

## XI

## THE TWELVE DOMINIONS

**bz**

## The twelve Light Dominions

[Parthian]

1 dw'dys šhrd'ryft : šhrd'ryft, jyryft, bwxtgyft, hwnsndyft, 'brng,  
r'štyft, hmwdyndyft, drgmnyft, rzwyft, qyrbgyft, hw'bs'gyft, rwšn.

**ca**

## The twelve Dark Dominions

[Parthian]

1 dw'dys šhrd'ryft t'ryg : nxwyn wdyšn'sgyft, bdyg 'wrjwg, hrdyg

## XI

The Manichaeans revered 12 qualities or virtues which are named collectively after the first of them, namely *šahrdārišt* or *šahryāri* "Dominion". The complete Iranian list is preserved only in Parthian. Set against the 12 "Light Dominions" are 12 evil qualities or "Dark Dominions", to be abhorred. Their Iranian names are known only in Parthian.

The Light Dominions may be compared in some respects with the Zoroastrian Aməša Spəntas. They are qualities to be possessed by the virtuous or "New Man", and they are also personified deities. The Dominions are further associated with 12 of the chief gods of the Man. pantheon. The full series of equations is preserved in the *Chinese Hymnscroll* vv. 169-71, see *W.-L.* ii 490.

**bz**

**M 14 V 7 - 12:** *HR.* ii 44, *MSt.* 8, *W.-L.* ii 548 with 577. A Sogdian text in which are set out the constituent parts of the "New Man" (see intro. p. 7). Among these are the 12 Light Dominions, whose names are given in Parthian.

**ca**

**M 34 R 6 - 15:** *HR.* ii 44, *MSt.* 11. The text is concerned with the "Old Man", and in it is set out the list of Dark Dominions.

ghr'dnyft, cwhrwm 'šwbgyft, pnjwm \*dybhr, šhw m 'gwstgyft, hftwm wyg'nyšn, hštwm 'bn's, nhwm mrn, dswm wdyftgyft, \*'ywndswm wystmbgyft, 'wd dw'dyswm t'r.

### Hymns in honour of the Light Dominions, with the corresponding divinities

#### cb

- 1 pd jdg 'wd pyr'r 'y xwb ... wyn'r'd 'br h'm'g dyyn ywjdhr, 'wd 'br xw'n 'y 'ry'm'n rwsn, 'wd 'br tw, s'r'r 'st'ydg, 'y 'ystyhyd nyšn 'y b'n rwsn'n, 'wd 'br h'm'g wcydgyh 'y rwsn.
- 2 nxwstyn šhry'ryy, tw yzdm'n \*bwrzyst. 'wn m'n'g hy c'wn zrw'n 'y p'dyxš'y dydymwr ...

*[three lines badly preserved]*

- ... ky pd ... 'wd dws'rmy prwryd 'w hm'g b'n 'wd mhr'spnd'n, 'wš 'cyš pdyrynd d'sn 'yg \*yzdygyrddy, rwsnyyh. hwcyhryy 'wd hwmbwyy, srwd xwš 'wd w'xš w'c'pryddy; 'wd š'd 'wd prmynd bwynd 'w j'yd'n. 'wn twyyc, pyd 'y \*dws'rmygr 'wd pryhrwd, prwryh 'wd rwcynyh 'w wcydg'n 'wd nywš'g'n, ... 'wš'n ... pd whyh 'y yzd'n.
- 3 dwdyg whyy, tw hmwc'g 'y nyw, m'dm'n rwdwr. m'n'g hy pd zyryy 'w m'dr 'y zyndg'n, dws'yšt 'yg wysp'n yzd'n, kyš 'cyš 'wzyd wysp 'pr'h 'y qyrbg. 'wn twyc m'd hy, dws'rmygr, ky \*pd whyh w'c'pryd z'yyny przynd'n pd w'c, 'wš'n prwryh pd šyr 'y w'xšyg, 'wš'n \*z'mynyh 'w pym'n 'yg yzdygyrddy.
  - 4 sdyg pyrwzyh ...

#### cb

**IB 4974:** *W.-L. ii* 558-59 with 596-97, and see *Cat.* — There is a short exordium, and then invocations of the 1st three Light Dominions, each of which is compared with one of the gods. Dr. Sundermann has furnished some additional emendations to readings.

**1** *sārār istāyidag*: the head of the Man. church, by his office the representative of the gods on earth.

**\*yazdigirdi**: Dr. Sundermann's reading of the ms. traces, in preference to the tentative *\*zyhr zwry* of the printed text.

**srōd xwaš ud wāxš wāzāfrīdi**: "sweet song (i.e. hymns) and creation-by-word of the spirit".

**3** *kē-š aziš ... wisp āfrāh*: see note to c 1, above.

## cc

- 1 \*sdyg pyrwyžh, pd'n 'whrmyzd by. 'w t̄w, xwd'y, 'pwr'n. t̄w  
hy rzm̄yvw 'y nyw, h'mgwn 'y wysp 'rdyyg, 'yrnj'g 'yg dwšmnyn  
'wd 'bd'cg 'y dwst'n.
- 2 tswm hwnsndyžh, pnz'n mhr'spnd'n. 'w t̄w, xwd'y, 'pwr'n ...

[a number of lines missing]

- 3 \*hptwm ... \*myhryzd ... jwdy kwnyd zyng'n 'c mwrđg'n, rwšn'n  
'c t̄ryg'n, 'wd bwxtg'n 'c 'ndrxtg'n.
- 4 hštwm bwrđdy, nryšh yzd. 'w t̄w, xwd'y, 'pwr'n, cy t̄w hy ...  
rwšn'xw ...

[a number of lines badly preserved or missing]

- 5 dw'zdhwm rwšnyžh, whmn rwšn. 'w t̄w, xwd'y, 'pwr'n, cy tw ...

## cd

'br dw'zdžh šhry'ryh

- 1 nwwm r'styy, tw q'r'g 'y qyrbgyy. drxt hy 'y zyng, 'stwn 'y  
hwstyg'n, ky pdyš wyn'ryy 'wyšt'n 'y whmn'n pd r'styy 'wd r'dyy,  
'wš'n pywynyy pd wzrg r'styy 'c dyn 'y 'yrdr 'w dyn 'y 'brdr. 'wt  
'wrw'ryn'd srwšhr'y.

## cc

**M 798a R ii – V ii**: *W.-L. ii* 560 with 598-99, and see *Cat.* — A text similar to **cb**; but here the Dominion and the god with which it is associated are invoked together at the beginning of each verse. Some further emendations to readings have been supplied by Dr. Sundermann.

**3 \*haftom ... \*mihryazd**: The 7th Dominion is identified with the Living Spirit in the *Chinese Hymