Ammo not only “knew the Parthian language and script”, but also “was acquainted with lords and ladies and with many nobles in those places”. This passage tells us that Mar Ammo’s missionary strategy was based on the upper social group that had a basic literary level, and Mar Ammo was sent with the “scriptures”.

In some cases, the Manichaean authors imitated the Pauline Christian practice in which admonitions and exhortations to the targeted community were frequently composed in the form of letters. Among the 27 books of the *New Testament*, except for the four *Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Revelation*, the rest parts are all letters, of which 13

---

familiar with [...]”; and Sundermann makes the following reading: *h(m) m[yrd'n u] (z)n(y)n 'sn'g*, “(und) auch M[ännern und] (Frauen) bekannt (war) / (and) m[en and] (women) were also known (by him)”. Henning, W.B. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933. p. 12. Sundermann, W. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981. p. 17.

<sup>55</sup> Abarshahr: “the Upper Lands” of Khorasan, encompassing the northeast provinces of the Sassanian Empire.

<sup>56</sup> English translation based on Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 203-204. Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 40. Text h - 3.

<sup>57</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 40, note 3.

<sup>58</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 205.



are “Pauline Epistles”<sup>59</sup>. After Mani’s death, the Manichaeans followed the early Christian way, collecting and editing Mani’s letters, and then canonized them. Many of the canonized letters (that were ascribed to Mani) were later edited, for instance, the Parthian “apocryphal” letter on the Turfan Manichaean fragment M 5815 I.

Regarding M 5815 I, Boyce suggests that “the text appears to be a pious fabrication of *Dēnāwar* origin”, and attributes the Buddhist-Indian loanwords in this letter to a later time for its composition.<sup>60</sup> As a codex book of big-size double sheet, the Parthian Manichaean bifolio fragment M 5815 was elegantly written in the Manichaean script of the cursive form, in which headings and subheadings were written in red ink, and punctuations were made up of two black dots circled by red ink.



M 5815 I recto & II verso      M 5815 II recto & I verso <sup>61</sup>

M 5815 I contains an “apocryphal” letter from Mani to Mar Ammo. The frequent use of *Mar Mani* in this letter reveals its later edition because the honorific title *Mar* was only applied to Mani after his death. Then, M 5815 II contains a Parthian letter from a high church dignitary to Mar Ammo.<sup>62</sup> Regarding M 5815 II, Boyce thinks that this letter should be what it purported to be - sent to Mar Ammo from a high church dignitary

---

<sup>59</sup> The “Pauline Epistles” were the letters attributed to the Christ’s apostle St. Paul, though the authorship of some is in dispute. They were written about 20-30 years after the Christ’s crucifixion, but it is difficult to determine when all these letters as a corpus were first known to the early Christians. Because the Pauline theology was certainly known at the end of the 1st century, the “Pauline Epistles” were probably collected and circulated for the general use of early Christians by the end of the 1st century or soon after. This information about the “Pauline Epistles” is from the item - “The Pauline Letters” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pauline-letters>).

<sup>60</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 50.

<sup>61</sup> In this dissertation, the photos of manuscripts are all from the website of the *Digitales Turfan-Archiv*, unless they are specifically marked with other sources. (The *Digitales Turfan-Archiv* of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW): <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>)

<sup>62</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 115.

which may be Sisinnius, obviously not Mani,<sup>63</sup> because it mentions that Sisinnius had visited Marv (northeast Iran, in modern-day Turkmenistan) and was quite satisfied by the Manichaean missionary situation in Marv. In this letter, the sender (possibly Sisinnius) told the addressee that he would appoint bishops (*'spsg 'n*) and teachers (*'mwc 'g 'n*) to supervise the Manichaean communities in different regions, as Manichaeism was spread worldwide.<sup>64</sup> Since the early days, Mani had sent missions to Abarshahr and from there to Marv.<sup>65</sup> So, this letter's sender could have a status higher than both teachers and bishops, which probably took the duty of Mani's successor as the Head of the Manichaean Church in Mesopotamia. This letter's sender (possibly Sisinnius) also dispatched missionaries with two Manichaean canons (the *Book of the Giants* and the *Ārdhang / Picture-Book*), to Mar Ammo who preached in Zamb (northeast Iran, in modern-day Turkmenistan)<sup>66</sup>, and encouraged them to copy canons:

When I came up to Marv, I found all the brothers and sisters to be devout. And to dear brother Zurvāndād, I am very grateful because he in his goodness has watched over all the brothers. And I have now dispatched him to Zamb, and sent him (the brother Zurvāndād) to dear Mar Ammo, and to (the province of) Khorasan. He has taken (the *Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdahang* (i.e., *Picture-Book*) with him. I have made another (copy of *the Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdhang* in Marv. (M 5815 II recto, col. 1, ll. 12-25)<sup>67</sup>

This letter's sender sent the brother Zurvāndād to Mar Ammo with the canons, which means that the canons were directly used in Mar Ammo's missionary work. This letter also indirectly mentions the copying of two Manichaean canons - the *Book of the Giants* and the *Picture-Book*, which implies that the canonical textual transmission and copying had started in early Manichaean communities, unlike some other religious traditions that mainly relied on oral delivery. The sender's brother Zurvāndād had "taken (the *Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdahang* (i.e., *Picture-Book*) with him", and the sender had "made another (copy of *the Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdhang* in Marv". In brief, the Turfan Manichaean records of early eastward missions not only stressed Mar Ammo's central role but also emphasized Mani's canonical books and pictures along with Mar Ammo's missionary duty. The importance of the Parthian language

---

<sup>63</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 48.

<sup>64</sup> M 5815 II recto, col. 2, ll. 18-29. Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 49. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic texts from Central Asia*. p. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Marv (modern-day Mary in Turkmenistan), was once a center of Iranian Buddhism (before the Islamization of Marv), also as an important station for Manichaean and Nestorian (Christian) eastwards missions.

<sup>66</sup> Zamb (now called Karkhī) is located on the left (southwest) bank of the Oxus River (Amu Darya), which lies c. 120 miles to the northeast of Marv. See Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 49.

<sup>67</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 260.

and script was striking for the Manichaean eastward missions, along with the dissemination of the “scriptures” that refer to Mani’s canons. In other words, Mani’s canons were brought by these Manichaean missionaries to the East. However, the emergence of the two fully or partly fabricated letters on the Turfan Manichaean codex manuscript M 5815 functioned as a part of the historical narratives for the eastern Manichaean Church.

(3) The Turfan Manichaean historical documents did not ignore the Manichaean westward mission of Mar Ammo’s coreligionist - Mar Adda, although he was not as important as Mar Ammo for the Turfan Manichaean community. In the Turfan Manichaean missionary texts, the information about the Manichaean westward mission history may perform an assisting role in explaining the authority of the eastern Manichaean Church. For example, despite emphasizing the importance of writings and scribes, the situation of early Manichaean assemblies in the Roman Empire as “monasteries” had been recorded opposite the eastern Manichaean material. It was Mani himself who instituted Mar Adda’s mission to the Roman Empire during his life, as also demonstrated by a few manuscripts of early Manichaean missionary texts found in the Turfan region. The Middle Persian Manichaean text of M 2 I includes the westward mission history of Mar Adda and Patīg the Teacher:

“... become familiar with the writings!” They went to the Roman Empire (and) saw many doctrinal disputes with the religions. Many elects and auditors were chosen. Patīg was there for one year. (Then) he returned (and appeared) before the Apostle. Hereafter the Lord sent three scribes, the *Gospel* and two other writings to Mar Adda. He gave the order: “Do not take it further, but stay there like a merchant who collects a treasure”. Mar Adda labored very hard in these areas, founded many monasteries, chose many elects and auditors, composed writings and made wisdom his weapon. He opposed the dogmas with these (writings), (and) in everything he acquitted himself well. He subdued and enchained the dogmas. He came as far as Alexandria. He chose Nafšā for the religion. Many wonders and miracles were wrought in those lands. The religion of the Apostle was advanced in the Roman Empire. (M 2 I recto, col. 1, ll. 1-33)<sup>68</sup>

According to this account, Mar Adda established many “monasteries” in the land of the Roman Empire along with his westward mission, which is not found in the Manichaean records from the West itself (i.e., Coptic and Latin Manichaean sources). There may be an alternative explanation that early Manichaeism did not develop an ecclesiastical system of monasteries, so this later record from the East mentioned Mar Adda’s

---

<sup>68</sup> English translation, see Gardner, I. & S.N.C. Lieu (eds. & transl.). *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 111. German translation, see Andreas & Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. pp 10-11. Another English translation, see Asmussen. *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*. p. 21.

founding of “monasteries” in the Roman Empire to convince the eastern Manichaean believers of the origin and authority of the prosperous eastern Manichaean monasticism. But archeologically, there is a Manichaean monastic complex ruin found in Kellis of Egypt.<sup>69</sup> However, as far as we know, the establishment of sizable Manichaean monasteries may be a later thing in the East.

### 1.1.2 Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, the Founder of the Eastern Manichaean Church

The eastern Manichaean church leader Mar Šād-Ohrmezd had a key status in the historical narrative of the Turfan Manichaeans, who was closely connected to the rise and independence of the eastern Manichaean Church. The figure of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd played a vital role in forming an independent identity of eastern Manichaeism, based on the divergence of church leadership between Mesopotamian and Central Asian Manichaean communities. On account of the rise and independence of the eastern Manichaean Church, it started to challenge the leadership of the Head of the entire Manichaean Church in Mesopotamia in the 6th century, which led to a schism that is the independence of the *Dēnāwar* sect (i.e., *Dīnāwarīya*).<sup>70</sup> The Abbasid Muslim scholar Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist* mentioned that this schism (the emergence of the independent *Dīnāwarīya*) happened “on the other side of the River of Balkh” (on the other side of the Amu Darya, i.e. West Central Asia).<sup>71</sup> Based on this, BeDuhn speculates that the *Dīnāwarīya* had already existed when the Sassanian emperor Khusrau I (r. 531-579) initiated religious persecution.<sup>72</sup>

It remains unclear when and where Mar Šād-Ohrmezd was born. His personal information is unknown until he became the highest leader of the eastern Manichaean Church. Mar Šād-Ohrmezd died in around the year 600, according to Müller’s calculation based on the information given by the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag* (a Middle Persian and Parthian

---

<sup>69</sup> See Teigen, H.F. *The Manichaean Church in Kellis. Social Networks and Religious Identity in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm. *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture*. p. 792.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm. *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture*. p. 792. The river of Balkh is also called “Amu Darya (river)”, historically known by its Latin name *Oxus*, see Flügel, G. *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1862. p. 322.

<sup>72</sup> BeDuhn, J.D. “Review of Xavier Tremblay, Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: Le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d’Asie Centrale d’après les sources primaire”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 14, 2004, 269-273. p. 271.

hymn-collection) on M 1.<sup>73</sup> The Turfan manuscript M 1 is a bifolio Manichaean codex written by two different hands:

- (1) M 1 folio I: in Middle Persian, with a few Parthian words and Sogdian/Uyghur names, containing an introduction to a hymn-collection, composed between 824 and 832 (under the Uyghur ruler *Ay tängridä kut bulmıs alp bilgä uygur kagan*)<sup>74</sup>.
- (2) M 1 folio II: in Parthian, parts from an index to a hymn-collection, consisting of the opening lines of groups of hymns, arranged in roughly alphabetic order. The writing of the 1st part of this codex manuscript began in 762.<sup>75</sup>

As the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag*, M 1 refers to the contemporary Manichaean situation of various regions of East Central Asia, combined with hymns. In this colophon, the name Mar Šād-Ohrmezd is mentioned, and the year of his death became the starting point for dating the composition of this codex book (of M 1),<sup>76</sup> in addition to the common Manichaean date after Mani's birth (in 216):

It was in the year 546 from the starting-point – the birth of the Light-Apostle – furthermore in the year ... [number left out in the text], (from) when (he) ascended in might, and in the year 162 since the ascension of the beneficent Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, that they began this Hymn-Book full with living speeches and sweet hymns. (M 1, ll. 160-173)<sup>77</sup>

This colophon may also testify to the probable independence time of the *Dēnāwar* sect, since the year (600) of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd's death was used by eastern Manichaeans as the beginning of a new mode of dating a book, paralleling the common Manichaean calendar that is dated back to the year of Mani's birth.<sup>78</sup> Schaeder suggests that the *Dēnāwar* sect was established or led by Mar Šād-Ohrmezd in the late 6th century; as such a double dating (in M 1) can demonstrate the significant and even formative role of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd for eastern Manichaeism.<sup>79</sup> But it is

---

<sup>73</sup> Müller, F.W.K. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 37.

<sup>74</sup> Kasai, Y. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism", in C. Meinert & H. Sørensen (eds.). *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 61-90. p. 64.

<sup>75</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 1. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. pp 36-37.

<sup>76</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 16.

<sup>77</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. pp 15-16. Durkin-Meisterernst, D. "Late Features in Middle Persian Texts from Turfan", in L. Paul (ed.). *Persian Origins - Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian. Collected Papers of the Symposium*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003. 1-14. p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> Sundermann, W. "*Dīnāvarīya*", in E. Yarshater (ed.). *The Encyclopaedia of Iran*, Vol. VII. Costa Mesa, 1996. 418-419. p. 419. Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. s 1, p. 52.

<sup>79</sup> Schaeder, H.H. *Iranica* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 10). Berlin, 1934. p. 79. Colditz, I. "Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd.

not confirmed whether this sectarian schism directly resulted from Mar Šād-Ohrmezd's activities or only afterward he was venerated as the founder of the *Dēnāwar* sect. However, Mar Šād-Ohrmezd was regarded by the eastern Manichaeans as an outstanding church leader, as their memory and veneration of him were preserved in the Turfan Manichaean hymns. The colophon of *Mahrnāmag* on M 1 (probably written between 762 and 832) reveals that its writer and his community in the Turfan region still gave great honor and reverence toward Mar Šād-Ohrmezd. The special dating of the year of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd's death was retained by the Turfan Manichaean community in the 9th century.

The four Turfan Manichaean fragments M 315, M 198a, M 448, and M 1607, include Middle Persian and/or Parthian short hymns dedicated to Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, and parts of them contain parallel texts and correspond to or complement one another in terms of content. Mar Šād-Ohrmezd appears in these four Middle Persian and/or Parthian hymn manuscripts, in which some terms only used for praising Jesus, Mani, and other divine figures, became used for Mar Šād-Ohrmezd - "lord" (*xwadāy*), "god" (*bag*), and "savior" (*bōzāgar*), together with his titles: "the ruler of the Church" (*šahriyāri ī dēn*), "the leader" (*sārārīh*), "the powerful" (*kirdagār*), "the most beloved son of Lord Mani" (*pus ī dōšistā mānī xwadāwan*), "the Teacher of Khorasan" (*xwarāsāniyā hammōžāg*), and "the Teacher of Truth" (*hammōžāg ī rāstīh*).<sup>80</sup> M 315 is a bilingual bifolio fragment, written in Middle Persian and Parthian, of opening verses of hymns, including hymns in praise of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd. In the hymn of M 315, Mar Šād-Ohrmezd was extolled as:

Oh Lord (*xwadāy*), God (*bag*) Šād-Ohrmezd, Savior (*Bōzāgar*)... I honor Šād-Ohrmezd, the most beloved son of Lord Mani, the Ruler of the Community.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, the presence of combined punctuation marks and scribal decoration indicates that the fragment M 315 was from an elaborate codex manuscript.

---

Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der *Dīnāwarīya* in Transoxanien", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19/2, 1992, 322-341. p. 324.

<sup>80</sup> Colditz. "Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der *Dīnāwarīya* in Transoxanien". p. 325.

<sup>81</sup> Waldschmidt, E. & W. Lentz. Waldschmidt, E. & W. Lentz. *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926. p. 60. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 88. Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 141.



*M 315 I recto & II verso*

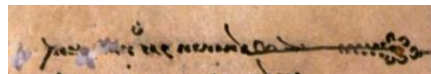
Three combined punctuation marks:



*M 315 I recto, top margin*

In the top margin of M 315 I recto, three combined punctuation marks (in red) were added onto the top of three separate letters, which were employed to indicate the end or beginning of a Manichaean text. Otherwise, there were just dots in the text, for example the letter <r> in the Middle Persian word *rwšn* is distinguished by a dot from the letter <d>.

The scribal decoration:



*M 315 II verso, line 1: 'st'y'd'zwr ('w)[d] (wh)yh*

On the other hand, it should be noted that the position of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd in the church hierarchy was always *mōžāg* (“teacher”), the highest rank just below the Head of the entire Manichaean Church in Mesopotamia.<sup>82</sup> There appears no Eastern Church figure whose rank is higher than the *mōžāg* in the currently known Manichaean documents, as the leaders of the eastern Manichaean Church never surpassed the status of the Church Head in Mesopotamia. Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist* confirmed that the *Dīnāwarīya* admitted that the Head of the Manichaean Church should only reside in Mesopotamia: “It is not permitted to the headship anywhere other than the center of the dominion in *Bābil*”.<sup>83</sup> But the Mesopotamian Church Head’s symbolic meaning may be greater than its practical function. Boyce thinks that within the *Dēnāwar* sect, the Central Asian Manichaean communities denied the superiority of the Mesopotamian Church Head, and kept their official independence until the early 8th century when the leadership of the Mesopotamian Church Head - Mihr (in office c. 710-740) was accepted by Central Asian

<sup>82</sup> Sundermann, W. “Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer”, *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 36/2, 1994, 244-270. p. 262.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm. *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture*. p. 793.

Manichaeans in 715.<sup>84</sup> Though this sectarian schism was namely solved by Mihr, the Central Asian Manichaeans maintained their autonomy as long as Mesopotamian Manichaeism was continuing to decline. Therefore, the eastern Manichaean documents raised the status of Mar Šād-Ohrmezd to a divine level, which composed a part of the historical narratives for the authority and lineage of the eastern Manichaean Church, as Mar Šād-Ohrmezd continued to be venerated by Turfan Manichaeans.

### 1.1.3 The Other Eastern Manichaean Church Leaders

In the Turfan Manichaean material, there are some hymns specially dedicated to the eastern Manichaean local hierarchy. The eastern Manichaean Church is one of the twelve ecclesiastical provinces (of the twelve teachers) in the overall Manichaean church hierarchy. Those special hymns were composed for praising the eastern regional churches, mentioning person names. They praised the church hierarchy starting from the Teacher of the East (*Xwarāsān*) instead of the Head of the entire Manichaean Church.

Since Mar Ammo, different generations of the Teacher of the East (*Xwarāsān*) were praised in the Turfan Manichaean hymns. The Middle Persian Manichaean bifolio fragment M 37 in its folio II contains the praise of the eastern Manichaean Church, which is characterized by the praise of the great Teacher - Mar Ammo, and the bishops and presbyters below him, together with the dioceses and the convents.<sup>85</sup> With mentioning of the *dēn xwarāsānīg* (“the eastern community”) and of its patron - Mar Ammo, this hymn text was dedicated to the eastern Manichaean Church that was probably promoted by Mar Šād-Ohrmezd and independent from the Mesopotamian headquarter of Manichaeism.

Another example is the Middle Persian *Hymn to the Messengers* on M 801a - folio d, which is a Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean fragment of the *Bema* liturgy.<sup>86</sup> The *Hymn to the Messengers* on M 801a

---

<sup>84</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> Leurini, C. (ed.). *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. pp 50-52.

<sup>86</sup> The *Bema* festival is the most important festival of the Manicheans. The term *bēma* (in Greek) / *bema* (in Latin and Coptic) means “platform”, “stage” or “judge’s seat”. As a raised throne, the *bema* was of great importance in this Manichean festival. In eastern Manichaeism, the term *bema* was translated as *gāh* (“throne”) or *gāhrōšn* (“throne of light”) in Middle Persian and Parthian texts. See Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. p. 110. In



- d also has a structure starting with the praise to the Teacher of one ecclesiastical province that is followed by bishops and household leaders (i.e., presbyters), with their virtues:

As the Head of the Ecclesiastical Province of the East, the Teacher (called) Mar Nāzūgyazd (*sr mry n'zwgy'zd hmwc'g 'y xwr's'n p'ygws*) should be commemorated for his pious deeds. And all the bishops (*'spsg'n*); the household leaders (*m'ns'r'r'n*, i.e. presbyters); the choir-masters (*'prynsr'n*),<sup>87</sup> the wise preachers (*xrwhxw'n*), the good scribes (*dbyr'n*), the melodious hymn-singers (*mhrsr'y'n*), and (in general) all the pure and holy brothers (*br'dr'n p'k'n 'wd ywjdhrn*), should be remembered for their pious deeds. The virgin and holy sisters (*wx'r'yn dwxš'n 'wd ywjdhr'n*), together with their assembly (*hnzmn*) and monastery (*m'nyst'n*), should be remembered for their pious deeds. And all the auditors (*nywš'g'n*), brothers and sisters, in the East and the West, in the North and the South, who confess God, Light, Power, and Wisdom, should be remembered for their pious deeds. (M801a - d, recto line 15 - verso line 18)<sup>88</sup>

Here is an account of the composition of the Manichaean church hierarchy. In M801a - d, the Teacher of the eastern Manichaean Church named Mar Nāzūgyazd is mentioned, rather than Mar Ammo. This account reflects a real situation of the Manichaean church hierarchy in the East, with an address to the eastern Manichaean Church and Community under the leadership of the Teacher Mar Nāzūgyazd. Between the third highest rank (“presbyters”) and the general body of elects of two genders (the “pure and holy brothers” and “virgin and holy sisters”), there are some specific ritual-related positions such as the “choir-masters”, the “wise preachers”, the “good scribes”, and the “melodious hymn-singers” that are enumerated separately. These special positions probably composed a separate rank among elects. The role of females is also presented in this account since the general body of elects includes both males (“pure and holy brothers”) and females (“pure and holy sisters”), as same as the group of auditors of both genders. But Coyle points out that there is no explicit evidence proving that women entered the three-tiered church leaders - teachers, bishops, and presbyters.<sup>89</sup> In addition, only the female elects are put together with their “assembly” and “monastery”, which indicates that the female elects lived in group life and were confined to the monasteries, while the male elects were itinerary rather than stationary.

---

Uyghur Manichean texts, the equivalent of the term *bema* appears to be *čaidan* or the like. See Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. p. 9.

<sup>87</sup> Literally as “leaders of the blessing” (*Āfrīnsārān*). Henning translates it as “prayer/hymn leaders”. Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. pp 24-25 (*Bet- und Beichtbuch* II. 214-236). Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 136. For transcription, see Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 156, text cu: 22-25.

<sup>89</sup> Coyle, J.K. *Manichaeism and Its Legacy*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. p. 144.

The Parthian Manichaean hymn on M 5848 contains a similar structure. It was written alternately in red and black in the shape of “royal squares”. According to Sundermann, the kind of these lines often locates in a page at the beginning or end of a “royal” book.



M 5848 side 1 & side 2

M 5848 includes verses in praise of Mar Ḥayyā - the Teacher of the Eastern Region (*mry hy' 'mwcg x[wr 's'n] p'ygws*, in M 5848 side 2, i, ll. 7-9), which may be followed by the mention of the bishops and other leaders of the Eastern Region (*Xwarāsān*). But due to the damaged situation of this fragment, the following lines are missing. However, in the incomplete hymn of M 5848 side 2, ii, all the bishops of the entire Church are praised:

*hrwyn 'spsg[ 'n] ky pd hmg dyn 'hynd*

All the bishops who are in the whole (Manichaean) Church. (M 5848 side 2, ii, ll. 6-7)

The special point of M 5848 is that it not merely praised the highest leader of the eastern Manichaean Church, but also referred to the high leaders of the entire Church covering many regions.

The hymns on behalf of the church leaders on MIK III 8259 also start with the praise to the Teacher of the Eastern Region. MIK III 8259 is an illuminated bifolio fragment with Middle Persian and Parthian texts. MIK III 8259 folio I(?) contains parts of three texts: the end of the *Parable of Bashedād*, an abecedarian hymn invoking blessings on the Manichaean Church and Community, and a hymn to Zurvan (the supreme god); and MIK III 8259 folio II(?) contains part of a cosmological treatise.<sup>90</sup> In the abecedarian hymn of MIK III 8259 folio I(?), the Teacher of the Eastern Region is named Mar Vahmān Xwarxšēd, who is followed by a named bishop under his responsibility:

Mar Vahmān Xwarxšēd, the Teacher of the Eastern Region (*Xwarāsān paygōsān*), the famous leader of (the ecclesiastical province of) the Four Tugristān, and Mar Bārist Xwarxšēd, the good Bishop. (MIK III 8259 I(?) verso, i, ll. 5-11)<sup>91</sup>

MIK III 8259 I(?) verso, i, ll. 5-11 was written alternately in red and

<sup>90</sup> Gulácsi, Z. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001. p. 221, Nr. 28.

<sup>91</sup> Folio I - verso i, see Sundermann, W. “Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region”, in A. Cadonna (ed.). *Turfan and Tunhuang: The Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1992. 63-84. p. 68.

black in the shape of “royal squares”.



*MIK III 8259 I(?) recto & verso*<sup>92</sup>

The abecedarian hymn in MIK III 8259 folio I(?) testifies not only the praise of the local church hierarchy by mentioning the names of church leaders but also the blessing to the secular leaders of the Turfan region starting with a Uyghur king of the titles - [Ay] Tängritä Kut [Bulmuş Kut] Ornanmiş [...]; and the names of other secular leaders are missing due to the loss of the upper edge. MIK III 8259 folio I(?) recto also contains a figural miniature, which probably stood at the beginning of the book.



*Miniature of MIK III 8259 I(?) recto*

This miniature shows a sermon scene that is composed of two sections - one placed above another: the upper section with elects, and the lower section with royal auditors. Their location accords with the Manichaean

<sup>92</sup> Photos from Gulácsi, Z. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001. pp 59-60.

church hierarchy. The identification of the two elects who wear white hat and white clothes is not confirmed, but they may represent the local church leaders. The central part of this miniature is torn. Below, the three male and three female auditors can be the Qocho Uyghur royal family members as indicated by their headdresses: the two men with three-pointed black headgear at the right are Uyghur princes,<sup>93</sup> and the two women with tall headgear of gilded center- and side-pieces might be Uyghur princesses. Then, the rest two figures at the two sides with smaller, rounded, and undecorated headdress indicate their lesser status. This miniature reveals the Turfan Manichaeic local hierarchy of elects and auditors in one scene. In a word, the Uyghur secular figures are not merely included by the abecedarian hymn to the Manichaeic Church and Community, but also portrayed in the miniature on the same manuscript MIK III 8259.

#### 1.1.4 The Interaction between the Steppe Uyghurs and Manichaeism

The conversion of Būgū Khan (in 762/763) is the first well-known example of the Uyghur elite who converted to Manichaeism. The date of 762/763 is formulated by Chavannes and Pelliot based on the Chinese section of the trilingual Qara-Balgasun Inscription/Stele and the Chinese official annals of the Tang dynasty.<sup>94</sup> The date of 762 can be also found in the Turfan Manichaeic fragment M 1 which contains a colophon of the *Mahrnāmag*. M 1 refers to two Manichaeic dating modes, starting from the years of the Apostle Mani's birth (216) and Mar Šād-Ohrmezd's death (600) respectively<sup>95</sup>:

It was in the year 546 from the starting-point – the birth of the Light-Apostle – furthermore in the year ... [number left out in the text], (from) when (he) ascended in might, and in the year 162 since the ascension of the beneficent Mar Šād-Ohrmezd, that they began this Hymn-Book full with living speeches and sweet hymns. (M 1, ll. 160-173)<sup>96</sup>

According to the two dating modes of this account, the work of copying the “Hymn-Book” (i.e. *Mahrnāmag*) began in 762 (=216+546 or 600+162), which corresponded to the active Manichaeic missionary activities in the East at that time.

<sup>93</sup> Härtel, H. & M. Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Route: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982. p. 197.

<sup>94</sup> Chavannes, É. & P. Pelliot. “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté”, *Journal asiatique* 11, 1913, 99-394. pp 186-190.

<sup>95</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaeic Middle Persian and Parthian*. s 1, p. 52.

<sup>96</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. pp 15-16. Durkin-Meisterernst. “Late Features in Middle Persian Texts from Turfan”. p. 8.

During the time between Būgū Khan's conversion in 762/763 and the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom in 840, the Uyghur influence on the politics of the Tang dynasty was strong enough to protect the Manichaean communities in the Tang territories.<sup>97</sup> But the development of Manichaeism in the Mongolian Steppe still experienced fluctuations. Manichaeism was competing with the traditional Shamanism of the Uyghur nomads, particularly during the reign of Tun Baga *tarxan* (Dunmohe Dagan 頓莫賀達干, r. 779-789)<sup>98</sup> who overthrew the rule of Būgū Khan, suppressed the power of *Jiuxing Hu* 九姓胡 (i.e., foreigners from the West, mainly Sogdians) in the Mongolian Steppe, and therefore persecuted Manichaeans, since the Steppe Manichaean community was tightly associated with the Sogdian merchants.<sup>99</sup> After the reign of Dunmohe Dagan, Manichaeism gradually recovered during the reigns of his succeeding rulers. Kasai points out: “after an inter-religious conflict, from the 7th (Steppe Uyghur) ruler's period (r. 795-808) onward, the Manichaeans eventually emerged as the winners and from then on received continuous support from the Uyghur rulers”.<sup>100</sup> Due to the increasing influence of Manichaeism, its role in the Steppe Uyghur society and politics became more visible. Accordingly, the essential shift from Shamanism to Manichaeism affected the legitimating strategy of the Steppe Uyghur rulers, which is attested in their official titles. Based on the works of Moriyasu and Rybatzki, Kasai has concluded the titles of the eleven rulers (from the twelve rulers in total) of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>101</sup> All the original titles of the Steppe Uyghur rulers can be reconstructed from the Chinese records that contained their phonetic transcriptions, except for the 12th one.<sup>102</sup> After its establishment, the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom extended its political influence beyond the Mongolian Steppe, and even into the realm of the Tang Empire. As a result, many events of the Steppe Uyghurs and their Kingdom were

---

<sup>97</sup> Lieu, S.N.C. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992. pp 235-237.

<sup>98</sup> *Dagan* 達干 was transliterated from the Uyghur term *tarxan* (meaning “minister”). Dunmohe Dagan and his actions were often mentioned by Chinese historical records for the Tang Empire. His Uyghur official title is *Alp Kutlug Bilgä Kagan* (合骨咄祿毗伽可汗).

<sup>99</sup> Liu Xu 刘昫 (888-947). *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. Scroll 195, “*Huihe zhuan* 回紇傳”, pp 5027-5028. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) & Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061). *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. Scroll 217 (Part 1/*shang* 上) - “*Huihu zhuan* 回鶻傳 (Part 1/*shang* 上)”, p. 6121.

<sup>100</sup> Kasai, Y. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”, in C. Meinert & H. Sørensen (eds.). *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 61-90. p. 65.

<sup>101</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 64, Table 3.1.

<sup>102</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 64, Table 3.1.

recorded in the official chronicles of the Tang Empire, especially those concerning the enthronement of new rulers.

For the rulers of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, their official titles performed as a great symbol of legitimating their political authority, and they reflected the rulers' own identities and representations. There were numerous significant elements employed by the titles of Uyghur rulers, such as "heaven" (*tängri* in Uyghur) and "heavenly charisma" (*kut* in Uyghur). Since the period of Turks (552-742, as Uyghurs' predecessors in the Mongolian Steppe), the "heaven" had already related to the concept of sovereign power, and was recognized as the source of the political authority of the Steppe's nomadic rulers.<sup>103</sup> The Steppe Uyghurs then inherited the same concept about the "heaven", evidenced in the Šine-Usu Inscription (in Orkhon script, found in Mongolia) that was devoted to the 2nd Steppe Uyghur ruler (r. 747-759)<sup>104</sup>:

*Qulum küngüm bodunuy tängri yer ayu berti*

The heaven god and the earth god were deigned to tell (me) that the (Turk) people were my (i.e., the Khan's) slaves.<sup>105</sup>

This statement mentions both the "heaven god" (*tängri*) and the "earth god" (*yer*). Meanwhile, the 2nd Steppe Uyghur ruler is titled *Tängrida bolmuş el itmiş bilgä kagan*,<sup>106</sup> which indicates that he gained divine power from the heaven god (*tängri*). In a word, the term *tängri* ("heaven") played a significant role in the Steppe Uyghur rulers' official titles, which referred to the source of the heavenly charisma of the rulers, reflecting a nomadic (Shamanistic) tradition inherited from the Turks.<sup>107</sup> Afterward, the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean texts continued to use the term *tängri* to refer to the Manichaean deities.

The third Steppe Uyghur ruler Bügü Khan decided to embrace Manichaeism as the official religion and give his preference to its church

---

<sup>103</sup> Mori, M. "The *T'u-Chüeh* Concept of Sovereign", *Acta Asiatica* 41, 1981, 47-75; Golden, P.B. "Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia", in P.B. Golden (ed.). *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe, Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*. Burlington: Routledge, 2003. Bookset Part I, 37-76. pp 42-50.

<sup>104</sup> Moriyasu, T. "*Shineusu hibun yakuchū* シネウス碑文訳注" [Šine-Usu Inscription from the Uyghur Period in Mongolia: Revised Text, Translation and Commentaries], *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 24, 2009, 1-92.

<sup>105</sup> Moriyasu. "*Shineusu hibun yakuchū* シネウス碑文訳注". pp 12 & 25, lines E1-E2.

<sup>106</sup> Kasai. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism". p. 64, Table 3.1.

<sup>107</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. "Qut: Ein Grundbegriff in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung", in L. Neulande (ed.). *Humanitas Religiosa. Festschrift für Harald Biezais zu seinem 70. Geburtstag. Dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1979, 252-260. pp 253-256.

and adherents.<sup>108</sup> But it seems that the conflict between Shamanism and Manichaeism initiated by the 4th Steppe Uyghur ruler Dunmohe Dagan lasted until the 7th Steppe Uyghur ruler's period (r. 795-808). Since the time of the 8th Steppe Uyghur ruler (r. 808-821, who is famous for establishing the trilingual Qara-Balgasun Inscription/Stele), the Manichaean elements began to be included in the rulers' official titles. The Qara-Balgasun Inscription/Stele not only commemorated the 8th Steppe Uyghur ruler's military achievements and those of his predecessors but also recorded their adoption of Manichaeism and support of the Manichean Church, which featured the genealogy of the Steppe Uyghur rulers up to the establishing time of this inscription. From the 8th Steppe Uyghur ruler onward, all of the following rulers contain either "moon" (*ay* in Uyghur) or "sun" (*kiin* in Uyghur) as the first word of their titles, which was previously non-existing. These two celestial objects had significant functions in the Manichaean doctrines, which were added to the titles of the Steppe Uyghur rulers because of their conversion to Manichaeism.<sup>109</sup> So, it can be deduced that since the reign of the 8th Steppe Uyghur ruler at the latest, the Uyghur rulers started to formally use Manichaeism to legitimize their ruling power or authority. At the same time, the traditional element *tängri* ("heaven") was still present in their titles, also for their legitimation.

Although Bügü Khan and other nobles had already started sponsoring Manichaeism, the active situation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs was not comparable to that among the Qocho Uyghurs of a later time. Under the rule of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, the Turfan Manichaean book production was quite prosperous. As for the early emergence of Manichaean books and pictures in the Turfan region, the Steppe Uyghur rulers may have already offered commissions and support for the Turfan Manichaeans starting from the late 8th century, which was probably accompanied by the coming of Sogdian missions and merchants. But the prosperity of the Manichaean book production and the establishment of a powerful Manichaean community in the Turfan region may have occurred only after the massive migration of the Steppe Uyghurs to the Turfan region around the mid-9th century.

---

<sup>108</sup> Clark. "The Conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism". pp 83-123; Moriyasu. "New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism". pp 319-322.

<sup>109</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. "Das manichäische Königtum in Zentralasien", in K. Sagaster & M. Weiers (eds.). *Documenta Barbarorum. Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1983. 225-244. pp 231-233.

### 1.1.5 The Steppe Manichaean History

The narratives or dedications of the Turfan Manichaean historical material cover both the church figures and the secular rulers, regarding the Manichaean history from Mesopotamia to the Mongolian Steppe. Before the establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, the Steppe Uyghurs had already converted to Manichaeism, led by the Steppe Uyghur khans. After the Uyghurs' westward migration to the Turfan region, they commemorated the events and figures of the early Uyghur Manichaean history (in the Mongolian Steppe). The Turfan Manichaean records of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom reflect the Manichaean perspective of that period of Uyghur history. On the one hand, the Steppe Uyghur history was narrated in combination with the Manichaean missionary events in the Mongolian Steppe. On the other hand, the great image of the first Manichaean Uyghur king - Būgü Khan was portrayed, which nearly dominated the narratives of the Steppe Uyghur Manichaean history. Būgü Khan was raised to almost sacred status, which reminded the Qocho Uyghur rulers to follow their Steppe predecessor.

The historical narratives of Steppe Manichaeism can be found in seven Turfan Uyghur Manichaean fragments – U 111a, TM 296, T II D 62, U 1a+b, U 73+U 72 (regrouped), Mainz 345, and U 64+Mainz 435b (regrouped). Among them, only U 111a was written in the Manichaean script, while the other six were in the Sogdian script. They together include three motifs: the introduction of Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs; the secular Steppe history from the Manichaean perspective; Būgü Khan, the model for the Uyghur Manichaeans. Among these seven Uyghur fragments, three - TM 296, T II D 62 and U 64+Mainz 435b contain verses relating to the initial missionary efforts and the foundation of Manichaeism in the Mongolian Steppe. The originals of TM 296 and T II D 62 are lost, and Le Coq's attribution of them is adopted.<sup>110</sup> These three texts may be intended for use in ceremonies commemorating the events of the early Uyghur Manichaean history. In the verses and stanzas of TM 296, T II D 62, and U 64+Mainz 435b, a formal feature is shared by these commemorative texts: the existence of Old Turkic prosodic features. In other words, these three texts featured strophic alliteration, which is a characteristic of Old Turkic prosody.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> For the fragment TM 296, see Le Coq, von A. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, III*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922. pp 35-36, Nr. 16. For the fragment T II D 62, see Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, III*. pp 40-41, Nr. 25.

<sup>111</sup> Zieme, P. *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991. p. 346.



### (1) The introduction of Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs

The first introduction of Manichaeism to the Uyghurs was commemorated and praised, in which the Manichaean missionary pioneers are mentioned, and their mission work is supposed to be under the spiritual guidance of Mani. The Turfan Uyghur fragment U 111a contains a text about the early propagation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs. U 111a recto ii provides important information on the date and place of the coming of Manichaeism:

*ulug bašlag atlıg yılını ekinti yılınıta nomi dını yadılmışta : tavgač elintin*

When his doctrine and religion were propagated in the second year of the year named “Great Beginning” (*ulug bašlag*) [...] from (Tang) China (*Tavgač*). (U 111a recto ii, ll. 1-6)<sup>112</sup>

Clark identifies the year of the “Great Beginning” as 761 CE.<sup>113</sup> The year of the “Great Beginning” expressed a date using the Chinese concept of “period name” (*nianhao* 年號). There is a correlation between the Uyghur phrase “Great Beginning” (*ulug bašlag*) and a known period name of a Chinese emperor of the Tang dynasty. In Uyghur, the word *ulug* refers to the “superior/high” in position, and *bašlag* to the “beginning/origin”. The Turkologists identify the Uyghur phrase *ulug bašlag* as a translation of the Chinese term *shangyuan* 上元 (“superior origin”), in which the character *shang* 上 means “upper, superior” and the character *yuan* 元 means “(cosmic) origin, beginning”. Both characters were frequently used in the Chinese period names. Rachmati, von Gabain, Clark, and Bazin have made a consensus about the identification of the Uyghur *ulug bašlag* with the Chinese *shangyuan*.<sup>114</sup> Comparing the meanings of the known Chinese period names of the Tang dynasty, most scholars conclude that the period name *ulug bašlag* / *shangyuan* belongs to Emperor Suzong (r. 756-762) of the Tang dynasty, whose second year of the *shangyuan* (上元) is 761, which corresponds well to the time of the first propagation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs. The proper name *Tavgač* (derived from *Tuoba* 拓跋) referred to the Chinese territory of the Tang Empire, where the Manichaean religion had been officially permitted to be spread.

---

<sup>112</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 148 & 150.

<sup>113</sup> Clark. “The Conversion of Bögü Khan to Manichaeism”. p. 86.

<sup>114</sup> Rachmati, G.R. *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII* (Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936, Nr. 12). Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937. p. 54. Gabain, A. von. “Alttürkische Datierungsformen”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 27, 1955, 191-203. p. 194. Gabain, A. von. “Alttürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei”, in L. Bazin et al. (ed.). *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964. 171-191. p. 190. Clark, L. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9, 1982, 145-218. p. 159. Bazin, L. *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991. p. 246.

U 111a verso i, as Wilkens suggests, contains the final words of Mani (probably as pronouncements or commentaries on scriptures) while he was in prison before death.<sup>115</sup> Due to the fragmentary situation of the manuscript U 111a, the specific textual connection between its two sides is not clear. But a missionary motif can be strongly detected on both sides of U 111a. Since U 111a was written in the Manichaean script, it may be written by an elect who was a scribe.

The Turfan Uyghur fragment TM 296 contains verses on the first Manichaean mission to the Steppe Uyghurs. The recto and verso of TM 296 each have a header written in red ink:

TM 296 recto's header - *bašlantı vy tywd'* ("Begun is [...] vy tywd'")

TM 296 verso's header - *noxdār mahistag ägzigintä* ("[...] in a melody for Presbyter Noxdār")<sup>116</sup>

Noticeably, in the composition of TM 296, the Old Turkic term *ägzig* ("melody") appears as a part of the header of TM 296 verso.<sup>117</sup> The two headers on each side reveal that TM 296 belongs to a single text of two sections. Section 1 (TM 296 recto, and verso ll. 1-6)<sup>118</sup> deals with the appearance of the high priest Tagay (*tagay täñri*, "Tagay, the Divine One") who saved "our souls" (*üzütümüz*, i.e. the souls of Uyghurs), by introducing the true doctrine of (Mani) the Buddha (*burxan nomın*). The manifestation of Mani as the Light appears in Section 1, although the name Mani is not directly mentioned. In other words, the text of Section 1 implies that Tagay was perceivably sent by Mani to enlighten the Uyghurs. Furthermore, Mani is referred to by the term *burxan* ("Buddha"), which can also be found in the Uyghur Manichaean fragment U 65 (a benediction for the religion and the realm on the New Year's day): *äki [t]ürlüg ädgükä tükällig tängri [bu]rx[a]n*, "the divine Buddha who is perfect in the two kinds of good(ness)" (U 65 verso, ll. 17-18).<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, Section 2 (TM 296 verso, ll. 7-12) refers to "our Khan", who "himself is clothed in the Glory of the Doctrine", brought a presbyter called "Noxdār" (to the Uyghurs).<sup>120</sup> Here, the Uyghur khan's function of proselytizing the Uyghurs was paralleled to the divine guidance of Mani. But it is not sure whether "our Khan" (in TM 296 verso, line 8) referred to Bügü Khan who is known of having

<sup>115</sup> Wilkens. *Altürkische Handschriften: Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. p. 143, n. 395.

<sup>116</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 167-168.

<sup>117</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 167-168.

<sup>118</sup> The division of the two sections is according to Zieme's arrangement of the lines on the two sides of TM 296. See Zieme. *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*. pp 337-338.

<sup>119</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 9 & 14.

<sup>120</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 168.

consulted with a *možak* (“teacher”) about stationing several missionaries in the Mongolian Steppe, or to a later Uyghur khan who sponsored Manichaeism missions. However, according to TM 296, both religious and secular figures brought the Manichaeism religion to the Steppe Uyghurs by dispatching the two high missionaries Tagay and Noxdār respectively.

T II D 62 expresses gratitude for the coming of Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs. The recto of T II D 62 has a rhythmic structure, and its verso has prosodic features. The main part of T II D 62 ends with the standard caption ending: “Finished is [...] [for] Č[...]”,<sup>121</sup> which implies that the preceding content was probably a narrative recited in the process of a ceremony. It is different from those benedictions (expressing blessings for the religion or the realm) or prayers (appealing for salvation), although elements of benediction and prayer may be contained. The text of T II D 62 emphasizes the spiritual connection between Mani (and Buddha) and the Uyghurs:

*mani firišti [burxan] bizingä biz uygurgaru kältük*

Mani the Apostle [and the Buddha] came to us - we, the Uyghurs.

(T II D 62 recto, ll. 2-3)<sup>122</sup>

T II D 62 recto is structured in the form of a prayer to the Manichaeism deities for their role in taking Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs (though it is not a prayer text), of which the gratitude was expressed by the congregation in ceremonies, as the first person plural of the verb - *ötüniür biz* (“we pray”) appears three times in T II D 62 recto, ll. 2-8. After the expression of gratitude, the text gave blessings, beginning with *tängrim* (“my Divine One”, in T II D 62 recto, line 9), directly to a person. The “Divine One” here can be an elect whose name only survives as Č[...] in the red-ink caption of T II D 62 verso, line 6 (indicating the ending of this section) - “Finish is the [...] for Č[...], [py] [t]ywd’”.<sup>123</sup> Meanwhile, the use of an imperative sentence in T II D 62 verso, ll. 3-4 - *adasızın tudasızın yaşang* (“Deign to live without danger and without peril!”), and the second person possessive form in T II D 62 verso, line 5 - *törüngüz mängükä tägi [turzun]* (“[May] your law [stand] for an eternity!”),<sup>124</sup> both suggest that the addressee was a person of high status, more likely a Uyghur ruler, who can also be addressed as “my/our Divine One” in the Turfan Uyghur context. The term *törü* (“law, rule”) may refer to that of a secular leader such as a king, though it cannot be excluded that this term can also be employed to indicate the rules or precepts that a church leader imposed on his religious community, or simply the religious

<sup>121</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeism Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 174.

<sup>122</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeism Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 173-174.

<sup>123</sup> For the interpretation of the term *tängrim* “my/our Divine One”, see note 5 in Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeism Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 171-172.

<sup>124</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeism Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 173-174.

commandments. At the end of the rest lines of T II D 62 verso, parts of a beginning caption (in red ink) survived and possibly stated that the following content was dedicated to a person named “*Komatl[...]*” (T II D 62 verso, line 7). In a word, the text of T II D 62 not merely expressed gratitude to Mani and other deities for the coming of Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs, but also addressed blessings to at least one person, more probably a Uyghur ruler.

## (2) The secular Steppe history from the Manichaean perspective

The combination of the secular Steppe history and the Manichaean views in the Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts of history helped instruct the Turfan Manichaean audience, especially Uyghur believers, to be more united with the Manichaean congregations, and to establish a stronger connection to the Manichaean religion. The Turfan fragment U 1a+b contains a Uyghur text about the history of Uyghurs and a Uyghur Manichaean khan of the Bokug Clan, which chronicled the events of the Mongolian Steppe from the years of the Second Turk Khanate (682-744) to the years of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (744-840) and its westward extension to the Tianshan mountains (north and west to the Turfan region) after the 750s. In a secular context, this historical narrative in U 1a+b records a (Steppe) Uyghur khan’s missionary effort:

*tängrikän uygur bokug xan koçogaru kälipän koñ yulka üč mahistag olurmak  
üçün možakka kengäti*

The Devout One, the Uyghur khan of the Bokug (clan), came to Qocho (city) and sought the Teacher’s counsel about stationing three presbyters (in the Steppe) in the Sheep year. (U 1a, I verso, ll. 1-7)<sup>125</sup>

This Uyghur khan is Bügü Khan (r. 759-780) who was also a ruler of the Bokug clan/tribe. The “Sheep year” cited in the text can refer to 755, 767, or 779 (in a 12-year cycle). The future Bügü Khan may also have been to the Qocho city in 755, before his enthronement as the Steppe Uyghur king in 759. But Bügü Khan’s visit to the Qocho city requesting for new installation of Manichaean priests in the Mongolian Steppe is not found in other Manichaean documents, though the Steppe khans’ interaction with Manichaean priests is never overlooked by the Manichaean narratives of the Steppe Uyghur history. However, it remains unknown whether those three presbyters were finally dispatched to the Mongolian Steppe or not.

The Uyghur text of U 73+U 72 records Bügü Khan’s affirmation of his Manichaean faith:

*ol ödüin kaltı tängri ellig bügü xan [inča] aytukta ötrü biz dındarlar kamag eltäki  
b[odun] ärtüngü ögrünçülüg boltumuz*

---

<sup>125</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 128-129.

It was at that time when we the elects and all of the [people] in the realm became extremely joyful, because the divine King, Bügü Khan, had spoken [thus]... (U 72 recto, ll. 4-6)<sup>126</sup>

This text was written by an elect, according to the use of the pronoun “we” (in U 72 recto, line 5), perhaps soon after Bügü Khan restated his Manichaean faith. In the text of U 73+U 72, the occurrence of *bo kamağ Türk bodun* (“this whole Turk people”, in U 73 recto, line 10) had a special significance to the situation of Manichaeans in the Mongolian Steppe. The *Türk bodun* (“Turk people”) refers to the remnants of the Second Turk Khanate, after the Uyghurs and their Oghuz tribal confederation defeated the Turk people in the 740s that started migrating westwards into the Dzungar region (north to the Tianshan mountains) and from there into further west of Central Asia in the 760s to escape the Uyghurs.<sup>127</sup> Here, the Manichaean elect reminded Bügü Khan that the Turk people still posed a huge threat to the religion (i.e., Manichaeism) associated with the Uyghurs who defeated them:

[...] *bo kamağ Türk bodun tängrikä y[azuklar] kıltaçı bol[ğay]lar. kañuta dındarlarığ [bulsar] basıngay ölü[rg]äylär. yämä bo t[ört bulungtakı] dındarlar kim [ta]vgaç yerintä a[zu yämä] tört küsantä kerü kuz ilg[ärü] [bergärü alku]ka ulug ada ıyně basıně bolğay. ka[ñuta] nuguşaklarığ saatlarığ bulsar alkunı ölürgäy. bir tirig idmagaylar*

[...] this whole Turk people [will] be committing [sins] against God. Where [ever they find] the elects, they will oppress and kill them. And for [all of] these elects [of the four directions], in the land of (Tang) China (*Tavgaç*) [or also] in (the land of) the Four Kūsän, westward, northward, eastward and [southward], there will be great danger, persecution and oppression. Wherever they find the auditors and merchants, they will kill them all. They will not leave one alive. (U 73 recto, ll. 9-17)<sup>128</sup>

In this historical narrative, the safety of the Manichaean communities of the eastern regions was heavily concerned, including Tavgaç (Tang China) and Kūsän. The proper name Kūsän is in dispute. Clark thinks the phrase - “Land of Kūsän” might be similar to the “Land of the Four Togri”, but it is controversial whether the two referred to the same region.<sup>129</sup> On the other hand, Henning thinks that the “Land of the Four Togri” is located between Kucha and Beshbaliq (in the north to the Tianshan mountains),<sup>130</sup> which incorporated the Manichaean communities of Kucha, Agni (Yanqi), Qocho, and Beshbaliq.<sup>131</sup> It cannot be excluded that the “Land of Kūsän” also referred to this broad area including Qocho city (in Turfan region).

<sup>126</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 137 & 140.

<sup>127</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 141.

<sup>128</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 134-135 & 139.

<sup>129</sup> Clark. “The Conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism”. pp 83-84, note 1.

<sup>130</sup> Henning, W.B. “Argi and the ‘Tokharians’ ”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9(3), 1938, 545-571. p. 560.

<sup>131</sup> For the locations of these places, see Map 2 at the end of the Introduction of this dissertation.

Mainz 345 contains a Uyghur church report on the spread of Manichaeism into the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom,<sup>132</sup> which was combined with the history of the Tang court's request for the Uyghur military aid against rebels. This church document was made by a Manichaean believer who had a high position associated with the court of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and was perhaps close to those events, due to its specific mention of the pronoun - "us" - several times. The surviving portion of this document recalls the events that occurred in the period after Būgü Khan was enthroned in 759 and before his military force crushed the rebellion during 762-763 in China in cooperation with the Tang court. Būgü Khan not only sent an army to help the Tang Empire dealing with the rebellion but also sent a delegation to a *možak* named Lord Nēw [Ruwān]:

*yämä [...] ädgü ödkü eki türlügkä [tükällig] [tä]ngri bügü elligtän türlüg [...] [sa]ngun bašin otuz ulug [...] ülämiš ärän tängri mār nēw [ruwān moža]kgaru yalavač kältilär. [...] [tä]ngri možak ol ödün [...] [...]ti*

And at a [...] and a good time, warriors who were divided into thirty large [...], (with) various [...] and generals at their head, came from Būgü (Khan), the divine King [who is perfect] in the two kinds (of goodness), and an envoy (also came) to the divine [Teacher], Lord Nēw [Ruwān]. [...] the divine Teacher at that time was [...]. (Mainz 345 verso, ll. 2-9)<sup>133</sup>

The intention of Būgü Khan's delegation to the *možak* (named Lord Nēw [Ruwān]) remains unknown, since the lines following Mainz 345 verso, line 9 are missing, which may explain it. Consulting with the *možak* regarding the introduction of Manichaeism is a possible scene in this historical narrative. In addition, Moriyasu recognizes the *možak* Lord Nēw [Ruwān] (*tāngri mār nēw [ruwān moža]k* and *[tä]ngri možak*, in Mainz 345, verso ll. 6-8) as the same person as the *možak* that appeared in the Sogdian section (line 12) of the Qara-Balgasun Inscription/Stele: *bγy (mry) nyw (rw) 'n m(w)z'k* ("god-like Lord Nēw Ruwān *možak*").<sup>134</sup> In brief, the document of Mainz 345 reveals that Būgü Khan had sent his military force and communication delegation at the same time to China, coping with secular and religious issues respectively.

The Uyghur text of the Turfan fragments U 64+Mainz 435b (regrouped as a single folio) commemorated in hymns/verses (with Old Turkic strophic alliteration) the foundation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs.

<sup>132</sup> Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften: Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. pp 85-86, Nr. 61.

<sup>133</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 153-154.

<sup>134</sup> Moriyasu, T., Y. Yoshida & A. Katayama. "Qara-Balgasun Inscription" [Kara=barugasun hibun カラ=バルガスン碑文], in T. Moriyasu & A. Ochir (eds.). *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998*. Osaka: Society of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999. 209-224. p. 217.

Wilkens identifies the text of U64+Mainz 435b as a *Hymn on the Light-Nous*.<sup>135</sup> Zieme also categorizes it into the genre of hymns.<sup>136</sup> But Clark disagrees with this identification as a hymn but just calls it “verses” (associated with songs) since the text of U 64+Mainz 435b does not focus on any religious or spiritual content.<sup>137</sup> More importantly, all the verses on U 64+Mainz 435b reflect the specific history of the appearance or foundation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs who were leading the Nine Oghuz tribal federation in the Mongolian Steppe. The citation of the *tokuz oguz* (“Nine Oghuz (tribes)”) in U 64+Mainz 435b recto, line 2, indicates a secular context of the Steppe Uyghur royal sponsorship of Manichaeism. Then, the place name *Bizäkün* (a plain) is mentioned in U 64+Mainz 435b recto, line 9, which may be somewhere near the Orkhon River valley of the Mongolian Steppe.<sup>138</sup> Along with the reference to the coming of Manichaeism, these verses nicely narrate the historical events of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. Thus, it can be deduced that these verses were composed directly in Uyghur language. They were used by Turfan Manichaeans for recitation or singing to assist themselves in the commemoration of the Steppe Uyghur history in a Manichaean way.

### (3) Bügü Khan - a model for the Turfan Uyghur Manichaeans

Bügü Khan’s conversion to Manichaeism was well-known to the next Manichaean generations after him, and he was set as a model for the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean believers. The text of U 73+U 72 reveals the early history of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs, in which Bügü Khan’s spiritual journey and his affirmation of Manichaean faith are emphasized. Although Bügü Khan had invited Manichaean missionaries from Tang China and permitted the propagation of Manichaeism in the Mongolian Steppe since 761, his formal conversion and affirmation of the Manichaean religion might be later. The text of U 73+U 72 documents the following four steps of Bügü Khan’s spiritual journey within the early Uyghur Manichaean history:

- Step 1 - The primary conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism;
- Step 2 - His “relapse” from Manichaean faith;
- Step 3 - His later affirmation of Manichaeism;
- Step 4 - The subsequent promulgation of Manichaeism as an official religion.<sup>139</sup>

In particular, the text of U 73+U 72 contains a speech/plea by Bügü Khan

<sup>135</sup> Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften: Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. p. 303. Wilkens, J. “Ein Manichäisch-türkischer Hymnus auf den Licht-Nous”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge* 16, 2000, 217-231.

<sup>136</sup> Zieme’s categorization, presented in Laut, J.-P. “Gedanken zum alttürkischen Stabreim,” in M. Ölmez & S.-C. Raschmann (eds.). *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan. Festschrift für Peter Zieme*. Istanbul-Berlin, 2002. 129-138. pp 130-131.

<sup>137</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 162.

<sup>138</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 164-165.

<sup>139</sup> Clark. “The Conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism”. pp 101-104.

when he “personally came to the assembly [of the elects]”, for he “asked for absolution from his transgressions [and sins]” and made a request of spiritual guidance from them (U 73 verso, ll. 9-12).<sup>140</sup> The speech/plea of Būgü Khan (in U 73 verso, ll. 13-24) includes three points:

1. “(I thought ...), and yet, up till now, my mind has not been settled at all”.
2. “I did not like at all (thinking) that I would (only) exist in a dwelling on the land of (this) world”.
3. “My having a realm, (my) physical pleasures, my being a lord, and my being a sovereign have become completely trivial and worthless in my eyes”.<sup>141</sup>

First, Būgü Khan admitted that he was lacking the full commitment to the Manichaean faith which he had already converted to. Then, he expressed why he once struggled in his heart rather than giving up the faith - for his afterlife. After that, Būgü Khan was awakened that his secular status and mundane power could not bring spiritual satisfaction to himself. At the end of his speech/plea, Būgü Khan understood that his soul could be liberated only through the salvation of the Manichaean faith, which had been emphasized by the elects. In this historical narrative of U 73+U 72, the weak part of Būgü Khan was vividly portrayed for the Manichaean audience, for his speech exposed his doubtful and restless mind and his wish for deeper spiritual guidance. So, Būgü Khan’s personal spiritual experience was presented as a model for the later Uyghur Manichaean believers.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 1.1***

All the above manuscripts of records, letters, and hymns/verses together prove that certain codex books existed among the Turfan Manichaean congregations, which documented the Manichaean missionary history or commemorative themes. The Turfan Manichaean documents of historical narratives presented the earlier Manichaean history to the Turfan Manichaeans, which not only told them about the authority and the lineage of their Church but also helped strengthen their Manichaean faith by promoting divine or historical models. The compositions of the above manuscripts were recorded in codex books served as important material for the Turfan Manichaean congregations and were used in their religious practices. These codex books of Manichaean historical narratives were well integrated into religious practices. Especially, some of them were in the form of hymns or verses, which were intended for use in ceremonies.

Through the narratives of the eastern Manichaean missionary history, the status of Mar Ammo and Mar Šād-Ohrmezd became more stressed, as

---

<sup>140</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 140.

<sup>141</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 140.



they both were treated as the key figures of the establishment of the eastern Manichaean Church (as the *Dēnāwar* sect). Both Mar Ammo and Mar Šād-Ohrmezd became venerated by later generations of Central Asian Manichaeans. After that, the narratives of the Steppe Manichaean history focused on the secular leaders who were Manichaean converts. The Turfan Manichaean historical narratives presented a new interacting mode between the Manichaean elects and the secular authority (i.e., the Steppe Uyghur kingship), which probably was inherited and followed by the Qocho Uyghur rulers. Among the Manichaean kings, the conversion of Būgū Khan, as a model of the Uyghur Manichaean believers and protectors, is quite significant as a new successful start of eastern Manichaeism. In particular, the secular ruler's missionary effort was paralleled to the spiritual guidance of the divine power (or deities, such as Mani and Buddha), regarding the introduction of Manichaeism to the Uyghurs. In addition to the early Manichaean historical narratives, the combination of the Steppe Uyghur history with the eastern Manichaean missionary records could be seen as a new localization of Manichaeism which mainly targeted the Turfan Uyghur auditors. In a word, the Uyghur Manichaeans in the Turfan region had successfully established their own historical narratives, which served for maintaining the religious authority and unity of the Turfan Manichaean community.

The early eastward mission history surrounding Mar Ammo (mostly written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian; a few in Uyghur) may be intended for both elects and auditors who were supposed to venerate Mar Ammo as the namely founder of the eastern Manichaean Church. The dedications to Mar Šād-Ohrmezd (written in Middle Persian and Parthian) may be intended for the elects who were concerned with their lineage and the authority of their eastern Manichaean Church which got independence or autonomy from the Mesopotamian headquarter. But the Steppe Manichaean historical narratives (written only in Uyghur) witnessed a shift of relevance from religious figures to royal converts and were probably intended for the auditors who were tightly connected with the Qocho Uyghur court. The Turfan Manichaeans were far away from the Church Head in Mesopotamia, and their survival was relying on the Uyghur noble patrons.

## 1.2 The Parables and Their Paratexts

The parable is one of the genres of Manichaean literature, which is called “*āzand*” in Middle Persian and Parthian. Benkato simply defines the parable as “a type of text that employs a narrative fiction to reference a symbol”,<sup>142</sup> which is inspired by Scott’s definition of the “parable” in his research of Jesus’ parables.<sup>143</sup> Like other religions, Manichaeism generally used and adapted stories and parables of various cultures for its doctrinal instruction. Since Manichaeism was spread from Mesopotamia to North Africa and China, various stories and parables adapted or modified by Manichaean missionaries were disseminated and contributed to the cultural communications between the West and the East. So far the Manichaean parables are known to us mostly through the texts found in the Turfan region, though there are four references to parables in the Coptic Manichaean texts found in Egypt.

In the 20th century, the Manichaean studies generally held a view that the existence of parables reflects the lack of ability to reveal or interpret religious doctrines, for example in the survey of Turfan Manichaeism conducted by Tremblay. According to him, many manuscripts of Manichaean parables are found in Toyuq (an archaeological site in the Turfan region) where a small Manichaean community may have existed during the Qocho Uyghur period. Regarding the small Manichaean community of Toyuq, Tremblay downplays its possible social and theological levels, and doubts the authenticity of the Manichaean texts found on the site of Toyuq.<sup>144</sup> Then, Tremblay characterizes the entire Turfan Manichaean community by claiming that “the love of chantefables (singing fables) to the detriment of theology in Toyuq, resurgence of Mazdean gods in the fragments in the Sogdian alphabet, the prevalence of astrology in Qocho and Tumšūq (a town near Kashgar), reflect the inability of Manichaeism to inculcate more than the ancillary aspects of its doctrine to its own monks”.<sup>145</sup> But Tremblay’s claim is just a

---

<sup>142</sup> Benkato, A. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017. p. 117.

<sup>143</sup> Scott, B. *Hear Then the Parable. A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

<sup>144</sup> Tremblay, X. *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d’Asie Centrale d’après les source primaires* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik 28). Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2001. pp 86-87.

<sup>145</sup> *Amour des chantefables au détriment de la théologie à Toyoq, résurgence de dieux mazdéens dans les fragments en alphabet sogdien, prévalence de l’astrologie à Qocho et Tumšūq traduisent l’incapacité du manichéisme à inculquer plus que des aspects ancillaires*

speculation, without any sufficient evidence. The use of parables does not necessarily indicate that the Turfan Manichaean community lacked interest or ability in the deeper religious teachings of Manichaeism. Furthermore, it cannot be asserted that the Manichaean community of Turfan (including Toyuq) was not well-developed as Tremblay alludes, though detailed information on the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaean community is still lacking. Tremblay's view may be somehow related to Henning's idea about the role of parables. Henning first suggests: "There is no doubt, however, that the parable is only the traditional literary form in which the stories are clothed and presented to the reader; in any case, the main interest is in the narrative material and not in what is to be demonstrated with it."<sup>146</sup> Although having edited and translated Sogdian Manichaean parables in his article "Sogdian Tales",<sup>147</sup> Henning keeps his attitude of downplaying the importance of parables in the Manichaean literature. Henning insists on using the word "tale" rather than "parable", for the Middle Persian/Parthian term *āzand*, and he does not treat the Manichaean "tales" as parables that are comparable with the Christian ones. But Scott stresses: "Parables in the technical sense... belong to religious discourse. Their secularity and everydayness are at the service of a religious meaning."<sup>148</sup> This "everydayness" can be found in the Manichaean parables, many of which used folk tales as fictional narratives. Reck also points out: "a narrative becomes a parable, when it is employed in order to demonstrate a teaching".<sup>149</sup> Henning and Tremblay have misunderstood this "everydayness" and the employment of the fictional narratives, and they treat the Manichaean parables as simply "tales" whose major function was entertainment instead of instruction. However, the significant instructional role of the Manichaean parables should not be ignored. Similarly, with Jesus' parables in Christianity, the Manichaean parables taught various aspects of the Manichaean doctrines, and let them more comprehensible to believers. Meanwhile, it is important to investigate how they were used in the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaeans. Colditz has explored the

---

*de sa doctrine à ses propres moines.* See Tremblay. *Pour une histoire de la Sérique: le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d'Asie Centrale d'après les sources primaires.* p. 89.

<sup>146</sup> *Es unterliegt aber keinem Zweifel, daß die Parabel nur die überkommene literarische Form ist, in die eingekleidet die Erzählungen dem Leser dargeboten werden; das wesentliche Interesse gilt jedenfalls dem Erzählungsstoff und nicht dem, was mit ihm demonstriert werden soll.* See Henning, W.B. "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 90, No. 1, 1936, 1-18. p. 2.

<sup>147</sup> Henning, W.B. "Sogdian Tales", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11(3), 1945, 465-487.

<sup>148</sup> Scott. *Hear Then the Parable. A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus.* p. 51.

<sup>149</sup> Reck. "Soghdische manichäische Parabeln in soghdischer Schrift mit zwei Beispielen: Parabeln mit Hasen". p. 213.

oral background of the Manichaean parables by comparing the original (long) versions with the shortened versions of parables (or parable abstracts), which probably functioned as a memory aid for oral transmission.<sup>150</sup>

This part tries to discover the connection between the Manichaean parables and the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaeans. Why were such texts made? What didactic, entertaining, or practical purposes did they serve? How were they transmitted and used, and for whom were they intended? The role of Manichaean parables can be reconstructed through the text-critical analysis of the parables and their attached interpretations, as well as the paratexts on the parable manuscripts. This reconstruction is based on the idea that a manuscript can offer both linguistic information and context while contextualizing the texts it contains. This part attempts to make a balance between the texts and their contexts. As to the material of the Manichaean parables, its main methodological problem is the generally damaged or fragmentary condition of the textual material found in the Turfan region, which is difficult to be dated.

The Manichaean parables in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Uyghur languages were used for the Manichaean missionary and religious practices in the Turfan region. These multilingual Manichaean parables were adapted or rooted in the Turfan region, for the sake of local conversion. Some Turfan Manichaean parables were accompanied by paratexts on their manuscripts, which reveal the contexts in which they were made and may help to situate other small fragments within those contexts.

### **1.2.1 The Intention of the Manichaean Parables**

The Manichaean parables elucidated, corresponded to, or reflected various aspects of the Manichaean doctrines, for instructing the believers. But the context of the use of Manichaean parables still needs to be clarified. At least, it has been known that some Manichaean parables were used in rituals, while others were connected with the hagiographical accounts of Mani's life. Benkato has categorized the known examples of the Parthian and Sogdian Manichaean parables into three groups:

(1) Parables that are related by Mani himself in a text detailing aspects of his life and works;

---

<sup>150</sup> Colditz. "Parabeln und Parabelabstrakta". pp 13-25.

- (2) Parables that are intended for use in a specific ritual or at a particular time;  
 (3) Collections of parables.<sup>151</sup>

The most typical example of the Manichaean parable collections is the best-preserved long scroll of the *Āzandnāmē* (“Parable-Book”) which was written in Sogdian language and Sogdian script. The Sogdian Manichaean material provides much information about parables, especially the *Āzandnāmē* which have been edited by Sundermann and Benkato. The Sogdian version of the *Āzandnāmē* is so far the most complete Manichaean parable book. Besides, there are also some other fragmentary examples written in Parthian or Sogdian language, and in Manichaean script. The collections of Manichaean parables are just like an anthology, without any context of being set in the discourse of Mani or indicating rituals.

Here is an example of the *Āzandnāmē* - the beginning part of the “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean”:

Begun is the Parable of the Religion and the Ocean. Now then, hear (*singular imperative*) the parable of the religion and the ocean. The religion (of Mani) is like the world ocean, which is different from the other waters in ten ways. First: it is mightier, greater, and more powerful than the other waters, and without measure. No living being knows or understands it, nor can they comprehend it. Second: no one knows about its further shore there. Third: the rivers, together with the other waters which fall therein, it changes them all to its own taste, but itself from its own taste(?) does not change and also does not become different from the whole. Fourth: ... (Ch/U 6914 + Ch/So 15000 (5) verso, ll. 5-9, and Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 1-9)<sup>152</sup>

In the first sentence, the title of this parable has been stated: the “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean”. Next, the second sentence commands: (*ty*)w p(*t*)[*γwš ’z-’nt MN δynyh ZY MN sm’wtry*] (“listen to/hear (sg.) the parable of the religion and the ocean”), but whom the singular imperative word - “listen to/hear” targeted on remains unclear, probably on the general Manichaeans. The restoration of the second singular imperative verb *ptywš* follows the second singular pronoun *tyw* (“you”). But it is unusual to have such an opening with a singular form instead of a plural form, unless in the context of speaking to one person. Then, the text continues by metaphorizing the Manichaean religion as the “world ocean”, and explains its characteristics in “ten ways”.

The *Āzandnāmē* is found in a relatively well-preserved scroll, consisting of seven regrouped fragments Ch/So 20199, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5),

<sup>151</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 161.

<sup>152</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 55. Sundermann, W. (ed.). *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985. pp 19-20.

Ch/So 20182, Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, and Ch/So 20503. The versos of these seven fragments together contain Sogdian Manichaean parables with over 200 lines, which are so far known as the longest Sogdian Manichaean text. Sundermann first finds that the versos of at least three fragments Ch/So 20199, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5), and Ch 5554 (later relabeled as Ch/So 20182), can be combined to reconstruct parts of three Sogdian Manichaean parables of the *Āzandnāmē*: one very fragmentary - “Parable of the Judge and [...]”, and two longer but incomplete ones - “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean” and “Parable of the (Two Snakes:) More-Burdened and Less-Burdened”.<sup>153</sup> So, the fragments Ch/So 20199 verso, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5) verso, and Ch/So 20182 verso, together contain the remnants of the three parables that immediately follow one another:

(1) The Parable of the Judge and [...]	Ch/So 20199 verso, and Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5) verso, ll. 1-4
(2) The Parable of the Religion and the Ocean	Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5) verso, ll. 5-9, and Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 1-128
(3) The Parable of Two Snakes (More-Burdened & Less-Burdened)	Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 128-193

Among these three regrouped fragments, Ch/So 20182 is the currently known Turfan fragment that contains the longest continuous Sogdian Manichaean text. But, up to Ch/So 20182 verso’s line 39, the top and bottom of many lines have been lost through breaks, and since Ch/So 20182 verso’s line 40 the ends of almost all lines are missing. Nevertheless, these losses do not hinder the reconstruction of the entire content by context.

Later, four other fragments of the “Parable of the Judge and [...]” - Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, and Ch/So 20503 (versos) were identified and added by scholars to the *Āzandnāmē* scroll (after Sundermann had edited Ch/So 20128).<sup>154</sup> These four fragments have the same handwriting of Sogdian lines as that of the versos of Ch/So 20199, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5), and Ch/So 20182.<sup>155</sup> In other words, the whole parable texts of this *Āzandnāmē* scroll seem to be written by the same hand. So, the above seven *Āzandnāmē* fragments - Ch/So 20199, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5), Ch/So 20182, Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, and Ch/So 20503 were probably all found in Toyuq,<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 5.

<sup>154</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 21, Table 3.

<sup>155</sup> Reck, C. *Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Vol. 18/1. Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 1). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006. p. 167, Nr. 222.

<sup>156</sup> Sundermann, W. “Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological

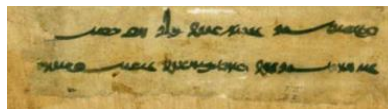
though one of them (Ch/So 20182) was once mislabeled as “D” (i.e., Dakianus-Sahr, referring to the Qocho city ruins). Based on the sequence of their Chinese rectos, the correct order of these *Āzandnāmē* fragments was figured out by Yoshida:

Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, Ch/So 20199, Ch/So 20503, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5), and Ch/So 20182.<sup>157</sup>

The rectos of the above-mentioned seven fragments of the *Āzandnāmē*, together contain parts of the 48th chapter of the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (*Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*) translated by Buddhahadra (佛陀跋陀羅), which corresponds well to the transmitted text in the *Taishō Revised Tripiṭaka* (大正新脩大藏經).<sup>158</sup>

Accordingly, it can be known how many Chinese columns are missing between these fragments, which can help us to deduce how many Sogdian lines are missing on the versos between these fragments, although the Sogdian versos had no relation with the Chinese rectos of the scroll. The original scroll of the Chinese *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 had blank verso, which was later re-used by Manichaeans. On its verso, the Sogdian script is rather large and cursive, and not very neatly written.

Due to the fragmentary state of the beginning part of the scroll, we have not found an overall Sogdian Manichaean title at the beginning of the parable book on the verso of the scroll, though the term *Āzandnāmē* (“Parable-Book”) itself had appeared in the parable text. On the other hand, the Sogdian text on the scroll’s verso originally may not end at the place of the last line of the currently-known fragment of the scroll - Ch/So 20182 verso, line 193.



Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 192-193:

pt'w't ZY 'ny'm-cykw myḍy xw rw'n [ ]  
'nz-γs(t) ZY ZKw wštm 'xcykw 'nc'n pr 'ys(t)[k'm rty]

...endure... And on the Final Day, his soul will cross over [...] and will come to heavenly rest...<sup>159</sup>

---

Means: the Case of the Turfan Texts”, in P. Bernard & F. Grenet (eds.). *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS (Paris 1988)*. Paris, 1991. 283-288. p. 285.

<sup>157</sup> Yoshida, Y. “Review of Sundermann 1985”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51, 1988, 148-150. p. 148. Yoshida, Y. “On the Sogdian Fragments of the St. Petersburg Collection”, *Contributions to the Studies of Eurasian Languages, Series 3, Issues in Eurasian Languages* 1, 2001, 105-117. p. 195.

<sup>158</sup> Kudara, K. *Berurin shozō Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo kanbun bunken sōmokuroku (shikōbon)* ベルリン所蔵東トルキスタン出土漢文文献総目録 (試行本). Kyoto: Ryūkoku University, 2000. pp 340-342.

<sup>159</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian*

Ch/So 20182 verso, line 193 is also the currently-known last line of the “Parable of Two Snakes”. According to the two preceding parables on the same scroll, there could be an explicit formula - “Ended is the parable of ...” (*pty'mty 'z-'nt MN*) as the formal ending of a Sogdian Manichaean parable:

*pty'mty 'z-'nt MN xtw ZY MN [yrck'ny?]*

Ended is the Parable of the Judge and [...] (in Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5) verso, line 4)

*pty'mty 'z-'nt MN δyny ZY sm'wtry*

Ended is the Parable of the Religion and the Ocean (in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 128)

But the surviving text of the “Parable of Two Snakes” lacks such an ending formula. Meanwhile, the known Chinese Buddhist sutra on the recto continued. Therefore, after the currently preserved text on the Sogdian verso, there could have been more Sogdian lines that are missing now.

Each parable of the *Āzandnāmē* has a particular motif:

(1) The “Parable of the Judge and [...]” concerns an eschatological theme.

(2) The “Parable of Two Snakes: More-Burdened and Less-Burdened” treats the Manichaean doctrine of the “Old Man” and the “New Man”, as “the body-loving man” (*xw pry-tnp'r mrtxmy*) and “that man to whom the soul is dearer” (*xwnwx mrtxmy xcy ky' Z(Y)[-šy xw] rw'n prytr*) (in Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 180 & 182-183).<sup>160</sup>

(3) The “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean” broadly reflects various aspects of the Manichaean theology and cosmology.

These three parables all refer to two contrasted entities, corresponding to the Manichaean dualism:

(1) The Judge and his unconfirmed counterpart;

(2) The Religion and the Ocean;

(3) The More-Burden Snake and the Less-Burdened Snake.

It needs to be noted that although the Manichaean dualistic doctrine was applied to both elects and auditors, these parables were used for explaining it and its relevant aspects of the cosmology, to the auditors who were not familiar with it.

## 1.2.2 The Interpretations of the Manichaean Parables

The Turfan Manichaean parable texts themselves reveal that they were intended for educating the auditors, like the function of Christian parables.

---

*Parable-Book*. pp 86-87.

<sup>160</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 86, Nr. 188 - 191.



The eastern Manichaeans adopted and reworked the well-known narratives and motifs of other traditions to illustrate the Manichaean teachings, for example, those of the Jewish *Book of Enoch* and the Indian *Pancatantra*, as well as Christian and Buddhist motifs. Those narratives were often done through the explanation (of the desired content), called *epimythion* (“aftertale” in Greek) by modern scholars, to the Manichaean parables.<sup>161</sup> Wilkens supposes that the Manichaeans used the *epimythion* as a specific allegorical interpretation following the narrative (of the parable) after they extracted certain tales from their original context.<sup>162</sup> Benkato concludes that “a parable typically has a two-part structure in which the first part is (often) a fictional narrative and the second part is the explanation or interpretation of that narrative”.<sup>163</sup> The *epimythion* explains the people, actions, and teaching motives of the narratives of parables.

The Middle Persian term for the *epimythion* is *wyc’ryšn/wc’ryšn* (*wizārišn*), derived from the verb *wyc’r-/wc’r-* (“to interpret/fulfill”),<sup>164</sup> and the Parthian term is *wcyhyšn* (*wizēhišn*), from the verb *wcyh-* (“to teach”).<sup>165</sup> In Sogdian, the term for the *epimythion* is *xwyck’wy* (*xwēčkāwē*), derived from the adjective *xwyck* (“open”).<sup>166</sup> Yoshida finds that the Sogdian term *xwyck’wy* seems to have a broader meaning of “explanation” and even “liberation/deliverance” (as in the Sogdian Manichaean letter scroll - 81 TB 65:1, line 96), not just as an *epimythion* of the parable.<sup>167</sup> The broader meaning of the Sogdian term *xwyck’wy* is also reflected in the Turfan fragment M 107, which contains a Sogdian Manichaean text about the fate of the auditors’ souls on the Judgment Day, introduced with the sentence:

*rty* [... *sw*](*γ*)*δδy’w xwyck’wy* [...] (*β*)*wt*  
 And [...] in Sogdian (*συδδyāu*), the opening / allegorical interpretation was [...].

<sup>161</sup> Reck. “Soghdische manichäische Parabeln in soghdischer Schrift mit zwei Beispielen Parabeln mit Hasen”. p. 211.

<sup>162</sup> Wilkens, J. “A Tale from the Pañcatantra in Central Asia? The Lion, the Bull and the Fox”, *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 1/2, 2017, 104-139. p. 108.

<sup>163</sup> Benkato later adds: “The first part of a parable is not always a fictional narrative, as is obvious from the ‘Parable of the Religion and the Ocean’.” See Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 119.

<sup>164</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst, D. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Dictionary of Manichaean texts. Vol. III. Texts from Central Asia and China. Part 1). Turnhout: Brepols, 2004. p. 351.

<sup>165</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 338.

<sup>166</sup> Gharib, B. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhang Publications, 1995. p. 441.

<sup>167</sup> Yoshida, Y. “*Sutewen kaoshi* 粟特文考釋” [Studies of Sogdian Texts], in Liu Hongliang (ed.) *Tulufan xin chu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000. 3-199. p. 80.

(M107 I verso, col. 1, ll. 8-10)<sup>168</sup>

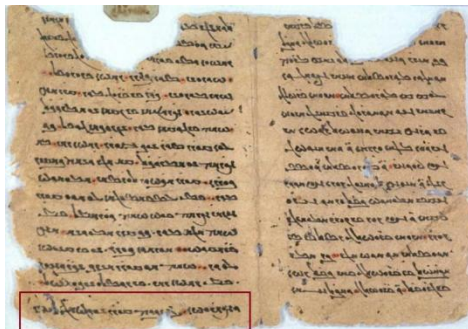
In M 107, the Sogdian term *xwyck'wy* is connected with the exhortation of liberating the auditors.

The connection between the parable and the conveyed Manichaean teaching in certain rituals was probably elucidated in the *epimythion* of the parable, such as indicated by the multilingual fragment M 114:

[Sogdian] Then the body-soul rite takes place, and the preacher (*xrwhxw'n*) should first give a sermon about the “body (and) soul”. When the day draws to a close, have a parable (“*znd*”) recited, (e.g.) [Parthian] “the Prince with the Čandāta’s Son”. [Sogdian] Then one should sing (the hymn-cycle of) the “body (and) soul”. Then say a short explanation (*xwyck'wyy*) (of this hymn-cycle). (M 114 I, recto ll. 5-8 & verso ll. 1-2)<sup>169</sup>

M 114 I contains a Sogdian liturgy for celebration centering on the body-soul rite, with Middle Persian and Parthian citations. M 114 I alludes that the Manichaean teaching conveyed by the parable (of “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son”) was elucidated in the *epimythion* (*xwyck'wyy*, mentioned in M 114 I verso, line 2) after reciting the parable (of “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son”) and singing the hymn (of the “body (and) soul”).

Some Manichaean parable texts have some kinds of explicit transition between the narrative and the interpretation (*epimythion*).<sup>170</sup> For example, in the Middle Persian parable of “the Low-Born Man” in M 47 II, a line of transition ends the narrative and starts the interpretation:



M 47 II recto & I verso

*wc'ryšn: 'škwḥ myrd nywšg'n hynd*

Explanation: the (socially) low-born man (representing) the auditors. (M 47 II recto, line 17).<sup>171</sup>



M 47 II recto, line 17

<sup>168</sup> Colditz, I. “Das Problem des ‘Schweigens’ der manichäischen Quellen zum Thema Übersetzung”, in J.P. Laut & K. Röhrborn (eds.). *Vom Aramäischen zum Alttürkischen: Fragen zur Übersetzung von manichäischen Texten* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 29). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014. 7-29.

<sup>169</sup> This translation is based on Henning’s German translation. See Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. pp 46-47.

<sup>170</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 119.

<sup>171</sup> Sundermann, W. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der*

Following a line of space, M 47 II recto, line 17 indicates a transition from the narrative to the interpretation (*wc'ryšn*).

Another example is a Sogdian Manichaean parable of “the Pearl-Borer” (on the Turfan fragment M 135a), in which the interpretation is introduced as:



M 135a, II recto & I verso

M 135a, I verso, ll. 12-16

*'rty x'γrβ'kt w'nw xwyck'wy δβr'nd kt xwnyy mrtty kyy wyspw γnyy 'ty qrnw'ncy' γrβ'skwn .. xwty xcy*

And the wise gives this explanation: that man who understood all arts and crafts, represents [the body]... (M 135a, I verso, ll. 12-16)<sup>172</sup>

Following two double-dot punctuation marks, M 135a, I verso, ll. 12-16 perform a transition between the narrative and the interpretation (*xwyck'wy*).

But in the *Āzandnāmē* scroll, the interpretations (*epimythia*) of the parables of “the Religion and the Ocean” and “the Two Snakes (More-Burdened and Less-Burdened)” are introduced differently, as their transitions between the narratives and the interpretations are not explicit. The parable of “the Religion and the Ocean” is started with the expression - “the Religion is like the Ocean, which is different from the other waters in ten ways”.<sup>173</sup> The narrative of this parable describes ten features of the “Ocean”. Then, the sentence - “Like the Ocean, the Religion of the Apostle too [is] splendid” (Ch/So 20182, ll. 32-33), performs as an implicit transition into the *epimythion* (Ch/So 20182, ll. 32-127) which offers a detailed explanation to the ten features of the

---

*Manichäer mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte* von Friedmar Geissler (Berliner Turfantexte 4). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973. pp 86-89.

<sup>172</sup> Tale A: M 135 - B i V, 60-62, see Henning. “Sogdian Tales”. pp 467 & 469.

<sup>173</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 55.

“Ocean” one by one, and connects each of the ten features with a paralleling feature of the Manichaean religion. This parable text enumerates the ten features in both the narrative and the *epimythion*. So, each point of the *epimythion* discusses its corresponding point of the narrative. Most noteworthy is that the *epimythion* of this parable is even much longer than its narrative part. In the long *epimythion* (Ch/So 20182, ll. 32-127) of the “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean”, there is a list of good things that the Manichaean religion shows to and instructs men, which mentions:

(zγ)[βy] p'ryz wyδβ'γ ZY xwct' 'z- 'nt ZY nškr(t) [ZY] xwyck'wy

The excellent beautiful sermon and pleasant parable and exposition [and] interpretation (Ch/So 20182, ll. 54-56)

It remains unclear whether the term *xwyck'wy* (“interpretation”) in this phrase specifically refers to the *epimythion* of a parable, or generally refers to the activity of instructing and explaining the Manichaean doctrines, due to its separation from the 'z- 'nt (“parable”) in this phrase.

Also in the *Āzandnāmē* scroll, the “Parable of Two Snakes: More-Burdened and Less-Burdened” contains a short *epimythion* (Ch/So 20182, ll. 180-193) that gives a Manichaean interpretation. There is no explicit transition to the *epimythion* which immediately starts itself where the narrative finishes. The *epimythion* of this parable first lists which thing represents which Manichaean doctrine, then connects the “Two Snakes” with the teaching of the “Old Man” and “New Man”. The end of the *epimythion* of this parable reveals:

The New Man will endure [separation] from his dear wife (*wδwh*), from his children ('zwnt) and from wealth (*yr'm'k*), and on the Final Day, his soul will cross over [...] and will come to heavenly rest (*wštm'xcyk'nc'n*). (Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 188-193)<sup>174</sup>

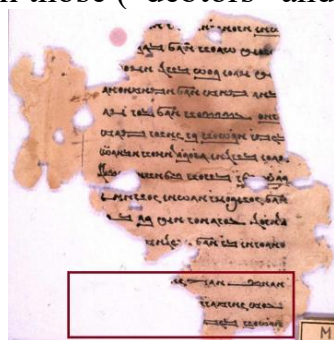
The terms “wife”, “children” and “wealth”, imply that the parable of “Two Snakes: More-Burdened and Less-Burdened” was addressed to the auditors, as they were allowed to marry and have children as well as personal property. After all, in the Manichaean literature, the auditors were often referred to together with their families and belongings. For instance, the Sogdian *Kephalaia*-like text of M 135b teaches the auditors to “divide the day into three parts”, the second of which is “to the pursuit of worldly affairs ... so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and well-wishers can be well served...”<sup>175</sup> Although the Manichaean doctrine of the “Old Man” and “New Man” was applied to both elects and auditors, the “Parable of Two Snakes (More-Burdened and Less-Burdened)” (Ch/So

<sup>174</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. pp 86-87.

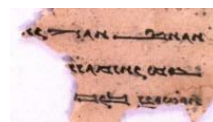
<sup>175</sup> Henning. “Sogdian Tales”. pp 469-470.

20182 verso, ll. 128-193) assisted the introduction of this doctrine and its relevant aspects of the cosmology, to auditors.

Other Manichaean parables directly refer to the auditors, such as the Parthian parable fragments M 333 and M 334a (regrouped by Boyce).<sup>176</sup> M 333+M 334a contains a parable about free men, debtors, and slaves, and its explanation (*epimythion*). This parable lists three categories for humans - “free men” (*'z'd'n*), “debtors” (*p'r bwr'd'n*), and “slaves” (*bndg'n*). In the narrative of this parable (M 333 recto & verso ll. 1-11), the destinies of those (“free men”) liberated from the world, are contrasted with those (“debtors” and “servants”) who are not.<sup>177</sup>



M 333 verso



M 333 verso, ll. 12-14

(The beginning of the *epimythion*)

After one line of space, the *epimythion* of this parable starts from M 333 verso, line 12, and continues on M 334a recto until M 334a verso, line 15 where the text breaks off, due to the fragmentary condition. In the *epimythion* (M 333 verso ll. 12-14 & M 334a), this parable was interpreted in the form of a teaching lecture by Mani himself, whom is referred to with “my Word” (*mn sxwn*, i.e. the Manichaean gospel)<sup>178</sup> and “my command” (*mn frm'n*).<sup>179</sup> As Colditz points out, the three categories (i.e., “free men”, “debtors”, and “slaves”) for humans in this parable certainly reflected the three major groups within the socio-economic division of Sassanian Iran: the nobles (originally exempt from tax); the taxable class of farmers, artisans, and traders; and the slaves.<sup>180</sup> In the Manichaean interpretation (*epimythion*), they symbolize the elects, the auditors, and the unbelievers respectively. The “slaves” represent the unbelievers who do not follow Manichaeism. Finally, it can be deduced that this parable (about free men, debtors, and slaves) probably also

<sup>176</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 23.

<sup>177</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic texts from Central Asia*. p. 185.

<sup>178</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 311.

<sup>179</sup> Colditz, I. “Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 14/2, 1987, 274-313. pp 293-294. Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 155.

<sup>180</sup> Colditz. “Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen”. p. 296.

included exhortations to the auditors.

### 1.2.3 The Paratexts to the Manichaean Parables

The manuscripts are not simply the vehicles conveying particular texts, but rather the material artifacts conveying particular literature stemming from a certain historical and religious context. The *Āzandnāmē* scroll (Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, Ch/So 20199, Ch/So 20503, Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000(5), and Ch/So 20182) has some extra Sogdian lines in the margins on its Chinese Buddhist recto, most of which were written between the Chinese columns or over the Chinese characters. This means that the scribe of the Sogdian Manichaean parable text not only re-used the blank verso of the original Chinese Buddhist scroll but also did various writings and pen exercises on the recto of the scroll between the columns of the Chinese text, especially on Ch/So 20182 recto.



*Ch/So 20182 (formerly Ch 5554) recto*

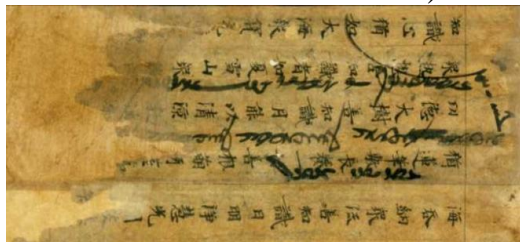
Sundermann localizes the Sogdian lines on the recto by specifying the line numbers of the Chinese text between or next to their position.<sup>181</sup> Since the line sequence of the Sogdian writing is opposite to that of the Chinese writing, the line-counting would start with the last Chinese column (i.e., col. 183) and ends with the first Chinese column (i.e., col. 1). Since there are either Sogdian lines in between the Chinese columns or those next to the Chinese columns, the use of line numbers here is only for easy reference, instead of implying a continuous text. There are at least 26 lines of Sogdian text remaining on the Chinese recto of Ch/So 20182, some of which just duplicated the phrases existing in the Sogdian main text of the verso. Benkato argues that these Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto may reflect the “later use of the manuscripts in which they occur”.<sup>182</sup> But these Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto should not be understood as an ordered text. I categorize these 26 Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto, into four kinds: writing exercise, scribble, caption, and short text.

First, Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 1-4 is a writing exercise of random words and phrases, which includes two lines of the direction from the upper edge to the lower edge of the Chinese scroll (as most of the rest of lines), one line of the reversed direction, and one line written over the

<sup>181</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 33.

<sup>182</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 107.

upper margin (perpendicular to the Chinese text).



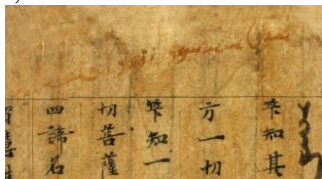
Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 1-4

(Between Chinese cols. 175-179, as well as over their upper margin)

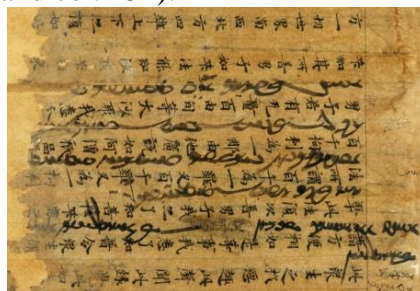
Then, there are other lines of writing exercises and scribbles scattered at other places on the Chinese recto of Ch/So 20182. It seems that these writing exercises and scribbles were probably in different hands and written with thin or thick pens separately.

After that, the red-ink caption (written perpendicular to the Chinese text) and the below four short texts, were written by two distinguishably different hands - Hand A and Hand B.

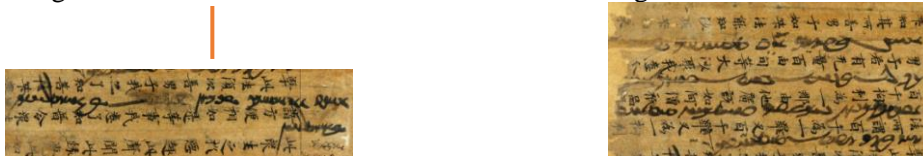
Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 5 (written by Hand A, as a red-ink caption over the right/upper margin of the scroll, near Chinese cols. 154-159):



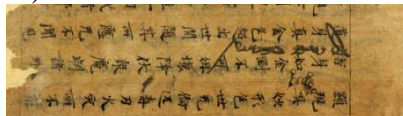
Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 6-11 (written by two different hands, as two short texts between Chinese col. 148 and col. 154):



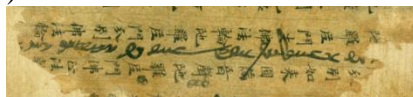
Hand A: Sogd. ll. 10-11 of Ch/So 20182 recto      Hand B: Sogd. ll. 6-9 of Ch/So 20182 recto



Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 17 (written by Hand A, as a short text between Chinese col. 119 and col. 120):

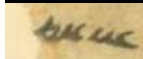


Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 24 (written by Hand A, as a short text between Chinese col. 27 and col. 28):

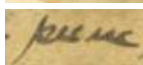


Hand B (Sogdian ll. 6-9 of Ch/So 20182 recto) is quite different from the hand of the Sogdian main text of parables on Ch/So 20182 verso. But it seems impossible to separate the Sogdian lines on the two sides of the scroll since Hand A (of the above three Sogdian short texts and the red-ink Sogdian caption together) seems to be similar to the handwriting of the Sogdian main text of parables on Ch/So 20182 verso. Here, I compare the handwriting of three Sogdian words between the Sogdian main text of parables on Ch/So 20182 verso, and the concerned Sogdian Hand A (i.e., the three short texts and the red-ink caption) on Ch/So 20182 recto:

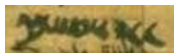
**”z-’nt (“parable”):**



”z-’nt (“parable”) in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 127



”z-’nt (“parable”) in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 128

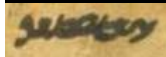


”z-’ntn’my (“parable-book”) in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 10  
(between Chinese col. 149 and col. 150)



”z-’ntn’my (“parable-book”, written in red ink, but now faded)  
in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 5 (near Chinese cols. 154-159).

**sm’wtry (“ocean”):**



in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 108

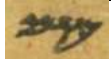


in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 128

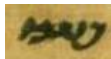


in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 24 (between Chinese col. 27 and col. 28)

**kyrmy (“snake”):**



in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 131



in Ch/So 20182 verso, line 143



in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 17 (between Chinese col. 119 and col. 120)

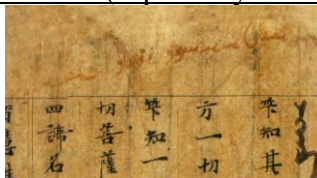
These two parts on the two sides of the scroll cannot be confirmed as being written by the same scribe, although they look similar in style. In addition to their difference in some strokes, there is a more or less difference in pen thickness between the two sides. Even just on Ch/So 20182 verso, the different cases of the same words (”z-’nt, sm’wtr, and kyrmy) do not look the same, though their lines are located close to each other. Whether the scribe of Ch/So 20182 verso, and the scribe (Hand A) of the three Sogdian short texts and the red-ink Sogdian caption on Ch/So 20182 recto, are the same person, should not be judged only based on the handwriting. But their textual content may give more information.

All four Sogdian short texts and the red-ink Sogdian caption on Ch/So 20182 recto are paratexts to the Sogdian main text of parables on Ch/So 20182 verso, although they did not compose a continuous text as a whole.



However, the sequence of the Sogdian caption and the four Sogdian short texts on Ch/So 20182 recto represents the layout of a colophon-like content, which suggests about the context of making and using this *Āzandnāmē* scroll.

(1) Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 5 (caption by Hand A):



'yn 'k 'z- 'ntn 'my (ywy)ty ('krt')[y](m)  
(I have learnt) this parable book (in red ink).<sup>183</sup>

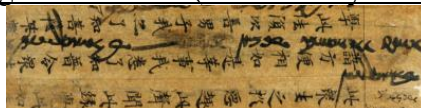
(2) Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 6-9 (short text by Hand B):



'yn 'k pwsty 'z-w t 't 'ywr y(w)[ytym]  
ky L' pyr 't βr 't wyšy ('γδ)['kw kw]  
'wk'prmyš y'mcwr wn 'ntm 'x t 't 'ywr[r]  
s'r psy šw 't t 't 'ywr [...?]

This book, I - Tataγur, lea[rned]. He who would not believe (should) go ask brother(s) Wiyaši-āγad[ē], Ögäbirmiš, Yamčor, Wanantmāx, (and) Tataγu[r]. Tataγur.<sup>184</sup>

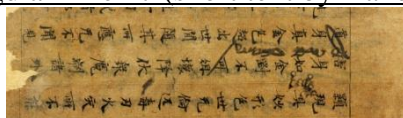
(3) Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 10-11 (short text by Hand A):



'yn 'kw 'z- 'ntn 'my nwy-m 'x np 'xštd 'r 'm  
np 'xštd 'rt

(I) Nawemāx, wrote this parable book. (He) wrote.<sup>185</sup>

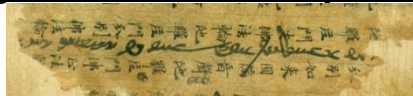
(4) Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 17 (short text by Hand A):



'δw kyrmy wm 't 'nt

There were two snakes.<sup>186</sup>

(5) Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 24 (short text by Hand A):



<sup>183</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 34. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 104.

<sup>184</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. pp 34-35. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 103.

<sup>185</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. pp 34-35. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 104.

<sup>186</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 35. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 104.

[Z](Yx)w 'βc 'npδykw ''pt c 'nw kw sm 'wtry s 'r (')[wpt 'nt]  
And the worldly waters when they [fall] to the ocean.<sup>187</sup>

The sole short text written by Hand B belongs to a special formula. The term *Āzandnāmē* ("z- 'ntm 'my, "Parable-Book") after which the scroll of Sogdian Manichaean parables is named, appears in this short text of Hand B and also in the other short texts as well as the red-ink caption (written by Hand A). The most important is that the short text of Hand B contains the names of five persons (including the text-transmitter), whose function is similar to a colophon. First, the text-transmitter - the person who "learned" (*ywɣtym* in Sogdian) the text, is named *Tatayur*, who himself also wrote the lines of Hand B. Then, the names of five witnesses (for the text transmission) who are referred to as brother (*βr 't*), are listed: "Wiyaši-āyaδ[ē], Ögäbirmiš, Yamčor, Wanantmāx, (and) *Tatayu[r]*" (in the short text by Hand B). Since the term *βr 't* means "elect" in the Manichaean context, all five witnesses (including the text-transmitter *Tatayur*) can be deduced as being elects. This short text suggested the later readers or users of the parable text enquire the five witnesses if they "would not believe" (*L' pyr 't*) it. Sundermann thinks that it implies a scene in which *Tatayur* dictated and then another person called *Nawemāx* wrote it down.<sup>188</sup> But it is just a speculation, although this parable work may have reflected a Manichaean oral tradition. It is more possible that the scribe of this Sogdian work copied the parable text by himself from others, without the presence of any text-reciter.

Though "*Tatayur*" is an Old Turkic name,<sup>189</sup> the elect *Tatayur* was a text-transmitter of this Sogdian work (as well as Hand B), who is mentioned three times in the Sogdian ll. 6-9 on Ch/So 20182 recto. In one of the three, the name *Tatayur* occurs also as one of the five witnesses for the text transmission, which might mean *Tatayur*'s interaction with the other invoked witnesses.

*Nawemāx*, as the scribe of this Sogdian work of Manichaean parables, is mentioned by himself - "(I) *Nawemāx*, wrote this parable-book" (*'yn 'kw ''z- 'ntn 'my nwy-m 'x np 'xštδ 'r 'm*), as the first person in the verb "write" (*np 'xštδ 'r 'm*) (Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 10-11). As Hand A, the scribe *Nawemāx* may not have worked together with *Tatayur* (as Hand B), on this Sogdian Manichaean work of parables. Following that on Ch/So 20182 recto, the rest two short texts (by Hand A, i.e. *Nawemāx*)

---

<sup>187</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 35. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 104.

<sup>188</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 7.

<sup>189</sup> According to Zieme, the name "*Tatayur*" is Old Turkic, derived from *tatır* + suff. - *gür*. Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. p. 34, n. 147.

have only one line for each, which could be treated as phrases excerpted from the Sogdian main text of parables (on Ch/So 20182 verso), for they highlight the “Two Snakes” and the “Ocean” which composed the titles of the two parables on Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 128-193 and Ch/So 20182 verso, ll. 1-128 respectively.

In addition to Sundermann’s edition of the Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto of Ch/So 20182,<sup>190</sup> Yoshida has edited the Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto of Ch/So 20503 which is also identified as a part of the *Āzandnāmē* scroll that Ch/So 20182 belongs to.<sup>191</sup>



Ch/So 20503 recto

The Sogdian lines of Ch/So 20503 recto:

'yny pwstk 'z-w (t't)['γwr ywγtym]  
 ky L'pyr t'βr t'[ ZY]  
 [wn](')ntm'x s'r psδ' [ ]

This book, I, Tat[ayur, learned], he who would not believe, ask the brother[s... so-and-so ... and Wan]antmāx!<sup>192</sup>

This Sogdian short text on the Chinese recto of Ch/So 20503 not only performs as a paratext to the Sogdian main text on Ch/So 20503 verso but also contains a formula that is nearly the same as the Sogdian short text of Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian ll. 6-11. Also, the name of the text-transmitter of the *Āzandnāmē* - Tatayur appears in both of them. But the formula of Ch/So 20503 recto employs the imperative plural form of the word “ask” - *psδ'*, while its counterpart of Ch/So 20182 recto uses the subjunctive form of the word “ask” - *psy šw't*. However, the handwriting of the two seems to be from the same hand. Below, I compare three phrases/words: “This book, I, Tatayur..”, “He who would not believe”, and “brother”, between these two fragments.

**(1) “This book, I, Tatayur”:**



'yn'k pwsty 'z-w t't'γwr  
 (in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 6)

<sup>190</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. pp 33-35.

<sup>191</sup> Yoshida, Y. “First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts”, *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78, 2000, 71-85. pp 84-85. Both Ch/So 20503 and Ch/So 20182 are re-edited later by Yoshida, see Yoshida, Y. “New Turco-Sogdian Documents and their Socio-linguistic Backgrounds”, in *Academia Turfanica* (ed.). *The History behind the Languages: Essays of Turfan Forum on Old Languages of the Silk Road*. Shanghai, 2012. 48-60. p. 56.

<sup>192</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 103. Yoshida, Y. “First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts”. p. 84.



'yny pwstk 'zw (t't)[γwr...]  
(in Ch/So 20503 recto, Sogdian line 1)<sup>193</sup>

(Notably, the two have different spellings for the two words “this” and “book”, so the long stroke of the letter *k* appears in different positions in the two.)

**(2) “He who would not believe” (*ky L' pyr t*):**



in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 7



in Ch/So 20503 recto, Sogdian line 2

**(3) “brother” (*βr t*):**



in Ch/So 20182 recto, Sogdian line 7



in Ch/So 20503 recto, Sogdian line 2

It seems that Ch/So 20182 recto and Ch/So 20503 recto belong to the same handwriting. That is to say, the same scribe may have written these two short texts (on Ch/So 20182 recto and Ch/So 20503 recto) which contain the same kind of formula but vary in a few details. Yoshida calls this formula the “*ky L' pyr t* type”.<sup>194</sup>

Benkato compares the formula of *ky L' pyr t* (“He who does not believe”) of the *Āzandnāmē* scroll, with other eight similar Sogdian Manichaean examples of colophon-like formula (six from Turfan and one from Dunhuang)<sup>195</sup> on smaller fragments with lesser contexts, and he concludes such a formulaic passage:

'yny {text/book} 'zw {Name 1} ywγtym ky L' pyr t {Name(s) 2} s'r psδ'  
This {text/book} I {so-and-so} learned. He who does not believe, ask  
{so-and-so}.<sup>196</sup>

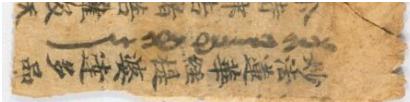
The colophon-like formula on both the rectos of Ch/So 20182 and Ch/So 20503, was written by Tatayur (*Name 1*). But the name Tatayur is never connected with any writing or scribal work. Nevertheless, in one of the other eight Sogdian Manichaean examples (that Benkato compares), the text-transmitter (*Name 1*) also seems to be a scribe, as in the recto of the regrouped fragments Ch/So. 13399a+Ch/So. 13401.

<sup>193</sup> Yoshida reads the name *prn*[...], but Benkato suggests the restoration of the name as *(t't)[γwr]* (“Tatayur”) according to the identical context and handwriting of the word on Ch/So 20182 recto.

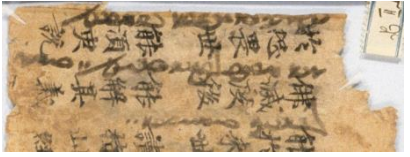
<sup>194</sup> Yoshida, Y. “First Fruits of the Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts”, *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78, 2000, 71-85.

<sup>195</sup> As to the sole example (Or. 8212/S. 4083 recto) from Dunhuang, it is a Chinese Buddhist long scroll with blank verso, with Sogdian lines written on the Chinese recto, but its Manichaean feature cannot be attested so far.

<sup>196</sup> The other eight examples that Benkato makes are: Or. 8212/S. 4083, Ch/So. 20000, Ch/So. 15530, O 2586a, O 7368, Ch/So. 20002, Ch/So. 13399a + Ch/So. 13401, and LM 20 1520-3. See Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. pp 107-109.



One of the two ends of Ch/So. 13399a recto



One of the two ends of Ch/So. 13401 recto

Ch/So. 13399a+Ch/So. 1340 recto, Sogdian ll. 1-4 (between Chinese columns):

'yny βγ 'nykw kwy-šn  
 p(wst)y (t)z- 'kcwr ywy(t)ym  
 šyr xwpw δp 'yr wβ 'm .. w 'xš  
 δβryny wnx 'ncwr ..

(I), Tāzāk-čor, learned this “Divine Sermon” book. I may become a very good scribe. Word-giver Wanxān-čor.<sup>197</sup>

In this example, the text-transmitter’s name is surely Tāzāk-čor, which is mentioned in the first sentence (i.e., the first two lines). Then, a subjunctive sentence (line 3) refers to the profession of the scribe, which is connected with the text-transmitter Tāzāk-čor. At the end of these colophon-like lines, there is a “word-giver Wanxān-čor” who may perform the duty of dictating for scribal work. However, the scribe of the Sogdian main text (i.e., of the “Divine Sermon” book) on Ch/So. 13399a+Ch/So. 1340 verso remains unconfirmed, although it is known that the text-transmitter Tāzāk-čor wrote these colophon-like Sogdian lines on the Chinese recto. Since the verso of Ch/So. 13399a+Ch/So. 1340 contains a Manichaean hymn text, the term “word-giver” (w 'xš δβryny) may mean the authenticity or authority of the oral transmitter who helped the scribe for transforming the words of the hymn (that was transmitted by someone other than Tāzāk-čor) into writing.

Just like Tatayur in the “*ky L' pyr t'*” formula in the *Āzandnāmē* scroll, the *Name I* in the other eight examples could also be identified as the transmitters of the texts/books (though the *Name I* is missing in two of them, due to the fragmentary state). But in the two of them - Or. 8212/S. 4083 recto and Ch/So. 20000 recto, the first half of the formula was modified to be “This {text/book} belongs to {so-and-so}”:

(1) 'yn 'k pwts 'k pw 'y xypδ

This book belongs to Pwey. (in Or. 8212/S. 4083 recto, Sogdian line 1, between Chinese columns)<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Sundermann, W. *Die Rede der lebendigen Seele: Ein manichäischer Hymnenzyklus in mittelpersischer und soghdischer Sprache* (Berliner Turfantexte 30). Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. pp 158-159 & 176. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. pp 108-109.

<sup>198</sup> Sims-Williams, N. “The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1-2), 1976, 43-82. p. 66.

(2) *y'ny pwstk 14-y'n xyp[δ]*

This book belongs to 14-Yan. (in Ch/So. 20000 recto, Sogdian line 1, between Chinese columns)<sup>199</sup>

Though there are other differences in details between these examples, they still seem to be derived from the same kind of formula. Benkato argues that this kind of formula can be treated as a “signature” added by the later user of the manuscript, who either read (i.e., “learned” by himself) or recited the texts, in the context of being witnessed by other listed persons (so those “who does not believe” should ask them).<sup>200</sup> The use of the verb *ywxs-* (“learn”) in this kind of colophon-like formula (in the first person and past tense as *ywytym*), indicates an activity of learning or/and being taught, which had been witnessed by a group of coreligionists. Moreover, Benkato suggests that the object of the verb *pyr ʾt* (“believe”) may be the “fact” that the writer of the formula (i.e., the later user of the manuscript) learned or recited the main text on the other side. But the expressions of *ky L' pyr ʾt* (“He who does not believe”) and ... *s'r psδ* (“go to ask...”) in the paratext, appear to be more possibly as an additional mark or suggestion intended for the later users of the main text on the manuscript, as the text was circulated in the community.

So, this formula of “*ky L' pyr ʾt*” mainly indicates the transmission and ownership of the texts and their authority, instead of referring to any authenticity of the scribe. Though these paratexts to the Manichaean parables on the verso of the manuscript are paralleled to “colophon” or “colophon-like” by Benkato, they are still different from the colophons that we usually find. It is also not the same as the colophon of donors or merit accumulation, which can be often found in Buddhist manuscripts, and lesser cases in Turfan Manichaean manuscripts. The circulation of such a manuscript of Manichaean parables was within a relatively small circle of people. The text-transmitter supposed that the listed names in the colophon-like formula were probably known to the later users of the manuscript. Therefore, the multiple uses of such Manichaean parable texts and manuscripts may be restricted to a particular place, and perhaps even a certain group of community members. But it does not mean all the Turfan Manichaean parables were used and circulated in such a way.

---

<sup>199</sup> Yoshida. “First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts”. p. 83.

<sup>200</sup> Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 109.

## 1.2.4 The Use of the Manichaean Parables

In Manichaeism, one major purpose of parables is to educate auditors by providing comprehensible explanations for specific aspects of the Manichaean doctrines which are generally abstract. Being different from other genres of Manichaean literature, the parable texts are more accessible to the vast majority of the Manichaean community members. In particular, the auditors may have little theological knowledge. The didactic narratives of parables and their attached interpretations made specific aspects of the Manichaean doctrines be preached more understandably. The parables allowed the abstract elements of the Manichaean religion to be connected with daily life, by paralleling or contrasting them with the things taken from the material world.

Despite educating the auditors, did the parables have a role in training the elects and converting new believers? It is worthy to first look at the situation of the early Indian Buddhist reception of the didactic narratives of stories/parables. Concluding previous scholarship, Rotman explains that the use and popularization of the *Avadānas* among Buddhists had five functions: “To popularize Buddhism; to inspire the laity; to educate the common people; to educate young monks; and to offer preliminary teachings (on specific subjects of Buddhism)”.<sup>201</sup> It cannot be excluded that parables helped train the priests and preach to the believers, at least for early Buddhist communities. But it remains unclear how these functions worked in eastern Manichaean communities.

Since the beginning of Manichaeism, the Manichaean missionaries were good at absorbing and making use of the stories and legends from the previous religions and various traditions. BeDuhn thinks that “their appropriation of Christian, Zoroastrian and Buddhist modes of expression in the respective domains of these rival religions far exceeded simple disguise or rhetorical strategy”.<sup>202</sup> Similarly, the Manichaean adaption of narratives of parables would not be a simple borrowing or adoption of useful texts from other traditions, but modifying and integrating them into the new Manichaean community. Within the interaction between Manichaean missions and local cultures, the parable texts may perform an important role in converting new believers as well as reinforcing the attendance of the old believers, both of whom would have been familiar with the expressions, stories, and legends that the Manichaean missions

---

<sup>201</sup> Rotman, A. *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna, Part 1*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008. pp 19-21.

<sup>202</sup> BeDuhn, J.D. *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 6.

employed in their didactic narratives of parables, in combination with doctrinal interpretations. On the other hand, Marzolph suggests that the new converts may have a certain role of bringing their old traditions (Buddhism or/and Shamanism in the cases of eastern Manichaean communities) into their new faith and re-using their old traditions in the new community.<sup>203</sup> In brief, the parables performed an important instructional role in the Turfan Manichaean community.

Except for the Manichaean parables in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian, there are also some Manichaean parables in the Uyghur language but their Manichaean nature is often difficult to recognize. Clark defines the Manichaean nature of those Uyghur Manichaean parables, with one or more of the following features: “Manichaean script, Manichaean page decoration (flowerlets), Manichaean interpunctuation (single or double black dots circled in red)”.<sup>204</sup> But Clark has not investigated the function of the Uyghur Manichaean parables other than their value of “entertainment”. According to Clark, at least eleven themes can be found in the known corpus of the Uyghur Manichaean parables: *Pañcatantra*, Aesop Fables, Buddha’s reply to Chandaka, the Necrophilia, Life of Buddha - Anvam, Buddha and Ananda the monk, Zoroaster legend, the king and the astrologer, the queen and the genie, Arazan the merchant, and Struggle with the demon.<sup>205</sup> These Uyghur parables were probably translated or adapted from Middle Persian, Parthian, or Sogdian versions, but their transmission has not been attested, since no exact parallels between them have been established. Unlike the other Manichaean parables that often refer to the symbols relating to specific aspects of the Manichaean doctrines, the Uyghur Manichaean parables are not obviously connected with certain aspects of the Manichaean doctrines. Also, the known corpus of the Uyghur Manichaean parables does not contain the Mani-related parables and the parables of liturgical purpose, which can be found in the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean parables. But when they were used in the community, their accompanying oral explanations may add more Manichaean elements to the Uyghur parables. The known Uyghur Manichaean parables were probably made for convenience or just intended for use in religious practices. However, the damaged state of the fragments of the Uyghur Manichaean parables makes it quite difficult to draw any conclusion.

---

<sup>203</sup> Marzolph, U. “The Migration of Didactic Narratives across Religious Boundaries”, in R. Forster & R. Günthart (eds.). *Didaktisches Erzählen: Formen literarischer Belehrung in Orient und Okzident*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2010. 173-188. pp 177-179.

<sup>204</sup> Clark. “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”. p. 108.

<sup>205</sup> Clark. “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”. pp 137-139.



As to the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean parables, they were intended for use in specific rituals or at particular moments in religious practices, for instance during the “Body and Soul” or the *Bema* rituals, through textual instructions on the manuscripts, which is revealed by the multilingual Manichaean fragment M 114 and the Parthian Manichaean fragment M 44. They are two great witnesses to the role of parables in the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaean community.

The multilingual Manichaean fragment M 114 (bifolio) contains some Sogdian liturgical instructions with Middle Persian and Parthian citations, for the ritual of the “Body-Soul” (in Parthian, *tn gy'n*), which refers to the use of a parable:

*cywyδyy tn gy'n pδk' βwt' 'ty'ftmw cn xrwhxw'n tn gy'n wyδβ[γ] 'ktyy γwt kδ'  
myδ kβn 'skw't 'yw 'znd frm'yδ 'kty wyspwhr 'd cnd'ty z'dg cywyδyy [t]n gy'n  
p'synd qβnyy xwyck'wyy frm'yδ 'kty*

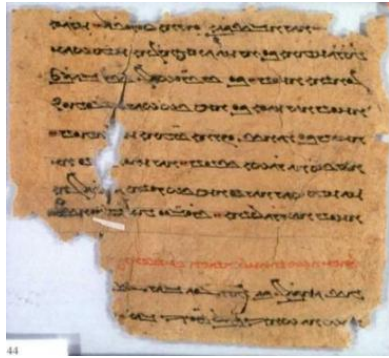
[Sogdian:] Then the body-soul rite takes place, and the preacher should first give a sermon about “body (and) soul”. When the day draws to a close, have a parable (*'znd*) recited, (e.g.) [Parthian:] “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son”. [Sogdian:] Then one should sing (the hymn-cycle of) the “body (and) soul”. Then say a short explanation (of this hymn-cycle). (M 114 I, recto ll. 5-8 & verso ll. 1-2)<sup>206</sup>

This passage mentions the name of the parable (*'znd*) text - “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son”, which is especially given in Parthian language, and which is supposed to be used (i.e., recited) at a certain point during the process of the “Body-Soul” ritual. The parable of “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son” may be of Parthian origin, for its Parthian title (*wyspwhr 'd cnd'ty z'dg*, “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son”) is kept in this Sogdian text. But, what the “Body-Soul” ritual consisted of is yet to be known. However, the parable of “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son” must have more or less connected with the main theme of this “Body-Soul” ritual, and most likely was used for explaining the theological significance of this ritual.

Furthermore, the Parthian Manichaean fragment M 44 (with a Sogdian caption in red ink) itself contains a parable text and indicates the occasion on which the parable was supposed to be recited:

---

<sup>206</sup> This translation is based on Henning’s German translation. See Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. pp 46-47.



M 44 recto

*j'yd'nyy m'hjmnwy' prβyrcy [...] ms w'xtg kw mrd 'yw bwd 's[kwh ...] 'wš 'w š'h  
xwj fryh bwd*

[Sogdian:] To be preached on the *Jaidan*-Monday. [Parthian:] It is also said: There was a man (of low origin) (and) he loved the king very much... (M 44 recto, ll. 9-11)<sup>207</sup>

After the red-ink Sogdian caption (of instruction) in M 44 recto, line 9, the following lines of this fragment (i.e., M 44 recto, ll. 10-11, and the lines of M 44 verso) all belong to a parable of “the King and the Low-Origin Man”. This recalls a statement in a Middle Persian Manichaean parable in M 47 II: *wc 'ryšn 'škwḥ myrd nywš 'g'n hynd* (“the men of low origin are the auditors”).<sup>208</sup> This parable (starting on M 44 recto) was to be recited on the *Jaidan*-Monday which is the most important day of the *Bema* festival (at the beginning of the year according to the Manichaean calendar). In the fragment M 44, the parable of “the King and the Low-Origin Man” is matched to the ritual in the *Jaidan*-Monday of the *Bema* festival. Thus, it can be inferred that some Manichaean parables were used for special occasions or festivals if they accorded well with them thematically. The evidence on M 44 is also supported by the badly-preserved Manichaean fragment L 120, which contains two fragmentary parables as well as such a line in the middle of L 120:

*'yn 'k yyšcn 'kw ny'wš 'kty pyδ'r "z'nt •• c'yδ'n*

This is the parable about greedy auditors. *Jaidan*. (L 120, line 6)<sup>209</sup>

Though it remains unknown how this line was connected to the two parables in the fragment L 120, it becomes definite that a “Parable about Greedy Auditors” was somehow meant for the *Jaidan*-Monday, and probably used in rituals for the *Bema* festival.

So, the fragments M 114, M 44, and L 120 all prove that the Manichaean parables were linked to certain rituals or celebrations. Although the

<sup>207</sup> This translation is based on Colditz’s German translation. Colditz. “Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen”. pp 300-302.

<sup>208</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 179, dj - 4.

<sup>209</sup> Sims-Williams, N. “The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44, 1981, 231-240. pp 236-237. Benkato. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. p. 164.

fragment M 114 itself did not contain any parable text, it implies that the parable of “the Prince with Čandāta’s Son” may have been thematically connected to the “Body-Soul” ritual. Then, the fragments M 44 and L 120 together demonstrate that certain parables could be used for the *Jaidan*-Monday ritual during the *Bema* festival.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 1.2***

The parables had an important instructional function in the religious practices of the Turfan Manichaean community, considering both the textual and oral contexts. Sometimes, they were also used in Manichaean rituals. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the process of the production and the use of the Manichaean parables, it is possible to explore the Manichaean parable manuscripts about their function. The role of parables in the Manichaean community should not be underscored, since they were used for teaching the Manichaean doctrines to believers, transmitted within the community, and connected with the rituals.

As a typical example of the Manichaean parable collections, the Sogdian fragments of the *Āzandnāmē* (“Parable-Book”) together contain the remnants of three parables, on the verso of an originally Chinese Buddhist long scroll. An explicit ending formula (“Ended is the parable of ...”) can be found in two of the three parable texts. Each parable of the *Āzandnāmē* scroll has a particular motif that corresponds to and explains the Manichaean doctrines.

The dual structure of the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean parables - narrative and interpretation (*epimythion*) is noticeable. The didactic narratives of the parables conveyed the Manichaean teachings. Then, the attachment of the interpretations (*epimythia*) to the parables on their manuscripts and the references to their use in liturgical settings, imply that the parable texts were employed by elects in the context of instructing auditors. Here, the separation of the interpretation from the parabolic narrative indicates the direct use of parables in religious practices, rather than just being read by elects.

In the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean parables, the interpretation intentionally played a bridge between the parabolic narratives and the Manichaean teachings. They together made the rituals meaningful with the Manichaean doctrines. In addition, the transition between the narrative and the interpretation in the parable text, not only introduced the interpretation but also emphasized its significance for elucidating the Manichaean doctrines. In particular, the interpretation of

the “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean” on the *Āzandnāmē* scroll is much longer than its parabolic narrative. The didactic purpose of the Turfan Manichaean parables seems to be dominant, while their entertaining aspect is not found. Moreover, the contents of some Turfan Manichaean parables themselves refer to auditors and contain the Manichaean teachings towards the auditors.

The parable manuscripts, as the material and historical representatives of the texts, reveal the context in which the parable texts were produced, transmitted, and used. On the opposite side of the manuscripts, the paratexts to the Manichaean parables reveal how the manuscripts that bear Manichaean parables were treated and used multiple times. Some paratexts on the parable manuscripts can be treated as the transmitting or ownership marks (in a special formula of “*ky L' pyr 't*”, including the text-transmitter and other witnesses of the learning process), while others may be the records of scribal work (including the scribe). Although they are different from the often seen colophons, the paratexts mainly reveal the later use of the parable manuscripts. The paratexts show the probability of the use of some Turfan Manichaean parables within a particular circle of community members. But there is no sufficient evidence to prove that these paratexts meant any authority or authenticity of the (parable) texts, though the information of the text-transmitter and other witnesses was simply given by the paratexts. As the Turfan Manichaean parables came from various traditions (such as Christianity and Buddhism), their textual authenticity and religious authority may not be so important for the Manichaean users who sought for understanding or preaching the Manichaean doctrines in a lively way.

Since the auditors within the Turfan Manichaean community were mostly Uyghurs, the Manichaean parables in Uyghur may be used along with the Manichaean parables in other languages. Although modern scholars have identified some Uyghur Manichaean parables, their Manichaean nature is so weak that they could also be used for non-Manichaean occasions. The currently known corpus of the Uyghur Manichaean parables is quite different from the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian ones whose Manichaean features are much easier to be found, especially through the interpretations (*epimythia*). In combination with the evidence from the Manichaean fragments M 44 and M 114, the Turfan Manichaean parables could be orally delivered to an audience in liturgical contexts. But the relation between the orality and the Manichaean parables is yet to be discovered. However, the Turfan Manichaean parables appear to have an important position in the Manichaean rituals, along with sermons and hymn cycles.

### 1.3 The Pictures and Illuminated Manuscripts

This part investigates the role of Manichaean art in constructing the Turfan Manichaean community. Since early times, Manichaean art had already gained an important position when the Manichaean religion was established. Mani created his new religion in both written and pictorial forms spontaneously, to avoid any later distortion of his teachings and to set up a standardized way of spreading his religion. The Manichaean art survivals and the writings about the Manichaean art, demonstrate an obvious preference towards instructional use.<sup>210</sup> For example, the Turfan Manichaean texts of M 5569 (Parthian), M 5815 (Parthian), and M 2 (Middle Persian) are accounts of early Manichaean church history, including passages that concern Mani's collection of pictures; and the Parthian *Ārdhang Wifrās* ("the Sermon on (Mani's) Pictures", documented by at least 16 fragments), and the texts of M 4570 (Parthian) and M 219 (Middle Persian), belong to the Manichaean didactic literature, mentioning the use of pictures for religious instruction.<sup>211</sup> More significantly, the majority of the Turfan Manichaean pictorial material was employed in didactic contexts.

In the Turfan Manichaean art, some images helped to attract illiterate auditors, which were combined with their accompanying texts that were read by the elects. In illuminated manuscripts, the miniatures are oriented sideways in relation to the direction of the writing of their accompanying texts. For example, if the miniature-viewer held the recto of the Manichaean illuminated codex manuscript MIK III 6368 around for seeing the image in the correct orientation, he or she would get a vertically upward running writing on the recto.

---

<sup>210</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 1.

<sup>211</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 67-94.



MIK III 6368 recto (11.2×17.2 cm)<sup>212</sup>

(In the correct orientation of viewing the miniature)

The same phenomenon applies to the recto of another Manichaean illuminated codex manuscript MIK III 4974, which is written in the Manichaean script. When MIK III 4974 is turned around to the correct orientation of the miniature on its recto, the miniature-viewer would get a vertically upward running writing on the recto.



MIK III 4974 recto (13.4×7.8 cm)<sup>213</sup>

From all that we know about the Manichaean and Sogdian scripts, a vertically upward reading direction of the texts (with the correct orientation of viewing the miniatures) must be ruled out.<sup>214</sup> Gulácsi finds that this design principle was systematically followed by the Turfan Manichaean book art, particularly in the illuminated service books.<sup>215</sup> Gulácsi compared those sideways-oriented pictures in the context of Turfan Manichaean book art with the cases of West Asian Christian and Islamic book illuminations and found that the miniature's sidewaysness in the former was the norm while that in the latter was an exception.<sup>216</sup> The reason for the existence of sideways-oriented pictures in the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts remains disputed among modern scholars.

<sup>212</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 93.

<sup>213</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 84.

<sup>214</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. "Die Orientierung der Bilder in manichäischen Bücherfragmenten in der Turfansammlung". pp 279-280.

<sup>215</sup> Gulácsi, Z. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2005. pp 133-193.

<sup>216</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. pp 191-193.

### 1.3.1 The Images Not for Worship in Early Manichaeism

Manichaeism took shape in the Mesopotamian context of the transitional period between the end of the Parthian Empire (274 BCE - 224 CE) and the beginning of the succeeding Sassanian Empire (224-651 CE), whose courts were both dominated by Zoroastrianism which was dualistic and against any worship of idols. As a missionary religion that first targeted the elite, Manichaeism accommodated to the Zoroastrian-dominated environment of the Sassanian Empire. According to both western and eastern Manichaean documents, early Manichaeism had directly criticized any worship of God's image. The content of denying the image worship can be found in the original Manichaean material from Roman Egypt, as the Coptic *Kephalaia* revealed:

Now, thus the directive of the body that lives within, hidden in the storehouse inside the body and unseen. So it is also how the Father, the God of truth, exists; as he too is hidden in his kingdom, not displayed before this outer desolation. (Coptic *Kephalaion* 151: 18-23)<sup>217</sup>

Here, the God's existence is "hidden in his kingdom" and "unseen", which means that the God should not be shown through any image or idol. This concept of the "unseen God" is similar to the Marcionite thoughts that it is impossible to have any natural knowledge of the transcendent God, whom Marcion described as "the absolutely Good".<sup>218</sup> Mani's theology may have been inspired by Marcionism which was an early Christian dualistic "heretic" sect that originated with the teachings of Marcion of Sinope in Pontus (c. 85-160 CE) who flourished in Rome in the middle of the 2nd century.

The Abbasid Muslim scholar Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-990) offered us a complete list of the "Ten Commandments" of the lay Manichaeans in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, which forbade the idol worship:

Mani prescribed Ten Ordinances for the auditors (*al-sammā'īn*), which he followed up with three seals and a fast of seven days without fail during every month. The ordinances represent faith in the four great beings: ... The Ten Ordinances: renouncing the worship of idols (*Tark 'abāda al-aṣṅām*); renouncing the telling of lies; renouncing avarice; renouncing killing; renouncing adultery; renouncing stealing; the teaching of defects; magic; the upholding of two opinions, which is about the faith; neglect and lassitude in action.<sup>219</sup>

In Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, the ban on idol worship is the first

---

<sup>217</sup> Gardner, I. (ed.). *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1995. p. 159.

<sup>218</sup> Lieu, J.M. *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic. God and Scripture in the Second Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. p. 330.

<sup>219</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm. *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture*. p. 789.

ordinance among the “Ten Commandments” of the lay Manichaeans. The Arabic term used by Ibn al-Nadīm here is *al-aṣṇām*, meaning “idol” or “imagery” in plural form. This ordinance reveals that early Manichaeism (and the later Manichaean communities in Mesopotamia and Persia) originally prohibited idol worship. Ibn al-Nadīm narrated the basic principles and original regulations of Manichaeism, but he did not refer to any specific Manichaean community and its *de facto* religious practices. However, due to severe persecutions by the Sassanian and Roman emperors, early Manichaeism had to go underground, which did not suit the condition of openly practicing Manichaeism. Meanwhile, there is no evidence to show that any idol worship existed in Manichaeism of the Sassanian and Roman Empires, from either archaeological or historical sources.

The Turfan Manichaean manuscripts also recorded the early Manichaean prohibition on idolatry. The Turfan Middle Persian fragment M 28 (folio I) contains homilies of the congregation of Abursām<sup>220</sup> which recorded the early Manichaean polemics against other religious traditions, in which the idol worshippers were criticized:

The lands are confused by the idols that misled (them), by the images on walls, (made of) wood and stone. They fear deception; they bow down before it and honor it. They have abandoned the Father in Heaven and pray to deception.<sup>221</sup>

Then, the Turfan Middle Persian fragment M 174 contains a liturgical prayer (of an early date) for the Manichaean church leaders, concerning the prohibition of idolatry:

... Nor the rich with (their) [wealth]...; nor the [poor] who are without knowledge of the gods; nor the idolaters who serve images, (who serve) the God of Deceit; nor the false heretics...<sup>222</sup>

Even so, it is not clear how the eastern Manichaeans dealt with idolatry in their religious practices. But it must be influenced by the Manichaean assimilation with Buddhism in the East, which involves the borrowing of Buddhist terms and images to convey distinctly Manichaean content, for instance in the Uyghur Manichaean texts, Mani is referred to by the Uyghur term *burxan* (literally meaning “Buddha”), while in other Manichaean contexts, Mani is just titled with the “prophet” (without being called a “Buddha”).<sup>223</sup>

---

<sup>220</sup> Abursām (active during the 3rd century) is a person who was converted by Mani, together with a woman called *Xēbra*.

<sup>221</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 126.

<sup>222</sup> The fragment M 174, see Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Text *dy*. Also see Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 162.

<sup>223</sup> Clark. “The Manichean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”. p. 152, and p. 196 notes 65-66.



### 1.3.2 The Buddhist Influence on the Manichaean Images

The eastern Manichaeans in practice did honor Mani's image, as they venerated Mani and then deified him, although not equal to committing idolatry. At the beginning of its introduction into China, Mani's Buddhist-style holy characteristics got exposed, though it was not made to be an idol worship. The Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (composed in 731) in its second article - *Xingxiang yi di'er* 形相儀第二, depicted the image or appearance of Mani in detail:

摩尼光佛 頂圓十二光王勝相 體備大明無量秘義 妙形特絕 人天無比 串以素帔 傲四淨法身 其居白座 像五金剛地 二界合離 初后旨趣 宛在真容 觀之可曉 諸有靈相百千勝妙 寔難備陳

The nimbus of Mani the Buddha of Light, being twelve-fold is the excellent sign of the King of Light. (His) body fully displaying the Great Light has the esoteric meaning of the Limitless. (His) wonderful appearance is outstanding, without equality among men and gods. (His) being clad in a white robe symbolizes the four pure *dharmakāyas*. His occupying the white throne depicts the five *vajra* lands. The union and separation of the two realms and the purport and trend of the Before and the After are apparent in true bearing and can be perceived if (one) looks at It/Him(?). All the spiritual signs He possesses in (their) hundred- and thousand-fold excellency and subtleness, are, indeed difficult to set forth fully. (Chinese *Compendium* - Or. 8210/S. 3969, cols. 51-56)<sup>224</sup>

In this *Compendium* about the Manichaean doctrines, it is striking that Mani had been deified as an incarnation of the “King of Light” (*Guangwang* 光王). But it states that enumerating all the characters of “Mani the Buddha of Light” (*Moni Guangfo* 摩尼光佛) is quite difficult. This passage implies that Mani's image is difficult to be made as a holy picture or idol, because of the limitlessness of “Mani the Buddha of Light”. Alternatively, using the eyes of light or soul enabled believers to “look at”(*guan* 觀) Mani and to “perceive”(*xiao* 曉) Mani's divine power.

However, the Manichaean assimilation with Buddhism is obviously reflected in the Turfan Manichaean art, for example, the painting scroll of MIK III 4947 & III 5d.<sup>225</sup> It is from an unspecified site of Qocho city ruins. MIK III 4947 & III 5d are two matched fragments of a single-sided painting scroll, made by pigments and gold leaf on paper. Clark and Gulácsi recognize that MIK III 4947 and MIK III 5d belonged to the same Manichaean painting scroll because they can be physically matched to each other.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Haloun, G. & W.B. Henning. “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major*, 1952, 184-212. p. 194.

<sup>225</sup> The fragment MIK III 4947: height - 13.8 cm, width - 5.6 cm. The fragment MIK III 5d: height - 5 cm, width - 1.4 cm.

<sup>226</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 250.



MIK III 4947 & III 5d  
(MIK III 4947: 13.8×5.6 cm; III 5d: 5×1.4 cm)<sup>227</sup>

Based on the painting's survival, it can be deduced that the fragments may have retained a third or half of the original scroll's height.<sup>228</sup> This painting's survival mainly presents a flanking figure that is located on the upper right position to the central figure which only has border remnants to be seen now. The flanking figure remaining in the painting could be the Buddha (Sakyamuni?), not possibly Mani (also represented as a Buddha). This Buddha has bands of gilded and painted halo, and his right hand gives a gesture of discourse. A line of Sogdian script - *pwt* (as a name), was integrated into this painting, on the chest of the Buddha, which is recognized by Clark.<sup>229</sup> Hence, this Sogdian form of "Buddha" (*pwt*) can identify him as the Buddha. Nevertheless, it is unusual that a typical iconography of Buddha needed an identity note on the chest of the figure, which seems to be redundant and does not occur in any Buddhist context. There is clarity that the Buddha was reckoned to be one of the primary prophets in Manichaeism. Le Coq holds this picture to be Manichaean, based on the well-known Manichaean syncretism of various previous religions, and speculates that the vanished central figure flanked by the Buddha may have been Mani himself.<sup>230</sup> If the vanished central figure at the lower left was not Mani, it could be the King of Light or another greater deity from the Manichaean theological system. Huntington points out that this Manichaean portrayal of the Buddha conformed well to Buddhist iconography: particularly, his Buddhist-seating style, his elegant appearance, and his turban-knot of hair, all signify the princely heritage

<sup>227</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 147.

<sup>228</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 146.

<sup>229</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 240.

<sup>230</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1923 (Reprinted in 1973, Gratz: Akademie Druck). p. 45.

or noble origin of the Buddha.<sup>231</sup> This image of the Buddha (including the decorative hem, the appearance of robe design, the lack of jewellery, and the compositions of his halos) accords well with the contemporaneous Buddha's image of East Central Asia.<sup>232</sup> This painting can be connected to the corpus of the Turfan Manichaean art because they share the special Manichaean features, such as halos, gilded borders, and gold disks.<sup>233</sup>

Concerning the assimilative nature of Manichaean pictorial narratives, Klimkeit interprets this painting scroll fragment in the Manichaean context of assimilating other religious elements, especially from Buddhism.<sup>234</sup> But the significance of the painting of MIK III 4947 & III 5d may be beyond the Manichaean assimilation with Buddhism. As a flanking/subordinate figure which is identified by his name written on him, the figure of Buddha in this Manichaean painting implies that eastern Manichaeism may have integrated the Buddhist content into its formative principles, rather than simply assimilating/absorbing some elements of other religious traditions. Since the beginning of Manichaeism, Mani had attempted to integrate (and purify) the teachings of previous religions of the prophets (including Jesus Christ, Zoroaster, and Buddha),<sup>235</sup> which is mentioned in the introduction to the Coptic Manichaean *Kephalaia*,<sup>236</sup> and the Sogdian Manichaean text on the Turfan manuscript Ch/So 20182.<sup>237</sup> Therefore, by portraying and naming the Buddha, the subject of the original composition of MIK III 4947 & III 5d, is better interpreted as referring to the primary prophets of Manichaeism which include Buddha. It was not uncommon to integrate a Buddhist figure into the context of Turfan Manichaean art. Beside the figure of Buddha, the remnants of another figure (as the central figure)

---

<sup>231</sup> Huntington, S. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. New York: Weatherhill, 1993. p. 12.

<sup>232</sup> Comparing it with the details of Buddha Shakyamuni's image and/or Buddha Amitabha's image during the Tang period in Tumshuq, see Yaldiz, M. *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang)*. Leiden: Brill, 1987. Abb. 14. For those in Dunhuang (Cave 328), see Fisher, R.E. *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993. Fig. 94.

<sup>233</sup> Gulácsi, Z. "Identifying the Corpus of Manichaean Art among the Turfan Remains", in P. Mirecki & J. BeDuhn (eds.). *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden: Brill, 1997. 177-215. p. 197.

<sup>234</sup> Klimkeit. *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. p. 40.

<sup>235</sup> Discussed in the conclusion of BeDuhn's article, see BeDuhn, J.D. "Eucharist or Yasna?: Antecedents of Manichaean Food Ritual", in R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann & P. Zieme (eds.). *Studia Manichaica: IV Internafionaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14. - 18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000. 14-36. p. 32.

<sup>236</sup> *Kephalaia* 7.18-8.7, see Gardner. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. p. 13.

<sup>237</sup> Sundermann. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. Text b, ll. 124-135.

can be found, which has a greater complex halo located to the lower left of the Buddha, and seems to be more magnificent and symbolizes a higher status. The size difference of the two sets of halos for the two figures reveals the existence of hierarchical scaling in the original composition of MIK III 4947 & III 5d. Furthermore, its original composition may contain two or more figures of the same scale as the Buddha (as portraits of the primary prophets of Manichaeism), surrounding the larger central figure, on the basis of the spatial arrangement of the subordinate figure – the Buddha and the vanished central figure.

### 1.3.3 The Paintings of the Manichaean Monasteries

The Turfan wall-painting fragment MIK III 6918 depicts a Manichaean community scene, with a church leader as its central figure.



MIK III 6918 (88×168.5 cm)<sup>238</sup>

MIK III 6918 is the most intact known example of the Manichaean wall paintings. The original piece of MIK III 6918 came from a “plastered and painted interior wall surface of a free-standing mud-brick building”, found in Qocho ruin K of the Turfan region.<sup>239</sup> It has a blue background as the scene for the figural composition. The central figure is on the left of the fragment, with his head and part of his upper body remaining. The central figure looks like at least a high-ranking church leader whose specific identity is still in debate. This central figure is assumed as Mani himself by Le Coq<sup>240</sup> and Klimkeit<sup>241</sup>. When the explorer Le Coq visited

<sup>238</sup> Photo (combined of two pages) from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. pp 200-201.

<sup>239</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die Manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 34.

<sup>240</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die Manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 34 & pl. 1a. Le Coq identified Kat.No.IB 6918 (MIK III 6918) as “fragment of a large mural

the original place of the wall painting of MIK III 6918 – the Qocho ruin K of Turfan, he witnessed and recorded as:

The portrait of the high priest for the whole group of painted faces impresses one as being meant for portraits - is done larger than life ... The peculiar signification of this extraordinary nimbus has caused the impression that perhaps we have here a picture of Mani himself before us.<sup>242</sup>

But Gulácsi speculates this central figure is only a great bishop (*mōžāk*).<sup>243</sup> However, this central figure's high status is indicated by the complicated design of his headgear, which had a similar authoritative significance to a male elect's headgear of horn-like accessories on the top of a pillar in the illuminated scroll fragment MIK III 4614.

The single-sided illuminated Manichaean scroll fragment MIK III 4614 contains a picture, with bits of a vanished part of a text. In the miniature of MIK III 4614, the male elect's headgear (on the top of a pillar) is decorated with a black furry or feather accessory,<sup>244</sup> which is only seen together with the headgears of the Manichaean dignitaries. The two headgears in MIK III 4614 and MIK III 6918 have different painting styles, but both of them functioned as a symbol of proclaiming sanctity.



MIK III 4614 (32×22 cm)<sup>245</sup>



MIK III 6918

(Detail of the headgear)

In the miniature of MIK III 4614, the male elect's headgear with horn-like accessories was painted on the top of the pillar, without an image of the male elect who owned it.

---

with the (supposed) portrait head of Mani”.

<sup>241</sup> Klimkeit. *Manichäische Kunst an der Seidenstraße: Alte und neue Funde*. p. 54.

<sup>242</sup> Le Coq, A. von. “A Short Account of the Origin, Journey, and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan”, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1909, 299-322. p. 305.

<sup>243</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 228.

<sup>244</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die Manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 38. Klimkeit. *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. p. 47.

<sup>245</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 145.



*The detail of the headgear in MIK III 4614*

In the original textual manuscript MIK III 4614, this pictorial section had its left and right sides overlapped with the layers of paper forming vertical hems,<sup>246</sup> which suggests that it may have been originally an independent piece, cut out of another book, and then to be glued in the middle of the split paper of the textual part. But on the other hand, the remnants of letters in black ink and one faded remnant of a black-ink stroke on the right hem enclosing the picture, suggest that the text may be copied after the pictorial piece was glued into the split paper.

In the community scene of MIK III 6918, all the figures turn their heads to their right side. They look to the right, as if they may be observing or attending a ceremony depicted in the missing part of the wall painting; and the center of this wall painting may just show a Manichaean liturgical event.<sup>247</sup> The central figure of this wall-painting fragment was either Mani or another later church leader, because of its huge proportion (larger than life) within the figural composition of this wall painting. The central figure (at least a church leader) is an old man with high esteem, as his white forked beard and white long hair go along his shoulders. This central figure also has an originally violet-red and yellow nimbus, surrounded by a crescent-like halo. A red stole-like band is laid over his shoulders, on the white clothes, which not only is a decoration but also indicate his religious authority or dignity. The central figure (at least a church leader) is surrounded by a complete community including male and female elects and auditors, which indicate that the Manichaean community is composed of the two basic ranks and the two genders. In this wall-painting fragment, the names of eleven of the male elects survive on their robes: ten of the names written in Sogdian script with black ink, but one in Manichaean script with red ink. The writing of the eleven names accords with the vertical writing of names as in Manichaean book paintings. The amount of facial hair, the presence of names, and the size of the figures reveal the arrangement of the age group and the status of these male elects.<sup>248</sup> Behind them, it can be seen parts of nine female elects, and further, some auditors were painted. Except for

---

<sup>246</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 144.

<sup>247</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 228.

<sup>248</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 199.

the central figure, all the figures are holding their hands hidden into the sleeves of their clothes, in front of their chests, which can reflect their obedience to the central figure. Thus, this wall painting was transmitting a message of venerating the central figure to the audience, which is more than being a decoration for the divine significance. The wall painting of MIK III 6918 may have been devoted to Mani or the contemporary highest church leader (surrounded by the Manichaean community members) in the Manichaean monastery at the Qocho ruin K, as the images of Mani and his successors were associated with the divinity.

MIK III 4624 is another Turfan Manichaean wall-painting fragment, found in Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  of the Turfan region. In MIK III 4624, parts of the upper bodies of two male elects can be seen in front of a building's pillar(?) between the two elects, who were looking to their left side.



MIK III 4624 (27×35 cm)<sup>249</sup>

Gulácsi speculates the wall painting of MIK III 4624 as a “ritual image”.<sup>250</sup> But this painting’s survival is only composed of two elect figures, which is insufficient to deduce a depiction of a liturgical event. It cannot be excluded that this wall painting was just presenting a portrait of figures. These two Manichaean figures have the possibility of composing an image of high church leaders.

So far, the Turfan Manichaean paintings more likely performed an instructional function, and there is no pictorial evidence of the Manichaean idol worship in the Turfan region. But we can find a textual record – the *Käd Ogul Memoir* that implies it in a later time of the Qocho Uyghur period. The *Käd Ogul Memoir* is a unique original document recording the situation of Manichaean monasteries (*manistans*) in the Turfan region. “Käd Ogul” is the name of a Manichaean elect of Argu origin, who was a *xoštir* (an unconfirmed position among the high elects) and lived in Turfan during the latter half of the 10th century. Käd Ogul wrote this *Memoir* in the first person for lamenting the official

<sup>249</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 203.

<sup>250</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 229.

confiscation and Buddhist rededication of the statue of the Qocho city's "sacred and great *manistan*", commanded by a Qocho Uyghur ruler at that time. The *Kād Ogul Memoir* is written in the Uyghur language and Sogdian script, lettered with a clear yet unpractised calligraphy. The *Kād Ogul Memoir* is written on the verso of a Sogdian Manichaean codex (in the Sogdian language and Manichaean script), and now it survives in four fragments (M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and a matched large fragment group M 112+M 146+M 336c). The matched large fragment group of M 112+M 146+M 336c verso survives more completely. It discussed about the Qocho city's *manistans* (in M 112+M 146+M 336c verso, ll. 7-22):

Later on, (our?) existence changed, and the five of us, headed by Taš *xoštur* and Kād Ogul *xoštur*, ... with (our) minds having an extremely strong and firm belief in the [pure] doctrine, (and) thinking that (our work) may increase the good of the realm(?), came (here) [from] Yegänkānt of the Talas royal Argu (country) with the jewel-root in the *kap* Tiger year in the reign of El Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th (i.e., in 954), and became elects.

And I, the youngest (among us), the novice, Butānē-yān Kād Ogul, (worked on) building this sacred stone *manistan* (even) while I was constantly ill, right up until the last little bit of my meager strength was exhausted. In the year of the sheep and of the element *kuu*, under the planet Saturn (i.e., in 983), by command of the "Lancer" Khagan - Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th, my Divine One, the Queen Princess, had the *vihāra* (i.e., "Buddhist monastery" in Sanskrit) with three wheels that was built in the eastern part of the old inner city moved. In the time of the teacher (*mōžāk*) - Astūd Frazend, they tore down the (stone) *manistan* and set up the *vihāra* (in its place).

O, alas! They also pulled down and took the internal facings(?) and the decorations of the *qwndwv kyrw č'ky manistan*, and they carried them away to erect the *vihāra*; and they took the red brocade canopy (*töpü loxtu*) and lacquered (*sırlag*) and painted (*bädiz*) statue (*yang*) (that were) within the great chamber of this sacred and great *manistan*, and they had the *vihāra* furnished (with them).

I, Kād Ogul of Argu, unable to bear the suffering of the kind no one can bear too much of, and thinking that I should write in regard to the statue of the *manistan* so that young people shall understand later (what happened), have ventured to write briefly (about it) in this memoir. My Divine One!<sup>251</sup>

The *Kād Ogul Memoir* witnessed the transitional period when the Uyghur ruler and noblemen began to favor Buddhism over Manichaeism and the gradual process of Buddhist replacement of Manichaeism in the Turfan region. Clark concludes that two *manistans* of Qocho city are mentioned in the *Kād Ogul Memoir*:

(1) A smaller "stone *manistan*", which the new elect - Kād Ogul assisted to erect, starting from 954, stood there for about 30 years, until being demolished and replaced by a Buddhist monastery (*vihāra*) in 983, which he also witnessed.

(2) A "sacred and great *manistan*", which may have been renovated or refurnished previously, and then witnessed by Kād Ogul as being gutted and

<sup>251</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 362.



abandoned in 983 though not totally destroyed yet.<sup>252</sup>

The *Kād Ogul Memoir* was written after 983.<sup>253</sup> According to M 112+M 146+M 336c verso (ll. 7-22), the year 983 was the time when Kād Ogul witnessed the statue of Qocho's "sacred and great *manistan*" being taken for re-use in a newly built *vihāra* "by the command of the 'Lancer' Khagan, Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th", which motivated him to write this lamenting memoir. The year 983 as the earliest possible year of this writing, corresponds to the report of a Song envoy - Wang Yande 王延德 (938-1006), who visited the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom in 983. In his *Xizhou shicheng ji* (西州使程記)<sup>254</sup>, Wang Yande noticed and recorded the religious situation of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom:

佛寺五十餘區，皆唐朝所賜額……復有摩尼寺，波斯僧各持其法，佛經所謂外道者也<sup>255</sup>

(There are) more than fifty Buddhist temples, all inscribed boards of which were granted by the Tang court... In addition, there are Manichaeian temples and Persian (Nestorian)<sup>256</sup> monks, which adhere to their respective (religious) laws, and both of which are called "outer ways (heretics)" by Buddhist canons.

Wang Yande's report about the religious situation of the Turfan region during the Qocho Uyghur period reveals the prosperity of Buddhism and its co-existence with Manichaeism and Nestorianism.

The motivation for writing the *Kād Ogul Memoir* is taking the Manichaeian divine statue from the great chamber of the "sacred and great *manistan*" to furnish a Buddhist monastery, which had saddened the elect Kād Ogul:

...Thinking that I should write in regard to the statue of the *manistan* so that young people shall understand later (what happened), have ventured to write briefly (about it) in this memoir. (M 112+M 146+M 336c verso, ll. 21-22)

M 112+M 146+M 336c verso, ll. 7-22, mentions a "statue" that may have

---

<sup>252</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeian Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 359-366.

<sup>253</sup> Moriyasu, T. "Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003: History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia", in T. Moriyasu et al. (eds.). *Shirukurōdo to sekaishi シルクロードと世界史 [World History Reconsidered Through the Silk Road]*. Osaka: Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters, 2003. 23-111. pp 86-88.

<sup>254</sup> Wang Yande's *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記, also called *Shi Gaochang ji* 使高昌記, was lost, but taken into records by *Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳 of *Song shi* 宋史, and *Huichen lu* 揮塵錄 - *qian lu* 前錄 of Wang Mingqing 王明清 (ca. 1127-1202).

<sup>255</sup> In *Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳 of *Liezhuan* 列傳 249, of *Song shi* 宋史 (Scroll 490), see Toqto 脫脫 (1314-1355) and Alutu 阿魯圖 (?-1351) (authors); Ni Qixin (ed.). *Song shi* 宋史 (*Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 - *Song shi* 宋史 - Book 16). Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004. p. 10471. Wang Mingqing 王明清. *Huichen lu - qian lu* 揮塵錄·前錄 (Scroll 4). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961. p. 37.

<sup>256</sup> Wang Yuanyuan. "Wudai Songchu Xizhou Huihu 'Bosi waidao' bianshi 五代宋初西州回鶻'波斯外道'辨釋". pp 75-86.

been an object of worship “within the great chamber of the ‘sacred and great *manistan*’”. In 983, when the Turfan Manichaean community was headed by the “teacher Astūd Frazend”, the “sacred and great *manistan*” in Qocho was “pulled down”, and its “internal facings (?)” and “decorations” were taken to erect a *vihāra* (“Buddhist monastery”); and this *manistan*’s “red brocade canopy (*töpü loxtu*) and lacquered (*sırlag*) and painted (*bädiz*) statue (*yang*)” were also taken to furnish the *vihāra*, though this *manistan* had not been immediately totally ruined. The action of using a Manichaean divine statue and decorations for furnishing a new Buddhist monastery reveals that this Manichaean statue may look so similar to the Buddhist one that it was replanted into the local Buddhist context. There may have been a communication between Manichaeism and Buddhism regarding the image art, so this Manichaean statue became re-used by the local Buddhist community. The construction of this Turfan Manichaean statue may have got great influence from local Buddhism, or the other way around.

The *Käd Ogul Memoir* is also the only currently known Uyghur document that concerned the Manichaean art of images, which offers crucial information about two mediums of art (possibly one of Mani’s statues, and seven paintings of Manichaean deities) connected to the *manistans* of the Qocho city. The *Käd Ogul Memoir* used two Uyghur terms for the Manichaean image art: *körk* (“something visible, illustration, image, painting, or portrait”)<sup>257</sup>, and *yang* (an infrequent Uyghur term, meaning “pattern/model”, and here in the sense of “statue”)<sup>258</sup>. The term *yang* was probably a loanword from the Chinese noun *yang* 样 (“appearance”).<sup>259</sup> The *Käd Ogul Memoir* depicted this *yang* (“statue”) as *sırlag* (“lacquered”) and *bädiz* (“painted”), and supplemented with an atop *töpü loxtu* (“red brocade canopy”), which was kept “within the great chamber of this ‘sacred and great *manistan*’ and then had the *vihāra* furnished (with them)”.

Another section of the *Käd Ogul Memoir* – M 336a+M 336b verso, is also related to the Turfan Manichaean art. Though being highly fragmentary, Gulácsi speculates that this section of the *Käd Ogul Memoir* may preserve a list of at least seven “pictures” (*körk*) of Mani and other

<sup>257</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. p. 741.

<sup>258</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 372-374, note 19.

<sup>259</sup> Geng Shimin. *Gudai Weiwuer wenxian jiaocheng* 古代維吾爾文獻教程. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2006. pp 181 & 209. As for the original texts which contained the term *yan*, see Gabain, A. von. “Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biographie”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse) 29, Berlin, 1938, 371-415; Rachmati, G.R. “Zur Heikunde der Uiguren II”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), Berlin, 1932, 401-448.

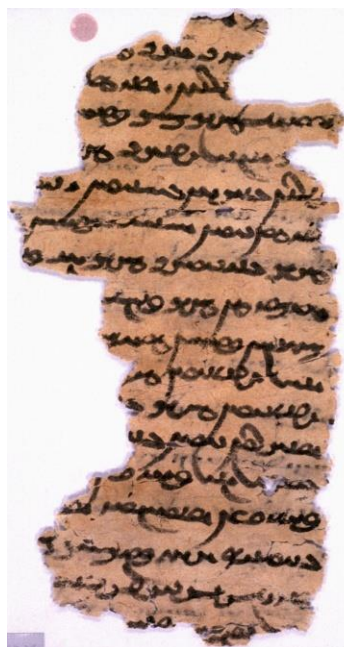
Manichaean deities, which all seem to be paintings. This fragmentary passage also mentions the “west side” and the “eastern direction” of the place (more probably as a hall inside the *manistan*) where these supposed images were located.

... In a place, eastern direction from ... (M 336a verso, line 15);

... West side... east and west sides (M 336b verso, ll. 1-6);

[Western] direction and eastern direction... eastern... and starting from here. (M 112+M 146+M 336c verso, ll. 1-4)<sup>260</sup>

Although the *Käd Ogul Memoir* does not provide any detail about how these images were used in the *manistan*, it implies how the *manistan* was decorated as a space of rituals and worship, by references to the eastern and western directions within it. Nevertheless, the term *körk* (“portrait/picture”) survives only one time within this section of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, as in the damaged first part of the passage: “... the picture of the King (of) ...” (in Uyghur: ... *elig körki*...) (M 336a verso, line 5).<sup>261</sup>



**M 336a verso, ll. 4-10:**

- ... the divine Man, the Buddha ...
- ... the picture of the King ...
- ... the God...in the place on the western side ...
- ... the Buddha, who pays heed in the robe of ...
- ... the Gods, who are in the land of God ...
- ... the Primal Man, the God ...
- ... the Messiah Buddha, born ...

*M 336a verso*

Based on the phrase *elig körki* (“the picture of the King”) for a divine picture, the other six pictures of the Manichaean deities can be inferred, recovering the terms of deities that may have appeared in each line of M 336a verso, ll. 4-10: Mani the Buddha, the King (of Honor), an unidentified god, the Buddha, the Gods (?), the Primal Man, and Jesus the Messiah.<sup>262</sup> It is quite possible that each line contained the term *körk* (“picture”). But it is still unknown whether these portraits including the picture of the King were directly painted as a wall painting of the

<sup>260</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 311.

<sup>261</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 311.

<sup>262</sup> For the Uyghur list of Manichaean deities, see Clark, L. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. II: Liturgical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. p. 221.

*manistan*, or displayed on the wall as a hanging scroll or a temple banner.

However, the divine statue may have had a central role within the above-mentioned “sacred and great *manistan*” of the Qocho city, which made the elect Kād Ogul outraged by its confiscation and Buddhist rededication under the pressure of the Uyghur ruler. Gulácsi deduces that this statue of the “sacred and great *manistan*” might be Mani’s sculpture.<sup>263</sup> This statue may be of Buddhist characteristics so that it was able to be directly re-used to furnish a Buddhist monastery.

In the early 20th century, the “First Royal Prussian Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan” discovered physical evidence of the *manistans* in situ, which correspond to the record of the *Kād Ogul Memoir*: with command of the “Lancer” Khagan, the *manistans* inside the Qocho city were either replaced by a Buddhist monastery or shifted to furnish a Buddhist monastery. As non-portable physical evidence, the painted walls of the *manistans* were derived from two building remains - Qocho ruin α and ruin K, as two former *manistans*.<sup>264</sup> These two sites are supposed to be once used by Manichaeans, as proved by numerous Manichaean textual fragments and pictorial fragments (especially wall paintings) discovered out of them. For example, the already-mentioned Manichaean wall painting of the fragment MIK III 6918 (88×168.5 cm) is from Qocho ruin K, and the other Manichaean wall painting of the fragment MIK III 4624 (27×35 cm) is from Qocho ruin α. With the two Manichaean wall paintings from Qocho ruin α and ruin K, in addition to the *Kād Ogul Memoir*, we know that the Manichaean monasteries contained big-size divine wall paintings.

### **1.3.4 The Sideways-Oriented Images and Their Accompanying Texts**

The Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts specifically include codices, (at least) a scroll, and *pothi*-form leaves. They use Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, or Uyghur languages for their texts. They

---

<sup>263</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 121-122.

<sup>264</sup> The Ruin α and the Ruin K were two *manistans* of the Qocho city. The structure of both *manistans* reveals the signs of Buddhist rededication and re-use. Based on the dates provided by the *Kād Ogul Memoir* (surviving in four fragments - M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and the matched large fragment-group M 112+M 146+M 336c), Gulácsi deduces a circa 100-year period between 885 and 983, related to these two *manistans* of Qocho. See Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 138-140.

were written in either Manichaean script or Sogdian script. Most of those illuminated codex manuscripts were written in the Middle Persian language and Manichaean script. Their textual contents varied from each other, and the motifs of their miniatures covered several aspects of the Manichaean religious practices. According to Gulácsi, the layout of the images in the Manichaean illuminated codices can be categorized into three types: The figural scenes are positioned along the side margins (as marginal); or inserted in the text sections (as intra-textual); or possessing a whole page by their own (as full-page).<sup>265</sup> The Manichaean figural scenes of any location are turned sideways against the writing direction of their accompanying texts. As for the reading direction, it can be read either from right to left or vertically downwards, regarding both the Manichaean script and the Sogdian script. Thus, sometimes the images are only sideways against the reading direction; but at other times they can be viewed together with the reading direction of their accompanying texts, such as in MIK III 6368 verso.



*MIK III 6368 verso (11.2×17.2 cm)<sup>266</sup>  
(in the orientation of viewing the miniature)*

In MIK III 6368 verso, though being written from right to left, the Sogdian script lines can also be read from up to down, accommodating to the viewing direction of the miniature. Durkin-Meisterernst thinks that the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts were used for two simultaneous, complementary but also competing purposes, combining the task of a text with that of an album.<sup>267</sup> The text copying and the miniature painting were probably produced by a scribe and a painter separately. But the contextual cohesion between texts and images in this book art has not been clarified, although the sideways-oriented images may at least accord to the general Manichaean contexts of the illuminated service books. Regarding the reasons why the miniatures were made to be sideways-oriented against the texts, there has been no consensus yet

<sup>265</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. pp 173-177.

<sup>266</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 93.

<sup>267</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. "Die Orientierung der Bilder in manichäischen Bücherfragmenten in der Turfansammlung". p. 283.

among modern scholars, and two opinions seem to be more possible:

(1) The function of the vast majority of miniatures was primarily decorative, not used as “illustrations” to their accompanying texts.<sup>268</sup> During the Qocho Uyghur era with official sponsorship, the Manichaean service books began to get more decorated, with either floral designs painted around the texts (mostly along the top or outer side margins), or figural compositions brought into the formerly plain texts.<sup>269</sup> In other words, the texts can be read and understood without any assistance of images.

(2) As Gulácsi points out: “This deliberate lack of coordination between the text and the image indicates that the two did not develop together within the illuminated book, but derived from independent sources”.<sup>270</sup> Gulácsi has reconstructed the Turfan Manichaean corpus of didactic images that were adapted from Mani’s canonical picture books (as canonical sources), though some figural compositions derived from the ritual images that describe the Manichaean church rituals (as liturgical sources). Those modified canonical pictures may have been introduced in East Central Asia. Then, Gulácsi figures out: “it is more likely that the practice of sideways orientation of figural compositions originates from introducing individual images from (horizontal) canonical picture books into (vertical) liturgical service books”.<sup>271</sup>

But the reason for the sideways orientation of the illuminations should not be simplified as either “decorative” or “deliberate” due to being “derived from independent sources”. The relation between the sideways-oriented images and the texts needs to be analyzed case by case. Some of the Turfan Manichaean miniatures may be used for a strong visual expression of their religious identity, rather than only instructional intentions. The sideways-oriented miniatures may mainly serve the illiterate auditors or the literate auditors who did not understand the Manichaean religious texts.

Due to the changes along with time and space, the Turfan Manichaean book art may have evolved and got much influenced by other traditions, especially Buddhism. With the “dramatic changes” of the Turfan Manichaean art itself as suggested by Gulácsi,<sup>272</sup> the Turfan Manichaeans may have painted miniatures and decorated their books to either illustrate the accompanying texts or express religious identity. For instance, it can be deduced that the full-page illumination on the frontispiece (MIK III

---

<sup>268</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. p. 218.

<sup>269</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 312.

<sup>270</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 308.

<sup>271</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 312.

<sup>272</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 491.

8260 recto) of the unique Manichaean *pothi* (book in the form of palm-leaf), was decoratively painted for revealing the religious identity of the sponsor (an elect named Aryaman Fristum) of this Uyghur Manichaean *pothi*.



MIK III 8260 recto & verso (6×21.5 cm)<sup>273</sup>  
(the first leaf of the Manichaean *pothi*)

At the end of this Manichaean *pothi*, there is a colophon containing the transfer of merit of compiling and copying the Manichaean *pothi*, to various lay persons of the sponsor's community.

The Turfan Manichaean book art may have multiple purposes, such as instructional, decorative, and/or authoritative functions, which combined the elects and auditors in one same context of using the illuminated manuscripts. With sideways-oriented miniatures, the current examples of the Turfan Manichaean book art used the texts and the images differently. Nevertheless, when the illuminated manuscripts were used in rituals, the miniatures can function differently from the original purpose of their illuminators. The practical text-reading direction of their readers can be modified from the normal writing/reading direction of the scribes, to cater to the correct orientation of viewing the miniatures. But this modification of the text-reading direction does not apply to the rectos of illuminated codices, since the sideways-oriented layout of the text and miniature on the codex's recto means that any text-reading direction cannot cater to the correct orientation of viewing the miniature. Here are examples of the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts:

---

<sup>273</sup> Photos from Markschies, C. & J. van Oort (eds.). *Zugänge zur Gnosis. Akten zur Tagung der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.-05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*. Peters: Leuven, 2013. pp 333-334.

<i>Signature of fragment</i>	<i>Size (height×width)</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Miniature</i>
<b><u>Codex</u></b>					
MIK III 6368	Folio: 11.2×17.2 cm	Uyghur	Sogdian	<i>Recto</i> : a short text of warning wrong beliefs	<i>Recto</i> : the elect scribes' scene
				<i>Verso</i> : a colophon to an unknown Manichaean book with the header "the Four Sovereign Gods"	<i>Verso</i> : a hymnodic ritual scene with musical instruments
MIK III 8259	Bifolio: 18.8×29.2 cm	Parthian & Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Rectos &amp; versos of bifolio</i> : the parable of Bashandād; an abecedarian hymn; a hymn to the Father of Greatness; the treatise on the origin of the world	<i>Recto of folio 1</i> : a sermon scene
MIK III 4979a+b	Folio: 25.2×12.4 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : a benediction for the community's Uyghur benefactors	<i>Recto</i> : the right-hand (salvational) scene with the conversion of the Steppe Uyghur ruler Būgū Khan
					<i>Verso (full-page)</i> : a scene of the <i>Bema</i> festival celebration
MIK III 4959	Folio: 11×8.2 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : a colophon evoking merit upon the secular leaders of the Community	<i>Recto</i> : two of the "Four Guardians" as in the right-hand (salvational) scene
					<i>Verso</i> : a judgement scene
MIK III 4974	Folio: 13.4×7.8 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto &amp; verso</i> : a benediction on the sacred ritual meal and the leadership of the Community	<i>Recto</i> : the alms service of auditors, and the sacred ritual meal of elects
M 559	Folio: 3.5×4.05 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : unidentifiable	<i>Recto</i> : the alms service of auditors, and the sacred ritual meal of elects
				<i>Verso</i> : a hymn to the Father of Greatness	
So 18700 + M 501e	Folio: 12.8×15 cm	Sogdian	Sogdian	<i>Recto &amp; verso</i> : an allegorical text describing the development of the human fetus	<i>Verso</i> : a music-playing scene



MIK III 36	Folio: 9.7×10.2 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : a benediction on the auditors of the Uyghur royal court	<i>Verso</i> : a court scene, with an image of the King of Honor
MIK III 4964	Folio: 3.6×9.4 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : unidentifiable	<i>Recto</i> : the image of Mani(?) as visionary witness
				<i>Verso</i> : a hymn, mentioning the five divine elements	
MIK III 4967a	Folio: 7.4×4.3 cm	Unidentifiable	Manichaean	<i>Verso</i> : a cantillated text (probably a hymn)	<i>Recto</i> : small painted squares of figural compositions
					<i>Verso</i> : a standing elect
Or. 1812-1692	Folio: 10×8.2 cm	Uyghur	Orkhon	<i>Recto</i> : a colophon to an unknown Manichaean book	<i>Verso</i> : a portion of the <i>Bema</i> scene
<b><i>Scroll</i></b>					
81TB 65:1	26×268 cm	Sogdian	Sogdian	<i>Recto</i> : an authoritative church letter	<i>Recto</i> : symbolizing the leadership of the church, with music-playing guardians
				<i>Verso</i> : blank	
<b><i>Pothi-form</i></b>					
MIK III 8260	6×21.5 cm	Uyghur	Manichaean	<i>Verso</i> : lines of the <i>Great Hymn to Mani</i>	<i>Recto</i> : the salvational scene of an elect in the heaven
<b><i>Unknown form</i></b>					
M 556	10×6.5 cm	Middle Persian	Manichaean	<i>Recto</i> : blank	
				<i>Verso</i> : omen texts	<i>Verso</i> : small painted squares of illustrations to the omens

Most of these examples of the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts are fragmentary. But we can still find that many of their sizes were originally small, except the long scroll of 81TB 65:1 which is 26 cm high and 268 cm wide. Only an illuminated long scroll was suitable for being presented to a congregation including both elects and auditors in public occasions or ceremonies, while others were shown among a few persons.

In the current survival of the Turfan Manichaean book art, there are at least four illuminated manuscripts (MIK III 4974, MIK III 36, M 556, and 81TB 65:1) that have images as illustrations to the texts, while the others have less connection with the texts. The text of MIK III 4974 is a Middle Persian Manichaean benediction on the sacred ritual meal and the leadership of the community, while the inter-textual miniature (on MIK

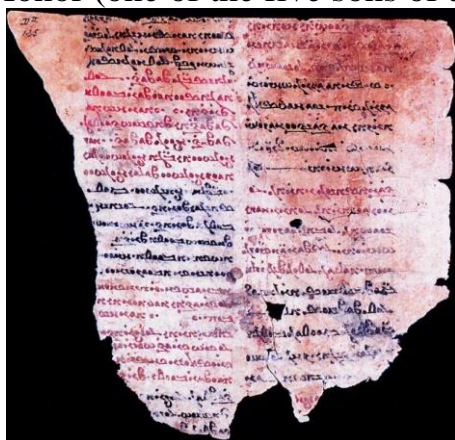
III 4974 recto) depicts the alms service of auditors and the sacred ritual meal of elects.



MIK III 4974 recto (13.4×7.8 cm)<sup>274</sup>

The Middle Persian text of MIK III 4974 mentions the terms *xw'n* (“the table of sacred meal”), *swr* (“meal/banquet”),<sup>275</sup> and *wcydg'n 'wd nywš'g'n* (“the elects and auditors”),<sup>276</sup> which can be all found in the sacred ritual meal scene on MIK III 4974 recto.

The text of MIK III 36 (recto) is a Middle Persian Manichaean benediction on the auditors of the Uyghur royal court, while the image of MIK III 36 (verso) is a court scene with a kingly figure seated on a throne flanked by armored soldiers.<sup>277</sup> Gulácsi thinks that the central figure is the King of Honor (one of the five sons of the Living Spirit).<sup>278</sup>



MIK III 36 recto<sup>279</sup>

<sup>274</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 84.

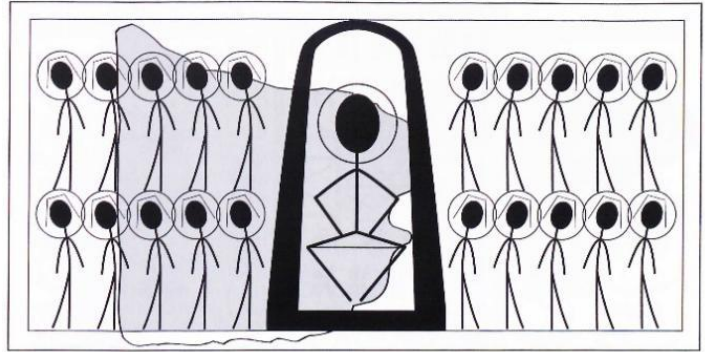
<sup>275</sup> Waldschmidt and Lentz read this word as *swm*. See Waldschmidt, E. & W. Lentz. *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933. p. 81.

<sup>276</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 133 (text cb). Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. pp 228-229.

<sup>277</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 405-408.

<sup>278</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 405.

<sup>279</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 99.



MIK III 36 verso (9.7×10.2 cm)  
(with Gulácsi's reconstruction of the painting)<sup>280</sup>

The central figure is depicted in a majestic setting and projected frontally and positioned formally seated on a throne, surrounded by two rows of soldiers in gilded armor and with halos encircled their heads. Gulácsi finds that this painting “follows a composition analogous to the other icons of deities known from the 10th-century Manichaean art and surveyed under the theme of theology”.<sup>281</sup> The Manichaean textual evidence also supports the identification of the King of Honor which seems to have an early Mesopotamian origin. As a former Manichaean auditor in Rome, the priest St. Augustine of Hippo in his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* mentioned that the “King of Honor” (*Rex Honoris*) is “surrounded with troops of angels” (*angelorum exercitibus circumdatum*) (in *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 15.6).<sup>282</sup> In the Turfan Sogdian Manichaean fragment M 178 II (a cosmogonic text), they (the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life) “seated him (the King of Honor) on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten firmaments”.<sup>283</sup>

The Middle Persian text of MIK III 36 (recto), listing many Uyghur names and titles, gives benediction on the royal court of the Uyghur king who was called *Ulug Elig Tängritä Kut Bulmiş Ärdämin El Tutmiş Alp Kutlug Küliüg Bilgä* as well as the “child of Mani”.<sup>284</sup> Gulácsi treats the image of MIK III 36 verso as a didactic miniature, without any direct

<sup>280</sup> Photos from Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 293, Figure 5/35.

<sup>281</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 406.

<sup>282</sup> Schaff, P. (ed.). *St. Augustine: The Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*. New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890. p. 216.

<sup>283</sup> Kilmkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 235-236.

<sup>284</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. pp 232-233.

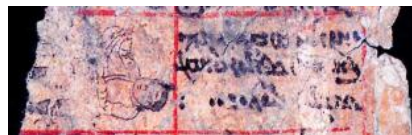
association with the text.<sup>285</sup> But I think the divine court scene of the deity (the King of Honor) surrounded by rows of heavenly soldiers can apparently correspond to the secular court of the Uyghur king and other royal members that was depicted in the text of benediction. The image of the King of Honor and His heavenly court may also bring divine significance to the benediction of the Uyghur king and other royal members. In a word, there was a reference between the image and the text on MIK III 36, though they are on two sides of the folio.

The Manichaean omen fragment M 556 (10×6.5 cm) has an illuminated side with texts and a blank side. The identification of this small piece of paper's recto and verso is difficult, due to its small fragmentary condition.



*M 556 side 1 (10×6.5 cm)*<sup>286</sup>

On side 1, the scenes were painted within small squares next to the omen texts (also within squares). In one of the small painted squares of illuminations of M 556 side 1, there is one standing male figure. The viewing direction of this square miniature is sideways-oriented against its paired text.



*Detail of the standing figure in one illumination and its paired text on M 556 side 1*

Side 2 was blank probably because its textual part (longer than what is preserved) was hung up on a wall or some other surface. According to Sundermann and Reck, each scene of the small square (on M 556 side 1) illustrates its accompanied omen text.<sup>287</sup> In this case, the image and the text have directly complemented one another, which is special among the current survivals of the Turfan Manichaean book art.

<sup>285</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 283, note 117.

<sup>286</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 127.

<sup>287</sup> Sundermann, W. & C. Reck. "Ein illustrierter mittelpersischer manichäischer Omen-Text aus Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 27, 1997, 7-23.

81TB 65:01 is an illuminated long scroll (size: 268×26 cm), which consists of 6 roughly equally-divided sheets glued to each other, in addition to a small inter-textual miniature (between line 25 and line 26). The miniature is on an independent shorter sheet. This scroll fragment contains 135 lines of writing in Sogdian script, and its verso is blank. The writing is a Sogdian official church letter sent from an *aftādān* (“bishop”) called *Šahryār Zādāk* to a *mōžāk* (“teacher”) called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr* who was the “Teacher of the East” (*Hwarsančīk Mōžāk*, in ll. 18-19 of 81TB 65:01), representing respective communities.



Detail of the miniature (height: 26 cm),  
glued into the scroll (of 81TB 65:01)<sup>288</sup>

In the middle of the miniature, a caption of Sogdian words is inserted: *mwz-’k ’br’z-nty RBfrn s’r* (“To the great splendid glory-light of the *Mōžāk/Teacher*”),<sup>289</sup> in golden ink and surrounded by a red contour, written below a white hat and between the two guardians who are playing musical instruments. The white hat is hung upon the red waving ribbons, and it resembles the actual headgear of male elects which is of Iranian-style tall conical design. So, the motif of this miniature can be confirmed as symbolizing the authority of the Teacher, which corresponded to this church letter’s receiver - the *Mōžāk* called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr* who was the “Teacher of the East”. In other words, this miniature representing the divine authority of the great *Mōžāk* matched well with the text of 81TB 65:01 which was a church letter sent to the great *Mōžāk*.

The miniatures of MIK III 4974, MIK III 36, M 556, and 81TB 65:1 all assisted the readers in better understanding their accompanying texts. But the miniatures on some other Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts have less relation to their accompanying texts. For instance, MIK III 6368 is a Manichaean illuminated codex fragment (written in Uyghur language and Sogdian script), containing parts of a colophon to a Manichaean book.

<sup>288</sup> Photo cut from Liu Hongliang etc. (eds.). *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000. (Photo of Letter A).

<sup>289</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. (eds.). *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000. p. 44.

The miniatures on the two sides of MIK III 6368 depict the Manichaean scribes and hymn-singers respectively, which represent parts of the Manichaean religious practices.



*MIK III 6368 recto & verso (11.2×17.2 cm)<sup>290</sup>*

The text on the recto, written in black ink, has been inserted into a sideways-oriented image depicting some white-clothed elects who are doing scribal practice or completing the scribal task at their desks. On the verso, the header on the top margin is decorated with flowers, while the sideways-oriented miniature on the right (outer) margin depicts a figural scene of a hymnodic ritual, in which an auditor is performing a musical instrument for hymns, and an elect and the other auditor are singing hymns. These two images may have performed a didactic function to the lay audience, expressing the significance of the writings and the music in the Manichaean tradition.

The theme of the text of MIK III 6368 can only be partly known according to the header that began on the verso and would be completed on the recto of the missing next page to this fragment. As to the recto of MIK III 6368, the context of the three lines of a short text in the middle of the image remains unclear.



*MIK III 6368 recto:*

When one believes [heretics(?)], when one believes those who follow wrong teachings, when there are unbelieving begrudgers, [greedy] wanters, then one must recognize that everything [is perishable(?)].<sup>291</sup>

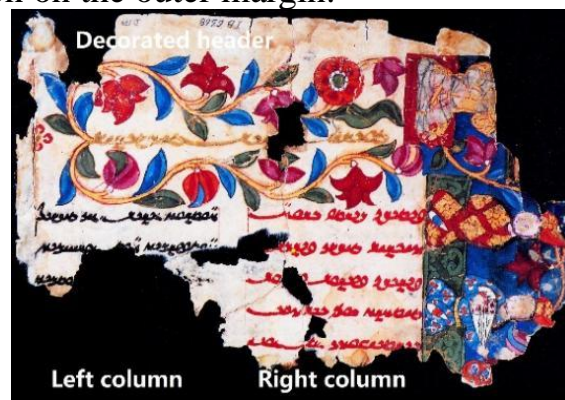
Although the intention of the three lines of the text on MIK III 6368 recto

<sup>290</sup> Photos from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 93.

<sup>291</sup> English translation by P. Zieme, see *Turfan Studies* (a brochure made by the Turfanforschung). Berlin: Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2007. p. 17. (<https://turfan.bbaw.de/bilder-en/turfan-engl-07.pdf>). Also see Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 57.

is not confirmed, it warned Manichaean believers to keep away from wrong beliefs.

In addition to the figural composition for a Manichaean institution of training scribes on its recto, MIK III 6368 verso contains another figural composition on the outer margin, portraying a scene of ritual of singing hymns, which may happen in the “hall for rituals and confessions” that is mentioned in the 5th section (entitled “Concerning Monastery Buildings”, *Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五) of the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*. The Uyghur text of the verso is about the “Four Sovereign Gods”, which follows the content on the recto. This text’s header is adorned by a decorative design, which even extends to the area of the figural composition on the outer margin.



*MIK III 6368 verso:*

(Decorated header:) The Four Sovereign Gods

(Right column in red ink:) (His) scripture is the words of true light. The God’s wise knowledge is a very sweet law. The earth and water world, the body ...

(Left column in black ink:) The charismatic king (titled) *Ay Tängritä Bulmiš Kut Ornanmiš Alp[in Ärtämin El T]utmiš*.<sup>292</sup>

MIK III 6368 verso’s header is reconstructed by Clark based on the colophon to a chapter of the *Šābuhragān* (U 168 II), as *tört [e]lig tängrilär [yaruk nom bitilti]* (“[the book on] the Four Sovereign Gods [of Light is written]”).<sup>293</sup> On the verso, starting with the citation of a Qocho Uyghur ruler (titled *Ay Tängritä Bulmiš Kut Ornanmiš Alp[in Ärtämin El T]utmiš*), the left column (i.e., col. ii) is the beginning of a colophon to this section of the writing (which may partly concern the “Four Sovereign Gods of Light”).<sup>294</sup> The full title of this Qocho Uyghur ruler (r. 1019-1020) is also mentioned in the Uyghur Buddhist Stake Inscription III, ll. 1-2,<sup>295</sup> and in a fragmentary condition in U 67 (recto), ll. 2-5.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>292</sup> English translation based on the reading of Le Coq. Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 58.

<sup>293</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 112.

<sup>294</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 112.

<sup>295</sup> Moriyasu, T. “Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan”, in: L. Bazin & P. Zieme (eds.). *De Dunhuang à Istanbul: Hommage à James Russell Hamilton* (Silk Road Studies 5).

Accordingly, this colophon in MIK III 6368 (verso) can be dated to the early 11th century.



*The outer margin of MIK III 6368 verso  
(the scene of ritual of singing hymns)*

In the remnant of the figural scene on MIK III 6368 verso, at least three lay figures are seated on their heels on a green rug, each of whom wears a colorful long coat tied with a belt, and the second lay figure plays a lute-like musical instrument. These lay figures all face to the left, where the main figure of this scene is preserved. The main figure wears a golden robe and sits on a red rug in cross-legged style, and his hands appear to show certain gesture, but without holding any instrument. Although its upper body is missing, the main figure can be identified as a Manichaean elect by his robe which is gilded and drawn with a violet-red contour. His robe and hand-position look similar to the elect's robe and hand-position in the image of a Manichaean painted textile (MIK III 6270, found in Qocho ruin K), but unlike most of the others which are simply painted white.



*MIK III 6270* <sup>297</sup>

However, in the context of the marginal figural composition of MIK III 6368 verso, the main figure (as an elect) may be singing hymns accompanied by at least a lay singer and a lay instrument player, which is an integral part of the Manichaean worship.

In Turfan Middle Persian accounts of the Manichaean church hierarchy, the “hymn-singers” together with scribes and others are referred to as the elects with special duties. The context of this hymnody scene suggests

---

Turnhout: Brepols, 2001. 149-223. pp 186-188.

<sup>296</sup> Zieme, P. “Manichäische Kolophone und Könige”, in: G. Wiessner & H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.), *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus. 6.-10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn*. Wiesbaden, 1992. 319-327. pp 325-326. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 224-225.

<sup>297</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 173.



that the main figure's singing is accompanied by liturgical music. The community solidarity between the elects and the royal auditors is also stressed in this scene of the ritual of singing hymns (MIK III 6368 verso) since the first two intact lay figures wear the *tiara*-like headgears of Uyghur princes.<sup>298</sup> Identical lay headgear can also be found in at least two Buddhist wall paintings (MIK III 6876a, and MIK III 8381) of Uyghur princes from the Turfan region, of the 9th century.<sup>299</sup>



MIK III 6876a (Cave no. 9 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves)<sup>300</sup>



MIK III 8381 (Cave no. 19 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves)<sup>301</sup>

The first two intact lay figures (in the hymnody scene of MIK III 6368 verso) as Uyghur princes can be interpreted in harmony with the text of MIK III 6368 verso which is a Uyghur Manichaean sermon or treatise. In MIK III 6368 verso, the remnant of the left column contains parts of the title of a Qocho Uyghur ruler: *Kutluk Elig, Ay Tängritä Kut Bulmiš Ku Ornanmiš, Alp[in Ärdämin El T]utmiš [...]*.<sup>302</sup> This long title of the Qocho Uyghur ruler corresponds to the context of the Uyghur princes in the scene of the hymnody ritual on MIK III 6368 verso, which shows the Uyghur noblemen's involvement in the Manichaean ritual.

<sup>298</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 57; Gabain, A. von. *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850-1250)*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 6). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1973. p. 116.

<sup>299</sup> Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. p. 169, fig. 108 & p. 172, fig. 110.

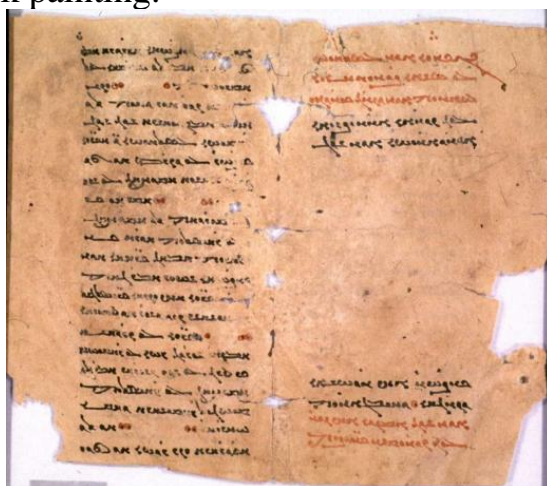
<sup>300</sup> Photo from Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. p. 169, fig. 108.

<sup>301</sup> Photo from Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. p. 172, fig. 110.

<sup>302</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 232.

The correlation between the texts and the images on MIK III 6368 is disputable. The short text (in the middle of the image) on MIK III 6368 recto warns the Manichaean believers to keep away from wrong beliefs, while its surrounding image (of elect scribes) refers to the Manichaean writings that were transmitted by elect scribes. The contextual cohesion on MIK III 6368 recto may be instructing the righteous way of Manichaeism by presenting the image of elects who were copying the Manichaean books. Then, MIK III 6368 verso's header indicates that this page is centered on the "Four Sovereign Gods" (*tört elig tängrilär*). The verso's text may belong to a writing concerning the "Four Sovereign Gods (of Light)", and it has also cited the title of a Qocho Uyghur ruler. MIK III 6368 verso contains a figural scene of a hymnodic ritual, in which two auditors and an elect cooperated to perform hymns for a religious ceremony, which was possibly dedicated to gods. The contextual cohesion on MIK III 6368 verso may be about the "Four Sovereign Gods", which is concerned by the text, and whose ritual is reflected by the miniature (a figural scene of a hymnodic ritual).

For making the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, the painter may add pictures after the scribe's completion of copying the texts on the same manuscripts, or vice versa. Here, we have such an example (M 315) of blank areas in Manichaean codex manuscripts which were probably left for adding intracolumnar book paintings. Unlike the illuminated scroll, the Manichaean codex books from the Turfan region had the phenomenon that scribes left large space within the column of text, for a later addition of either a vernacular translation to a preceding text, or an intracolumnar book painting.



*M 315 II recto & I verso (14.5×16.9 cm)*

On M 315 I verso, the first three lines and the last two lines are all written in red ink, which are not aligned properly with the rest of the lines (in black ink) of this bifolio. So these red lines were written afterwards. Then, there is a space of about 11 lines left in the middle of M 315 I verso. On

the other hand, in the Turfan Manichaean book art, an intracolumnar painting is often centered on a page. Since the passage on M 315 I verso continues after the space without any interruption, it is more probable that this space was prepared for illumination in the middle of the text. Otherwise, a blank area for translation should begin at the completed end of a passage (to be translated), and then a new passage would begin below it. Although it is not accompanied by any mark on the folio for indicating a planned illumination, it is common that the scribe and the illuminator cooperated to make up an illuminated manuscript in the Turfan Manichaean book art.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 1.3***

In early Manichaeism, idol worship was not allowed, because the divine beings were originally not outwardly visible. But it became different in the Turfan Manichaean community. Under the great influence of local Buddhism, there may have emerged a worship of idols in the Turfan Manichaean community at the latest in the late 10th century, testified by the *Käd Ogul Memoir* regarding the importance of the divine statue and other paintings for the Manichaean monasteries. However, we need more archaeological evidence to prove the existence of an idol worship in the Turfan Manichaean community. Although there is no Manichaean statue found in the Turfan region yet, the *Käd Ogul Memoir* reported the existence of an important painted statue in a *manistan* of the Qocho city with details, during 954-983. The action of taking this Manichaean statue to furnish a new Buddhist monastery implies that this Manichaean statue may be very Buddhist-style so that it could be taken and used immediately by a new Buddhist monastery. Considering its divine significance to the *manistan* and the author of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, it can be deduced that the statue was crucial in the liturgy of this Manichaean community. In addition, according to the elect Käd Ogul, some pictures or images of Manichaean deities were placed or painted on the walls of the Qocho *manistans*.

Combined with the archaeological finds of the two Manichaean wall paintings (MIK III 4624) in Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  and (MIK III 6918) in Qocho ruin K, the *Käd Ogul Memoir* reveals that the Qocho city once had two major Manichaean monasteries located respectively in the two ruin sites - the smaller “stone *manistan*”, and the (bigger) “sacred and great *manistan*”. But after Manichaeism lost the favor of the Qocho Uyghur court, the *manistans* were re-used by Buddhists, demonstrated by the Buddhist remains discovered from the same sites, together with the *Käd Ogul Memoir* that described the events of the Buddhist re-dedication of

*manistans* since the late 10th century.

The Turfan Manichaean pictures had various functions: for example, the pictorial scroll of MIK III 4947 & III 5d was instructional with depicting the Buddha and other holy figures; the wall painting of MIK III 6918 is a community scene, which performed decorative and instructional functions to the community members; the scroll illuminations of MIK III 4614 and 81TB 65:01 both were authoritative, with the drawings of decorated headgears and horn-like accessories that signified the church authority.

As to the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, different sideways-oriented miniatures of figural scenes had different relations to their accompanying texts. When the miniatures were clear illustrations of their accompanying texts, the miniatures were for the lay audience who could not read or understand the texts. When they had less association with their accompanying texts, they may only perform a decorative function. The scribe and the painter/illuminator may have cooperated for making a Manichaean illuminated manuscript, though the text and the miniature were not made by the same person. Meanwhile, due to the lack of physical remains of Mani's canonical pictures, there is a lack of sufficient evidence for Gulácsi's explanation that the painters introduced the modified canonical pictures of Mani and inserted them into the Manichaean service books without any compromise of changing the orientation. Rather, I think the function of placing the sideways-oriented miniatures of figural scenes in the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts may be just instructional or/and decorative. Some of them directly elucidate their accompanying texts, while others do not. Therefore, it seems that the miniatures on the Manichaean illuminated manuscripts were painted for auditors, and the use of the illuminated manuscripts in religious rituals was particularly helpful to attract auditors.

## 1.4 The Merit of Reciting and Copying Texts

This part discusses the practices of merit among the Turfan Manichaeans, especially the merit of reciting and copying texts. First, the almsgiving to elects as the main merit of auditors has been attested by both western and eastern Manichaean literature. But the interdependent dualist structure - the merit done by auditors for elects and the reward given back by elects to auditors, was challenged as the merit could be obtained in some ways other than offering shelter, food, and clothing to the elects.

The way of doing merit among the Turfan Manichaeans may get influenced by the Buddhist way of reciting and copying the Buddhist canons as merit. This phenomenon is reflected in the colophons of some Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts whose purposes may have changed through the ages. The colophons of the late-period Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts are not only similar to Uyghur Buddhist colophons in structure and/or form but also imitating the Buddhist concept of merit of reciting and copying religious texts, as well as the transfer of merit.

As far as our evidence goes, the Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian Manichaean manuscripts found in the Turfan region lack any devotional element, but some Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts were made or used devotionally, in addition to one Bactrian Manichaean manuscript that thematizes “alms”. The term “devotion” is from Latin, signifying full dedication. According to the Italian Catholic priest St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), “devotion is an act of the habit or virtue of religion, that virtue by which man is inclined to pay to God the worship to which He is entitled by right”.<sup>303</sup> Devotion is the “first and principal act of the virtue of religion”, and can be defined as “promptness or readiness of will in the service of God”, i.e. “(the) will offered to God in worship”.<sup>304</sup> The “only measure of the reality of devotion” is “its expression in other acts of religion”, such as prayers, sacrifices, adorations, praises of God, and vows of religion.<sup>305</sup> While many religions depict the ideal goal of devotional practices as individual submission to the God’s love without any expectation of reward, the Turfan lay Manichaeans used the manuscripts for gaining merit and reward, as well as transferring the merit to others. Some Turfan Uyghur

---

<sup>303</sup> Halfmann, J. (ed.). *The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 4. (2nd Edition)*. In association with The Catholic University of America. Michigan: The Gale Group, 2002. p. 708. Also see St. Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae* 2a2ae, 81.9; 82.

<sup>304</sup> Halfmann. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 4. (2nd Edition)*. p. 708.

<sup>305</sup> Halfmann. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 4. (2nd Edition)*. p. 709.

Manichaean texts were recited and copied for dedicating directly to the divinity, and for their commissioners to gain reward from the God. Due to the diversification of gaining and transferring merit for the Turfan auditors, their salvational relations with the elects became relaxed.

### 1.4.1 The Merit Accumulation of Auditors in Early Manichaeism

The Manichaean concept of merit - *pwn* (in Parthian, from Sanskrit), originally referred to the lay Manichaeans' material support to priests. It remains unconfirmed when the Parthian term *pwn* ("merit") started to be used in eastern Manichaean literature. The Parthian term *pwn* was loaned from Indian languages - the Sanskrit word *puṇya* or the Pali word *puñña*. The adoption of "merit" into Manichaeism occurred before its introduction to the Turfan region. In the Manichaean tradition, the basic idea of religious merit is similar to that of most other religions, in which the promise of reward offers a rationale for conducting religious practices. In a fragmentary paragraph about the rationales for the almsgiving in Chapter 115 of the Coptic *Kephalaia*, there is a reference to the alms and reward as one of the "four victories" gained by prayers for the dead:

... He (the catechumen/auditor) has made alms for [his] from him. He did not lack his hope... The catechumen [...] this alms for a person if he has come out from [his body] ... So, [...] reward for it [...] the other five [...] he did not remember [...] the catechumen [...] He redeemed the living [person] who is entangled [...] entirely... (*Kephalaion* 115: 277.4 - 278.23)<sup>306</sup>

The almsgiving of the "catechumen" (i.e., auditor) would be rewarded after he died. The elects can be saved through their divinely poor life, while the auditors can be liberated by their alms-service practice related to the elects. But BeDuhn finds that although the auditors did not live up to the strict disciplines of elects, they could absolve imperfection and accumulating merit, through rituals.<sup>307</sup>

Accommodating the fundamental Manichaean concept of two groups (elects and auditors) as different but complementary, the elects through their consumption of food (in their bodies as a microcosm linking to the macro cosmos) assure the auditors' eternal salvation in the afterlife, in exchange for their current material subsistence. The Turfan Sogdian version of a *Kephalaia*-like text (on the fragment M 135b) connects the almsgiving of auditors with the salvation led by elects, which is a reward for the auditors:

That one is a righteous elect (*dēndār*) who saves many people from hell, and sets them on the way to paradise; and now I command you, auditors, that so long as there

<sup>306</sup> Gardner. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher. The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. p. 282.

<sup>307</sup> BeDuhn. *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*. p. 212.

is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls.<sup>308</sup>

The auditor-elect interdependent mode within the Manichaean Community may have been developed upon that of Buddhism which also had a dual composition for its community. But what made Manichaeism most different from other religious traditions, is that “the bodies of the Manichaean elects were treated as implements employed in the ritual meal”, as suggested by BeDuhn.<sup>309</sup>

There was a direct reward in the merit gained by auditors through their almsgiving. The concept of merit had already appeared in the Bactrian and other Middle Iranian Manichaean texts (found in Turfan) that were generally older than the Uyghur Manichaean texts. M 1224 (known as the “Bactrian Fragment”) reveals the benefits that could accrue to the auditors who performed the “soul-work” (gifts and almsgiving to elects):

[... Like the water which] one releases [into vineyards, gardens](?) and orchards, [so that] after[wards] (people) obtain wine, fruit, and flowers; and like that hay and water which one gives to sheep(?) and cows, so (that) (people) obtain meat, cheese, milk, and butter: such (are) those ... gifts which support(?) the pure elects, so (that) manifold merits, *dharmā*, and lawful and good deeds all spring from the gift; thus, that layman who gives it - he becomes a share in all the merits, and obtains merit-fruit a thousand fold and escapes(?) all hells and receives merits eternally. (M 1224 recto, ll. 1-16)<sup>310</sup>

This Bactrian Manichaean document reflects the existence of the Buddhist concept of merit (*puṇya*) in Bactria since M 1224 refers to essential Buddhist terms such as the Buddha (*bwt*), the *karma*, the *dharmā*, the *puṇya* (*pwn*), and the *arhant*.<sup>311</sup> Bactria was a region at the crossroads between West Asia and Central Asia, which was later conquered by Muslims. Scott suggests one possibility of explaining the appearance of this Bactrian Manichaean document in Turfan (where no other Bactrian Manichaean material is found) as: “the Manichaeans (from Bactria) moving into adjacent non-Islamic areas, to the East, namely Tibet and the Tarim basin”.<sup>312</sup> But this Bactrian Manichaean document may also have come to Turfan from Bactria before the Islamic age. Due to the lack of archaeological or textual evidence, uncovering Bactrian Manichaeism has not been yet done by modern scholars.

---

<sup>308</sup> BeDuhn. *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*. p. 64.

<sup>309</sup> BeDuhn. *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*. p. 165.

<sup>310</sup> Sims-Williams, N. “The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M1224)”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck & D. Weber (eds.). *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mittelliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009. 245-268. p. 252.

<sup>311</sup> The Bactrian Manichaean fragment M 1224, tr. and comm. by Gershevitch, I. “The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script”, in J. Harmatta (ed.). *From Hecataeus to al-Huwārizmī: Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek, and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984. 273-280.

<sup>312</sup> Scott, D. “Manichaeism in Bactria: Political Patterns & East-West Paradigms”, *Journal of Asian History* Vol. 41, No. 2, 2007, 107-130. pp 127-128.

However, this Bactrian Manichaean document shows that Manichaeans and Buddhists had a common feature in almsgiving, and therefore had reached a kind of mutual consensus.

### 1.4.2 The Independent Trend of the Auditors

After the Uyghurs accepted Manichaeism, there appeared a trend for the auditors - not to fully rely on the elects, in the aspects of purifying themselves and gaining merit. The Uyghur Manichaean *Confession Text* of Auditors (Or. 8212/178, found in Dunhuang) presents a new perspective regarding almsgiving. The original version of such formulaic texts for the confession of sins was in Sogdian, which may have substituted Parthian as the major language of eastern Manichaean missions since the mid-6th century. The Turfan Manichaean mission was originally from Marv (northeast Iran, in modern-day Turkmenistan), which was a region of Parthian language. The Manichaeans of East Central Asia themselves did not use the Parthian language as their medium except in rare cases,<sup>313</sup> although there are plenty of Parthian Manichaean texts that were introduced into the elects of the Turfan region. However, an earlier Parthian formula of the confession of sins - *Man āstār xirzā* (“Forgive my sins!”),<sup>314</sup> can be found in Sogdian and Uyghur Manichaean texts, such as the Dunhuang Uyghur *Confession Text* of Auditors (Or. 8212/178, ll. 243 & 306-307). This Dunhuang Uyghur *Confession Text* contains a passage (Or. 8212/178, ll. 230-241), asking the auditors to give the “seven kinds of alms” (*yeti türlüg buşı*) to the “pure doctrine” (*arig nom*, i.e. elects).<sup>315</sup> If the auditors themselves stored up the light that was contained in the alms, rather than offering them to elects, the auditors would hinder their purification and thus commit sins. Giving the alms of food to other men (who were not elects) or to other impure lower beings would cause the Light elements to get closer to the Darkness. But sometimes, the auditors may purify themselves just through the confession to the God:

... And the Light of the Fivefold God that we eat every day goes to a wicked land (i.e., hell) because our spirits and our souls have behaved to the liking of the insatiable and shameless demon of greed. Because of that - my God! - We beg to be free from (our) many sins and ask for pure absolution. Forgive my sins (*Man āstār xirzā*)!  
(Or. 8212/178, ll. 300-307)<sup>316</sup>

<sup>313</sup> Henning, W.B. “Two Manichaean Magical Texts with an Excursus on the Parthian ending -*ēndēh*”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1), 1947, 39-66. p. 49.

<sup>314</sup> Zieme, P. “Zu einigen Problemen des Manichäismus bei den Türken”, in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972, 173-179. p. 176.

<sup>315</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. II. Liturgical Texts*. p. 92.

<sup>316</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. II. Liturgical Texts*. p. 92.



This Uyghur *Confession Text*'s passage explains that because the auditors' spirits and souls behaved like the demon of greed, the Light they ate every day would go to hell. In other words, it reveals that if the auditors behaved properly, they could increase the capability of purification or at least maintain the Light elements contained in their food, for the state of purity. This means that the auditors can imitate the conduct of elects in self-purification, and then the auditors may directly request for the pure absolution of the God. So, this Uyghur *Confession Text* introduced the way that the auditors could purify themselves sometimes without the help of the elects.

A passage of the Uyghur *Great Hymn to Mani* (on one page of the 21 leaves of paper cut in the *pothi*-form) referred to the merit as such:

Mortals (i.e., auditors), whose minds had been muddled, heard this command of yours and caused oceans and rivers of merit (*buyan*) to flow, and they were reborn in the country of the Buddhas (i.e., gods). (U 98 recto, ll. 2-4)<sup>317</sup>

The Uyghur term *buyan* (from the Sanskrit *punya*, “merit”) was originally from Buddhism. In this Uyghur Manichaean hymn (on U 98 recto), to “hear this command of yours” and to “cause oceans and rivers of merit to flow” become the prerequisites to “reborn in the country of the Buddhas (gods)”, which correspond to the Manichaean doctrines of almsgiving and reward. In the non-Uyghur Manichaean literature, the Buddhist term *buyan* as a devotional concept never emerged. For instance, the colophon to the Turfan Middle Persian Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* (“Hymn-Book”, M 1)<sup>318</sup> only contains a long name-list of the Uyghur rulers and noblemen in different regions of East Central Asia, and introduces the situation of copying the hymns, without any connection of the merit accumulation, though the main purpose of the manuscript M 1 was for ritual. So far, there is no evidence that the Buddhist concept of merit did enter the Sogdian Manichaean communities of Central Asia. But the Uyghur lay Manichaeans used the manuscripts for accumulating and transferring merit. While the devotional concept of merit can be found in the use of some Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts (such as MIK III 198, Or. 8212-1692, the manuscript of “Kyoto Colophon”, Mainz 358, U 67, and U 109+U 110a-b), the term *buyan* is directly mentioned only in a few Uyghur Manichaean texts (such as in U 98, MIK III 198, and U 109).

<sup>317</sup> U 98 recto, ll. 2-4: *Bulganyuk köñüllüg tñlıglar bo yarlıgıñızñı äšitip· buyanlıg taluy ögüzüg akıtıp burxanlar uluşı[n]ta tugt[i]l[a]r*. See Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. II. Liturgical Texts*. p. 163.

<sup>318</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. pp 7-28. According to the colophon to the Turfan Middle Persian *Mahrnāmag* (“Hymn-Book”, M 1), this Hymn-Book started to be copied by a scribe in 762. But the scribal process was stopped and then it was temporarily preserved in a Manichaean(?) monastery of Agni, until its completion in the early 9th century. See Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 274.

In Turfan Manichaeism, the religious merit (*buyan* in Uyghur) can be obtained through the believers' praise and worship to the gods, for example in the colophon of a copy of the Uyghur text - the *Great Hymn to Mani* (on the Turfan fragment U 98):

As a consequence of our merit (*buyanımız*) of praise and worship, may (all) the divine powers, of the gods above and below, and of the various spirits, be increased. (U 98 verso, ll. 4-5)<sup>319</sup>

The believers can obtain the merit of praise and worship (to the divine powers) independently. According to the context of this Uyghur *Great Hymn to Mani*, the believers include both the “mortals with confused minds” (*bulqanyuq köngüllüg tınlıylar*, i.e. auditors, U 98 recto, ll. 2-3) and the “other simple minds that walked on pure roads” (*adın tümgä köngüller arıg yollarta y[o]r[ıp]*, i.e. elects, U 98 recto, ll. 4-5).<sup>320</sup> As far as we know, this *Great Hymn to Mani* was composed in the Uyghur language, not translated from any Middle Iranian language.<sup>321</sup> So the auditors can accumulate merit through their praise and worship of the gods, as the Uyghur *Great Hymn to Mani* introduced this concept of merit into the Turfan Manichaean practices.

### 1.4.3 Reciting the Manichaean Texts for Merit

In Turfan Manichaeism, religious merit can be accumulated and transferred through reciting and copying the Manichaean texts. The individual recitation of Manichaean texts was regarded as a meritorious work. Reciting the Manichaean sacred texts voluntarily was seen as a service to the soul for the auditors. MIK III 198, written in Sogdian script, is a Uyghur Manichaean codex fragment. Its recto contains the end of a part of the *Evangelion* (the Manichaean “Gospel”) and some later comments by its readers. Its verso is a colophon to a Manichaean canonical book.

---

<sup>319</sup> Clark. “The Manichean Turkic *Pothi-Book*”. pp 174 & 187. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 284.

<sup>320</sup> Clark. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi-Book*”. pp 173-174 & 187.

<sup>321</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 280.



MIK III 198 recto & verso<sup>322</sup>

MIK III 198 (found in Qocho ruins) was originally prepared for use by the Manichaean community in Argu (Talas) region, but it was never delivered to the destination. Its recto experienced two or more times' use by different groups of people. The recto originally only contained the end of a part of the *Evangelion*, which was made under the command of a “presbyter” (*mahistag*, as told by the colophon in MIK III 198 verso); but after some time, three comments were added by its readers into the recto (highlighted by frames in the photo below).



The three later comments (framed) on MIK III 198 recto

On the recto, there was once a blank space (crossing the two columns) in the middle of the folio, probably left for the insertion of a miniature, which was never filled in. This indicates that the whole work of copying the Uyghur version of the *Evangelion* for the Argu Manichaeans was not finished.

<sup>322</sup> Photos from Moriyasu, T. “Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究” [A Study on the History of Uyghur Manichaeism], Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō 大阪大学文学部紀要 31/32, 1991, 1-250. Pl. XIX & Pl. XX.

Meanwhile, it may not be made for being archived in any place in Qocho city, because there was such a big blank space in the middle of the folio. However, MIK III 198 recto's blank space was later filled by three readers of the book, with three comments, clearly written in three different hands. All three later readers mentioned that they recited the book, and two of them stated that they were auditors themselves.<sup>323</sup> The third reader (as the third commenter) also requested - "May the blessed ones who read it after me remember my merit (*buyan*)", after he had "recited this *Book of the Two Principles*".<sup>324</sup> This reveals that the later reader treated the recitation of the Manichaean scriptures as a merit and asked other readers to remember it.

As to the colophon to a Manichaean canonical book on MIK III 198 verso, Klimkeit identifies it as a postscript to the Uyghur version of the *Book of the Two Principles* (*İki yiltiz nom*) - the *Šābuhragān*,<sup>325</sup> because the third reader/commenter stated that he had "recited this *Book of the Two Principles*" (in the additional lines of MIK III 198 recto).<sup>326</sup> But Clark labels this colophon as "the 'Argu' Colophon to the *Evangelion*", for he identifies it as a colophon to the Uyghur version of the *Evangelion*, which was intended for use by the Manichaeans in the Argu (Talas) region. Clark's argument is based on the phrase - *bo [...] tängri tängritäm ew[anglyon] nom bitig* ("this [...], divine and holy *Ev[angelion]* scripture") in ll. 8-10 of MIK III 198 verso, i. Since the *Book of the Two Principles* (*İki yiltiz nom*) can refer to any of the Manichaean canons, there is a bigger possibility that this book was the *Evangelion*. In addition to the text on MIK III 198 recto as the end of a part of the *Evangelion*, the holy book mentioned by the colophon on MIK III 198 verso can be confirmed as the *Evangelion*. The colophon indicates that this holy book was also intended for recitation, such as in MIK III 198 verso, i (ll. 1-7):

And in the name of the great King, the God Azruwā (Zurvan), it has been recited with [great] joy, and it has been written with profound love, and now it has been written (along) with a perfect kind of ornamentation.<sup>327</sup>

But identifying the name of the scribe in the colophon is problematic, due to the difficulty of how to translate ll. 19-22 of MIK III 198 verso, ii:

*Maṇa agduk karı betkäči. Mār yišō yazad mahistag üzä, kim yämä ulug amranmakin ağır küsüşün bititim*

As for me, *agduk karı betkäči*. For the Presbyter Lord - Yišō Yazad, I have written (this book) above with great caring and profound desire (for the truth).<sup>328</sup>

<sup>323</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 418.

<sup>324</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 375.

<sup>325</sup> Heuser, M. & H.-J. Klimkeit. *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*. Leiden: Brill, 1998. p. 120. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 371.

<sup>326</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 375.

<sup>327</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 71. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 374.

<sup>328</sup> The modified translation of the sentence is based on Clark's interpretation. See Clark. *Uyghur*

How to interpret the three words - *agduk kari betkäči*, as a name of or an attribute to the scribe, is controversial. Klimkeit suggests that the scribe was named *Ayduq* (*Agduk*) and connects him with the scribe *Ayduq* in some other Old Turkic texts.<sup>329</sup> Also, von Gabain thinks that the two *Ayduqs* are the same scribe who copied the texts “for the Uyghur Qayan (Khan) and the Qarluq Tarxan (i.e., Karluk ‘tax officer’)”.<sup>330</sup> But Clark interprets the phrase *agduk kari betkäči* as “the mistake-prone old scribe”, rather than treating it as the scribe’s own name.<sup>331</sup> I think Clark’s argument is more persuasive because the two words *kari* (“old”) and *agduk* (“incompetent”) can be both attributes to the scribe (*betkäči*) who intended to show the modesty of himself. Furthermore, a connection between the *agduk* of this colophon and the scribe *Ayduq* (*Agduk*) in other Old Turkic texts does not have sufficient evidence. Additionally, there is one important point that is overlooked by Le Coq’s German translation and Clark’s English translation: the word *üzä* in the expression - *mār yišō yazad mahistag üzä* (“For the Presbyter Lord - Yišō Yazad”), which reveals that the copying work was done for this “presbyter”, rather than being merit of any auditor.<sup>332</sup> This colophon (on MIK III 198 verso) lists five kinds of relevant people corresponding to their different levels within the Manichaean church hierarchy:

- (1) Lord Wahman Xwarxšēd - “The protector of the whole Church” (*tüzü nom arkası*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, line 12), who was the “great Teacher of the East” (*tugsu[k]t[a]ki u[l]ug m[o]žak*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, line 4);
- (2) The “guardians of the doctrine” (*nom pāšdanākların*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, line 14);
- (3) “All of the chosen and pure elects” (*tüzü üdrülmiš arıg dındarlar*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, ll. 16-17);
- (4) The “scribe” (*betkäči*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, line 19), who copied the book in the command of Presbyter Lord Yišō Yazad;
- (5) The “auditors” (*nugušaklar*, in MIK III 198 verso ii, line 24).

Referring to the “great Teacher of the East”, von Gabain supposes that “in the eyes of the scribe (in the realm of Qocho Uyghur Kingdom), he was the head of (all) the Manichaeans”.<sup>333</sup> Here, the broad range of levels reveals that this copy aimed to be disseminated among people of all levels. Geographically, this colophon involved not only the Manichaeans of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom but also the Turkic Manichaeans from the Argu (Talas) region. It witnessed the existence of the Manichaean communities and monasteries (*manistanlar*) in the cities of Kašu, Yägänkänt, Ordukänt,

---

*Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 71.

<sup>329</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia.* p. 373. Gabain, A. von. “Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken”, *Der Islam* 29, 1950, 50-55. pp 53-55.

<sup>330</sup> Gabain. “Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken”. p. 54.

<sup>331</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 80.

<sup>332</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, I.* Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912. p. 28. Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 71.

<sup>333</sup> Gabain. “Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken”. p. 52.

and Čigilbalık of the Argu (Talas) region of Central Asia. Strangely, in the colophon of this copy, the foreign rulers - Čigil Arslan El Türgük, Alp Burgučan and Alp Tarxan Bäg (who ruled over the Argu country) were all mentioned and praised, but the ruler of the scribe's place - the ruler of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom was not mentioned. These foreign rulers of the Argu region may not be Manichaean believers. Nevertheless, the dating of this copy and its colophon, and the background of the scribe are disputed by modern scholars.

In his book on the linguistic dating of the Old Turkic texts, Doerfer dates the copy of the Uyghur *Evangelion* (MIK III 198 recto) to the 8th century, together with two other texts that also mentioned "the scribe Agduk".<sup>334</sup> But Doerfer suspects that the colophon (MIK III 198 verso) may be dated to the 13th/14th century, as the colophon's language is of a later date.<sup>335</sup> Similarly, Röhrborn suggests that the manuscript of the Uyghur *Evangelion* was brought by Manichaean refugees who fled eastward to the Turfan region, due to the Muslim conquest of the Argu (Talas) region, and then this manuscript was used for a period by the Turfan Manichaeans who made such a colophon (as on MIK III 198 verso).<sup>336</sup> However, colophons often throw light on the date of the main text in the same manuscript. Combining Doerfer's dating of the copy of the Uyghur *Evangelion* to be from the 8th century and its colophon to be from the 13th-14th century, Röhrborn thinks it is very unlikely that a religious copy could have been used for three, four, or five centuries. Instead, Röhrborn supposes that the reader's colophon is probably much closer to the date of the religious copy.<sup>337</sup> But Moriyasu speculates that this manuscript was written at a later time in Turfan but commissioned by Manichaeans in the western Tianshan mountains who previously moved there (i.e., Argu region) after the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>338</sup> Then, when there was a decline of Turfan Manichaeism, the Argu Manichaeans attempted to strengthen Manichaeism in Turfan and ordered such a manuscript during the first half of the 11th century.<sup>339</sup> Moriyasu's

---

<sup>334</sup> Doerfer, G. *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993. p. 34.

<sup>335</sup> Doerfer. *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*. p. 198.

<sup>336</sup> Röhrborn, K. "Zum Schrifttum der westtürkischen Manichäer", in Z. Özertural & J. Wilkens (eds.). *Der östliche Manichäismus* (Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 4./5. März 2010). Berlin, 2011. 161-167. p. 166.

<sup>337</sup> Röhrborn. "Zum Schrifttum der westtürkischen Manichäer". p. 166.

<sup>338</sup> Moriyasu, T. "Decline of Manichaeism and the Rise of Buddhism among the Uighurs with a Discussion on the Origin of Uighur Buddhism", in "Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003: History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia", in T. Moriyasu et al. (eds.). *Shirukurōdo to sekaishi シルクロードと世界史* [World History Reconsidered Through the Silk Road]. Osaka: Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters, 2003. 84-100. p. 94.

<sup>339</sup> Moriyasu. "Decline of Manichaeism and the Rise of Buddhism among the Uighurs with a

suggestion of tracing the manuscript of MIK III 198 to the first half of the 11th century can be testified by comparing the names of rulers with the archaeological evidence. In MIK III 198 verso ii, ll. 5-10, several names of places and rulers are mentioned:

*[yä]mä [a]ltun argu [talas] [u]luš kašu xanı ordu [R:] čigil kánt ärkligi ulug turktun pāšdanāki čigil arslan el tirkük alp burgučan alp tarxan bäg elläntük ärksintük ugurinta*

When Čigil Arslan El Tirkük, Alp Burgučan and Alp Tarxan Bäg, (who are) the Khan of Kašu, and the sovereigns of Ordu(känt) and Čigilkänt, and the guardians of (the heritage of) the Great Turks, rule and have sovereignty over the royal Argu [Talas] country!

The matches between the three ruler names and the three place names are interpreted by Clark as:

Čigil Arslan El Tirkük = the Khan of Kašu (*kašu xanı*);

Alp Burgučan = the ruling authority of Ordu(känt);

Alp Tarxan Bäg = the ruling authority of Čigilkänt.

Clark further notes that almost the same three names appeared in an 18-line Sogdian inscription “on the rock-face of a cliff in the Kulan-say ravine some 20 km to the north of the modern site of Talas”.<sup>340</sup> In his study of the inscriptions, Livšic finds that this Sogdian inscription from Kulan-say includes a date - “the 6th month of the year 394 of Khusrau (Yazdigird III)”, which corresponds to September of 1025.<sup>341</sup> Among the eighteen Old Turkic names of this Sogdian inscription are: ‘yl tyrkwk ’lp βrywz ’n ’lp try’n γwβw - “the ruler(s): El Tirkük, Alp Burgučan, and Alp Tarxan”. The Manichaeans regarded the first year of the reign of King Khusrau (Yazdigird III) - the year 631/632 CE as the beginning of the new Yazdigird era,<sup>342</sup> and so the year 394 in the Yazdigird calendar is equal to the year 1025/1026 CE. Since the Sogdian inscription of Kulan-say shares the above three names with the “Argu” Colophon to the Uyghur *Evangelion* (MIK III 198 verso), this “Argu” Colophon can be dated to the years around 1025/1026 CE, that is, to the early 11th century. Combining various opinions of scholars, I think it is more probable that this copy of the book and its colophon were both made at a later time - at the end of the Qocho Uyghur Manichaean prosperous time (i.e., the early 11th century) when Turfan Manichaeism tried to revive and was still able to spread writings to the adjacent areas of the Turfan region.

---

Discussion on the Origin of Uighur Buddhism”. p. 95.

<sup>340</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol.III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 78.

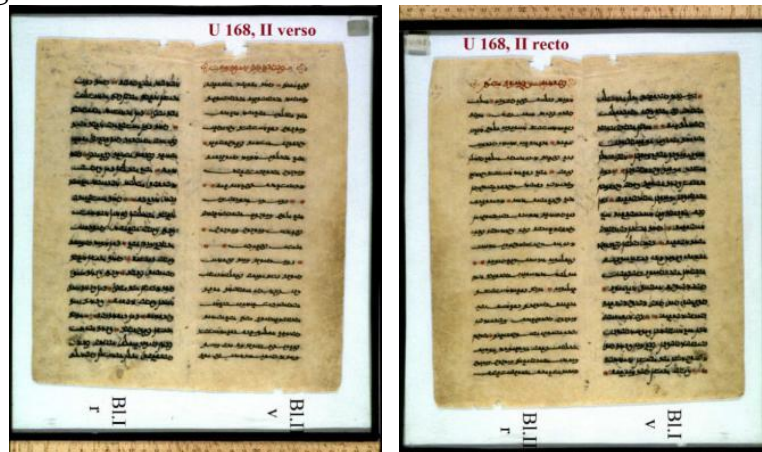
<sup>341</sup> Livšic, V.A. “Sogdijcy v Semireč’e: lingvističeskie i epigrafičeskie svidetel’sтва” [Sogdians in Semireč’e: Linguistic and Epigraphic Evidence], in Ju.A. Petrosian et al. (eds.). *Pis’mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul’туры narodov vostoka*, I/2, Moskva 1981, 76-85.

<sup>342</sup> For the Yazdigird era, see Clark’s Commentary on Calendar II (the Turfan Uyghur fragment U 495). Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol.III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 412.

### 1.4.4 Copying the Manichaean Texts for Merit

Some Turfan Manichaean manuscripts may have been made especially for auditors to gain and transfer religious merit. The colophons from some Turfan Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts reveal the multiple uses of manuscripts in the Turfan Manichaean community: from copying manuscripts under the command of the high elects, to copying manuscripts for earning religious merit.

The colophon in U 168 II gives an example that in the late 8th century, the Turfan Manichaeans copied Manichaean texts just for spreading Manichaeism, rather than for merit. The Uyghur bifolio fragment U 168 is written in Sogdian script. U 168 folio I contains a homiletic text about the soul's alienation, while U 168 folio II contains a colophon to one chapter of the *Šābuhragān*. The headers of both sides of folio II are in red ink.



U 168 (bifolio)

Clark assumes that the missing next page would begin with *yiltız nom*, after the final two words of U 168 II verso - *bo äki* (“this two”), so the term of the Manichaean holy book - *bo äki [yiltız nom]* (“this [Book of] the Two [Principles]”) to which this colophon was added, can be reconstructed, with reference to another more complete example on MIK III 198 recto - *bo eki yiltız nomug okıyu tägintim* (“I have ventured to recite this *Book of the Two Principles*”).<sup>343</sup> Combined with the specific textual evidence of the eschatological theme in the Uyghur text (U 168 I) before the colophon, U 168 II contains the end of one chapter of the *Šābuhragān*. Some chapters of the *Šābuhragān* deal with the end of the world according to the Middle Persian and Parthian evidence. This copy of the *Šābuhragān* was under a high-ranking elect's command intended to spread Mani's teachings, not for accumulating merit. In U 168 II verso, ll. 13-20, an elect scribe called *zymtw* (possibly as *Žimtu* or *Žēmtu*, a Sogdian proper name)<sup>344</sup> stated that he was

<sup>343</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol.III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 418: commentary.

<sup>344</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol.III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 87: 9.



commanded to copy the text for the Presbyter Lord - New Mani, “in the five hundred and twenty-second Pig year after the God, Mani the Buddha, went to the land of the Gods”, which can date this colophon to the year 795, basing the consensus of scholars that Mani died during the 270s.<sup>345</sup>

There are two types of purposes for copying the Manichaean texts: being commanded by superiors to copy for use, such as recitation; and begging for the permission of the religious authority to copy mainly for merit. Or. 8212-1692 (Kao. 107) is an illuminated manuscript fragment containing a Uyghur colophon to a Manichaean book (on the recto), which records that the auditor begged a bishop for permission to copy one section of a Manichaean scripture. Its recto has two columns of Uyghur text in Orkhon script, with the header and first lines completely missing. Its verso is made up of a full-page Manichaean miniature.



Or. 8212-1692 recto & verso<sup>346</sup>

The colophon on Or. 1812-1692 recto has no direct thematic connection with the sideways-oriented miniature that portrays a “*Bema* scene” on its verso,<sup>347</sup> which can be also found in the full-page miniature of MIK III 4979 verso. Or. 1812-1692 verso contains two major elects in the middle area of the miniature and retains parts of three or four elects along the left side of the miniature.

<sup>345</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol.III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 87: 13-16.

<sup>346</sup> Photos from Moriyasu, T. “*Daiei toshokan shozō Rūn moji Manikyō bunsho Kao. 0107 no shin kenkyū* 大英図書館所蔵ルーン文字マニ教文書 Kao.0107 の新研究”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 12, 1997, 41-71. Pl. II & III.

<sup>347</sup> The Greek word *bēma* means “platform/stage” or “judge’s seat”. A raised throne called *bēma*, was of great significance in Manichean festivals, because it symbolized the throne of Mani. See Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. p. 149.



The retouched drawing of the miniature on Or. 8212-1692 verso (by Moriyasu)<sup>349</sup>



MİK III 4979 verso<sup>348</sup>

In the light of the symmetrical arrangement of the better-preserved *Bema* scene on MİK III 4979 verso, the right side of the miniature on Or. 1812-1692 verso may also have three or four elects. On Or. 1812-1692 recto, the right column presents a list of names of believers who were patrons for the copying of the book, or recipients of the merit gained by copying this book; and in the left column, the scribe Wazarg Pugur gave the information about the commissioning of copying the text for an auditor called *Alp Singkur Tegin*. The scribe recorded that the auditor Alp Singkur Tegin asked the bishop to allow (a scribe) to copy the text in his name (Or. 8212-1692 recto ii, ll. 1-8), and that as the book's donor, the auditor Alp Singkur Tegin and his relatives met together in joy (probably due to obtaining the book copied in his name) (Or. 8212-1692 recto ii, ll. 8-15). According to this context of requesting the church leader for authorizing the copying, the scribe Wazarg Pugur (of the manuscript Or. 8212-1692) must be an elect.

Similarly to Buddhists, the Turfan Manichaeans started to do merit and transfer it, by copying Manichaean texts, following the Buddhist way of copying *sutras* for merit. The fragment (photo below) of the “Kyoto Colophon” to an unknown Uyghur Manichaean book contains information about transferring merit. Now, this fragment is preserved in the Museum of Kyoto University. But according to Yoshida, this manuscript fragment was never given a catalogue number. So, in his catalogue of the “Uyghur ecclesiastic texts of Central Asian Manichaeism”, Clark simply refers to it as the “Kyoto Colophon”.<sup>350</sup> The “Kyoto Colophon”, written in Sogdian script, is a postscript to an unknown Manichaean book.

<sup>348</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 71.

<sup>349</sup> Photo from Moriyasu. “*Daiei toshokan shozō Rūn moji Manikyō bunsho Kao. 0107 no shin kenkyū* 大英図書館所蔵ルーン文字マニ教文書 Kao.0107 の新研究”. Pl. IV.

<sup>350</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 96.



The “Kyoto Colophon” (folio I, recto + folio II, verso)<sup>351</sup>

The original manuscript fragment was a bifolio, but it was further torn and split into two pieces: folio I and folio II. The above photo presents the recto of folio I and the verso of folio II, whose texts both belong to the colophon concerned here. The lines of the original manuscript fragment were written in either black ink or red/orange ink, alternating every five lines, which indicates that it was from a magnificent codex. On the other hand, the back sides of this torn-off bifolio are not visible now, but they are supposed to contain textual content. Since the colophon was written partly on folio I recto and folio II verso, it would have been continued on the back sides (i.e., folio I verso and folio II recto).

The “Kyoto Colophon” has similar features to the colophons of the Uyghur Buddhist confession texts, regarding their structures. For example, it contains a formulaic benediction:

[Through] this good deed, may there be [divine blessing] for all (of those named above)! May it be that [they (i.e. the deities)] watch over, protect and keep them from the many [kinds of] danger and [peril]! (“Kyoto Colophon” folio II verso, ll. 13-15).<sup>352</sup>

The phrase “this good deed” (i.e., merit) may refer to the behaviour of commissioning the scribe to copy the Manichaean book, because folio II verso, ll. 1-12 are all names of the *tanuk* (“witness”), the *betkāči* (“scribe”), the *tılmači* (“interpreter/translator”), and others who were involved or related in the process of producing the manuscript - “this good deed”. Here, the names of two scribes (*betkāči*) of the manuscript are told: *sangun Paš Yüräk*,

<sup>351</sup> Photo from Moriyasu. “Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. Pl. XVIII.

<sup>352</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 98.

and *T[...]* *tiräk*, whose titles indicate that both of them were lay people. The title *sangun* means “the general” (loaned from the Chinese *jiangjun* 將軍); and the title *tiräk* refers to an administrative position of uncertain function, literally as “the (national) pillar”,<sup>353</sup> which may act as a head of the auditors.<sup>354</sup> Therefore, unlike the elect scribe of the manuscript Or. 8212-1692, the scribes of the manuscript of this “Kyoto Colophon” were lay people. Besides, the appearance of the term *tilmači* (“interpreter/translator”) implies that the (unknown) Uyghur Manichaean book was translated or adapted from the original version of another language. The benediction in the “Kyoto Colophon” reveals that this manuscript’s donor hoped that by commissioning the scribe to copy the Manichaean book, the persons whose names appeared in the above lines could be blessed and protected from danger and evil. This manuscript (of the “Kyoto Colophon”) also lists numerous geographical names, titles, and proper names, for the recipients of the religious merit. In folio I recto, the merit was dedicated to the donor’s relatives from Kamil (modern Hami), Känčäk (Ganjak, a village near Kashgar)<sup>355</sup>, Kıvır (Lükčüng, in the Turfan region), Šada (unknown location), Tärin (unknown location), Solmı (Agni, modern Yanqi), and Küsän (modern Kucha)... but without transferring the merit to the regions’ secular authorities, which probably appeared in other missing pages before this folio. The donor’s relatives had their names accompanied by their official titles, such as *tiräk* (literally “(national) pillar”, an administrative position of uncertain function), *inanč tiräk* (“assistant *tiräk*”), *sangun* (“the general”, *jiangjun* 將軍), *tarxan* (“high officer responsible for taxation”)<sup>356</sup>, *totuk* (“military governor”, *dudu* 都督)<sup>357</sup>, *čigši* (“district magistrate”, *cishi* 刺史)<sup>358</sup>, and *ič buyruk* (“interior officer”), which showed the prominent status of the commissioner’s relatives or associates in the administrative affairs across the trade routes of East Central Asia. This list of names and official titles indicates that Manichaeism was popular among the Uyghur rulers and officials, in the context that the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom sponsored Manichaeism to be spread across many places of East Central Asia. Due to the Buddhist influence in East Central Asia, the purpose of Manichaean copying of books may have shifted to the Buddhist way of accumulating merit or adding a devotional function. In folio II verso, the “Kyoto

<sup>353</sup> For the interpretation of the term *tiräk*, see Moriyasu. “Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 191.

<sup>354</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 130-131.

<sup>355</sup> Känčäk/Ganjak was a village near Kashgar, which is mentioned by Mahmūd Kāšgarī, an 11th-century Qara-Khanid scholar and lexicographer of Turkic languages, in his writings.

<sup>356</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. pp 539-540.

<sup>357</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. p. 453.

<sup>358</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. p. 417.

Colophon” also has a similar content with the Buddhist colophons on transferring merit, in the way of giving blessings to the persons who were related to producing the manuscript, for instance, *tan[u]k tuttači nugušakla[r]* (“the auditors who bear witness”), *naft xošt[e]* (“the *xoštir* of nations”), *betkäči* (“the scribe”), *tlmači* (“the interpreter/translator”), and *aprin[-čor]* (literarily “choir-master”, from the Middle Persian term *āfrīn*, plus the Uyghur official title *čor* that can be recovered according to the context), some of whom also bear official titles as parts of their names. Combining the two name-lists on folio I recto and folio II verso, most of the merit’s recipients seem to be auditors, except the *xošte* (another form of *xoštir*) which is a high elect dealing with the affairs of negotiating between the elects and the auditors. This manuscript’s donor commissioned the scribe to list so many names of his relatives, which indicates that the donor himself was an auditor, though his name did not appear on the fragment.

Two other small Turfan fragments Mainz 358 and U 67 also prove the later-developed Manichaean concept of transferring merit. The fragment Mainz 358 contains a Uyghur colophon to an unknown Manichaean book, containing the transfer of merit. The term for the auditors - *nugusak[lar]* (in Mainz 358, line 9) reveals the Manichaean nature of this fragment. It is written in Sogdian script, with red ink and black ink alternating every two lines. The backside of the folio is blank. It is unknown whether the scribe of this manuscript was an elect or an auditor.



Mainz 358

The phrase *tugmakı bolzun* (“may it be that (they) are reborn [...]”) in Mainz 358, line 3, also appears in the merit-transferring section of the colophon to a Uyghur Buddhist confession text on U 9090.<sup>359</sup> In Buddhism, gaining merit and merit transfer can let an individual gain rebirth for oneself or one’s family members in the good realms.<sup>360</sup> Hence, the mention of the hope of “rebirth” in Mainz 358 implies that this text belongs to the merit-transferring section of a (Manichaean) colophon. But a set of blessings follows the phrase *tugmakı bolzun*, not as a part of the merit-transferring section, which reveals its multiple purposes. Finally, the Uyghur proper names in the colophon (of

<sup>359</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 106.

<sup>360</sup> Buswell, R.E. & D.S. Lopez. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. pp 708-709.

Mainz 358) include an *ögä* (“councilor”) and a *šabi* (“novice”, loaned from the Chinese form of the Sanskrit *śrāmaṇera* – *shami* 沙彌), which show that the recipients of transferring merit were auditors. Although the term *šabi* (*shami*) refers to a male novice in Buddhist monasteries, it does not have the same meaning in the Manichaean context. In Mainz 358, the combination of the term *šabi* and the Uyghur official title *čor*, as Šabi Čor, is only a proper noun for the Uyghur auditors.

U 67 also contains a colophon of transferring merit, to an unknown Manichaean book commissioned for a dead son. It is written in Sogdian script. This fragment was probably torn from a book scroll.<sup>361</sup> The fragment’s backside is blank, except for one word - *k’dy* which can be read as *kädi*, meaning “very (good son?)”.<sup>362</sup>



U 67 recto & verso

On the recto, three lines in black ink and three lines in red ink alternated with each other. Thus, the remaining final two lines (ll. 13-14) in red ink should be followed by one more line in red, which may give the name of this manuscript’s scribe, according to the surviving final words of the fragment - *män agduk bet[käči]* (“I, the mistake-prone scribe...”).<sup>363</sup> But it is unknown whether this “mistake-prone” scribe was an elect or an auditor. Moreover, U 67 recto, ll. 3-6, reveals the title of the Uyghur king named [*Kün*] *Ay Tängritä Kut Bulm[š] [Kut Ornanm[š] Alpın Artämin El Tu[tmiš Alp Arslan] Ulug Bilgä T[ängri Uygur Khan]*, which is matched by Zieme with the title of a Qocho Uyghur king who reigned during 1019 and 1020.<sup>364</sup> But Kasai dates the reigning period of this Qocho Uyghur king to be between 1017 and 1031.<sup>365</sup> Accordingly, this colophon can be dated to the early 11th century. Besides, the names of the “bishops” (*avtadanlar*) are mentioned (though

<sup>361</sup> Wilkens, J. *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000. Nr. 449.

<sup>362</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 109.

<sup>363</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 108-109.

<sup>364</sup> Zieme. “Manichäische Kolophone und Könige”. pp 325-326. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 224.

<sup>365</sup> Kasai, Y. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”, in C. Meinert & H. Sørensen (eds.). *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 61-90. p. 67.

fragmentary now), followed by the name of this Qocho Uyghur king, which reflects a popular attitude in the Uyghur Manichaean texts of paralleling the religious realm (on the inside) with the secular realm (on the outside). In the colophon, the name of this book's donor may appear in U 67, line 7, which is missing because of the gap now, and then from line 8 it is followed by the names of "his beloved sons" (*amrak oguli*) – [...] Tozlug Bak K[...], El Ogasi Bars [...], and [Yultu]z B[ay]. At last, it is declared in ll. 12-13 that the father commissioned the copying of this book in the name of his beloved son named Yurčuk Inal who died as a kid (*barmış üzüt kičikkäyä okšagu amrak oguli*, "in the name of the departed soul who seemed so small, his beloved son"). In other words, this father sponsored the scribe to copy the book only for the sake of his dead son. So the merit of copying the book must be transferred to his dead son. Wilkens suggests the text of this fragment as a "colophon with mythological allusions",<sup>366</sup> without giving further evidence. However, it seemingly reflects a real event that the book's donor commissioned the scribe to copy the book, and transferred the merit to his dead son. This is similar to that of the colophon to a Uyghur Buddhist confession text (on U 9090), in which the merit was more directly transferred to the deceased persons: "Furthermore, I apply this merit - good deed (*bo buyan ädgü kılınčig*) to those who were deceased, having gone into the otherworldly existence: the majesty of Konım-Du Vapşı Šäli Bäg, El Ongurt Kunčukı, Qutluy Üzük, my father Bay Apa Čangı, my mother Küsät" (U 9090, ll. 11-12).<sup>367</sup> In this Uyghur Buddhist colophon, the merit (*buyan*) was paralleled with the good deed (*ädgü kılınčig*), whose transferring to others is clearly stated.

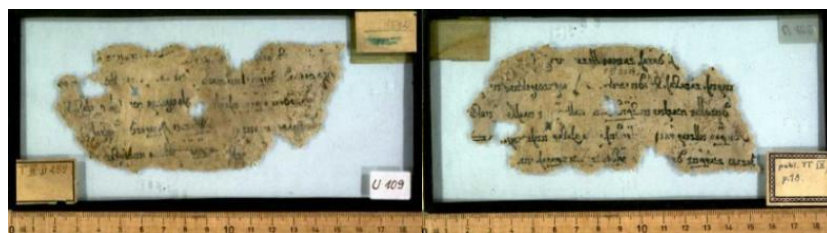
Then, a Uyghur Manichaean codex manuscript with the most striking Buddhist elements goes to the unique Manichaean *pothi* (with an illumination) that is in the form of palm leaves (originally made just for Buddhist texts). This Uyghur Manichaean book in the palm-leaf form (*pothi*) is written in Manichaean script, whose fragments were found in an unspecified site of Murtuq in the Turfan region. The frequent appearance of the phrase "I, Aryaman Fristum *xoštir*" in the texts of this manuscript suggests that it was made for the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum's own purpose. Clark has edited the 40 surviving leaves of this Uyghur Manichaean *pothi* (originally composed of more than 50 leaves) and reconstructed the original order of its 8 texts.<sup>368</sup> The textual content of this Manichaean *pothi* was influenced by Buddhist terminology. Wilkens points out that this Manichaean

<sup>366</sup> Wilkens, J. *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. p. 387.

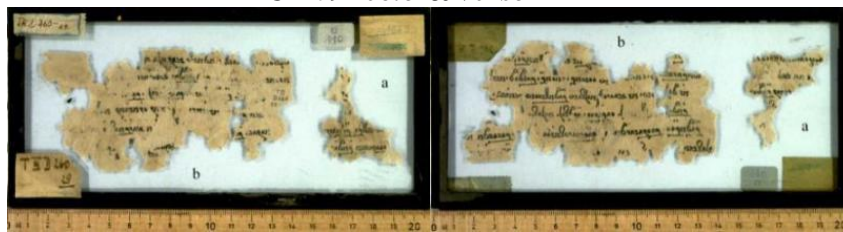
<sup>367</sup> The English translation is based on the German translation of the text, see Kasai, Y. *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. pp 224-225.

<sup>368</sup> Clark. "The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book". pp 145-218.

*pothi* probably contains the most Buddhist elements among the Central Asian Manichaean writings, alongside the Chinese Manichaean *Xiabu zan* 下部讚 (“The Hymnscroll of the Lower Section”, Or. 8210 S. 2659, found in Dunhuang).<sup>369</sup> But on the other hand, the Manichaean features of this *pothi* did not fade out, because of its general employment of the typical Manichaean concepts and the Manichaean script, and the whole-page painting at its frontispiece, in which a male elect and two female elect were portrayed with Chinese painted style. At the end of the Manichaean *pothi*, there is a colophon containing the transfer of merit of compiling and copying this book to various persons including family members (on the two *pothi*-shaped leaves - U 109 and U 110a+b). Among them, U 110b is the only one with 6 lines, while the other two fragments (U 109 and U 110a) have 5 lines.



*U 109 recto & verso*



*U 110a+b, recto & verso*

This Manichaean *pothi* contains a series of various Manichaean texts, with the idea of *buyan* (“merit”). The concept of *buyan* was originally Buddhist in nature, which is quite common in the Uyghur Buddhist texts. Clark finds that the colophon (U 109 and U 110a+b) to this Manichaean *pothi* bears many similarities with the colophon of a Uyghur Buddhist confession text on U 9090, as the other parts of this Manichaean *pothi* that also had a close connection with Buddhism.<sup>370</sup>

<sup>369</sup> Wilkens, J. “Musings on the Manichaean ‘*Pothi*’ Book”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 23, 2008, 209-231. p. 209.

<sup>370</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 92. For the Uyghur Buddhist colophon fragment U 9090 (T II Y 48), see Kasai, Y. *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*. pp 223-227.



U 109 recto, ll. 4-5 & verso, ll. 1-4 (in the colophon to the Manichaean <i>pothi</i> ):	U 9090, ll. 7-9 (in the colophon of the Uyghur Buddhist confession text):
By the strength of this meritorious [good] deed, [may their] holy [strengths and powers], and the assemblies and communities of their [followers], be increased and enlarged; and, by means of the [pure] and clear doctrine and religion, [may they keep (safe)] the assembly and [community from] [...], from those of false doctrine, from ignorant opponents and [from] [...] [on the inside], and the acclaimed and sacred realm of the ten Uyghur (tribes) on the outside! <sup>371</sup>	By the strength of this meritorious good deed, may their holy strengths and powers, and the assemblies and communities of their followers, be increased and enlarged, and may they watch over, protect and keep the doctrine and teaching on the inside, and the realm and the land on the outside! <sup>372</sup>

Both colophons express a hope that the religious merit of copying the holy texts would secure and enhance the religious community on the inside and the realm of the “ten Uyghur tribes” (*On Uygur elin*) on the outside. In U 9090, there is a receivers’ name-list of the merit of copying the Buddhist sutra. Similarly in the leaf of U 110a+b, the merit was specifically transferred to the deified royalties (such as *Kuymisa xatun*) and family members (especially *oylum Qutaddmiš Bars* - “my son *Qutaddmiš Bars*”, and *t[uy]miš atam Buzayu* - “my father *Buzayu*”) of the book’s donor Aryaman Fristum *xoštir*. Clark supposes that the donor Aryaman Fristum *xoštir* paid for the paper, the writing material, the painting of the frontispiece’s miniature, the copying of the texts, and even for composing or compiling the texts.<sup>373</sup> Though the surviving fragments of the Manichaean *pothi* do not tell whether the scribe of these texts was an elect or an auditor, it can be conjectured that the scribe was from the group of elects, since the donor Aryaman Fristum *xoštir* was namely an elect. Noteworthy, the donor Aryaman Fristum has the title *xoštir* with his name, which belongs to the group of elects but involves of work in secular affairs. It was impossible that he would find a scribe outside the monastic community. Thanks to the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum’s devotion, his name and his relatives’ names were included in some of the texts of this *pothi*, and more importantly, he could receive “this meritorious [good] deed” for copying the manuscript and transferring the merit to others. Basing the linguistic features of the texts (as the Uyghur y-dialect)<sup>374</sup>, the general use of the Buddhist terminology, and the religio-political context of the Turfan Manichaean community, Moriyasu dates this Manichaean *pothi* to

<sup>371</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 93.

<sup>372</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 93. Müller, F.W.K. “Uigurica II”, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* No. 3, Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910, 76-83. p. 7.

<sup>373</sup> Clark. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”. p. 158.

<sup>374</sup> The Uyghur “y”-dialect was used in most of the Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts, and the later-period Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts from the Turfan region.

the 10th or 11th century.<sup>375</sup> Considering its use of the already established standard Uyghur Buddhist terms, Wilkens dates this Manichaean *pothi* to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.<sup>376</sup> The probable date of compiling and copying this Manichaean *pothi* is the transitional period of the Qocho Uyghurs who were shifting their major religious orientation, from Manichaeism to Buddhism.

Clark speculates that the book's donor Aryaman Fristum *xoštur* was a Buddhist before his conversion to Manichaeism; so the donor chose the *pothi*-form and depicted the behavior of copying and compiling the religious books as a merit (*buyan*).<sup>377</sup> Accordingly, the donor's previous Buddhist background and short-term Manichaean experience can explain why this Manichaean *pothi* was composed by various unrelated texts that may be decided by him. But Moriyasu opposes Clark's opinion that the book's donor Aryaman Fristum *xoštur* selected the "textual models and types that were more familiar to him" due to his previous Buddhist life.<sup>378</sup> Admittedly, the Manichaean *pothi* reflects a strong Buddhist influence. This does not mean that its donor was a new convert from Buddhism to Manichaeism.

The proper names at the end of texts on the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts identify either the authors/scribes or the donors of the manuscripts. In the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts, some names were written solely without any decorative term or explanatory addition (such as position titles) at the end of the texts, which may be ordinary lay donors. If they were royal auditors, their names must be accompanied by official titles. The lay donors may have sponsored the elect scribes for copying Manichaean texts, by giving money, paper, ink, or food to the elect scribes as alms, and then their names would appear independently at the ends of the texts or text sections (highlighted by frames in the below photos). The names here were just written in black ink. In a Parthian Manichaean eschatological fragment M 4574 (verso I, line 7), the name of a lay donor *Daršāh* - appears independently, after the two spots' punctuation.

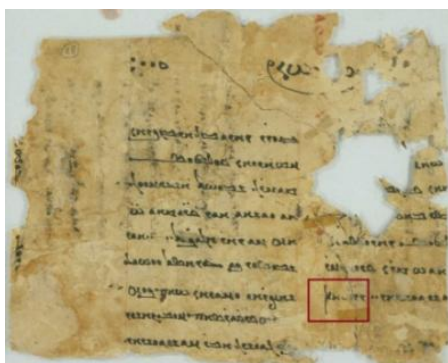
---

<sup>375</sup> Wilkens. "Musings on the Manichaean 'Pothi' Book". p. 211.

<sup>376</sup> Wilkens. "Musings on the Manichaean 'Pothi' Book". p. 210.

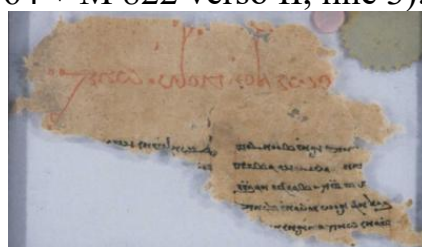
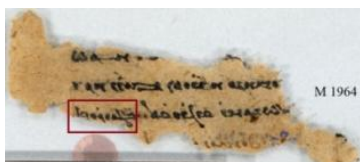
<sup>377</sup> Clark. "The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book". p. 158.

<sup>378</sup> Moriyasu, T. "Toruko Bukkyō no genryū to ko-Toruko-go butten no shutsugen トルコ仏教の源流と古トルコ語仏典の出現" [L'origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien], *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 98-4, 1989, 1-35. Note 77.



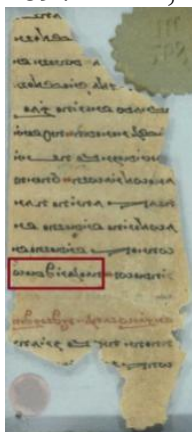
M 4574 verso

The regrouped fragments M 1964+M 822 contain a Parthian text about Mani's early missionary story with a king. At the end of this text section, there appears one Sogdian proper name of a lay patron - *Baye-xēpaθ* (βγγγ xypδ, meaning "Gods-own", in M 1964 + M 822 verso II, line 3).<sup>379</sup>



M 1964 verso + M 822 verso

In another fragment M 897, the Uyghur name of a lay donor is addressed at the end of a Middle Persian Manichaean hymn: 'wygwrtmyš (*Ögürtmiš*, meaning "the pleased one", in M 897 verso, line 12).<sup>380</sup>



M 897 verso

Henning speculates that the Uyghur proper name *Ögürtmiš* probably referred to an unnamed Uyghur "prince" (*wispuhr*) who had entered the Manichean Community, which also appeared in a Middle Persian hymn in honor of the Manichaean church hierarchy (M 729 II recto, ii, line 11).<sup>381</sup> But this is just an assumption, though the proper name *Ögürtmiš* would be more probably used by a Uyghur prince.

<sup>379</sup> Sundermann. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. p. 104, and also note 4.

<sup>380</sup> Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. p. 42.

<sup>381</sup> Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. p. 42, note 1.

### *Summary of Subchapter 1.4*

Traditionally, the Manichaean merit rationale based on auditors' almsgiving to elects would grant reward to the auditors in salvation. The concept of accumulating merit (*pwn* in Parthian / *buyan* in Uyghur) had already entered Manichaeism before its introduction to the Turfan region. Later in the Turfan Manichaean community, there was an independent trend of the auditors who could purify themselves and attain merit without the mediation of elects.

In the early time of Manichaeism, the church leaders needed to take the duty of scribal work. Later, there appeared a certain group of elect scribes who acted as one of the special ministries within the monastic community, and they needed to report their work to the church leaders. Besides, it cannot be excluded that there were also lay scribes in the Turfan Manichaean community. The proper names at the end of texts or text sections in the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts, referred to the people who were involved in the process of producing manuscripts, such as scribes, sponsors, and witnesses.

After the establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom in 866, the Turfan lay Manichaeans promoted such a way regarding their holy writings, similarly to what their Buddhist neighbours did: reciting and copying the scriptures in order to accumulate merit. As attested in the Uyghur Manichaean colophons, Turfan lay Manichaeans also transferred the merit of reciting and copying texts, to others. Except for the Manichaean lay donors, there were also elect donors, such as the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum who sponsored a unique Manichaean *pothi*. The colophon of the Manichaean *pothi* bears many similarities with that of the Uyghur Buddhist confession text on U 9090. Both contain the concept of copying religious texts as merit accumulation and transferring it to others. The recipients of merit-transferring can either be the religious community on the inside (including elects) or the secular individuals (such as kings) on the outside.

Among the Turfan lay Manichaeans, the devotional practice of accumulating merit includes not only the almsgiving to elects, but also other independent ways, such as attending the worship, and reciting and copying the holy texts. Particularly, with the permission of high-ranking elects, the auditors commissioned/sponsored copying the religious texts as a merit for divine reward, not necessarily relying on the mediation of the elects. Along with the gradual change of the dualist relation between auditors and elects in the Turfan Manichaean community, the auditors were able to purify themselves, begging for God's blessings, accumulating merit, and gaining salvation through more independent ways other than the mere almsgiving to and reliance on the elects.

## **Chapter 2: The Function of Manuscripts for the Internal Construction of the Turfan Manichaean Community**

### **2.1 The Role of Scribes and the Scribal Training**

This part investigates the role of scribes and the situation of training scribes in the Turfan Manichaean community, based on the Manichaean manuscript fragments found in the Turfan region, in particular, Toyuq. As a part of the Turfan region, the valley of Toyuq is located about 20 km east of the Qocho city. The appearance of Manichaean fragments in Toyuq testifies to the high demand for professional scribes and the need of copying texts for the Turfan Manichaean community. Most of the Toyuq Manichaean fragments were made from re-used paper. Some Manichaean writings appear only on the versos of Chinese Buddhist fragments, while others are fragments whose both sides are Manichaean, or whose other side is blank. The Uyghur Manichaean fragments with their relation to other Manichaean manuscripts in the same milieu reflect the Manichaean adaption to local Uyghur language and culture, during the process of mission and conversion in the Turfan region. Some of these Turfan Manichaean fragments expressly have an instructional function. Modern scholars often research them from either linguistic or philological perspective, but ignore their instructional significance to the Manichaean Church and Community.

Based on the codicological features of the relevant Turfan Manichaean fragments, this part analyzes the Manichaean scribal training in the Turfan region, from three aspects:

(1) The important status of scribes in the Manichaean Church and their mission can be testified by the textual and pictorial records from the Turfan region.

(2) There must have been a Manichaean institution in the Turfan region to give specialized scribal training to elects who took the duty of scribal work. Despite that some of the Toyuq Manichaean fragments were exercise paper for the scribes; the others seem to be manuals for syllabary education used by the Manichaean Church. The existence of alphabetic writings reflects that the activities of training or educating Manichaean scribes started from the basics.

(3) The Manichaean syllabary fragments of Turfan provide clear alphabetical tables or lists of Manichaean script, Orkhon script, and

Sogdian script for the scribes. In addition to the general use of the Manichaean script by the Turfan Manichaeans, they also used the Orkhon and Sogdian scripts for their manuscripts. The Manichaean syllabary fragments of Manichaean, Orkhon, and Sogdian alphabetic tables or lists were used in training or educating the scribes. The beginners of these scripts were trained in learning how to write the letters and use the alphabetic order.

### 2.1.1 The Textual and Pictorial Records of the Scribes

Manichaeism is a missionary religion of the “Books and Pictures”, which has been attested by its own writings and later Christian and Muslim literatures. Besides Mani’s doctrines, it disseminated the knowledge of the written records of the Manichaean wisdom. In addition to the oral transfer, the Manichaean missionaries spread their knowledge through the presentation of instructional texts, sermons, and homilies, as well as parables and hymns.

After proclaiming himself the founder of a new religion, Mani had written canons and painted pictures for his religion, in order to avoid the divergence of later generations of believers, which had before occurred among Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Mani’s seven canonical writings were composed in Syriac language. But according to the Abbasid Muslim scholar Ibn al-Nadīm, the Middle Persian Manichaean work - *Šābuhragān* was also included in the canon list of Mani’s writings (six Syriac writings and one Middle Persian writing).<sup>382</sup> Early Manichaeans had already tried to translate Mani’s original writings into as many languages as needed, but this translation practice may have been later formulated after Mani’s death, although Mani himself had the initiative to make it a principle.<sup>383</sup> It is reflected by a Turfan Middle Persian Manichaean prose on the advantages of Mani’s religion: “My religion is of the kind that it will be manifest in every country and in all languages, and it will be taught in faraway countries” (M 5794+M 5761, I recto).<sup>384</sup> Mani encouraged his followers to use different languages to promulgate his new religion, which is also a strategy to gain more believers through textual translation.

---

<sup>382</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm. *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture*. pp 797-798.

<sup>383</sup> Pedersen, N.A. & J.M. Larsen (eds.). *Manichaean Texts in Syriac*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. p. 11.

<sup>384</sup> Henning, W.B. “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II”, *Sitzungsberichte der Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1933, 292-363. p. 295. (T II D 126 = M 5794 + M 5761).

Mani sent his disciples from Mesopotamia to different lands as missionaries. As one of Mani's chief disciples, Mar Ammo's major missionary work was in the northeastern parts of the Sassanian Empire (i.e., the homelands of Parthians). A Middle Persian Manichaean account of early Manichaean church history (M 2, found in Turfan) records the circumstance of Mar Ammo's missionary travel in the command of Mani:

When the Apostle of Light (i.e., Mani) was in the provincial capital of Holwān, he let the teacher Mar Ammo come, who knew the Parthian script and language and was familiar with ... He sent him (Mar Ammo) went to Abarshahr together with Prince Ardabān<sup>385</sup> and brother-scribes (*br'dr'n dbyr'n*), with the books and the picture-book.<sup>386</sup>

This Middle Persian passage points out that Mar Ammo's missionary team included a nobleman and some male scribes, as they brought the "books and picture-book" (i.e., the Manichaean canons and canonical *picture-book*) to the East. These elements were the basics for early Manichaean missions.

The role of scribes is also mentioned in three Middle Persian Manichaean hymns (of M 801a folio d, M 801a folio j, and M 36, found in Turfan) that concern the hierarchical details of the Manichaean Church and Community. According to them, there are some specific positions, including the scribes (*dbyr'n*), separately enumerated between the third highest rank (presbyters) and the general body of elects of two genders. It seems that the scribes belong to a separate rank of special duties, rather than being counted as ordinary elects.

The scribes appear in a Manichaean church official letter (81TB 65:1) between high-ranking elects. 81TB 65:1 is a Sogdian Manichaean scroll, excavated in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves, in the Turfan region. Its recipient is a *mōžāk* ("teacher", as the highest rank of the Manichaean priesthood) called "Mar Aryāmān Puhr". In 81TB 65:1, ll. 18-19, Mar Aryāmān Puhr is further labeled as the "Teacher of the East" (*Hwarsančīk Mōžāk*).<sup>387</sup> In 81TB 65:1, ll. 20-25, this letter expresses greetings to the *'βt'δ'n* (*aβtādān*, "bishop"), the *mxyst'k* (*mahistāk*, "presbyter"), the *xwstrtw* (the plural form of *xōštar*), the *δp'yrtw*

<sup>385</sup> Boyce thinks that the "Prince Ardabān" (*'rdβ'n wyspwhr*) in M 2 is "evidently a member of the fallen house of the Arsacids (i.e. Parthians), and as such kinsman of Mani's, and as such a man who spoke Parthian". See Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 40, note 3.

<sup>386</sup> English translation based on Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 203-204. Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 40. Text h - 3.

<sup>387</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究. pp 3, 8, 23, 89 & 96.

(“scribes”), the *nw'kstw* (certain elects whose function is unknown), the *p's'ntytw* (“hymn-singers”), the *δrwxskt'* (“monks”), the *xw'ryštww* (“nuns”), and *sytm'n 'δw wkrw 'ncmn 'pts'kw* (“the whole (Manichaean) community of two orders”) (all in Sogdian forms) at the side of the letter’s recipient.<sup>388</sup> Being enumerated according to their status sequence in the Manichaean church hierarchy, these people must belong to the same community as this letter’s recipient. Then, according to 81TB 65:1, line 29, its sender is Šahryār Zādāk Aβtādān who is an *aβtādān* (“bishop”, the second highest rank in the Manichaean church hierarchy), representing his community ([ 'δw] *wkrw 'ncmn*, “[two] kinds of groups”, in ll. 29-30).<sup>389</sup> 81TB 65:1 is full of praises and good wishes to the church leaders, local secular rulers, and all other coreligionists, in a quite humble tone. 81TB 65:1 contains a date (month and day) at the ending part of the letter, but without a year. However, Yoshida identifies 81TB 65:1 and two other Sogdian Manichaean scrolls of letters (81TB 65:2 and 81TB 65:3) from the same excavated site, as being written during the latter half of the 9th century or the former half of the 10th century, because its content reveals the Uyghur royal patron of Manichaeism in Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (as in 81TB 65:1), and their linguistic characteristics of Sogdian texts reflect a strong influence of Uyghur language (as in 81TB 65:3).<sup>390</sup>

The scribes enjoyed a high status in the Manichaean Church since early times, which implies that they also occupied a space in the Manichaean monasteries. The 5th section (entitled “Concerning Monastery Buildings”, *Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五) of the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*<sup>391</sup> presented a blueprint of an ideal Manichaean monastery to the Tang imperial court (composed in 731), and listed five spaces that made up the ideal Manichaean monastery:

The “hall for the scriptures and images” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂),  
the “hall for fasting and preaching” (*Zhaijiang tang* 齋講堂),  
the “hall for rituals and confessions” (*Lichan tang* 禮懺堂),  
the “hall for religious instructions” (*Jiaoshou tang* 教授堂),

<sup>388</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究. pp 8 & 23.

<sup>389</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究. pp 9 & 23.

<sup>390</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究. pp 5-6.

<sup>391</sup> The *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani the Buddha of Light* (*Moni Guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略, on the Dunhuang fragments Or.8210/S.3969 & PC 3884), or in short the *Compendium*. See Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. pp 85-86. Lieu supplies an English translation of the Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*’s 5th article rule - “Concerning Monastery Buildings”.

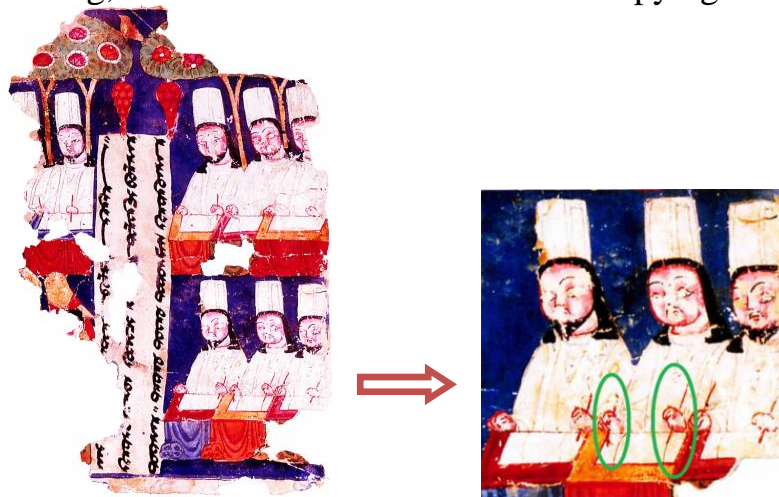


and the “hall for sick monks” (*Bingseng tang* 病僧堂).

(Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 84-86)

Accordingly, the group of elects in the monastery could take multiple functions and roles, not only to pray and sing, but also to preach and teach. The monastery is also where the Manichaean scribes got taught or trained, in the “hall for the scriptures and images” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂).

The elects have specialized in scribal work. A book painting (MIK III 6368 recto) found in Qocho ruin K of the Turfan region, depicts a scene of scribal training, in which some elect scribes are copying texts.



Detail of MIK III 6368 recto – the scene of the elect scribes<sup>392</sup>

In this full-page image of scribal training, the two rows of male elects are sitting behind desks covered by cloths of different colors, on which there is blank paper ruled by scribes (see above - the two green circles in the detailed photo of MIK III 6368 recto). Except for the left two figures in the upper row, they are all holding two pens to write. Among them, there are at least three figures which hold pens in both hands. The use of more than one pen may be for different colors: two hands hold two pens of different colors. Another possibility is: one hand uses a dry pen to rule the paper or make a draft of letters, while the other hand uses another pen to write down at the same time. Gulácsi labels this figural composition on MIK III 6368 recto as the “scene of elects in scribal duty”,<sup>393</sup> as a subject of the church institutions in the Turfan Manichaean book art. But it is more probable that the elects received training in copying, as they are sitting side by side orderly in rows, and holding pens with a piece of blank paper on each one’s desk. This figural composition may refer to a Manichaean institution of training scribes, which represents the “hall for

<sup>392</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. Plate 3.

<sup>393</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. p. 96.

the scriptures and images” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂) in the Manichaean monastery. However, it is not confirmed whether this book painting presented the situation of Manichaean scribes accurately. It is unknown what kind of training they received as scribes. But if they aimed to copy the Manichaean canonical writings, it would have been essential to acquiring the skills of writing the Manichaean script which was generally used for Mani’s holy books. Besides, this full-page figural composition also encloses three lines of Uyghur text that continue from the previous folio. The Uyghur lines of MIK III 6368 recto seem to have no direct relationship with the full-page image. The decorated header on MIK III 6368 verso indicates that the Uyghur text of both sides centers on the “Four Sovereign Gods” (*tört elig tängrilär*). This Uyghur text had started on MIK III 6368 recto, since the first word in the right column of MIK III 6368 verso continued a sentence.

### 2.1.2 The Elect Scribes and the Lay Scribes

Both elects and auditors got involved in the Manichaean scribal work. It is well-known that a priest called *Mānī* accompanied the teacher *Pattī* and the bishop *Mar Adda* (both as the Prophet Mani’s early disciples) on their missionary trips into the Greco-Roman world. In the Parthian Manichaean church history text (M 216c+M 1750), the priest *Mānī* is referred to as a “scribe” (*dbyr*), while in the Sogdian paralleling text (So. 14285+So. 13941)<sup>394</sup> as “abbot” (*m’nyst’nd’r’k*):

The Parthian version:

*'wd kd frystg [’nd](r) w(hy) ’rdhsyr bwd . ’b’w [ptyg] (’)mwcg . ’d’ ’spsg [’wd m](’)ny dbyr . ’w (f)rwm [fršwd .]*

And when the Great Apostle was in Weh-Ardahšīr, [he sent] [*Pattī*] the teacher, *Adda* the bishop, [and *M]ānī* the scribe, to Rome. (M 1750 recto, ll. 9-13)<sup>395</sup>

The Sogdian version:

*... rtxw pty mwz’k’ [c]nn XII-nw ’yw ’t’ ’βt’δ’n ZY m’ny m’nyst’nd’r’k M’nytt βr’r’ty wyr’rt’nt Z(Yp)r(’)yt’nt mrxw kw xwrtx’yz*

And *Pattī*, the teacher, one of the twelve, *Adda* the bishop, and *Mānī* the abbot, went with other brothers and reached the West. (So. 14285+So. 13941 verso, ll. 5-7)<sup>396</sup>

Thus, combing these two accounts of early Manichaean church history of the westward missionaries to the Greco-Roman world, the priest *Mānī* was not only described as a scribe, but also as an abbot or monastery

<sup>394</sup> The old signatures of the regrouped fragments So. 14285+So. 13941 are T II D 136+T II K.

<sup>395</sup> Sundermann. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. p. 26. Text 2.5, ll. 171-174.

<sup>396</sup> Sundermann. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. p. 36. Text 3.1, ll. 346-348.

protector. Sundermann thinks that giving the title “abbot” (*m’nyšt’nδ’r’k*) to the missionary priest Mānī after the teacher Pattī and the bishop (Mar) Adda means that he may belong to the third rank of the Manichean church hierarchy - the presbyter.<sup>397</sup> This implies that the scribal work was taken by a high church leader in early missionary times.

Later, certain elects joined the group of the scribes (*dbyr’n*), which is mentioned by three accounts of the Manichaean church hierarchy from Middle Persian hymns (in M 801a, d verso, ll. 1-18; M 801a, j recto, ll. 14-18 & j verso, ll. 1-7; and M 36). In addition to their literacy, the elect scribes also had calligraphic skills. In a few cases, the scribes in the Manichaean texts called themselves by names, which the reader should include in his prayers. For example, in a Middle Persian/Parthian bilingual hymn to Šād-Ohrmezd (the church leader of eastern Manichaeism in Marv), the scribe of the hymn text is mentioned after the praise to the Prophet Mani: *frydwn dybyr kyš nybyšt* (“Frēdūn, the scribe who wrote/copied it”, in the Middle Persian part of the text, on M 315 I recto, line 22),<sup>398</sup> which is specially written in red ink. The proper name *Frēdūn* is Middle Persian, but this elect scribe may be a Sogdian, for the Manichaean elects were given ecclesiastical names mostly in Middle Persian (a Manichaean church language) when they were accepted into the church.<sup>399</sup>

The work of elect scribes is also depicted vividly in a colophon to the *Mahrnāmag* (“the Hymn-Book”). The bifolio fragment of the Middle Persian *Mahrnāmag* - M 1 preserves the name of a scribe - *Naxurīg-rōšan*, who completed a scribal work. M 1, ll. 160-227 contains a nearly complete colophon at the end of the introduction to the *Mahrnāmag*, in which the scribe *Naxurīg-rōšan* is mentioned:

*’wd cym pd wh’ng ’y ’yn nbyg mn nxwrygrwšn rhyg dbyr pd hr’stn wyr’stn ’wd nbyšt*

And that on the occasion of this writing, I, Naxurīg-rōšan, the servant, the scribe in the preparation, arrangement, and writing ... (M 1, I verso, col. 3 - ll. 39-43; or ll. 223-227, counted for the whole bifolio fragment).<sup>400</sup>

According to this colophon, the manuscript M 1 started to be written by an unknown scribe in 762/763, but without being finished:

<sup>397</sup> Sundermann. “Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis”. p. 135.

<sup>398</sup> Colditz. “Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der *Dināwarīya* in Transoxanien”. p. 331.

<sup>399</sup> Colditz. “Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der *Dināwarīya* in Transoxanien”. p. 331, note 53.

<sup>400</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. pp 52-53. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. p. 17.

*dbyr kyš nwyst nbyštn pd prm'n 'y dynsrhng'n 'wš ny tw'n bwd hnzptn nbyštn*  
 The scribe, who began to write it on the orders of the spiritual leaders, was unable to finish it. (M 1, I verso, col. 2 - ll. 23-27; or ll. 174-178, counted for the whole bifolio fragment)<sup>401</sup>

This incomplete manuscript was preserved in a Manichaean(?) monastery of Agni/Argi (modern-day Yanqi) until around the 9th century when it became just completed by the scribe Naxurīg-rōšan. This colophon seems to be made by two persons - the “servant” and “scribe” Naxurīg-rōšan, and the “preacher” Yazadāmad. Naxurīg-rōšan is also called by Yazadāmad - “the most beloved, my dear son” (*przynd dwšyst, pwsrwm gr'myg*):

*'wd ps mn yzd'md xrwhxw'n km 'yn mhrn'mg 'yd'wn dyd, n'frz'ptg 'byk'r 'wft'dg 'ygwm dwd prm'd 'w przynd dwšyst pwsrwm gr'myg 'w nxwrygrwšn prz'ptn 'wn kw bw'd 'ndr dyn m'dy'n pd 'bzwn mhrn'mg pd dst 'y dynz'dg'n hš'gyrd'n kw gryw'n pdyš p'cyh'nd 'wd hmwg xrd frhng 'wd hwnr 'cyš hmwxs'nd*

Then I, Yazadāmad the preacher (*xrwhxw'n*), when I saw this book of hymns lying there unfinished and useless, I again commanded my child, the most beloved, my dear son, Naxurīg-rōšan (“the First-born of the Light”) to complete it so it may serve to increase faith so that (it may become) a hymnbook in the hands of the children of faith - the new pupils, so that the souls would be purified, and the doctrine, wisdom, instruction, and virtue would be learned through it. (M 1, I verso, col. 3 - ll. 5-21; or ll. 189-205, counted for the whole bifolio fragment)<sup>402</sup>

Since the “servant” and “scribe” Naxurīg-rōšan received the order from Yazadāmad, who was a “preacher” in the monastery of Agni/Argi (*m'nyst'n 'y 'rk*)<sup>403</sup>, to complete the unfinished manuscript, Naxurīg-rōšan may belong to the group of the elect scribes. This colophon also reveals that the whole scribal work was under the supervision of higher-ranking church leaders, such as the “preacher” Yazadāmad. The scribes were commissioned by their “spiritual leaders” to copy religious texts, and their scribal work needed to be reported to the church leaders. The “preacher” (*xrwhxw'n*) is an important functionary within the Manichaean monasteries, which may be responsible for the transmission of the Manichaean texts. In the Turfan fragment M 36, a Middle Persian hymn lists the bearers of each rank of the Manichaean church hierarchy, which includes the *xrwhw'n'n* (“preachers”)<sup>404</sup> among the group of elects that were in charge of certain specific duties for the religious activities. The preachers (*xrwhw'n'n*) stood between the presbyters and the ordinary elects within the church hierarchy. So, one of the duties of the “preachers” is ordering the scribes to copy and compile

<sup>401</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. pp 52-53. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 16.

<sup>402</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. pp 52-53. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. pp 16-17.

<sup>403</sup> Henning. “Argi and the ‘Tokharians’”. p. 566.

<sup>404</sup> Andreas & Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. p. 33.

books, as revealed by the text of M 1. The title “preacher” (*xrwhw'n/xrwhxw'n*) also appears in the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884):

呼嚙喚 譯云教道首 專知獎勸

*Huluhuan* (*xrwhw'n*), translated as “preacher”, especially in charge of award and exhortation. (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, col. 93)

This Chinese *Compendium* in its 5th section entitled “Concerning Monastery Buildings” (*Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五), had presented to the Tang emperor a blueprint of the ideal Manichaean monastery as well as a list of its principal administrators (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 84-95), in which the “library/scriptorium” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂) is one of the five spaces of the ideal Manichaean monastery. This “library/scriptorium” can be the place where the elect scribes acted together and completed their tasks of copying and compiling the Manichaean books.

In addition to the elect scribes who performed their scribal duty as a holy work, there were lay scribes in the Turfan region, who may have had various purposes for copying Manichaean texts. Copying the Manichaean texts was seen as a service to the souls of the auditors, revealed by a Middle Persian Manichaean text of the *Kawan* (“Book of the Giants”, on M 101d):

... *m[n'g]* [*nywš'*g] *ky nbyg nby(sy)[d]* [*c'w*](*n*) *myrd 'y wym'r ky zy[... m]yrd d'd nywš'g k[y]* [*xwybš'*] *dwxt 'w dyn dyyd m'ng (g)rwg'n ky pws '(w)[...]* (*h*)*mwxtn d'd 'w [...](p)yd grwg'n ...*

The auditor (*nywš'g*), who copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his [...] to a [...] man. The auditor who gives [his] daughter to the church, is like [...] pledge, who (or father?) gave his son to [...] learn [...] to [...] father, pledge [...]. (M 101d recto, ll. 3-10)<sup>405</sup>

In the fragment M 101d, the word *nywš'g* (“auditor”) cannot be seen completely, but it can be recovered as “auditor” according to the context since the lines of this folio are all talking about the devotion of auditors.

Then, the lay scribes may also have been commissioned with copying Manichaean texts. The text of the introduction to the *Mahrnāmag* (on M 1) mentions the names of two lay scribes - *Tiš-farn* (*tyšfrn*) and *Špārā Qarā-čor* (*šp'r'xr'cwr*) in ll. 118-120.<sup>406</sup> The names of these two scribes did not seem to be associated with the Manichaean Church. *Tiš-farn* (*tyšfrn*) is a Sogdian (masculine) proper name, meaning “the glory of Sirius”.<sup>407</sup> *Tiš* was originally an Avestan term, which only means “Sirius” while considering the astronomical field, and there were also some such

<sup>405</sup> Henning. “The Book of the Giants”. pp 59 & 64, fragment d, ll. 230-233.

<sup>406</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. p. 14.

<sup>407</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 333. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. p. 33.

names amongst Manichaeans.<sup>408</sup> But in the Manichaean cosmogony, the planets, zodiacal symbols, and stars were supposed to have demonic origins and negative roles (except the sun and the moon).<sup>409</sup> However, a Manichaean elect may not be named after the star Sirius (*Tiš*), considering the purity of elects. Then, *Špārā Qarā-čor* (*šp'r' xr'cwr*) apparently belonged to the Qocho Uyghur royal court, because *Špārā* (*šp'r'*) is a Uyghur proper name originally as *Išbara*,<sup>410</sup> and *Qarā-čor* (*xr'cwr*) is the combination of a Uyghur proper name *Qarā* (*xr'*) and a Uyghur official title *čor* (*cwr*).<sup>411</sup> For the Turfan Manichaean community, the educational levels between the Manichaean elects and the royal auditors may not have become too different.

### 2.1.3 The Institution of Training Manichaean Scribes in the Turfan Region

The scribes were trained within the framework of the Manichaean monasteries, as some Turfan Manichaean fragments were written down by them as an exercise. There are some Manichaean fragments found in the “library room” at the Buddhist temple ruins of Toyuq in the Turfan region, which prove the existence of an actual institution for training Manichaean scribes. As Le Coq records during his archaeological activities, the discovery site (“library room”) of these fragments was a rectangular and domed Persian Sassanian-style room with a chimney and a 1.5 meter-high platform; and so Le Coq identifies this room as “the cell of a clergyman” (*die Zelle eines Klostergeistlichen*).<sup>412</sup> Toyuq had a heterogeneous environment where Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Nestorianism coexisted. So, lots of various manuscripts in different languages or scripts are found in the “library room” of the Buddhist temple ruins of Toyuq, which include Buddhist, Manichaean, and Nestorian documents.<sup>413</sup> This “library room” was the only place where Manichaean documents are found in Toyuq, but it may not belong to the

<sup>408</sup> Sundermann. “Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer”. p. 254.

<sup>409</sup> See the Turfan Manichaean fragment M 853. Sundermann, W. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte von Friedmar Geissler*. pp 45-46, also notes 12 and 13.

<sup>410</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahnâmâg)*. p. 39. Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 319.

<sup>411</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 364.

<sup>412</sup> Le Coq, A. von. “Köktürkisches aus Turfan (Manuskriptfragmente in köktürkischen ‘Runen’ aus Toyuq und Idikut-Schähri [Oase von Turfan])”, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 41, 1909, 1047-1061. p. 1048.

<sup>413</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan: Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926. pp 81-82. Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. XVII.

Manichaeans. It may be simply a collection place for various manuscripts. Compared to the Qocho city ruins, the number of Manichaean documents found in Toyuq is relatively small.

First of all, there are two fragments of Orkhon script (MIK III 34b, and Ot.Ry. 8129, from Toyuq) which reveal alphabetic teaching, script practice, and scribal exercise of texts respectively, for the Manichaean scribes. These Orkhon script writings are exceptions because they are quite rare among the Turfan Manichaeans. The fragment MIK III 34b is originally from a Chinese Buddhist manuscript, but on its blank verso, a Manichaean scribe added a syllabary Uyghur writing (in the Orkhon script and Manichaean script) for abecedarians. Only the central piece of the original page survives.



MIK III 34b (verso & recto)<sup>414</sup>

This writing of two scripts was used by people as a tool for learning the Orkhon script through the Manichaean script. Clark designates it as an “abecedary” writing.<sup>415</sup> But this writing seems more to be an instructional manual or exercise of the scribes for learning the alphabetic correspondence between the Orkhon script and the Manichaean script. The Manichaean nature of this syllabary Uyghur writing is not confirmed, despite the use of the Manichaean script.

A similar syllabary writing appears on the verso of Ot.Ry. 8129. It is just a Orkhon alphabet written on the verso of a Chinese Buddhist sutra manuscript.

<sup>414</sup> Photo from Le Coq. “Köktürkisches aus Turfan (Manuskriptfragmente in köktürkischen ‘Runen’ aus Toyoq und Idiqut-Schähri [Oase von Turfan])”. Taf. IX.

<sup>415</sup> Clark. “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”, p. 135.



*Ot.Ry. 8129 (recto & verso)*<sup>416</sup>

Ot.Ry. 8129 verso contains three incomplete alphabet tables of Orkhon script, which seem to be the writing exercise of a scribe. The handwriting of Ot.Ry. 8129 verso seems to be from the same scribal school of the Orkhon-script handwriting of MIK III 34b verso. The writing on Ot.Ry. 8129 verso was just for alphabetic teaching.

Except for the two above fragments in the Orkhon script, there are more Manichaean fragments in the Manichaean script found in the “library room” of the Buddhist temple ruins of Toyuq. According to Boyce’s catalogue, there are eleven Manichaean fragments in Manichaean script from there: one in Uyghur language, two in Middle Persian, three in Parthian, four in Sogdian, and one fragment of only a few practice letters.<sup>417</sup> The writing types that these eleven Manichaean fragments belong to, include writing exercises, letter drafts, and other texts’ copying. Seven of them are written on the versos of the Chinese Buddhist sutra manuscripts, which indicate that they were not formal documents.

The writing exercises occupy a portion of Manichaean fragments found in Toyuq, such as the Middle Persian fragment M 7351, and the Sogdian fragments M 7391 and M 7392, which all preserve the records of the handwriting training of Manichaean scribes, on the versos of Chinese Buddhist scrolls. M 7351 verso preserves the longest lines of the writing exercise by three scribes.

<sup>416</sup> Photo taken by Moriyasu in Ryukoku University Library, and published in Moriyasu, T. “*Daiei toshokan shozō Rūn moji Manikyō monjo Kao. 0107 no shin kenkyū* 大英図書館所蔵ルーン文字マニ教文書 Kao. 0107 の新研究”, in: *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 12, 1997, 41-71 (+4 pls.). Pl. V & Pl. VI.

<sup>417</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. pp 130-131.





M 7351 verso

M 7351 verso contains five parts of Middle Persian Manichaean hymns for the enthronement of a “Teacher” (*hmwc’g*): part 1 - ll. 1-10; part 2 - ll. 11-19; part 3 - line 20; part 4 - ll. 21-23; part 5 - ll. 24-32. They belong to three different hands. Among them, part 1, part 3, and part 5 obviously came from the same hand of a scribe who modestly called himself the “new scribe” (*dbyr ’yg nwg*) whose handwriting seems to be relatively nice, and this scribe copied the text with some spelling mistakes.<sup>418</sup> The other two scribes appear to have a less professional handwriting than the “new scribe” who copied the most lines on this fragment. They reflect the different styles of handwritings among scribes of different levels of proficiency.

In M 7391 and M 7392, there are not only scribes’ exercises on their versos, but also a few practice letters (of Manichaean script) written between the Chinese columns on the rectos.



M 7391 recto



M 7391 verso



M 7392 recto

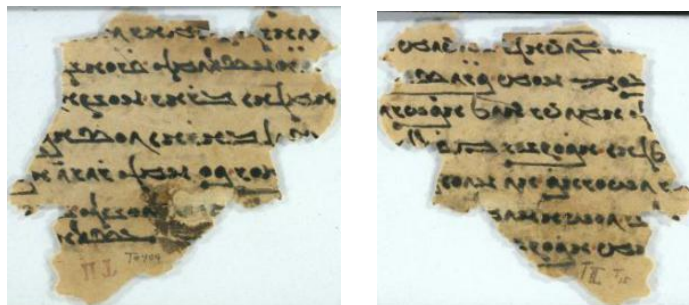


M 7392 verso

<sup>418</sup> Leurini. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection.* p. 101.

The exercise lines on the versos of both M 7391 and M 7392 contain Sogdian Manichaean epistolary content. Both scribes of versos of M 7391 and M 7392 added graffiti together with the main lines.

Among the Toyuq Manichaean fragments, only the Parthian hymn text of M 7390 is double-paged. Its handwriting is more delicate than the others, and its punctuation marks are in red ink, which mean that it probably belongs to a more formal document.



*M 7390 recto & verso*

It cannot be excluded that M 7390 performed the role of a handwriting model for training scribes in the context of Toyuq where the Manichaean fragments of scribal exercises are found. For the Turfan Manichaeans, it was necessary to train scribes in copying religious texts, to make delicate manuscripts.

The above Manichaean fragments found in Toyuq indicate a Manichaean presence there. The Toyuq Manichaean fragments, used for alphabetic teaching, writing exercises, and texts' copying, offer us precious information on how the Manichaean scribes were educated and trained in the Turfan region. On the other hand, nearly all of these Manichaean fragments were written on the versos of Chinese Buddhist manuscripts, which at least imply either that there was not plenty of paper for the Manichaean scribes to use, or that they did not get enough sponsorship for the paper. However, all these imply the existence of a center of training Manichaean scribes in the Turfan region, whose trainees have different levels of alphabetic knowledge and handwriting skills.

### **2.1.4 The Teaching of the Scripts**

Three kinds of scripts (Manichaean, Sogdian, and Orkhon) were used for the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts. The Manichaean manuscripts in Manichaean script were always carefully elaborated, while those in Sogdian and Orkhon scripts were often not elaborated in that way. Among the Turfan Manichaean material, the most special case is an illuminated fragment in the Orkhon script - Or. 1812-1692: the recto contains a

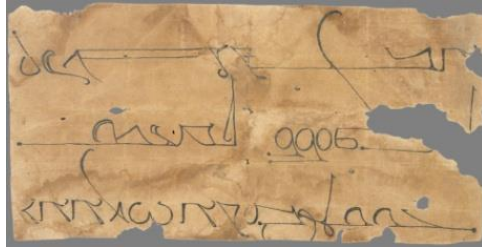
colophon to an unknown Manichaean book, written in Uyghur language and Orkhon script; and the verso contains a full-page miniature that depicted a portion of a *Bema* scene. But the colophon on Or. 1812-1692 recto has no thematic relation with the miniature of the *Bema* scene on Or. 1812-1692 verso which can be also found in the full-page miniature of MIK III 4979 verso.

The Turfan Manichaean manuscripts of Manichaean script, Orkhon script, and most of the Sogdian script, were written in horizontal lines from right to left, but some later Sogdian script manuscripts got a strong influence from the Chinese script and scrolls, and thus they shifted from horizontal to vertical writing.

Though as a basically Palmyrenian script, the “Manichaean script” was borrowed by Mani for his new religion and his original Syriac writings, and then diffused by the first generations of Manichaeans in their missions. In Mesopotamia, the use of Manichaean script largely depended on its convenience of transcription and understanding. In the Turfan region, the Manichaean script was always used by Manichaeans for their writings, in addition to its sacred meaning as being related to Prophet Mani. The Manichaean script was not only employed by Turfan Manichaeans for writing Middle Persian and Parthian which were church languages of eastern Manichaeism, but was also used by them to record Sogdian and Uyghur to a lesser extent. Besides, at least one Bactrian and two Tocharian B (Kuchean) Manichaean fragments were written in the Manichaean script. That Bactrian Manichaean manuscript was probably not written in Turfan, because it is on leather, which was rare in Turfan during the early Qocho Uyghur period. In brief, the Manichaean script symbolizes the Manichaean religion and is also a reflection of the religious identity of the Manichaean community.

There are eight alphabetic fragments from various sites of the Turfan region – M 1571a (verso), M 409b (recto), M 1206 (recto), MIK III 34b (verso), Or.Ry. 8129, Mainz 171, U 40, and So. 20127. They are all relevant to the teaching of scripts.

The fragment M 1571a originally belongs to a Chinese Buddhist scroll. The re-used verso of M 1571a contains a Manichaean alphabet list based on the alphabetical order which is connected to the strophes’ sequence within some Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns. All the letters of the Manichaean script remain in M 1571a verso. Its handwriting is large but thin, in a very different style from that of most of the Manichaean script manuscripts.



*M 1571a verso*

Transcription of M 1571a verso:

Line 1: 'by dh wzj

Line 2: (h)tykx lmns

Line 3: 'pfčqr'st'n

This Manichaean alphabetical list is to teach the Manichaean script to the Manichaean scribes. This list may not be only alphabetical, because it has -'n at the end, whose meaning is unknown.

The fragment M 409b (recto) contains two lines of the Manichaean alphabet list based on the alphabetical order. Its verso is blank.



*M 409b recto*

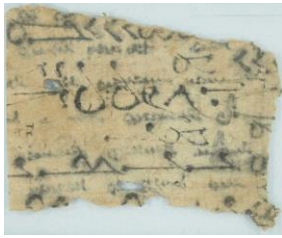
Transcription of M 409b recto:

Line 1: (h)ty(kx) (l)mns

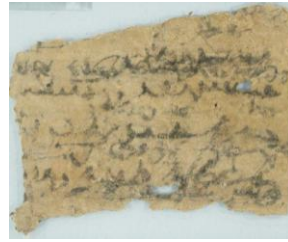
Line 2: 'pf(č)q (r')št'n

The remaining letters of this Manichaean alphabet list are in the same order as that of M 1571a verso. This list is ended with -'n, which is nearly the same as M 1571a verso. But the handwriting of the letters on M 409a is three times smaller than that of M 1571a, and they are apparently from two different Manichaean scribal styles. The handwriting style of M 409a is much more common in the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts of the Manichaean script.

M 1206 (from Qocho ruin α) is a fragment whose both sides belong to the writing exercise of Manichaean scribes. On side 1, being interspersed with a faint Manichaean-script writing in a smaller hand, there are at least six lines of partly repeated letters of the Manichaean alphabet, whose handwriting is large and thin, and in style just like M 1571a. On side 2, there are some irregular lines written in the Sogdian script, but now it is harmed and not readable.



M 1206 side 1



M 1206 side 2

Transcription of M 1206 side 1:

Line 1: ...](š)nnnq[...

Line 2: ...](•)nn m

Line 3: ...](h)wzjjh[...

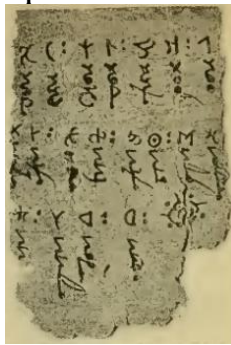
Line 4: ...](•m) m(n)

Line 5: ...](m)δδsδ[...

Line 6: ...](mn•p•s)[...

The scribe of M 1206 side 1 attempted to write some letters of the Manichaean script more than once. Among the six lines, only Line 3 - [...](h)wzjjh [...], is in the same order as the corresponding part of the Manichaean alphabet list on M 1571a verso (line 1). This fragment shows a novice scribe's practice through studying the Manichaean script.

The Manichaean scribes also used the Manichaean script as assistance to learn the Orkhon script which was used by Uyghurs since earlier time than the introduction of Manichaeism into the Turfan region. MIK III 34b verso contains a small remnant of a comparative alphabet of at least nineteen Orkhon letters and their counterparts in the pronouncing system of the Manichaean script.



MIK III 34b verso

Transcription of MIK III 34b verso:

Line 1: ...]up n<sub>1</sub> : ič p : k<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub> : I[... (Orkhon letters)

Line 2: ...]up an : ič ip : ag it : iy[... (Manichaean letters)

Line 3: ...]d<sub>2</sub> η : ŋ z : g<sub>2</sub> nt : lt s<sub>1</sub>[... (Orkhon letters)

Line 4: ...]ad eng : iy az : eng end : elt as[... (Manichaean letters)

Line 5: ...]n<sub>2</sub> : l<sub>2</sub> kl : y<sub>1</sub> (Orkhon letters)

Line 6: ...]an : al ik : ay (Manichaean letters)<sup>419</sup>

This Manichaean writing shows the remains of three lines of the Orkhon

<sup>419</sup> The modified transcription is based on Le Coq, A. von. "Köktürkisches aus Turfan (Manuskriptfragmente in köktürkischen 'Runen' aus Toyoq und Idikut-Schähri [Oase von Turfan])". p. 1050. Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften. Teil 8: Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung.* pp 376-377, No. 433.

letters, interpreted by phonetic values or their names written in the Manichaean script below.

But the two scripts were written in different directions. In other words, the lines of the Manichaean script were written sideways-oriented against the lines of the Orkhon script. Apart from the last letter *yI*, this Orkhon alphabet appears in the principle of grouping two letters between punctuation marks *:*, which was to separate them, but perhaps the Manichaean learners used these marks to make the page of two scripts easier to be viewed. In the end, there is a cut-out image of geometric round pattern, which symbolizes the ending of this comparative alphabet.



*The geometric round pattern (on MIK III 34b verso)*

In addition, this comparative alphabet has a phonetic value or letter's name - *iy* of the Manichaean script for the Orkhon letter *ń*, which indicates that its pronunciation among Uyghurs in the Turfan region had changed, while this Orkhon letter was still used and written in the old way. There may have been an earlier convergence of the nasal *ń* and the *iy*; or the author of this writing thought that the *iy* represented the closest pronunciation to the “nasalized voiced palatal consonant he knows”, according to Erdal's suggestion.<sup>420</sup> The Turfan Uyghur literature can be divided into two dialects – *n* dialect and *y* dialect. The *n* dialect can be represented by the early Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts and the Orkhon-script Uyghur manuscripts, while the *y* dialect was mainly used by most Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts and the later Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts.<sup>421</sup> So, the corresponding relationship between the Orkhon letter *ń* and the Manichaean letter *y* as revealed in MIK III 34b verso, witnessed a phonetic transition in the Uyghur language that happened at the time of the scribe. Accordingly, medieval Muslim historians referred to the Khitan people as “Khitay”, and they may have adopted the form *-iy* via the Qocho Uyghurs whose language made the final *-n/-ń* to be *-y*. The comparative alphabet of MIK III 34b verso is likely a studying note or manual made for the Manichaean elects who were familiar with the Manichaean script but beginners of the Orkhon script. In brief, this alphabetic writing records the learning process of the Orkhon script by Manichaean elects, who prepared to do missionary work by translating or composing Manichaean texts in the Uyghur language. Though the Orkhon script was not read by many Uyghurs except those elites or soldiers, the Manichaean use of the Orkhon script may represent

<sup>420</sup> Erdal, M. *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. p. 71.

<sup>421</sup> Geng Shimin & Wei Cuiyi. *Gudai Tujueyu yufa* 古代突厥語語法. Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 2010. pp 69-70.

Manichaeism as an old tradition.

Ot.Ry. 8129 (found in Toyuq of Turfan) is similar to MIK III 34b, presenting the Orkhon alphabet list.



Ot.Ry. 8129 verso

Among the three incomplete alphabet tables on Ot.Ry. 8129 verso, Table 1 and Table 2 seem to be of the same letters in the same array, though Table 1 was not finished. But Table 1 and Table 2 do not contain any punctuation mark, while Table 3 groups two letters between punctuation marks :, just like the principle of the lines of the Orkhon alphabet in MIK III 34b. Besides, there is a blank of about three lines between Table 2 and Table 3.

Transcription of Ot.Ry. 8129 verso:

Table/line 1: ...]  $t_2$  I A  $y_2$   $\dot{U}k$   $r_1$  (unfinished  $l_1$ )

Table/line 2: ...]  $t_2$  I A (a black spot)  $y_2$   $\dot{U}k$   $r_1$   $r_1 t_2(?)$   $l_1$   $Uk$   $n\zeta$   $s_1$

Table/line 3: ...] ( $k_2$ )  $t_2$  : I A :  $y_2$   $\dot{U}k$  :  $r_1$   $r_1 t_2$  :  $l_1$   $Uk$  :  $n\zeta$   $s_1$  : U  $s_2$  :  $d_2$   $\eta$  :<sup>422</sup>

Unlike MIK III 34b verso, the Orkhon alphabet of Ot.Ry. 8129 verso is not labeled with phonetic value or a letter's name for each letter. As per the scribe's exercise: Table 1 is not finished (with an unfinished  $l_1$ ); Table 2 is repeating the letters of Table 1 in the same order, but at least two letters ( $y_2$  and  $r_1$ ) are rewritten; and repeating the letters of both Table 1 and Table 2, Table 3 is more complete and more carefully written, as it groups two letters between punctuation marks :. Combining MIK III 34b and Ot.Ry. 8129 can help reconstruct the original array of the Orkhon alphabet that had long been disputed. The relationship between the Orkhon script of Turfan Uyghur manuscripts and that of the stone inscriptions of the Mongolian Steppe which is the originated place of the Orkhon alphabet, remains disputed. However, the most striking difference between them in the shape of letters is that the Orkhon script of the Turfan region is a book script, using a brush or a pen to write, while that of the Mongolian Steppe is a lapidary script, with different writing tools. So, in the Turfan region, the Orkhon script developed some deviations or

<sup>422</sup> The modified transcription is based on Sertkaya, O.F. "Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Metinleri ve Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Alfabeleri", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, Ankara, 1990, 167-181. p. 177. Moriyasu. "Daiei toshokan shozō rûn moji Manikyō bunsho Kao. 0107 no shin kenkyū 大英図書館所蔵ルーン文字マニ教文書Kao.0107の新研究". pp 44-45 & 60.

innovations in the form of letters. Thomsen finds a special case, that is, the Orkhon script on the trilingual inscription of Qara-Balgasun, in Uyghur, Sogdian, and Chinese languages, of the 8th Steppe Uyghur Khan (r. 808-821 CE).<sup>423</sup> During the reign of the 8th Steppe Uyghur Khan, this trilingual inscription was established,<sup>424</sup> or just after he died in 821.<sup>425</sup> Now, this trilingual inscription has been extremely mutilated, so the Uyghur part in the Orkhon script is only preserved in small fragments. The more or less rounded delicate shapes of the Orkhon letters in this trilingual inscription differ from those of the other Orkhon inscriptions in the Mongolian Steppe, which presupposes a change towards the book script.<sup>426</sup>

Except for the Uyghur syllabary fragments of learning Orkhon script, there is a unique Uyghur fragment containing two scripts - Mainz 171 (in the Orkhon script and Sogdian script) for the abecedary, found in Qocho city ruins of the Turfan region. Its verso is blank.



Mainz 171 (recto)

Transcription of Mainz 171:

1. ...]b<sub>2</sub>Ir<sub>2</sub>[...  
...]bir[...
2. ...] / b<sub>1</sub>U[...  
...] / bu [...
3. ...]Ür<sub>2</sub>[...  
...t]örtü[nç...
4. ...]I / y<sub>2</sub>mA  
...]i(i?) | ymä <sup>427</sup>

This Uyghur text is written vertically, in at least eight lines, of which four lines are written in Orkhon script and the other four lines in Sogdian script. The Sogdian script lines contain the same content as the Orkhon

<sup>423</sup> Thomsen, V. “Ein Blatt in türkischer ‘Runen’ Schrift aus Turfan”. *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), 1910, 296-306. p. 300.

<sup>424</sup> Chavannes, E. & P. Pelliot. “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté (Deuxième partie)”, *Journal Asiatique* (10th ser.) 20, 1913, 99-199. p. 180. Hamilton, J.R. “L’inscription trilingue de Qara Balgasun d’après les estampages de Bouillane de Lacoste”, in A. Haneda (ed.). *Documents et archives provenant de l’Asie Centrale*. Kyoto, 1990, 125-133. p. 125.

<sup>425</sup> Minorsky, V. “Tamim ibn Baḥr’s journey to the Uyghurs”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12/2, 1948, 275-305. pp 286 & 300.

<sup>426</sup> Thomsen. “Ein Blatt in türkischer ‘Runen’ Schrift aus Turfan”. p. 300.

<sup>427</sup> The modified transcription is based on Le Coq. “Köktürkisches aus Turfan (Manuskriptfragmente in köktürkischen ‘Runen’ aus Toyoq und Idikut-Schähri [Oase von Turfan])”. p. 1060. Sertkaya. “Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Metinleri ve Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Alfabeleri”. p. 174.



script lines. Each line of the Sogdian script follows each of the Orkhon script lines. So, it is likely that the scribe used the two scripts to write the same Uyghur text two times. But it remains unknown why both scripts were written from top to bottom. However, this fragment does not directly show the Orkhon alphabet, and the topic of its content is unknown. Due to the fragmentary condition, the Manichaean nature of this Uyghur text is not recognized. But it cannot be excluded that it was written by Manichaean elects who were eager to spread their religion to Uyghurs.

Finally, teaching the Sogdian script can also be a part of the Turfan Manichaean institution of training scribes. U 40 contains Uyghur Manichaean syllabary writing (of Sogdian script) for the abecedyary.



U 40 recto & verso

The main Uyghur Manichaean text on the two sides of U 40 is quite similar in content to parts of the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean scroll called the “*Traité*” by modern scholars (BD 00256, cols. 300-310).<sup>428</sup> The main text of U 40 can be a Uyghur version of the Chinese Manichaean *Traité*, but it is yet known which one was composed earlier. Then, the syllabary writing of the Sogdian script is on the outer margins of the two sides of U40. Twenty-one letters of the Sogdian alphabet (one letter illegible) are separately written at the ends of lines of U 40 recto:

*a, v, γ, u, z, x/q, y, k, d, m, n, s, p, č, r, š, t, l, (-š), -m, -q*<sup>429</sup>

Eight letters are written in the same way at the outer margin of U 40 verso:

*[a], [v], γ, u, z, x/q, y, k*

<sup>428</sup> For the main Uyghur text of U 40, see Le Coq. *Turkish Manichaica from Chocho III*. p. 22 (Nr. 8 vii). For the Chinese text of BD 00256, see Lieu, S.N.C. & G.B. Mikkelsen (eds.). *Tractatus Manichaicus Sinicus (Monijiao canjing 摩尼教殘經)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. p. 83.

<sup>429</sup> The modified transcription is based on Le Coq. *Turkish Manichaica from Chocho III*. p. 22 (Nr. 8 vii). Clark, L. “The Turkic Script and *Kutadgu Bilig*”, in H. Boeschoten & J. Rentzsch (eds.). *Turcology in Mainz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, 89-106. p. 99.

The handwriting style of the eight letters on U 40 verso is different from the first eight letters written at the outer margin of U 40 recto, though they are the same letters. But due to unknown reasons, the Sogdian alphabet list on the outer margin of U 40 verso is suddenly terminated after writing the eighth letter. It is unknown whether the two lines of the Sogdian alphabet list on both sides of U 40 had something to do with numbering or arranging the lines of the main Uyghur text of U 40.

So. 20127 is a scrap of paper that may be used by the scribe as a temporary record in the process of scribal training.



*So. 20127 recto*

So. 20127 recto presents the alphabetic sequence of the 21 Sogdian script letters:

*a, v, y, u, z, x/q, y, k, d, m, n, s, p, č, r, š, t, l, (-š, -m, -ḡ)*<sup>430</sup>

The verso of So. 20127 only remains one unrelated line of Sogdian script writing. On So. 20127 recto, the last three letters (-š, -m, -ḡ, in line 4) of the Sogdian alphabet list are damaged, but their shapes can be guessed. These three letters are simply the ending forms of three of the basic 18 Sogdian letters as given before. The three letters -š, -m, -ḡ are more intact in the alphabet list on U 40 recto, and they as well appear in later Sogdian-script abecedaries.<sup>431</sup> But notably, the Sogdian letters' sequence -š, -m, -ḡ is not found in the Sogdian alphabet list that consists of 22 letters (and one repeated letter) written on a clay fragment found in Panjikent (in today's Tajikistan) of Sogdiana.<sup>432</sup> This sequence -š, -m, -ḡ can be regarded as a defining character of a Uyghur-Sogdian as opposed to an original Sogdian-script abecedy. The same Sogdian alphabet list on both U 40 and So. 20127 (recto), reflects that their scribes may have got trained within the same institution of teaching the Sogdian script, though their handwriting styles are quite different from one another.

<sup>430</sup> The modified transcription, based on Clark. "The Turkic Script and *Kutadgu Bilig*". p. 99.

<sup>431</sup> Arat, R.R. "Uygur Alfabeti", in *Muallim M. Cevdet. Hayati, Eserleri ve Kutuphanesi*. Haz. O. Ergin, İstanbul, 1937. 665-691.

<sup>432</sup> Livšic, V.A. "A Sogdian Alphabet from Panjikant", in M. Boyce & I. Gershevitch (eds.). *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*. London: Lund Humphries, 1970. 256-263. p. 258. Sims-Williams, N. "The Sogdian Sound-System and the Origins of the Uyghur Script", *Journal asiatique* 269, 1981, 347-360. pp 348-349.

### *Summary of Subchapter 2.1*

Since the beginning of Manichaeism, the scribes had gained a crucial position in the Manichaean missions. The Manichaean Church and Community gave great attention to the role of scribes, so their training in scribal work was presented in the Turfan Manichaean book art. Based on the scene of elect scribes on MIK III 6368 recto, the activity space of Manichaean scribes is identified as the “hall for the scriptures and images” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂) that is enumerated in the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*, while another space - the “hall for rituals and confessions” (*Lichan tang* 禮懺堂) would be the place for the hymn-singer and the instrument-player who appear in the scene of hymnody ritual on MIK III 6368 verso. The scribal work did not remain exclusively for the elects, as there were also lay scribes.

The Toyuq Manichaean manuscript fragments, used for alphabetic teaching, writing exercises, and text-copying practice, reflect the existence of an institution of training Manichaean scribes in the Turfan region. Some of them were written by unskilled hands, and others seem to be more professional. Those inelegant or irregular handwritings can be considered to have been written by apprentice scribes. The Toyuq Manichaean fragments present us with the diversity of scribal exercise activities and the different levels of the scribes’ proficiency in their training process.

The Manichaean syllabary fragments (lists of letters or alphabets) found in various sites of the Turfan region, including Toyuq, probably witnessed to a learning process for the Manichaean scribes. Some of them can be taken as instructional manuals for the alphabets, while others may be just scribal exercises for the scripts. However, such abecedaries of Manichaean, Sogdian, and Orkhon scripts, point to the existence of a Manichaean scribal training institution in the Turfan region. During the course of scribal training and exercises, the Turfan Manichaean scribes learned the rules of the three scripts for copying the Manichaean writings, and the treatment of different scripts. In the abecedarian fragments of two scripts - MIK III 34b (verso) and Mainz 171, the writing directions of different scripts became more flexible, probably due to the convenience of either scribes or viewers. The sequence of single letters, or the alphabetic order, was important when the scribes got to use them in the scribal work. Although the status of the Manichaean script was strikingly higher than the Sogdian script and the Orkhon script, the Manichaean scribes were trained in all three scripts, for instance learning one script through the other script (such as in MIK III 34b verso). Such scribal training reveals the Manichaean adaption to the local Uyghur language

and culture.

In a word, the Turfan Manichaean scribes through the institutional training, not only played a significant role in spreading the Manichaean religion but also accumulated and communicated the knowledge of different scripts and languages along the eastern Silk Road, which helped to build up a multilingual and multicultural Manichaean community in the Turfan region.

## 2.2 The Role of *Xošturs* in the Turfan Manichaean Community

The Turfan Uyghur Manichaean material often mentions some figures titled *xoštir* or *xoštiranč*. The Uyghur term *xoštir* is a Sogdian loanword – *xōštar* (sometimes as *xweštar/xōštē* and in plural form *xōštartū*), originally meaning “elder, chief man, or leader”,<sup>433</sup> which refers to an unconfirmed position among the elects in the eastern Manichaean Church;<sup>434</sup> and then, the term *xoštiranč* is a combination of the term *xoštir* and the Sogdian feminine ending *-’nč*, referring to the female version of that title.<sup>435</sup> Nevertheless, the term *xoštir* is not mentioned by the Chinese *Moni Guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (“The Compendium of the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Teachings of Mani the Buddha of Light”, Or. 8210/S. 3969+PC 3884, found in Dunhuang), which presents the original Manichaean church hierarchy by categorizing the Manichaeans into five ranks. Neither is the *xoštir* mentioned by the *Hymn to the Messengers* (in M 801a, I - 6:1)<sup>436</sup> - a Middle Persian Manichaean text found in the Turfan region, which introduces the organizational structure of the eastern Manichaean Church. The main ranks or positions in the eastern Manichaean Church are (in Middle Persian): the “apostle” (*hammōžāg*), the “bishops” (*ispasagān*), the “presbyters” (*mānsārārān*), the general body of the “male elects” (*brādarān*) and the “female elects” (*wxārēn*), and the “auditors” (*niyōšāgān*), as well as the four other special positions within the group of elects – “prayer leaders” (*āfrīnsārān*), “preachers” (*xrōhxwānān*), “scribes” (*dbīrān*), and “leading singers” (*mahrsarāyān*) of hymns.<sup>437</sup>

Gershevitch, Sundermann, Durkin-Meisterernst, and Clark suppose the

---

<sup>433</sup> Sims-Williams, N. *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985. p. 234.

<sup>434</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 370. Zieme. “Zu einigen Problemen des Manichäismus bei den Türken”. p. 174. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic texts from Central Asia*. p. 375, n. 18.

<sup>435</sup> Zieme, P. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975. p. 70, no. 739.

<sup>436</sup> The manuscript of M 801a was originally a tiny book of prayer and confession, which was used in divine services. The contents of this book consist of two parts: Part I, part of a *Bema* liturgy in Middle Persian and Parthian languages; Part II, the *Confession Text of Elects*, in Sogdian language with Middle Persian and Parthian citations. See Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 54.

<sup>437</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 136. For transcription, see Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Text cu: 22-25.

*xoštir/xōštar* in the Turfan Manichaean texts to be the “presbyter” (*mahistag/mānsārār*, as the third highest rank in the basic five-tiered Manichaean church hierarchy).<sup>438</sup> The Sogdian word-root *xwštr-* appears in M 801a J recto, line 18,<sup>439</sup> M 129 recto, line 6, and M 778 side 1, line 3, which Gershevitch interprets as “presbyter” and traces its origin to the Avestan word-root *hvōišta-* (meaning “supreme/eldest”).<sup>440</sup> But Henning suggests that the *xōštar/xveštar* (*xoštir* in Uyghur) may not equal to the “presbyter” (*mahistag*).<sup>441</sup> Yoshida thinks that the *xoštir/xōštar* and the “presbyter” are probably two different positions in the eastern Manichaean church hierarchy.<sup>442</sup> Von Gabain supposes that the term *xoštir* refers to certain elects whose status is higher than the ordinary body of elects, although it had not achieved the third highest rank (i.e., “presbyter”) in the basic five-tiered Manichaean church hierarchy.<sup>443</sup> But the term *xoštir/xōštar* as a formal title within the Manichaean church hierarchy is not found in the known Middle Persian / Parthian Manichaean texts from the Turfan region. Besides the *xoštir*, two similar forms occurred in the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean texts: *xwištīm(h?)* (in U 46b verso, line 8),<sup>444</sup> and *yošti* (in Mainz 126, I verso, header + ll. 11 & 19),<sup>445</sup> both of which are equivalent to the *xoštir* and interpreted as “Lehrer” (“instructor”) by Le Coq.

Moreover, Klimkeit specifically points out that the *xoštir* led the reading of confession texts in Turfan Manichaean rituals.<sup>446</sup> Ma Xiaohe suggests the Chinese translation of the Sogdian term *xōštar* as *songjing shi* 誦經師 (“text-reciter”), corresponding to the Middle Persian Manichaean title *xrōhwān/xrōhxwān* (“preacher”, as in the *Hymn to the Messengers*, in M 801a, I - 6:1), whose main work was to instruct the believers to recite the Manichaean canons, and whose status is lower than the “presbyter” but

<sup>438</sup> Gershevitch. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. p. 37. Sundermann. “Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer”. p. 262. Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 370. Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Uyghur Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 241-322.

<sup>439</sup> Henning. *Ein Manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch*. p. 36, S. 39.

<sup>440</sup> Morgenstierne, G. *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Vol. II: Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi and Wakhi)*. Oslo: W. Nygaard, 1938. p. 269.

<sup>441</sup> Henning. *Ein Manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch*. p. 12, n. 2.

<sup>442</sup> Yoshida, Y. (with Chinese translation). “Sutewen kaoshi 粟特文考釋”, in Liu Hongliang etc. (eds.). *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000. p. 40.

<sup>443</sup> Gabain, A. von & W. Winter. *Türkische Turfantexte IX. Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf “Tocharisch” B, mit alttürkischer Übersetzung* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Nr. 2). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958. p. 6.

<sup>444</sup> Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 14, Nr. 7, II - T II D 172b (= U 46b).

<sup>445</sup> Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 12, Nr. 6, II - T II D 173c (= Mainz 126), I verso.

<sup>446</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 299.

slightly higher than the “scribes” and “hymn-singers” in the Turfan Manichaean community.<sup>447</sup> However, it can be deduced that the *xoštir* belongs to the group of elects. But the specific position and function of the *xoštir* in the Turfan Manichaean community are yet to be explored. It is unknown whether the *xoštirs* had to actually obey the strict monastic way of life within the Manichaean Church, and whether the *xoštirs* had to reside inside the Manichaean monasteries.

### 2.2.1 The Turfan Manichaean Letters with the *Xoštir*

The Sogdian and Uyghur Manichaean letters give some hints about the specific function of the *xoštir*. They reflect the behavior of the Manichaean community members and their interpersonal relationships. Since most of the Uyghur Manichaean letters were sent by auditors, the content and structure of the Uyghur Manichaean letters are much simpler than the Sogdian Manichaean ones which exclusively belong to ecclesiastical communication.

All the Uyghur Manichaean letters were written on paper, some of which were copied on versos of the re-used Chinese Buddhist manuscript fragments. Clark has edited twenty-six Uyghur Manichaean letters found in the Turfan and Dunhuang regions.<sup>448</sup> Half of the twenty-six are the original versions of the delivered letters, and the rest half is probably letter drafts or copies. Five Uyghur Manichaean letters (81TB 65:4, 81TB 65:5, 81TB 65:6, 81TB 65:7, and 81TB 65:8), together with three Sogdian Manichaean letters (81TB 65:1, 81TB 65:2, and 81TB 65:3), are excavated in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves, in the Turfan region; while the specific find-sites of all the other Uyghur Manichaean letters are unknown.

It seems that many phrases and expressions in the Uyghur Manichaean letters were standardized in formulas. Moriyasu has illustrated all the known formulas used by the Uyghur letters including the Manichaean ones, and found that they were most probably based on those in the Sogdian letters through a long chain of transmission.<sup>449</sup> The Uyghur

---

<sup>447</sup> Ma Xiaohe. “*Sutewen 'δw wkrw'ncmn (erbu jiaotuan) yu Hanwen 'sibu zhi zhong'* 粟特文'δw wkrw'ncmn (二部教團) 與漢文'四部之眾'”, in Ma Xiaohe. *Monijiao yu gudai xiyu shi yanjiu* 摩尼教與古代西域史研究. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008, 206-225. p. 220.

<sup>448</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 241-322.

<sup>449</sup> Moriyasu, T. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1)”, *Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letters Osaka University* 51, 2011, 1-86. pp

letters are divided by Moriyasu into three categories, according to the different status of their senders and recipients, and with the special terms used for referring to the letters themselves:

(1) From an inferior to a superior, containing the term *ötüg* (“submission/petition/request”) signifying “letter”;

(2) From a superior to an inferior, containing the term *yarlıy* (“order/instruction”) or *sav/söz* (“word(s)”) signifying “letter”;

(3) Between those of equal standing.

(The terms *äsängü* (“prayer for good health/greeting”) and *bitig* (“writing”) both mean “letter” and can be used for any of the three types of letters.)<sup>450</sup>

But on the other hand, the status difference between the sender and the recipient was not necessarily becoming a determining factor in the sender’s choice between the formal and the informal styles for the letters. For example, the Turfan fragment U 181 contains a short but relatively complete Manichaean letter to a superior, from an inferior called *Yutmaz(?)* “who will die, being one who has sins” (*öltäçi yazuklug bolmaki*), probably equivalent to “his slave” as in the other letters to the superiors.<sup>451</sup> The sender of the letter (U 181) omitted any convention of writing letters but simply stated the purpose of sending the letter - sending greetings and regards and waiting for a gracious response, without any specification. Another example is U 6198+U 6199, which contains a complete Manichaean short letter from a superior elect named *Tängri Aryaman* to an inferior elect - the *xoštır* Yišō Pühr. Clark points out that the tone of the letter (U 6198+U 6199) is informal, for it uses the term *äsängümüüz* (“our greeting letter”) and completely lacks any form reflecting the sender’s superior status, which indicates their familiarity with each other, rather than expressing their status difference.<sup>452</sup> Moriyasu states that the standard *äsängü* form refers to a “salutatory/greeting letter” without implying any superior-inferior relationship.<sup>453</sup> This short letter (U 6198+U 6199) seems to be a brief note, definitely not a formal letter, because its sender stated that “we have sent (another) letter with it” (*anın bitig idtimız*), in which *anın* refers to something else that was delivered to the recipient at the same time.

Except for the (Manichaean) letters, a confession text, a book illumination, a wall painting, a group of multi-text *pothi*-shape

---

62-63. Moriyasu, T. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”, *Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letters Osaka University* 52, 2012, 1-98. pp 66-69.

<sup>450</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1)”. pp 49-52.

<sup>451</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 308.

<sup>452</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 295.

<sup>453</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1)”. p. 57.



manuscripts, a private record, and two other *xoštir*-related texts together reveal that the *xoštirs* had played a crucial role in the Manichaean religious and social life in the Turfan region.

## 2.2.2 The *Xoštir* as the Bond Connecting Auditors with the Manichaean Church

Among the Uyghur Manichaean letters found in Turfan, nine letters were written to either *xoštir* or *xoštiranč*: 81TB 65:5, 81TB 65:6, 81TB 65:7, U 5281, U 5531+U 6066, U 5928, U 5974 side 2, U 6069, and U 6198+U 6199. All these fragments were the original Manichaean letters for delivery, except the two - U 5531+U 6066 and U 5974 side 2 (as letter drafts).

### (1) The *Xoštir* as the Communicator with Auditors

There are seven letters - 81TB 65:5, 81TB 65:6, 81TB 65:7, U 5928, U 5281, U 5531+U 6066, and U 6069, written from someone of lower status (as “auditor”) to higher figures (as *xoštir* or *xoštiranč*).

The senders of 81TB 65:5 and 81TB 65:6 identified themselves as the *šaxan* (81TB 65:5) or *šaxanč* (81TB 65:6), meaning “novice / lay believer”. The content of the letter on 81TB 65:5 seems to be a follow-up to the letter on 81TB 65:6, sharing a common theme and terminology, which suggests that these two letters very likely were written or sent by the same person.<sup>454</sup>

The letter of 81TB 65:7 was from a figure with the short title *qutlug tegin* (“divinely blessed prince”) to a *xoštir qutin* (“*xoštir* monsignor”) called *Inčü Taš*.<sup>455</sup> The term *qutlug* (“divinely blessed”) also appears as a part of the official title - *qutlug ičräki* in the Uyghur name-list of patrons in a Middle Persian Manichaean benediction on the royal court of the Uyghur king (MIK III 36 recto).<sup>456</sup> The letter of 81TB 65:7 not merely expressed a greeting, but also told the situation of the sender, such as “we arrived at Baš Ögä town” (*Baš Ögä kántingä tägdimiz*).<sup>457</sup> In this letter, the lay sender mainly reported on the progress of a caravan which he joined. Together with domestic and pack animals (*yılqı kolük*), the letter’s sender

---

<sup>454</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 245 & 260.

<sup>455</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 210.

<sup>456</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. pp 232-234.

<sup>457</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 210.

(as a *qutlug tegin*) and his caravan were “roving around” (*köçüp*, as nomads).

The letter of U 5928 was written by a lady named *Qutlug Karak Tängrim*, addressed to an unnamed *xoštiranč*.<sup>458</sup> The fragment U 5928 preserves the beginning of the letter, in which the addressee’s extolled epithet - *tüzün xoštiranč qutın* (“the enlightened *xoštiranč*, the glory”) came at line 1, and then there is a line break with an indentation followed by the sender’s name - *Qutlug Karak Tängrim* (in line 2) which is not preceded by any self-deprecating epithet. In Moriyasu’s classification of epistolary formulae according to the naming formulae, U 5928, ll. 1-2 belongs to a specific form of letters to superior deserving special regard with visual characteristic, in which the higher-ranking addressee and the lower-ranking sender are visually distinguished.<sup>459</sup> In the sender’s name *Qutlug Karak Tängrim*, *qutlug* means “divinely blessed”, *karak* means “eyeball / little black thing”, and *tängrim* literally means “my God”. But in the Turfan Uyghur texts, the term *tängrim* is often intended for naming a princess or other noblewomen of the Qocho Uyghur royal family.<sup>460</sup> Therefore, the letter of U 5928 reflects a quite personal communication between a Uyghur noblewoman (who held a high status in the Manichaean community without being an elect) and a female elect - *xoštiranč*.

Then, the letters of U 5281, U 5531+U 6066 and U 6069 showed great respect to their recipients and made the sense of sinfulness and lowliness of the senders, which indicates that they were sent from auditors to higher elects.

The letter of U 5281 was addressed from a seemingly inferior figure named *Qutlug Bars* (probably an auditor) to a *xoštir*, for salutation, absolution of sins, and good wish of health. U 5281 showed great respect of the sender for the recipient, with an extremely self-deprecating epithet preceding the sender’s name. The phrase *tümäninč kiçig yavız qulutı* (“his ten thousandth (in status) insignificant and poor slave”, in U 5281, ll. 2-3),<sup>461</sup> is an exaggerated way of emphasizing the sender’s insignificant status compared to the letter’s recipient. In addition, as addressed to the recipient, a Parthian imperative sentence is inserted into this Uyghur

<sup>458</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. p. 69.

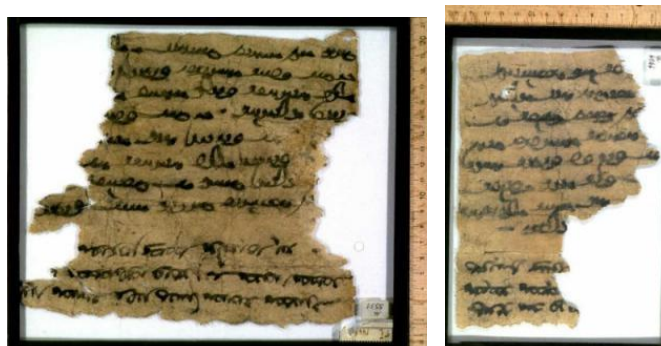
<sup>459</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1)”. pp 53-54.

<sup>460</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. London: Oxford. p. 524.

<sup>461</sup> The term *tümäninč* is the ordinal form in *+inč* of *tümän* (“10,000”). See Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 269.

letter: *Man āstār hirzā* (“Forgive my sin!”, in line 6).<sup>462</sup>

U 5531+U 6066, containing two drafts of the letter from the same sender, were addressed to an elect (letter A) and to two *xoštirs* (letter B) respectively.



U 6066 & U 5531

The fragments U 5531 and U 6066 are two pieces of paper that can be regrouped, though a small gap exists between them. Their versos were originally blank, but a small piece of paper was later pasted onto the verso of U 5531, which left a few words whose content is unknown. The rectos of U 5531 and U 6066 contain two texts - letter A and letter B. The eight lines of the letter A are written continuously between the two pieces, while below, the three lines of the letter B are also continuous between them but running in the opposite direction. The writer of letter A, in the first line, gave the addressee's name - *Agšit Tirikāng*, and marked it with the Sogdian *at* (“to”) instead of the Uyghur dative *+ka* (“to”) or the Uyghur honorific marker *kutinga*,<sup>463</sup> which reveals that the two parties were very familiar with each other. Then, because the sender qualified the name of letter A's addressee with *tāngri* (“divine”) at the beginning and referred to him as *tāngrim* (“my Divine One”) at the end, it can be assumed that the letter A's addressee was an elect.<sup>464</sup> Comparing the handwritings between the two letter drafts, it can be deduced that it is the same writer who drafted the second text (letter B) but kept a space next to the first text (letter A). Letter B was addressed to the divine *xoštir* named Ay [...] and the *xoštir* named Kün Tiräk. But these two drafts may be written by a scribe, rather than the sender himself, because the two texts were copied separately in opposite directions to distinguish them. In line 2 of letter A, the sender stated that, including a *xoštir* called *Pwq(?)* who may have supervised his group, they were from Yar (in the Turfan region) which is an old city near the center of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. In line 2 of letter B, the sender Kutlug called himself “their (i.e. the two *xoštirs*) slave”. The information above given by the two letter-drafts

<sup>462</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. p. 65.

<sup>463</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeian Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 288.

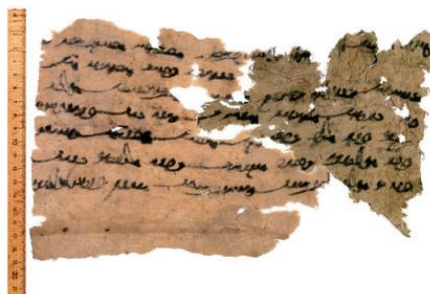
<sup>464</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeian Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 288.

implies that their sender was an auditor. The relation between the letter A and the letter B will be discussed below.

The letter of U 6069 was sent to an *avtadan* (“bishop”) and a *xoštiranč*, from someone whose status is obviously lower than theirs, as *kulutı kičig* (“(your) low slave”).<sup>465</sup> The sender of U 6069 is more probably an auditor. As the receivers of letters from auditors, the *xoštirs* established a connection with them, representing the group of elects.

## (2) The *Xoštir* as the Communicator and Assistant to Church Leaders

The *xoštirs* not only communicated with both auditors and church leaders through letters, but also dealt with both informal (personal) and formal (business) issues. As an example of letters sent by an elect of higher rank (in this case *Tängri Aryaman* [...]), replying to an elect of lower rank (in this case the *xoštir* Yišō Pühr), the text of U 6198+U 6199 has a unique address format, as Moriyasu argues.<sup>466</sup>



U 6199+U 6198

(artificially matched photo, processed by Ishikawa.)<sup>467</sup>

The letter of U 6198+U 6199 was written on one side of two regrouped fragments whose other side is blank. Moriyasu first regroupes the two fragments according to their related content, and reports that the (later-added) words on the verso of the paper were left there by another fragment that was stuck to this paper.<sup>468</sup> The name of this letter’s sender occurs in line 1, and there is a line break with an indention followed by the recipient’s name in line 2, which is a unique address format, contrary to most of the other Uyghur Manichaean letters. As Moriyasu points out, identifying this letter to be sent to an inferior has two reasons: the recipient’s name is marked by the simple dative *+ka* instead of the honorific *kutunga* (“to His Glory”); and the sender was the one to provide absolution for the sins of the recipient (the *xoštir* Yišō Pühr). Moreover,

<sup>465</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. p. 70.

<sup>466</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 86.

<sup>467</sup> The photo is from Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 92.

<sup>468</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. pp 86-87.

the lower rank of the recipient (the *xoštir*) compared to the sender can be demonstrated by the use of the phrase - *nomlug oglumuz* (“our child of the doctrine”, in line 1) referring to the recipient, which is a singular form of the common phrase - *nom oglani* (“children of the doctrine” - a term for elects, based on the Sogdian expression *δēnzākat*, “religion’s children”).<sup>469</sup>

The letter of U 6198+U 6199 also provides information about the Manichaean ritual meal:

*Bir ädgü kör[t]lä xwān üç tagar buz ıdtımız körü aling köz ädgüti yeng*

We have sent a good and beautiful table (with sacred food) and three containers of ice. Take delivery (of them) after having checked (them). Eat (them) carefully(?) and properly. (U 6198+U 6199, ll. 5-6)<sup>470</sup>

It can be speculated that the higher-ranking sender communicated with the *xoštir* regarding the preparation or arrangement of the ritual meal that is symbolized by the term - *xwān*. The Uyghur term *xwān* is loaned from the Middle Persian / Sogdian word *xwān* (*xw'n*), meaning “the cloth-set with food” or “the (food) table”.<sup>471</sup> Moriyasu supposes that this letter’s sender may not have delivered any actual table, but rather meant the ritual meal which was packed as a “parcel”.<sup>472</sup> Here, the term *xwān* (literarily “table”) refers to the Manichaean ritual meal in a metaphorical way. The term *xwān* also appears in an account of the Manichaean ritual meal from the Qocho Uyghur official document (Zong 8782 T.82) for Manichaean monasteries, which depicts how the monasteries were operated on daily basis:

When the divine ones (i.e., elects) sit down at the table (*xwān*), the two *xrōxāns*<sup>473</sup> shall be standing on their feet, and they shall ensure that the food and beverage are carried in equal portions as far as the *āywarxānī žamāštīk*, and after that, they themselves shall sit down at the table. (Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 51-53)<sup>474</sup>

If the divine ones somehow lack their own attendants, then all the intermediary male deacons and men (of the Manichaean monastery) shall personally serve (them) there. After that, all the rest intermediary attendants (who did so) shall be designated as servers in the *āywarxānī žamāštīk*, and they shall serve competently at the table (*xwānta*). In accordance with this document, if

<sup>469</sup> Gharib. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. pp 148 & 453. Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 295.

<sup>470</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 294. The photo is from Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 87.

<sup>471</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 365. Gharib. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. p. 434.

<sup>472</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. pp 88-89.

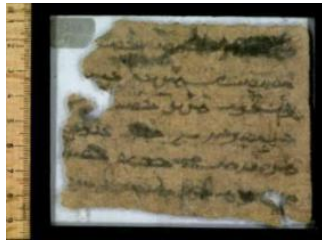
<sup>473</sup> The term *xrōxān* is a simplified form of Middle Persian *xrōhxwān* / *xrōxwān* (“preacher”). In this Qocho Uyghur monastic context, the *xrōxān* did not function as a “preacher”, but as a church representative who looked after the religious interests of the elects.

<sup>474</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 332.

male divine ones or female divine ones have a meal at the monastery (*manistan*), [when] they go to the invitation, they (i.e., the attendants) shall have two pitchers of mineral water brought (for each of them). Having made ice water, they shall have it carried in equal portions as far as the *āywarxānī žamāštīk* for the divine ones. (Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 58-66)<sup>475</sup>

In Zong 8782 T.82, the Manichaean ritual meal is supposed to be conducted with the table (*xwān*). So, the “table” in the letter of U 6198+U 6199 may refer to the performance of the Manichaean ritual meal. Drinks are also mentioned by both Zong 8782 T.82 (“two pitchers of mineral water”) and U 6198 + U 6199 (“three containers of ice”). Nevertheless, the sender stated that this short letter (of U 6198+U 6199) would be followed by another business letter: *anın bitig idtımız* (“We have sent (another) letter with it”, in U 6198+U 6199, line 7), in which *anın* may refer to the parcel enclosing the letter and containing the gifts, according to Clark’s speculation.<sup>476</sup>

The letter draft on U 5974 side 2 is an example of addressing a *xoštiranč* and a local church leader – the *avtadan* (“bishop”) at the same time, though its sender’s status is unknown.



U 5974 side 2

This letter draft was written on one side of a fragment whose other side has the draft of another Uyghur Manichaean letter (addressed to an older brother and nephew) which does not contain useful information. Paralleling the bishop and the *xoštiranč* as the recipients indicates that the *xoštiranč* played an assistant role at the side of the bishop. Overall, U 5974 side 2, U 6069 (another letter to an *avtadan* and a *xoštiranč*), and U 6198+U 6199 (a letter of a higher-rank elect replying to a *xoštir*), all prove that the *xoštir* (and *xoštiranč*) played a role of assisting the church leaders.

### (3) The *Xoštir* as the Participant of Secular Issues

A *xoštir* may not need to follow the monastic way of life, because of his deep involvement in secular issues. The letter of 81TB 65:7 mentions a specific state work in which a *xoštir* had been involved. As noted before, the letter’s sender is a nomadic layman. This letter was written to the *xoštir qutin* (“*xoštir* monsignor”) who was engaged in the *enčü*-state

<sup>475</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 332.

<sup>476</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 294-295.

service, which can attest that like auditors the *xoštir* could and did carry out such obligation as the *enčü*-state service.<sup>477</sup> The term *enčü* (“a person whose labor or service belongs to the state”) can also be found in the colophon to an unknown Manichaean book whose bifolio fragment is found in Turfan (but kept in Kyoto now without receiving a catalogue number, so temporarily named as the “Kyoto Colophon”). In folio I recto of the “Kyoto Colophon” - ll. 10-11, Urungu Sangun Apa-Čor is an auditor who worked as an *enčü* (in the state service); and in folio I recto - ll. 11-12, another auditor - Mängü Yägän is also labeled as an *enčü*.<sup>478</sup> Nevertheless, the application of this term is better attested in Central Asia during the 13th-14th centuries, when the term *enčü* was intended for designating the “crown property” of lands, products, or people.<sup>479</sup> At that time, those who were designated *enčü* had to work on state lands or on a property of a lord who was granted an appanage, and therefore the *enčü* workers would not be subject to other taxation, accomplishing their obligations to the state or the lord.<sup>480</sup> The individuals who were identified as *enčü* would somehow perform services for the state or land-lords of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Engaged in the *enčü*-state service, this *xoštir* was involved in secular matters and established a direct connection with the state.

#### (4) The *Xoštir* as the Manager of Community Affairs

The purposes of the Uyghur Manichaean letters further reveal the work of the *xoštir* in managing community affairs and communicating between Manichaean groups of different locations.

First, the *xoštir* was responsible of arranging the personnel issues among the auditors, for example, the sender of the letter of 81TB 65:5 - a *šaxan*-novice requested the letter’s recipient - a *xoštir*, not to send him a *šramıri*-novice (*šramıri* - a term confined to the Buddhist context).<sup>481</sup> The term *šramıri* (transcribed by Moriyasu) is the Uyghur version of the Sanskrit word *śrāmaṇera* (“novice/layman”), which also appears in the Uyghur Buddhist *Maitrisimit*.<sup>482</sup>

Second, the *xoštir* oversaw the gifts exchanged and the goods delivered

<sup>477</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 306.

<sup>478</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 96 & 98.

<sup>479</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 102.

<sup>480</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 102.

<sup>481</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 260.

<sup>482</sup> See the citations in Nadeljaev, V.M. et al. (eds.). *Drevnetjurkskij slovar’*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1969. p. 524. Bang, W., A. von Gabain & G.R. Rachmati. “Türkische Turfan-Texte, VI: Das buddhistische Sutra *Sakiz yukmak*”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), 1934, 93-192. pp 163-164, n. 308.

between Manichaeans through caravans, which were accompanied with sending letters. Moriyasu suggests that “a letter and a gift originally formed a set”.<sup>483</sup> Along the Silk Road, there was presumably a tight connection between traders and priests, because religious missionaries can be often combined with commercial activities. Moriyasu thinks that priests can easily gain social trust and then be able to involve themselves in commerce.<sup>484</sup> The sender of 81TB 65:5 spoke of sending goods and gifts to one another with the recipient, for instance purchasing a blanket and sending a parcel. Then, the letter of 81TB 65:6 implies that it was delivered through a trade caravan, and it also reported the delivery of goods and gifts between the two parties, including the purchase and delivery of a blanket. Another example is the fragments U 5531+U 6066, containing two connected letter drafts addressed to an elect (letter A) and two *xošturs* (letter B) respectively. The sender in letter A asked its recipient to purchase the *murut* (“myrtle”), as well as a pack animal and other things which may be needed for sending the myrtle. Letter A mentions a person called *Ādgü Singkur* who functioned as a courier between the two parties. Also, the sender of letter B requested its recipient to send the myrtle to him (probably in a container or on a pack animal).<sup>485</sup> Myrtle is a plant that was used for making the crown which is often related to purity, life, and mystical union, in a great variety of religious ritual contexts in the Greco-Roman world and Mesopotamia, such as the use of myrtle crown in Mandaean rites.<sup>486</sup> Myrtle was also used in some ancient Iranian rituals, associated with life and fertility.<sup>487</sup> Here, the myrtle can be used by Manichaeans in their rituals. So, the main topic of both letter drafts on U 5531+U 6066 is dealing with the purchase and shipment of the myrtle, which is an internal link between letter A and letter B. Similarly, the drafted letter on U 5974 side 2 stated that the sender had dispatched fruit probably as a gift to the bishop (and presumably the *xošturanč*) who was the letter’s addressee. In addition, U 6069 mentions the *xiyar* (“cucumber”), which is like melon, as particularly full of the substance of the divine light. According to the Manichaean doctrines, God is the Light substance, which is dispersed throughout the universe, particularly contained in fruits such as melons,

---

<sup>483</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 54.

<sup>484</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. pp 58-59.

<sup>485</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 288.

<sup>486</sup> Evans, E. “Ritual in the *Second Book of Jeu*”, in A.D DeConick, G. Shaw & J.D. Turner. (eds.). *Practicing Gnosis. Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2013. p. 142.

<sup>487</sup> Drower, E.S. *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends, and Folklore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. p. 121, n. 14.



figs, cucumbers and olives. The association of the Light substance with certain fruits can be found in early Manichaeism, which is reflected by the patristic writings of St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430).<sup>488</sup> St. Augustine condemned the Manichaeans for worshipping the melon as divine material, in his polemic writing *De Moribus Manichaeorum* (“On the Morals of the Manichaeans”):

Tell me then, first, where you get the doctrine that part of God, as you call it, exists in corn, beans, cabbage, and flowers and fruits. From the beauty of the color, say they, and the sweetness of the taste... Why do you look upon a yellow melon as part of the treasures of God, and not rancid bacon fat or the yolk of an egg? (St. Augustine, *On the Morals of the Manichaeans* 16.39)<sup>489</sup>

St. Augustine also denounced the Manichaeans’ excessive love of the melon:

You feel so much more for melons than for men. Rather than hurt the melons, you would have a man ruined as a debtor. (St. Augustine, *On the Morals of the Manichaeans* 17.62).<sup>490</sup>

St. Augustine connected the “melons” with heretic teachings, in his polemics against the Manichaean ritual meal that needs the cooperation between the Manichaean priests and lay believers:

If they (i.e., Manichaean lay believers) possess greater merit, they shall enter into melons or cucumbers, or some eatables which you (i.e., Manichaean priests) will masticate, that they may be quickly purified by your digestion... For if the faith of the gospel had any connection with such nonsense, the Lord should have said, not, “I was hungry, and ye gave me meat”; but, “Ye were hungry, and ye ate me”, or, “I was hungry, and I ate you”. For, by your absurdities, a man will not be received into the Kingdom of God for the service of giving food to the saints, but, because he has eaten them and belched them out, or has himself been eaten and belched into heaven. (St. Augustine, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 5.10)

From St. Augustine’s writings, it can be at least deduced that the melon is a part of the food offered by the Manichaean ritual meal. The melon is also shown in the Turfan Manichaean book miniatures, for example in the miniature of MIK III 4979a+b verso.

---

<sup>488</sup> Oort, J. van. “God, Memory And Beauty: A ‘Manichaean’ Analysis of Augustine’s *Confessions*, Book 10,1–38”, in J. van Oort (ed.), *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity. Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24–26 April 2012*. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 155-175. p. 165.

<sup>489</sup> St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430). *St. Augustine’s Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*. Altenmünster: Jazzybee Verlag, 2012. Chapter 16 [39].

<sup>490</sup> St. Augustine of Hippo. *St. Augustine’s Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*. Chapter 17 [62].



MIK III 4979a+b verso <sup>491</sup>



Detail of fruits

In the painting of MIK III 4979a+b verso, the elects and auditors are seated in rows along the two sides, looking towards the central ground on which piles of food and an elaborate dais are placed. This painting depicts the ceremony of the *Bema* - the most important celebration of the Manichaean Church, which involves a sacred meal. At the central ground behind a bread table, melons and grapes are piled on a golden container with three legs. Then, the main text of the Turfan Manichaean letter on U 6069 also refers to the servants who were sent to get pickles, but it is unclear what other action the servants may take, due to the missing following sentence on the fragment.<sup>492</sup> Therefore, as the receiver of this kind of letters, the *xoštir/xoštiranč* became the communicator between different Manichaean groups in the daily life of the Turfan Manichaean community.

Third, the Manichaean letters contain salutations and good wishes, enquiring about the health of their recipients, and telling them the situation of the senders. But a special case is 81TB 65:5, which is a replying letter sent from an unidentified *šaxan* (“novice/layman”) to a “divine *xoštir*” (*tāngri xoštir*). This salutation letter is full of personal commentaries. Its sender - the *šaxan*-novice had previously received a letter from the *xoštir* who was ill. This letter also mentions a *možak* (“teacher”) who is “the head of the whole divinities” (*bašan tāngrilār barča*,<sup>493</sup> i.e. the head of the whole Manichaean elects), which probably refers to the highest leader of the eastern Manichaean Church, residing in the Qocho city at that time. The *šaxan*-novice expressed that his group as well as the *možak* and other elects were all caring about the health of the addressed *xoštir* whose role weighed a lot in the community affairs. The auditors were required to send messages to the *xoštirs* for greeting, expressing respect or confessing their sins, which reflect that the *xoštirs* had a highly respected status in the Turfan Manichaean community.

<sup>491</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 71.

<sup>492</sup> Clark. *Uyur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 263.

<sup>493</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 203 & 205.

Besides, the term *xoštiranč* within the phrase *xoštiranč kutinga* (“to the majesty of *xoštiranč*”) appears on the verso of U 6061 which contains a lending contract but without any specific Manichaean context.<sup>494</sup> It can be speculated that this lending contract was intended to be shown to the *xoštiranč* who dealt with the secular affairs of the Manichaean community.

### 2.2.3 The *Xoštir* Carrying the Uyghur Manichaean Letters with Caravans

The *xoštirs* acted as couriers of messages for connecting Manichaeans of different locations, especially when there was a communication problem, such as the late arrival of goods. The *xoštirs* were never confined to the Manichaean monasteries, but were moving rather than stationary. The *xoštirs* emerge in the Uyghur letters of 81TB 65:4 (recto, line 7) and Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 (verso, line 10), as neither the sender nor recipient of these two letters concerning business or economic activities. But the *xoštirs* were couriers for both of them.

81TB 65:4 contains a formal letter of “regards” (*ötügümüz*) to an unknown elect. The sender spoke of the news he had heard from the letter’s recipient, as conveyed by a *xoštir* called *Bay Arslan*. The *xoštir* Bay Arslan seems to have close association with the Manichaean group which the sender belonged to. The letter of 81TB 65:4 dealt with specific business under discussion by the sender and the recipient, mainly about the purchase and shipment of fruit, while more personal issues were relegated to another letter that would be later delivered by the same *xoštir* Bay Arslan, as the letter’s sender stated:

Whatever kind [of news/message] there may be, the *xoštir* Bay Arslan will carry it (to you). Please show him [...]! We have sent (another) letter with him. May it reach you (81TB 65:4, recto line 20 & verso ll. 1-3).<sup>495</sup>

The letters of the Turfan Manichaean community were delivered mainly through trade caravans (in Uyghur, *arqış*), which is crucial not merely for trade, but also for communication. Moriyasu thinks the delivery of letters by caravans had been established in the social life of East Central Asia at that time.<sup>496</sup> The term *arqış* in Old Turkic means “caravan”.<sup>497</sup> Among

<sup>494</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. p. 70.

<sup>495</sup> The fragment 81TB 65:4, recto line 20 + verso ll. 1-3: *Nä tü[r]lüg [sav bar] ärsär. Bay Arslan xoštir eltgäy. [...] körtgürüng anin. Bitig idtimız äsänin. Tägün.* See Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III. Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 284-285. Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinhu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 200-202.

<sup>496</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 53.

the Uyghur letters of the 10th-11th centuries dated by Moriyasu, there are more than ten of them containing the term *arqış* in content,<sup>498</sup> which include the Manichaean ones. The Uyghur Manichaean letters of the 10th-11th centuries often declared that the letters themselves were supposed to be sent through caravans that were about to depart, for instance:

*arqış yügürü täginür üçün anın bir äsängü bitig idtımız yazuq bolmazun*  
Because a caravan is going to rush away, we have therefore sent a greeting letter. May there be no fault! (Dunhuang Uyghur Manichaean fragment PC 3049 verso, ll. 79-82)<sup>499</sup>

*arqış tavraq barur üçün bitig quruq bol[mazun]*  
Because a caravan is departing in a hurry, [may] the letter [not] be empty... (Turfan Uyghur Manichaean fragment 81TB 65:4, ll. 17-18)<sup>500</sup>

The Dunhuang and Turfan Manichaean letters or letter drafts also clearly reveal that their senders were closely connected with the caravans:

*ängür-ki arqışta kântü böğü uyan yarlıy boltı ärki*  
With the long-awaited caravan, no doubt there was (your) own wise and almighty command. (Dunhuang, PC 3049 verso, ll. 73 - 74).<sup>501</sup>

*büküntä inaru bir atlıy arqış bulsar nätäg savangız ärsär antatay kälzün*  
From today on, if you find a reputable caravan, please take with it any of your words (or business?) no matter what they are. (Turfan, 81TB 65:4, ll. 15-16)<sup>502</sup>

*[nä uyu]rluy ötügümüz ärsär arqış sayu [...]tägir ärki z-yn'y alyalı idtımız*  
[Whatever] statement/news from us there may be, [we have sent someone?] with each caravan. Haven't they arrived? In order to receive (our) deposit, we have sent (a letter). (Turfan, 81TB 65:6, ll. 11-12)<sup>503</sup>

The Manichaeans of East Central Asia were active in trade, and the trade caravans helped their communication with each other.

A Uyghur Manichaean letter draft is written on the verso of Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 (which can be regrouped), while another fragmentary letter draft (addressed to an unidentified Manichaean figure and mentioning the *tängri možak*, “divine teacher”) is written over a Chinese

<sup>497</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. pp 216-217.

<sup>498</sup> Moriyasu. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”. p. 45.

<sup>499</sup> PC 3049 verso contains an letter draft, and its receiver is supposed to be a Uyghur prince named *El Tonga*, and its sender is Alp Qara who may be at least an elect. See Hamilton, J. (ed.). *Manuscripts Ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. Paris: Peeters, 1986. pp 42 & 44.

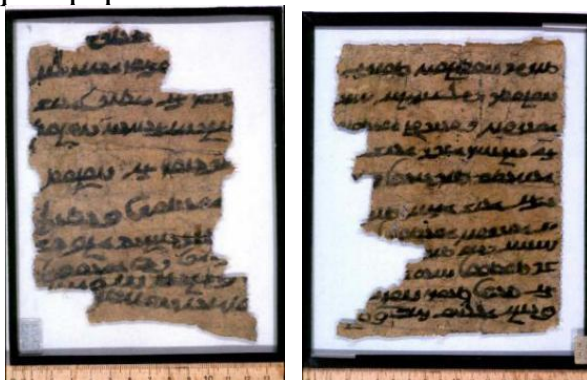
<sup>500</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 201-202.

<sup>501</sup> Hamilton. *Manuscripts Ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. pp 42 & 44.

<sup>502</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 201-202.

<sup>503</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 206 & 208.

text on the recto.<sup>504</sup> These two letters were drafted before the original paper was torn into two fragments. The lines of these two letter drafts are continuous between the two fragments on both sides, but some words are missing in the gap of paper tear between them.



Ch/U 6959+Ch/U 6570 verso

The letter draft on the verso of Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 was addressed to an elect (*tängri*, “divine”) called *Kutlug Tonga*, from “his slave” - Käd Arslan who was a *sangun* (“the general”). The main topic is the shipment of the *kayak* (*q’y’q*, the first word of line 8 in Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 verso), which is interpreted as “cream” by Clark.<sup>505</sup> The reading of *kayak* (*q’y’q*) is questionable. It did not fit well into the original Manichaean context, because elects were not allowed to consume milk or milk products.<sup>506</sup> Meanwhile, the letter’s sender said that he would send a message with a *xoštir* named *Teyüs Kuyušayır(?)* for communicating his later arrangement, due to the delayed arrival of the product of the “cream” (*kayak*).<sup>507</sup> However, it should be noted that the eastern Manichaeans considered milk products (such as “cream”) as valuable, since they hold many Light-particles, just as fruits and breads do.<sup>508</sup>

## 2.2.4 The Role of *Xoštir* in the Sogdian Manichaean Letters

The *xoštir/xōštar* played a very important role in the communication between Manichaeans of different ranks and locations, testified by not merely Uyghur Manichaean letters, but also the Sogdian ones. 81TB 65:1, 81TB 65:2, and 81TB 65:3 are three Sogdian scroll fragments of letters, excavated in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves of the Turfan region. Though they are found at the same site where they were posited together, 81TB 65:1, 81TB 65:2, and 81TB 65:3 were written by

<sup>504</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 310.

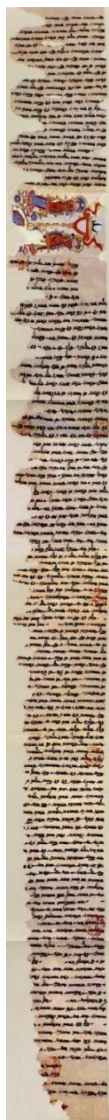
<sup>505</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 267.

<sup>506</sup> BeDuhn. *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual*. p. 35.

<sup>507</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 266.

<sup>508</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 266.

three different hands.



81TB 65:01  
(268×26 cm)



81TB 65:02  
(133×26.5 cm)



81TB 65:03<sup>509</sup>  
(45.5×30 cm)

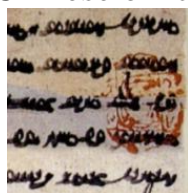
The recipients of letters of 81TB 65:1 and 81TB 65:2 are the same figure - a *mōžāk* (“teacher”) called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr*, and both letters definitely record that Mar Aryāmān Puhr was the “Teacher of the Eastern Region” (*Hwarsančik Mōžāk*, in ll. 18-19 of 81TB 65:1, and line 13 of 81TB 65:2).<sup>510</sup> The authenticity of the two Sogdian church letters on 81TB 65:1 and 81TB 65:2 can be plainly proved by the stamps on them, which reveal the authority of the eastern Manichaean Church.<sup>511</sup>

<sup>509</sup> Photos from Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. (Letters A, B & C)

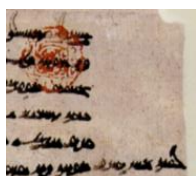
<sup>510</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 3, 8, 23, 89 & 96.

<sup>511</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 116-117.

In 81TB 65:1, there are at least nine red stamps. Eight of them are either on the joins of paper or on the lines with a blank area at their beginnings, which followed the format of Chinese official documents at that time.<sup>512</sup>



Case 1: a stamp on the joins of paper (81TB 65:1, ll. 44-46)



Case 2: a stamp on the lines with the blank area (81TB 65:1, ll. 26-28)

Besides that, the other stamp on 81TB 65:1, ll. 66-68, is on neither of the two cases. Regarding the stamps on the authentic Manichaean letter scrolls, Gulácsi suggests that “the location of the stamps exclusively on the joins suggests that their role is to certify that the joins are intact and that nothing has been surreptitiously removed from the letter in transit”.<sup>513</sup> Nevertheless, in 81TB 65:1, not every join was stamped, for instance, the join on line 14, and the joins of edges between the miniature and the two divided parts of the text (i.e., between line 25 and line 26) were not stamped. The lack of stamp on the borders of the miniature can be interpreted as there was no tradition of stamping directly on Manichaean paintings which always had divine significance for the Manichaean Community. As for the non-illuminated Sogdian Manichaean letter on 81TB 65:2, it has five stamps. One stamp is on 81TB 65:2, ll. 21-23, which not only contains a join of paper (between line 21 and line 22) but also has a blank area at the top. The other four stamps are on the lines where there is neither a join nor blank area (81TB 65:2, ll. 39-41 & ll. 64-66). So, it can be deduced that the writers of the two letters (on 81TB 65:1 and 81TB 65:2) did not deliberately follow a rule of stamping on the joins of paper, although a trend of imitating the format of Chinese official documents cannot be excluded.



Details of stamps on 81TB 65:1, ll. 89-91 and 81TB 65:2, ll. 39-41

The stamps on the manuscripts 81TB 65:1 and 81TB 65:2 look quite

<sup>512</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xin chu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 116-117.

<sup>513</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. p. 89.

similar. But the specific image of the stamps remains unclear. Inside their central square pattern, there seems to be a round face of a human being (Prophet Mani?). However, it is difficult to identify any other geometric shape within the stamps.

The three Sogdian Manichaean letters (of 81TB 65:1, 81TB 65:2, and 81TB 65:3) were delivered to their recipients by the caravan ("rxyšy/"rxyš in 81TB 65:1, 'rxyšy in 81TB 65:3). Here, the Sogdian term "rxyšy for the "trade caravan" is a loanword from the Uyghur word *arqiš*, plus the Sogdian oblique case ending *y*.<sup>514</sup> Yoshida identifies the letters of 81TB 65:1, 81TB 65:2, and 81TB 65:3 as being written during the latter half of the 9th century or the former half of the 10th century, because their content reveals the Uyghur royal patron of Manichaeism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (as in 81TB 65:1), and their linguistic characteristics of Sogdian texts reflect a strong influence of Uyghur language (as in 81TB 65:3).<sup>515</sup>

#### (1) The Position of the *Xošturs* in the Manichaean Church Structure

The Sogdian Manichaean letters had officially taken the *xošturs* into the organizational structure of Turfan Manichaeism, as a special position in the church hierarchy. Along with the *mōžāk* ("teacher") and other high elects in the Qocho city, the *xošturs* received salutations from the church leaders of other areas, which reveals that the *xošturs* had an intimate relationship with the church leaders.

The Sogdian church letter of 81TB 65:1 explained for the sender's absence during the festival of "the first day of New Year" (*nwy myδ* in line 62, literally meaning the "new day").<sup>516</sup> The sender of the letter on 81TB 65:1 is an *aftāδān* ("bishop") called *Šahryār Zādāk*, who represented his community (*[ʾδw] wkrw 'ncmn*, "[two] kinds of groups", ll. 29-30)<sup>517</sup>, enquiring about the well-being of the recipient and his ecclesiastical colleagues, and secular rulers as well as the male and female auditors of that community. The beginning of 81TB 65:1 honored

---

<sup>514</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 65.

<sup>515</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 5-6.

<sup>516</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 10-11 & 25. According to the context of 81TB 65:01, ll. 70-72 (containing *nwymyδ-c'ny* (adj., "of the first day"), *srδy sry* ("the beginning of year"), *pwšnw* (the name of a month) and *myδ* ("day")), the *nwy myδ* ("New Day") in ll. 61-62 referred to "the first day of the New Year".

<sup>517</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 9 & 23.



the recipient - a *mōžāk* called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr*. Then, along with the recipient, 81TB 65:1, ll. 20-25 expressed the sender's greetings to all the ranks of the targeted community:

The *aftādān* ("bishop"),  
the *mahistag* ("presbyter"),  
*xwstrtw* (*xōšstartū*, the plural form of *xōštar*),  
*δp'yrtw* ("scribes"), *nw'kstw* (certain elects with artistic skills),<sup>518</sup>  
*p's'ntytw* ("hymn-singers"),  
*δrwxski'* ("male elects"), *xw'ryšt'w* ("female elects"),  
and *sytm'n 'δw wkrw 'ncmn 'pts'kw* ("the whole community of two orders").<sup>519</sup>

Being enumerated according to their status in the eastern Manichaean Church, these figures belong to the same community of the letter's recipient. It should be noted that in this Sogdian Manichaean account, the *xōštur/xōštar* in its plural form is listed separately aside from the *mahistag* ("presbyter") in the eastern Manichaean church hierarchy. In this context, the title *xōštur/xōštar* specifically refers to certain elects whose status is higher than the general body of elects, and who had practical function rather than being an honorific title. However, the above-mentioned group of the *xōšstartū* (i.e., *xōšstars*) is lower in status than the presbyter (*mahistag*), because the term *xōšstartū* is put behind the term *mahistag* in the list of the persons who received greetings.

The letter of 81TB 65:2 was sent from an *aftādān* ("bishop") called *Mānī Wahman* to a *mōžāk* called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr*.<sup>520</sup> This letter gives much detailed information about a Manichaean religious activity that the sender had to attend. After appealing for absolution of sins from the recipient, the sender gave greetings to the coreligionists around the recipient, including the *'bt'δ'n* (*aftādān*, "bishop"), the *xwštrtw* (*xōšstars*), the *kštrt'* ("young disciples"), and the "two blessed groups" as a whole. But 81TB 65:2 did not specifically mention any member of the Qocho Uyghur royal family among the auditors around the sender, which indicates that the sender's place may be far from the court of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. In line 70 (of 81TB 65:2), the adverbs *mδy* ("here") and *Twδ-kδcykw* ("of Tudh city") are related in one sentence, which reveals that the sender's

---

<sup>518</sup> There are multiple possibilities of deciphering the term *nw'kstw*, whose meaning is not confirmed. However, according to the context (between "scribes" and "hymn-singers"), it can be speculated that the *nw'kstw* referred to certain elects who had drawing or musical skills, as drawer or instrument players. See Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 41.

<sup>519</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 8 & 23.

<sup>520</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 89-92

place was the *Twδ* (Tudh) city.<sup>521</sup> Meanwhile, there was a castle called *Tūdh* near Samarkand, which may be the same place as that of this letter's sender.<sup>522</sup>

## (2) The *Xošturs* as the Receivers of Sogdian Manichaean Letters

As the receivers of Sogdian Manichaean letters, the *xošturs* appear to not only associate themselves with the elects of other areas but also be responsible for dealing with auditors through the heads of auditors. At the beginning of 81TB 65:3, it is stated that the letter was sent to a *xoštūr/xōštar* called *Xwār Zādāk*, from an elect named *Shāgh Wīspuxrī* who called the recipient 'HXYw (“brother”, line 1).<sup>523</sup> This means that the sender may belong to the same rank as the recipient in the Manichaean church hierarchy. Then, the main body of this letter introduced the well-being of the sender's community's lord - the *mahistag* (“presbyter”) and expressed his wish to meet the recipient again. It also gave greetings to the group of auditors around the recipient and listed the Uyghur names of the four most important auditors - 'yncw pylk' tyr'k (Inçü Bilgä *tiräk*), *twymyš' wrkw* (Tugmiš Örgü), 'lp'tmyš snkwn (Alpatmiš *sangun*), and *s'ryy prs trx'n* (Sarig Bars *tarxan*), among which Inçü Bilgä *tiräk*<sup>524</sup> and Tugmiš Örgü are both *xwβw* (“chief/leader”, referring to the “head of auditors”),<sup>525</sup> and the other two are high officials (*sangun* - “the general”, and *tarxan* - “high officer responsible for taxation”). This corresponds to the fact that the Uyghur noblemen were a major component of the Turfan lay Manichaean society. After that, this letter explained about the previous letters that were delivered by a person named 'yl mnkw (Il Mängü in Uyghur) with the title of office - 'yn'l (*inal* in Uyghur) through trade caravan.<sup>526</sup> At last, the sender gave the salutation to those auditors who traveled from the sender's place to the recipient's place, in which the person called Il Mängü *inal* appears again, who may be a member of the trade caravan team, together with the other

<sup>521</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 116.

<sup>522</sup> Sims-Williams, N. *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus II* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Pt. 2, Vol. 3). London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992. p. 74.

<sup>523</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 118 & 123-124.

<sup>524</sup> The term *tiräk* means “(national) pillar”, a Uyghur official position of uncertain function. For the interpretation of the term *tiräk*, see Moriyasu. “Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 191.

<sup>525</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 119, 122 & 130-131.

<sup>526</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 133.

auditors. After the main part of the letter, there is a space of around two lines in the middle of 81TB 65:3, which is followed by a later addition to the letter. The additional lines contain four salutations to various targeted persons such as elects and royal auditors, who lived within the recipient's community which includes two other *xōštars* (*xwštrt*). One of the two *xōštars* is called *r'ymst βrwy*, which is the same name as the *aftādān* ("bishop") appearing in 81TB 65:1, line 114, who was living around the recipient of the letter of 81TB 65:1. But they may be accidentally same, since the *xōštar* and the bishop belonged to different ranks in the Manichaean Church.

### 2.2.5 The *Xoštir* in the Manichaean Rituals

The *xoštirs* occupied a prominent position in the Manichaean rituals, testified by the two Turfan Manichaean texts and a ceremonial painting. In the Manichaean rituals, the *xoštirs* may hold the post of leading the confession of both auditors and elects. The Turfan fragment U 10 contains parts of the Uyghur Manichaean *Confession Text of Auditors*, owned by a figure named *Raymast Frazend* (in the tone of the first person). The figure *Raymast Frazend* (probably as a New Persian name) in this Uyghur *Confession Text of Auditors* acted a role of the leading priest in the confession ritual with an expression:

*Tāngrim amtu män raymast fraزند ögü[nür män ya]zuqda bošunuu ötünür man [āstār] hirzā: : qutluγ pads[ar]*

My God, I repent, Raymast Frazend, now, praying to be delivered from sin. Forgive my sin! Blissful be[ginning]. (U 10, recto line 12 & verso ll. 1-3)<sup>527</sup>

The same name also appears as Lord Raymast Frazend *xōštar* (*βyyy r'ymst frzynd xwštr*) in the Sogdian colophon to a Parthian Manichaean text (M 481) entitled *'wš jyryft kwl'st* ("Prayer-book on Consciousness and Wisdom").<sup>528</sup> If the above two figures (in the Uyghur *Confession Text of Auditors* and the Sogdian colophon) were the same person - Raymast Frazend, it can be deduced that Raymast Frazend as a *xōštar/xoštir* was leading the confession of auditors. Although this Uyghur *Confession Text of Auditors* seems to be as much used for auditors as the Chinese Manichaean prayer of confession in the *Hymn-scroll of the Lower Section* (Or. 8210/S. 2659, from Dunhuang), Henning thinks that this Uyghur confessional form for auditors was not presented by the auditors themselves, but instead, it was read by a leading

<sup>527</sup> Asmussen, J.P. *Xuāstvánīft: Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen: Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1965. pp 168-169 & 194.

<sup>528</sup> Henning. *Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. pp 11-12. Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 370. Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 32.

priest - *xoštir*.<sup>529</sup> After all, the elects and auditors had to pray together on several occasions, such as the regular ritual on Monday (as the day of confession for all the Manichaeans). The Manichaean communal confession led by a *xoštir* can be testified by the Turfan Manichaean pictorial depiction of the *Bema* festival (on MIK III 4979a+b verso). The term *bema* is originally a Greek term, meaning “throne”, which refers to Mani’s divine throne.

The book miniature of MIK III 4979 a+b verso (found in Qocho ruin α) depicts a scene celebrating the *Bema* festival which is the most important ceremony for the entire Manichaean Community. The *Bema* ceremony contains singing the hymns to Mani, reading Mani’s works, reciting the Manichaean commandments, and holding a sacred meal, all of which were performed with the presence of a *bema* (“throne”) where Mani’s portrait was placed on.<sup>530</sup> The surviving portion of MIK III 4979 a+b verso has presented the major elements of the *Bema* festival.



*MIK III 4979 a+b verso (the xoštir figure is squared in green)*

In this scene, male elects and auditors are seated in four rows below each other at the two sides, all looking toward the central ground of the composition, on which a great decorated dais and some foods are placed, surrounded by the elects of different ranks. Among the attendants of the *Bema* ceremony, the distinction between different ranks of elects is presented not merely by the existence or lack of facial hair, halos and inserted captions (names), but also by the appearance of their headgears and where they are located. Noteworthy are the eight captions that were inserted into the scene: personal names are written in black ink on the white robes of the eight elects, as integral elements of the illumination. The eight names are written in Manichaean script but their lines are put vertically (directing from the figure’s head to foot). At the right side of the central ground, three male elects hold books with their hands,

<sup>529</sup> Henning. *Ein Manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch*. pp 11-12.

<sup>530</sup> Ries, J. “La fête de *Bêma* dans l’église de Mani”, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 22, 1976, 218-233.

kneeling on a separate rug. Among the three, one elect, who is sitting nearest to the center, lifts up a book (probably being or including a confession text) to the level of his chin. His book's cover is elaborately decorated with black and white border bindings, surrounding a painted and gilded central pattern.



*Detail of the named *xoštir* figure in MIK III 4979 a+b verso*

This elect has his name and title written on his white robe: *m'ny yyšw' xw[y]štr* (Mānī Yišō' *xw[ē]štar*)<sup>531</sup>, which indicates that he is a *xōštar/xoštir*. This *xoštir* figure seems to venerate the book or prepare to read it for his congregation. So, this *xoštir* figure in MIK III 4979 a+b verso played the role of either the leading reader of the confession texts or the host of the *Bema* ceremony. Except for MIK III 4979 a+b verso, the image of *xoštir* appears as well in a Turfan Manichaean wall painting.

## 2.2.6 The Standing of *Xoštir* in a Manichaean Wall Painting

The *xoštirs* had a special status within the group of elects, which is testified by a wall painting - MIK 6918 from a Manichaean monastery's remains at Qocho ruin K. MIK 6918 sheds new light on the portrayal of the ranks of male and female elects in visual form. MIK 6918 contains a Sogdian caption - *xōštē* (i.e. *xōštar*; in Uyghur *xoštir*), written in Manichaean script on the white clothes of a male elect, along with other named figures.

<sup>531</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 54. The word *xw[ē]štar* (*xw[y]štr*) in the caption on MIK 4979 verso, is another form of the Sogdian term *xwštr* (*xōštar*), see Henning. "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus". p. 12.



MIK 6918 (the *xoštir* figure is squared in red)<sup>532</sup>

The surviving portion of this wall painting depicts a group scene covering elects and auditors of both genders, which together made up a relatively complete Manichaean community. All these figures stand in groups and face toward their right side (i.e., to the left edge of the painting). The different groups of figures keep a short distance from each other, so the blue background of the scene can be detected. A big-sized central figure is located at the left of this wall-painting fragment, with his head and part of his upper body remaining. The central figure's specific identity is still under debate among modern scholars. Le Coq first speculates the central figure as an icon of Mani himself.<sup>533</sup> Klimkeit also thinks that the central figure is Mani's image.<sup>534</sup> But Gulácsi speculates it as just a *mōžāk* ("teacher", the highest rank of the eastern Manichaean Church).<sup>535</sup> Since there is no caption (or name) written on the clothes of the central figure, the confirmation of his identification is difficult. I think the central figure may be Prophet Mani himself or at least a *mōžāk*, due to its huge proportion (larger than life) within the composition, and its highly-esteemed appearance with divine authority over the entire Manichaean Community. A minimum of four rows of male elects stand behind him, all wearing trapezoid-shaped headgear. Names of eleven of these male elects are written on their white robes, in Sogdian script with black ink, but one exception of them in Manichaean script with red ink. In the first row (at the bottom of the surviving part), the male elects are fully bearded, with wrinkles painted on their foreheads, just like the face of the central figure, which differs much from the beardless younger faces

<sup>532</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. pp 200-201.

<sup>533</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die Manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 34 & pl. 1a.

<sup>534</sup> Klimkeit. *Manichäische Kunst an der Seidenstraße: Alte und neue Funde*. p. 54.

<sup>535</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 228.

of the male elects in the back rows. The presence of names, the amount of facial hair, and the size of the figures in the composition, indicate the different arrangements of each age group and the different statuses of these elects into rows.<sup>536</sup> Except for the central figure, all the other figures in this painting fragment are holding their hands hidden into the sleeves of their clothes in front of their chests, which reflect their obedience to the central figure. Therefore, this wall painting was transmitting a message of venerating the central figure (probably Mani or the other highest church leader) to the audience who entered this Manichaean monastery. Among the figures in the painting, the left person in the first row of male elects has his name and title *ysn mwrw' xwšty* (Yasan Murwāh, as a *xōštē/xoštir*) written vertically from the left of his head onto his white robe.



*Detail of the named xoštir figure in MIK 6918*

Meanwhile, the face portrait of this named *xoštir* figure indicates his elder age. The most special point is that this *xoštir*'s location is just next to the central figure, which strikingly shows the seniority or high status of this *xoštir*. So, this group scene confirms that the *xoštir* had a very high standing in the Turfan Manichaean community.

### **2.2.7 The Literary Aspect of the *Xoštirs***

Apart from dealing with letters and leading rituals, the literary aspect of the *xoštirs* is reflected by their activities of making books and recording events. There are two cases of the *xoštirs*' use of manuscripts. A *xoštir* called *Aryaman Fristum* owned a Uyghur Manichaean book in the palm-leaf form (*pothi*) (written in Manichaean script), whose fragments were found in an unspecified site of Murtuq in the Turfan region. Clark has edited the 40 surviving leaves of this Uyghur Manichaean *pothi* (originally composed of at least 50 leaves), and reconstructed the original order of its eight texts.<sup>537</sup>

<sup>536</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 199.

<sup>537</sup> Clark. "The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book". pp 145-218.

- (1) The *Great Hymn to Mani*,
- (2) the bilingual hymn to the Father Mani (bilingual, in Uyghur and Tocharian B),
- (3) an invocation of the Prophets (or as the beginning of the *Confession Text of Elects*)<sup>538</sup>,
- (4) the *Confession Text of Elects*,
- (5) the *Story of Arazan the Merchant*,
- (6) the benediction,
- (7) the *Story about Demons(?)*,
- (8) the colophon.

Four of the eight texts contain the same expression - “I, Aryaman Fristum *xoštir*...”<sup>539</sup> The appearance of the phrase “I, Aryaman Fristum *xoštir*” in the texts of this *pothi* suggests that it was made for the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum’s own purpose. For instance, the *Confession Text of Elects* starts on U 103 verso of the *pothi*, with an invocation of Prophet Mani as “Buddha” by the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum himself; and it ends on U 85 verso, with this *xoštir*’s appealing for absolution of sins. Clark supposes that the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum was the maker of this *pothi*: the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum himself selected some texts for the *pothi*, and possibly even copied the texts, and also inserted his personal confession.<sup>540</sup> Moreover, the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum may also be the sponsor of this *pothi*, who paid the paper material, the scribe (or the composer of the texts), and the painter for its first leaf’s miniature (on MIK III 8260 recto), together for making such a book.<sup>541</sup> At least, the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum himself composed the colophon of this *pothi*. Although there is a category of donors whose names were at the end of Buddhist or Manichaean hymns (which is not dissimilar from the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum’s case), his status as an elect is still quite special for making such a book. The first leaf (MIK III 8260) of this *pothi* is in 6 cm height and 21.5 cm width. The small size of this *pothi* would also support that it was privately made for the *xoštir*. Meanwhile, as an elect, his deep understanding of the Manichaean religion is testified by the doctrinal aspects of the texts that he selected for this Manichaean *pothi*. When the *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum made or/and sponsored this *pothi*, he may have had an independent way to support his own maintenance, which implies that he might have had a secular life, despite of his status as a high elect. So, in the Turfan Manichaean community, *xoštirs* might have had a secular life while maintaining their elect status, in contrast to the way Egyptian Manichaean

---

<sup>538</sup> The invocation of the Prophets (U 103 verso) can also be considered as the beginning part of the following *Confession Text of Elects* (U 104, U 84, U 75 & U 85). Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. II: Liturgical Texts*. p. 117.

<sup>539</sup> Clark. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”. pp 145-218.

<sup>540</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. II: Liturgical Texts*. p. 117.

<sup>541</sup> Clark. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”. p. 158.



elects lived. In the Coptic Manichaean material, we know that elects (in western Manichaean communities) were always itinerary.

Another *xoštir* called *Kād Ogul* recorded important events for the Turfan Manichaean community. The *Memoir of Kād Ogul (xoštir)* is a unique first-hand Uyghur document (in the Sogdian script) of recording the declining situation of two Manichaean monasteries in the Qocho city. It is made up of the versos of four fragments - M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and the regrouped M 146+M 112+M 336c,<sup>542</sup> from a codex with a Sogdian text (in the Manichaean script) written on the recto of the same manuscript. *Kād Ogul* is the name of a *xoštir* who moved from his homeland – Argu (i.e., Talas region) to the Turfan region at a younger age and lived in Qocho city around the late 10th century. The *xoštir* Kād Ogul wrote this memoir in the tone of the first person for lamenting the official confiscation and Buddhist rededication of the divine statue of Qocho’s “sacred and great *manistan* (monastery)”, commanded by the Qocho Uyghur authority (the “Lancer” Khagan - Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th, and an unnamed princess, M 146+M 112+M 336c verso, ll. 13-14) in the year 983.<sup>543</sup> In this *Memoir*, the *xoštir* Kād Ogul expressed his humble attitude by employing the relegating words, like *kičig* (“least significant”) and *šaxankaya* (“novice”)<sup>544</sup> to describe himself.<sup>545</sup> Due to these fragments of the *Memoir of Kād Ogul* having fine Sogdian writing on their rectos, it is obvious that the paper of these fragments was re-used for writing the Uyghur document on the versos, probably as a draft or a copy. If it was a draft, the *xoštir* Kād Ogul may have used the manuscript to prepare an archive or a personal record regarding this important matter of the Manichaean monasteries - describing for the later Manichaean generations about what happened to the two main Manichaean monasteries in the Qocho city.

In addition, the literary aspect of the *xoštirs* is also found in two Uyghur Manichaean homiletic texts in which the term *xoštir* occurs in two variations: *xwištīm(h?)* in U 46b II verso, line 8; and *γošti* in Mainz 126, I verso, header + ll. 11 & 19. Both *xwištīm(h?)* and *γošti* are interpreted as

---

<sup>542</sup> The regrouped fragments M 146+M 112+M 336c are commonly known as M 112+ (in fact being fitted together from three fragments: M 146, M 112 and M 336c). The original manuscript fragments of M 112, had been lost, after Henning took photos on both its recto and verso. However, its reading and interpretation can be still done based on Henning’s photos, see Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 359.

<sup>543</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 118-123.

<sup>544</sup> The term *šaxankaya* (“novice”) is a form including the Uyghur diminutive ending *-kaya*, indicating a junior standing.

<sup>545</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 369 & 374.

*Lehrer* (“instructor”) by Le Coq.<sup>546</sup>

*ymä ‘inčä q(a)ltih t(ä)pizlig yirdä uruy sačıp örmäzčä ymä taqih ‘inčä qltu bitigäčii oylan ang ‘ilkii öküs ämgäk korür kin xwištim(h?) bolur taqu ‘inčä qltu aŋq... uzuntonluŋ ärgip tuŋur ... ödkä az ämgänür kiin ogrünčü korür*

And again, just as you scatter seeds in a much-stepped place and it does not germinate(?). And again like a young writer (or student) endured a lot of pain, later (but) became a *xwištim(h?)*. And again, like a ... elect ... tolerating a little torture at the moment, then experiencing joy. (U 46b II verso, ll. 3-13)<sup>547</sup>

U 46b II verso, ll. 3-13 indicates that the ordinary elects, for instance, *bitigäčii oylan* (“young writers/students”), need to endure lots of pains (as living a stricter way), to become the *xwištim(h?)* (as an instructor). Zieme points out that U 46b II verso, ll. 3-13 do not reveal exactly what the *xwištim(h?)* means, but it seems obvious that *xwištim(h?)* (i.e., *xoštir*) was not set to a specific rank.<sup>548</sup> Mainz 126 is a bifolio fragment of the Uyghur Manichaean homiletic manuscript. Mainz 126 I contains titles as headers on both sides - the recto’s title: “His Blessing and Prayer” (*alqışi ötüki*), and the verso’s title: “The Disciples (*titsilär*) to Their *yošti*”.<sup>549</sup> In Mainz 126 I verso, the *yošti* seems to take the role of an instructor, and answer the questions of novices about the Manichaean religion:

*tqi ymä titsilär kntü nüng yošti. singa inčä tip siz inč ai tla. nä dä utru uluy anglion bit’ig içintä baslayu ai tängri-äg ögär al qayur. kin ul’uy il’ig tängri xanü äzrua tängriŋ ögär. yošti si inčä tip yrl qad’ı.*

And the disciples talked to their *yošti* about their doubts, so they said: For what reason do you praise and bless the moon-god (first) in the great *Gospel* book, and only afterward do you praise the great kingly god Azrua? So their *yošti* deigned to speak. (Mainz 126 I verso, ll. 10-20)<sup>550</sup>

U 46b II verso and Mainz 126 I verso both imply that the *xoštirs* got trained and had a deep understanding of the Manichaean religion, and so they became the positive model for the Manichaean novices.

## **Summary of Subchapter 2.2**

In the Turfan Manichaean community, the *xōštar/xoštir* had multiple practical functions in communicating between auditors and elects and administrating the church affairs, personnel issues, and other business. The *xoštirs* were crucial in the daily life of the Turfan Manichaean community, attested by their frequent emergence in the Turfan Uyghur

<sup>546</sup> Le Coq, A. von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 12. Nr. 6, II - T II D 173c, 1 (*yošti*) & p. 14. Nr. 7, II - T II D 172b (*xwištim(h?)*).

<sup>547</sup> The English translation is based on the German translation in Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 14. Nr. 7, II - T II D 172b verso, ll. 3-13.

<sup>548</sup> Zieme. “Zu einigen Problemen des Manichäismus bei den Türken”. p. 177.

<sup>549</sup> Le Coq. von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 12. Nr. 6, II - T II D 173c, 1 verso - heading.

<sup>550</sup> The English translation is based on the German translation in Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*. p. 12. Nr. 6, II - T II D 173c, 1 verso, ll. 10-20.

and Sogdian Manichaean manuscripts as well as paintings, although it was not independently enumerated by the Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, from Dunhuang) and the Middle Persian account of the Manichaean church hierarchy (M 801a I, from Turfan).

It appears to be a rule that the auditors sent letters to the *xoštirs*, giving salutations, confessing sins and reporting their situations. According to the Uyghur Manichaean letters, the *xoštirs* were deeply involved in secular matters in addition to church affairs, and traveled along with trade caravans, carrying messages. The actual lifestyle of the *xoštirs* is unlikely to obey the strict disciplines of ordinary elects. But at the same time, according to the Uyghur and Sogdian Manichaean letters, the relation between the *xoštirs* and the monasteries would not be loose, since the *xoštirs* played an assistant role to the church leaders. The *xoštirs* also took part in the Manichaean rituals, as either the arranger or the leading priest. In the group scene of a Manichaean wall painting, a *xoštir* figure stands close to the central figure of the painting. All the above indicates that the *xoštirs* enjoyed high esteem among both auditors and elects, even by the church leaders. As the literary high elects, the *xoštirs* made good use of manuscripts to preserve religious knowledge and record the community's situations, as well as instruct novices.

Due to the need for the complicated operation of the Turfan Manichaean community, the *xoštirs* assumed multi-faced roles in the Manichaean religious practices, and for the daily communications between auditors and elects, as well as the economic activities of the Turfan Manichaeans. However, rather than an honorific title, the *xoštir* may be a certain administrative position among the high elects, particularly representing the whole group of elects to directly deal with the auditors, and even administrating the whole Turfan Manichaean community. The corresponding role among the auditors to the *xoštir* (among the elects), might be the *xwβw* (meaning “chief”, a Sogdian term for the “head of auditors”, as in the church letter of 81TB 65:3) which represents all the auditors.

## 2.3 Reporting the Crisis of the Turfan Manichaean Community

The Turfan Manichaean community faced both external and internal challenges, which are recorded by the Uyghur *Kād Ogul Memoir* and two Sogdian Manichaean letters respectively. Based on Geng Shimin and Klimkeit's interpretations of the Qocho Uyghur official text of regulating the Manichaean monasteries (Zong 8782 T.82)<sup>551</sup> and the *Kād Ogul Memoir* of lamenting the destruction of two Qocho Manichaean monasteries (M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and the regrouped M 112+M 146+M 336c),<sup>552</sup> Moriyasu analyzes the process from the prosperity to the decline of Manichaeism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom from historical perspectives.<sup>553</sup> Moriyasu thinks that in the latter half of the 10th century when Kād Ogul (the author of the *Memoir*) lived, Manichaeism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom had already passed its golden era, and was tending to be in the decline.<sup>554</sup> Sundermann supposes that during the 11th century, Manichaeism appears to be in obvious decline.<sup>555</sup> But on the other hand, Boyce, Klimkeit, Lin Wushu, and Lieu think that Manichaeism was surviving longer and just lost its position in the Turfan region after the invasion of Mongols in the 13th century.<sup>556</sup> In brief, modern scholars mostly estimate the time of the decline of Turfan Manichaeism between the 11th and the 13th century. The suggestion of Manichaeism's earlier decline is based on the first-hand Manichaean material and the contemporary Buddhist material, especially the Manichaean fragments of the *Kād Ogul Memoir* and the three Buddhist Stake Inscriptions.<sup>557</sup> The suggestion of Manichaeism's

---

<sup>551</sup> Geng Shimin & H.-J. Klimkeit. "Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 18, 1985, 7-11.

<sup>552</sup> Geng Shimin. "Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi 回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書初釋", *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 4, 1978, 497-516. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 351-356.

<sup>553</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究". pp 127-174. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 149-210.

<sup>554</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究". p. 150. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 178.

<sup>555</sup> Sundermann. "Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological Means: the Case of the Turfan Texts". pp 283-288.

<sup>556</sup> Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 4. Klimkeit. "Christians, Buddhists and Manichaeans in Medieval Central Asia". p. 47. Lin Wushu. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸. p. 255. Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. p. 83.

<sup>557</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究". p. 153. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 182-183.

later decline is mostly according to the reference and deduction of the non-Manichaeic records from Chinese historical or Buddhist sources, as well as Arab-Persian Muslim sources. To answer how Manichaeism was declining, modern scholars have proposed two explanations: the short-term disappearance of Manichaeism (being replaced by Buddhism), and the long-term disappearance of Manichaeism (falling from official support to minor existence, until its extinction during the Mongol period). Though Buddhism had indeed begun to challenge the Manichaeic dominant status in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom since the late 10th century, it seems unlikely that Manichaeism suddenly disappeared.

The Buddhist replacement of Manichaeism's position in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom is often discussed by modern scholars. But due to the lack of a definite and complete chronology of the Qocho Uyghur rulers and the vague expression of the dates in the original Uyghur material, it is difficult to compare the situation of Manichaeism with that of Buddhism in the Turfan region in chronological order. However, Moriyasu has investigated the rise of Buddhism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and the relation between Qocho Uyghurs and Dunhuang, based on the Dunhuang Buddhist material.<sup>558</sup> Then, the evidence from the Turfan Manichaeic fragments of the *Kād Ogul Memoir* (particularly M 112 verso) can well correspond to the evidence from the three Turfan Buddhist Stake Inscriptions, which all reflect the Qocho Uyghur official approval of the Buddhist replacement of Manichaeic monasteries during the late 10th and the early 11th century.<sup>559</sup> On the other hand, the emergence of Buddhist monks (as representatives) in the Qocho Uyghur diplomatic missions also implies the high status of Buddhism since the early Qocho Uyghur period, which is concluded by Moriyasu based on the Chinese historical records of the Five-Dynasties (907-960) and the Song Dynasty (960-1279).<sup>560</sup> Buddhism had already been rooted in the Turfan region before the coming of the Steppe Uyghurs. There is a suggestion or assumption that the status of Manichaeism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom was not as high as that in the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. In the Mongolian Steppe, the newly introduced Manichaeism (the "Religion of Books and Pictures") competed with less institutionalized Shamanism. But in the Turfan region, Manichaeism had to compete with

---

<sup>558</sup> Moriyasu, T. "Tonkō to Nishi Uiguru Ōkoku — Tourufan kara no shokan to okurimono o chūshin ni 敦煌と西ウイグル王国—トゥルファンからの書簡と贈り物を中心に", *Tōhō-gaku* 東方学 74, 1987, 58-74.

<sup>559</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究". pp 147-154. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 174-184.

<sup>560</sup> Moriyasu. "Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究". pp 154-158. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 184-190.

well-institutionalized Buddhism. Noteworthy is that on a Dunhuang manuscript S. 6551, the Chinese Buddhist text of *Foshuo Amituo jiangjingwen* 佛說阿彌陀講經文 reported the early situation of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and the development of Buddhism in it, and reflected the influence of Chinese Buddhist literature on Uyghur Buddhism.<sup>561</sup> But Moriyasu overemphasizes the Buddhist predominant position in the Turfan region before the establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Rong Xinjiang supposes that the Sogdian Manichaean presence in the Turfan region before the coming of the Steppe Uyghur Manichaeans should not be ignored.<sup>562</sup>

The cause of the Manichaean decline in the Turfan region is disputed, which might include two factors: the external religious competition and the internal sectarian argument of the Turfan Manichaean community. The external challenge from Buddhism and the internal challenge from foreign Manichaeans are both recorded by Turfan Manichaean manuscripts, which witnessed the crisis that the Turfan Manichaean community had experienced.

### 2.3.1 The Religious Competitions that Manichaeism Faced

The Uyghur royal patronage of Manichaeism was replanted from the Mongolian Steppe to the Turfan region, along with the migration of Uyghurs. The religious competition occurred in both the Mongolian Steppe and the Turfan region. But Manichaeism faced different rivals: Shamanism in the Mongolian Steppe, then Buddhism in the Turfan region.

The conversion of the Steppe Uyghur king - Būgū Khan in 762/763 is the first visible conversion of the Uyghur rulers to Manichaeism. The traditional religion of the Steppe Uyghurs was Shamanism, whose priests showed hostility to the newly introduced Manichaeism. In particular, Būgū Khan's successor – Tun Baga *tarxan* (Dunmohe Dagan 頓莫賀達干, i.e. Alp Kutlug Bilgä Kagan, r. 779-789)<sup>563</sup> suppressed the foreign power

---

<sup>561</sup> Zhang Guangda & Rong Xinjiang. “*Youguan Xizhou Huihu de yipian Dunhuang Hanwen wenxian - S. 6551 jiangjingwen de lishixue yanjiu* 有關西州回鶻的一篇敦煌漢文文獻—S. 6551 講經文的歷史學研究”, *Beijing Daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報, 1989 (2), 24-36.

<sup>562</sup> Rong Xinjiang. “*Sen'an Xiaofu (Moriyasu Takao) 'Huihu Monijiao-shi zhi yanjiu' pingjie* 森安孝夫〈回鶻摩尼教史之研究〉評介”, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, 1994 (1), 99-103.

<sup>563</sup> The official title *dagan* 達干 was transliterated from the Uyghur term *tarxan/tarqan* (the “high officer responsible for taxation”). Dunmohe Dagan 頓莫賀達干 and his actions were often mentioned by Chinese historical records of the Tang Empire. Kasai recovers the Uyghur

of *Jiuxing Hu* 九姓胡 (mainly Sogdians) in the Mongolian Steppe, and therefore held an anti-Manichaean attitude, since the Steppe Manichaean community was tightly connected to them.<sup>564</sup> Although sponsored by Bügü Khan (r. 759-779) and most of his successors, Manichaeism had to compete with Shamanism for quite a time. During the time between Bügü Khan's conversion to Manichaeism in 762/763 and the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom in 840, the Uyghur influence on the Tang politics was strong enough to protect the Manichaeans in the realm of Tang Empire.<sup>565</sup> Accordingly, the prosperity of Manichaean book production and the establishment of the powerful Manichaean community in the Turfan region occurred after the massive migration of the Steppe Uyghurs to the Turfan region around the mid-9th century. But it is not clear whether the position of Manichaeism among the Qocho Uyghurs in later times is comparable to the dominant status of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs.

The Steppe Uyghur Kingdom collapsed in 840, due to the Kyrgyz invasion. Most of Uyghurs were forced to move westward and southward from their Steppe homeland. Along with the sharp dissolution of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, Manichaeism in north China suddenly lost its political support and declined as well, as reported by a letter of the Tang high official Li Deyu 李德裕 to the exile Uge Khagan (d. 846) of the Steppe Uyghurs.<sup>566</sup> Then, Uyghur and Sogdian Manichaeans became persecuted by the Tang rulers who disliked the previous Uyghur influence on Tang politics. Since the 3rd year of the *Huichang* (of Emperor Wuzong, i.e. 843), the Tang imperial court further banned Manichaeism, abolished Manichaean temples, and killed or expelled Manichaean priests, together with its persecution of Buddhism. Thereafter, Manichaeism in north China gradually became extinct in public. Meanwhile, the Turfan region became the sole center of eastern Manichaeism, since the establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom around the mid-9th century. According to

---

title of Dunmohe Dagan 頓莫賀達干 as *Alp kutlug bilgä kagan*. See Kasai, Y. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism", in C. Meinert & H. Sørensen (eds.). *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 61-90. p. 64, Table 3.1.

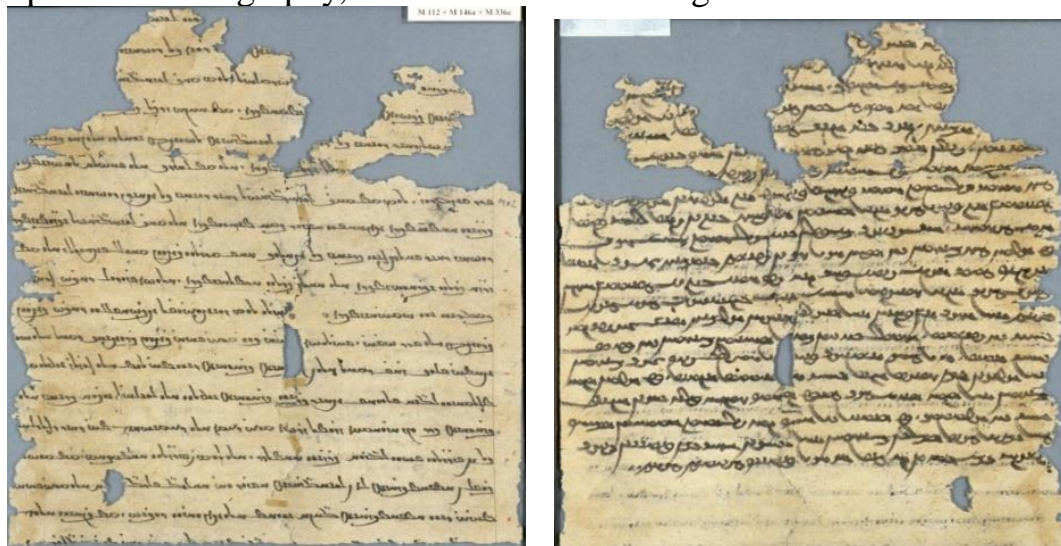
<sup>564</sup> Liu Xu 劉昫 (888-947). *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. Scroll 195, "Huihe zhuan 回紇傳". pp 5027-5028. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) & Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061). *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. Scroll 217 (Part 1/上), "Huihu zhuan 回鶻傳 (Part 1/上)". p. 6121.

<sup>565</sup> Lieu. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. pp 235-237.

<sup>566</sup> See the item "Ci Huihu Kehan shuyi 賜回鶻可汗書意", in Scroll 5 of *Li Weigong Huichang yipin ji* 李衛公會昌一品集. Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850). *Li Weigong Huichang yipin ji* 李衛公會昌一品集 (*Congshu jicheng ben chubian* 叢書集成本初編) (Book 1). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936. pp 30-31.

Zieme, after the conversion of Būgū Khan, the Uyghur rulers often recognized that their political power was authorized by the gods of the “sun and moon” (of the Manichaean pantheon) and many of them were titled with the “sun” and/or “moon”, which lasted until the early 11th century.<sup>567</sup> The use of Manichaean divine titles indicates that the Manichaean influence on the Qocho Uyghur rulers may also have lasted until the early 11th century.

In the Turfan region, the Manichaeans had to compete with Buddhists, although the Qocho Uyghur rulers were Manichaean followers at the beginning. The Turfan Manichaean community faced more pressure when the Qocho Uyghur rulers began to change their favor from Manichaeism to Buddhism. But any record of conflict between Buddhism and Manichaeism has not been found in the currently known Turfan Manichaean material, except for the manuscript of *Kād Ogul Memoir*: the re-grouped fragments M 112+M 146a+M 336c, and three other smaller fragments M 162a, M 336a and M 336b, which all originally belonged to one manuscript (of thin soft paper), and are found in Qocho ruin α of the Turfan region. Though it was originally a large folio from the codex, M 112+M 146a+M 336c and M 336a have just 32 lines remaining on their rectos, written in Manichaean script. The original recto has two rulers with light gray color for its outer and inner margins; but it seems that only the line for the outer margin was obeyed, while the lines of text all crossed the line in the inner margin. The versos of M 112+M 146a+M 336c and M 336a are written in Sogdian script lettered with a clear yet unpracticed calligraphy, with 39 lines remaining.



M 112+M 146a+M 336c, recto & verso

<sup>567</sup> Zieme. “Manichäische Kolophone und Könige”. pp. 324-325. Hamilton, J. *Les Ouïghours à l’époque des cinq dynasties d’après les documents chinois*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1955. pp 139-141. Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. pp 61-68 & 71-73.





M 336a recto & verso

The *Käd Ogul Memoir*, written on the verso of the Sogdian Manichaean codex of M 112+M 146a+M 336c, M 162a, M 336a and M 336b, is a Uyghur text recording a crisis of the Turfan Manichaean community due to the Uyghur official interference. Its writer - an elect called *Käd Ogul* was from the Argu region (today's Talas region of Kyrgyzstan) and lived in Qocho city during the latter half of the 10th century.<sup>568</sup> In his *Memoir*, Käd Ogul wrote in the first person to remember the previously prosperous scenes of Turfan Manichaeism and for lamenting the recent confiscation and Buddhist re-dedication of the materials of two Manichaean monasteries, commanded by the Qocho Uyghur king – the “Lancer” Khagan Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th (r. 981-984) and a queen (or princess) around 983. The section of M 112+M 146a+M 336c verso survives more completely, which concerns the fate of two Manichaean monasteries (*manistans*) in the Qocho city:

(1) A smaller “stone *manistan*”, which the new elect - Käd Ogul assisted to erect (starting from 954)<sup>569</sup>, stood there for about 30 years, but it was demolished and replaced by a Buddhist monastery (*vihāra*) in 983;<sup>570</sup>

(2) A “sacred and great *manistan*”, which was possibly renovated or refurnished in 885/886, was witnessed by Käd Ogul as being gutted but abandoned in 983, though not totally destroyed yet.<sup>571</sup>

This writing of Käd Ogul explicitly recorded the timeline, which provides three specific years - 886 CE (“254” in the Yazdegerd era), 954 and 983. Noteworthy is the year number - “254”, which is recognized by Clark, from the damaged first part on M 112+M 146a+M 336c verso:



[...] ärmiš . eki yüz älig tör[t] [...] [bo]lup . ančan [...]

And so it was [...], it [be]ing [...] 254, (which was) a time [...] (M 112+M 146a+M 336c verso, line 6).<sup>572</sup>

<sup>568</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 118.

<sup>569</sup> The year 954: “the *kap* Tiger year in the reign of El Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th” (M 112+M 146a+M 336c verso, line 10).

<sup>570</sup> The year 983: “the year of the sheep and of the element *kuu*, under the planet Saturn, by command of the ‘Lancer’ Khagan - Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig the 4th” (M 112+M 146a+M 336c verso, ll. 13-14).

<sup>571</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 363-366.

The term *ančan* can be translated as “time”, which is derived from *anča* (“this time / that time”) plus the instrumental *-n*.<sup>573</sup> Although it may refer to something else, the number “254” can be most properly identified as a year, as in the era marking the reign of the Sassanian King Khusrau or Yazdegerd III. The year “254” was counted according to the Yazdegerd era, corresponding to the year 885/886 CE. For New Persian speakers at that time,<sup>574</sup> the date and year were often expressed according to the Yazdegerd era.<sup>575</sup> There is another example of the Turfan Manichaean use of the Yazdegerd era – a Uyghur calendar fragment U 495a+b, which is dated to the year 358 of that era:

*yazdıgırd elig sanı üç yüz takı säkiz altmıř*

The number (of years of the reign) of King Yazdegerd is 358. (U 495a+b recto, ll. 10-12)<sup>576</sup>

In this Uyghur Manichaean calendar text, the year 358 of the Yazdegerd era correlates to 988/989 CE. According to the legible words (“ornamented”, “artisans”, and “decorated”) prior to the year number 254 on the fragment of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, this year (885/886 CE) probably concerns the “sacred and great *manistan*” (also called the *qwndwv kyrw č’ky manistan*) about its enlargement and re-decoration, which can fit into the Uyghur Manichaean context (with the great sponsorship of the Qocho Uyghur rulers at that time).<sup>577</sup>

Moriyasu further tries to date the time of the total destruction of the “sacred and great *manistan*” of the Qocho city to around the year 1008 CE, combined with the archaeological evidence of a foundation stake of a newly-built Buddhist monastery in the Qocho city, on which the year 1008 could be traced from its inscription – the Uyghur Buddhist Stake

---

<sup>572</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 361-362.

<sup>573</sup> Röhrborn, K. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*. Lieferung 1-6. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977 - 1998. pp 132b & 134a.

<sup>574</sup> In the 9th century, the Middle Persian and Parthian languages were not spoken anymore in Central Asia, but replaced by New Persian.

<sup>575</sup> The “Yazdegerd era” began on June 16, 632 CE (of the Julian calendar), commemorating the elevation of Yazdegerd III to the throne of Persia on the same day. Yazdegerd III is the last emperor of the Sassanid Empire. As a child, Yazdegerd III was raised to the throne in 632 CE after internal conflicts. But he never really ruled the declining Sassanid Empire, due to the Arab Muslim invasion. However, the Persians, who used the Old Persian (solar) calendar, began to count years starting from his accession. See the entry “Chronology” in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Vol. 6). New York, 1911. p. 317. Windfuhr, G. (ed.). *The Iranian Languages*. New York: Routledge, 2009. p. 259.

<sup>576</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 409-411.

<sup>577</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 363-364.

Inscription I (MIK III 4672).<sup>578</sup> Unearthed at Qocho ruin  $\alpha$ , this Stake Inscription was made in 1008, dedicated by a Uyghur princess named *Tängrikän Tegin Silig Tärkän Qunčuy Tängrim* and probably her husband called *Külüg Inanč Šaču Sangun* with their family members. Accordingly, Moriyasu places the destruction time of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*'s "sacred and great *manistan*" into a 25-year period: between 983 and 1008, but more likely closer to 1008. In a word, the *Käd Ogul Memoir* testifies to the period when the Qocho Uyghur rulers began to favor Buddhism over Manichaeism and the gradual process of the Buddhist challenge to and replacement of Manichaeism. The secular interference of the Qocho Uyghur rulers is the key factor to the change of Manichaeism's status in its competition with Buddhism.

The year 983 was the time when the elect Käd Ogul witnessed the statue of Qocho's great *manistan* taken for reuse in a newly built Buddhist monastery, which motivated him to write this lamenting memoir for his community. However, no further conflict is mentioned in the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, except Käd Ogul's personal reminiscence and lament of the Manichaean monastic properties. Besides, the year 983 as the earliest possible year of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*'s composition is also the time of the visit of the Song's envoy - Wang Yande 王延德 (938-1006) to the Turfan region. In his *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記,<sup>579</sup> Wang Yande noticed and recorded what he saw in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom:

佛寺五十餘區，皆唐朝所賜額，寺中有《大藏經》、《唐韻》、《玉篇》、《經音》等；居民春月多遊，群聚遨樂於其間，遊者馬上持弓矢射諸物，謂之禳災。有敕書樓，藏唐太宗、明皇禦札詔敕，緘鎖甚謹。復有摩尼寺，波斯僧各持其法，佛經所謂外道者也。<sup>580</sup>

(There are) more than fifty Buddhist temples, and their inscribed boards were all granted by the Tang court; and in those temples, the (Buddhist) *Dazangjing* (*Tripitaka*), the *Tangyun* ("Tang Rhyme", i.e. "Chinese Rhyme Dictionary of Tang Dynasty"), the *Yupian* ("Jade Chapters", i.e. "Chinese Characters of Historical Phonology"), and the *Jingyin* ("Pronunciations of Buddhist Canons") and so on, are well preserved. The residents often go out for a tour during the months of spring, and they gather and play within the areas (of those Buddhist temples), and the tourists ride on horses, hold bows, and shoot arrows at various

<sup>578</sup> Moriyasu. "Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan". p. 154.

<sup>579</sup> Wang Yande's *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記, also called *Shi Qocho ji* 使高昌記, was lost but taken into records by the "*Qocho zhuan* 高昌傳" of *Song shi* 宋史, and the *Huichen lu* 揮塵錄 (*Qian lu* 前錄) of Wang Mingqing 王明清 (ca. 1127-1202).

<sup>580</sup> In the text *Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳 of *Liezhuan* 列傳 Nr. 249, of *Song shi* 宋史 (Scroll 490), see Toqto 脫脫 (1314-1355) & Alutu 阿魯圖 (?-1351) (authors); Ni Qixin (ed.). *Song shi* 宋史 (*Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 - *Song shi* 宋史- Book 16). Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004. p. 10471. Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127-1202). *Huichen lu - qian lu* 揮塵錄·前錄 (Scroll 4). p. 37.

things, which is called “eliminating disasters”. There is a building for collecting the documents of imperial orders, including the royal letters and imperial edicts, and orders of Emperors Taizong (r. 626-649) and Xuanzong (Minghuang, r. 712-756) of Tang Dynasty, which is closed and sealed very strictly. In addition, there are Manichaeic temple(s) and Persian (Nestorian)<sup>581</sup> monks, which adhere to their respective (religious) laws, and both of which are called “outer ways (i.e., heretics)” by Buddhist canons.

Wang Yande’s report about the religious situation of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom reveals the coexistence of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorianism in the Turfan region around 983. But it looks as if he was more interested in Buddhism, and so he just mentioned the term “Manichaeic temple” without telling the number of Manichaeic temples in the area. He paralleled Manichaeism with Nestorianism, and labeled both of them as “outer ways / heretics”. The prosperity of Buddhism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom around 983 is predominant, for Turfan Buddhism had numerous great temples where the collections of Buddhist canons and dictionaries were preserved, and those Turfan Buddhist monasteries were tightly connected to the Tang imperial court. Local residents were “gathering and playing within the areas (of those Buddhist temples)”, which reveals that Buddhism was obviously popular in the Turfan region at that time.

However, Manichaeism continued to exist in the Turfan region after the events of the *Kād Ogul Memoir* occurred. The Turfan Manichaeic community had interaction with other Central Asian Manichaeic communities whose scale was much smaller. In addition to the elect Kād Ogul’s Argu origin and his *Memoir*, the connection between the Turfan Manichaeics and the faraway Argu Manichaeics can also be reflected by the Uyghur Manichaeic fragment MIK III 198, found in the Turfan region. MIK III 198 verso contains the end of a section of the *Evangelion*, with some notes made by later readers. MIK III 198 verso contains a colophon to the *Evangelion*, which is related to the Argu region. MIK III 198 verso documents the presence of Manichaeic communities and monasteries in the cities of “Kašu, Yägänkänt, Ordukänt and Čigilbalık of the royal Argu country” (today’s Talas region of Kyrgyzstan), in the first decades of the 11th century.<sup>582</sup> Clark concludes that this “Argu” colophon (on MIK III 198 verso) belongs to the early 11th century since the names of rulers of these cities (mentioned in MIK III 198 verso) also appear in a Sogdian inscription found on a cliff near Talas, which can be

---

<sup>581</sup> Wang Yuanyuan. “*Wudai Songchu Xizhou Huihu ‘Bosi waidao’ bianshi* 五代宋初西州回鹘‘波斯外道’辨釋”. pp 75-86.

<sup>582</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeic Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 71-72.

dated to the years 1025-1026.<sup>583</sup> Thus, it can be deduced that the Argu Manichaeans were still active after the *Memoir*'s writer Kād Ogul moved from Argu to Turfan in 954. The fragment MIK III 198 was found in an unspecified site of the Qocho ruins, although this manuscript of the Uyghur *Evangelion* at the time of its production may be prepared for the use of Argu Manichaeans. It remains unknown why this manuscript of the Uyghur *Evangelion* with a colophon, was not sent to the Argu region, but archived by the Turfan Manichaean community. On the other hand, the existence of such a Uyghur *Evangelion* copy made during the first decades of the 11th century in the Turfan region indicates that the Turfan Manichaeans were continuing their religious activities, such as copying their canonical writings in the 11th century, though Manichaeism was in a declining trend under the Qocho Uyghur rule.

The recto of M 112+ (=the regrouped M 112+M 146+M 336c, M 162a, M 336a, and M 336b) contain a Sogdian Manichaean church letter to a great *možak* ("teacher") residing in the Qocho city, complaining about the discipline-violation of the "Syrian" Manichaean wandering elects. It is obvious that this paper (of M 112+) was originally used for writing the Sogdian church letter, and it was later reused for writing the Uyghur *Kād Ogul Memoir*. But on the recto of M 112+, the address for the addressee *možak* is not found. It is unknown whether this Sogdian church letter was sent to the place of Qocho ruin α. In other words, the finding place of this Sogdian church letter - Qocho ruin α may not be the residence of its addressee (a great *možak*), although it was originally a Manichaean monastery. In addition, there was another nearby Manichaean monastery at Qocho ruin K, which was more sizable and may be more proper to be regarded as the residence of the great *možak*. However, since the early 20th century, there was a great amount of various Manichaean manuscript fragments found in Qocho ruin α, which indicates that the Qocho ruin α may contain a library for the Manichaean monastery, being used until the Buddhist replacement of this site.<sup>584</sup> Thus, this Sogdian church letter (of M 112+) may have been deposited in the library of the Manichaean monastery at Qocho ruin α, as an important church document, and after about one century, it was taken out by local Manichaeans to get reused on the back side of the paper.

---

<sup>583</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 71.

<sup>584</sup> Skjærvo, P.O. "Review of C. Reck, D. Weber, C. Leurini & A. Panaino (eds.). *W. Sundermann, Manichaica Iranica: Ausgewählte Schriften*", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 14, 2000, 160-163.

In the early 20th century, the team of the “First Royal Prussian Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan” discovered the physical evidence of Manichaean monasteries (*manistans*) in situ, corresponding to the record of the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, in which, with the command of a Qocho Uyghur ruler, one Qocho *manistan* was replaced by a Buddhist monastery, and another one was changed to furnish a Buddhist monastery, around 983. As non-portable physical evidence, the painted walls of *manistans* found in the Turfan region, derive from two building remains - Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  and ruin K, as two *manistans*.<sup>585</sup> These two sites are supposed to have been once used by Manichaeans, as proved by the Manichaean pictorial and textual materials discovered there.

The only wall painting discovered at Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  contains a ritual image - MIK III 4624, in which parts of the upper bodies of two male elects can be seen in front of a building’s pillar(?), between the two elects who look to their left side.<sup>586</sup>



MIK III 4624

As for Qocho ruin K, it has the wall painting of MIK III 6918, in which “a Manichaean high-priest in his pontifical robes, surrounded by a number of his clergy, all dressed in the white sacerdotal robes, which we know from their recurrence on Manichaean miniatures to be the costume of a certain class of ecclesiastics of that faith”, as recorded by Le Coq.<sup>587</sup> In the original place (before taking it from Turfan to Berlin), Le Coq witnessed and found that “the portrait of the high-priest for the whole group of painted faces impresses one as being portraits - is done larger than life... The peculiar signification of this extraordinary nimbus has

<sup>585</sup> The Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  and ruin K were two *manistans*. The structures of both *manistans* can reveal the signs of Buddhist re-dedication and re-use. Based on the dates provided by the *Käd Ogul Memoir* (surviving in four pieces - M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and the matched large fragment-group M 112+M 146a+M 336c), Gulácsi deduces a circa 100-year period between 885 and 983, related to these two *manistans* of Qocho. See Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 138-140.

<sup>586</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 229.

<sup>587</sup> Le Coq. “A Short Account of the Origin, Journey, and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan”. p. 304.

caused the impression that perhaps we have here a picture of Mani himself before us”.<sup>588</sup>



MIK III 6918

This hall of the wall painting (MIK III 6918) may have been a space/room for fasting and preaching, among the “five main halls” that were regulated as the basic components of an ideal Manichaean monastery according to the 5th section (entitled “Concerning Monastery Buildings”, *Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五) of the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (on Or.8210/S.3969+P. 3884). However, this wall painting had been concealed by a thin wall from view when the Prussian explorers discovered it. Le Coq has written about his findings in the Qocho ruin K: “Yet, as in other newly excavated parts of the same system of buildings the walls showed remains of Buddhistic paintings, one is led to believe that Buddhism having gained the ascendant, the Manichaean houses of worship were changed, in the considerate manner indicated, into temples or holy places of the conquering faith (i.e., Buddhism)”.<sup>589</sup> This archaeological record can be related to the history of the Qocho Uyghur rulers’ shift from Manichaeism to Buddhism. Le Coq and his team often found the temple ruins of a later religion renovated. However, there seems to be no obvious conflict in this process of changing religion, unlike the Islamic *ghazat/jihād* movement against Uyghur Buddhists after the fall of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom,<sup>590</sup> for instance in the archaeological investigation there are found many body relics of Buddhist monks who were cruelly murdered by Turkic Muslim conquerors, in the house ruins to the north of Qocho ruin K.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>588</sup> Le Coq. “A Short Account of the Origin, Journey, and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan”. p. 305.

<sup>589</sup> Le Coq. “A Short Account of the Origin, Journey, and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan”. p. 306.

<sup>590</sup> Millward. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. p. 69.

<sup>591</sup> Geng Shimin. *Weiwuerzu gudai wenhua he wenxian gailun* 維吾爾族古代文化和文獻概論. Ürümqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983. pp 48-49.

### 2.3.2 The Internal Challenge within the Turfan Manichaean Community

The challenges to Turfan Manichaeism not only happened in its competition with other religions but also came from the inside. During the Steppe and Qocho Uyghur periods, the surviving space of Manichaeism in Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia had been gradually squeezed by the new rising Islamic power, causing waves of Manichaean migration into the Turfan region. The coming of foreign Manichaeans brought out sectarian arguments between different Manichaean groups, reported by the two Sogdian Manichaean church letters on M 112+ (=the regrouped M 112+M 146+M 336c, M 162a, M 336a, and M 336b) and M 119+ (=M 119 and M 119a+M 119b+M 1225+M 1867a+M 1867b). In these two Sogdian church letters, those who disrupted the peace and against whom so bitter complaints were (i.e., the “Syrian” newcomers), were among the followers of Mihr’s school.<sup>592</sup> The Mihr’s group was loose in observing the Manichaean commandments, while the Miklās’s group formed the orthodox party that dominated the Turfan and other Central Asian Manichaean communities at that time.

The Sogdian Manichaean church letter on M 112+ recto (written in Manichaean script) records the relationship between the Turfan local Manichaeans and their coreligionists newly from Mesopotamia (called “Syrians”) who moved eastwards and resided in the Turfan region. Their relationship was not lacking tensions and arguments, because the “Syrian” newcomers had a more liberal lifestyle and loose social organization, than their eastern coreligionists:

[...] At hand [...] “We are the whole church”[...] our blessed teacher (*mwj’k*) [...] were, these mighty followers of Mihr (*myhry’nd*) [...] all of us, the elects/*Dēnāwars* (*dyn’brt*) and beyond [...] the selected commandments and seals [...] we started attention and [...] and good *Maqdisī* [...] those of the followers of the Miklās (*mkl’syktyy*) [...] because of the law and an origin [...] they are. For, as far as the law is concerned, in the commandments are they casual. First, as far as the commandment of truthfulness is concerned [...]” (M 336a recto, ll. 1-13)<sup>593</sup>

Then one of her servants initiated a quarrel with (our) nun/*electa* (*dyn’br’nc*). And Mihr-Pādār, their leader, seized that servant by the arm and took her away from the quarrel [...] (M 112+M 146a+M 336c recto, ll. 29-31)<sup>594</sup>

---

<sup>592</sup> Henning. “Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus”. pp 17-18.

<sup>593</sup> Sundermann, W. “Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe”, in M. Macuch, M. Maggi & W. Sundermann (eds.). *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007. 403-421. pp 406-407. Based on Sundermann and Sims-Williams’ translations, cf. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic texts from Central Asia*. pp 261-262.

<sup>594</sup> Sundermann. “Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe”. pp 408 & 410.



In M 336a recto, ll. 1-13, the writer clearly stated that they were *Dēnāwars* (*dyn'βrt*, the plural form of *dyn'βr*), which showed their special identity of the eastern Manichaean Church. The rise of the eastern Manichaean Church led to a schism, that is, the independence of *Dēnāwars* in the East from the Mesopotamian headquarter of the Manichaean Church. M 336a recto and M 112+M 146a+M 336c recto, both reflect a continuing conflict between the *Mihriyānd* (“Mihr’s followers”) and the *Miklāsīktē* (“Miklās’ followers”) that the “Syrian” Manichaeans and the Turfan Manichaeans belonged to respectively. The writer/sender of the letter on M 112+ recto complained to the great *možak* about the loose and casual observation of the “Syrian” newcomers regarding the Manichaean commandments.

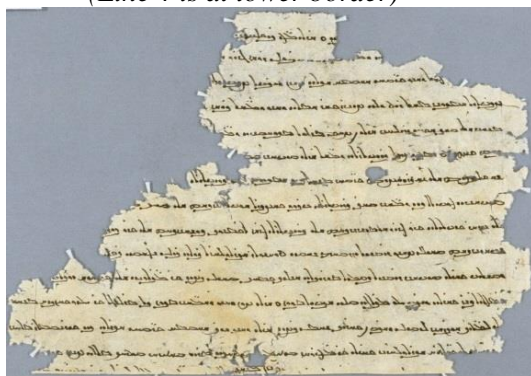
Another Sogdian Manichaean church letter reporting the same phenomenon is on M 119+, which refers to one big fragment (M 119)<sup>595</sup> and five small fragments (M 119a+M 119b+M 1225+M 1867a+M 1867b). These six fragments all originally belonged to one manuscript. M 119+ was originally a large folio, written in Manichaean script, on thin soft paper (similar to the paper of M 112+). M 119+ verso is blank. As regrouped by Sundermann, these six fragments together contain 21 lines.<sup>596</sup>



M 1225 (ll. 1-3)  
(Line 4 is at lower border)



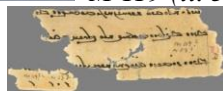
M 119a (ll. 5-6)  
(Line 4 is at upper border)



M 119 (ll. 5-18)(Line 4 is at upper border)



M 119b (ll. 19-20)



M 1867a+b (ll. 19-21)

<sup>595</sup> According to the information given by the “Turfanforschung” of the *Digitales Turfan-Archiv*, M 119 was once lost from the Berlin collection, but it is re-found in 2006. M 119+M 119a+M 119b were once gathered by Henning together with M 1225 and M 1867a,b, forming a more complete fragment, but the glasses of this collection became damaged and separated after WWII. See Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 10.

<sup>596</sup> Sundermann. “Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe”. p. 413, Figure Abb. 1.

The Sogdian Manichaean church letter of M 119+ reveals its sender's worries about the mixture of the "Syrian" newcomers with Turfan local Manichaeans, which might cause "(their) spies" to "take the place of our (local) superiors" and make more troubles among the Turfan Manichaeans. The sender/writer also condemned the "Syrians" as the mean people of "schisms" and "quarrels", who brought about the "destruction" of the Manichaean Church:

And this [...] unlawful and inappropriate order will be brought to the notice of the present superiors (*xwyštrtyy*=*xweštartē*, i.e. the Sogdian plural form of *xoštir*) [...] Those who were their (Syrians') spies will finally take the place of our superiors, [...] and they will injure those direly beset and will cause great trouble for (our) superiors, and they will wash [their hands] in [blood], just like the dirty [bishop?] called *Yazad-Māh* that you yourself, oh lord, at that time [...] were; the customs and the manner of these base, vile Syrians (*swryktyy*) are like this: They are experienced and versed in schisms [and] quarrels, for the spirit of schism reigns supreme here. And [...] their word is very perditionous. Therefore, please observe closely [whether] those that came here first have brought about profit and gain (or not). For the (Syrian) Teacher (*mwj'k*) *Māhdād* has slandered (our) Teacher *Mihr-Īzad*(?), strong in faith(?), just as the Teacher *Gabryahb* [has come to prevail over?] (our) elect and (our) Teacher *Nēwān-Zādag*, and the (Syrian) Teacher *Saxtōē* and the (Syrian) Bishop (*'ft'δ'n*) *Ktwn'* [have come to prevail over?] [...]; [...] the base *Farruxān*, who seeks destruction [...] (M 119+, ll. 10-21)<sup>597</sup>

Noteworthy is that this Sogdian church letter mentions the challenge of the "Syrian" high elects, such as their own teacher, bishop, and superiors (*xweštartē/xōštartū*, in Uyghur *xošturlar*), some of whom are even directly mentioned with names. This reveals that some church leaders of the Mesopotamian Manichaean community may have also moved to the East along with their coreligionists of lower status, which had severely challenged the authority and unity of the eastern Manichaean Church based in the Turfan region. Meanwhile, this letter is supposed to be delivered to the great *možak* at the Qocho city whose status was not lower than those "Syrian" Manichaean high elects. In brief, the Turfan Manichaeans worried that the "Syrian" Manichaean elects, who disobeyed the strict commandments but were good at eloquence and active in quarrels, would cause disunity and chaos among the Turfan Manichaeans and further threaten the leadership of the great *možak* of Qocho over the eastern Manichaean Church.

Due to the religious persecution of the Arab-Muslim Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258), Mesopotamian Manichaeans moved eastwards. In the harsh situation of Mesopotamia, they were forced to give up some strict

---

<sup>597</sup> Based on Sundermann's translation, cf. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 262. Sundermann. "Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe". pp 412-416.

commandments, and thus they inclined to the Manichaean school of Mihr whose disciplines were loose. In contrast, the Turfan Manichaean community, especially during the early phase of the Qocho Uyghur period, observed stricter commandments, and thus belonged to the Manichaean school of Miklās (probably equivalent to the *Dēnāwar* sect), in accordance with its protected status by the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and the later Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. So, the above two Sogdian church letters (of M 112+ recto and M 119+) symbolize the divergence or conflict between “Syrian” Manichaean newcomers and Turfan local Manichaeans. Meanwhile, the senders/writers of these two letters must have recognized the higher authority and leadership of the receiver of them - the great *možak*, who was supposed to be able to help them to solve the internal problems brought by the “Syrian” coreligionists into the Turfan Manichaean community.

The two Sogdian Manichaean church letters may have been composed before 880, and sent to the eastern Manichaean church leader at Qocho city. Regarding the dates of the letters of M 112+ recto and M 119+, Henning suggests that these two Sogdian church letters were composed between 763 and 880, according to the separation time of the two rival schools (Mihr and Miklās) as 710-740 and the time of their superficial re-unification as 880.<sup>598</sup> The year 763 is the time of introducing Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. Klimkeit agrees with this opinion of Henning, but Sundermann broadens the possible time of the two letters’ composition to be between the early 8th and the late 9th century.<sup>599</sup> However, it is safer to date the two letters to be composed during the late 8th and the late 9th century.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 2.3***

In both Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, Manichaeism experienced ups and downs repeatedly, facing other religions’ competitions. In the early period of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, Manichaeism enjoyed an official status, as it had already cooperated with the Steppe Uyghur predecessors. Since the late 10th century, Turfan Manichaeism started to face the striking challenge from Buddhism. The *Kād Ogul Memoir* (on M 112+ verso, composed after 983) records the writer Kād Ogul’s upset emotion of witnessing two Qocho *manistans*’ rededication to build Buddhist monasteries, under the pressure

---

<sup>598</sup> Henning. “Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus”. pp 16-18.

<sup>599</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. pp 261-262. Sundermann. “Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological Means: the Case of the Turfan Texts”. pp 285-286.

of a Qocho Uyghur ruler who preferred Buddhism to Manichaeism. Although this event did not represent the Qocho Uyghur court's overall attitude to Manichaeism, the Qocho Uyghur ruler did give a warning of disfavor to the Turfan Manichaean community. But no further conflict is reported. In addition to the manuscript evidence, the archaeological records of modern scholars at Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  and ruin K can also testify to the fact of Qocho Uyghur rulers' shift from Manichaeism to Buddhism.

The crisis of the Turfan Manichaean community not only contains external inter-religious competitions but also includes internal sectarian arguments. The Turfan Manichaeans encountered problems brought by the Mesopotamian Manichaean newcomers to the Turfan region. Two Sogdian Manichaean church letters on M 112+ recto and M 119+, recorded the crisis that the Turfan Manichaean community had countered, which is reported to the eastern Manichaean church leader at the Qocho city. Due to the previous schism within the Manichaean Church, the eastern Manichaeans sought independence from the Mesopotamian headquarter. But along with the persecution by Muslims rulers in Mesopotamia and Iran, some Mesopotamian ("Syrian") Manichaeans moved to the Turfan region, including their own church leaders. The coming of Mesopotamian Manichaeans caused an internal challenge to the eastern Manichaean Church based in Qoco city. Their sectarian arguments may have a negative effect to the later development of the Turfan Manichaean community, and reflect the identity crisis and authority challenge to the Turfan Manichaean community. The external and internal challenges made great crisis in the Turfan Manichaean community and even contributed to the later decline of Turfan Manichaeism, though it was a long process after the late 10th century.

## **Chapter 3:**

### **The Function of Manuscripts for the Secular Sphere of the Turfan Manichaean Community**

#### **3.1 The Manichaean Texts Dedicated to Uyghur Rulers**

Since the beginning time of the Manichaean religion, the Manichaean missionaries aimed to build a connection with the rulers and nobles of various regions. Consequently, Manichaeans got a golden time in the East. Only under the Steppe and Qocho Uyghur rules, Manichaeans were able to feel at home in the world, unlike their coreligionists in other regions or the followers of other Gnostic traditions. Manichaeism catered well to the social and political needs of the Steppe and Qocho Uyghur kings who wanted to legitimate their authority and rule through the divine power from Manichaeism, as the eastern Manichaean Church gave its full support for their legitimation by composing enthronement hymns, benedictions, praises, and eulogies, dedicated to them and used in church ceremonies. In her book *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*, Leurini edits the Turfan Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns pertaining to the Manichaean Church, clerics and patrons.<sup>600</sup> Other scholars also focus on the elects and church leaders as well as secular rulers who were patrons. Clark lists 27 Uyghur Manichaean enthronement hymns, praises, benedictions, and eulogies, among which 20 texts concern the motif of the Uyghur rulers or the realm.<sup>601</sup> Wilkens has also investigated them but suggested different identifications for some of the texts.<sup>602</sup> These Uyghur Manichaean texts compose the most important first-hand material for exploring the interaction between the Turfan Manichaean community and the Uyghur secular authority, which is quite special in the whole of Manichaean history.

Klimkeit has analyzed the change of Manichaean thoughts regarding the kingship from Mani's Mesopotamian environment to the eastern contexts,

---

<sup>600</sup> Leurini, C. (ed.). *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

<sup>601</sup> Clark. "The Turkic Manichaean Literature". pp 133-134, no. 119-144.

<sup>602</sup> Wilkens, J. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000.

along with different situations that Manichaeism needed to face through its dissemination.<sup>603</sup> As reflections of the secular kingship and the royal court, Mani himself conceived the notions - the kingship of the Light and the world of the Light. Although it was originally a Gnostic religion with a negative attitude to the human body and worldly affairs, Manichaeism held a positive attitude to the missionary work. It was natural that the Manichaean Church expressed its divine support for secular rulers. But Manichaeism demanded a complete withdrawal of elects from worldly affairs. So in the eastern Manichaean communities, the inherent dilemma of Manichaeism emerged. Lieu concludes that the Turfan Manichaean material “attests incontrovertibly the active involvement of the (eastern) Manichaean monasteries in the social and economic life of the (Qocho) Uyghur Kingdom”.<sup>604</sup> Some of the basic principles of Manichaeism had been relaxed or ignored by the eastern Manichaean communities, in order to adjust themselves to the privileged position of Manichaeism in the Uyghur rules. The eastern Manichaean Church did find its own position in this secular world under the Uyghur rules and granted the divine blessings of Manichaean deities to the secular rulers. Along with the spread of Manichaeism among Uyghurs, the divine meanings were placed on the Uyghur kings who accepted or permitted Manichaeism. On the other hand, the Uyghur secular kingship was strengthened through the Manichaean deities. Klimkeit suggests that the Manichaean spiritual authority was “itself independent of secular power but grants to the ruler (the divine) power to fulfill his duty as the protector of the (Manichaean) religion and guardian of the faithful”.<sup>605</sup> However, according to the evidence from the Turfan Manichaean texts, the eastern Manichaean Church well incorporated the Uyghur secular/political realm into its religious narratives for the Turfan Manichaean community.

It has been known that there was a close connection and mutual support between the eastern Manichaean Church and the Uyghur secular kingship. But it is not yet explored how they complemented each other specifically, and how their relationship had been presented and perceived in the Turfan Manichaean texts. This part discusses how much the Turfan Manichaean texts show the influence of the Manichaean religion over the state, how much they reflect the high importance of the state for the eastern Manichaean Church, and how the Turfan Manichaean community positioned itself in the society of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom under the religious and secular dual leadership.

---

<sup>603</sup> Klimkeit, H.-J. “Manichaean Kingship: Gnosis at Home in the World”, *Numen* Vol. 29, Fasc. 1, Jul., 1982, 17-32.

<sup>604</sup> Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. p. 96.

<sup>605</sup> Klimkeit. “Manichaean Kingship: Gnosis at Home in the World”. p. 27.

### 3.1.1 The Complementary Relation between Eastern Manichaeism and Uyghur Rulers

After battling with Kyrgyz tribes, the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom collapsed in 840. So, a significant part of Uyghurs left the Mongolian Steppe and migrated westward to the Turfan region, while another group of Uyghurs settled to the south around the Ganzhou region. Since the mid-9th century, they founded the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom in the west, and the Ganzhou Uyghur Kingdom in the south. Due to the lack of material, it remains unknown how these two Uyghur kingdoms were established. The specific religious affiliation of the Ganzhou Uyghur rulers is also unknown. However, the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom inherited Manichaeism from the Steppe Uyghurs. But the titles of the Qocho Uyghur rulers were diverse, some of which reflect the Manichaean elements but others do not. On the other hand, the official titles of the Qocho Uyghur rulers are not as well preserved as those of the Steppe Uyghur rulers. While the Chinese sources of the Tang imperial court provided the relatively complete titles of the Steppe Uyghur rulers to us, they did not document the Qocho Uyghur rulers to the same extent. Kasai has concluded the official titles of the ten Qocho Uyghur rulers, from the texts mostly found in Turfan and Dunhuang.<sup>606</sup> But none of those texts seem to be official records. It remains unclear whether the currently-known titles of the Qocho Uyghur rulers are complete or abbreviated. The elements *kagan/han* (Khan) and *elig* (“king”) which were used in the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom continued to be a part of the Qocho Uyghur rulers’ titles.<sup>607</sup> The continuous employment of the previous elements, in combination with the Manichaean elements *kün* and *ay* in some of them, reveals that the Qocho Uyghur rulers inherited the formulated legitimating strategies of the former Steppe Uyghur Kingdom.

The Turfan Manichaean written and pictorial materials both testify to the complementary relation between Manichaeism and Uyghur secular authority. First of all, the Uyghur nobles patronized the Manichaean Church. In the Uyghur Manichaean fragment U 197 which belongs to a manuscript of the *Hymn to the Messengers of Light*, it is said that the Turfan Manichaeans were protected by the Uyghur authority:

*yaratipan tum yarıkın arıg dındarlarka. basutka anuk tururlar*

Being fitted with the perfect armor, they stand ready to (give) support to the pure elects. (U 197 verso, ll. 3-6)<sup>608</sup>

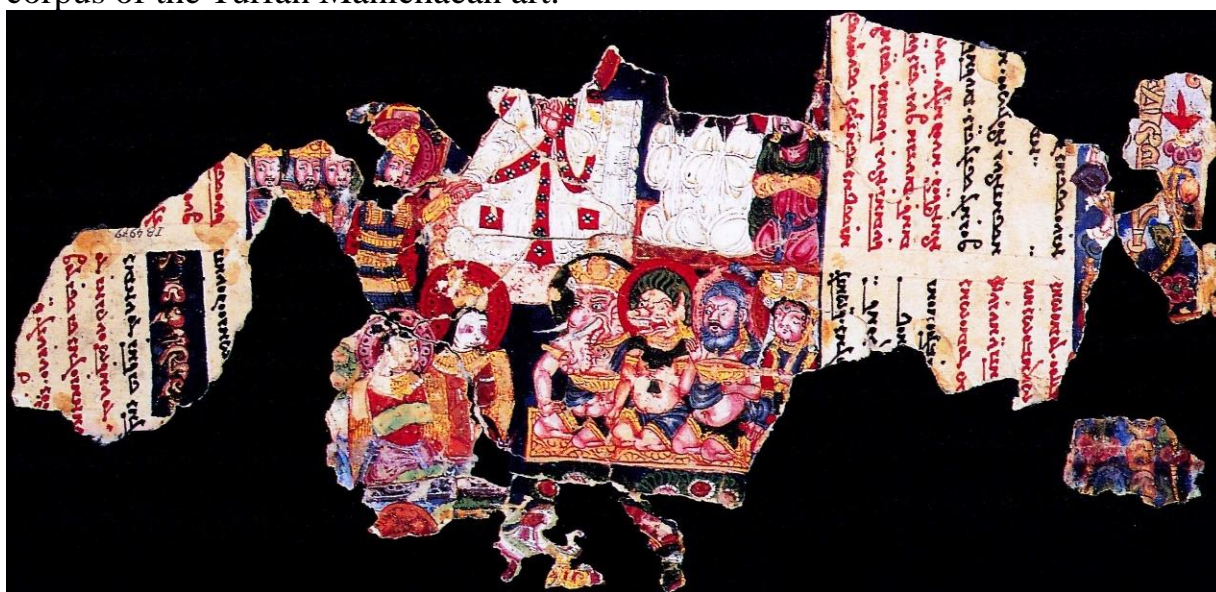
<sup>606</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67, Table 3.2.

<sup>607</sup> Rybatzki, V. “Titles of Turk and Uigur Rulers in the Old Turkic Inscriptions”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 44.2, 2000, 205-292.

<sup>608</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. p. 37. Clark. *Uyghur*

Although the Uyghur king is not directly mentioned, those who wore the “armor” and gave “support to the pure elects” must refer to the Uyghur court. This sentence indicates the fact that the Turfan Manichaean community was under the Uyghur royal protection.

Then, the Uyghur nobles devoted themselves to the Manichaean Church. Their devotion is portrayed in Turfan Manichaean paintings, shown as armored leaders and warriors that can be found in at least two Turfan Manichaean miniatures - MIK III 4979a+b recto and MIK III 36 verso. MIK III 4979a+b are two regrouped fragments of a folio, found in Qocho ruin  $\alpha$  of the Turfan region. MIK III 4979a+b (height: 25.2 cm; width: 12.4 cm) preserves the largest book painting in the currently known corpus of the Turfan Manichaean art.



MIK III 4979a+b recto<sup>609</sup>

MIK III 4979a+b recto contains a Middle Persian text of benediction for the Turfan Manichaean community’s Uyghur leading members (with Sogdian caption and Uyghur names). In the middle of MIK III 4979a+b recto, there is a miniature, which is interpreted by Clark and Gulácsi as the painting of a “right-hand scene”, due to its portrait of a ritual act of the right hand.<sup>610</sup> This miniature presents a high-ranking elect (as the central figure) whose right arm is stretching out, and whose right hand is clasped by both hands of an armored figure kneeling beside him. Meanwhile, this ritual act of the right hand is witnessed by other human and heavenly beings that are arranged in different groups around the central episode. The “right hand” symbolizes salvation in the Manichaean mythology and ritual practices, testified by both western and eastern

---

*Manichaean Texts. Vol. II. Liturgical Texts.* p. 233.

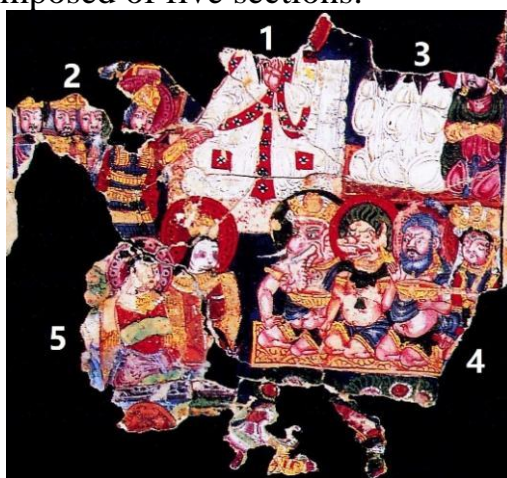
<sup>609</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections.* p. 72.

<sup>610</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections.* p. 70.



Manichaean textual sources, such as the Coptic *Kephalaion* 9:37.28-42.23,<sup>611</sup> M 4575 recto i (the beginning of a Parthian homily on the Manichaean church/religion),<sup>612</sup> M 47 I (a Parthian text of early missionary history: conversion of the king of Mesene).<sup>613</sup>

The high-ranking elect's offering of the "right hand" to the secular leader in the miniature of MIK III 4979a+b recto probably refers to a specific event of a Uyghur ruler's conversion to Manichaeism. That Uyghur ruler may be Būgū Khan who is the first Steppe Uyghur king to adopt the Manichaean religion. Būgū Khan's conversion is primarily dated to 762/763 by Chavannes and Pelliot.<sup>614</sup> But Clark speculates his initial conversion to have happened before 761.<sup>615</sup> The miniature of MIK III 4979a+b recto is composed of five sections:



Five sections in the miniature of MIK III 4979a+b recto

Section 1:



The central figure - a high-ranking male elect (probably a church leader) is in the middle of the upper half of the miniature. He is dressed in the white elect uniform but with more decorations that symbolized his high rank in the Manichaean church hierarchy as well as his religious

<sup>611</sup> Gardner. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. pp 42-47.

<sup>612</sup> Sundermann. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. pp 55-56.

<sup>613</sup> Sundermann. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. pp 102-103.

<sup>614</sup> Chavannes & Pelliot. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté". pp 186-190.

<sup>615</sup> Clark. "The Conversion of Būgū Khan to Manichaeism". pp 83-123.

authority.<sup>616</sup> Bits of a red and probably crescent halo can be seen behind his hair's curl. He is sitting on a platform with a backboard. The most important detail is his hands. His left hand makes a particular gesture with the palm vertical and outward, and two fingers touching. Meanwhile, he puts his right hand downward and holds the two hands of an armored figure at his left side, which seems to be the key point of the whole miniature:



*Detail: the high-ranking elect (right) puts his right hand downward and holds the two hands of an armored figure (left)*

Section 2:



At the left side of the central figure is a group of armored figures kneeling. The first of them gives out his hands to grasp the “right hand” of the central figure (the high-ranking elect). His armor resembles those shown on other Manichaean book paintings - MIK III 36 verso, and MIK III 134 recto(?). His red robe and halo as well as his interaction with the central figure in the scene, together with three other armored warriors following him, indicated his high status as a Uyghur ruler.

Section 3:



At the right side of the central figure is a group of Manichaean community members including two male elects and one auditor. The auditor may be an important official attested by his large halo, scarf, gold

---

<sup>616</sup> Ebert, J. “*Segmentum* and *Clavus* in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, S.-C. Raschmann, J. Wilkens, M. Yaldiz & P. Zieme. *Turfan Revisited. The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004. 72-83.

earring, and colorful clothes.

Section 4:



In the lower-right area of the miniature, four godly figures are witnessing the event of the “right hand” ritual (i.e., the conversion). Their appearance looks quite similar to that of Hindu deities (including Ganesha),<sup>617</sup> and contains some Sassanian Persian elements.<sup>618</sup> It cannot be excluded that they had become the local gods of the Turfan region. However, in the Manichaean context, these four godly figures may represent the guardians of the four directions of the world, as suggested by Ebert and Klimkeit.<sup>619</sup> This Manichaean representation of the conversion scene corresponds to the contemporaneous textual sources which testify to the function of the four guardians protecting the realm of the converted ruler. The witness of the four guardians for the ceremony of the king’s conversion can also be found in the Uyghur Buddhist literature, such as in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*,<sup>620</sup> which was a popular text among the Qocho Uyghurs.

Section 5:



In the lower-left area of the miniature, there are at least two feminine beings with gilded wings. The right one seems to wear a tiara-like headgear, and an orange one-piece garment that is similar to the contemporaneous Uyghur garments.<sup>621</sup> The left one has her hair tied up,

---

<sup>617</sup> Banerjee interprets the Indic-looking iconography of these four figures, and identifies them as a “Hindu trinity accompanied by Ganesha”, but he also points out that this is not coherent in an Indic context: “Ganesha... does not seem to have any special role to play here”. See Banerjee, P. “Hindu Trinity from Central Asia”, *Bulletin, National Museum, New Delhi* No. 2, 1970, 17-20. pp 19-20.

<sup>618</sup> Banerjee and Klimkeit both recognize the gilded headdresses of the first and fourth figures as “Sassanian”, though comparative studies has not confirmed this categorization. See Banerjee. “Hindu Trinity from Central Asia”. p. 17. Klimkeit. *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. p. 36.

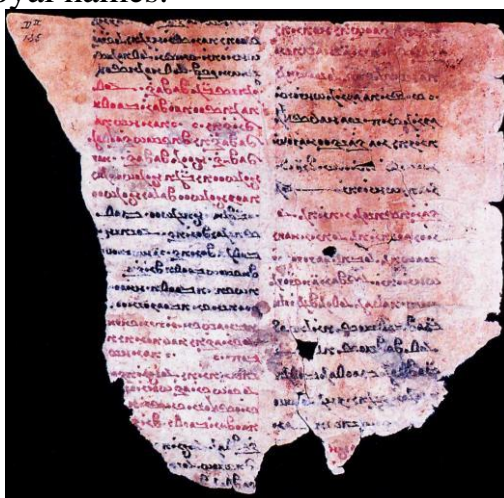
<sup>619</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 275, note 14.

<sup>620</sup> Elverskog, J. *Uyghur Buddhist Literature* (Silk Road Studies 1). Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. pp 37 & 55.

<sup>621</sup> As seen in Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the*

and is dressed in colorful multi-layered clothes which is similar to the multi-colored garments of the two female guardian figures from the miniature on the Sogdian Manichaean church letter scroll of 81 TB 65:1.<sup>622</sup> These two winged feminine figures on MIK III 4979a+b recto are probably gods of Iranian origin, due to their Iranian-style clothes.<sup>623</sup>

The devotion of the Uyghur ruler and nobles is also reflected by the Turfan illuminated fragment MIK III 36. The recto of MIK III 36 contains a two-columned Middle Persian Manichaean text (written in Manichaean script with an alternating sequence of black and red lines), including Uyghur royal names.



MIK III 36 recto<sup>624</sup>

The Middle Persian Manichaean text on the recto is a benediction on the esteemed lay members of the Manichaean community from the Uyghur royal court, including a Uyghur king's title: *Ulug Elig Tängritä Kut Bulmiş Ärdämin El Tutmiş Alp Kutlug Külüg Bilgä Uygur Khagan* • zhg 'y m'ny, which is ended with the epithet - "the child of Mani" (zhg 'y m'ny).<sup>625</sup> Preceding the Uyghur king's name in MIK III 36 recto, the hymn has an invocation of blessings upon the group of auditors by some gods (as the way to the group of elects) and then goes to the benedictions upon the individual auditors starting by the Uyghur king (the "sovereign"):

With their own helpers indeed may they protect and guard all the family of the auditors. Foremost, the great sovereign, the great glory, good (and) fortunate,

---

*West Berlin State Museums*. No. 109 and 110.

<sup>622</sup> The miniature on 81 TB 65:01, see Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Illustration No.1 - Letter A.

<sup>623</sup> Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. p. 176.

<sup>624</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 99.

<sup>625</sup> Leurini. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*. p. 58. Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. Appendix I, pp 232-233.

worthy of two happiness, of two lives (and) of two kingships in the body and in the soul; the sovereign of the East who supports the community arranging the elects, a splendid auditor, a crowned sovereign with a praised and blessed name: *Ulug Elig Tängridä Kut Bulmiš Ärdämin El Tutmiš Alp Kutlug Külüg Bilgä Uyğur Khagan*, the child of Mani who his name and ... (MIK III 36 recto i, ll. 1-20).<sup>626</sup>

Here, the Uyghur king is explicitly praised as a holder of the Manichaean community of elects. The Uyghur king was one of the most important sponsors of the elects, with supplying the management of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries. But the Uyghur king is not the “head of auditors” (*nywš’kpt*) which is a position entrusted to the “prime minister” (*el ögäsi*):

First of all, the prime minister (*el ögäsi*), head of the auditors (*nywš’kpt*) - *El Ögäsi Yegän Sävig Totok...* (MIK III 36 recto ii, ll. 3-5).<sup>627</sup>

In MIK III 36, the titles and names of the Uyghur king and the “head of auditors” are followed by a long list of officials with their names, who served the Uyghur king and were also auditors. The identification of this Uyghur king is disputed among scholars. Boyce and Klimkeit both link his title to Bügü Khan (r. 759-779) who is the first Steppe Uyghur king to be converted to Manichaeism.<sup>628</sup> But Moriyasu thinks that the only king bearing the term *ärdämin* in his title is a sovereign of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, reigning during the 1st half of the 11th century.<sup>629</sup> Kasai also finds that a Qocho Uyghur king (r. the 1st half of the 11th century) titled *Kün Tängridä Kut Bulmiš Ärdämin El Tutmiš Alp Kutlug Ulug Bilgä Uyğur Tängri Uyğur Han*, is mentioned by the titlature of a Uyghur khan, in the Dunhuang fragment PC 3049 (Uyghur verso).<sup>630</sup> Thus, it is more probable that the Uyghur king mentioned by MIK III 36 recto is a Qocho Uyghur king of the 1st half of the 11th century.

MIK III 36 verso contains a remnant of one full-page figural illumination - the court scene with a blue background, in which the divine central figure – the King of Honor sits on a gilded elaborate throne, and his left arm seems to hold a pole. The King of Honor is surrounded by two rows of standing armored warriors looking toward him.

---

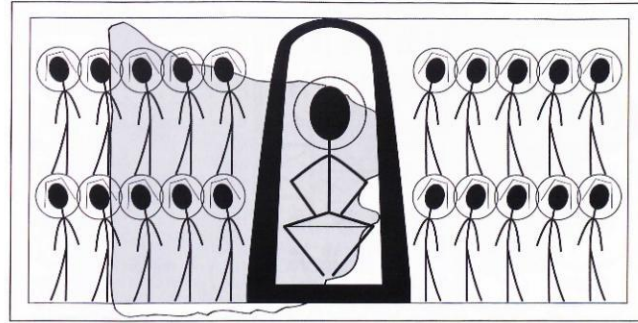
<sup>626</sup> Leurini. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*. pp 57-58.

<sup>627</sup> Leurini. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*. pp 58-59.

<sup>628</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 144. Klimkeit, H.-J. *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989. pp 195-196.

<sup>629</sup> Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 224.

<sup>630</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67.



*MIK III 36 verso (with Gulácsi's reconstruction of the painting)*<sup>631</sup>

The text of the benediction on the recto enumerating the names and titles of the Uyghur royal auditors accords with the context of divinizing the Uyghur ruler through the painting of a court scene with the King of Honor on the verso. Hence, the illuminated manuscript MIK III 36, which gave blessings to the Uyghur royal members in the text and depicted the godly court in the picture, was a holy reward from the Manichaean Church to the devotion of the Uyghur ruler and nobles.

The Uyghur rulers' promotion of Manichaeism served their rule. On the other hand, we can also find that the eastern Manichaean Church played a role in assisting the rule of Uyghur kings and nobles, for instance as reflected by the Turfan Manichaean fragments M 135a and M 135b. M 135a and M 135b are two consecutive bifolios, containing two separate Sogdian Manichaean texts (in Manichaean script): Text A is a story of the pearl-borer (and another version in Sogdian script can be found in So. 18300); Text B is a Sogdian version of the *Kephalaia*.<sup>632</sup> The Sogdian version of the *Kephalaia* gives sermons in the name of Mani:

... To divide the day into three parts (*myδδ iii pty'p βxšy*, in red ink). And again the Apostle, the Lord Mar Mani spoke thus: "The wise and soul-loving person should divide the day into three parts. The first (part should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords so that they be well content, that their majesty be not infringed, and that they do not start quarreling and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and hereditaments, to buying and selling, so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends, and well-wishers can be well served..." (M 135a II recto, ll. 7-15 & II verso)<sup>633</sup>

Henning deduces that here the missing lines - "the third part of the day" was to be devoted to the care of the Manichaean elects.<sup>634</sup> The Sogdian

<sup>631</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Picture. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 293, Figure 5/35.

<sup>632</sup> Henning. "Sogdian Tales". pp 466-470.

<sup>633</sup> Henning. "Sogdian Tales". pp 469-470.

<sup>634</sup> Henning. "Sogdian Tales". p. 470, note 7.

*Kephalaia* text on M 135a shows that the Manichaean elects tried their best to cater to the Uyghur rulers, by regulating “the service of kings and lords” as the first part (of the day) of the devotion. Then, other worldly affairs were promoted to a higher position, as the second part (of the day) of the devotion. This positive attitude to the secular world may have made the Uyghur rulers support and employ Manichaeism as a useful ideology for their kingdom.

### **3.1.2 The Manichaean Ceremonies for the Uyghur Secular Rulers**

The Turfan Uyghur Manichaean enthronement hymns, praises, benedictions, or eulogies, not only legitimized the Uyghur kingship by reference to the divinity, but also functioned as political historical narratives, which built a tight connection between the eastern Manichaean Church and the Uyghur secular rulers.

(1) The Turfan Manichaean monasteries regularly held the ceremony for blessing the Uyghur rulers. At the time of the New Year’s Day, benedictions were sent by the Manichaean Church to the Uyghur rulers. U 65, U 138, and M 908a are three Turfan Uyghur fragments that contain different versions of the same benediction for both the Manichaean religion and the secular realm, offered on the New Year’s Day (U138 verso, line 8: *[ögü]tmiš yılka*, “in an [acclaim]ed year”).

U 65 verso, ll. 1-10 reported the occasion of the New Year’s benediction which was attended by the auditors, probably carrying some offerings. At the beginning of this benediction, there is a wish that “brilliance and excellence come to the divine (Uyghur) King” (U 65 recto, ll. 1-2).<sup>635</sup> Then, U 65 recto contains divine blessings wished for “the souls of especially the [divine] Teacher (who is) leading you, and of the enlightened royal ladies and princess[es] and [prince]s, and the lords, governors, and magistrates, and after (them) all of the other notables and dignitaries”, and for “the beloved male and female auditors” (U 65 recto, ll. 2-6).<sup>636</sup> After that, the blessings were probably extended for the whole elects, though the term “elects” was not directly mentioned. For the elects, this benediction expressed the hope that the “Gods of Light” can compensate them for their “faithful mind and loving disposition”, their

---

<sup>635</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 14.

<sup>636</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 14.

“good deeds”, and their “pain” of suffering (U 65 recto, ll. 7-19).<sup>637</sup> It is clear that the setting of this benediction is a ceremony conducted by a Manichaean monastery:

[bö]günki kutlug künkä tängri[täm] k[utlug] [m]anıstangaru teriltingizl[är]  
[yämä kälti]ngizlär

On the divinely blessed day that is [to]day, you all have assembled [and] you all [have come] to the holy and [divinely blessed] monastery. (U 65 verso, ll. 4-6)<sup>638</sup>

So, the text of U 65 was delivered to a ceremony in the Manichaean monastery that was attended by both auditors and elects, which signifies the unity of the Turfan Manichaean community.

Ch/U 6874 and Ch/U 8163 are two regrouped fragments from a book roll whose recto is a Chinese Buddhist text of the *Lotus Sutra*, and whose verso contains a Uyghur Manichaean benediction for a Uyghur ruler. According to Zieme and Clark’s inference of the Chinese text on the recto, there may be a lacuna of 19 lines between the texts on Ch/U6874 verso and Ch/U8163 verso.<sup>639</sup> The known text on versos of Ch/U6874 and Ch/U8163 is a benediction offered to a ceremony for a Uyghur king at the “New Day” (*yani kün*, i.e. New Year’s Day), which contains a request for the support of the “Sovereign God” (*elig tängri*) to “our Devout One” (*tängrikänimiz*) / “the great (Uyghur) king” (*ulug elig*), which is followed by blessings.<sup>640</sup> The Uyghur term *tängrikän* not only means “the devout one”, but it and its two variations - *tängrikänim* (“my Devout One”) and *tängrikänimiz* (“our Devout One”) also refer to the Uyghur king in the Uyghur Manichaean context. The terms *tängrikänimiz* and *tängrikänim* also appear in U 31 which contains a Uyghur Manichaean text of benediction for the elects and the royal auditors on New Year’s Day. In U 31 recto, ll. 1-2, the term *tängrikänimiz* (“our Devout One”) as an epithet is applied to a Uyghur ruler called *Bügü* (meaning “sage”) whose identification has not been confirmed.<sup>641</sup> In addition, U 72 and U 73 are two folios of a large codex, containing a historical text of Bügü Khan’s affirmation of his Manichaean faith. U 72 verso, line 8 puts the term *tängrikän* (“the Devout One”) after *Bügü xan* (Bügü Khan of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom) as his epithet.<sup>642</sup> The term *tängrikän* (“the Devout One”) can also be applied to other Uyghur kings who supported Manichaeism, such as the *tängrikänim* in M 919 (a Uyghur Manichaean text of enthronement of a Uyghur ruler in the early years of eastern Manichaean missions). The term *tängrikän* and its two variations are the

<sup>637</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 14.

<sup>638</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 13-14.

<sup>639</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 36.

<sup>640</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 36-37.

<sup>641</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 29.

<sup>642</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 138 & 140.



established expressions for the Uyghur kings in the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean texts.

The text of fragments U 164a+b is a benediction for a Qocho Uyghur king, offered at a ceremony held on New Year's Day, with references to the "New Day" (*yangı kün*) and "my Devout One" (*tängri[i]känim*, i.e. the Uyghur king) in U 164b.<sup>643</sup> U 164a recto, line 5 mentions the title of this blessed Uyghur king - *Tängri yaruk bügü b[ilgä xanımız]*.<sup>644</sup> Clark suggests that he was the same person as the Qocho Uyghur king who reigned during 1007-1008.<sup>645</sup> The same Uyghur king with a shorter title can also be found in some other Turfan Uyghur texts, such as Ch/U6860 verso B, line 3 - *[Tängri] yaruk bügü bilg[ä] [xan]*.<sup>646</sup>

U 184 is a Uyghur Manichaean fragment of benediction dedicated to a Uyghur ruler on New Year's Day. U 184 verso, ll. 1, 3 & 6 use the epithet *tängrikän* ("the Devout One") referring to the Uyghur ruler, and U 184 verso, ll. 3-4 express the hope (*ärki*) for a successful (new) year (*yegädmiš yıl*).<sup>647</sup>

M 2706 and M 2707 are two regrouped fragments (written in Manichaean script), containing a Middle Persian and Uyghur bilingual text of benediction for a Uyghur ruler. M 2706 recto, ll. 1-2 and M 2707 verso, ll. 1-4 are Middle Persian lines of liturgical use, and the rest of the text belongs to a more secular setting of the Uyghur benediction. This bilingual text seems to be appropriate for a ritual attended by both elects and lay participants. M 2706 verso refers to the Uyghur ruler's support of Manichaeism and mentions the title of this Uyghur ruler as *[Ay] [täng]ritä kut [bulmiš] [a]lp kutlug [uygu]r xanımız* (M 2706 verso, ll. 5-7).<sup>648</sup> A similar title of him also appears (as *A[y] tängritä kut bulmiš [a]lp [kutlug] uygur xan*) in the Middle Persian Manichaean hymn text on "Fragment E" (in Sogdian script) of the Mannerheim Collection.<sup>649</sup> But this Uyghur ruler cannot be identified, though Zieme thinks that he is of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>650</sup> Due to its fragmentary condition, the overall theme of this text is not confirmed. However, it not only contains

---

<sup>643</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 41.

<sup>644</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 40.

<sup>645</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 42.

<sup>646</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 238.

<sup>647</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 45-46.

<sup>648</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 63.

<sup>649</sup> Sims-Williams, N. & H. Halén. "The Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script from the Mannerheim Collection", *Studia Orientalia* 51/13, 1980. pp 9-10.

<sup>650</sup> Sims-Williams & Halén. "The Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script from the Mannerheim Collection". p. 10.

a benediction but also points to the appearance of Manichaeism among the Uyghurs. Furthermore, the relation between the ceremony of benediction dedicated to Uyghur secular rulers on New Year's Day and other church rituals remains unknown.

(2) The Uyghur rulers, royal members, and officials attended the ceremony of benediction. The benediction for a Uyghur king on New Year's Day on the versos of Ch/U 6874 and Ch/U 8163 not only praises the Uyghur king but also implies the attendance of this Uyghur king ("our Devout One") at the Manichaean ceremony of benediction:

Our Devout One (*tängrikänimiz*) shines like the Sun God, glistens like a great lake, and is aflame with great glory and excellence. He graciously takes his seat (on the throne), together with the royal ladies and princesses and enlightened princes, and his praiseworthy royal family. (Ch/U 6874 verso, ll. 4-7)<sup>651</sup>

But Wilkens thinks that it is more likely a liturgical text for the "New Day", which only refers to the attendance of the (Uyghur) royal members in this festival,<sup>652</sup> such as the "royal ladies and princesses", the "enlightened princes" and the others of the "royal family". It is difficult to know whether this Uyghur king actually attended this ceremony, based on the text's figurative depiction of the Uyghur king. In Ch/U 6874 verso, line 7, the Uyghur king "graciously takes his seat (on the throne)" (*oluru yarlıgkayur*),<sup>653</sup> which shows the Uyghur king's high status in the Manichaean community of two orders (elects and auditors), by referring to his seat on the throne that may have both physical and spiritual significances. In Ch/U 6874 verso, line 4, this Uyghur king is described as "shining like the Sun God" (*kün tängričä yaltr[ı]yu*), which reveals the veneration of the eastern Manichaean Church to the Uyghur secular ruler with comparing him to the Sun God. Like the case mentioned above in U 65, the ceremony of benediction related to the versos of Ch/U 6874 and Ch/U 8163 was held in a Manichaean monastery for New Year's Day. The receiver of the blessings - "our Devout One" (*tängrikänimiz*, i.e. the Uyghur king) was assumed to be a follower or at least a supporter of the Manichaean religion.

U 31 contains a Uyghur text of benediction for both elects and royal auditors on New Year's Day (*[ögütmiş?] [kut]lug yıl başinga*, "at the beginning of an [acclaimed?] and [bless]ed year", in U 31 recto, line

---

<sup>651</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 37.

<sup>652</sup> Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 8: Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. p. 238.

<sup>653</sup> The verbal phrase *oluru yarlıka-* means "take seat (on the throne)", see Wilkens, J. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen (Altuigurisch-Deutsch-Türkisch)*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2021. p. 507.

8).<sup>654</sup> Beside the church leader and the group of elects, the ceremony of benediction was also attended by the important Uyghur royal members and officials:

*Tängri možak [başlap] ulatı kamag eki [ančaman] dındarlar tängrikän kunčuy[lar] tärkän tegitlär elči bilgälär [ögä]lar*

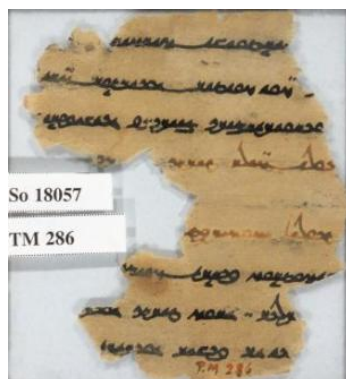
Starting with all of the elects of the two [communities] [being led by] the divine Teacher, (then) the devout princess[es] and the crown princes (*tärkän tegitlär*)<sup>655</sup>, the diplomats, advisers, and [counselor]s. (U 31 verso, ll. 2-6)<sup>656</sup>

The attendance of the “princesses”, “crown princes”, “diplomats”, and other officials at this Manichaean ceremony reveals the cooperation between the eastern Manichaean Church and the Qocho Uyghur court.

Another example of the attendance of the Uyghur nobles at the Manichaean ceremony is a Uyghur Manichaean text of two motifs (on So. 18057).

Motif 1: So. 18057 recto, ll. 1-4 - the ending of a song performed to honor an elect (“[our] Divine One”, *tängri[miz]*) called *Kadır* (recto, line 4 in red ink).

Motif 2: So. 18057 recto, ll. 5-8 & verso, ll. 1-9 - after one blank line, the beginning of the praises dedicated to an unnamed Uyghur king (recto, line 5 in red ink).



*So. 18057 recto*

The 2nd motif of So. 18057 contains several invocations in the praises:

*[küclüg] [b]asutlug bilgä xanım a*, “O, my [strong] and supportive wise Khan!” (So. 18057 recto, line 6);

*ädgü eli[g] [xamım a]*, “[O, my] good King, [the Khan]!”

(So. 18057 verso, line 3);

*elig xanım a*, “O, my King, the Khan!” (So. 18057 verso, line 6);

*[eli]g xanım a*, “O, my [Kin]g, the Khan!” (So. 18057 verso, line 8).<sup>657</sup>

The invocations in So. 18057 are similar to those in U64a+b + Mainz 435b which contain commemorative verses/hymns on the foundation of

<sup>654</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 27-28.

<sup>655</sup> Modification of Clark’s reading. The “crown princes” (*tärkän tegitlär*), see Wilkens. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen (Altuigurisch-Deutsch-Türkisch).* p. 702.

<sup>656</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 27-28.

<sup>657</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 177-178.

Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs with invocations to Manichaeen deities:

*Tängrim:*, “My God!” (in U64a+b + Mainz 435b recto, line 11 and verso, ll. 10 & 12, all appearing right before the two-dot punctuation);

*wižūd wād nom kuti a*, “O, Light-Nous, Glory of the Doctrine!” (in U64a+b + Mainz 435b recto, line 4).<sup>658</sup>

Similarly with the text of U64a+b + Mainz 435b, the text of So. 18057 was used in a ceremony where the church and state figures were assembled, in which the invocations were incorporated and voiced by the host or other attendants.

(3) The Qocho Uyghur rulers had high status in the Turfan Manichaeen community. The high status of the Qocho Uyghur rulers can be demonstrated by the Uyghur Manichaeen fragment T I αx 13 which seems to have been used in a church ceremony for a deceased Qocho Uyghur king. The text of T I αx 13 commemorates the death of a Qocho Uyghur king - Yaruk Būgü Khan, which is also the theme of another Uyghur Manichaeen historical text on TM 176. Based on von Gabain’s transcription, Zieme identifies this Uyghur ruler as “Yaruk Būgü Khan” according to the surviving words - *tängritäg kūsänčig körtlä* in T I αx 13 recto, ll. 8-9,<sup>659</sup> which is identical with parts of the official title of the Qocho Uyghur ruler - *Kün ay tängritäg kūsänčig körtlä yaruk tängri bügü xan* (r. 1007-1008) that has been reconstructed by Moriyasu and Kasai.<sup>660</sup> On T I αx 13 recto, the text repeatedly employs the optative form *-zün/-zun* (“May (it be)!”), conveying sorrow over the Uyghur king’s death. On its verso, the same optative form *-zün/-zun* continues, admonishing the elects of various things. T I αx 13 verso, ll. 1-5 seem to condemn those elects who showed disrespect to the Uyghur king:

*sakintači yagılıg [...] tegän söküp bišrun [...] bašinga kor urup [...] kor urup tängrikänimiz [...] akıtunu yalvaru kälmezün*

[May] those who said hostile [...] and who will think [...] kneel down and reflect! Having placed shame on themselves, and having placed shame (on) [...], may they not come [...] (of) our Devout One, letting their tears flow and wailing!<sup>661</sup>

This expression implies that the Qocho Uyghur secular authority was well accepted by the eastern Manichaeen Church, which advocated full praises to the Qocho Uyghur king. Such a church ceremony for the deceased Uyghur king here served the purpose of enhancing the relationship between the church and the state, through an occasion of commemorating the deceased Uyghur king.

<sup>658</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeen Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 158-161.

<sup>659</sup> Zieme. “Manichäische Kolophone und Könige”. p. 327, note 52.

<sup>660</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 184. Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67.

<sup>661</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeen Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 234.

### 3.1.3 The Hierarchy of the Auditors

Manichaeism was an elitist religion. Mani's initial strategy of the mission was first to convert the ruling class. The Middle Persian *Šābuhragān* to the Sassanian emperor (Šābuhr I) is the most famous example of this strategy. But it was not successful, though some other members of the Sassanian royal family was converted. The stories about Mani and the princes who accompanied him were recorded by the Manichaean texts. Then, the Chinese *Compendium* to the Tang emperor (Taizong) seems to request permission from the Tang court of legally spreading the Manichaean religion in the realm of Tang Empire, without aiming to convert the Tang emperor. The Manichaean missions always at priority preached to the kings, princes, and other nobles, with Mani's books and pictures targeting the ruling class that is at a high literary level. Nonetheless, this strategy finally and only proved successful in the Uyghur kingdoms. During the Uyghur period, the Manichaeans also worked out a hierarchy for the auditors.

The Manichaean concept of church hierarchy was extended to the group of auditors, among which the status of Uyghur rulers and royal members was greatly promoted. In the initial or final sections of the Manichaean books that were written after the 8th century (under the Uyghur rule), there were hymns of praises to eminent Uyghur auditors, who are not just mentioned with others in the hymns to the whole Manichaean Community, but in a manner of auditors' hierarchy with enumerating their names and titles in detail. This is demonstrated by a list of courtiers in Middle Persian Manichaean hymns from the Turfan fragment M 1.

The Turfan Manichaean fragment M 1 is a bifolio in two different hands: folio I contains a Middle Persian introduction of the Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* ("hymn-book"), with a few Parthian words and Uyghur proper names, composed between 824 and 832; folio II has a Parthian index to the hymn-book, consisting of the opening lines of hymns, arranged in roughly alphabetic order.<sup>662</sup> The textual composition of the first part of this codex manuscript M 1 began in 762/763.<sup>663</sup> As the colophon of the Manichaean *Mahrnāmag*, M 1 reveals the contemporary situation of Manichaean communities of Eastern Central Asia, in which the praise of a Steppe Uyghur king as the protector of the group of elects is attested:

---

<sup>662</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 1.

<sup>663</sup> Boyce. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. p. 1.

[You may send] health and integrity, the two glories and the two felicities to our rulers, the lords, first of all to the happiest of those born, the splendid member of the Apostle of Light, to the pious Auditor - *Ay Tängridä Kut Bulmiš Alp Bilgä Uyğur Khagan*, the protector of the Apostle, the guardian of the true pure (elects). (M 1, ll. 1-14)<sup>664</sup>

M 1 expresses an invocation of the health and integrity, and of the two glories and two felicities (of body and soul) for the kings and lords, among whom the most important is the Uyghur king - *Ay Tängridä Kut Bulmiš Alp Bilgä Uyğur Khagan* who is more probably Baoyi Kehan 保義可汗, reigning the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom during 808-821, according to Hamilton, Moriyasu and Clark.<sup>665</sup> But Müller and Abe identify this Uyghur king as Zhaoli Kehan 昭禮可汗 (r. 824-832) who shares the same title, as a Steppe Uyghur king.<sup>666</sup> In Kasai's table of the official titles of the Steppe Uyghur rulers, the Uyghur titles of Baoyi Kehan 保義可汗 (as the 8th Steppe Uyghur king) and Zhaoli Kehan 昭禮可汗 (as the 10th Steppe Uyghur king) are both *Ay Tängridä Kut Bulmiš Alp Bilgä Uyğur Khagan*.<sup>667</sup> However, most scholars deduce that the Steppe Uyghur king who is praised by the hymn in M 1 is Baoyi Kehan 保義可汗. But the mentioned Steppe Uyghur king was not a head of auditors, which is entrusted to the prime minister (*el ögäsi*):

And also the *el ögäsi* Kādōš, the head of auditors (*nywš'gbyd*). (M 1, ll. 28-30)<sup>668</sup>  
The prime minister Kādōš was one of the highest officials of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and performed the role of leading the auditors.

M 1, ll. 1-44 contain praises and blessings to the Steppe Uyghur king, princes, princesses, and high officials, and then this passage is ended with auspices of “life and prosper forever”:

These lords, the mighty ones. And further, those whose names are not mentioned by me, may they live and prosper forever. Amen! (M 1, ll. 39-44).<sup>669</sup>

This closure of invoking “life and prosper forever” is often seen in the hymns to the elects, such as in the Middle Persian hymns in honor of the Manichaean church hierarchy (on the Turfan fragment M 729):

All the powerful elects and the prominent glorious children of the Holy Spirit, live (impv. pl.) and prosper in the twofold fortune, illustrious in the body and

<sup>664</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 9.

<sup>665</sup> Hamilton. *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des cinq dynasties d'après les documents chinois*. p. 141. Moriyasu, T. “Zōho: Uiguru to toban no Hokutei sōdatsusen oyobi sonogo no Saiiki jōsei ni tsuite 増補:ウイグルと吐蕃の北庭争奪戦及びその後の西域情勢について”, *Ajia bunkashi ronsō* アジア文化史論叢 3, 1979, 199-238. p. 212. Clark. “The Conversion of Būgū Khan to Manichaeism”. p. 100.

<sup>666</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 29. Abe, T. *Nishi Uiguru kokushi no kenkyū* 西ウイグル国史の研究. Kyoto: Nakamura insatsu shuppanbu, 1955. p. 161.

<sup>667</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 64.

<sup>668</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 9.

<sup>669</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 10.

saved in the soul forever, amen, so may it be. (M 729 I recto ii, ll. 1-11)<sup>670</sup>  
It can be deduced that the hymns of praising and blessing the royal auditors may have imitated those of the elects, venerating the royal auditors within the Manichaean Community.

In the supplication of auditors in M 1, the objects of the praises and blessings are not only the Steppe Uyghur king but also other contemporary sovereigns as well as royal members and officials of various regions of East Central Asia, who supported Manichaean missions or sponsored elects:

And also the lord of Panjikand (Bešbalıq) - Lord Kunki Tai Sangun Sırtuš.  
(M 1, ll. 45-47)

And also the lord of Čīnānčkand (Qočo). (M 1, ll. 54-55)

Unlike the Steppe Uyghur king, some of those rulers themselves also assumed the heads of auditors in their regions:

The lord of Kaš (Kashgar) (*kšyxsyδ*)<sup>671</sup> - *Li-fuduši* (Chinese name and official title: *lyfwtwšy* / *Li fudusi* 李副都司), the head of auditors (*nygwš'kpt*). (M 1, ll. 75-76)

The lord of Uč (Ücür, in the Turfan region) - Yesig Tarkan Sin-amya, the head of auditors (*nywš'kpt*). (M 1, ll. 110-112)

Then, the long list of eminent royal auditors continues with the praise of the female auditors, which starts with the highest ranking one - a princess - who also assumed the head of female auditors:

And also the female auditors, Princess Tüzun Bilgä, the head of female auditors (*ngwš'qpt'nc*)... (M 1, ll. 124-127)

After the list of many names of female royal auditors, there comes another head of female auditors, bearing a Chinese name:

Siu Siu (*syw syw*), the head of female auditors (*nywš'qpt''nc*). (M 1, ll. 139-140)

It seems that both male and female royal members can manage or lead the group of auditors, as they assumed the title of the “head of auditors”.

The Uyghur royal auditors enjoyed unprecedented high esteem in the Turfan Manichaean community. The Manichaean hymns praised and blessed them in the same way as the Manichaean Church and elects, where there was also a hierarchy among the auditors. For example, the supplication of auditors in M 1 ends with a formula that is used for the hymns to the Manichaean Church:

May the angles protect these devout auditors, brothers and sisters, great and small, in body and soul forever! Amen, amen! So may it be! (M 1, ll. 152-159)<sup>672</sup>

The auspices for “brothers and sisters, great and small” as in M 1, were

---

<sup>670</sup> Leurini. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*. pp 66-67.

<sup>671</sup> *kšyxsyδ* (*kāšē xšēδ*) is a Sogdian term, meaning “the king of Kāš (Kāšyar)”. See Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 203.

<sup>672</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. p. 15.

often expressed for elects rather than auditors, for instance in the ending part of a Middle Persian Manichaean version of Mani's "Sealed Letter":

And to all the chosen elects, brothers and sisters, great and small ... (M 801a - folio I recto, ll. 8-11)<sup>673</sup>

Like the church hierarchy among the elects, M 1 reveals that in the group of auditors, the "great" corresponds to the auditors of higher social status, while the "small" to the ordinary auditors. The social ranks of auditors shall decide their hierarchy in the group of auditors, distinguishing "great and small", as the heads of auditors were of high social statuses such as kings, prime ministers, princes, or princesses.

The hymns in honor of the auditors' hierarchy in M 1 are a special product of the golden period of Manichaeism, under the Steppe and Qocho Uyghur rules. During this period, the Uyghur royal family became a powerful sponsor of the Manichaean Church, with most of the royal members converted to Manichaeism. Therefore, the Uyghur royal auditors gained a high relevance in the Manichaean religious texts, even in Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns. Before the Uyghur Manichaean period, the Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean hymns were often not directed or dedicated to auditors who were not admitted to some sacred occasions held by elects. Or, they were only generally mentioned in the hymns, recited or sung by elects, which were dedicated to the whole Manichaean Community. The high relevance of the Uyghur royal auditors in the Turfan Manichaean texts in the form of hymns that were used for praising the elects reveals the Uyghur secular authority's significant position in the religious liturgy of the Turfan Manichaean community. In the Uyghur Manichaean context, the auditors' hierarchy was set up to shape the local Manichaean community together with the traditional church hierarchy.

### 3.1.4 The Head of Auditors

Since the early period of Turfan Manichaeism, the royal members or nobles had already taken the duty of the "head of auditors". The text of Middle Persian Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* on the Turfan fragment M 1 (whose copying was finished until the early 9th century) did include the title - *nywš'gbyd* (*niyōšāgbed*, "head of auditors" in Middle Persian),<sup>674</sup> which designates some leading lay figures of various Central Asian regions with Middle Persian/Sogdian/Turk/Uyghur/Chinese names:

---

<sup>673</sup> M 801a I recto (page 1), ll. 8-11. Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. p. 18.

<sup>674</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 256.



- (1) *Il Ögäsi kādōš* (Uyghur official title and Middle Persian name: *ʾyl wgʾsyʾy kʾdwš*) *niyōšāgbed* (of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom);
- (2) *Li-fuduši* (Chinese name and official title: *lyfwtwšy / Li fudusi* 李副都司) *niyōšāgbed* (of Kash/Kashgar region);
- (3) *Satuyān* (Sogdian name: *stwyʾn*) *niyōšāgbed* (of Argi/Yanqi region);
- (4) *Sin-amya* (Turk name: *synʾmyʾ*) *niyōšāgbed* (of Ücür, in the Turfan region);
- (5) The other two ladies as the “female head of auditors” (*nywšʾqptʾnc/niyōšāgbadānč*, in Sogdian)<sup>675</sup> - *Tüzün Bilgä qunzui* (Uyghur name: *tywzwn bylkʾ*; Chinese royal title: *xwncwy / gongzhu* 公主) *niyōšāgbadānč*; and *Siu Siu* (Chinese name: *syw syw / Xiuxiu* 綉綉?) *niyōšāgbadānč*.<sup>676</sup>

These designated individuals of “male/female head of auditors” had high status in the secular sphere, some of which have official or royal titles. Meanwhile, they are all enumerated together with various high officials, noblemen, and other leading lay figures in the text.

Later, the Uyghur king as a “head of auditors” is testified by the Middle Persian Manichaean fragment MIK III 36 and the Uyghur Manichaean fragment So. 18057. The fragment MIK III 36 is found in Qocho ruin K of the Turfan region. The Middle Persian text of MIK III 36 recto contains a benediction on the esteemed lay members of the Manichaean community from the Uyghur royal court, while MIK III 36 verso is a full-page illumination of the “court scene” with an image of the King of Honor. In MIK III 36 recto ii, line 4, the title *nywšʾkpt/nigōšākpat* (“head of auditors”, in Sogdian) is mentioned as the first position of the list of the Manichaean religion’s protectors (MIK III 36 recto ii, ll. 3-16). This “head of auditors” accords to the previously mentioned Uyghur king called *Ulug elig tängridä kut bulmiš ärdämin el tutmiš alp kutlug külüg bilgä uygur xagan* (MIK III 36 recto i, ll. 13-17),<sup>677</sup> whose identification is not confirmed, though he may be the Qocho Uyghur king who reigned during 1017-1031 or another king in the first half of the 11th century.<sup>678</sup> Since MIK III 36 verso is illuminated and belongs to the same content unit with the benediction text of MIK III 36 recto, MIK III 36 overall concerns the Turfan Manichaean lay community under the Qocho Uyghur rule, in which the Uyghur king was the head of the lay community.

The Uyghur Manichaean text on So. 18057 consists of two sections. The first section is a song that seems to honor an elect, and only its ending survives - a few lines of blessing verses (So. 18057 recto, ll. 1-3) and an ending caption (written in red ink):

<sup>675</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 241.

<sup>676</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. pp 9-15.

<sup>677</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 233.

<sup>678</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67.

[tükäti py] [t]ywd' kadir tängri[miz] kü[gi]

[Finished is] the song [for] Kadir, [our] Divine One (i.e., Elect), [py] [t]ywd'.  
(So. 18057 recto, line 4)<sup>679</sup>

The second section contains praises dedicated to a Uyghur king, who is referred to as the *nugušakpat* (“head of auditors” in Uyghur, in So. 18057 recto, line 5) which is borrowed from the Sogdian term *nywš'kpt/niyōšāgbad* for the Parthian title *niyōšāgbed*.<sup>680</sup> It can be deduced that the two sections of the text of So. 18057 were made for elects, in which the term *nugušakpat* (“chief of auditors”) directly refers to an unnamed Uyghur king/khan (*elig/xan*). The second section is devoted to praising this Uyghur ruler for his support of the Manichaean religion through various activities, such as the composition or performance of “[holy] songs” (*[tängrit]äg küg*) and “melodies and songs” (*[ä]gzig küg*), as well as copying the “[E]vangelion book” (*[']wnglywn bitig*), cited by So. 18057 verso, ll. 1-4.

Although the heads of auditors are not elects, the special designation of them implies that they could enjoy a similar status with elects in the Manichaean community while they did not have resigned and become elects. Besides, the non-Manichaean material also reports that the Uyghur secular rulers had the duty to protect the Manichaean communities, even outside of their kingdom. In Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (“Book of Catalog”, composed during the 10th century), a Qocho Uyghur king had warned a Muslim ruler of Khorasan (in northeast Iran) who planned to oppress Manichaeans in his realms, and declared that he would treat the Muslims as how the Muslim ruler of Khorasan treated Manichaeans:

The Manichaeans remained in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana/Sogdiana) until the Persian rule fell apart and the Arab regime grew strong. Then they returned to this country, especially at the time of the Persian revolt, during the days of the Umayyad kings. Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī cared for them, but the leadership was not authorized in these districts except in Bābil.

But [subsequently] the leader sought out any place where he could be safe. The last time they appeared was during the days of al-Muqtadir, for [after that] they feared for their lives and clung to Khorasan. Any one of them who remained kept his identity secret as he moved about in this region. About five hundred of their men assembled at Samarqand, but when their movement became known, the ruler of Khorasan wished to kill them. Then the king of China (i.e., the Qocho Uyghur king), who I suppose was the lord of the Tughuzghuz (i.e., the alliance of nine Oghuz tribes), sent to him, saying, “There are more Muslims in my country than there are people of my faith in your land.” He also swore to him that if he [the ruler of Khorasan] should kill one of them [the Manichaeans], he [the king of China] would slaughter the whole community [of Muslims] who were with him,

<sup>679</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 177-178.

<sup>680</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 241. Gharib. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. p. 238.

and would also destroy the mosques and appoint spies among the Muslims in the country as a whole, so as to slay them. So the ruler of Khorasan left them alone except for exacting tribute from them. Although they have become few in the Islamic regions, I used to know about three hundred of them in the City of Peace [Baghdad] during the days of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah.<sup>681</sup> But at this our time there are not five of them in our midst. This people [the Manichaeans], who are called Ajārā, are at Rustāq, Samarqand, Şughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnkath (probably in modern Tashkent).<sup>682</sup>

This event occurred during the era of the Abbasid *Khalifa* - Al-Muqtadir (r. 907-932) when the Khorasan and Sogdiana regions were ruled by Nasr II (r. 914-943) - the ruler of the Samanid Dynasty which got independence from the control of the Abbasid Caliphate. On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm’s work proves the existence of Manichaeans in the Khorasan/Sogdiana region at least until the 10th century.

### 3.1.5 The Divinization of the Uyghur Secular Authority

In the Manichaean paintings and writings, the throne (*bema*, in Greek) often symbolizes Mani’s divine authority over the whole Manichaean Church and all the Manichaean communities, such as the presentation of the throne in the Turfan Manichaean book-painting of MIK III 4979a+b verso.



*MIK III 4979a+b verso*

The illumination of MIK III 4979a+b verso is a visual depiction of celebrating the *Bema* festival (the most important celebration of Manichaeans), which contains the scene of Manichaean communal ceremony with the attendance of both elects (in rows) and auditors (only their headwear surviving). The *Bema* ritual includes singing hymns to Mani, reading Mani’s books, reciting the Manichaean commandments,

<sup>681</sup> Mu‘izz al-Dawlah ruled at Baghdad during 946-967 CE. This chapter of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, must have been written a quarter of a century later.

<sup>682</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-995 CE) (author); B. Dodge (ed. & transl.). *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture (Abū 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. pp 802-803.

and conducting the sacred meal, all of which must be performed with the presence of the throne where Mani's picture could be placed.<sup>683</sup> The main elements of the *Bema* festival had been presented by the surviving illumination on MIK III 4979 a+b verso. This illumination may also reflect the actual attendance of specific elects, since the names are labeled on the white robes of eight elects in it, vertically written in Manichaean script.

In a Middle Persian Manichaean text (of the “Praise of the Apostle” on M 801a - folio j), Mani's divine throne is also referred to and praised, together with his divine diadem:

*nmbrym 'w 'yn g'h 'gr'w . w nšym 'yg b'myw . ky 'br nšst hy . . nmbrym 'w dydym  
br 'z'g 'yt pd sr wyn 'rd*

We adore this glorious throne (*g'h/gāh*, i.e. *bema*) and this gleaming seat (*nšym/nišēm*) on which you have sat. We adore the shining diadem (*dydym/dīdēm*) that you have put on your head. (M 801a - folio j, recto ll. 4-9)<sup>684</sup>

For the *Bema*, the term *gāh* (“throne”) often appears in the Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean texts, and occasionally its alternative is the word *nišēm* (“seat”, in Middle Persian).<sup>685</sup>

The “throne” not only referred to Mani's spiritual presence but also represented the Uyghur secular kingship on some occasions. U 65 and M 908a are two Turfan Uyghur fragments of different versions of the same benediction for both the Manichaean religion and the secular realm, particularly the “divine king” (*tängri elig*) / “our Khan” (*[x]animiz*) of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. U 65 verso, line 14 mentions the “throne” (*örgin*), but its succeeding words are missing due to the fragmentary condition at the edge of the folio. However, it can be reconstructed as *örgin kuti kántü kut* (“the (divine) blessing of the throne itself”) according to its parallel in M 908a verso, line 5.<sup>686</sup> Within the context of this benediction, the “throne” (*örgin*) in both U 65 and M 908a refers to the secular throne which is divinely blessed, rather than being occupied by the divinity as Mani's *Bema* throne. This secular but sacred “throne” in U 65 and M 908a is also found in their parallel in M 919 which is a Uyghur Manichaean historical text, concerning the enthronement of a new Steppe Uyghur king:

*kaltı yana kün tängri ornunta yaruk ay tängri yaşıyu bälgürä yarlıgkarča eligimiz  
iduk kut ol o[k] orunta bälgürä yarlıgkatı . . altun örgin üzä oluru yarlıg boltı . .  
el ötükän kuti ilki bügü eliglär kangları eliglär kuti bo [ı]duk örgin kuti tängri  
eligimiz i[du]k kut üzä ornanmakı bolzun*

<sup>683</sup> Ries. “La fête de *Bêma* dans l'église de Mani”. pp 218-233.

<sup>684</sup> Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. pp 27-28, ll. 335-340.

<sup>685</sup> Henning. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. p. 10.

<sup>686</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 13.

Just as the Moon God of Light graciously appears once more shining in the place/seat (*ornınta*) of the Sun God, our (new) King, the *Iduk Kut*<sup>687</sup> has graciously appeared in that very same place/seat (*ol o[k] orunıta*) (of the throne). After he sat upon the gold (royal) throne (*altun örgin*), there was the (following) speech/proclamation (*yarlıg*): “May it be that the divine blessing of the national Ötükän, the divine blessing of the Kings and their fathers, the first sage Kings, and the divine blessing of this sacred throne (*bo [ı]duk örgin*), rest upon our divine King - the *Iduk Kut*”. (M 919 verso, ll. 12-20)<sup>688</sup>

In M 919 verso, ll. 12-20, the place/seat of the new Steppe Uyghur king seems to be equivalent to that of the Sun God, and he “sat upon the gold (royal) throne” (*altun örgin üzä oluru*). Then, a series of blessings are invoked on this new Steppe Uyghur king. So in M 919 verso, line 18, “this sacred throne” (*bo [ı]duk örgin*) means the specific throne that would be seated by the new Steppe Uyghur king mentioned by this enthronement text.

The divinization of the Uyghur secular rulers was conducted by the elects. There is evidence that reflects the Manichaean parallel of the Uyghur secular rulers to Mani or other Manichaean deities. The Uyghur Manichaean fragment U 31 contains a benediction text for both elects and royal auditors. The surviving portion of the text begins with an invocation of the “[divine] Buddha” (*[tängri] burxan*) and “our Devout One, Büg[ü] [Khan]” (*tängrikänimiz büg[ü] [xan]*), in U 31 recto, ll. 1-2.<sup>689</sup> Here, the term “our Devout One” (*tängrikänimiz*) is an epithet for the Uyghur rulers. But the identification of the figure called “Büg[ü] [Khan]” cannot be determined, because it may refer to the first Manichaean king - Bügü Khan (r. 759-779) - of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, or it can be applied to any of the later kings of the Steppe or Qocho Uyghur kingdom as an attribute *bügü* (“sage”) to the concerned king. However, at the beginning of U 31, the Uyghur king is paralleled with the “[divine] Buddha” which means the Prophet Mani. Then, this invocation is followed by a register of people for whom the benediction was offered: all elects of the two genders led by a Teacher (*možak*), and the royal family members and high officials (in U 31 recto, ll. 2-6).

Ch/U 6860 is a book-roll fragment whose recto is a Chinese Buddhist text with some Uyghur Manichaean lines between the Chinese columns. Its verso contains two Uyghur Manichaean texts (in Sogdian script): Text A (ll. 1-5) is the draft of a confession text,<sup>690</sup> and Text B (ll. 6-11) belongs

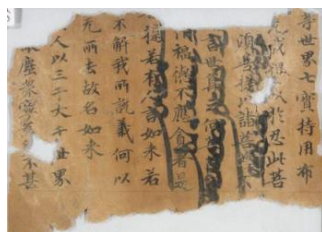
<sup>687</sup> The term *Iduk Kut* means “Holy Majesty”, as a title for Qocho Uyghur rulers.

<sup>688</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 198-200.

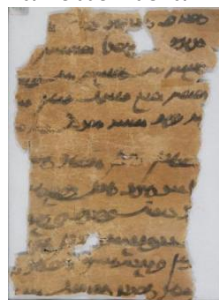
<sup>689</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 27.

<sup>690</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. II: Liturgical Texts*. p. 129.

to a historical text of a Uyghur king's enthronement.<sup>691</sup> Then, Clark labels the Uyghur Manichaean lines on the Chinese recto as Text C, which contains the draft of the beginning of a letter to an elect.<sup>692</sup>



Ch/U 6860 recto (Text C)



Ch/U 6860 verso (Text A & Text B)

This fragment of the Chinese Buddhist book roll was re-used by Manichaeans as a piece of paper for either scribal practice or notes. The drafts of three distinct Uyghur Manichaean texts on the two sides can be indicated by the one-line space between Ch/U 6860 verso ll. 1-5 and ll. 6-10, as well as the lack of content connection between these three texts. Ch/U 6860 verso, ll. 6-11 (Text B) records the enthronement of a new king after the former king's death, and mentions the two Uyghur kings rhetorically:

(1) The new king - *Täng[ri] [...] [xa]n*, who “has appeared like the Moon God” (*Ay tängri täg boltı*) (ll. 6-7);

(2) The former king - *Tängri yaruk bügü bilg[ä] [xan]* (line 3), who became like “the [fragrant] and aromatic Sun God” (*[Yıdılg] yıparlıg kün tängri[i]*).<sup>693</sup>

The name *Tängri yaruk bügü bilg[ä] [xan]* seems to be a short form of the king's title found in TM 176 recto, ll.1-4: *A[y] [tängritäg küsänčig] kaşınčig [körtlä] [yaru]k bügü [bilgä] tängrikän* (r. 1007-1008). In the Uyghur Manichaean fragment TM 176, it is evidently stated that Yaruk Bügü Khan was killed in a battle of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

Such a divinization of the Uyghur kings during the process of a new king's enthronement is also be found in the enthronement text of M 919 which is dated to the years of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom:

Because our King (*eligimiz*), the *Iduk Kut*, had graciously [descended and sank] like the Sun God (*kün tängrič[ä]*), the whole (of us), the destitute and poor, the elite and the nobility, and the various peoples, had become sorrowful and distressed. Just as the Moon God of Light (*yaruk ay tängri*) graciously appears once more shining in the seat of the Sun God, our (new) King (*eligimiz*), the *Iduk Kut*, has graciously appeared in that very same seat (of the throne). (M 919 verso, ll. 8-15)<sup>694</sup>

In the texts of Ch/U 6860 verso B and M 919, the deceased former king is depicted as like the “Sun God”, and the newly enthroned king is depicted

<sup>691</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 238.

<sup>692</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 274.

<sup>693</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 238.

<sup>694</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 198-200.

as like the “Moon God”.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 3.1***

The eastern Manichaean Church and the Uyghur secular rulers complemented each other for sustaining the Turfan Manichaean community. The relationship between the church and the state was often enhanced through church ceremonies. The hymn text of U 197 reveals that the Uyghur rulers patronized the Manichaean Church. The illuminated fragments MIK III 4979a+b (recto) and MIK III 36 rewarded divine blessings to the Uyghur rulers, especially the ritual act of the “right hand” in the book painting of MIK III 4979a+b recto, signifying the salvational promise of the Manichaean Church with the converted Uyghur king. In addition, the Sogdian *Kephalaia* texts of M 135a and M 135b strikingly promoted the position of secular rulers and lords to be the first place among Manichaeans.

Through the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean enthronement hymns, praises, benedictions, and eulogies, we can find that the Turfan Manichaean monasteries regularly held ceremonies for blessing the Uyghur rulers, particularly at the time of New Year’s Day. The Uyghur rulers, royal family members, and officials would attend those ceremonies of benediction, which reveals the mutual support between the eastern Manichaean Church and the Qocho Uyghur court. On the other hand, the secular authority of the Qocho Uyghur rulers was also accepted by the eastern Manichaean Church, as T I αx 13 condemned those elects who showed disrespect to the deceased Uyghur king.

According to U 164a+b, T I αx 13, TM 176, and Ch/U 6860 verso B, the Qocho Uyghur ruler - Yaruk Būgū Khan (r. 1007-1008) seems to be of considerable significance to the eastern Manichaean Church, and the Manichaean religion’s status around his period had been changing, with a serious challenge from Buddhism in the late 10th century according to the Uyghur Manichaean *Memoir of Kād Ogul*.

<i>The title of Qocho Uyghur King</i>	<i>Manuscripts</i>	<i>Content</i>
Yaruk Būgū Khan (r. 1007-1008)	U 164a+b	Benediction for the Qocho Uyghur king, offered at a New Year ceremony
	T I αx 13 (now lost)	Commemoration of the death of Yaruk Būgū Khan
	TM 176 (now lost)	Historical text, narrating Yaruk Būgū Khan’s death in a battle
	Ch/U 6860 verso (Text B)	Historical text, concerning Yaruk Būgū Khan’s death and a new ruler’s enthronement

The leading role of the Uyghur rulers over the Turfan Manichaean community was promoted and strengthened through the narratives and instructions of the Manichaean texts. The Uyghur rulers not only took the lead over the Manichaean lay people but also enjoyed a divine status within the entire Turfan Manichaean community. In the early Uyghur Manichaean period, the royal family members and nobles took the duty as the heads of auditors, testified by a Middle Persian Manichaean document. Later, the Uyghur king's duty as the head of auditors and his specific sponsorship of religious activities can be testified by both Middle Persian and Uyghur Manichaean texts. On the other hand, the divinization of the Uyghur secular authority is reflected in two aspects: the divinization of the Uyghur ruler's throne, and the parallel of the Uyghur rulers with Manichaean deities. The image/symbol of the divine throne can not only refer to Mani's spiritual presence but also represent the Uyghur kingship on some occasions, such as that in U 65 and M 908a. There is evidence that proves the Manichaean parallel of the Uyghur rulers to Mani or other Manichaean gods, by putting them together or mentioning the Uyghur rulers in a rhetorical way of being like certain gods. So, the eastern Manichaean Church and the Uyghur secular authority cooperated and shared the leadership over the Turfan Manichaean community, after the Uyghur kingship had been divinized by the eastern Manichaean Church. The *možak* ("teacher") led the elects, while the Uyghur king or other royal family members led the auditors.



## 3.2 The Interaction between Manichaean Monasteries and Uyghur Rulers

The Manichaean monastic institution had been established in eastern Manichaeism. But it is disputed among scholars on whether Manichaeism encouraged elects to live together in monasteries and whether they had started to build monasteries since the early time of Manichaeism in the Greco-Roman world. During the Qocho Uyghur period, the Turfan Manichaean monasteries became places for religious gatherings and rituals, and living areas for the elects with properties. During its rising period in the East, particularly under the Uyghur official sponsorship, Manichaeism was never condemned to be hidden: just as Lieu comments, “free from persecution and enjoying royal patronage, Manichaeism manifested itself in fully developed coenobitism”.<sup>695</sup> So in the East, the general body of elects lived in monasteries (in singular: *mānistān* in Sogdian, *manistan* in Uyghur) apart from auditors, and the monasteries constituted the centers of Manichaean worship and rituals as well as economic activities. The Qocho Uyghur court issued an official document (Zong 8782 T.82) with Chinese seals for regulating and administrating the Turfan Manichaean monasteries, by introducing a set of rules for at least four major monasteries.<sup>696</sup> It was probably made as a model directing all the Turfan Manichaean monasteries. However, the Manichaean monasteries in the Turfan region were under the supervision of the Qocho Uyghur court.

The distinction between the religious inside/religion and the secular outside/realm is often seen in the Turfan Manichaean texts, which indicates a combination of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries and the Qocho Uyghur court in the Manichaean own narratives. So, the Qocho Uyghur court shared a part of the leadership of the Turfan Manichaean community, as the Uyghur rulers were divinized.

### 3.2.1 Eastern Manichaean Monasticism

The establishment of a local Manichaean monastery was a basic requirement of the eastern Manichaean missions, when they pursued the

---

<sup>695</sup> Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. p. 83.

<sup>696</sup> Geng Shimin. *Huihuwen shehui jingji wenshu yanjiu* 回鶻文社會經濟文書研究. Beijing: Zhongyan minzu daxue chubanshe, 2006. pp 75-84.

permission or support of local rulers. The Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884), is an explanatory document that was composed in the 19th year (731) of the *Kaiyuan*, by a Manichaean missionary at the Tang court with the command of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756), according to the words beside its heading:

開元十九年六月八日大德拂多誕奉詔集賢院譯

On the 8th day of the 6th month in the 19th year of the *Kaiyuan*, the high monk/elect (as scripture translator)<sup>697</sup> *Fuduodan* (拂多誕),<sup>698</sup> translated (the text) at the *Jixian* Academy after receiving an imperial edict. (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 2-3)

This Chinese *Compendium* in its 5th section entitled “Concerning Monastery Buildings” (*Siyu yi diwu* 寺宇儀第五), presented to the Tang emperor a blueprint of an ideal Manichaean monastery as well as a list of its principal administrators, which appears as a well-organized group (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 84-95). This section of the Chinese *Compendium* is the most complete known description of a model Manichaean monastery, which is regulated to contain five halls with various functions:

The “hall for the scriptures and images” (*jingtu tang* 經圖堂),  
the “hall for fasting and preaching” (*zhaijiang tang* 齋講堂),  
the “hall for rituals and confessions” (*lichan tang* 禮懺堂),  
the “hall for religious instructions” (*jiaoshou tang* 教授堂),  
the “hall for sick monks” (*bingseng tang* 病僧堂).

(Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 84-86)

The Dunhuang Chinese *Compendium* further stated:

右置五堂 法眾共居 精修善業 不得別立私室廚庫

In the five halls set up as above, the community members of the *dharma* (i.e., monks/elects) live together, cultivating good works with zeal. (The monks) should not build any individual room, kitchen, or storehouse. (Or.8210/S.3969+PC 3884, cols. 87-88)

The elects were forbidden to build any kitchen because their meals must be brought and served by auditors each day. This document gives a clear idea that the Manichaean monastery was intended for religious rituals and

---

<sup>697</sup> In S. 3969, col. 2, the term *dade* 大德 was borrowed from Chinese Buddhism, originally equivalent to the Sanskrit term *bhadanta*. In India, it was an honorific title for Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or high monks. But in China, it became only used as the honorific title for high monks. During the Tang dynasty, the Buddhist sutra translators were particularly called *dade* 大德. In S. 3969, cols. 2-3, the term *dade* 大德 obviously referred to the translator of Manichaean scriptures. See Rui Chuanming. *Monijiao Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yishi yu yanjiu* 摩尼教敦煌吐魯番文書譯釋與研究. Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2014. p. 53, no. 1.

<sup>698</sup> The Chinese term *Fuduodan* 拂多誕 was adapted from the Sogdian term *aftādān*, meaning “bishop”; but here, the term *Fuduodan* may be misidentified by the Chinese scribe as a personal name of the “translator” of this *Compendium*. See Henning. “Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus”. pp 1-18. Gharib. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. p. 26, no. 679.

activities such as fasting and book-copying, but not as proper accommodations for elects.<sup>699</sup> The monastery's affairs were governed and judged by the three high elects, whose work is divided into three realms: *fashi* 法事 (“matters of religion”), *jiangquan* 獎勸 (“commendation and persuasion”), and *gongshi* 供施 (“administering the offerings and alms”). The model Manichaean monastery in the Dunhuang Chinese *Compendium* seems to be mainly for religious gatherings. It is explicitly stated that this monastery should not set up a separate living quarter, and it only contains a hall or house for the sick monks/elects.

But in the Turfan Manichaean texts, the monasteries became the major living space for elects, in contrast to the original Manichaean principle that the monasteries were not a place to stay for the elects (in line with the facts of Coptic Manichaeism). In a Middle Persian Manichaean letter (as one of Mani's letters) (on the regrouped fragments M 501p+M 882c+M 1402+M 9152), it is stated that Prophet Mani greeted an elect located in a “hostel” (*'spync*) (M 501p+M 882c+M 1402 +M 9152 recto, ll. 6-7), indicating the elects' temporary stay in such a place, which refers to a Manichaean monastery where the elects regularly assembled.<sup>700</sup> A Middle Persian Manichaean parable text on M 47 exhorted the auditors to build monasteries as alms:

*ruwānagān ast niyōšāgān ō dēn kunēnd mānistān dēsēnd*

This is almsgiving (*ruwānagān*). The auditors pay them to the Church (*dēn*) and build the monastery (*mānistān*). (M 47 II verso, ll. 4-5)<sup>701</sup>

Then, the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 contains rules for Manichaean monasteries, indicating the residence of high elects in the monasteries at the time of the Qocho Uyghur patronage, though this may have been a local development later,<sup>702</sup> especially with the way the monasteries developed into a large economic institution.

Except for the Middle Persian term *mānistān* (“an assembly of

<sup>699</sup> Arden-Wong, L.A. “Some Thoughts on Manichaean Architecture and its Applications in the Eastern Uighur Khaganate”, in S.N.C. Lieu & G. Mikkelsen (eds.). *Between Rome and China: History, Religions and Material Culture of the Silk Road*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. 181-254.

<sup>700</sup> Sundermann, W. “A Manichaean Collection of Letters and a List of Mani's Letters in Middle Persian”, in J.D. BeDuhn (ed.). *New Light on Manichaeism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 259-277. p. 272 n. 94.

<sup>701</sup> Sundermann. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte von Friedmar Geissler*. p. 88.

<sup>702</sup> Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 75-77. Arden-Wong. “Some Thoughts on Manichaean Architecture and its Applications in the Eastern Uighur Khaganate”. pp 186-187.

houses”)<sup>703</sup> and the Chinese term *si* 寺 (“temple” in the Buddhist context), there is a Uyghur term - *čaidan* (“fasting/vegetarian hall”) designating a Manichaean monastery, such as the two examples in a Uyghur *Confession Text of Auditors* (on Or. 8212/178, found in Dunhuang):

Further, it was a prescription that, sitting down in the *čaidan* to observe the *yimki* (and?) to fast the fasts, we should pray, with an undivided mind from (our) heart(?) to the divine *Burxan* (“Buddha”) to make void our sins. (Or. 8212/178, ll. 275-279)<sup>704</sup>

If, sitting down in the *čaidan* to [keep] the *yimki* (and the fast?) well and in accordance with law and ritual ... (Or. 8212/178, ll. 284-286).<sup>705</sup>

These two sentences commanded the auditors to do the *yimki* (probably a kind of prayer) during the fasts, in the *čaidan* which is the specific site of Turfan Manichaean worship and rituals. At least, the term *čaidan* can be interpreted as “prayer-hall”, according to Le Coq. Müller points out that the Uyghur term *čaidan* (or *žaidan*) is borrowed from the Chinese word *zhaitang* 齋堂, and they refer to “a hall or room for fasts or prayers, or a temple”.<sup>706</sup> In brief, the term *čaidan* was used by Uyghurs to designate a Manichaean monastery or at least a part of it.

The administrative features of eastern Manichaeism reflect the institutional and social standards existing already in Central Asia. Regarding their dualist social structure, the eastern Manichaean monasteries seem to be similar with the Mahayana Buddhist monastic model. The elects as the “upper class” in Manichaeism, have a similar status to Buddhist monks who could live a perfectly monastic life with aid or donation from lay Buddhists. In both Buddhism and Manichaeism, lay believers composed an economic base for the ecclesiastical society, by committing material meritorious deeds, such as donating lands to the cleric congregations, building or furnishing monasteries, paying revenues to the monasteries, taking care of the ill clerics, and offering food to the clerics.

However, it is unknown to what extent the blueprint presented in the

---

<sup>703</sup> The term *mānistān* originally means “an assembly of houses”, referring to the “monastery” in the Manichaean context. The term *mānistān* is based on the Middle Persian word *mān* (just meaning “house”), see MacKenzie, D.N. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971. pp 53-54.

<sup>704</sup> Le Coq, A. von. “Dr. Stein’s Turkish *Khuastuanift* from Tun-huang. Being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditors”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (of Great Britain and Ireland)*, 1911, 277-314. p. 296.

<sup>705</sup> Le Coq. “Dr. Stein’s Turkish *Khuastuanift* from Tun-huang. Being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditors”. p. 297.

<sup>706</sup> Le Coq. “Dr. Stein’s Turkish *Khuastuanift* from Tun-huang. Being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditors”. p. 306, note 56.

Dunhuang Chinese *Compendium* was applied to the eastern Manichaean monasteries. During its spread in the East, the Manichaean monastery had become a center not merely of religious practices and teachings, but also of economic and social activities, similarly to the rich Buddhist monasteries in the same regions. The eastern Manichaean monasteries had a good financial basis, which deviated much from the original Manichaean ecclesiastic ideal model of living only on the almsgiving and sharing all the collective possessions. The medieval Chinese historical records also provide evidence regarding the operational Manichaean monasteries in the East. Since the Uyghurs gradually lost their political influence in the Tang imperial court, their religion - Manichaeism became a target of the Tang Empire's oppression during the period of Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846). A Tang imperial edict was decreed by Emperor Wuzong in the 2nd month of the 3rd year (843) of the *Huichang*, conducting the confiscation of the properties and goods from Manichaean monasteries, and taking strict control over the Manichaean monks/elects.<sup>707</sup> Meanwhile, strong guards were arranged at the confiscated parts of the Manichaean monasteries.<sup>708</sup> Before the Tang's persecution, Manichaean monasteries had become storage centers or banks by Uyghur and Sogdian traders in the Tang territories, which connected tightly with other regions along the eastern Silk Road.

But in the 4th month of the 3rd year (843) of the *Huichang*, Emperor Wu ordered his subordinates to kill Manichaean monks/elects and shut down all the Manichaean monasteries in the central areas of the Tang Empire, causing the Manichaeans to exile, probably to the Turfan region.<sup>709</sup> The problem of the Tang's economy may be a major reason for Emperor Wu's oppression of foreign religions, mainly targeting Buddhism and including Manichaeism. But it more severely affected Manichaeism in China. The later Manichaean monasteries in the East generally contradicted with the earlier blueprint presented in the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* that considered them as just centers of preaching, rituals,

<sup>707</sup> Liu Xu 劉昫 (888-947). *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975. p. 594 (the imperial edict, from Scroll 18A). Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079) (ed.). *Tang dazhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集. Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1968. p. 707 (from Scroll 130).

<sup>708</sup> Liu Xu 劉昫. *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Scroll 18A). p. 606. Also see Chavannes, É. & P. Pelliot. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique* (11th ser.), 1, 1913, 99-199 & 261-391. pp 298-301.

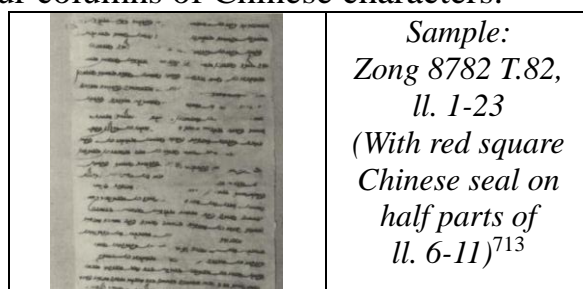
<sup>709</sup> Ennin 圓仁 (Japanese, 794-864). "Nittō guhō junrei gyōki 入唐求法巡禮行記" (see Scroll 3), in Lan Jifu (chief ed.). *Supplement to the Dazangjing* 大藏經補編. Taipei: Huayu chubanshe, 1985. (B18n0095\_003, 0095b04, on CBETA 電子佛典集). Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001). "Dasong seng shilüe 大宋僧史略" (see Scroll 3), in Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō kankōkai (ed.). *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (*Taishō Tripitaka*). Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1988. (T54n2126\_003, 0253b21, on CBETA 電子佛典集).

and worship. This contradiction is testified by the Qocho Uyghur official document (of Zong 8782 T.82) for Manichaean monasteries, which provides much detailed depiction of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries as owners of lands, gardens, and orchards, and with numerous groups of elects depending on them.

### 3.2.2 A Qocho Uyghur Official Document for Manichaean Monasteries

The description of an austere ideal monastery in the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* sharply contradicts the later record of operating Manichaean monasteries from a Turfan Uyghur text (on Zong 8782 T.82) dating from the 10th or 11th century.<sup>710</sup> Zong 8782 T.82 is a scroll fragment with 270 cm length and 29.5 cm width, and its text remains 125 lines but its beginning is missing. Zong 8782 T.82 contains an official document that was granted by the Qocho Uyghur court to local Manichaean monasteries. According to Clark's reference, Moriyasu finds numerous paper tears in the manuscript Zong 8782 T.82 while investigating it in the Beijing Museum of History, and so the paper restorer may have placed a few sheets or pieces of the manuscript in the wrong position.<sup>711</sup> Therefore, there is a little textual structure disarray in this Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries.<sup>712</sup>

The Uyghur manuscript Zong 8782 T.82 is a sealed scroll, written in Sogdian script, with at least 11 red square seals (each 10×9.5 cm) which are filled with four columns of Chinese characters.



Geng Shimin has identified the Chinese characters of the seal as:

大福大迴鶻 國中書門下 頡於迦思諸 宰相之寶印<sup>714</sup>

<sup>710</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 352.

<sup>711</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 334.

<sup>712</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 334.

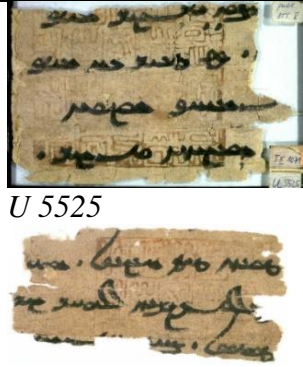



<sup>713</sup> The image is cut from the photo appendix in Geng Shimin, "Notes on an Ancient Uighur Official Decree Issued to a Manichaean Monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal* vol. 35, 1991, 209-230. p. 225.

<sup>714</sup> Geng Shimin. "Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi 回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書初釋". p. 498.

The precious seal of the *il-ögäsi* - the Chancellor of the Secretariat and Chancellery of the State of the Great Uyghurs of Great Fortune

After Uyghurs controlled the Turfan region, they adopted the military and political modes of the Tang Empire which once established the Anxi Protectorate and the Beiting Protectorate in the south and the north of the Tianshan Mountains respectively. The Qocho Uyghur court was under the Chinese institutional and cultural influence in the Turfan region. This Chinese seal in the Uyghur official document is a reflection that the Qocho Uyghur court imitated the Tang imperial seal institution.

Except for the seal on the manuscript Zong 8782 T.82, some other Turfan Uyghur documents also used red square Chinese seals, such as those on U 5525+U 5717 (regrouped), U 5990 (verso), U 5983, and U 5980, which are all dated by Moriyasu to the 10th or 11th century.<sup>715</sup>

U 5525+U 5717	U 5990 verso	U 5983	U 5980
 <p>U 5525</p> <p>U 5717</p>			
<p>「大福大迴鶻國中書門下頡于□□諸宰相之寶印」 “The precious seal of the <i>il-ö[gäsi]</i> - the Chancellor of the Secretariat and Chancellery of the State of the Great Uyghurs of Great Fortune”</p>	<p>「頡于伽思諸宰相之印」(?) “The seal of the <i>il-ögäsi</i> - the Chancellor” (?)</p>	<p>「頡□□思諸宰相之印」<sup>716</sup> “The seal of the <i>il-[ögä]si</i> - the Chancellor”</p>	<p>「□□□□天特勤之印」 “The seal of ... heavenly <i>Teqin</i>”  (<i>Teqin</i>, the Chinese transliteration of the Uyghur term <i>tegin</i>, a title for princes)</p>
10.7~11×10.6 +/- cm	? (Too fragmentary)	5.8×? (5.1+) cm	6.1×? (3.5+) cm

<sup>715</sup> Moriyasu, T. “*Kasai Kigigun setsudoshi no shu'in to sono hennen* 河西歸義軍節度使の朱印とその編年”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 15, Osaka, 2000, 1-121. p. 118. “*Beppyō·shuin betsu bunsho bangō·shiyō nendai·sunpō risuto·Nishi Uiguru koku*” (「別表・朱印別文書番號・使用年代・寸法リスト・西ウイグル國」).

<sup>716</sup> The Chinese characters of the seals on these five fragments are interpreted by Moriyasu, see Moriyasu. “*Kasai Kigigun setsudo-shi no shu'in to sono hennen* 河西歸義軍節度使の朱印とその編年”. p. 118. “*Beppyō·shuin betsu bunsho bangō·shiyō nendai·sunpō risuto·Nishi Uiguru koku*” (「別表・朱印別文書番號・使用年代・寸法リスト・西ウイグル國」).

Since U 5525+U 5717, U 5990, U 5983, and U 5980 are all very fragmentary, their religious orientation remains unknown. Or, they may not involve any religious content. The seals on U 5525+U 5717 appear to be nearly the same as that on Zong 8782 T.82, while the seals on U 5990 and U 5983 seem to be a simpler version of the Qocho Uyghur Chancellor's official seal, with fewer words. In addition, the seal on U 5980 belongs to a prince since the title *teqin*特勤 (*tegin* in Uyghur) was only given to the (Uyghur) princes. All these seals were from the hand of the Qocho Uyghur Chancellor who directly performed an administrative role in the Kingdom's affairs, except the seal on U 5980 which was used by a Qocho Uyghur prince.

The titles within the Chinese seal on Zong 8782 T.82 – *zhongshu(sheng)* 中書(省), *menxia(sheng)* 門下(省) and *zaixiang* 宰相, all came from the Tang's Chinese civil official system. In addition, there is another official title of Uyghur origin - *jiyujiasi* 頡於迦思 (*il-ögäsi*), meaning "counselor of the realm", in which *ögä* is a high official title in Uyghur, roughly equivalent to the "counselor", and *il/el* means the "realm/country".<sup>717</sup> In a word, the Qocho Uyghur court not only integrated the Tang's Chinese institution of laws and regulations but also maintained some of the older Uyghur political elements.

The Qocho Uyghur court set out detailed regulations for managing the Turfan Manichaean monasteries in the manuscript Zong 8782 T.82. Different scholars hold various ideas about the targeted community and realm, the valid time, and the intention of the text on Zong 8782 T.82. In Geng Shimin's opinion, this Qocho Uyghur official text regulated the lands and privileges that the Turfan Manichaean monasteries generally owned, which imply the employment of those Manichaean monasteries on their attached farmers.<sup>718</sup> But Clark thinks that this Qocho Uyghur official text was made for specifically stipulating the targeted Manichaean community in which the elects and auditors, and the attached workers had to observe a specific set of regulations respectively, concerning the management of the monastic affairs and lands.<sup>719</sup> More importantly, Clark supposes that this text was drawn up for a certain period that is not stated, which only covered the lifetimes of those named figures within the text.<sup>720</sup> In Clark's opinion, it was neither a decree nor an edict; but it was

---

<sup>717</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. pp 101 & 121-123.

<sup>718</sup> Geng Shimin. "Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi 回鶻文摩尼教文書初釋". p. 497.

<sup>719</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 333.

<sup>720</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 333.



rather a “Statue of Regulations for the Management of *Mānistāns*” that would be enacted by the Qocho Uyghur court and the Manichaean monastic managers since it was issued in a formal sealed document. However, the actual intention of this Qocho Uyghur official text may have been a combination of Geng Shimin and Clark’s opinions - the Qocho Uyghur court selected a specific Manichaean community and set it as a model for all the Manichaean monasteries in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

The structure of the content of the manuscript Zong 8782 T.82:

- ll. 1-25 – the supervision of field labor and the storage of produce
- ll. 26-43 – the distribution of provisions and clothing to the elects and their servants within the monasteries
- ll. 43-72 – the preparation and service of the sacred meals of the Teacher, Bishop, and ordinary elects
- ll. 73-100 – the labor and produce on lands related to the monasteries, and their allocation
- ll. 100-102 – the work during fasts
- ll. 103-104 – the provisions of reeds
- ll. 105-109 – the medical treatment of elects
- ll. 110-125 – the provision of special services (providing other life-supplies) to the monasteries

The Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 mentions at least four Manichaean monasteries: the *ulug manistan* (“big monastery” in the Qocho city, also named “Qocho *manistan*”), the *kičig manistan* (“small monastery” in the Qocho city), *Yar manistan*, and *Solmi manistan*. The locating distinction between the *öngtün / öngtünki / öngtün yingak / öngtün balık* (“eastern / eastern area / eastern side / eastern city”) and the *kidin / kidinki / kidin yingak / kidin balık* (“western / western area / western side / western city”) mentioned by the text (in Zong 8782 T.82 - ll. 9, 11, 13, 15, 21, 23 & 85), may refer to the “big” and “small” *manistans* in the Qocho city respectively, or at least to the lands in association with them. Then, it can be deduced that the “Teacher” (*možak*) who appears in the text several times, may have resided over the “eastern”, “big” *manistan* in the Qocho city. The Yar city is located about 50 km, west to the Qocho city, though still in the Turfan region. As for Solmi, it is in today’s Yanqi, an old city to the southwest of the Turfan region, according to Geng Shimin and Zhang Guangda.<sup>721</sup> The place name Solmi also appears in the Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts of the

---

<sup>721</sup> Geng Shimin & Zhang Guangda. “*Suolimi kao* 峻里迷考”, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 2, 1980, 147-159.

*Maitrisimit* (a Buddhist drama text in the Tocharian A language about the Future Buddha Maitreya, with its Uyghur version dated to the 10th century)<sup>722</sup>.

This Qocho Uyghur official document reveals clearly that a Manichaean monastery can own lands governed by officials, and take rent from its tenants in the form of basic commodities. It emphasizes the fact that the “work supervisors” (*iš aygučılar*) alone were responsible for managing the agricultural lands (including vineyards) and collecting the rents, while the “Teacher” (*možak*), the “Bishop” (*avtadan*) and the *xroxans*<sup>723</sup> were forbidden to involve those economic affairs (in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 92-94). Although the original meaning of the term *xroxan* is “preacher”, the position of the *xroxan* in this Qocho Uyghur official document seems not to function as a “preacher”. Rather, the *xroxan* here was administrating the interests of elects in the monastery, just like the “work supervisor” (*iš ayguči*) which concerned the interests of the secular authority.<sup>724</sup>

This Qocho Uyghur official document seems not to be a fixed monastic statute for administrating all the Manichaean monasteries in the realm of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, and its valid period is unknown, because this official document enumerates the names of specific responsible persons for various affairs or duties of at least four concerned monasteries. Instead, it required the appointed elects as well as the lay workers of the concerned monasteries to obey a concrete set of ordinances, regarding the management of the monastic affairs and lands. Besides, the four concerned monasteries (in Qocho city, Yar city, and Solmi respectively) seem to have had a tight connection with each other, because this Qocho Uyghur official document gave instructions to them all together.

The other East Central Asian Uyghur documents also mention each of the Manichaean monasteries with their names, for example, the text in the margins of Ch/U 7081 recto, the *Irk Bitig* (“Book of the Omens”, found in Dunhuang), and the text of MIK III 198 verso. Ch/U 7081 was originally a Chinese Buddhist manuscript but was later re-used by Manichaeans. The recto of Ch/U 7081 contains Uyghur lines (in Sogdian

---

<sup>722</sup> Peyrot, M. & A. Semet. “A Comparative Study of the Beginning of the 11th Act of the Tocharian A *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* and the Old Uyghur *Maitrisimit*”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69(4), 2016, 355-378.

<sup>723</sup> The Uyghur term *xroxan* was loaned from the Middle Persian term *xrōhwxān*, originally meaning “preacher”, see Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 364.

<sup>724</sup> Zieme, P. “Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich”, in L. Ligeti (ed.). *Researches in Altaic languages*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975. 331-338. p. 333.

and Manichaean scripts) written in the gaps between Chinese columns; and its verso has other Uyghur lines (in the cursive Sogdian script) as a writing exercise. It is possible that the Uyghur lines of Ch/U 7081 belonged to a letter draft:

Ch/U 7081 recto, ll. 3-4 (in Sogdian script): *män turpa turpa[n]tak[1]... turpantaki mani[stan] ...*<sup>725</sup>, “I am at Turpan/Turfan... The Turpan’s (Manichaean) monastery...”

Ch/U 7081 recto, line 5 (in Manichaean script, written from the other direction): *manistan.*<sup>726</sup>

These Uyghur lines of Ch/U 7081 indicate the existence of a Manichaean monastery in “Turpan”,<sup>727</sup> which referred to the Qocho city. Then, the 65th omen of the *Irk Bitig* (“Book of the Omens”, Or. 8212/161, found in Dunhuang) mentions the *Taygüntan Manistan*,<sup>728</sup> which may be a Manichaean monastery located in the Dunhuang region, with a Chinese name *Taygüntan* (literally “the Great Cloud Hall”, *Dayuntang* 大雲堂). Moreover, MIK III 198 verso contains a colophon to the Manichaean *Evangelion* and mentions the *manistanlar* (“monasteries”) in the towns/cities - Qašu, Yägänkät, Ordukät, Čigilbalık of the royal *Aruyu* (Argu) country.<sup>729</sup> These Uyghur documents indicate the general existence of Manichaean monasteries in the towns/cities of East Central Asia, whose activities relied on the geographical importance of these towns/cities. The numerous towns/cities within the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom made up a part of the trade network of the eastern Silk Road.

Though the distribution of the monastery’s income to elects was somehow regulated, the situation of Turfan Manichaean monasteries as profit-making land-owners apparently contradicts the traditional Manichaean ideal of poverty which is frequently mentioned in both western and eastern non-Uyghur Manichaean sources. For example, a Middle Persian Manichaean hymn (on S 9) stressed that the preachers, the

---

<sup>725</sup> Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. pp 383-384, no. 442.

<sup>726</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. pp 47-48, note 414.

<sup>727</sup> The place name *Turpan*, referring to the area of the Qocho city, was attested for the first time in the Staël-Holstein manuscript (written in 925) in Khotanese language, in the form *tturpanä kamtha* (“Turpan city”), see Bailey, H.W. “The Stael-Holstein Miscellany”, *Asia Major* n.s. 2, 1951, 1-45. p. 15. Hamilton, J.R. “Around the Manuscript Staël-Holstein”, *T’oung Pao* 46, 1958, 142-150. p. 150. The place name *Turpan* also appeared early in the Uyghur diplomatic fragment PC 2988, in which there was an expression “*män turpan-h...*” (PC 2988 verso, line 20). The Uyghur writing of PC 2988 verso can be dated to the mid-10th century, see Hamilton. *Manuscripts Ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. pp 83 & 85.

<sup>728</sup> *Taygüntan* was a Uyghur transliteration of the Chinese term *dayuntang* 大雲堂, which may be the Chinese name of a Manichaean monastery. For *Taygüntan Manistan*, see Tekin, T. *Irk Bitig. The Book of Omens*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993. pp 26-27.

<sup>729</sup> MIK III 198 (T II D 171). Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, I*. pp 26-27.

righteous, and the elects could not deposit any treasure or own any flock, since they were living in a deceptive world in which they would be persecuted.<sup>730</sup> But the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 openly led its recipients to relax the austere rules of Manichaean monasticism, by regulating the maintenance of domestic animals in the monastery and its surroundings, such as horses for the “Teacher” and the “Bishop” (in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 74-76).<sup>731</sup> This definitely violated the original Manichaean principle for elects. Although there is no evidence that the animals or properties belonged to the high elects themselves, they were obviously a part of the Manichaean monastic economy that was developed in the Turfan region. The practice of maintaining animals for the elects not only is opposed by the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* but also violates the Manichaean normative ordinances for the elects that aim to protect the “Living Soul” from being hurt. Furthermore, the elects in the Turfan Manichaean monasteries appear to have a more loose interpretation of the Manichaean “prohibition of keeping slaves or servants” (勿畜奴婢) as recorded by the Chinese Manichaean *Compendium*, since they could be served by attendants of both genders, in addition to the ordinary lay members (in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 58-61).<sup>732</sup> This Qocho Uyghur official document for the Manichaean monasteries witnessed a transformation of the Turfan Manichaean community, resulted from their closer alignment with the Qocho Uyghur rulers, in the way of integrating Manichaean monasteries into the economic realm of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

In the Qocho Uyghur official text of Zong 8782 T.82, the personnel arrangement can present the balance between the church leaders and the secular figures in the operation of the above Manichaean monasteries. The text of Zong 8782 T.82 mentions the term *xrōxān* eleven times, often in association with the plural form of the *iš ayruči* (“work supervisor”), and even one time paralleling with the *možak* (“Teacher”) and *avtadan* (“Bishop”). The term *xrōxān* is a Uyghur form of the Middle Persian *xrōhwxwān/xrōxwān* (“preacher”).<sup>733</sup> But the word *xrōxān* in this document did not function as a “preacher”, although it was a special position in the group of elects. This word is left untranslated: even though it can be rendered as “preacher”, it still remains unclear what the

<sup>730</sup> The Turfan fragment S 9 verso I, ll. 9-14. See Boyce. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 102, text ar: 2.

<sup>731</sup> Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. pp 93-94. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 354.

<sup>732</sup> Lieu. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. pp 94-95. Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 354.

<sup>733</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. p. 364.

“preacher” actually did in the monasteries, in addition to the functions regulated by the document. The *xrōxān* did not involve any preaching in this document, but assumed the church representative who looked after the interests of elects in the monasteries, while the *iš ayyučī* (“work supervisor”) looked after the interests of the state.<sup>734</sup> In other words, the *xrōxān* represented the Manichaean Church in the monastic operation, while the *iš ayyučī* represented the secular sphere. Two major *iš ayyučīs* who were responsible for the state, named Taḡay Bars El Imḡa and Qumar Bars Tarḡan, are mentioned several times in this document. Taḡay Bars carried the title *el imḡa* - “national counselor/national treasure governor”. The Qara-Khanid Muslim scholar Maḡmūd al-Kāšḡarī (active during the 11th century) in his Turkic dictionary defined the position of *el imḡa* as “the secretary who writes the correspondence in Turkic script (i.e., Orkhon script)”,<sup>735</sup> and *imḡa* by itself as “treasurer”.<sup>736</sup> Sims-Williams and Hamilton remark on the occurrence of *imḡa/amḡa*, as well as its etymology from the Chinese word *yaya* 押衙 (Northwest Middle Chinese: *ab-ŋga*) meaning “the one who guards the seat of administration”.<sup>737</sup> In this document, the “work supervisor” Taḡay Bars (El Imḡa) in three cases also carried the second title *totok* - “military governor” (loaned from the Chinese *dudu* 都督).<sup>738</sup> Then, another “work supervisor” Qumar Bars carried the title *tarḡan* - “tax official”.<sup>739</sup> In Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 8-10, it makes clear that the *el imḡa* Taḡay Bars was responsible for the works in the eastern area of the Qocho city and that the *tarḡan* Qumar Bars was responsible for the affairs in the western area of the Qocho city. Furthermore, this document stipulated that the *xrōxān* and the *iš ayyučī* needed to work together dealing with various issues of the *manistans*, for example, Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 44-49 regulated that both were on duty to guarantee the food provision of elects in alternating months. In other words, the state officials such as the *iš ayyučīs* were installed within the administrative structure of the Manichaean monasteries. They were responsible for not only the economic aspects but also ritual aspects, such as administrating the sacred meals. Zong 8782 T.82, ll.43-72 regulated their preparation and service of the sacred meals for the Teacher, Bishop,

<sup>734</sup> Zieme. “Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich”. p. 333.

<sup>735</sup> Maḡmūd al-Kāšḡarī (the 11th century). *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk, Vol. I*. Dankoff, 1982-1985. p. 163.

<sup>736</sup> Maḡmūd al-Kāšḡarī. *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk, Vol. I*. p. 151. Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. p. 158.

<sup>737</sup> Sims-Williams & Hamilton. *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-houang*. pp 28-29, n. A10.

<sup>738</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. p. 453.

<sup>739</sup> Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 237, n. A9c.

and other elects, although the church appointees - *xrōxāns* continued to play a significant role and co-managed in the ritual of sacred meals with the state officials - *iš ayγučis* (“work supervisors”). So, the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy was under the supervision of the Qocho Uyghur court, as secular officials were installed in the administration of the Manichaean monasteries.

### 3.2.3 The Religion Inside and the Realm Outside

There was a prevailing notion among the religious communities in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom regarding the two orders or aspects of life - the religious and the secular, which are represented by the “religion inside” and the “realm (or kingdom) outside” respectively. This notion is also reflected in the Turfan Manichaean texts.

(1) The Sogdian Manichaean internal letters between church leaders had distinguished the “inside” and the “outside”. 81TB 65:1 is a Sogdian long scroll of the Manichaean church letter (excavated in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves, Turfan), with a miniature and several stamps interspersed in the text. It was sent from a bishop (*aftāḏān*) called *Šahryār Zāḏāk* (81TB 65:1, line 29),<sup>740</sup> to a teacher (*mōžāk*) called *Mar Aryāmān Puhr* who was the great “Teacher of the East” (*Hwarsānčīk mōžāk*, in 81TB 65:1, ll. 18-19).<sup>741</sup> The letter of 81TB 65:1 is full of praises and blessings to the church leaders, secular rulers, and other coreligionists. Its sender expressed the wishes of happiness for the whole Manichaean Community, including both elects and auditors of two genders. 81 TB 65:1 contains the date (month and day) at the ending part, but without mentioning the year. Yoshida identifies 81 TB 65:1 as being written during the latter half of the 9th century or the former half of the 10th century because its content reveals the Uyghur royal patronage of Manichaeism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>742</sup>

81 TB 65:1, ll. 37-50 parallels the (religious) “inside” (*cyntr kyr ’nw*) - the religious group (of elects) that has two blessed orders, with the (secular) “outside” (*βyk kyr ’nw*) - the lords, rulers, princesses, princes, and other

---

<sup>740</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 9 & 23.

<sup>741</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 3, 8 & 23.

<sup>742</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 5-6.

male and female auditors.<sup>743</sup> This parallels the Uyghur *ičtin singar* (“inside”) and *taštın singar* (“outside”), which represent the religion and the (secular/political) realm respectively.<sup>744</sup> Moreover, 81 TB 65:1, ll. 112-129 expresses salutations firstly to the elects who were surrounding the letter’s recipient, and then to the auditors who were surrounding the letter’s recipient.<sup>745</sup> These lines did mention some proper names of both church leaders and royal auditors. The auditors referred to here are Qocho Uyghur nobles, such as princes, princesses, and other royal family members, who were “outside” (*Byk kyr ’nw*) or at their homes.

(2) The division between the “religion inside” and the “realm outside” in the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean texts reveals their secular use and religious nature for the relevant church ceremonies. The Uyghur Manichaean fragment U 65 contains a benediction for the religion and the realm. In U 65 verso, ll. 10-17, the divine blessings of various gods, angels, and Buddhas as well as the “throne” (*örgin*, probably referring to Mani’s divine throne) are invoked for providing “strength and support” (*küč basut*) and bringing “fame and acclaim” (*kü berzün*) to the “doctrine inside” (*ištın nom*) and the “realm outside” (*taštın el*), which refer to the religious and the secular/political spheres. At last, U 65 verso, ll. 17-20 invokes the divine blessing of the “divine Buddha” (*tängri burxan*, i.e. Mani) for the Qocho Uyghur king. The blessings upon the king and his realm as well as the assembled royal auditors make this text to be used in a more secular context, which reflects the Uyghur royal sponsorship of the eastern Manichaean Church. The text of U 65 is a combination of secular use and religious nature, which was delivered to a ceremony, held on an important day, to enhance the relationship between the church and the state.

T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 and Ch/U 8118 are two Uyghur Manichaean fragments regrouped by Zieme and Wilkens.<sup>746</sup> They belonged to a book roll with a Chinese text on the recto and a Uyghur Manichaean text on the verso. T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso and Ch/U 8118 verso together compose one text of benediction for both the religion and the realm, though the

---

<sup>743</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 9-10 & 24.

<sup>744</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 58.

<sup>745</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. p. 27.

<sup>746</sup> Zieme. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen.* pp 54-55, Nr. 23 (T I D 3 + Ch/U 6618 verso). Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung.* p. 270, Nr. 295 (T I D 3 + Ch/U 6618 verso); p. 386, Nr. 446 (Ch/U 8118 verso).

structural connection between these two pieces needs to be further clarified. This text is full of blessings to the elects and the Uyghur king (*tängrikänim*, “my Devout One” in T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso; *tängri xanim*, “my divine Khan” in Ch/U 8118 verso). It resembles the other benedictions addressed to the Church and the Uyghur rulers, such as U 31. In addition, the text directly mentions the name of the kingdom of the *tängri xanim* (i.e., the divine Uyghur king) - *kutlug kočo uluś* (“Blessed Qocho Kingdom”) and its *eki [otuz] balik* (“[twenty]-two cities”) in Ch/U 8118 verso, ll. 4-5.<sup>747</sup> T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso and Ch/U 8118 verso express good wishes and support for the Manichaean religion/priesthood inside and the secular/political realm outside, with two passages:

(1) *içtin nomi ärsär yämä kengin arka ärmäki bolzun taştın sıng[ar] eli äsänin ärmäki bolzun*

As for its (i.e., the Manichaean Church’s) doctrine inside, may it be broadly supported! May his (i.e., the Uyghur king’s) realm on the outside be safe and sound! (T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso, ll. 16-19)<sup>748</sup>

Following T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso, ll. 16-19, the text continues to specify the “inside” (religious) sphere: “Mani the Buddha” (*mani bur[xan]*, in line 23), the “divine *možak*/teacher (who is) leading the children of the doctrine - elects” (*nom ogulanı d[ındarlar] başlayu tängri mož[ak]*, in ll. 20-21), and the “two (pure) communities of the Divine Ones (i.e., male and female elects)” (*[arıg] eki ančaman tängrilär*, in line 22).<sup>749</sup> Then, due to the fragmentary condition, the next lines of T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso are missing, which may go on to specify the “outside” (secular) sphere. Ch/U 8118 verso gives more information for the “outside” sphere in addition to the “inside” sphere:

(2) *içtin nom törü [...]gılı arıg dındarlar taştan [eli] [yä]mä toyın tarsak . atlıgı yüzlügi kalın kar[a] [bo]dun köni köngülin bir biligin*

Inside, the pure elects who [...] the doctrine and precepts, and outside, [his realm] and both (Buddhist) monks (*toyın*) and Christians (*tarsak*) [...], and its notables and distinguished ones, its elite and nobility [...] with upright thoughts and single-mindedness. (Ch/U 8118 verso, ll. 5-9)<sup>750</sup>

Regarding the “inside” sphere, Ch/U 8118 verso, ll. 5-9 refers to the elects who had mastered the doctrines and precepts. But for the “outside” sphere, Ch/U 8118 verso, ll. 5-9 specially mentioned the Buddhist monks (*toyın*) and the Christians (*tarsak*), along with the secular figures (nobles and elites). During the Qocho Uyghur period, the Uyghur term *toyın* (loaned from the Chinese *daoren* 道人) generally referred to the Buddhist monks only.<sup>751</sup> Then, the Uyghur term *tarsak* originated from the

<sup>747</sup> Clark. *Uyğur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 50.

<sup>748</sup> Clark. *Uyğur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 50-51.

<sup>749</sup> Clark. *Uyğur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 50-51.

<sup>750</sup> Clark. *Uyğur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 50-51.

<sup>751</sup> Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish.* p. 569.



Sogdian word *trs'q* (*tarsāk*) for the Oriental Christians.<sup>752</sup> Ch/U 8118 verso makes the reference to all the Manichaean elects, Buddhist monks, and Christian (priests?), as well as the secular ruling class of the realm.

M 525a+b I and M 525a+b II belonged to one bifolio codex, but these two folios seem to have no direct connection in content.<sup>753</sup> M 525a+b II contains a Uyghur Manichaean benediction seemingly for both the religious inside and the secular outside. M 525a+b II includes an optative expression - “May it be that ...” (... *bolzun*), which can be often found in other benedictions for the religion and the realm, such as U 65, T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso, and Ch/U 8118 verso. M 525a+b II also gives blessings to the Manichaean religion and the secular realm:

[...] *ičti[n]tä arıg [dındarlar]*, “The pure [elects] inside [...]”

(in M 525a+b II recto, line 9);

*kutlug k[ıvlig] uluštakı*, “In the blessed and favored kingdom”

(in M 525a+b II recto, ll. 6-7);

*tüzün tärkän [kunčuyar] tängrikän t[egitlär]*, “The noble ladies [and princesses] and devout [princes] [...]” (in M 525a+b II recto, ll. 10-11);

*balık [lar] beš bag bodun*, “The people of the cities and the five federations”

(in M 525a+b II verso, ll. 1-2).<sup>754</sup>

So, M 525a+b II offers the benedictions for all the people of the (Uyghur) kingdom and their “prosperity” (*alkıš*, in M 525a+b II verso, line 9).

U 5362 is a Uyghur Manichaean fragment whose other side is blank. It includes a benediction for the Manichaean religion and the Uyghur political realm:

*ičtin singar beš burxan arıg turug nom üzä . taštın singar tolp kamag alkatmış on uygur elin üzä [t]akı artukrak tängr[ikänimiz üzä]*

Upon the pure and clean doctrine of the Five Buddhas on the inside, upon the realm of the Ten Uyghur (Clans) which is praised by all on the outside, and especially (*artukrak*) also [upon][our] Devout [One]! (U 5362, ll. 4-7)<sup>755</sup>

The “inside” sphere is represented by “the pure and clean doctrine of the Five Buddhas” (*beš burxan arıg turug nom*). The Manichaean nature of this text can be found in the following lines (U 5362, ll. 8-9) - *k[u]tnung eki türlüg [ädgün] alkatmış tözin yıldı[zın]* (“[by] the blessing’s two kinds [of goodness] and [by] the praiseworthy origin and root”)<sup>756</sup>. This phrase also corresponds to the attribute of a Uyghur king whom the Manichaean benediction of U 65 was intended for - *äki/eki [t]ürlüg ädgükä tükällig*

<sup>752</sup> Gharib. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. p. 391.

<sup>753</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 55.

<sup>754</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 55-56.

<sup>755</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 59.

<sup>756</sup> Clark has reconstructed the word *ädgün* and restored the *yiltızın* with the instrumental *-in/in*, according to the context. See Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 60.

“perfect in the two kinds of goodness”<sup>757</sup>. So, Clark figures out that this phrase can be understood as: “[by] the blessing’s two kinds [of goodness] (in body and soul) and [by] the praiseworthy origin and root (of Darkness and Light)”,<sup>758</sup> which reveals the basic dualistic principle of Manichaeism. For the “outside” sphere, the benediction of U 5362 “especially” (*artukrak*) mentions the Uyghur king (*tängri[ikänimiz]*, “our Devout One”) along with “the realm of Ten Uyghur (Clans)” (*on uygur elin*), which means that the “outside” realm of Uyghur people was led by the Uyghur king.

(3) The Manichaean historical narratives about the “inside” and the “outside” give clues to the changes of interaction between Manichaeism and the state. M 919 is a Uyghur Manichaean fragment of a historical text, concerning the enthronement of a Steppe Uyghur king in the early years of the eastern Manichaean mission, full of blessings. The text on M 919 presents us with a view of the eastern Manichaean clergy regarding the “outside” (secular) sphere:

The inside [sphere] (*ičtin [singar]*): all of the pure children of the two assemblies (*ančaman*) with our [Teacher] at their head - elects (*dındarlar*); (and) the outside sphere: in the blessed realm, all of the princesses (*tärkän kunčuy*) and devout princes (*tängrikän tägitlär*), the [realm] advisers (*[ö]gäsi*) and the diplomats (*elči*) (being) wise men and all worthy, (as well as) its (i.e., the realm’s) hairy two-legged people (*bodun bokun*), like dogs [barking], like birds chattering subjects, and the masses (*[k]alrı kara*) (as well as) the guardian spirits (*kutlar waxšiklar*) (existing) from the blue sky down to the divine Khan of the earth. We have ventured to be all from the heart rejoiced, exulted and wished for this blessed day. (M 919 recto, ll. 2-14)<sup>759</sup>

Following the passage of M 919 recto, ll. 2-14, the reference to the “El Ötükän” (the holy center of an Old Turkic cult, located in the Orkhon River valley) in M 919 recto, line 14,<sup>760</sup> places the setting of this historical text in the period of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (745-840), but after Bügü Khan’s death in 779. The purpose of the text on M 919 seems to be providing a Manichaean guise to the new enthroned ruler whose specific religious faith remains unclear, while this passage treats his enthronement day as a “blessed day”, together with other passages that tend to divinize him. This passage shows the equal importance between the inside religious sphere and the outside political sphere, in order to encourage the Manichaean missionaries to obtain royal protection or sponsorship. The eastern Manichaean Church in return gave benedictions

<sup>757</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 13.

<sup>758</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 60.

<sup>759</sup> Modified interpretation based on Le Coq’s German translation and Clark’s English translation. Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, III.* pp 33-35, Nr. 15. Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* pp 197-200.

<sup>760</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts.* p. 197.

and granted the spiritual support and protection of Manichaean deities and angels to the Steppe Uyghur rulers.

The Uyghur Manichaean fragment TM 176 contains a historical text, narrating the death of a Uyghur king in a battle happening in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, which may be not far from the time of its composition.

TM 176 recto:

(Regarding) the great [glory] of *A[y] [tängritäg küsänčig] kašinčig [körtlä yaru]k bügü [bilgä]*, our Devout One (*tängrikänimiz*), who shines [like] the Sun God: For the sake of his (i.e., Mani's) doctrine on the inside, and for the sake of his (i.e., Yaruk Bügü Khan's) entire realm on the outside. He let his bejeweled and enlightened body suffer, and [...] in the service of the realm.

TM 176 verso:

And also it became [...], [...], all of the bush and field crops, and the fruit plants and trees got scorched. Because of that, the guardian spirits of the twenty-two cities of the Qocho kingdom also [...] extremely [...] the great glory of our wonderful Devout One (*sugančig tängrikänimiz*).<sup>761</sup>

First of all, this king's title in TM 176 recto, ll. 1-4, is reconstructed by Zieme, as *A[y] [tängritäg küsänčig] kašinčig [körtlä yaru]k bügü [bilgä] tängrikän*, and Zieme speculates that this deceased king may be identical with the Qocho Uyghur king who reigned after 1019 or after 1024.<sup>762</sup> But Clark suggests that this deceased king (with the above title) reigned during the years 1007-1008, as his official title and reign period are testified by Kasai.<sup>763</sup> Nevertheless, the term *kašinčig* ("delightful", as an adjective) in this deceased king's title (TM 176 recto, ll. 1-4) has never occurred in any known official title of Uyghur kings from other Uyghur documents.<sup>764</sup> With a minor difference, the same king's title also appears as a variant - *Kün ay tängritäg küsänčig körtlä yaruk tängri bügü tängrikän* in the (Uyghur Buddhist) Stake Inscription I, ll. 2-3; and Zieme considers the element *körtlä* in the variant of the Stake Inscription I to be a synonym for the element *kašinčig* in TM 176 recto ll. 1-4.<sup>765</sup> The component of the words *kün* and *ay* in his official title refers to elements of Manichaeism. Then, the term *tängrikän* ("the Devout One") was more often used as a form of address, not to be a part of the official title of Uyghur kings. In addition, the Manichaean benediction text of fragments U 164a+b mentions the name of the blessed Uyghur king - *Tängri yaruk bügü b[ilgä xanımız]* (U 164a recto, line 5).<sup>766</sup> The Manichaean historical

<sup>761</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 231.

<sup>762</sup> Zieme. "Manichäische Kolophone und Könige". pp 326-327.

<sup>763</sup> Kasai. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism". p. 67.

<sup>764</sup> Zieme. "Manichäische Kolophone und Könige". p. 326.

<sup>765</sup> Zieme. "Manichäische Kolophone und Könige". p. 326. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 223. Moriyasu. "Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan". p. 164.

<sup>766</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 40.

text of a new Uyghur king's enthronement on Ch/U 6860 verso (Text B) also mentions the name of the deceased former king - *Tängri yaruk bügü bilg[ä] [xan]* (Ch/U 6860 verso, line 3).<sup>767</sup> The name *Tängri yaruk bügü bilg[ä] [xan]* seems to be a short form of the title found in TM 176 recto ll.1-4: *A[y] [tängritäg küsänčig] kašinčig [körtlä] [yaru]k bügü [bilgä] tängrikän*. In brief, this Qocho Uyghur king who reigned during 1007-1008, can be called “Yaruk Bügü Khan”, since the two terms *yaruk* and *bügü* occurred in all the four attestations - TM 176 recto, the (Uyghur Buddhist) Stake Inscription I, U 164a recto, and Ch/U 6860 verso B.

TM 176 recto, ll. 8-9 recalls that the Qocho Uyghur king Yaruk Bügü Khan died as a result from a battle in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom:

*ärtinilig tüzün ätüzin ämgätip el išingä*

He let his bejeweled and enlightened body suffer, in the service of the realm.<sup>768</sup>

The expression of “the service of the realm” is corresponded by TM 176 verso, ll. 5-7:

*anı ücün kočo uluŝ eki otuz balık kutı waxŝıki*

Because of that, the guardian spirits of the twenty-two cities of the Qocho kingdom<sup>769</sup>

Yaruk Bügü Khan died, defending his ruling realm (“twenty-two cities of the Qocho kingdom”). Meanwhile, Yaruk Bügü Khan was at least a supporter of the Manichaean Church or even a Manichaean auditor, which is implied by TM 176 recto, ll. 5-7:

*ičtin singlar nomin ücün • taštın singlar tolp elin ücün*

For the sake of his (i.e., Mani's) doctrine on the inside, and for the sake of his (i.e., Yaruk Bügü Khan's) entire realm on the outside<sup>770</sup>

On the other hand, Yaruk Bügü Khan seems to be of considerable significance to the Manichaean Church, although the specific situation of his religious faith remains unknown. The Manichaean religion's status during his period had changed. Since the late 10th century, the Manichaean religion was challenged by Buddhism in the Turfan region, according to the Uyghur Manichaean *Memoir of Käd Ogul* on versos of the regrouped fragments M 112+M 146+M 336c, M 162a, M 336a, and M 336b (whose rectos contain a Sogdian Manichaean church letter).<sup>771</sup> The elect Käd Ogul wrote the *Memoir* (*ötig*) in the first person for lamenting the official confiscation and Buddhist rededication of the statue (*yang*) of a “sacred and great *manistan*” in the Qocho city, commanded by a Qocho Uyghur king named the “*Lancer*” *Khagan - Arslan Bilgä*

<sup>767</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 238.

<sup>768</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 230-231.

<sup>769</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 230-231.

<sup>770</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 230-231.

<sup>771</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani's Picture. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. p. 118.

*Tängri Elig* (*Arslan bilgä tängri elig süngülüğ xagan*, r. 981-984).<sup>772</sup> Clark concludes that the year 983 (i.e., “the year of the Sheep and of the element *kuu*, under the planet Saturn” in the *Memoir*) is the time when Käd Ogul in the Qocho city witnessed that a “smaller stone *manistan*” was demolished and replaced by a Buddhist monastery (*vihāra*), and a “sacred and great *manistan*” was gutted and abandoned, with its “red brocade canopy and glazed and painted statue” (*töpü loxtu sırlag bädiz yang*) taken to furnish a newly built Buddhist monastery, though this great *mānistān* had not been totally ruined yet.<sup>773</sup> The Manichaean Church faced serious challenges from Buddhism and began to decline under the pressure of the Qocho Uyghur state during the period of the “Lancer” Khagan (in the late 10th century).

<i>The title of Qocho Uyghur King</i>	<i>Manuscripts</i>	<i>Content</i>
The “Lancer” Khagan - Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig (r. 981-984)	Versos of M 162a, M 336a, M 336b, and M 146+M 112+M 336c	The <i>Memoir of Käd Ogul</i>
Yaruk Bögü Khan (r. 1007-1008)	U 164a+b	Benediction for the Qocho Uyghur king, offered at a New Year ceremony
	T I ax 13 (now lost)	Commemoration of the deceased Yaruk Bögü Khan
	TM 176 (now lost)	Contemporary historical text of the eastern Manichaean Church in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, narrating Yaruk Bögü Khan’s death in a battle
	Ch/U6860 verso (Text B)	Historical text, concerning Yaruk Bögü Khan’s death and a new ruler’s enthronement

According to the Manichaean texts of U 164a+b, T I ax 13, TM 176, and Ch/U6860 verso B as mentioned above, the relation between the Manichaean Church and the Qocho Uyghur state seems to be recovered during the period of Yaruk Bögü Khan (in the early 11th century).

(4) The distinction of the religious “inside” (elects) and the secular “outside” (auditors) is also expressed in the Manichaean pictorial material. MIK III 8259 is “the largest illuminated codex fragment in the currently known corpus of Manichaean art”,<sup>774</sup> written in Parthian and Middle Persian languages and in Manichaean script, with both scribal decoration

<sup>772</sup> Gulácsi. *Mani’s Picture. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. pp 118-123. In addition, the reign period of the “ ‘Lancer’ Khagan - Arslan Bilgä Tängri Elig” (981-984) is reconstructed by Kasai. See Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67.

<sup>773</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 361-363.

<sup>774</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 56.

and figural composition. It contains four texts in total: folio 1(?) - the end of the Parthian *Parable of Bashandād*, a Middle Persian abecedarian hymn invoking blessings on the Manichaean religious community (including church leaders) and the Qocho Uyghur rulers, and a Middle Persian hymn to the deity Zurvan (as the “Father of Greatness”); folio 2(?) - parts of a Middle Persian treatise about the origin of the world.<sup>775</sup> In addition, this fragment contains an intratextually figural image on its folio 1(?) recto, which portrays a sermon scene including three male and three female auditors sitting on two rugs, in its lower section, and two elects supported by two flowers of lotus that are flanking a table-shaped object held by another long-stemmed flower of the same lotus, in the upper section of the sermon scene.



*The image of the sermon scene, on MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) recto*<sup>776</sup>

In this sermon scene, the figures are located according to their hierarchy within the Manichaean Church. Like its Buddhist counterpart, the Manichaean art often employs the difference of sizes and the placement of different community members to convey their hierarchical status. In the upper sub-scene, the elect on the left seems to read something, since he is holding a book-shaped object before his chest; and the elect on the right preaches something in a ritual context since his two hands give communicative gestures.<sup>777</sup> As to the lower sub-scene, the auditors' headwears indicate that they are Uyghur royal family members, among whom the tall black headgears of the two inner men (sitting on the right rug) are supposed to be worn by Uyghur princes at that time.<sup>778</sup> The tall female headdresses with gilded pieces of the two inner women (sitting on the left rug) are those of Uyghur princesses. Then, the others' rounded

<sup>775</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 221.

<sup>776</sup> The image is cut from the photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 60.

<sup>777</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 61.

<sup>778</sup> Härtel & Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. p. 197.

and undecorated caps indicate their lesser status. This sermon scene, combining elects and royal auditors, somehow corresponds to the text on MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) recto ii, ll. 3-5 and verso i, ll. 1-15 - the Middle Persian abecedarian hymn invoking blessings on the Manichaean church leaders and the Qocho Uyghur rulers. In particular, a Qocho Uyghur king named [Ay] *tängridä kut bulmiš kut ornanmiš* is mentioned in MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) verso i, ll. 14-15,<sup>779</sup> whose full official title is probably “*Kün ay tängridä kut bulmiš ulug kut ornanmiš alpin ärdämin el tutmiš alp arslan kutlug köl bilgä tängri han/xan*” (r. 1017-1031).<sup>780</sup> But since the official titles of the Qocho Uyghur kings were not well-documented, some of them are missing, in addition to the ten preserved titles (of the Qocho Uyghur kings) that are collected by Kasai, but not successive. However, it cannot be excluded that the Uyghur king named [Ay] *tängridä kut bulmiš kut ornanmiš* in MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) verso may refer to another Qocho Uyghur king around the period.

The radiocarbon result of MIK III 8259 indicates that it was made between 889 and 1015.<sup>781</sup> The historical evidence seems to accord well with this date/era. The Qocho Uyghur Kingdom was established with its centers in Qocho and Beshbalik after the mid-9th century, and the Qocho Uyghur court was affiliated with Manichaeism until the early 11th century.<sup>782</sup> The Turfan Manichaean book painting on MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) recto reflects the dualist structure of the Turfan Manichaean community, in which the role of Qocho Uyghur royal family members is significant.

(5) The distinction of the religious “inside” and the secular “outside” existed in Turfan Buddhism as well. While the dual distinction of the religious “inside” and the secular “outside” is mentioned by the Turfan Manichaean literature, a similar reference to the religion and the state can also be found in numerous Turfan Buddhist texts. In the Uyghur Buddhist literature, the protective function of the spirits and gods is depicted as first serving the teaching (of Buddha) and then extending to the (Uyghur) kingdom, which is rarely in reverse order. This depiction is reflected by a passage in the *Buyan ävirmäk* (“merit-transfer”) of the Buddhist canon - *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* (“Golden Light Sutra”, *Altun Yaruq* in Uyghur).<sup>783</sup> Then, the colophon to a Buddhist confession text

<sup>779</sup> Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 222.

<sup>780</sup> Kasai. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”. p. 67.

<sup>781</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. pp 57-58.

<sup>782</sup> Gulácsi. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. p. 58.

<sup>783</sup> Zieme, P. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo: Kolophone und*

commissioned by a Buddhist laywoman named Üträt also concerns the “inside” (religion) and the “outside” (realm). The colophon of Üträt (on U 9090) parallels the religion to the secular realm:

*ičtin singar nomuṣ sazıny taštın singar ilig ulusuṣ küyü közädü tutmaq-ları bolzun*

(And so) may they guard and protect the doctrine and discipline inside (*ičtin singar*), and the kingdom and land outside (*taštın singar*)! (U 9090, ll. 66-67)<sup>784</sup>

The terms “inside” (*ičtin singar*) and “outside” (*taštın singar*) also appear in two other Turfan Uyghur Buddhist texts - MIK III 191 and U 3528:

*ičtin singar arıṣ nom šazın • taštın singar il törü yigädmäkin utmaqın ärzün.*

On the inside, may pure teaching and discipline, and on the outside, the kingdom and the law, be victorious! (MIK III 191 recto, ll. 8-9)<sup>785</sup>

*[ičtin] singar arıṣ iduq nomuṣ sazıny [taštın singar] ilig uluṣuṣ iliglärin bäglärin küyü kü[zädü] bolu tägingäy ärti.*

May (the gods) in the [in]side pure holy doctrine and discipline, [outside] kingdom and land, by the princes and lords, be guarding and protecting. (U 3528 verso(?), ll. 8-11)<sup>786</sup>

While the “inside” sphere is explained by the same phrase – the “doctrine and discipline” (*nom šazın*) in MIK III 191 and U 3528, the “outside” sphere is expressed by the “kingdom and law” (*il törü*) in MIK III 191, but in U 3528 by two other phrases – the “kingdom and land” (*il uluṣ*) and the “princes and lords” (*iliglär bäglär*). Although their definition of the two spheres differs a little from each other, their basic references are the same.

Klimkeit finds that the expression “the Religion within and the Realm without” in Uyghur Manichaean and Buddhist texts would refer to “the spiritual and political dimensions (of life)”, while the terms in Chinese Manichaean texts (especially in the *Hymnscroll*) only refer to “the inner nature and the outer nature (of men)”.<sup>787</sup> Hamilton interprets the terms “inside” and “outside”: “externally (secular), as opposed to the interior (religious)”.<sup>788</sup> He treats this terminology as reflecting the Buddhist view of “within and without the religion”.<sup>789</sup> It can be assumed that this dual

---

*Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992. pp 69-70. Also see Zieme J.N. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra: Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Erster Band: I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung*. Leiden: Brill, 1958.

<sup>784</sup> Müller. “Uigurica II”, in *Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* No. 3. p. 80.

<sup>785</sup> Zieme. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. p. 70, note 365.

<sup>786</sup> Zieme. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. p. 70, note 366.

<sup>787</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 165, note 24.

<sup>788</sup> Hamilton, J.R. “Toquz-Oyuz et On-Uyyur”, *Journal Asiatique* 250, 1962, 23-63. p. 40.

<sup>789</sup> Hamilton. *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup>, siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. pp 50-51. Hodous, L. & W.E. Soothill. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London: Routledge,



distinction of the “inside” and “outside” first existed in the Buddhist tradition, for instance, the theory of the “two wheels” that arose in India: the *dharmacakka* (“dharma wheel”) for the religious sphere, and the *āṇācakka* (“rule wheel”) for the non-religious sphere,<sup>790</sup> which is characteristic of the second phase of the Buddhist theory of the state.<sup>791</sup> Furthermore, no matter whether embedded in the terms “inside” and “outside” or not, the division of the two spheres of the “religion and state” can be found in the texts of all religious communities in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

### 3.2.4 The Leadership of the Turfan Manichaean Community

The Manichaean church authority and the Qocho Uyghur court complemented each other well in the Turfan Manichaean community. They jointly led the Turfan Manichaeans, as the church authority represented the spiritual kingship while the secular kingship became the master of lay believers. The Qocho Uyghur rulers inherited the Manichaean belief of the former Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and demonstrated their role as protectors of Manichaeism.

The church authority is expressed in the Manichaean rituals, in which the most solemn occasion is the *Bema* festival which represents the Manichaean church’s central content of memorizing the Prophet Mani’s martyrdom and accession to the “Realm of Light”. The *Bema* festival particularly commemorated Mani’s eternal leadership over the entire Manichaean Community after his death. The term *bema* (meaning “seat/tribune/throne” in Greek; and in Syriac *bima*, in Middle Persian *gah*), refers to the seat or table that was located in the center of a Manichaean congregation or place of worship, which was treated as to be synonymous with Mani’s reign, regardless of Mani’s physical absence, and onto which all the Manichaeans should pay full attention throughout the liturgy.<sup>792</sup> In the hymns in praise of the *Bema* (M 801a, 7:1), the whole community was supposed to state: “We worship this wonderful *Bema* and the bright seat on which you (i.e., Mani) did seat yourself”.<sup>793</sup>

---

1996. p. 131a.

<sup>790</sup> Trenckner, U.V. *A Critical Pāli Dictionary, II*. Copenhagen, 1960. p. 47b: “*āṇā-cakka*, the sphere of authority (of the Buddha) (opp. *dharmacakka* = worldly might, secular power)”.

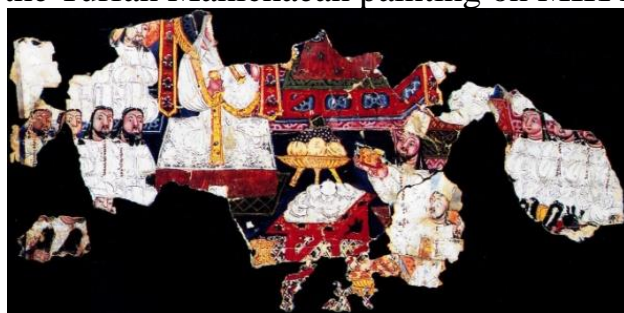
<sup>791</sup> Gokhale, B.G. “The Early Buddhist View of the State”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89.4, 1969, 731-738. p. 732. Gokhale, B.G. “*Dhamma* as a Political Concept in Early Buddhism”, *Journal of Indian History* 46, 1968, 249-261. p. 257.

<sup>792</sup> Baker-Brian, N.J. *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*. London: T&T Clark International, 2011. p. 132.

<sup>793</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 137.

Modern scholars have various speculations regarding the object put on the *Bema*, for example, Le Coq suggests that a portrait of Mani may have been placed on the table that functioned as a *Bema*.<sup>794</sup> Klimkeit suggests a book was placed there.<sup>795</sup>

The seat/table (*Bema*) and the food in the presence of auditors and elects composed the basic elements of the *Bema* festival,<sup>796</sup> which is reflected by the Turfan Manichaean painting on MIK III 4979a+b verso.



MIK III 4979a+b verso;

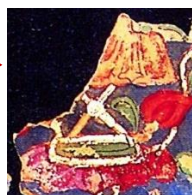


the detail of the *Bema*

The scene of MIK III 4979a+b verso depicts the celebration of the *Bema* festival, in which an elaborate dais is placed in the middle of the painting, and some elects of various ranks perform a ceremony around the dais. Due to the fragmentary condition, only the lower area of the dais remains visible. On this base dais, there is a smaller dais or table covered by a floral-patterned red cloth. This cloth's diamond-shaped folds and location resemble those on two other Turfan Manichaean paintings - MIK 8259 folio 1(?) recto and the regrouped fragments MIK III 6265+III 4966c. Both of them portray a sermon scene.



MIK 8259 folio 1(?) recto; the detail of the table cloth



MIK III 6265+ III 4966c, recto<sup>797</sup>  
(with the table cloth)

<sup>794</sup> Le Coq. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. p. 48.

<sup>795</sup> Klimkeit. *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. p. 39.

<sup>796</sup> Ebert, J. "Darstellungen der Passion Manis in bekannten und unbekanntem Bildfragmenten des Bema-Fests aus der Turfan-Sammlung", in K. Röhrborn & W. Veenker (eds.). *Memoriae Munusculum: Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994. 1-28. p. 17.

<sup>797</sup> Photo from Gulácsi. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. p. 64.

In the miniature of MIK 8259 folio 1(?) recto, there is a folding table with two crossing legs, located between two elects on the long-stemmed flower. The table's surface holds a smaller box-like object that is covered by the yellow cloth. In MIK III 6265+III 4966c (recto), two seated elects flank a lotus plant whose middle stalk opens its flower to support an object covered by the orange cloth. Though the folio of MIK III 6265+III 4966c is fragmentary, the similarity between the upper sections of the miniature of MIK 8259 folio 1(?) recto and of MIK III 6265+III 4966c recto, suggests that the missing part of MIK III 6265+III 4966c recto most likely contains the legs of a table. In addition, there is something unknown placed on the table's surface, in MIK III 6265 + III 4966c recto. Representing the spiritual kingship of the church authority, the *Bema* was built as a platform which includes at least two levels. The significance of the *Bema* for the Manichaeans is similar to the significance of the Easter for Christians, in remembrance of Prophet Mani / Jesus Christ and his spiritual presence in their holy ceremonies. Manichaeism and Christianity share some common features for their rituals, such as dates, preparations, and meanings in salvation.

The Qocho Uyghur kings were the administrators of the Turfan Manichaean community. The Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries (on Zong 8782 T.82) not only concerns the operation of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries but also regulates the interaction between the Uyghur court and the Manichaean monasteries, in which the Uyghur court can openly involve itself in the management of the monasteries.<sup>798</sup> The manuscript Zong 8782 T.82 was officially recognized by at least 11 red-colored square seals which are filled with four columns of Chinese characters: “the precious seal of the *il-ögäsi* - the Chancellor of the Secretariat and Chancellery of the State of the Great Uyghurs of Great Fortune” (大福大迴鶻 國中書門下 韻於迦思諸 宰相之寶印). From the fact that this document bears the red-colored square official seal of the Qocho Uyghur “Chancellor”, it must be issued by the ruling authority of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom to administrate the Manichaean monasteries.<sup>799</sup>

In exchange for the support of the Qocho Uyghur kings, the Manichaean church authority helped legitimize them and their kingdom. Besides the official titles with Manichaean celestial elements, the support of the

---

<sup>798</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. pp 35-126. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 39-147.

<sup>799</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. pp 127-128. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 149-151.

Manichaean church authority can be obviously found in the Manichaean hymns used for official ceremonies. There are Uyghur Manichaean enthronement hymns, benedictions, praises, and eulogies that were dedicated to the Uyghur kings and their kingdom.<sup>800</sup> Since the Steppe Uyghur period, some Uyghur kings had been legitimated by gods in the Manichaean narratives. The ideological role of secular kingship was manifested in numerous examples of the glorification of the Steppe Uyghur kings, such as the text of M 919. The text of M 919 clearly divinized the Uyghur secular kingship, by paralleling one king's death to the "sinking of the Sun God" and another king's enthronement to the "rising of the Moon God", so that the enthronement itself was treated or symbolized as a reincarnation of the supreme bodies of the Light, residing in the Uyghur secular kingship.<sup>801</sup> Some Steppe and Qocho Uyghur kings accepted such symbols of their deification, which is evidently revealed in their titles.<sup>802</sup> Their titles contain terms declaring that they had received the holy authority or charisma to rule their kingdom, from the *kün tängri* ("Sun God") or the *ay tängri* ("Moon God"), or both. Meanwhile, the Manichaean church leaders may have gained much from their intentional divinization of the Uyghur kings, because this kind of deification helped to guarantee the development of the Manichaean Church and its missionary activities within the Uyghur realm.

### ***Summary of Subchapter 3.2***

Compared to the earlier Manichaean monasteries that were simply for assemblies or rituals, the Turfan Manichaean monasteries offered living spaces to the elects and their servants. The Manichean monasteries in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom developed rapidly in the economy and possessed a large number of lands and laborers. The Qocho Uyghur secular authority deeply intervened in both external and internal issues of the Manichaean monasteries.

Although the Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 imposed new limits upon the elects, the Turfan Manichean monasteries kept enjoying their privileges, accompanied by the Qocho Uyghur official economic support. So far, it remains unknown how much the working regulations of

---

<sup>800</sup> Clark. "The Turkic Manichaean Literature". pp 133-134, Nr. 119- Nr. 184.

<sup>801</sup> Clark, L. "Manichaeism Among the Uygurs: The Uygur Khan of the Bokug Clan", in J. BeDuhn (ed.). *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 61-71. p. 71.

<sup>802</sup> For the titles of the rulers of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, see Kasai. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism". p. 64, Table 3.1. For the titles of the rulers of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, see Kasai. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism". p. 67, Table 3.2.

the Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 were discussed by the Qocho Uyghur court with the high elects of Manichaean monasteries before its issue. Under which circumstances was this Uyghur official text for Manichaean monasteries granted and written in the manuscript? The surviving text does not give a definite answer. It is also unknown whether it was produced in a period of the rise or the decline of Turfan Manichaeism. However, it surely performed an administrative function. Although the Uyghur kings were lay Manichaeans, it did not mean that their actual status was below that of the church leaders. The emergence of this Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries gave a good chance for the Qocho Uyghur court to deal with various affairs of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries, not merely administrating the elects and their economic activities, but also contributing to the construction of the Turfan Manichaean community.

The relation between the Manichaean Church and the Qocho Uyghur court is formally expressed in the Turfan Manichaean texts through the distinction of the religious inside/religion and the secular outside/realm. The “inside” and the “outside” can be represented by the Manichaean doctrines and the political realm/kingdom, or by the elects and the auditors (particularly nobles). The mention and interpretation of the “inside” and the “outside” in the Sogdian and Uyghur Manichaean texts revealed their religious nature and secular use. For the “inside” sphere, the elects were led by the divine *možak* (“teacher”), as told by T I D 3+Ch/U 6618 verso. For the “outside” sphere, the secular realm of Uyghurs was led by the king (“our Devout One”) as expressed by U 5362. In Ch/U 8118 verso, the “outside” realm extends its coverage to the Buddhist monks and Christians, in addition to the royal auditors of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, which indicates the Manichaean coexistence with other religions in the Turfan region. Furthermore, M 525a+b II even implies that all the people of the (Qocho Uyghur) kingdom composed the outside realm.

The terms “inside” and “outside” also appear in the Turfan Manichaean historical narratives, which indicate the interaction between the Manichaean Church and the state in different periods. M 919 concerned the enthronement of a Steppe Uyghur king, with the notion of the “inside” and the “outside”, but probably attempted to provide a Manichaean guise to the newly enthroned king whose specific religious faith is unknown. After that, according to TM 176, T I ax 13, and Ch/U6860 verso B, the Qocho Uyghur king - Yaruk Bügü Khan (r. 1007-1008) seems to be of considerable significance to the eastern Manichaean Church, and the Manichaean religion’s status around his

period had been changing, with the challenge from Buddhism. The Turfan Manichaean book illumination on MIK III 8259 folio 1(?) recto also presents the Manichaean inside and the secular outside in one scene, in which the position of the Qocho Uyghur royal members is below the elects. However, the distinction between the religious inside and the secular outside already existed in Central Asian Buddhism, which originated from early Buddhism and may be the source of the Manichaean version.

The Turfan Manichaean community was spiritually led by the Prophet Mani, which is represented by the *Bema* which is a seat/throne or table/dais in the Manichaean ceremonies. In the Turfan Manichaean art, the image of the *Bema* can symbolize Mani's spiritual presence. Meanwhile, the Uyghur kings were the administrators of the Manichaean community. The leadership of the Uyghur kings over the Turfan Manichaean community was strengthened, as they were divinized by the elects through the parallel of them with the Manichaean deities. In a word, the eastern Manichaean Church and the Uyghur kings cooperated in leading the Turfan Manichaean community. Both authorities of the church and the state had been granted by the Manichaean deities.

### 3.3 The Development of the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy

Similar to the Buddhist ones, the Manichaean laymen maintained two kinds of relationships: one religious relationship with the monks, and another economic relationship with the monasteries. The two relationships were not radically different or separated. The Manichaean monastic development in the Turfan region is an upgrade of the dual structure of the original Manichaean Community: the Manichaean laymen were supposed to financially support the monks; in exchange, the Manichaean monks guided the laymen to obtain a better destiny or rebirth. The Manichaean monasteries' economic activities were inevitably granted with salvational meaning. But according to the currently known Turfan Manichaean material, the Turfan Manichaean laymen's economic relationship with the monasteries lost its original dualistic essence. The Qocho Uyghur court regulated the affairs of the Manichaean monasteries, and incorporated their economy into the state system such as the *enčü* service.

The early Qocho Uyghur rulers promised official economic support to both Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries in the Turfan region but set out detailed regulations for managing them. Moriyasu compares the Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries (on Zong 8782 T.82) with the two Uyghur official documents for Buddhist monasteries (on U 5319 and U 5317), which had similar functions. But the situation of the Manichaean monastic administration is somehow different from that of the Buddhist monastic administration which enjoyed more freedom. The donations from the Qocho Uyghur court to the Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries in different amounts can also reflect the respective positions of Manichaeism and Buddhism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Furthermore, the land rent of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries from the Qocho Uyghur state not only indicates the development of the Manichaean monastic economy but also reveals the state's control of the land and its supervision over the Manichaean monastic economy.

### 3.3.1 The Qocho Uyghur Court and the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy

The Qocho Uyghur court deeply participated in the management and operation of the Manichaean monasteries. The Qocho Uyghur official document (Zong 8782 T.82) reveals that the Uyghur secular rulers can directly involve themselves in the economic management of the Manichaean monasteries, at least during a certain period. It issued a series of new ordinances for every important daily thing for the Manichaean monasteries. The issue of the updated ordinances is testified by the phrases - *ilkitäki xanıg* (“the previous house”) and *ilkitäki törü* (“the previous regulation”), which indicate the Qocho Uyghur court’s concern about the new situation of the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy:

*kargučılar kirzün. karg[učılar] [...] bolsar yämä ilkitäki xanıgta kirsär yalñuz [...] [yar man]ıstantaki yarlıg birlä kirzün kigürs[är] [...]täki törüčä ilkitäki törüčä iş[lägü]či možak el imga totuk [...] işlätzün.*<sup>803</sup>

The watchmen should enter ... and (the watchmen) become ... and if they enter the previous house ... alone ... They should enter together with the Yar people who are in the (Yar) *[man]ıstan*... Let them enter ... the *možak* (“teacher”) who follows the previous regulation shall let the financial procurator work ... according to the [previous] regulation of ... (Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 1-5).<sup>804</sup>

The phrases - “the previous house” and “the previous regulation” are mentioned at the beginning of the text of Zong 8782 T.82, which were used for introducing the updated instructions or regulations in the following lines. This document made the Qocho Uyghur authority a vital position in the management and finances of the Manichaean monasteries. On the other hand, it may cause the Turfan Manichaean monasteries to be more dependent on the Qocho Uyghur state. The development of the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy seems to be controlled by the Qocho Uyghur state.

In Zong 8782 T.82, the Qocho Uyghur court concerns the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy in two aspects:

- (1) The supervision of field labor and storage of produce  
(in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 1-25);
- (2) The labor and produce on lands related to the *manıstans*  
(in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 73-100).

The labor of the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy includes not only Manichaean laymen but also other laborers. The text of Zong 8782 T.82

<sup>803</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 39. Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Volume III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 325.

<sup>804</sup> Based on Moriyasu’s Japanese translation, see Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 39. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 44.



regulated that the farmers had to contribute a great number of farm products, such as wheat (*buyday*), sesames (*könçit*), beans (*burçaq*), millet (*qonuq*) (in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 26-28), and the *quanbu*-cloth (in line 35)<sup>805</sup> to the Manichaean monasteries. Besides, the farmers also needed to contribute melons (*qayun*, in ll. 79-81), cottons (*käbüz*, in ll. 112-114) and so on, to the Manichaean monasteries. Apart from the material and the land rent that the monasteries obtained, they hired handymen and herdsmen for the supplementary work. From this Qocho Uyghur official document, we can find that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was quite strict and the high elects enjoyed privileges. However, it is not testified whether all the farmers attached to the Manichaean monasteries were Manichaean believers, and how much the labor of the Manichaean monasteries was incorporated into the state administration of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. It is possible that the Qocho Uyghur rulers used the Manichaean monastic institution to regulate the labor which served the Manichaean Church and the Uyghur state at the same time.

The Turfan Manichaean monastic economy was involved in the state system of the *ençü* (“state land/property” in Uyghur) service, as is reflected in U 5525, which is a Uyghur Manichaean document concerning the property of the *možaklar* (“teachers”). The Turfan fragment U 5525 was from a book roll whose verso is blank. Wilkens remarks that this document might be a “fragment of an admonition or decree”,<sup>806</sup> as it mentions the “teachers”, implies the land grants, and uses the 3rd person optative - *üläşzünlär* (“to divide among themselves”, in U 5525, line 4). More importantly, the Uyghur Manichaean text on U 5525 (recto) was imprinted by a red square Chinese seal (10.7~11×10.6 cm):



U 5525 recto

大福大迴鶻 國中書門下 頡于□□諸 宰相之寶印<sup>807</sup>

<sup>805</sup> The Chinese loanword in Uyghur - *quanbu* is transliterated by Geng Shimin as *qoqpu*, which refers to *guanbu* 官布 / *kebu* 課布, as a monetary unit of paying tax in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Geng Shimin. “*Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi* 回鶻文摩尼教文書初釋”. p. 510, nr. 22. Wang Fei. “‘*Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu*’ zai shi ‘回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書’再釋”, *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊, 2000, 225-242. p. 237, nr. 22c.

<sup>806</sup> “Fragment einer Ermahnung oder eines Dekretes”, see Wilkens. *Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. p. 154.

<sup>807</sup> The Chinese characters of this seal are interpreted by Moriyasu, see Moriyasu. “*Kasai Kigigun setsudoshi no shuin to sono hennen* 河西歸義軍節度使の朱印とその編年”. p. 118, “*Beppyō - shuin betsu bunsho bangō - shiyō nendai - sunpō risuto - Nishi Uiguru koku*” (「別表・朱印別文書番號・使用年代・寸法リスト・西ウイグル國」).

The precious seal of the *il-ö[gäsi]* - the Chancellor of the Secretariat  
and Chancellery of the State of the Great Uyghurs of Great Fortune

This Chinese seal appears to be issued by the same institution of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom as the seal in the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82, because their contents are the same.<sup>808</sup> Thus, there is a possibility that the document of U 5525 was a decree for the economic issues of Manichaean monasteries, which concerned the property or goods (*tavar*) that belonged to the Manichaean Church; and it covered a wider realm than the Turfan region, for it refers to the plural form of the “teacher” (*možaklar*) in association with the state system of the *enčü* service, whereas there was only one “teacher” residing in the Turfan region as we have known so far. It can be speculated that the state system of the *enčü* service was extended beyond the Turfan region, as the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom expanded its territory. Due to the damaged situation of the fragment U 5525, the relation between the mentioned church property/goods and the *enčü* system remains unclear. However, the co-occurrence of the terms *možaklar* (“teachers”) and *enčü* in this short though fragmentary text implies that the economic operation of the land and property of the Manichaean monasteries was incorporated within the *enčü* system of service to the state.

### 3.3.2 A Comparison between the Qocho Uyghur Official Documents for Manichaean and Buddhist Monasteries

Along with Manichaeism, Buddhism was another important religion existing in the Turfan region. The Qocho Uyghur court also made official documents for regulating the Buddhist monasteries. There are at least two Uyghur official documents for Buddhist monasteries (on U 5317 and U 5319), found in the Turfan region. The Turfan scroll fragment U 5317 contains the description of a Buddhist monastery of Murtuq (*Murutluq aryadan*) in the Turfan region. U 5317 specifically mentions an abbot named Titso who became a venerated Buddhist monk in 1249. Considering the period of the Abbot Titso and the animal calendar, Zieme dates the text of U 5317 to around 1259/1260.<sup>809</sup> Matsui speculates that the manuscript U 5317 is a copy of the time between the 9th and the 12th century (during the Qocho Uyghur period), but without giving

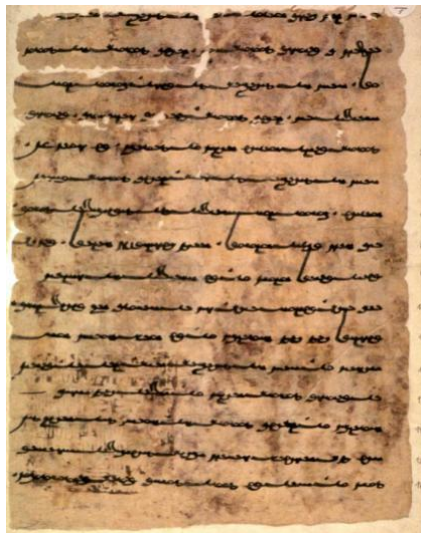
---

<sup>808</sup> Moriyasu. “*Kasai Kigigun setsudoshi no shu'in to sono hennen* 河西歸義軍節度使の朱印とその編年”. p. 118, “*Beppyō·shuin betsu bunsho bangō·shiyō nendai·sunpō risuto·Nishi Uguru koku*” (「別表·朱印別文書番號·使用年代·寸法リスト·西ウイグル國」).

<sup>809</sup> Zieme, P. “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8, 1981, 237-263. p. 239.

evidence.<sup>810</sup> However, the text of U 5317 exempts the Buddhist monastery of Murtuq from taxes. Though no seal survives on the fragment U 5317, Moriyasu recognizes it as most likely made by the Qocho Uyghur rulers.<sup>811</sup> The taxation privileges of the Buddhist monastery in Murtuq were repeated in the text of U 5319 in which the Buddhist monks were also exempted from labor services by the Qocho Uyghur state.

The Turfan Uyghur scroll fragment U 5319 contains a Qocho Uyghur official document, which promises tax exemption for the Buddhist monastery in Murtuq.<sup>812</sup> U 5319 is imprinted by a red square Chinese seal (9.6×9.8 cm) with significant similarities to that of the Uyghur Manichaean manuscript Zong 8782 T.82, which is visible at the end of the Uyghur official document of U 5319.



*U 5319 (with a red square Chinese seal on ll. 12-16)*

The Chinese seal in U 5319 contains four columns of five characters in each column, of which only four characters (□□大□□/□□□□□/韻□□□□□/□□□之印) are legible.<sup>813</sup> The semi-block Uyghur handwriting combined with the Chinese seal reveals that the document of U 5319 was probably issued by the Qocho Uyghur court.<sup>814</sup> This Chinese seal (on U

<sup>810</sup> Matsui, D. “Taxation Systems as Seen in the Uighur and Mongol Documents from Turfan: an Overview”, *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 50, 2005, 67-82. p. 70.

<sup>811</sup> Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 158-159.

<sup>812</sup> Zieme. “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster”. pp 254-258. About dating the fragment U 5319, see Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 134, fn. 17; Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 158, fn. 17.

<sup>813</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 134, note 17.

<sup>814</sup> Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 158.

5319) belongs to the same kind of seal that was imprinted on the Uyghur Manichaean manuscript Zong 8782 T.82 (大福大迴鶻 國中書門下 頡於迦思諸 宰相之寶印, “The precious seal of the *il-ögäsi* - the Chancellor of the Secretariat and Chancellery of the State of the Great Uyghurs of Great Fortune”), only with a slight difference in size, and at the end - *zhi yin* 之印 (“the seal of ...”) replacing *zhi baoyin* 之寶印 (“the precious seal of...”). Thus, the Uyghur Buddhist official document of U 5319 was likely issued by the Qocho Uyghur court at a contemporary time with the Uyghur Manichaean manuscript Zong 8782 T.82. Noteworthy, the ending lines of Zong 8782 T.82 (ll. 123-125) are consistent with the ending lines of U 5319 (ll. 14-16) and U 5317 (ll. 42-48), which all reveal an autonomy that they got from the Qocho Uyghur court. All three fragments have missing beginnings but complete endings.

Zong 8782 T.82 (Manichaean) (ll.123-125)	U 5319 (Buddhist) (ll. 14-16)	U 5317 (Buddhist) (ll. 42-48)
<i>Otačılar turgak turzun balık arakasınta toyın arakasınta yargan čuban yakmazun• kánt işi bolsar işläziün adın işkä yakmazun•</i> <sup>815</sup>	<i>Ligui Tutuŋ-ka• kuvragtan igiltän nägü mä işküč sıkış ämgäk tägürmädin asırayu turzun• anın bu tuta turgu bitig birtürtümüz•</i> <sup>816</sup>	<i>Murutluk aryadanta turgučı šälilärkä balık arakasıntın šazıntın kuvragtın• basıg, täšig tütün udi başlap• kayu ymä iş küč tägürmädin• borlukanga• ögän käsgüčilär• suvçı kirmädin• asgu üzüm işig tırgük ymä almazun• anın bu tuta turgu bitig yrlg birtürü yrlqdmz•</i> <sup>817</sup>
“The judge and the village head shall not interfere between the city and the monks. If they have any municipal affair, they shall execute it; as for other affairs, they shall not interfere”. <sup>818</sup>	“Without imposing any tax or oppression on Ligui Tutung <sup>819</sup> by the community (or) by the laity, one should take care of him! That is why we have granted this document to be enforced”. <sup>820</sup>	“The people ( <i>sälis</i> ) <sup>821</sup> staying in the Murutluq (Murtuq) monastery should not be subject to any tax by those living in the area of the city (from the discipline and the community), starting with <i>basıg, täšig</i> , sheep (and) cattle (of the household)! The canal

<sup>815</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 46. Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 330.

<sup>816</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 135.

<sup>817</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 136.

<sup>818</sup> Based on Moriyasu’s Japanese translation, see Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 46. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 51.

<sup>819</sup> “Ligui Tutung” is one of the three owners of the Buddhist monastery of Murtuq, see U 5319, ll. 3-5: “We have said that after the veneration, the Murutluq monastery should be owned by the three - Ligui Tutung, Guitso Šilavanti and Pintso Tutung”.

<sup>820</sup> Based on Moriyasu’s Japanese translation, see Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 135. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. pp 158-159.

		cleaners and water managers should not enter their vineyard! Also, you should not take any (tax) for the strings and columns of the hanging grapes! That is why we have granted this command document to be enforced”. <sup>822</sup>
--	--	---

The Qocho Uyghur official documents of Zong 8782 T.82 and U 5319 can be dated to a similar period, while the one of U 5317 may be a later composition (dated by Zieme to 1259/1260). Moriyasu finds that the Turfan Manichaeen monasteries owned more lands and enjoyed a broader range of privileges than the Turfan Buddhist monasteries as reflected in U 5319 and U 5317,<sup>823</sup> because Manichaeism had been officially supported from the time of Uyghur Steppe Kingdom to the early period of Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Due to their different conditions, the Uyghur official document for Manichaeen monasteries (at least 125 lines) was apparently longer than the two Uyghur ones for Buddhist monasteries (at least 16 and 48 lines respectively), with more details.

The two Uyghur official documents for Buddhist monasteries had incorporated a non-intervention policy and exempted the Buddhist monasteries from any taxing order. So, their content became simpler than the Uyghur Manichaeen document which at official level interfered more with the Manichaeen monastic affairs. On the other hand, both Manichaeism and Buddhism had complicated ecclesiastic hierarchies, and with autonomy, the high priests of a Manichaeen or Buddhist monastery can maintain its operation and secure its property such as lands and animals.

### 3.3.3 The Qocho Uyghur Official Donations to the Manichaeen and Buddhist Monasteries

The Qocho Uyghur court sponsored both Manichaeism and Buddhism since its early period. But there might be a slight difference in actual

---

<sup>821</sup> The term *sālis* referred to the local people who worked and depended on a Turfan Buddhist monastery but they were not monks. See Zieme. “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster”. p. 251.

<sup>822</sup> Based on Moriyasu’s Japanese translation, see Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 136. Moriyasu. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. p. 160.

<sup>823</sup> Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyō shi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. p. 137.

positions between Manichaeism and Buddhism due to the different donations of the Qocho Uyghur court to the two communities. The Turfan Uyghur fragment U 9271 (found in Qocho ruin α) contains texts from an account book. Its recto testifies the generous financial donation of the Qocho Uyghur king to the Manichaean community, and its verso indicates the economic support of the Qocho Uyghur court to both Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries, in particular mentioning their ecclesiastical leaders (probably before the time of officially shifting from Manichaeism to Buddhism). Especially, U 9271 verso reveals that the Buddhist community once exceeded the Manichaean community in the aspect of official financial support. The finding place of this fragment U 9271 (Qocho ruin α), corresponds to the smaller “stone *manistan*” that was torn down in 983, as recorded by the *Kād Ogul Memoir*. Thus, it can be deduced that the account texts of U 9271 reflect the social and economic situations of Manichaean and Buddhist communities probably before 983.

U 9271 recto contains a text of an account book that recorded the almsgivings of the *quanpu* (a Uyghur term loaned from the Chinese word *guanbu* 官布, as a substitute of the Qocho Uyghur official currency in circulation, made of cotton cloth), to a Manichaean monastery:

*Tängri možak qutın[ı]ng qul[u]tı [... ...] [a]vtadan ilig labı o[n] (qu)anpu biš (u)[učluγ]* (U 9271 recto, ll. 1-2)<sup>824</sup>

The holy Teacher, the Lord’s slave ... ... the Bishop received the ten half-*quanpu* as a donation from the (Qocho Uyghur) king.

This message reveals that instead of the *tängri možak* (“holy Teacher”), the *avtadan* (“Bishop”) was the head of the targeted Manichaean group in the Turfan region by the text. This “Bishop” was supported by the Qocho Uyghur king with official offerings, which implies the time of this text of the account book (in U 9271 recto) to be not later than the second half of the 10th century when Manichaeism was officially sponsored by the Qocho Uyghur court.

U 9271 verso also contains a text of an account book, recording the almsgivings of three kinds: the *quanpu*, the wheat (*tarıγ*), and the millet (*üür*). The text of U 9271 verso includes two detailed accounts, both of which indicate the economic support of the Qocho Uyghur court at some time, to Manichaean and Buddhist monks separately:

(1) In Account 1 (U 9271 verso, ll. 1-5), the receivers of Qocho Uyghur official almsgivings/donations were the “80 Buddhist monks led by the

---

<sup>824</sup> Matsui, D. “*Gaochang a-si yizhi suo chu Monijiao - Fojiao siyuan Huihuwen zhangli yanjiu* 高昌 α 寺遗址所出摩尼教—佛教寺院回鹘文賬歷研究”, *Journal of Sun Yatsen University (Social Science Edition)* vol. 59 n. 2, 2019, 100-107. p. 101.

‘Doctrine Overseer’” (*šazin ayyučı başlap säkiz [o](n) (q)[u]vray*),<sup>825</sup> and the “14 Manichaean monks and nuns” (*ärän qırqın tört ygrmi tängril[i](l)[är]*).<sup>826</sup> The expression *ärän qırqın ... tängrilär* (“Manichaean monks and nuns”) can also be found in the Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries as *ärän tängrilär qırqın tängrilär* - “Manichaean monks and nuns” (Zong 8782 T.82, line 62).<sup>827</sup>

- (2) In Account 2 (U 9271 verso, ll. 6-11), the receivers of Qocho Uyghur official almsgivings/donations were the “46 Manichaean monks and nuns led by the Bishop” (*avtadan başlap ärän qırqın tängrilär altı älig*), and the “100 Buddhist monks’ congregation led by the Master named Sučadi” (*sučadi ačari başlap toyin quvra[yı] yüz*).<sup>828</sup> The “46 Manichaean monks and nuns” were under the direct leadership of the “Bishop” (*avtadan*) who may have resided in the smaller “stone *manistan*” (at Qocho ruin α) that is mentioned in the *Käd Ogul Memoir*, while the “Teacher” (*možak*) mentioned by U 9271 recto (line 1) may have resided in the bigger “sacred and great *manistan*” (at Qocho ruin K). As the targeted Manichaean group in U 9271 recto was also headed by a “Bishop” (*avtadan*), the “46 Manichaean monks and nuns” mentioned by U 9271 verso, ll. 6-11 probably belong to the same Manichaean group mentioned by U 9271 recto.

In U 9271 verso, a vague term *otralıy* (meaning “someone or something from the middle/inside”, similar to the Chinese “central court”) appears in both the two above accounts. The *otralıy* may refer to a certain official institution or commercial organization, which helped the distribution of the *quanpu* and the shipment and delivery of grains to the Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries. It can be deduced that the *otralıy* was someone or some group that represented the Qocho Uyghur court to transfer the official economic support to the Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries. In addition, there might be some time interval between the two above accounts, because of the change in the number of monks and nuns between them. However, all the account texts of U 9271 can be dated to the 10th century, or more specifically before 983, as the Qocho Uyghur official attitude towards Manichaeism experienced dramatic change

<sup>825</sup> The title *šazin ayyučı/ayguči* means “the doctrine overseer”, and the term *quvray/kuvrag* means “the community/congregation” (Sanskrit: *saṃgha*) that implies the Buddhist community. Also, there is another term *šazin quvray/kuvrag*, which means “the Buddhist community”. Wilkens. *Handwörterbuch des Altuirischen (Altuirisch-Deutsch-Türkisch)*. pp 433 & 647.

<sup>826</sup> Matsui. “*Gaochang α-si yizhi suocho Monijiao - Fojiao siyuan Huihuwen zhangli yanjiu* 高昌 α 寺遺址所出摩尼教—佛教寺院回鶻文賬歷研究”. p. 102.

<sup>827</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 327.

<sup>828</sup> Matsui. “*Gaochang α-si yizhi suocho Monijiao - Fojiao siyuan Huihuwen zhangli yanjiu* 高昌 α 寺遺址所出摩尼教—佛教寺院回鶻文賬歷研究”. p. 102.

during the late 10th and early 11th century when Buddhism got more favored by the Qocho Uyghur court. In U 9271 verso, a top Buddhist ecclesiastical title - *šazın ayyučı* (“the Doctrine Overseer”, in verso line 3) - emerges as the head of the targeted Buddhist monks’ group. Moriyasu thinks that its appearance as the highest rank in the Qocho Uyghur Buddhist hierarchy was not earlier than the early 11th century.<sup>829</sup> But in the context of U 9271, it remains unclear whether this *šazın ayyučı* actually referred to the highest Buddhist hierarchic rank or not.

However, U 9271 verso reveals that the size of the Buddhist group was greater than that of the Manichaean group at the time, as it mentioned so far 14+46=60 Manichaean monks and nuns, and 80+100=180 Buddhist monks (and nuns), who received the official sponsorship. Then, the account of U 9271 verso, ll. 6-11, indicates that the “46 Manichaean monks and nuns” were sponsored with “90 *quanpu*”, while the “100 Buddhist monks (and nuns)” were sponsored with “500 *quanpu*, 2 *šıy* wheat, and 2 *šıy* millet” at the same time. Therefore, each Buddhist monk/nun got more official donations than each Manichaean monk/nun. The former was near twice the latter, on the *quanpu*. In addition, the Buddhist monks even received an extra offering of grains. So, the account of U 9271 verso, ll. 6-11 implies that the Buddhist community got better official sponsorship than the Manichaean community in the Turfan region. But it still said that the offerings mentioned were “not enough” (*yitmädin*, in verso line 10) for the Buddhist monks, as they had “used up the millet (at theirs)” (*adaqtın üürüg üläšmišl[är]*, in verso line 11), which implies that the demand of the Buddhist monks may have exceeded supply. In U 9271 verso, the Buddhist monks received the “king’s donation” (*ilig labı*, in verso line 10), which was also applied to the Manichaean ones in another account text in U 9271 recto. In short, the above evidence shows that since its early period, the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom had greatly sponsored the Turfan Buddhist community along with the Manichaeans.

### **3.3.4 The Qocho Uyghur State’s Supervision over the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy**

The Qocho Uyghur state’s supervision on the one hand guaranteed official support to the Manichaean monasteries, but on the other hand, interfered the development of the Manichaean monastic economy. The

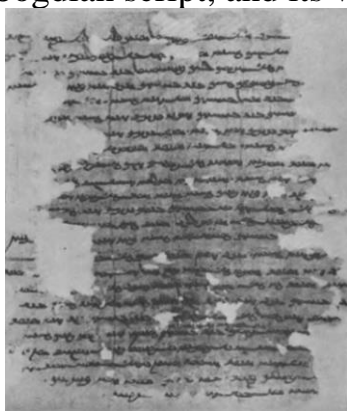
---

<sup>829</sup> Moriyasu, T. “Chronology of West Uighur Buddhism: Re-Examination of the Dating of the Wall-paintings in the Grünwedel Cave No.8 (New: No. 18), Bezeklik”, in P. Zieme (ed.), *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism. In Memoriam Kogi Kudara*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008. pp 204-210.



Turfan Manichaean monasteries' use of lands was also controlled by the Qocho Uyghur court, as the Manichaean monasteries expanded themselves through renting lands from the state. The Turfan Uyghur fragments K 7717 and U 5302 both indicate that the Manichaean monasteries did rent lands from the Qocho Uyghur state, although both texts were not composed in an especially Manichaean context. The texts of K 7717 and U 5302 both are Uyghur registers of receipts of land rent payments, or in short - account books.

The fragment K 7717 is a piece of paper found in an excavated area of Yar Khoto (Yar/Jiaohe city ruins) in the Turfan region and is now preserved in the Chinese Historical Museum in Beijing. Its recto contains a Uyghur text written in Sogdian script, and its verso is blank.



K 7717 <sup>830</sup>

The text of K 7717 states that it is a “register of receipts” (*kigüt*, originally meaning “things that come in”) of rent payments for lands in the area of “cities in east and west, being led by Qocho” (*koč[o] başlap öngtün [ke]din balı[k]lar*) at the beginning of the text:

*koč[o] başlap öngtün [ke]din balı[k]lar [...] [ya]kalar tarıg u[yur] [ki]gütin bititimiz*

We have written a register of receipts of rent payments in grain and [millet] [...] the cities in the East and West, being led by Qocho. (K 7717, ll. 1-2)<sup>831</sup>

The compiler of the register recorded the receipts of “rent payments” (*kigüt*),<sup>832</sup> in the form of “grain” (*tarıg*) and “millet” (*uyur*) for the lands in the cities of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>833</sup> This register seems to be kept by an official or proprietor of the lands that were belonging to the

<sup>830</sup> The photo of the fragment K 7717 is from Huang Wenbi. *Tulufan kaogu ji* 吐魯番考古記 (*Kaoguxue tekan* 考古學特刊 Nr. 3). Beijing: Zhongguo kexueyuan chuban, 1954. p. 88, photo 80.

<sup>831</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 384-385.

<sup>832</sup> The term *kigüt* means “rent” (*Pachtzins* in German), see Wilkens. *Handwörterbuch des Altuirischen (Altuirisch-Deutsch-Türkisch)*. p. 380.

<sup>833</sup> As in U 5302 (another Uyghur document of “register of receipts of land rent payments”) and in Zong 8782 T.82 (the Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries), all measures of grain were weighed in *šig* and *küri*.

state, in which a rent payment for land connected to a Manichaean monastery (*manistan*, in line 20) is recorded. On the surviving part of the fragment K 7717, there are 25 items of receipts of rent payments from various figures. Both Manichaean and Buddhist figures got involved in the rent payment of lands: the *xoštir* Utmış (in line 9) as a “superior” in the group of Manichaean elects, his team member - the *šāli* Kābirāy (in line 9) - as a “master” in the Buddhist priesthood, and the persons named *Kavšurm[ı]š* and *Ödüş* (in line 10) who are described as *šaxanlar* (“novices”, possibly related to a Manichaean context).<sup>834</sup> In the end, there is a conclusion (K 7717, ll. 23-24) to this register of receipts, which provides the sums of the preceding rent payments.

Among the 25 receipts or properties, only three are relevant to the Manichaean community:

(1) From the *xoštir* Utmış and from the *šāli* Kābirāy: (received from Utmış) two *kūri* [...]; (and received from Kābirāy) [...] and six(?) *šig* grain. (K 7717, line 9)<sup>835</sup>

Here, the two payers are paralleled. The first payer, a figure named Utmış is titled with the *xoštir* (“superior”) which is a Manichaean high elect but holds special tasks of dealing with auditors and other secular or economic issues. Meanwhile, another payer named Kābirāy is titled with the *šāli* (“master/instructor”)<sup>836</sup> which is clearly associated with the Uyghur Buddhist congregation. It appears that both Manichaean and Buddhist communities needed to rent lands from the state, in which the Manichaean *xoštir* and the Buddhist *šāli* played the role of negotiators for their respective monastic economic affairs.

(2) From the novices (*šaxanlar*) *Kavšurm[ı]š* and *Ödüş*: (received from *Kavšurm[ı]š*) [...]; (and received from *Ödüş*) one *šig* and five *kūri* grain. (K 7717, line 10)<sup>837</sup>

Here, the two payers named *Kavšurm[ı]š* and *Ödüş* are described as *šaxanlar* (“novices”), which is a term often found in the Turfan Manichaean texts, such as the *Kād Ogul Memoir* (on the versos of M 162a, M 336a, M 366b, and the regrouped fragments M 146+M 112+M 336c), Bezeklik (Sogdian) Letter B (81TB 65:2), Bezeklik (Uyghur) Letter F (81TB 65:6), and the Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries (Zong 8782 T.82). The *Kād Ogul Memoir*’s author Kād Ogul (as a *xoštir*) called himself a *šaxankaya* (“junior novice”,

<sup>834</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 385.

<sup>835</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 384-385.

<sup>836</sup> The term *šāli* is a loanword from the Chinese Buddhist title *sheli* 闍梨, meaning “high monk”, which is originated from the Sanskrit word *acharya* (meaning “preceptor and expert instructor in matters such as religion, or any other subject”). Wilkens. *Handwörterbuch des Altuirischen (Altuirisch-Deutsch-Türkisch)*. p. 647.

<sup>837</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 384-385.

in M 146+M 112+M 336c verso, line 11).<sup>838</sup> In the Sogdian Manichaean letter of 81TB 65:2, the names of three *šaxans* are mentioned: Rosan Peroz *šaxan* (in line 53), Rāymast Yazaδ *šaxan* (in line 55), and Saδ Baroγ *šaxan* (in line 57), who together sang the hymns and read the holy texts in a Manichaean ceremony.<sup>839</sup> The sender of the Uyghur Manichaean letter of 81TB 65:6, named *Raymast Murwa*, has a variant title - *šaxanč*. The *šaxanč/šaxan* Raymast Murwa sent the letter to a *xoštir* (in 81TB 65:6, ll. 1-2).<sup>840</sup> In the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82, the *šaxankayalar* (“junior novices”) were a part of the elects, whose illness and treatment needed to be dealt with by a figure called *Yigmiš* (in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 105-109).<sup>841</sup>

(3) (From) [...], (received) a rent payment of nine *šig*, six *küri* grain, and [...] [millet] for the land that is at the [...] *manistan*. One should look at the rents and the payments of [grain] and millet, and make a register of receipts (of them). (K 7717, ll. 20-21)<sup>842</sup>

Here is a rent payment for the land related to a Manichaean monastery. In K 7717, line 20, the gap before the word *manistan* may be filled with *ulug* (“big”) or *kičig* (“small”) as in the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 (ll. 80-81), or *yangı* (“new”) or *qarı* (“old”) as in another Turfan document of receipts of land rent payments (in U 5302, ll. 4-5). It can be speculated that the *manistan* mentioned in K 7717, line 20 referred to one of the two major Manichaean monasteries in Qocho city. The compiler of this register noted (in K 7717, line 21) that another independent register of receipts that the *manistan* paid for the land rent must be made, which would give more attention to the Manichaean monastery that was leasing lands from the state. Nevertheless, except for the above three receipts or properties, all the other ones appear to have no connection with the Manichaean community. So, there is no evidence to prove that this document of the register of land rent payments was made in a specifically Manichaean context. Instead, it was made in a purely commercial context.

U 5302 contains another Uyghur document of “register of receipts / account book of payments” of the land rent payments. The fragment U 5302 is a piece of paper whose recto contains a Uyghur text written in Sogdian script. Its verso is blank.

<sup>838</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 361-362.

<sup>839</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 91 & 98.

<sup>840</sup> Liu Hongliang etc. *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. pp 206-207.

<sup>841</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 333 & 355.

<sup>842</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 385-386.



U 5302

In U 5302, the first line states itself as a *kirmiř ötigi* (“register of receipts / account book of payments”), which means that the below payments were received by an official or proprietor who was keeping the account for renting lands, on behalf of the state. Although the identity of this official or proprietor is unstated, it is not likely that the account was made in a Manichaean context. Among the entries, only one payment is directly associated with the Manichaean community:

*yangi kari manistanning yaka t[a]rığta kan ċisi üç řig beř küri tarıg berti*

As for the new and old *manistans*, Kan Ćisi gave three řig and five küri grain (due for) the rent (payment). (U 5302, ll. 4-6)<sup>843</sup>

The “new and old *manistans* (Manichaean monasteries)” rented lands and paid to the official or proprietor. In each entry, the names of payers are mostly followed by the genitive +*ning/ning*, which is used to identify the subject of the entry, meaning “of (what concerns)...” or “as for (what concerns)...”, as well as identifying the person who paid into the account. In the entry of U 5302, ll. 4-6, the payers are the “new and old *manistans*”, which were represented by the figure named *Kan Ćisi* who paid the amount for the rent of land.

The register of U 5302 shares three names of figures (Konguz, Kantur’s son and Ćatı) with those of K 7717, which indicate that both texts were drawn up in a similar economic context during the same period when the Turfan Manichaean monasteries needed more lands. In K 7717, the payments for renting land were in the form of both *tarıg* (“grain”) and *uyur* (“millet”), while in U5302, they were only in the form of *tarıg*. Both texts imply the development of the Manichaean monasteries and their involvement in the economic field.

<sup>843</sup> Clark. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 390-391.

### *Summary of Subchapter 3.3*

Along with the development of the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy, the Qocho Uyghur court deeply participated in the management and operation of the Manichaean monasteries. The Turfan Manichaean monastic economy was incorporated by the Qocho Uyghur court into the state (such as the *enčü* service), according to the document concerning the property of the Teachers (U 5525), and the two official registers of receipts of the land rent of Manichaean monasteries (K 7717 and U 5302). However, the Turfan Manichaean monasteries still needed to rent lands from the state, which reflects that their property was supervised by the state.

Comparing the Qocho Uyghur official documents respectively for Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries, we find that both communities were supported by the Qocho Uyghur court. But the Qocho Uyghur official text for Manichaean monasteries (Zong 8782 T.82) is longer and more detailed than its Buddhist counterparts, which indicates the deeper participation of the Qocho Uyghur court in the Manichaean monasteries which had more properties. On the other hand, the Turfan Buddhist monasteries got exemption from taxation, and also a greater degree of autonomy than the Turfan Manichaean monasteries. According to a Turfan account book, at some time the Buddhist community appears to obtain more financial assistance of the Qocho Uyghur court than that of the Manichaean community in the Turfan region.

However, the Turfan Manichaean monasteries hired extra laborers and rented lands, which happened in a purely secular or commercial context. The economic dependence of elects on ordinary auditors became much weaker along with the development of the Manichaean monastic economy, whereas the elects and their monasteries were under the supervision of the royal auditors of the Qocho Uyghur court.

### 3.4 The Turfan Manichaean Community and International Relations

In medieval times, the migration or travel of some persons was mostly facilitated by trade or religious mission. Sometimes, diplomatic missions could also be combined with commercial and religious activities. Apart from the Manichaean missions from Marv and Syria, the Sogdian merchants were actively spreading the Manichaean religion to the East, which made eastern Manichaeism to be intimately associated with the Sogdian trade. During the late period of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (until 840), the Sogdian Manichaeans as official envoys participated in the Steppe Uyghur diplomatic activities and commercial activities with the Tang Empire, which is told clearly by medieval Chinese historical material. But such detailed records had not yet been found in the case of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (866-1132), while the Ganzhou Uyghur Kingdom (since the mid-9th century) inherited the former Steppe Uyghurs' official and commercial relationships with the Tang Empire. The secular history of the early period (9th-10th centuries) of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom remains unclear, for there is not enough material reporting it. Among the medieval Chinese historical material, apart from the *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記 of Wang Yande 王延德 (939-1006), there are only a few records about the Qocho Uyghur diplomatic missions which paid tributes to the imperial court of China. Although in the Turfan region, there have been found lots of manuscripts in multiple languages for the early Qocho Uyghur period, the vast majority of them are of religious content. Among the currently known Turfan material, there is a lack of information regarding the political and economic structures of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom during its early period. The Turfan Manichaean texts about the image of merchants seem to be transmitted from an earlier time, and there is a lack of any specific image of Sogdian traders in the Turfan Manichaean texts, unlike the significant role of Sogdian traders during the Steppe Uyghur period.

Modern scholars focus on the religions of the Turfan region but have not yet explored the role of religions in diplomacy and trade during the early period of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. Few Turfan material reports the relations between different religions and the Qocho Uyghur court. It is even disputed how the religions coexisted in the early Qocho Uyghur period. As for the picture of the trade in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, it remains quite inadequate given the lack of sources. However, the eastern

Silk Road routes ran through the Turfan region, connecting the East with Central Asia and the Middle East, on which ancient trade caravans had traveled with their valuable goods. These trade routes continued to play an important role during the Qocho Uyghur period. It can be assumed that the Qocho Uyghurs may have also benefited from the transit duties of the eastern Silk Road trade. Von Gabain in her book - *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo* gives valuable comments on the issues of the Qocho Uyghur trade.<sup>844</sup> Von Gabain suggests that the transit duties composed the basis for the prosperity of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>845</sup> Tikhonov analyzes the Qocho Uyghur trade and usury, in his work on the economy and social structure of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom,<sup>846</sup> and gives a general overview of them, relying to a large extent on the Turfan Uyghur material.

Apart from the elects' living expenses, the economic activities of the Turfan Manichaean monasteries had a ritual purpose. Durkin-Meisterernst proposes the possibility of the existence of Manichaean commerce in books, church garments, or other things associated with community ceremonies.<sup>847</sup> But Moriyasu finds it difficult to determine whether the economic activities concerned by Turfan Uyghur Manichaean (and Buddhist) letters, were conducted only for profit, or whether they were dealing with purchasing luxury items for religious use.<sup>848</sup> Using foreign luxury items in religious rituals may have been considered as increasing their divine values for Manichaeans. However, in the Turfan Manichaean material, we can find that luxury items were depicted in the miniatures, which proves that the Manichaean Community used luxury goods. Some Uyghur Manichaean letters concerned the purchase, shipment, and delivery of ordinary goods that just had divine significance in the Manichaean tradition. But they were neither donations nor offerings from auditors.

The Turfan Manichaean monasteries developed their own economy but they probably had no advantage in the Qocho Uyghur diplomacy and

---

<sup>844</sup> Gabain, A. von. *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850–1250)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1973.

<sup>845</sup> Gabain. *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850–1250)*. p. 50.

<sup>846</sup> Tikhonov, D.I. *Khozyaystvo i obshchestvennyy stroy uygurskogo gosudarstva X-XIV vv.* Leningrad: Nauka, 1966. pp 86-94.

<sup>847</sup> Durkin-Meisterernst, D. "Was Manichaeism a Merchant Religion?", in Academia Turfanica & Turfan Museum (eds.). *Journal of Turfan Studies. Essays on Ancient Coins and Silk: Selected Papers, the Fourth International Conference on Turfan Studies*. Shanghai, 2015. 245-256. p. 254.

<sup>848</sup> Moriyasu. "Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)". pp 59-60.

trade, while the Buddhists played a great role in the Qocho Uyghur diplomatic missions. Although the early Qocho Uyghur rulers sponsored both Manichaeism and Buddhism, they did not involve Manichaean elects in the diplomatic field. The Dunhuang manuscript material gives important clues to the role of Buddhists in the Qocho Uyghur diplomacy and trade. In the late period of the Tang Empire, Dunhuang came under the control of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (“Return-to-Allegiance Army District”, during 851-1036?), which ruled over Dunhuang (Shazhou) and Guazhou regions for nearly two centuries.<sup>849</sup> Although the diplomatic and commercial relations between the Qocho Uyghurs and the Guiyijun were rarely recorded by medieval Chinese historians, they were remarkably reflected by the Uyghur and Chinese manuscripts found in Dunhuang. Hamilton and Moriyasu have edited the Dunhuang Uyghur letters, which provide sufficient evidence of the frequent communications between the Qocho Uyghurs and the Guiyijun in Dunhuang, in the political, commercial, and religious fields.<sup>850</sup> Rong Xinjiang has edited the related Dunhuang Chinese texts and analyzed the relationship between Xizhou (Turfan) and Shazhou (Dunhuang),<sup>851</sup> i.e. the relationship between the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and the Guiyijun, which is often Dunhuang-oriented. The Dunhuang manuscript material also reports on the position of Buddhists in the diplomacy and trade of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom since its early period, through their interaction with Dunhuang.

### 3.4.1 The Political Changes of East Central Asia

With the support of the Sogdian traders and the Steppe Uyghur nobles, Manichaeism was active not only in Tang China but also in other regions under the Tang Empire’s control or influence, such as Dunhuang (Shazhou) and Turfan where there might have been Sogdian Manichaean presence before the coming of Uyghurs. The Sogdian Manichaean priests were involved in the conversion of the Steppe Uyghurs and the later development of Manichaeism among the Steppe and Qocho Uyghurs. But

---

<sup>849</sup> Rong Xinjiang. *Guiyijun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995.

<sup>850</sup> Hamilton. *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. p. 147 (P. ouïgour 3 recto), p. 143 (P. ouïgour 4), pp. 137-139 (P. ouïgour 12). Moriyasu, T. “Tonkō to nishi Uiguru ōkoku - Tourufan kara no shokan to okurimono o chūshin ni - 敦煌と西ウイグル王国—トゥルファンからの書簡と贈り物を中心に”, *Tōhō-gaku* 東洋学 74, 1987, 58-74 (PC 3672bis recto).

<sup>851</sup> Rong Xinjiang. *Guiyijun shi yanjiu - Tang Song shidai Dunhuang lishi kaosuo* 歸義軍史研究—唐宋時代敦煌歷史考察. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996. pp 351-374.



there is a lack of clear evidence such as texts to demonstrate the relationship between Sogdian traders and Turfan Manichaeism, although the luxury Turfan Manichaean book art may imply the sponsorship of the Sogdian traders.

Due to the rebellions of An Lushan and Shi Siming during 755-763, the Sogdian trade network between China and Central Asia experienced waves of interruption. Meanwhile, there were continuous military conflicts between the Chinese, Tibetans, and Steppe Uyghurs over East Central Asia, which often blocked trade routes. After the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom (in 840), the Sogdian trade was seriously struck by the Tang imperial court in China, along with the failure of Uyghurs. On the other hand, Arab Muslims initiated the conquest of Sogdiana since the early 8th century.<sup>852</sup> Before Islamization, some Sogdians had immigrated to the East from Sogdiana during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries; and then, their migration continued after the collapse of the Sassanian Empire in 651 and the Arab Muslim conquest of Sogdiana in the 8th century.<sup>853</sup> During the latter half of the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century, the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom gave shelters to Sogdian Manichaeans. The Sogdian Manichaean priests and merchants cooperated in maintaining the trade network in the eastern Silk Road and participated in the Steppe Uyghur politics and diplomatic missions. But after the collapse of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom and the migration of Uyghurs to East Central Asia, the Sogdian Manichaeans did not continue their previous economic and political success. So far, there is no Qocho Uyghur Manichaean text recording the Sogdian trade, found in the Turfan region.

Before the Qocho Uyghur period (866-1132), the Sogdian Manichaeans had already existed in East Central Asia, including the Turfan region. The colophon of the Middle Persian Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* (“Hymn-Book”, on the Turfan fragment M 1) offers us precious information about the specific situation of Manichaeism in Panžkanđīy (or Panjikand = Bešbalık/Beiting, in today’s Dzungaria), Čīnānčkanđīy (Turfan), Akūčīk (Kucha), Arkčīq (Agni/Yanqi), and Ūčūrčīk (Yushu, near Yanqi) regions of East Central Asia during the Steppe Uyghur period (744-840), in

---

<sup>852</sup> Litvinski, B.A., A.H. Jalilov & A.I. Kolesnikov. “The Arab Conquest”, in B.A. Litvinski, Zhang Guangda & R.S. Samghabadi (eds.). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Volume III, the Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250-750*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999. 449-472. pp 457-458.

<sup>853</sup> Hansen, V. *The Silk Road: A New History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. p. 98. Also see La Vaissière, È (author); J. Ward (transl.). *Sogdian Traders. A History*. Leiden: Brill, 2005. pp 261-331.

addition to the Mongolian Steppe.<sup>854</sup> This colophon on M 1 enumerates the names of the Manichaean male and female auditors and sponsors from the above regions, which include the royal family members of the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, the city rulers of East Central Asia, and other important lay figures. According to Wang Yuanyuan's conclusion of the Sogdian names from this colophon, each of the above regions has numerous figures of Sogdian names, except for the Steppe Uyghur royal family members which were with Uyghur names (without any Sogdian name).<sup>855</sup> According to the ending of the colophon (M 1 I verso, ll. 47-114)<sup>856</sup>, this *Mahrnāmag* text began to be copied by an unnamed scribe in 762/763. But the scribal work was suspended due to unknown reason and the uncompleted manuscript was temporarily preserved in a Manichaean(?) monastery of Agni/Yanqi, until its completion by another scribe called *Naxurīg-rōšan* in the early 9th century.<sup>857</sup>

### 3.4.2 The Economic Ties between East Central Asian Manichaean Communities

The vital geographical position and prosperous economic situation of the Turfan region made the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom to be an important transit station on the eastern Silk Road. Under the Sogdian influence, the Uyghurs learned how to deal with commercial trade. At the same time, the lifestyle of Uyghurs shifted from nomadic to agricultural base, though they did not give up some of their nomadic tradition inherited from the Steppe period. The agricultural, commercial, and multi-religious elements composed the basis of developing the Manichaean monastic economy in the Turfan region. The Turfan Manichaean monastic economy was bound to single monasteries, which varied from place to place, as testified by the extant Uyghur Manichaean texts.

The Turfan Manichaean material mentioned at least 6 Manichaean monasteries and/or communities in the eastern and western areas of Qocho city, the Yar city, and the Solmi, Kucha and Talas regions respectively, from the perspectives of administration and economic

---

<sup>854</sup> Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. p. 30. Wang Yuanyuan. *Con Bosi dao Zhongguo: Monijiao zai Zhongya he Zhongguo de chuanbo* 从波斯到中國：摩尼教在中亞和中國的傳播. pp 43-56.

<sup>855</sup> Wang Yuanyuan. *Con Bosi dao Zhongguo: Monijiao zai Zhongya he Zhongguo de chuanbo* 从波斯到中國：摩尼教在中亞和中國的傳播. pp 43-56.

<sup>856</sup> M 1 I verso, ll. 47-114 = in total of M 1: ll. 160-227.

<sup>857</sup> Klimkeit. *Gnosis on the Silk Road. Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. p. 274. Müller. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. pp 15-17.

operation. The ones in Qocho, Yar, Solmi, and Kucha were in the realm of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, while the Talas one was not in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. The Qocho Uyghur official manuscript Zong 8782 T.82 (written in Uyghur language and Sogdian script, stamped by Chinese red square seal) reveals the actual control of the Qocho Uyghur court over the Manichaeen monasteries, rather than making an unenforced law, because of mentioning the person names and their specific duties. This Qocho Uyghur official document refers to “some (Manichaeen) monasteries in eastern and western (directions)” (*öngtün kidin näçä manistanlar*, in Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 85-86). There are at least four Manichaeen monasteries concerned by the text of Zong 8782 T.82:

- (1) The “*manistan* of Solmi” (today’s Yanqi, located between Turfan and Kucha) (*solmi manistan*, in ll. 32-33)
- (2) The “great *manistan*” (*uluy manistan*, in line 80), in the Qocho city
- (3) The “small *manistan*” (*kiçig manistan*, in line 81), in the Qocho city
- (4) The “*manistan* of Yar” (*yar manistan*, in line 112), in the Yar city

In addition, there is a “*manistan* of Qocho city” (*qoço manistan*, in line 113 - at the end of this Qocho Uyghur official text), which may refer to either the “great” or the “small” *manistan* in the Qocho city, or just the “great *manistan*” of the Qocho city in comparison with the *manistan* of the Yar city. But Clark identifies the “great *manistan*” (in line 80) as the “*manistan* of Qocho city” (in line 113) and the “small *manistan*” (in line 81) as the “*manistan* of Yar” (line 112), while the “*manistan* of Solmi” (in ll. 32-33) was located too distant from Turfan to be so designated in this Qocho official document (according to Moriyasu).<sup>858</sup> Since this document made a distinction between the “western” and the “eastern” sides, Clark thinks it is reasonable to identify the “western” and the “eastern” as the “small *manistan*” in the Yar city and the “great *manistan*” in the Qocho city respectively, or at least their associated lands. Geographically, Yar city was located to the west of Qocho city. Nonetheless, Clark’s identification is problematic because the distance between Qocho city and Yar city is about 50 km, which was impossible to be treated as one integral complex. Rather than being the one of Yar city and the one of Qocho city, the “western” and “eastern” (sides) in the document can only refer to the Qocho city’s western area (*kidin baliq*, in ll. 9 & 13-14) and eastern area (*öngtün [ba]l[ı]q*, in ll. 11-12), as well as “the eastern-side watered field” (*öngtün yingaq yer suv*, in line 21) and “the orchards and vineyards and the watered fields of the Manichaeen monasteries in eastern and western (directions)” (*öngtün kidin näçä manistanlardaqtı bay borluq yer suv*, in ll. 85-86). Then, this document

---

<sup>858</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeen Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 334. Moriyasu. “Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003: History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia”. pp 82-83.

mentions the *možak* (“Teacher”) alone four times, and the *možak* and the *avtadan* (“Bishop”) together five times. It is possible that the *možak* resided in the “great *manistan*” in the eastern area of the Qocho city, and the *avtadan* resided in the “small *manistan*” in the western area of the Qocho city, which correspond well to the locations of Qocho ruin K (in the southeastern center of the Qocho city) and Qocho ruin α (in the southwestern corner of the inner wall of the Qocho city). The Qocho ruin K and ruin α were both Manichaean monasteries, where Manichaean figural paintings are found.

The document of Zong 8782 T.82 is the only detailed Manichaean text concerning the financial and economic situations of the Manichaean monasteries in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. It reveals that the Turfan Manichaean monasteries owned great areas of fields, and had the rights to employ workers to do the farming:

The two “work supervisors” (*iš ayyučılar*) shall put in order competently the orchards (*bay*) and vineyards (*borluq*) and the watered fields (*yir suv*) related to the eastern and western or whichever of the monasteries (*manistanlar*). And, however few or many arid fields (*qay yirläri*) there may be, they shall lease them out, and they shall ensure that they are reclaimed and that they reach their full productivity. They shall have the fields that are to be put into production put in order competently and increase their productivity. (Zong 8782 T.82, ll. 85-90)<sup>859</sup>

Similar to the Buddhist monasteries, there were lots of other service staff with detailed duties, working for the Manichaean monasteries, which seem like an enclosed society, even with its own rule of punishments. This document for regulating the Manichaean monasteries was issued by the Qocho Uyghur court, and stamped with the Qocho Uyghur official seal (in Chinese characters), which shows the support of the Qocho Uyghur court and its recognition of the Manichaean monastic economy, but without mentioning any significant role of Sogdian traders. This document also reflects the prosperity of Turfan Manichaean monasteries after the establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom in 866.

The Turfan Manichaean community also kept communications and economic connections with other Manichaean communities of East Central Asia, for instance, those of the Kucha and Talas regions. The Turfan Uyghur fragment Ch/U 3917 reflects the Turfan Manichaeans’ economic connection with their coreligionists in Kucha. Ch/U 3917 is originally a Chinese Buddhist scroll and then reused by Uyghur Manichaeans. The Uyghur Manichaean text runs from verso to recto: 24 lines on the verso, and 8 lines written on top of the Chinese text on the

---

<sup>859</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 332. Moriyasu. “*Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū* ウイグル=マニ教史の研究”. pp 43-44.

recto. The Uyghur text of Ch/U 3917 is a Manichaean report that mainly concerned the property or estate managed by the sender in Kūsān (i.e., Kucha) but belonging to or somehow subordinate to his superior in Turfan, probably during the 10th or 11th century. This report was sent to the sender's superior in Turfan who is addressed as "my Divine One" (*tāngrim*, i.e. elect) in the Manichaean context. The mentioned property or estate may have only consisted of a household and some land for grazing and gardening. Although the sender's superior was an elect, the economic activities described by this report might only be connected to the Kucha Manichaean community, rather than being associated with the Manichaean institution. The place name Kūsān is the Uyghur name of the Kucha city,<sup>860</sup> and the place name Kūsān also occurs in other proper names in several Uyghur Buddhist texts that were probably in later time.<sup>861</sup> The Manichaean nature of this Uyghur report (Ch/U 3917) can be testified by three factors:

- (1) The frequent appearance of the term *tāngrim* ("my Divine One"). It most extensively refers to a person regarded as an elect, which is used in the Manichaean church texts.<sup>862</sup> Here, the estate manager addressed his superior consistently as either *tāngrim* or *tāngrim kuti* ("His Glory - my Divine One") in the respectful form. Additionally, this estate manager spoke of his superior's admonition for him to pray (in Ch/U 3917 recto, ll. 1-4), which further testifies to the superior's religious background as an elect. But it remains unknown whether this superior was holding a high position in the Manichaean church hierarchy.
- (2) In Ch/U 3917 verso, line 19, the estate manager compared his superior to the "Sun God" (*kün tāngri*), an important deity of the Manichaean pantheon.
- (3) The estate manager expressed his own religious wishes:

*mān on uygur elintā ölgüm bar ärsär tirilgäy tep saknur mān öçgüm bar  
ärsär tamitgay tep saknur*

I think that if (my body) dies in the realm of the Ten Uyghur (tribes), it will come back to life (again). I think that if (my fire) is extinguished, it will blaze up (again). (Ch/U3917 verso, ll. 19-22)<sup>863</sup>

This expression reveals that he might be an auditor, who is supposed to be reborn according to the Manichaean doctrines. Unless becoming

<sup>860</sup> Zieme, P. "Drei neue uigurische Sklavendokumente", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5, 1977, 145-170. p. 164, n. 10.

<sup>861</sup> Raschmann, S.-C. "Die alttürkischen Turfantexte als Quelle zur Erforschung der sozialökonomischen Geschichte Zentralasiens", in H. Klengel & W. Sundermann (eds.). *Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften, Tagung in Berlin, Mai 1987*. Berlin, 1991. 141-149. p. 149.

<sup>862</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 171-172, the note to TM 296, r05.

<sup>863</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 376-377.

an elect in this life and observing strict self-disciplines, the only hope for the auditors to get salvation is to accumulate merit for being reincarnated or reborn as a future elect, in order to go to heaven.

These three factors together suggest a Manichaean context for the report. But on a few occasions, the word *tängri/tängrim/tängrimiz* was also applied to address the royal figures of the quasi-divine status in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. The Dunhuang fragment PC3049 verso [D] has such an example,<sup>864</sup> which contains a Uyghur personal letter (draft) from a Manichaean elect named Alp Qara, to the devout prince El Tonga who was addressed as *tängrim* (“my Divine One”):

*tängrikan el tonga tegin tängrim kutinga*

To His Glory, the Devout One, Prince El Tonga, my Divine One (PC 3049 verso, ll. 57-58).<sup>865</sup>

This example shows that a lay “prince” (*tegin*) was so addressed, even if he did not become an elect. In the Turfan Manichaean document - *Käd Ogul Memoir*, the word *tängrim* also functions as the epithet (“my Divine One”) for a lay figure titled *Tärkän Tegin* (“royal prince/princess”) (in M 112+M 146+M 336c verso, ll. 14-15).

The Uyghur Manichaean report of Ch/U 3917 recorded the economic activities related to the Manichaean monastery in Kucha as well as its connection with the Manichaeans of the Talas/Argu region (mentioned in Ch/U 3917 verso, line 6). Although it may not be relevant to this report, a Manichaean community had existed in the Talas region around the turn of the millennium, as also mentioned by the “Argu” Colophon to the *Evangelion* (on the Turfan fragment MIK III 198 verso) and the *Käd Ogul Memoir* (on the versos of M 162a, M 336a, M 336b and the regrouped fragments M 112+M 146+M 336c). The words of the sender imply that the Kūsän (Kucha) city was more related to the duties of his superior who was in Turfan at that moment, as he referred to his superior:

The two assistants(?) of the Lord (*mār eki bolši inalı*) came to Kūsän (in Ch/U 3917 verso, line 8);

While His Glory - my Divine One (*tängrim kutı*) was in Kūsän, he (i.e., you) had issued the following order to Arslan: “I will provide (to you) one slave (*qarabaš*) suitable for serving as a gardener (*bayčılık*)”. He (i.e., the slave) left for Kūsän, (but) did not arrive. (in Ch/U 3917 verso, ll. 10-13)<sup>866</sup>

Here, the sender (as an estate manager) spoke of a slave who was arranged by his superior but never arrived at Kūsän/Kucha. The sender’s superior sent a male slave (“for serving as a gardener”) to a figure called

<sup>864</sup> Hamilton’s edition of text “D” on PC 3049 (verso), see Hamilton. *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome 1)*. pp 37-53, Nr. 5 (ll. 57-82). The verso of PC 3049 contains four texts (A-D), and the other three texts are Manichaean prayer, hymn and titlature.

<sup>865</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 278-279.

<sup>866</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. pp 375 & 377.

*Arslan* in Kūsān, but that slave did not arrive. So, another male slave was needed “for cultivating crops in the garden”; and if there was no available male slave, the sender would accept a female slave “for serving as a household servant” (in Ch/U 3917 verso, ll. 10-16). Therefore, it implies the presence of labor of slaves in the Turfan Manichaean monastic economy. These references indicate that the estate manager as the sender of the report himself lived in Kucha or at least carried out his work in Kucha. As the fragment Ch/U 3917 was discovered in Turfan, this report was actually sent from Kucha to Turfan, rather than being just a draft. Due to its reference to the hire of slaves, Zieme regards this Uyghur report as a Manichaean slave document.<sup>867</sup> But the issue of slaves is only one of the two transactions that are mentioned in Ch/U 3917 verso:

- (1) The first transaction is that the sender had sent a herd of “1000 goats” to Talas, and had been told that they arrived safely. (in Ch/U 3917 verso, ll. 6-7)
- (2) The second transaction is that the sender’s superior sent a male slave (“for serving as a gardener”) to a figure called *Arslan* in Kūsān/Kucha but that slave did not arrive; so the sender requested another slave to come. (in Ch/U 3917 verso, ll. 10-16)

Then, the text of Ch/U 3917 verso praised the sender’s superior and requested “ten or so black sables” (*onča kara kiš*) for his service. The recto of Ch/U 3917 appears to continue the verso’s praise for the sender’s superior, though it was written over a Chinese text. Ch/U 3917 recto also contains the sender’s private request to his superior regarding the issues related to other figures. So, the subject of dispatching slaves is only a small part of this report which was dealing with estate affairs.

The Uyghur report of Ch/U 3917 can be identified to be from the early Qocho Uyghur period, based on its historical features. Citing several historical and orthographical features in the report, Zieme argues that this report may belong to the 10th or 11th century, probably as the earliest certain witness to the existence of slaves in the Qocho Uyghur realm (prior to the Mongol period).<sup>868</sup> But Clark disagrees with the orthographical features that Zieme points out to date this Uyghur text. However, two historical indicators are useful for dating this report:

- (1) The Uyghur phrase *on uygur* (“the Ten Uygur (tribes)”), which is limited to the texts surely or arguably datable to the centuries before the 13th century (with a few exceptions).<sup>869</sup>

<sup>867</sup> Zieme. “Drei neue uigurische Sklavendokumente”. pp 156-160.

<sup>868</sup> Zieme. “Drei neue uigurische Sklavendokumente”. pp 156-157. Zieme, P. “Zum Handel im uigurischen Reich von Qočo”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 4, 1976, 235-249. pp 248-249.

<sup>869</sup> Geng Shimin & J. Hamilton, “L’inscription ouïgoure de la stèle commémorative des Iduq Qut de Qočo”, *Turcica* 13, 1981, 10-54. pp 20 & 29. Zieme, P. “Uygur Yazısıyla Yazılmış

(2) The occurrence of the place name Talas - the Talas/Argu region across the Tianshan mountains to the west.

Zieme suggests that these references reflect a time prior to the Mongol period when the Qocho Uyghurs tried to extend their political influence westwards to the Talas region near Sogdiana. If it was the case, the reference to Talas in this estate manager's report ("I had those thousand goats herded to Talas", in Ch/U 3917 verso, line 6) implies the Kucha Manichaean community's economic ties with the Argu Manichaean community that was existing in the Talas region during the decades around the year 1000. That Argu Manichaean community can be testified by the "Argu" Colophon to the *Evangelion* and the *Kād Ogul Memoir*. Nevertheless, the relations between the Manichaean communities of Turfan, Kucha, and Talas regions remain unclear, and their specific economic operations still need to be explored.

So far in the Turfan Manichaean material, only small business within the Turfan Manichaean monasteries is reported. The Turfan Manichaean small business is reported by Uyghur Manichaean church letters which concerned the purchase, shipment, and delivery of goods that were for either private use or rituals of elects. Seven Uyghur Manichaean church letters or letter drafts (in the below table) reported the delivery of goods between different Manichaean groups through trade caravans.

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Sender</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Letter's Content</i>
Ch/U 6570 + Ch/U 6959 recto	An unknown figure in Qocho city ( <i>kočota</i> )	A figure named <i>El Körmiš</i>	A problem concerning silk production: The sender informed El Körmiš that he had appealed to the "Divine Teacher" ( <i>tängri možak</i> ) to resolve the problem of silk production.
Ch/U 6570 + Ch/U 6959 verso	A "general" ( <i>sangun</i> ) named <i>Kād Arslan</i>	An elect ( <i>tängri</i> ) named <i>Kutlug Tonga</i>	The shipment of a milk/cream ( <i>kayak</i> ) product (containing light particles), and its late arrival that would be concerned by the messenger - a <i>xoštir</i> ("superior" in the eastern Manichaean Church)
81TB 65:4	An unknown figure, whose group was supervised by a <i>xoštir</i>	An unknown Manichaean figure	The purchase and shipment of a kind of fruit, concerned by a <i>xoštir</i> named <i>Bay Arslan</i> (as the letter's courier)

Uygur Yazıtlarına Dair Bazı Düşünceler", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten*, 1982-1983, 229-237. p. 235. Zieme. *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*. pp 297-299. Zieme, P. "Remarks on Old Turkish Topography", in S. Akiner & N. Sims-Williams (eds.). *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997. 46-51. p. 47.



U 5531 recto [A-B]+ U 6066 recto [A-B]: Letter draft A	An unknown figure, at Yar (a city/town in the Turfan region)	An unknown elect (called <i>tängri/tängrim</i> )	The purchase and shipment of an item named “myrtle” ( <i>murut</i> , containing light particles) (The sender asked the recipient to buy the myrtle as well as a pack animal and other things needed for sending the myrtle to him.)
U 5531 recto [A-B]+ U 6066 recto [A-B]: Letter draft B (The same writer of Letter draft A wrote it separately, with lines running in the opposite direction from Letter draft A.)	An unknown figure (the same person as Letter draft A), named <i>Kutlug...</i>	A “divine” <i>xoštir</i> named <i>Ay...</i> , and a <i>xoštir</i> named <i>Kün Tiräk</i>	The purchase and shipment of an item named “myrtle” ( <i>murut</i> , containing light particles), with requesting the recipients to send the myrtle to him.
81TB 65:6	A “novice” ( <i>šaxanč</i> ) named <i>Rāymast Murwā</i>	A “divine” <i>xoštir</i> , living in the Qocho Kingdom ( <i>kočo ulušta turup</i> )	Matters of personal concern and buying a blanket for a <i>xoštir</i> : (1) The sender’s request for a “deposit” ( <i>zene</i> ) from the recipient (the “divine” <i>xoštir</i> ) (Here, the “deposit” refers to a payment made to secure some items or services the “divine” <i>xoštir</i> wanted to buy from the sender.) (2) Negative comments about a person who did not bring the “blanket” ( <i>ičürgü</i> ) to the recipient; so the sender decided to purchase and send another blanket.
81TB 65:5	An unidentified <i>šaxan</i> -novice (probably the same person as the sender of 81TB 65:6)	An unidentified “divine” <i>xoštir</i> who appears to be in poor health	Matters of personal concern and buying a blanket for a <i>xoštir</i> (the content of this letter as a follow-up to the letter of 81TB 65:6): (1) The <i>šaxan</i> -novice asked the “divine” <i>xoštir</i> not to send him a <i>šramırı</i> -novice (probably of Buddhist background), because of his distrust in the <i>šramırı</i> -novice. (2) The <i>šramırı</i> -novice was to bring a “horse blanket” ( <i>öčürgü</i> ), but the sender ( <i>šaxan</i> -novice) expressed that he himself would buy it (for the recipient).
U 6198+ U 6199	An elect of higher rank, named <i>Aryaman [...]</i>	An elect of lower rank - the <i>xoštir</i> named <i>Yišō Puhr</i>	A replying letter informing the delivery of “a good and beautiful table (of the sacred meal) and three containers of ice”, and a brief note stating a forthcoming letter with a parcel.

It appears that the elects, particularly *xoštirs*, were recipients of these letters, or at least persons in charge of the relevant economic issues. In the Turfan Manichaean community, the *xoštirs* represented the groups of elects to handle the secular or economic affairs. The goods that are

mentioned in these eight letters (or letter drafts) can be divided into two types, according to their probable purposes of use:

- (1) For private use - the silk production in Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 recto, a kind of fruit in 81TB 65:4, and the blankets in 81TB 65:6 and 81TB 65:5.
- (2) For rituals - the milk/cream product in Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 verso, a kind of fruit in 81TB 65:4, the myrtle in U 5531 recto [A-B]+U 6066 recto [A-B] (Letter draft A and Letter draft B), and the table and three containers of ice in U 6198+U 6199.

The goods for rituals were due to their relevance to the Manichaeism doctrine of the Light. In Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959 verso, the product of *kayak* (*q'y'q*, “cream”, in line 8)<sup>870</sup> did not fit into the context of Manichaeism private use, because elects were not allowed to consume any milk product.<sup>871</sup> But milk products like “cream” was considered by Manichaeism as valuable, because they would hold more light particles, just as did the fruits and breads the Manichaeism consumed. Then, in the two letter drafts of U 5531 recto [A-B]+U 6066 recto [A-B], the myrtle is a typical sacred plant for Manichaeism, which contains more light particles. The myrtle was also commonly used in the rituals of Greek paganism and Judaism that may have had inspired Manichaeism in West Asia. In addition, the fruit that is concerned in 81TB 65:4 can be used for both private consumption and rituals, as the fruits were generally treated by Manichaeism as belonging to the realm of the Light.

### 3.4.3 The Qocho Uyghur Diplomacy

Since the early Qocho Uyghur period, the Turfan Buddhists had a dominant position in the Qocho Uyghur diplomacy and trade as well as financial support from the Qocho Uyghur court, which competed with Manichaeism and led to the later religious transfer of the Qocho Uyghur elite from Manichaeism to Buddhism.

The Buddhists performed great roles in diplomacy and trade in Central Asia, where Buddhist monks were envoys between different territories, not only for political purpose and to promote Buddhist influence, but also for business and trade. The Qocho Uyghur court sent Buddhist monks to both the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (“Return-to-Allegiance Army District”, during 851-1036?) of Dunhuang and the Tang imperial court of China, but the Manichaeism seem to be absent. The Dunhuang manuscript material proves the frequent diplomatic and commercial communications between the Qocho Uyghurs and the Guiyijun throughout the 10th century, in

---

<sup>870</sup> Clark. *Uyghur Manichaeism Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. p. 267.

<sup>871</sup> BeDuhn. *The Manichaeism Body in Discipline and Ritual*. p. 35.

which the Buddhist monks deeply joined, but the Manichaean elects seem to be absent.

The Buddhist communication and staff mobility between the realms of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and the Guiyijun were frequent, as reflected by the Dunhuang Chinese fragments. For instance, PC 2049 verso records the Dunhuang's official Buddhist offerings to the Qocho Buddhist envoy in the 1st month of the 2nd year (931) of the Changxing (長興) era:

油貳勝，納官供志明及西州僧食用……  
面柒斗，納官供志明及西州僧食用。

With two *sheng* (勝/升) of oil, the (Dunhuang's) *naguan* (a Chinese title of monastic officials) offered food to the *zhiming* (unknown title for diplomats) and the Xizhou/Turfan (Buddhist) monks ...

With seven *dou* of noodles, the *naguan* offered food to the *zhiming* and the Xizhou/Turfan (Buddhist) monks. (PC 2049 verso, cols. 308-309 & 378-379)<sup>872</sup>

Buddhism was the dominant religion in the Dunhuang region, which played a crucial role in the Guiyijun diplomatic affairs. On the other hand, the Qocho Uyghurs appear to get much influenced by Dunhuang Buddhism in their communications with the Dunhuang region, as the Dunhuang Chinese fragment PC 3672bis attests to the tight connection between Qocho Uyghurs and Dunhuang Buddhism. PC 3672bis recto contains a Chinese letter (*zhuang* 狀) from a Qocho Buddhist *Dutong dade* 都統大德 (“Commander-in-chief and Great Virtue”; *dutong* 都統 as the highest official Buddhist title in both Turfan and Dunhuang), to Shazhou/Dunhuang's *sengzheng* (“monks' administrator”) with surname *Song* (宋僧政), *panguan* (“magistrate”) with surname *Suo* (索判官), and *jiaoshou* (“instructor”) with surname *Liang* (梁校授). The specific writing time of this letter (in PC 3672bis recto) is unclear, but it may be no later than the first half of the 11th century, suggested by Moriyasu.<sup>873</sup> PC 3672bis recto indicates that the Qocho Buddhist *Dutong dade* 都統大德 had received various honors, duties, and titles:

賞紫金印檢校廿二城胡漢僧尼事內供奉骨都祿沓密施鳴瓦伊難支都統大德  
(PC 3672bis recto, cols. 1-3)<sup>874</sup>

---

<sup>872</sup> PC 2049 verso: *Hou-Tang Changxing er nian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtū sī zhīsui yuanda shouxia zhuse rupoli suanhuidie* 後唐長興二年正月沙州淨土寺直歲願達手下諸色入破曆算會牒, see Tang Geng'ou & Lu Hongji (eds.). *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真跡釋錄, Vol. 3. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weisuo fuzhi zhongxin, 1990. 369-389. pp 382 & 385.

<sup>873</sup> Moriyasu. “Tonkō to nishi Uiguru ōkoku - Tourufan kara no shokan to okurimono o chūshin ni 敦煌と西ウイグル王国—トゥルファンからの書簡と贈り物を中心に”. p. 63.

<sup>874</sup> Shanghai Guji Chubanshe & Bibliothèque nationale de France (eds.). *Fa(guo) cang Dunhuang xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Book Nr. 26). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002. p. 290.

The Commander-in-chief and Great Virtue, having received the purple and golden seal, acting as a charge of *Hu* and *Han*, monks and nuns, of the twenty-two cities/towns [of the Turfan region], and being internally venerated with the titles - *gudulu* 骨都祿 (in Uyghur: *qutluq*, meaning “blessed”), *tamishi* 沓密施 (*tapmiš*, “adored”), *wuwa* 鳴瓦 (*ögä*, “chancellor”), and *yi'nanzhi* 伊難支 (*inänč*, “trustee”).

In this letter, the “twenty-two cities/towns” (廿二城) refers to the whole Turfan region, as also recorded by a Uyghur Manichaean fragment TM 176:

*kočo uluř iki otuz baliq waxřiki* (TM 176 verso, ll. 6-7)<sup>875</sup>

The happiness and guardian spirit of the Qocho (Uyghur) Kingdom’s twenty-two cities.

During the 10th century, the term “twenty-two cities” was the general name for the Turfan region under the jurisdiction of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>876</sup> This is also proved by the Persian Muslim historian Mahmūd Gardīzī’s work – *Zainu’l-Akhhbār* (written in New Persian, in the 1050s).<sup>877</sup> The *Zainu’l-Akhhbār* stated that the Qocho (Turfan) region was “composed of twenty-two *deh* (‘town/city’ in New Persian) and one plain”.<sup>878</sup>

Most specially in the letter of PC 3672bis recto,<sup>879</sup> three places were imprinted by a red square seal with four Chinese characters - *enci* 恩賜 (“benediction”) and *Dutong* 都統 (“Commander-in-chief”):

---


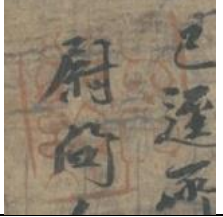
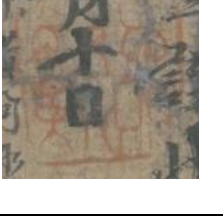
<sup>875</sup> Le Coq. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III. p. 40, Nr. 23.

<sup>876</sup> Moriyasu. “*Tonkō to nishi Uiguru ōkoku - Tourufan kara no shokan to okurimono o chūshin ni* 敦煌と西ウイグル王国—トゥルファンからの書簡と贈り物を中心に”. pp 61-62.

<sup>877</sup> The *Zainu’l-Akhhbār* was written by the Indian Muslim traveller Mahmūd Gardīzī who was active in the early 11th century, under the control of the Ghaznavid Dynasty (centered in today’s Afghanistan). Mahmūd Gardīzī gathered information from earlier historical sources, such as Jayhānī’s older descriptions (written about 870), and the *Rub’ al-Dunyā* - the book of Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (720-757?). Bartolid, V. “Iz vlecheniye iz sochneniya Gardizi *Zayn al-Akhhbār*”, Prilozheniye k *Otchetu o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu s nauchnoyu tsel’yu 1893-1894gg.* Sankt-Peterburg, 1897. p. 116. Moriyasu, T. “*Uiguru no seisen ni tsuite* ウイグルの西遷について”, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋学報 59.1-2, 1977, 105-130. p. 114. Czeglédy, K. “Gardīzī on the History of Central Asia (746-780 A.D.)”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27.3, 1973, 257-267. p. 260.

<sup>878</sup> Martinez, A.P. “Gardīzī’s Two Chapters on the Turks”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* II, 1982, 109-217. p. 133. Bartolid. “Iz vlecheniye iz sochneniya Gardizi *Zayn al-Akhhbār*”. p. 115.

<sup>879</sup> The images are cut from the photo of the fragment, from the website of the *International Dunhuang Project* (IDP, 國際敦煌項目): <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

		
PC 3672bis recto, cols. 4-6	PC 3672bis recto, cols. 7-9	PC 3672bis recto, cols. 13-15

The Dunhuang Chinese letter of PC 3672bis recto with the seal imprinted on it, demonstrates the high status of the Turfan Buddhist leaders during the early Qocho Uyghur period, as this Chinese letter's sender - a Turfan Buddhist high monk was nominated by the Qocho Uyghur court as the official *Dutong dade* 都統大德 (“Commander-in-chief and Great Virtue”). This letter's sender announced his nomination by the Qocho Uyghur king (*Sheng tian'en* 聖天恩, “Holy Heavenly Grace”, in PC 3672bis recto, col. 9) as an official Buddhist *dutong* 都統 for the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, and concerned the delivery of gifts to three official Buddhist top figures in Dunhuang/Shazhou: the *sengzheng* Song (宋僧政), the *panguan* Suo (索判官), and the *jiaoshou* Liang (梁校授). So, it is obvious that there was a good relationship between Turfan and Dunhuang Buddhist administrators, which indicates the intimate ties between Turfan and Dunhuang Buddhist communities. Accordingly, the Turfan Buddhist leaders enjoyed high status since the early period of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom.

The Buddhist monks as the Qocho Uyghur official envoys were also sent to Inner China, which is recorded by a few medieval Chinese historical documents. For example, according to the *Song shi* 宋史, a Buddhist monk named *Fayuan* 法淵 went to pay tributes to the Song imperial court in 965:

乾德三年十一月，西州回鶻可汗遣僧法淵獻佛牙、琉璃器、琥珀盞。<sup>880</sup>

In the 11th month of the 3rd year (965) of the Qiande era, the Xizhou (Qocho) Uyghur Khan dispatched the (Buddhist) monk Fayuan to present a Buddha tooth, glass vessels, and amber cups (to the Song emperor).

But during the Qocho Uyghur period, the diplomatic and commercial connections between the Turfan region and Inner China seem to be not as intimate as those between the Turfan region and the Dunhuang region. Based on the diplomatic and economic advantages of the Turfan Buddhists, Buddhism was treated well by the early Qocho Uyghur rulers.

<sup>880</sup> In the text *Gaochang* 高昌 (*Liezhuan* 列傳 Nr. 249) in Scroll 490 of *Song shi* 宋史, see Toqto 脫脫 (1314-1355) & Alutu 阿魯圖 (?-1351) (authors); Ni Qixin (ed.). *Song shi* 宋史 (*Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 - *Song shi* 宋史 - Book 16). Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004. p. 10469.

During 981 and 984, the Song's envoy Wang Yande 王延德 (938-1006) visited the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and witnessed the situation of the coexistence of Buddhism and other "heretic" religions. In his report - *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記,<sup>881</sup> Wang Yande noticed and recorded the religious situation of Xizhou (Turfan):

佛寺五十餘區，皆唐朝所賜額，寺中有《大藏經》《唐韻》《玉篇》《經音》等；居民春月多遊，群聚邀樂於其間，遊者馬上持弓矢射諸物，謂之禳災。有敕書樓，藏唐太宗、明皇禦札詔敕，緘鎖甚謹。復有摩尼寺，波斯僧各持其法，佛經所謂外道者也。<sup>882</sup>

(In Turfan there are) more than fifty Buddhist temples, all inscribed boards of which were granted by the Tang imperial court; and in those temples, the (Buddhist) *Dazangjing* (*Tripitaka*), the *Tangyun* ("Tang Rhyme", i.e. the "Chinese Rhyme Dictionary of Tang Dynasty"), the *Yupian* ("Jade Chapters", i.e. the "Chinese Characters of Historical Phonology"), the *Jingyin* (the "Pronunciations of Buddhist Canons"), and so on, are preserved. The (Qocho) residents often go out for a tour during the months of spring, and they gather and play within the areas (of those Buddhist temples), and the players ride on horses, hold bows, and shoot arrows at various things, which is called "eliminating disasters". There is a building for collecting the documents of imperial orders, including the royal letters and imperial edicts or orders of Emperors Taizong and Xuanzong (Minghuang) of the Tang Dynasty, which is closed and sealed very strictly. In addition, there are Manichaean temples and Persian (Nestorian)<sup>883</sup> monks, which adhere to their respective (religious) laws, both of which are called "outer ways" by Buddhist canons.

From Wang Yande's record, we can know the popularity of Buddhism in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom at the time of his visit (in 983), for Turfan Buddhism had numerous great temples where the collections of Buddhist canons and Chinese dictionaries were preserved, and those Turfan Buddhist temples were tightly connected with the Tang imperial court. Meanwhile, the frequent communication between Turfan Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism was prominent, throughout the Qocho Uyghur period. Then, the Manichaean temples and Nestorian monks were also mentioned by Wang Yande, which means that the Manichaean and Nestorian communities were significant presences in the Turfan region.

---

<sup>881</sup> Wang Yande 王延德's *Xizhou shicheng ji* 西州使程記 (also called *Shi Gaochang ji* 使高昌記) was lost but taken into records by the *Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳 of *Song shi* 宋史, and the *Huichen lu - Qian lu* 揮塵錄·前錄 written by Wang Mingqing 王明清 (ca. 1127-1202).

<sup>882</sup> In the text *Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳 of *Liezhuan* 列傳 Nr. 249, of *Song shi* 宋史 (Scroll 490), see Toqto 脫脫 & Alutu 阿魯圖. *Song shi* 宋史 (*Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 - *Song shi* 宋史 - Book 16). p. 10471. Wang Mingqing 王明清. *Huichen lu - qian lu* 揮塵錄·前錄 (Scroll 4). p. 37.

<sup>883</sup> Wang Yuanyuan. "Wudai Songchu Xizhou Huihu 'Bosi waidao' bianshi 五代宋初西州回鶻'波斯外道'辨釋". pp 75-86.

### *Summary of Subchapter 3.4*

Before the coming of Uyghurs to the Turfan region, there had already been Manichaean communities in various regions of East Central Asia. The Qocho Uyghur rulers continued to promote the Manichaean religion in the Turfan region. The Qocho Uyghur court concerned the Manichaean monastic affairs, as the Qocho Uyghur official document of Zong 8782 T.82 covered at least four Manichaean monasteries - two in the Qocho city, two in the Yar city and Solmi/Yanqi region respectively. But so far in our evidence, there is no record of including any Manichaean priest in the Qocho Uyghur diplomatic missions, though the Turfan Manichaean community maintained the communications and economic connections with other Manichaean communities of East Central Asia, particularly the Kucha and Argu/Talas regions (regarding their properties and labors). The Turfan Manichaean monastic economy was based on the internal ties between different Manichaean monasteries or communities, in which some small business is reported by the Uyghur Manichaean church letters. The goods delivered by them were used for their own maintenance or Manichaean rituals. On the other hand, the Dunhuang manuscript material proves the intimate relation between the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom and the Guiyijun in Dunhuang, which further implies the Buddhists' deep participation in the Qocho Uyghur diplomacy and trade. Since the early Qocho Uyghur period, the position of Buddhism was in fact more important than we supposed, and Turfan Manichaeism seems to have neither economic nor diplomatic advantages compared to Buddhism in the Turfan region and its surrounding areas.





## Conclusion

The Turfan Manichaean community during the 9th-11th centuries was the most prosperous Manichaean presence in the world, which produced lots of multilingual manuscripts and spectacular paintings. Through investigating the relations between the manuscripts and texts and the elects and auditors, we can reconstruct how the Turfan Manichaean community was built up, and what its social, political, and economic foundations were, which are helpful for exploring the reasons for the decline of Manichaeism in the Turfan region after the 11th century.

The Manichaean manuscripts and texts not only had missionary purposes for the Turfan Manichaean community but also were used by elects for the internal construction of the Turfan Manichaean community and the external cooperation of the Manichaean Church with the secular world. Elects and auditors both motivated the development of the Turfan Manichaean community, and the elects more generally sought to maintain the cohesiveness of the community, especially compared with the auditors who had other secular identities. But through their interaction with the elects as well as their participation in religious practices, the auditors were reinforced to get a sense of belonging to the Turfan Manichaean community.

The Turfan Manichaean missionaries transmitted multilingual written and pictorial traditions, absorbed and adapted various parables, and created their own historical narratives based on the eastern Manichaean missionary stories and the Steppe Uyghur history, accommodating the multicultural environment of the Turfan region. The boundaries between different languages or scripts were crossed.

The Turfan Manichaean texts of historical narratives presented the earlier Manichaean history to Turfan Manichaeans, which not only instructed them about the writing tradition, the authority, and the lineage of their Church, but also helped to strengthen their Manichaean faith by creating some historical models. The combination of the eastern Manichaean missionary records with the Steppe Uyghur history can be seen as a special localization of Manichaeism. The Turfan Manichaeans had successfully established their own historical narratives, which served for inheriting the Manichaean traditions and maintaining the unity of the Turfan Manichaean community. The Turfan Manichaean historical narratives were mainly composed of two parts: the early Manichaean

history, particularly the eastward mission history, centered on great church figures such as Mar Ammo, Šād-Ohrmezd and other heads of the eastern Manichaean Church (i.e., the “Ecclesiastical Province of the East”); and the Uyghur Manichaean history, centered on the Manichaean rulers of Steppe Uyghur Kingdom. The Turfan Manichaean historical narratives showed a new interaction mode between the Manichaean Church and the secular authority (the Steppe Uyghur kingship), which was probably inherited by the later Qocho Uyghur rulers. Among the Manichaean kings, the conversion of Būgū Khan, as a model of the Manichaean protectors, is quite significant as a new successful start of Manichaeism. The secular rulers’ missionary effort was paralleled by the Turfan Manichaean texts with the spiritual role of the divine power (or deities, such as Mani and Buddha).

The parables had an important instructional function in the Turfan Manichaean community, considering both textual and oral contexts. In the dual structure of Middle Iranian (Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian) Manichaean parables - narrative and interpretation, the attachment of the interpretations to the parables on their manuscripts and the reference to their use in liturgical settings, both imply that the parable texts were employed by elects to educate auditors. The Manichaean parables in Uyghur may also be used along with the Middle Iranian ones. But the currently known corpus of the Uyghur “Manichaean” parables is quite different in numerous ways from the Middle Iranian ones whose Manichaean features are much easier to be identified, especially through their attached interpretations. The paratexts to the Middle Iranian Manichaean parables reveal how the manuscripts that bear Manichaean parables functioned and were used multiple times. Some paratexts on the parable manuscripts equal to transmitting or ownership marks, while others may be the records of scribal work. The paratexts mainly indicate the later use of the parable manuscripts, which activated the awareness of the users that they belonged to the Manichaean community.

Besides their instructional and/or decorative functions, some of the Turfan Manichaean pictures may have also been devotional, among the Turfan Manichaeans. In the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts, the sideways-oriented layout of texts and images may have targeted at elects and auditors respectively. The scribe and the painter/illuminator cooperated for making Manichaean illuminated manuscripts. The function of placing the sideways-oriented miniatures of figural scenes in the Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts may be instructional or/and devotional. Some of them directly elucidated their accompanying texts, while others did not. But according to the currently known

Manichaean pictorial material found in Turfan, the sizes of the Manichaean miniatures are in general quite small, which indicates that they might be used in a private gathering of a few persons, instead of being shown in front of a congregation of many people. Due to the fragmentary situation of most Manichaean illuminated manuscripts and the lack of further archeological finds, it is hard to draw a conclusion on the miniatures on Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts and their functions. However, the use of the illuminated manuscripts in certain rituals was important for combining elects and auditors, since the miniatures were often attractive to auditors. The Turfan Manichaean illuminated manuscripts might be helpful for enhancing the connection of auditors with elects.

However, in the Turfan Manichaean community, it seems that the auditors became more independent from the mediation of elects, to purify themselves and attain merit. The Turfan lay Manichaeans promoted a devotional way regarding their holy writings, similarly to their Buddhist neighbors: reciting and copying the scriptures in order to accumulate merit (*buyan* in Uyghur). The Uyghur Manichaean colophons testify that the Turfan lay Manichaeans also transferred the merit of reciting and copying texts, to others. The recipients of merit-transferring were either the religious group on the inside (including elects) or the secular individuals (such as kings) on the outside. The Turfan Manichaean devotional practices (copying religious texts as merit accumulation and transferring the merit to others), were influenced by Buddhism in the same region. The *xoštir* Aryaman Fristum (as an elect donor) sponsored a unique Manichaean *pothi* (book) whose colophon bears many similarities with that of Uyghur Buddhist confession texts. The Turfan auditors and elects who recited the confession texts, sang the psalms and hymns, prayed the prayers, or copied the texts, participated in reproducing a distinct identity of the Turfan Manichaean community.

Among the group of elects, the scribes and the *xoštirs* were two crucial positions which contributed much to the construction and maintenance of the Turfan Manichaean community, in particular their use of manuscripts. Since the initial period of Manichaeism, the scribes had become an important component of the Manichaean missions. Their training in scribal work was presented in the Turfan Manichaean book art. Based on the scene of elect scribes on the Turfan fragment MIK III 6368 recto, the activity space of Manichaean scribes can be identified as the “hall for the scriptures and images” (*Jingtu tang* 經圖堂) that was enumerated in the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* (Or.8210/S.3969 + PC 3884). In the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts of hymnal texts, the proper

names at the end of text sections or texts referred to the people who were involved in the process of producing the manuscripts, such as scribes and sponsors. The Toyuq Manichaean and Manichaean-like fragments, used for script teaching (of Manichaean, Orkhon, and Sogdian scripts), writing exercise, and text-copying practice, prove the existence of an institution of training Manichaean scribes in the Turfan region. The Turfan Manichaean scribes were trained in the Manichaean, Sogdian, or/and Orkhon scripts. Such scribal training reveals the Manichaeans' active adaptation to the local multicultural context of the Turfan region. So, the Turfan Manichaean scribes through institutional training, not only played a significant role in spreading the Manichaean religion but also accumulated and communicated the knowledge of different scripts and languages used in the Turfan region.

In the Turfan Manichaean community, the *xoštirs* had multiple practical functions in communicating between elects and auditors, and administrating the church affairs, personnel issues, and other business, testified by their frequent emergence in Turfan Uyghur and Sogdian Manichaean texts as well as paintings, although their position was not independently enumerated by the Dunhuang Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* and the Turfan Middle Persian account of the Manichaean church hierarchy (M 801a, I). Rather than an honorific title, the *xoštir* was a certain administrative position among the high elects, particularly representing the whole group of elects to directly deal with the auditors, and maintaining the operation of the Manichaean community. The communication between elects and auditors was not direct, but mediated through the *xoštirs* and the lay corresponding role - "the chief of auditors". Thus, the actual structure of the Manichaean community in the Turfan region seems to deviate from the traditional interdependent mode of auditors and elects. The Sogdian and Uyghur Manichaean letters were a crucial part of the communication network among Turfan Manichaeans, in which the *xoštirs* assumed an assistant role to the church leaders. In a Manichaean wall painting, the *xoštir* figure even stands close to the central position. All these indicate that the *xoštirs* enjoyed high esteem among both auditors and elects. As literary high elects, the *xoštirs* also made good use of manuscripts to preserve religious knowledge, record the community's situation, or instruct novices. But, it is open to discussion on whether the *xoštirs* (as a part of the elects) owned or should have owned any private property, in the context of the Turfan Manichaean community.

The Qocho Uyghur Kingdom (established in 866) made Manichaeism gain a strong foothold in the Turfan region. But the Turfan Manichaean

community encountered both internal and external challenges. The coming of “Syrian” (Mesopotamian) Manichaeans to the Turfan region caused sectarian arguments between “Syrian” Manichaeans and Turfan local Manichaeans, which were reported by two Sogdian Manichaean letters (of M 112+ rectos and M 119+) that were sent to a great “Teacher” at Qocho city and can be probably dated to the late 8th or the 9th century. These sectarian arguments may have already occurred before the coming of Uyghur leaders to the Turfan region and the establishment of Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. They not only reflected the migration of Manichaeans from the West to the East, but also showed a challenge to the authority of the Turfan Manichaean community. They had a negative effect on the unity of the Turfan Manichaean community as different groups of Manichaeans gathered in the Turfan region. On the other hand, the Turfan Manichaean community faced competition from Buddhism. The establishment of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom in 866 did not mean that the early Qocho Uyghur rulers’ religion - Manichaeism - began to replace Buddhism which had been rooted in the Turfan region before the introduction of Manichaeism there. Since the late 10th century, Turfan Manichaeism had been seriously challenged by Buddhism. The *Kād Ogul Memoir* (on Turfan fragments M 112+ versos, composed after 983) recorded the *xoštir* Kād Ogul’s upset emotion of witnessing two Qocho Manichaean monasteries’ rededications to build Buddhist temples. The Turfan Manichaean elects recorded the above internal and external issues on the manuscripts, whose intention was to defend their Manichaean faith and maintain the unity of their community.

At last, the Turfan Manichaean community was sustained by the cooperation of the religious authority with secular rulers. The Uyghur rulers were depicted by the Turfan Manichaeans as protectors of Manichaeism; in response, the Manichaean Church supported them by producing at least 22 Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts (after regrouping 30 fragments) of enthronement hymns, benedictions, praises or eulogies, dedicated to them and their kingdom. The 30 fragments are: U 65, U 138, M 908a, U 31, M 525a, Ch/U 6874, Ch/U 8163, U 164a, U 164b, U 184, T I D 3, Ch/U 6618, Ch/U 8118, M 525a, U 5362, M 2706, M 2707, So. 18057, U 251a, U 251b, M 111, Ol’denburg 1, M 919, Mainz 435a, U 32, U 78, M 157, TM 176, T I  $\alpha$ x 13, and Ch/U 6860. After regrouping these 30 fragments, there are 22 manuscripts. Through the Turfan Uyghur Manichaean texts, we find that the Manichaean monasteries regularly held ceremonies for blessing the Uyghur rulers. After the Steppe Uyghurs migrated to the Turfan region, their leaders had the political need of legitimating their kingship through religion for stabilizing the newly established Qocho Uyghur Kingdom. On the other hand, the Turfan

Manichaean texts helped to create a hierarchy among auditors and included the Uyghur secular rulers into the Manichaean religious literature. The leading role of the Uyghur rulers over the Turfan Manichaean community was promoted and strengthened through the descriptions and instructions of Manichaean texts. So, the Uyghur rulers not only took the lead over the auditors but also enjoyed a divine status within the whole Turfan Manichaean community. The divinization of the Uyghur secular authority is reflected in two aspects: the divinization of the Uyghur ruler's throne, and the parallel of the Uyghur rulers with Manichaean deities. The interaction between Manichaean monasteries and Qocho Uyghur rulers is depicted by the Turfan Manichaean texts as the distinction between the "religious inside" and the "secular outside", just like that in Buddhism. In the Manichaean textual expression, the "religious inside" and the "secular outside" of the Turfan Manichaean community are represented by the Manichaean doctrines and the political realm/kingdom, or by the elects and the auditors (particularly nobles), which revealed their religious nature and secular use for the related church ceremonies. The terms "inside" and "outside" also appear in the Manichaean historical narratives, indicating a combination of the Manichaean religion and the state during the Steppe and Qocho Uyghur periods. In a word, the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts and texts not only helped to strengthen the faith of the lay Manichaeans, but also improve their awareness of belonging to the Manichaean community, together with the elects.

In addition, the Uyghur secular authority cooperated with the Turfan Manichaean monasteries, and integrated them into the economic realm of the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom, but at the same time supervised the development of Turfan Manichaean monastic economy. According to the Qocho Uyghur official document for Manichaean monasteries on the Turfan manuscript Zong 8782 T.82, the Qocho Uyghur secular authority did administrate the elects and their economic activities. Although this Uyghur official document imposed some rules upon the elects, the Manichean monasteries kept enjoying some of their existing privileges, accompanied by the Qocho Uyghur official economic support. This Uyghur official document was made to cater to the practical needs provoked by the interaction between the Qocho Uyghur court and the Turfan Manichaean monasteries.

The eastern Manichaean missionaries relied on both Sogdian traders and Uyghur political powers. The Sogdian traders contributed much to the spread of the Manichaean religion to the East, which made eastern Manichaeism to be intimately associated with the Sogdian trading

network along the Silk Road. When the Steppe Uyghurs had strong political influence on the Tang Empire, the Sogdian traders and the Manichaean missionaries caught the chance of promoting Manichaeism in China, in cooperation with the Steppe Uyghur nobles and diplomats. Compared to their significant position in the Steppe Uyghur Kingdom, the role of Sogdian traders in the Qocho Uyghur Kingdom became unclear, because there is a lack of any specific description of Sogdian traders in the currently known Turfan Manichaean texts or other records concerning the Qocho Uyghurs. The Manichaean priests (elects) appeared to no longer be involved in the Qocho Uyghur diplomatic missions. But meanwhile, Buddhism was treated well by the early Qocho Uyghur rulers, based on the diplomatic and economic advantages of the Turfan Buddhist community. According to the account book on U 9271 (verso), the Turfan Buddhist community once received more financial support from the Qocho Uyghur court than the Turfan Manichaean community in the early Qocho Uyghur period. Also, the Dunhuang manuscripts prove the frequent diplomatic and commercial communications between the Qocho Uyghurs and the Guiyijun (歸義軍, “Return-to-Allegiance Army District”, in Dunhuang), throughout the 10th century, in which the Buddhist monks played a crucial role, but the Manichaean elects seem to be absent. The Buddhist dominance in diplomacy and trade since the early Qocho Uyghur period can be proved. In contrast, in the Turfan Manichaean monasteries, only small business was reported by at least 8 Uyghur Manichaean letters (or letter drafts), which are on the Turfan fragments Ch/U 6570+Ch/U 6959, 81TB 65:4, U 5531+U 6066, 81TB 65:6, 81TB 65:5, and U 6198+U 6199. They concerned the purchase, shipment, and delivery of goods that were used for either private use or rituals of elects. So far, we may deduce that the Turfan Manichaean community was characterized by a lack of engagement in international commerce. But due to the lack of enough material, the situation of Manichaean diplomacy and trade during the Qocho Uyghur period remains unclear.





## Appendix of Research Materials

*Note 1: Some of the fragments are referred to in more than one subchapter, but they only appear one time in the forms below (where they are most related).*

*Note 2: Mid. Persian=Middle Persian (language); Man.=Manichaean (script); Sog.=Sogdian (script); Chin.=Chinese (characters); Ork.=Orkhon (script).*

### **Chapter 1: The Function of Texts and Pictures in the Turfan Manichaean Missionary and Religious Practices**

#### **1.1 The Manichaean Historical Narratives**

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
M 2	Codex bifolio	I: Mid. Persian	Man.	Early Manichaean missionary history: Mar Ammo to the East & Mar Adda to the West
		II: Parthian	Man.	Parts of the last chapter of an eschatological work
So. 18220	Codex	Sogdian	Sog.	Early Manichaean missionary history, including Mar Ammo to the East
M 5815	Codex bifolio	I: Parthian	Man.	A “apocryphal” letter from Mani to Mar Ammo
		II: Parthian	Man.	A letter from a high church dignitary to Mar Ammo
M 1	Codex bifolio	I: Mid. Persian	Man.	An introduction to a hymn collection ( <i>Mahrnāmag</i> ), composed btw. 824-832 (as the <i>Mahrnāmag</i> started to be copied since 762/763)
		II: Parthian	Man.	Parts of an index to a hymn collection ( <i>Mahrnāmag</i> )
M 315	Codex bifolio	Mid. Persian + Parthian	Man.	Opening verses of hymns, including hymns in praise of Šād Ohrmezd (with a space of about 11 lines in the middle)
M 198a	Codex	Mid. Persian + Parthian	Man.	Verses from a hymn in praise of Šād Ohrmezd
M 448	Codex	Parthian	Man.	Hymns to Šād Ohrmezd
M 1607	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A hymn to Šād Ohrmezd
M 37	Codex bifolio	Mid. Persian	Man.	Hymns in praise of the eastern Manichaean Church
M 5848	Codex	Parthian	Man.	Verses in praise of a “Teacher of the Eastern Region”
U 111a	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	The early propagation (since 761) of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs
TM 296	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Verses on the first Manichaean missionaries to the Steppe Uyghurs
T II D 62	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	The gratitude for the coming of Manichaeism to the Steppe Uyghurs

U 1a+b	Codex bifolio	Uyghur	Sog.	The history of the Steppe Uyghurs, and Būgū Khan's missionary effort (i.e., his visit of Qocho city after 750s)
U 73+ U 72	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	A historical text of Būgū Khan's affirmation of his Manichaean faith
Mainz 345	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	A church report on the spread of Manichaeism into the Steppe Uyghurs, combined with the Tang's request of Uyghur military aid against rebels, during 759-763
U 64+ Mainz 435b	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Commemorating in hymns/verses the foundation of Manichaeism among the Steppe Uyghurs with invocations to Manichaean deities
M 919	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean text of enthronement of a Steppe Uyghur king in the early years of eastern Manichaean missions

## 1.2 The Parables and Their Paratexts

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Recto</i>	<i>Verso (fragments and texts)</i>		
7 regrouped fragments: Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, Ch/So 20199, Ch/So 20503, Ch/U 6914+ Ch/So 15000 (5), and Ch/So 20182  (found in Toyuq valley of the Turfan region)	Scroll	Parts of the 48th chapter of the Chinese Buddhist sutra - <i>Dafanguang fo huayan jing</i> 大方廣佛華嚴經 ( <i>Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddhāvataṃsak Sūtra</i> ), translated by Buddhahadra (佛陀跋陀羅)	Parts of the Sogdian Manichaean <i>Āzandnāmē</i> (in Sogdian script): “Parable of the Judge and [...]”, “Parable of the Religion and the Ocean”, and “Parable of Two Snakes (More-Burdened and Less-Burdened)”	The versos of Ōtani 7543, Ch/So 20128, Ch/So 20511, Ch/So 20199, Ch/So 20503; and Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000 (5) verso (ll. 1-4)	Parable of the Judge and [...]
				Ch/U 6914+Ch/So 15000 (5) verso (ll. 5-9), and Ch/So 20182 verso (ll. 1-128)	Parable of the Religion and the Ocean
				Ch/So 20182 verso (ll. 128-193)	Parable of Two Snakes (More-Burdened and Less-Burdened)

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
M 107	Codex bifolio	Sogdian	Man.	The fate of auditors' souls on the Judgment Day
M 114	Codex bifolio	I: Sogdian	Man.	The liturgy for celebration, centering on the body-soul rite
		II: Mid. Persian	Man.	The beginning of a hymn
M 47	Codex bifolio	I: Parthian	Man.	Early Manichaean missionary history: conversion of Mēšūn-Šāh (the King of Mesene)
		II: Mid. Persian	Man.	Parable of the Low-Born Man
M 135a+ M 135b	Codex bifolio (x2)	Sogdian	Man.	Text A: Parable of the Pearl-Borer; Text B: The Sogdian version of the Manichaean <i>Kephalaia</i>
M 333+ M 334a	Codex	Parthian	Man.	A parable about free men, debtors, and slaves
Ch/So. 13399a+ Ch/So. 1340	Scroll	Recto: Chinese (main text) & Sogdian (lines)	Chin. & Sog.	A Chinese Buddhist text & a few Sogdian Manichaean colophon-like lines
		Verso: Sogdian	Sog.	A Manichaean hymn text from the "Divine Sermon" Book
M 44	Codex	Parthian	Man.	Parable of the King and the Low-Origin Man, to be told on the <i>Bema</i> Monday
L 120	Codex	Sogdian	Man.	Parable of the Greedy Auditors, and another unknown parable

### 1.3 The Pictures and Illuminated Manuscripts

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual or Pictorial Content &amp; Date</i>
M 28	Codex bifolio	I: Mid. Persian	Man.	Homilies of the congregation of Abursām, containing early Manichaean polemics against other religions
		II: Mid. Persian	Man.	Hymns to Jesus
M 174	Codex bifolio	Mid. Persian	Man.	A liturgical prayer (of an early date) for the Manichaean church leaders, concerning the prohibition of idolatry
MIK III 4947 & III 5d (found in Qocho ruins)	Scroll painting	X	X	An image of Buddha flanking an unknown central figure (from the Turfan Manichaean art) + a Sogdian word ( <i>pwt</i> , "Budda") written on the chest of the figure of Buddha

MIK III 6918 (found in Qocho ruin K)	Wall painting	X	X	A Manichaean community scene, with the central figure of a high church leader (Mani?) + names of 11 male elects (10 in Sogdian script & 1 in Manichaean script) (including a <i>xoštir</i> )
MIK III 4614 (found in Qocho ruins)	Scroll painting	X	X	An image of a pillar with a Manichaean dignitary headgear on the top, flanked by two female figures + a line of text in the middle of the pillar (in Sogdian language and Sogdian script) referring to the Manichaean church leader
MIK III 4624 (found in Qocho ruin α)	Wall painting	X	X	An image of two male elects in front of a building's pillar(?)
MIK III 6270 (found in Qocho ruin K)	Textile painting	X	X	An image of a male elect
MIK III 134	Codex painting	X	X	Recto(?): An image portraying warriors
				Verso(?): Remnants of two females with headdresses
MIK III 6265+III 4966c (found in Qocho ruins)	Codex with miniatures	Parthian	Man.	Recto: an unknown Manichaean text, with a miniature of a sermon with at least two seated elects
				Verso: an unknown Manichaean text, with a miniature of a decorative design for the header, and the image of a seated man

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Miniature</i>
MIK III 6368	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Recto: a short text of warning wrong beliefs	Recto: a scene of elect scribes
				Verso: a colophon to an unknown Manichaean book with the header "the Four Sovereign Gods"	Verso: a hymnodic ritual scene with musical instruments
MIK III 8259 (found in Qocho Ruin α)	Codex bifolio	Parthian + Mid. Persian	Man.	Both folios - R & V: The end of the Parthian <i>Parable of Bashandād</i> ; a Middle Persian abecedarian hymn invoking blessings on the Manichaean Church and Community; a Middle Persian hymn to Zurvan (the supreme god); and parts of a Middle Persian cosmological treatise. (made during the late 9th and early 11th century)	Folio I, recto: a sermon scene of elects and auditors

MIK III 4979a+b	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Recto: a benediction for the Manichaean community's Uyghur benefactors	Recto: the right-hand (salvational) scene with the conversion of the Steppe Uyghur ruler - Būgū Khan
				Verso: X	Verso (full-page): a scene of the <i>Bema</i> festival celebration + 8 names written in Manichaean script on the elects (including a <i>xoštir</i> )
MIK III 4959	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Recto: a colophon evoking merit upon the secular leaders of the Manichaean community	Recto: an image of two of the "Four Guardians" as in the right-hand (salvational) scene
				Verso: X	Verso (full-page): the judgment scene
MIK III 4974	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	R & V: a benediction on the sacred ritual meal and the leadership of the Manichaean community	Recto: a scene of the alms service of auditors and the sacred ritual meal of elects
M 559	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Recto: unidentifiable Verso: a hymn to the Father of Greatness	Recto: a scene of the alms service of auditors and the sacred ritual meal of elects
So. 18700 +M 501e	Codex	Sogdian	Sog.	R & V: an allegorical text describing the development of the human fetus	Verso: a music-playing scene
MIK III 36 (found in Qocho ruin K)	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Recto: a benediction on the esteemed auditors of the Uyghur royal court, including a Uyghur king (of Qocho, the 1st half of the 11th century?)	Verso: a court scene, with a image of the King of Honor
				Verso: X	
MIK III 4964	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Recto: unidentifiable	Recto: an image of Mani(?) as visionary witness
				Verso: a hymn, mentioning the five divine elements	
MIK III 4967a	Codex	Unidenti- fiable	Man.	Recto: X	Recto: small painted squares of figural compositions
				Verso: a cantillated text (probably a hymn)	Verso: an image of a standing elect

Or. 1812-1692 (found in Qocho ruins)	Codex	Uyghur	Ork.	Recto: a colophon to an unknown Manichaean book	Verso: a portion of the <i>Bema</i> scene
81TB 65:1 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves)	Scroll	Sogdian	Sog.	Recto: an authoritative Manichaean church letter from a “Bishop” to a “Teacher”, with church stamps (written during the latter half of 9th century and the former half of 10th century?), mentioning the <i>xošturs</i> of the targeted community	Recto: an image symbolizing the leadership of the church, with music-playing guardians
Verso: blank					
M 556	Codex or scroll (?)	Mid. Persian	Man.	Side 1: omen texts	Side 1: small painted squares of illustrations to the omens
Side 2: blank					

#### 1.4 The Merit of Reciting and Copying Texts

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>	
M 135b	Codex bifolio	Sogdian	Man.	A <i>Kephalaia</i> -like text, about the auditors and elects	
M 1224	Codex	Bactrian	Man.	Recto: Similes about the merit obtained by the auditors in return for their alms/gifts to the elects	Verso: The judgment of the sinner after death
MIK III 198 (found in Qocho ruins)	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Recto: The end of a part of the Manichaean <i>Evangelion</i> + some later comments by its readers	The copy of the <i>Evangelion</i> and its colophon can be dated to the early 11th century (the later comments on recto were later than the copy).
				Verso: The “Argu” colophon to a Manichaean canonical book (i.e., the <i>Evangelion</i> ), which can be dated to 1025/1026.	
U 168	Codex bifolio	I: Uyghur	Sog.	A homiletic text about the soul’s alienation	
		II: Uyghur	Sog.	A colophon to one chapter of the <i>Šābuhragān</i> , which can be dated to 795	

The fragment of the “Kyoto Colophon”	Codex bifolio	Uyghur	Sog.	A colophon to an unknown Manichaean book, containing the information of transferring merit
Mainz 358	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A colophon to an unknown Manichaean book, containing the transfer of merit
U 67	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A colophon of transferring merit, to an unknown Manichaean book commissioned for a dead son, which can be dated to the reign period of a Qocho Uyghur king - during the early 11th century (1017/1019 – 1020/1031)
M 4574	Codex	Parthian	Man.	A Manichaean eschatological text + a donor’s name
M 1964+ M 822	Codex	Parthian	Man.	A text about Mani’s early missionary story with a king + a patron’s name
M 897	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A Manichaean hymn + a donor’s name

## **Chapter 2: The Function of Manuscripts for the Internal Construction of the Turfan Manichaean Community**

### **2.1 The Role of Scribes and the Scribal Training**

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
M 5794+ M 5761	Codex bifolio	I: Mid. Persian	Man.	A text on the advantages of the religion preached by Mani
		II: Mid. Persian	Man.	Precepts for auditors
M 801a - folio d	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	The <i>Hymn to the Messengers</i> , for the <i>Bema</i> liturgy, enumerating the ranks of the Manichaean church hierarchy
M 801a - folio j	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A hymn in praise of the <i>Bema</i> festival, honoring all the ranks of the Manichaean church hierarchy
M 36	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A hymn in honor of the Manichaean Church and Community, enumerating all the ranks
M 216c+ M 1750	Codex	Parthian	Man.	A church history text, about early Manichaean missions
So. 14285+ So. 13941	Codex	Sogdian	Sog.	A church history text, about early Manichaean missions
M 101d	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A text of the <i>Kawan</i> (“Book of the Giants”, as one of the seven Manichaean canons)
MIK III 34b (found in Toyuq)	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Buddhist text
		Verso: Uyghur	Ork. + Man.	A Uyghur syllabary text for abecedarians (as an instrumental manual for scribes), written in Orkhon letters and their counterparts in Manichaean script

Or.Ry. 8129 (found in Toyuq)	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Buddhist text
		Verso: Uyghur	Ork.	The Orkhon alphabet
M 7351 (found in Toyuq)	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Buddhist text
		Verso: Mid.Persian	Man.	Five text sections of Manichaean hymns for the enthronement of a “Teacher” (written by three different hands)
M 7391 (found in Toyuq)	Scroll	Recto: Chinese & Sogdian	Chin. & Man.	A Buddhist text & a few practice letters (of Manichaean script)
		Verso: Sogdian	Man.	Manichaean epistolary content + graffiti
M 7392 (found in Toyuq)	Scroll	Recto: Chinese & Sogdian	Chin. & Man.	A Buddhist text & a few practice letters (of Manichaean script)
		Verso: Sogdian	Man.	Manichaean epistolary content + graffiti
M 7390 (found in Toyuq)	Codex	Parthian	Man.	A Manichaean hymn text
M 1571a	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Buddhist text
		Verso: not applicable	Man.	A Manichaean alphabet list based on the alphabetical order
M 409b	Codex or scroll (?)	Not applicable	Man.	A Manichaean alphabet list based on the alphabetical order
M 1206 (found in Qocho ruin α)	Codex	Side 1: not applicable	Man.	Lines of the repeated letters of Manichaean script
		Side 2: not applicable	Sog.	Irregular lines of the letters of Sogdian script
Mainz 171 (found in Qocho ruins)	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Ork. + Sog.	The same Uyghur abecedarian text written in Orkhon and Sogdian scripts respectively line by line
U 40	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Main text: a Manichaean treatise, narrating the Manichaean concept of the light and dark natures co-existing in human beings; Marginal text: a syllabary text of Sogdian alphabet
So. 20127	Codex or scroll (?)	Recto: not applicable	Sog.	A Sogdian alphabet list based on the alphabetical order
		Verso: not applicable	Sog.	One line of unrelated Sogdian script writing



## 2.2 The Role of *Xošturs* in the Turfan Manichaean Community

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
U 181 (found in Toyuq)	Codex	Recto: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from an inferior to a superior
		Verso: Uyghur	Ork.	A postscript of the Manichaean letter (on the recto)
U 6198+ U 6199	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from an elect of higher rank to an elect of lower rank (a <i>xoštur</i> )
81TB 65:5 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from a <i>šaxan</i> (“novice”) to a <i>xoštur</i> (written on recto only)
81TB 65:6 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from a <i>šaxanč</i> (“novice”) to a <i>xoštur</i> (written on both sides)
81TB 65:7 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll or codex (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from a Qocho Uyghur royal family member to a <i>xoštur</i> (written on recto only)
U 5281	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from an inferior figure (auditor?) to a <i>xoštur</i>
U 5531+ U 6066	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	Two Manichean letter drafts from the same sender (of the Yar city) to an elect (Letter A) and to two <i>xošturs</i> (Letter B) respectively (Letter A, written in the opposite direction with Letter B; both on the recto)
U 5928	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from a Qocho Uyghur noblewoman (as a female auditor) to a <i>xošturanč</i> (as a female elect) (as personal communication)
U 5974	Scroll	Side 1: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter draft to the sender’s relatives
		Side 2: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter draft to a <i>xošturanč</i> and a “bishop” (a local church leader)
U 6069	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from an auditor(?) to a “bishop” and a <i>xošturanč</i>
U 6198+ U 6199	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from an elect of higher rank, replying to an elect of lower rank (a <i>xoštur</i> )

81TB 65:4 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll or codex (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter to an unknown elect, mentioning a <i>xoštir</i> as the letter's courier
Ch/U 6570 + Ch/U 6959	Scroll	Recto: Chinese & Uyghur	Chin. & Sog.	A Chinese Buddhist text & a Uyghur Manichaean letter draft (mentioning the "Teacher")
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean letter from a "general" (as auditor) to an elect, mentioning a <i>xoštir</i> as the messenger
81TB 65:2 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll	Sogdian	Sog.	An authoritative Manichaean church letter from a "bishop" (in the Tudh city) to a "teacher", with church stamps (written during the latter half of 9th century and the former half of 10th century?), mentioning the <i>xoštirs</i> around the letter's recipient
81TB 65:3 (found in Cave no. 65 of Bezeklik Thousand- Buddha Caves)	Scroll	Sogdian	Sog.	A Manichaean church letter from an elect to a <i>xoštir</i>
U 10	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean <i>Confession Text</i> of auditors (owned by a figure named <i>Raymast Farzend</i> ( <i>xoštir</i> ?) with the tone of the 1st person)
M 481	Codex	Sogdian	Man.	A Sogdian colophon to a Parthian Manichaean text entitled "Prayer-book on Consciousness and Wisdom", mentioning a <i>xoštir</i> named <i>Raymast Farzend</i>
U 46b	Codex bifolio	Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean homiletic text, mentioning <i>xwištīm(h?)</i> (a variation of <i>xoštir</i> )
Mainz 126	Codex bifolio	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean homiletic text, mentioning <i>yošti</i> (another variation of <i>xoštir</i> )

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Fragment</i>	<i>Text</i>
40 leaves of the Uyghur Manichaean <i>Pothi</i> (Book): MIK III 8260, U 82, U 86, U 83, U 81a+b, U 87, MIK III 189, U 88, U 89, U 90, U 91, U 92, U 80, U 112, U 93, U 94, U 95, U 96, U 97, U 98, U 99, U 100, U 101a+b, U 102a+b, U 103a-c, U 104b, U 84, U 75, U 104a, U 85, U 76, U 77, <u>D259,18</u> , U 106, U 107, U 108, U 79, U 105, U 109, and U 110 (all written in Manichaean script, originally found in Murtuq) (This Manichaean book is owned by a <i>xoštir</i> called <i>Aryaman Fristum</i> .)	<i>Pothi</i>	MIK III 8260 recto	A salvational scene of an elect in the heaven
		MIK III 8260 verso, U 82, U 86, U 83, U 81a+b, U 87, MIK III 189, U 88, U 89, U 90, U 91, U 92, U 80, U 112, U 93, U 94, U 95, U 96, U 97, U 98, and U 99	The <i>Great Hymn to Mani</i>
		U 99 (verso, line 5), U 100, U 101a+b, U 102a+b, and U 103a-c recto	A bilingual hymn to the Father Mani (in Uyghur and Tocharian B languages)
		U 103a-c verso	An invocation of the Prophets (or as the beginning of the <i>Confession Text of Elects</i> )
		U 104b, U 84, U 75, U 104a, and U 85	The <i>Confession Text of Elects</i>
		U 76, and U 77	The <i>Story of Arazan the Merchant</i>
		<u>D259,18</u>	A benediction
		U 106, U 107, U 108, U 79, and U 105	The <i>Story about Demons</i> (?)
		U 109, and U 110	A colophon, containing the transfer of merit of compiling and copying this Manichaean book (in palm leaves) that can be dated to the 10th or 11th century (?)

### 2.3 Reporting the Crisis of the Turfan Manichaean Community

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
4 regrouped fragments: M 112+ M 146+ M 336c, and M 162a, M 336a, M 336b	Codex	Recto: Sogdian	Man.	A Manichaean church letter to a great <i>možak</i> (“teacher”) residing in Qocho city, complaining about the discipline-violation of “Syrian” Manichaean wandering elects (composed during the late 8th - the late 9th century?)
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	The <i>Käd Ogul Memoir</i> , recording the decline of the two major Manichaean monasteries in Qocho city, due to the Uyghur official interference (composed after 983)
U 495a+b	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean calendar text (dated to 988/989)

6 regrouped fragments: M 119 and M 119a+ M 119b+ M 1225+ M 1867a+ M 1867b	Codex	Sogdian	Man.	A Manichaean church letter, reporting the sender's worries about the mixture of "Syrian" newcomers with Turfan local Manichaeans (composed during the late 8th - the late 9th century?)
---	-------	---------	------	---

### **Chapter 3: The Function of Manuscripts for the Secular Sphere of the Turfan Manichaean Community**

#### **3.1 The Manichaean Texts Dedicated to Uyghur Rulers**

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
U 197	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	The Manichaean <i>Hymn to the Messengers of Light</i>
M 4575	Codex bifolio	Parthian	Man.	A homiletic text on the Manichaean Church/religion
U 65	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A benediction for both the Manichaean religion and the secular realm, on New Year's Day
U 138	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A benediction for both the Manichaean religion and the secular realm, on New Year's Day
M 908a	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A benediction for both the Manichaean religion and the secular realm, on New Year's Day
Ch/U 6874+Ch/ U 8163	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	The Chinese Buddhist text of the <i>Lotus Sutra</i>
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	A Uyghur Manichaean benediction for a Uyghur king on New Year's Day
U 31	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A benediction for the elects and the royal auditors on New Year's Day
U 164a+b	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A benediction for a Qocho Uyghur king - Yaruk Bögü Khan (r. 1007-1008), offered at a New Year ceremony
Ch/U 6860	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Chinese Buddhist text & a few lines of Uyghur Manichaean text (the draft of the beginning of a letter to an elect)
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	Two Manichaean texts: Text A - the draft of a Manichaean confession text; Text B - a historical text, concerning Yaruk Bögü Khan's death (in 1008) and a new Uyghur king's enthronement
U 184	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	A benediction dedicated to a Uyghur king on New Year's Day
M 2706+ M 2707	Codex	Mid. Persian + Uyghur	Man.	A Middle Persian and Uyghur bilingual text of benediction for a Uyghur king (of the Qocho Uyghur period?)

Fragment E of the Mannerheim Collection	Codex	Mid. Persian	Sog.	A Manichaean hymn text
So. 18057	Codex	Uyghur	Sog.	Two Manichaean texts: the ending of a song to honor an elect, and the beginning of the praises to a Uyghur king
T I αx 13	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Man.	The commemoration of the death of Yaruk Būgū Khan (in 1008)
TM 176	Codex	Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean historical text, narrating Yaruk Būgū Khan's death in a battle (in 1008)
M 729	Codex bifolio	Mid. Persian	Man.	Hymns in honor of the Manichaean church hierarchy
M 801a – folio I	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	Two Manichaean texts: the ending part of a Middle Persian version of Mani's "Sealed Letter", and the beginning part of the <i>Bema</i> hymns

### 3.2 The Interaction between Manichaean Monasteries and Uyghur Rulers

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
4 regrouped fragments: M 501p+ M 882c+ M 1402+ M 9152	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A Manichaean letter (as one of Mani's letters)
Zong 8782 T.82	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Qocho Uyghur official document for regulating and managing the Manichaean monasteries, with Qocho official stamps (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)
Ch/U 7081	Scroll	Recto: Chinese & Uyghur	Chin., Sog. & Man.	A Chinese Buddhist text + a few lines of Uyghur Manichaean content (as a letter draft ?)
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	Uyghur writing exercise or letter draft
S 9	Codex	Mid. Persian	Man.	A Manichaean hymn
T I D 3+ Ch/U 6618+ Ch/U 8118	Scroll	Recto: Chinese	Chin.	A Chinese Buddhist text
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean benediction for both the religion and the realm (mentioning the "Blessed Qocho Kingdom")
M 525a+b	Codex bifolio	I: Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean benediction for the realm on New Year's Day
		II: Uyghur	Man.	A Manichaean benediction for both the religious side and the secular outside

U 5362	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean benediction for the Manichaean religion and the Uyghur political realm
--------	---------------------	--------	------	---

### 3.3 The Development of the Turfan Manichaean Monastic Economy

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
U 9271 (found in Qocho ruin α)	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	Texts of an account book: (on recto) the Qocho court's financial donation to the Manichaean community; (on verso) the Qocho court's economic support to both Manichaean and Buddhist monasteries (dated to the 10th century, before 983?)
K 7717 (found in Yar of Turfan region)	Scroll or codex (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	Qocho Uyghur registers of receipts of land rent payments (i.e., account book), with a stamp in Sogdian script
U 5302	Scroll or codex (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	Qocho Uyghur registers of receipts of land rent payments (i.e., account book)

### 3.4 The Turfan Manichaean Community and International Relations

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
Ch/U 3917	Scroll	Recto: Chinese & Uyghur	Chin. & Sog.	A Chinese Buddhist text & a short Uyghur Manichaean text (continuing the verso's praise for the report sender's superior)
		Verso: Uyghur	Sog.	A Manichaean report, concerning the property or estate managed by the sender in Kucha but belonging to his superior (an elect) in Turfan, probably during the 10th or 11th century(?)

*All the above pieces belong to the corpus of the Turfan Manichaean manuscripts.*

## Other Manuscripts:

<i>Signature</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Textual Content &amp; Date</i>
The Šine-Usu Inscription (found in Mongolia)	Stone inscription	Uyghur	Ork.	A text devoted to the 2nd Steppe Uyghur king (r. 747-759)
Qara-Balgasun Inscription (found in Mongolia)	Stone inscription	Uyghur + Sogdian + Chinese	Ork. + Sog. + Chin.	Commemorating the 8th Steppe Uyghur king (r. 808-821) and his military achievements, and those of his predecessors, as well as their support of the Manichean religion
Or. 8212/178 (found in Dunhuang)	Scroll	Uyghur	Man.	The Manichaeen <i>Confession Text</i> of auditors
U 9090 (T II Y 48) (found in Turfan)	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Buddhist text concerning the confession of sins commissioned by a lay Buddhist woman named “Üträt”
Or. 8210/ S. 2659 (found in Dunhuang)	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	The Manichaeen <i>Hymnscroll of the Lower Section</i> ( <i>Xiabu zan</i> 下部讚)
Or. 8210/ S. 3969 + P. 3884 (found in Dunhuang)	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	The <i>Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light</i> ( <i>Moni Guangfo jiaofa yilüe</i> 摩尼光佛教法儀略), composed in 731
MIK III 6876a (found in Cave no. 9 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves, of Turfan)	Wall painting	X	X	A Buddhist painting, containing three Qocho Uyghur princes as lay believers, of the 9th century
MIK III 8381 (found in Cave no. 19 of Bezeklik Thousand-Buddha Caves, of Turfan)	Wall painting	X	X	A Buddhist painting, containing at least one Qocho Uyghur prince as the lay believer, of the 9th century
BD 00256 (found in Dunhuang)	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	A Manichaeen <i>Traité</i> (treatise), specifically narrating the Manichaeen concept of the light and dark natures co-existing in human beings, disseminated during Empress Wu’s period (690-705)

PC 3049 (found in Dunhuang)	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	A Buddhist copy of <i>Jingang boreboluomi jing</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (the Chinese version of <i>Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> by Kumārajīva), copied at the beginning of the 10th century(?)
		Uyghur	Sog.	Copies of 5 different Uyghur Manichaeic texts: a prayer of praise to Mani; an invocation of the “Twelve Deities”; a hymn to the twenty-two properties of Manichaeic deities; the titulature of a Uyghur king; a Manichaeic letter draft from an elect to a Uyghur prince (copied after the time of the Chinese Buddhist recto)
MIK III 4672 (found in Qocho ruin α, of Turfan)	Wood inscription	Uyghur	Sog.	A Uyghur Buddhist stake inscription (Stake I), dedicated by a Qocho Uyghur princess and probably her husband with their family members (made in 1008)
U 5525+ U 5717 (found in Turfan)	Scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	An unknown Uyghur text with Qocho official stamps (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)
U 5980 (found in Turfan)	Scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	An unknown Uyghur text with at least one Qocho official stamp (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)
U 5990 (found in Turfan)	Scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	An unknown Uyghur text with Qocho official stamps (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)
U 5983 (found in Turfan)	Scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	An unknown Uyghur text with at least one Qocho official stamp (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)
Or. 8212/161 (found in Dunhuang)	Codex book	Uyghur & Chinese	Ork. & Chin.	The old Uyghur <i>Irk Bitig</i> (“Book of the Omens”), preceded and followed by Chinese Buddhist devotional verses
MIK III 191 (found in Turfan)	<i>Pothi</i>	Uyghur	Sog.	A Uyghur Buddhist text
U 3528 (found in Turfan)	Codex or scroll (?)	Uyghur	Sog.	A Uyghur Buddhist text
U 5317	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Qocho Uyghur official document for regulating and managing a Buddhist monastery of Murtuq, dated to 1259/1260
U 5319	Scroll	Uyghur	Sog.	A Qocho Uyghur official document for regulating and managing a Buddhist monastery of Murtuq, with a Qocho official stamp (in Chinese), dated from the 10th or 11th century(?)



PC 2049	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	Recto: <i>Weimo jingshu</i> 維摩經疏 (“Commentaries on <i>Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra</i> ”)
				Verso: Two Dunhuang Buddhist monastery accounts: a management report of the Pure-Land Monastery (淨土寺) for the year 924, presented by the bursar Baohu 保護 at the monastery; a management report of the Pure-Land Monastery for the year 930, presented by the bursar Yuanda 願達 at the monastery.
PC 3672bis	Scroll	Chinese	Chin.	A Chinese letter ( <i>zhuang</i> 狀) from a Qocho Buddhist <i>Dutong dade</i> 都統大德 (“Commander-in-chief and Great Virtue”), to Shazhou/Dunhuang’s <i>sengzheng</i> (“monks’ administrator”) with surname <i>Song</i> (宋僧政), <i>panguan</i> (“magistrate”) with surname <i>Suo</i> (索判官), and <i>jiaoshou</i> (“instructor”) with surname <i>Liang</i> (梁校授)
				Verso: a prologue of a prayer for the New Year ceremony, and an eulogy of an unnamed figure
A Sogdian inscription in the Kulan-say ravine (in the Talas region)	Stone inscription	Sogdian	Sog.	A Sogdian text inscribed on the rock-face of a cliff in the Kulan-say ravine of the Talas region (dated to 1025/1026), mentioning a date and proper names

### Other Literatures:

<i>Literature</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Author/Editor &amp; Period</i>
The Coptic Manichaean <i>Kephalaia of the Teacher</i> (the “Chapters” from Mani’s teachings) (from 5th-century Egypt)	Coptic	?
<i>Kitāb al-Fihrist</i> (“Book of Catalogue”)	Arabic	The Abbasid Muslim scholar Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-990)
<i>Xizhou shicheng ji</i> 西州使程記 (“Record of Diplomatic Travel to Xizhou/Qocho”)	Chinese	The Song Dynasty’s politician and envoy Wang Yande 王延德 (983-1006)

<i>De Moribus Manichaeorum</i> ("On the Morals of the Manichaeans")	Latin	St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430)
The Uyghur version of the Buddhist canon - <i>Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra</i> ("Golden Light Sutra") (translated during the Qocho Uyghur period)	Uyghur	(copied on Turfan manuscripts, during the Qocho Uyghur period)
<i>Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk</i> ("Compendium of the Languages of the Turks") (compiled in 1072-1074)	Arabic + Old Turkic	The Qara-Khanid Muslim scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī (active during the 11th century)
<i>Zainu'l-Akḥbār</i> ("Beauty of the Information/News") (composed in the 1050s)	New Persian	The Persian Muslim traveler Maḥmūd Gardīzī (active during the 11th century)
<i>Li Weigong Huichang yipin ji</i> 李衛公會昌一品集	Chinese	The Tang Dynasty's politician and scholar Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850)
<i>Jiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書 ("Old Book of Tang Dynasty")	Chinese	The Five Dynasties period's politician and scholar Liu Xu 劉昫 (888-947)
<i>Xin Tang shu</i> 新唐書 ("New Book of Tang Dynasty")	Chinese	The Northern Song's politician and scholar Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), etc.
<i>Tang dazhaoling ji</i> 唐大詔令集 ("Collection of Great (Court) Orders of Tang Dynasty")	Chinese	The Northern Song's scholar Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079)
<i>Song shi</i> 宋史 ("History of Song Dynasty")	Chinese	The Yuan Dynasty's politician and scholar Toqto/Tuotuo 脫脫 (1314-1355), etc.

## Bibliographic References

- Abe, T. *Nishi Uiguru kokushi no kenkyū* 西ウイグル国史の研究. Kyoto: Nakamura insatsu shuppanbu, 1955.
- Allberry, C.R.C. (ed.). *A Manichaean Psalm-Book (Part II)*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.
- Andreas, F.C. & W. Henning. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933.
- Arat, R.R. “Uygur Alfabeti”, in *Muallim M. Cevdet. Hayati, Eserleri ve Kütiüphanesi*. Haz. O. Ergin, İstanbul, 1937. 665-691.
- Arden-Wong, L.A. “Some Thoughts on Manichaean Architecture and Its Applications in the Eastern Uighur Khaganate”, in S.N.C. Lieu & G. Mikkelsen (eds.). *Between Rome and China: History, Religions and Material Culture of the Silk Road*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. 181-254.
- Asmussen, J.P. *Xuāstvánīft: Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen: Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1965.
- Asmussen, J.P. *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*. Delmar, New York: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975.
- Bailey, H.W. “The Stael-Holstein Miscellany”, *Asia Major* n.s. 2, 1951, 1-45.
- Baker-Brian, N.J. *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*. London: T&T Clark International, 2011.
- Banerjee, P. “Hindu Trinity from Central Asia”, *Bulletin, National Museum, New Delhi* No. 2, 1970, 17-20.
- Bang, W., A. von Gabain & G.R. Rachmati. “Türkische Turfan-Texte, VI: Das buddhistische Sutra *Sakiz yukmak*”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), 1934, 93-192.
- Bartolid, V. “Iz vlecheniye iz sochneniya Gardizi Zayn al-Akhbār”, *Prilozheniye k Otchetu o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu s nauchnoyu tsel’yu 1893-1894gg.* Sankt-Peterburg, 1897.
- Bazin, L. *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.
- Benkato, A. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017.
- BeDuhn, J.D. *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- BeDuhn, J.D. “Eucharist or Yasna?: Antecedents of Manichaean Food Ritual”, in R.E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann & P. Zieme (eds.). *Studia Manichaica: IV Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14. - 18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000. 14-36.

BeDuhn, J.D. “Review of Xavier Tremblay, *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: Le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d’Asie Centrale d’après les sources primaire*”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 14, 2004, 269-273.

Al-Bīrūnī (author); E. Sachau (transl.). *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*. London, 1879.

Boyce, M. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientalforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.

Boyce, M. “The Manichaean Literature in Middle Iranian”, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 4/2, 1968, 67-76.

Boyce, M. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi / Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Boyce, M. “The Manichaean Middle Persian Writings”, in E. Yarshater (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Iran, III* (2). Cambridge University Press, 1983. 1196-1204.

Bryder, P. “...Where the Faint Traces of Manichaeism Disappear”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15, 1988, 201-208.

Buswell, R.E. & D.S. Lopez. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Chavannes, É. & P. Pelliot. “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté”, *Journal asiatique* 11, 1913, 99-394.

Chavannes, É. & P. Pelliot. “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, traduit et annoté (Deuxième partie)”, *Journal Asiatique* (10th ser.) 20, 1913, 99-199.

Ci Disheng, Li Xiao & Narengaowa. *Gaochang shehui bianqian ji zongjiao yanbian* 高昌社會變遷及宗教演變. Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2010.

Clark, L. “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi*-Book”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9, 1982, 145-218.

Clark, L. “The Turkic Manichaean Literature”, in P. Mirecki & J. DeBuhn (eds.). *Emerging from Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden: Brill, 1997. 89-141.

Clark, L. “The Conversion of Būgū Khan to Manichaeism”, in R.E. Emmerick et al (eds.). *Studia Manichaica IV. International Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000. 83-123.

Clark, L. “Manichaeism among the Uygurs: The Uygur Khan of the Bokug Clan”, in J. BeDuhn (ed.). *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 61-71.

Clark, L. “The Turkic Script and *Kutadgu Bilig*”, in H. Boeschoten & J. Rentzsch (eds.). *Turcology in Mainz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010. 89-106.

Clark, L. *Uygur Manichaean Texts, Vol. II: Liturgical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Clark, L. *Uygur Manichaeian Texts, Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Clauson, G. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Colditz, I. “Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 14/2, 1987, 274-313.

Colditz, I. “Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der *Dīnāwarīya* in Transoxanien”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19/2, 1992, 322-341.

Colditz, I. “Šād-Ohrmezd and the Early History of the Manichaeian *Dīnāwarīya*-Community”, in I. Baldauf & M. Friedrich (eds.). *Bamberger Zentralasienstudien. Konferenzakten ESCAS IV Bamberg 8.-12. Oktober 1991*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1994. 229-234.

Colditz, I. “Parabeln und Parabelabstrakta”, in Z. Özertural & J. Wilkens (eds.). *Der östliche Manichäismus - Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011. 13-25.

Colditz, I. “Das Problem des ‘Schweigens’ der manichäischen Quellen zum Thema Übersetzung”, in J.P. Laut & K. Röhrborn (eds.). *Vom Aramäischen zum Alttürkischen: Fragen zur Übersetzung von manichäischen Texten* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 29). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014. 7-29.

Coyle, J.K. *Manichaeism and Its Legacy*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Czeglédy, K. “Gardīzī on the History of Central Asia (746-780 A.D.)”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27.3, 1973, 257-267.

Doerfer, G. *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993.

Dreyer, C. *Abenteuer Seidenstraße: Die Berliner Turfan-Expeditionen 1902-1914*. Leipzig: Seemann Henschel, 2015.

Dreyer, C. (author); Chen Tingting (transl.). *Silu tanxian: 1902-1914 nian Deguo kaochadui Tulufan xingji 絲路探險：1902-1914 年德國考察隊吐魯番行記*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2020.

Drower, E.S. *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends, and Folklore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. “Late Features in Middle Persian Texts from Turfan”, in L. Paul (ed.). *Persian Origins - Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian. Collected Papers of the Symposium*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003. 1-14.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. *Dictionary of Manichaeian Middle Persian and Parthian* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Dictionary of Manichaeian texts. Vol. III. Texts from Central Asia and China. Part 1). Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. “Die Orientierung der Bilder in manichäischen Bücherfragmenten in der Turfansammlung”, in C. Marksches & J. van Oort (eds.). *Zugänge zur Gnosis. Akten zur Tagung der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.-05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*. Leuven: Peters, 2013. 277-284 & 336-346.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. “Abecedarian Hymns, a Survey of Published Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean Hymns”, in S.G. Richter, C. Horton & K. Ohlhafer (eds.). *Mani in Dublin. Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 8-12 September 2009*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. 110-152.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. “Was Manichaeism a Merchant Religion?”, in Academia Turfanica & Turfan Museum (eds.). *Journal of Turfan Studies. Essays on Ancient Coins and Silk: Selected Papers, the Fourth International Conference on Turfan Studies*. Shanghai, 2015. 245-256.

Ebert, J. “Darstellungen der Passion Manis in bekannten und unbekanntem Bildfragmenten des Bema-Fests aus der Turfan-Sammlung”, in K. Röhrborn & W. Veenker (eds.). *Memoriae Munusculum: Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994. 1-28.

Ebert, J. “Segmentum and Clavus in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, S.-C. Raschmann, J. Wilkens, M. Yaldiz & P. Zieme. *Turfan Revisited. The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004. 72-83.

Elverskog, J. *Uygur Buddhist Literature* (Silk Road Studies 1). Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Ennin 圓仁 (794-864). “Nittō guhō junrei gyōki 入唐求法巡禮行記”, in Lan Jifu (chief ed.). *Supplement to the Dazangjing 大藏經補編* (Scroll 3). Taipei: Huayu chubanshe, 1985.

Erdal, M. *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Evans, E. “Ritual in the *Second Book of Jeu*”, in A.D. DeConick, G. Shaw & J.D. Turner. (eds.). *Practicing Gnosis. Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Fisher, R.E. *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.

Flügel, G. *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1862.

Gabain, A. von. “Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biographie”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse) 29, Berlin, 1938, 371-415.

Gabain, A. von. “Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken”, *Der Islam* 29, 1950, 50-55.

Gabain, A. von. “Altürkische Datierungsformen”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 27, 1955, 191-203.

Gabain, A. von & W. Winter. *Türkische Turfantexte IX. Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf “Tocharisch” B, mit alttürkischer Übersetzung* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Nr. 2). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958.

Gabain, A. von. "Altürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei", in L. Bazin et al. (eds.). *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964. 171-191.

Gabain, A. von. "Die alttürkische Literatur", in L. Bazin et al. (eds.). *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964. 211-243.

Gabain, A. von. *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850-1250)*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 6). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1973.

Gardner, I. (ed.). *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Gardner, I. & S.N.C. Lieu (eds. & transl.). *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Geng Shimin. "Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu chushi 回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書初釋", *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 4, 1978, 497-516.

Geng Shimin & Zhang Guangda. "Suolimi kao 唆里迷考", *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 2, 1980, 147-159.

Geng Shimin & J. Hamilton. "L'inscription ouïgoure de la stèle commémorative des Iduq Qut de Qočo", *Turcica* 13, 1981, 10-54.

Geng Shimin. *Weiwuerzu gudai wenhua he wenxian gailun* 維吾爾族古代文化和文獻概論. Ürümqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983.

Geng Shimin & H.-J. Klimkeit. "Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 18, 1985, 7-11.

Geng Shimin. "Notes on an Ancient Uighur Official Decree Issued to a Manichaean Monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal* vol. 35, 1991, 209-230.

Geng Shimin. *Gudai Weiwuer wenxian jiaocheng* 古代維吾爾文獻教程. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2006.

Geng Shimin. *Huihuwen shehui jingji wenshu yanjiu* 回鶻文社會經濟文書研究. Beijing: Zhongyan minzu daxue chubanshe, 2006.

Geng Shimin & Wei Cuiyi. *Gudai Tujueyu yufa* 古代突厥語語法. Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 2010.

Gershevitch, I. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954.

Gershevitch, I. "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script", in J. Harmatta (ed.). *From Hecataeus to al-Huwārizmī: Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek, and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984. 273-280.

Gharib, B. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhang Publications, 1995.

Gokhale, B.G. "Dhamma as a Political Concept in Early Buddhism", *Journal of Indian History* 46, 1968, 249-261.

Gokhale, B.G. "The Early Buddhist View of the State", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89.4, 1969, 731-738.

Golden, P.B. "Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity amongst the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia" (Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi II. Wiesbaden, 1982), in P.B. Golden (ed.). *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe, Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*. Burlington: Routledge, 2003. Bookset Part I, 37-76.

Grünwedel, A. *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902-1903*. München: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1909.

Grünwedel, A. (author); Guan Ping (transl.). *Gaochang gucheng jiqi zhoubian diqu de kaogu gongzuo baogao (1902-1903 nian dongji)* 高昌故城及其周邊地區的考古工作報告(1902-1903年冬季). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2015.

Gulácsi, Z. "Identifying the Corpus of Manichaean Art among the Turfan Remains", in P. Mirecki & J. BeDuhn (eds.). *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden: Brill, 1997. 177-215.

Gulácsi, Z. *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

Gulácsi, Z. *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art. A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th-11th Century East Central Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Gulácsi, Z. *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Halfmann, J. (ed.). *The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume 4. (2nd Edition)*. In association with the Catholic University of America. Michigan: The Gale Group, 2002.

Haloun, G. & W.B. Henning. "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, 1952, 184-212.

Hamilton, J.R. *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des cinq dynasties d'après les documents chinois*. Paris: Impr. nationale, 1955.

Hamilton, J.R. "Around the Manuscript Staël-Holstein", *T'oung Pao* 46, 1958, 142-150.

Hamilton, J.R. "Toquz-Oyuz et On-Uyyur", *Journal Asiatique* 250, 1962, 23-63.

Hamilton, J.R. (ed.). *Manuscripts Ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang (Tome I)*. Paris: Peeters, 1986.

Hamilton, J.R. "L'inscription trilingue de Qara Balgasun d'après les estampages de Bouillane de Lacoste", in A. Haneda (ed.). *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*. Kyoto, 1990, 125-133.

Hansen, V. *The Silk Road: A New History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Härtel, H. & M. Yaldiz. *Along the Ancient Silk Route: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982.



Henning, W.B. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933.

Henning, W.B. “Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 90, No. 1, 1936, 1-18.

Henning, W.B. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.

Henning, W.B. “Argi and the ‘Tokharians’ ”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9(3), 1938, 545-571.

Henning, W.B. “The Book of the Giants”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11(1), 1943, 52-74.

Henning, W.B. “Sogdian Tales”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11(3), 1945, 465-487.

Henning, W.B. “Warucan-Sah”, *Journal of the Greater India Society* 11(2), 1945, 85-90.

Henning, W.B. “Two Manichaean Magical Texts with an Excursus on the Parthian ending *-ēndēh*”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12(1), 1947, 39-66.

Heuser, M. & H.-J. Klimkeit. *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Hodous, L. & W.E. Soothill. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Houtsma, M. Th. (ed.). *Ibn-Wādhih Qui Dicitur al-Ja‘qubī, Historiae. Pars Altera Historiam Islamicam Continens II*. Lugduni Batavorum, Apud E.J. Brill, 1883.

Huang Wenbi. *Tulufan kaogu ji 吐魯番考古記 (Kaoguxue tekan 考古學特刊 Nr. 3)*. Beijing: Zhongguo kexueyuan chuban, 1954.

Huntington, S. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. New York: Weatherhill, 1993.

Ibn al-Nadīm (ca. 932-995 CE) (author); B. Dodge (ed. & transl.). *The Fihrist: A 10th Century A.D. Survey of Islamic Culture (Abū ‘l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Kasai, Y. *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Kasai, Y. “Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism”, in C. Meinert & H. Sørensen (eds.). *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*. Leiden: Brill, 2020. 61-90.

Klimkeit, H.-J. “Qut: Ein Grundbegriff in der zentralasiatischen Religionsbegegnung”, in L. Neulande (ed.). *Humanitas Religiosa. Festschrift für Harald Biezais zu seinem 70. Geburtstag. Dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1979. 252-260.

Klimkeit, H.-J. “Christians, Buddhists and Manichaeans in Medieval Central Asia”, *Buddhist-Christian Studies* Vol. 1, 1981, 46-50.

- Klimkeit, H.-J. *Manichaeen Art and Calligraphy*. Leiden: Brill, 1982.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. "Manichaeen Kingship: Gnosis at Home in the World", *Numen* Vol. 29, Fasc. 1, Jul., 1982, 17-32.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. "Das manichäische Königtum in Zentralasien", in K. Sagaster & M. Weiers (eds.). *Documenta Barbarorum. Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1983. 225-244.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. "Jesus' Entry into *Parinirvāna*: Manichaeen Identity in Buddhist Central Asia", *Numen*, Vol. 33, 1986, 225-240.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. "Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus", in W. Heissig & H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.). *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1987. 58-75.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. (transl.). *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993.
- Klimkeit, H.-J. *Manichäische Kunst an der Seidenstraße: Alte und neue Funde* (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vorträge G 338). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996.
- Kudara, K. *Berurin shozō Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo kanbun bunken sōmokuroku (shikōbon)* ベルリン所蔵東トルキスタン出土漢文文献総目録 (試行本). Kyoto: Ryūkoku University, 2000.
- La Vaissière, È (author); J. Ward (transl.). *Sogdian Traders. A History*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Laut, J.-P. "Gedanken zum alttürkischen Stabreim", in M. Ölmez & S.-C. Raschmann (eds.). *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan. Festschrift für Peter Zieme*. Istanbul-Berlin, 2002. 129-138.
- Le Coq, A. von. "A Short Account of the Origin, Journey, and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1909, 299-322.
- Le Coq, A. von. "Köktürkisches aus Turfan (Manuskriptfragmente in köktürkischen 'Runen' aus Toyoq und Idiqt-Schähri [Oase von Turfan])", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 41, 1909, 1047-1061.
- Le Coq, A. von. "Dr. Stein's Turkish *Khuastuanift* from Tun-huang. Being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditors", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (of Great Britain and Ireland)*, 1911, 277-314.
- Le Coq, A. von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, I*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912.
- Le Coq, A. von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, III*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922.

Le Coq, A. von. *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II: Die manichäischen Miniaturen*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1923 (Reprinted in 1973, Gratz: Akademie Druck).

Le Coq, A. von. *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan: Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926.

Leurini, C. (ed.). *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850). *Li Weigong Huichang yipin ji 李衛公會昌一品集 (Congshu jichengben chubian 叢書集成本初編) (Book 1)*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936.

Lieu, J.M. *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic. God and Scripture in the Second Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Lieu, S.N.C. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992.

Lieu, S.N.C. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Lieu, S.N.C. & G.B. Mikkelsen (eds.). *Tractatus Manichaicus Sinicus (Monijiao canjing 摩尼教殘經)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Lin Wushu. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian 摩尼教及其東漸 [Manichaeism and Its Eastward Spread]*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

Lin Wushu. *Dunhuang wenshu yu Yijiao yanjiu 敦煌文書與夷教研究*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011.

Litvinski, B.A., A.H. Jalilov & A.I. Kolesnikov. "The Arab Conquest", in B.A. Litvinski, Zhang Guangda & R.S. Samghabadi (eds.). *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Volume III, the Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250-750*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999. 449-472.

Liu Hongliang etc. (eds.). *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000.

Liu Xu 刘昫 (888-947). *Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Livšic, V.A. "A Sogdian Alphabet from Panjikant", in M. Boyce & I. Gershevitch (eds.). *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*. London: Lund Humphries, 1970. 256-263.

Livšic, V.A. "Sogdijcy v Semireč'e: lingvističeskie i epigrafičeskie svidetel'stva" [Sogdians in Semireč'e: Linguistic and Epigraphic Evidence], in Ju.A. Petrosian et al. (eds.). *Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka*, I/2, Moskva, 1981, 76-85.

Ma Xiaohu. "Sutewen 'δw wkrw'ncmn (erbu jiaotuan) yu Hanwen 'sibu zhi zhong' 粟特文 'δw wkrw'ncmn (二部教團) 與漢文 '四部之眾'", in Ma Xiaohu. *Monijiao yu gudai xiyu shi yanjiu 摩尼教與古代西域史研究*. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008. 206-225.

MacKenzie, D.N. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī (the 11th century). *Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk, Vol. I*. Dankoff, 1982-1985.

Markschies, C. & J. van Oort (eds.). *Zugänge zur Gnosis. Akten zur Tagung der patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.-05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*. Leuven: Peters, 2013.

Martinez, A.P. “Gardīzī’s Two Chapters on the Turks”, *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* II, 1982, 109-217.

Marzolph, U. “The Migration of Didactic Narratives across Religious Boundaries”, in R. Forster & R. Günthart (eds.). *Didaktisches Erzählen: Formen literarischer Belehrung in Orient und Okzident*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2010. 173-188.

Matsui, D. “Taxation Systems as Seen in the Uighur and Mongol Documents from Turfan: an Overview”, *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 50, 2005, 67-82.

Matsui, D. “Gaochang α-si yizhi suo chu Monijiao - Fojiao siyuan Huihuwen zhangli yanjiu 高昌 α 寺遺址所出摩尼教—佛教寺院回鶻文賬歷研究”, *Journal of Sun Yatsen University (Social Science Edition)* vol. 59 n. 2, 2019, 100-107.

Millward, J.A. *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Minorsky, V. “Tamim ibn Baḥr’s journey to the Uyghurs”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12/2, 1948, 275-305.

Morgenstierne, G. *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Vol. II: Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi and Wakhi)*. Oslo: W. Nygaard, 1938.

Mori, M. “The T’u-Chüeh Concept of Sovereign”, *Acta Asiatica* 41, 1981, 47-75.

Moriyasu, T. “Uiguru no seisen ni tsuite ウイグルの西遷について”, *Tōyō gaku* 東洋学報 59.1-2, 1977, 105-130.

Moriyasu, T. “Zōho: Uiguru to toban no Hokutei sōdatsusen oyobi sonogo no Saiiki jōsei ni tsuite 増補:ウイグルと吐蕃の北庭争奪戦及びその後の西域情勢について”, *Ajia bunkashi ronsō* アジア文化史論叢 3, 1979, 199-238.

Moriyasu, T. “Tonkō to Nishi Uiguru Ōkoku - Tourufan kara no shokan to okurimono o chūshin ni 敦煌と西ウイグル王国—トゥルファンからの書簡と贈り物を中心に”, *Tōhō-gaku* 東方学 74, 1987, 58-74.

Moriyasu, T. “Toruko Bukkyō no genryū to ko-Toruko-go butten no shutsugen トルコ仏教の源流と古トルコ語仏典の出現” [L’origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l’apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien], *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 98-4, 1989, 1-35.

Moriyasu, T. “Uiguru = Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究” [A Study on the History of Uyghur Manichaeism], *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 31/32, 1991, 1-250.

Moriyasu, T. “*Daiei toshokan shozō Rūn moji Manikyō bunsho Kao. 0107 no shin kenkyū* 大英図書館所蔵ルーン文字マニ教文書 Kao.0107 の新研究”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 12, 1997, 41-71 (+4 pls.).

Moriyasu, T., Y. Yoshida & A. Katayama. “Qara-Balgasun Inscription” [Kara=barugasun hibun カラ=バルガスン碑文], in T. Moriyasu & A. Ochir (eds.). *Provisional Report of Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998*. Osaka: Society of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999. 209-224.

Moriyasu, T. “*Kasai Kigigun setsudoshi no shu'in to sono hennen* 河西歸義軍節度使の朱印とその編年”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 15, Osaka, 2000, 1-121.

Moriyasu, T. “Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan”, in L. Bazin & P. Zieme (eds.). *De Dunhuang à Istanbul: Hommage à James Russell Hamilton* (Silk Road Studies 5). Turnhout: Brepols, 2001. 149-223.

Moriyasu, T. “Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003: History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia”, in T. Moriyasu et al. (eds.). *Shirukurōdo to sekaishi* シルクロードと世界史 [World History Reconsidered Through the Silk Road]. Osaka: Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters, 2003. 23-111.

Moriyasu, T. “Decline of Manichaeism and the Rise of Buddhism among the Uighurs with a Discussion on the Origin of Uighur Buddhism”, in “Four Lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003: History of Manichaeism among the Uighurs from the 8th to the 11th Centuries in Central Asia”, in T. Moriyasu et al. (eds.). *Shirukurōdo to sekaishi* シルクロードと世界史 [World History Reconsidered Through the Silk Road]. Osaka: Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters, 2003. 84-100.

Moriyasu, T. (author); C. Steineck (transl.). *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004.

Moriyasu, T. “Chronology of West Uighur Buddhism: Re-Examination of the Dating of the Wall-paintings in the Grünwedel Cave No.8 (New: No. 18), Bezeklik”, in P. Zieme (ed.). *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism. In Memoriam Kogi Kudara*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Moriyasu, T. “*Shineusu hibun yakuchū* シネウス碑文訳注” [Šine-Usu Inscription from the Uyghur Period in Mongolia: Revised Text, Translation and Commentaries], *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 24, 2009, 1-92.

Moriyasu, T. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1)”, *Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letters Osaka University* 51, 2011, 1-86.

Moriyasu, T. “Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 2)”, *Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letters Osaka University* 52, 2012, 1-98.

Moriyasu, T. “New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism”, *Open Theology* 1, 2015, 316-333.

Müller, F.W.K. “Uigurica II”, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* No. 3, Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910, 76-83.

Müller, F.W.K. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag)*. Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913.

Nadeljaev, V.M. et al. (eds.). *Drevnetjurkskij slovar* '. Leningrad: Nauka, 1969.

Oort, J. van. “God, Memory and Beauty: A ‘Manichaean’ Analysis of Augustine’s *Confessions*, Book 10, 1-38”, in J. van Oort (ed.). *Augustine and Manichaean Christianity. Selected Papers from the First South African Conference on Augustine of Hippo, University of Pretoria, 24-26 April 2012*. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 155-175.

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) & Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061). *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Pedersen, N.A. (ed.). *Manichaean Homilies*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Pedersen, N.A. & J.M. Larsen (eds.). *Manichaean Texts in Syriac*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Peyrot, M. & A. Semet. “A Comparative Study of the Beginning of the 11th Act of the Tocharian A *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* and the Old Uyghur *Maitrisimit*”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69(4), 2016, 355-378.

Rachmati, G.R. “Zur Heikunde der Uiguren II”, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), Berlin, 1932, 401-448.

Rachmati, G.R. *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII* (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936, Nr. 12). Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.

Raschmann, S.-C. “Die alttürkischen Turfantexte als Quelle zur Erforschung der sozialökonomischen Geschichte Zentralasiens”, in H. Klengel & W. Sundermann (eds.). *Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften, Tagung in Berlin, Mai 1987*. Berlin, 1991. 141-149.

Reck, C. *Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Vol. 18/1. Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 1). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006.

Reck, C. “Soghdische manichäische Parabeln in soghdischer Schrift mit zwei Beispielen Parabeln mit Hasen”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck & D. Weber (eds.). *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden : Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009. 211-224.

Ries, J. “La fête de *Bêma* dans l’église de Mani”, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 22, 1976, 218-233.

Rong Xinjiang. “*Sen’an Xiaofu (Moriyasu Takao) ‘Huihu Monijiao-shi zhi yanjiu’ pingjie* 森安孝夫〈回鶻摩尼教史之研究〉評介”, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, 1994 (1), 99-103.

Rong Xinjiang. *Guiyijun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995.

Rong Xinjiang. *Guiyijun shi yanjiu - Tang Song shidai Dunhuang lishi kaocha* 歸義軍史研究—唐宋時代敦煌歷史考察. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996.

Rotman, A. *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna, Part 1*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008.

Röhrborn, K. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*. Lieferung 1-6. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977-1998.

Röhrborn, K. “Zum Schrifttum der westtürkischen Manichäer”, in Z. Özertural & J. Wilkens (eds.). *Der östliche Manichäismus* (Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 4./5. März 2010). Berlin, 2011. 161-167.

Rui Chuanming. *Monijiao Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yishi yu yanjiu* 摩尼教敦煌吐魯番文書譯釋與研究. Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2014.

Rybatzki, V. “Titles of Turk and Uigur Rulers in the Old Turkic Inscriptions”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 44.2, 2000, 205-292.

Schaeder, H.H. *Iranica* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 10). Berlin, 1934.

Schaff, P. (ed.). *St. Augustine: The Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*. New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890.

Scott, B. *Hear Then the Parable. A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

Scott, D. “Manichaeism in Bactria: Political Patterns & East-West Paradigms”, *Journal of Asian History* Vol. 41, No. 2, 2007, 107-130.

Sertkaya, O.F. “Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Metinleri ve Kâğıda Yazılı Göktürk Alfabeleri”, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, Ankara, 1990, 167-181.

Shanghai Guji Chubanshe & Bibliothèque nationale de France (eds.). *Fa(guo) cang Dunhuang xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Book Nr. 26). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Sims-Williams, N. “The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1-2), 1976, 43-82.

Sims-Williams, N. & H. Halén. “The Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script from the Mannerheim Collection”, *Studia Orientalia* 51/13, 1980.

Sims-Williams, N. “The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44, 1981, 231-240.

Sims-Williams, N. “The Sogdian Sound-System and the Origins of the Uyghur Script”, *Journal asiatique* 269, 1981, 347-360.

Sims-Williams, N. *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985.

Sims-Williams, N. & J. Hamilton. *Documents turco-sogdiens du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-houang* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum). London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990.

Sims-Williams, N. *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus II* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Pt. 2, Vol. 3). London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992.

Sims-Williams, N. “The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M 1224)”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, C. Reck & D. Weber (eds.). *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009. 245-268.

Skjærvo, P.O. “Review of C. Reck, D. Weber, C. Leurini & A. Panaino (eds.). *W. Sundermann, Manichaica Iranica: Ausgewählte Schriften*”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 14, 2000, 160-163.

Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079) (ed.). *Tang dazhaoling ji 唐大詔令集*. Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1968.

St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430). *St. Augustine's Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists*. Altenmünster: Jazzybee Verlag, 2012.

Sundermann, W. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte von Friedmar Geissler* (Berliner Turfantexte 4). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973.

Sundermann, W. “Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis”, *Acta Orientalia Hauniensia* 36, 1974, 125-149.

Sundermann, W. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981.

Sundermann, W. “Die Prosaliteratur der iranischen Manichäer”, in W. Skalmowski & A. van Tongerloo (eds.). *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 17.-20. May 1982*. Leiden: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1984. 227-241.

Sundermann, W. (ed.). *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985.

Sundermann, W. “Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer II”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13/2, Berlin, 1986, 239-317.

Sundermann, W. “Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological Means: the Case of the Turfan Texts”, in P. Bernard & F. Grenet (eds.). *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS (Paris 1988)*. Paris, 1991. 283-288.



Sundermann, W. "Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region", in A. Cadonna (ed.). *Turfan and Tunhuang: The Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1992. 63-84.

Sundermann, W. "Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer", *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 36/2, 1994, 244-270.

Sundermann, W. "Dīnāvarīya", in E. Yarshater (ed.). *The Encyclopaedia of Iran*, Vol. VII. Costa Mesa, 1996. 418-419.

Sundermann, W. & C. Reck. "Ein illustrierter mittelpersischer manichäischer Omen-Text aus Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 27, 1997, 7-23.

Sundermann, W. "Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe", in M. Macuch, M. Maggi & W. Sundermann (eds.). *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007. 403-421.

Sundermann, W. "A Manichaean Collection of Letters and a List of Mani's Letters in Middle Persian", in J.D. BeDuhn (ed.). *New Light on Manichaeism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 259-277.

Sundermann, W. *Die Rede der lebendigen Seele: Ein manichäischer Hymnenzyklus in mittelpersischer und soghdischer Sprache* (Berliner Turfantexte 30). Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Tan Qixiang (chief ed.). *Zhongguo lishi dituce 中國歷史地圖冊*, Vol. 6. Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982.

Tang Geng'ou & Lu Hongji (eds.). *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu 敦煌社會經濟文獻真跡釋錄*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian weisuo fuzhi zhongxin, 1990.

Teigen, H.F. *The Manichaean Church in Kellis. Social Networks and Religious Identity in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Tekin, T. *Irk Bitig. The Book of Omens*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993.

Thomsen, V. "Ein Blatt in türkischer 'Runen' Schrift aus Turfan", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (phil.-hist. Klasse), 1910, 296-306.

Tikhonov, D.I. *Khozyaystvo i obshchestvennyy stroy uygurskogo gosudarstva X-XIV vv.* Leningrad: Nauka, 1966.

Toqto 脫脫 (1314-1355) & Alutu 阿魯圖 (?-1351) (authors); Ni Qixin (ed.). *Song shi 宋史 (Ershisi shi quanyi 二十四史全譯 - Song shi 宋史 - Book 16)*. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004.

Tremblay, X. *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde: le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d'Asie Centrale d'après les source primaires* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik 28). Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2001.

Trenckner, U.V. *A Critical Pāli Dictionary, II*. Copenhagen, 1960.

Waldschmidt, E. & W. Lentz. *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichaismus*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926.

Waldschmidt, E. & W. Lentz. *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933.

Wang Ding. “*Bolin Tulufan tecang zhong de yijian chuzi Jiaohe de Hanwen Monijiao wenshu* 柏林吐魯番特藏中的一件出自交河的漢文摩尼教文書”, in T. Takata (ed.). *Tangdai zongjiao wenhua yu zhidu* 唐代宗教文化與製度. Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho 京都大学人文科学研究所, 2007, 41- 66.

Wang Fei. “‘*Huihuwen Monijiao siyuan wenshu*’ zai shi ‘回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書’再釋”, *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊, 2000, 225-242.

Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127-1202). *Huichen lu - qian lu* 揮塵錄·前錄 (Scroll 4). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.

Wang Yuanyuan. *Con Bosi dao Zhongguo: Monijiao zai Zhongya he Zhongguo de chuanbo* 从波斯到中國：摩尼教在中亞和中國的傳播. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Wang Yuanyuan. “*Wudai Songchu Xizhou Huihu ‘Bosi waidao’ bianshi* 五代宋初西州回鶻‘波斯外道’辨釋”, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, 2014 (02), 75-86.

Wilkens, J. *Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 8. Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000.

Wilkens, J. “Ein manichäisch-türkischer Hymnus auf den Licht-Nous”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge* 16, 2000, 217-231.

Wilkens, J. “Musings on the Manichaean ‘*Pothi*’ Book”, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 23, 2008, 209-231.

Wilkens, J. “A Tale from the Pañcatantra in Central Asia? The Lion, the Bull and the Fox”, *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 1/2, 2017, 104-139.

Wilkens, J. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen (Altuigurisch-Deutsch-Türkisch)*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2021.

Windfuhr, G. (ed.). *The Iranian Languages*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Yaldiz, M. *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang)*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

Yoshida, Y. “Review of Sundermann 1985”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51, 1988, 148-150.

Yoshida, Y. “First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts”, *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78, 2000, 71-85.

Yoshida, Y. “*Sutewen kaoshi* 粟特文考釋” [Studies of Sogdian Texts], in Liu Hongliang (ed.). *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000. 3-199.

Yoshida, Y. “On the Sogdian Fragments of the St. Petersburg Collection”, *Contributions to the Studies of Eurasian Languages, Series 3, Issues in Eurasian Languages* 1, 2001, 105-117.

Yoshida, Y. “New Turco-Sogdian Documents and Their Socio-linguistic Backgrounds”, in Academia Turfanica (ed.). *The History behind the Languages: Essays of Turfan Forum on Old Languages of the Silk Road*. Shanghai, 2012. 48-60.

Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001). “*Dasong seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略”, in Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō kankōkai (ed.). *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (*Taishō Tripitaka*). Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1988.

Zhang Guangda & Rong Xinjiang. “*Youguan Xizhou Huihu de yipian Dunhuang Hanwen wenxian - S. 6551 jiangjingwen de lishixue yanjiu* 有關西州回鶻的一篇敦煌漢文文獻—S. 6551 講經文的歷史學研究”, *Beijing Daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報, 1989 (2), 24-36.

Zieme J.N. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-Sūtra: Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Erster Band: I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung*. Leiden: Brill, 1958.

Zieme, P. “Zu einigen Problemen des Manichäismus bei den Türken”, in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1972. 173-179.

Zieme, P. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975.

Zieme, P. “Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich”, in L. Ligeti (ed.). *Researches in Altaic languages*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975. 331-338.

Zieme, P. “Zum Handel im uigurischen Reich von Qočo”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 4, 1976, 235-249.

Zieme, P. “Drei neue uigurische Sklavendokumente”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5, 1977, 145-170.

Zieme, P. “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8, 1981, 237-263.

Zieme, P. “Uygur Yazısıyla Yazılmış Uygur Yazıtlarına Dair Bazı Düşünceler”, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten*, 1982-1983, 229-237.

Zieme, P. *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.

Zieme, P. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo: Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992.

Zieme, P. “Manichäische Kolophone und Könige”, in G. Wiessner & H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.). *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus. 6.-10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn*. Wiesbaden, 1992. 319-327.

Zieme, P. “Remarks on Old Turkish Topography”, in S. Akiner & N. Sims-Williams (eds.). *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997. 46-51.

**Online sources:**

*CBETA (Dianzi Fodian ji 電子佛典集)* of Zhonghua dianzi Fodian xiehui 中華電子佛典協會: <https://www.cbeta.org/>

*Digitales Turfan-Archiv* of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW): <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>

*Encyclopaedia Britannica*: <https://www.britannica.com/>

*International Dunhuang Project (IDP, 國際敦煌項目)*: <http://idp.bl.uk/>

*TITUS (Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien)*: <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm>

*Turfan Studies* (a brochure made by the Turfanforschung). Berlin: Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2007. (<https://turfan.bbaw.de/bilder-en/turfan-engl-07.pdf>)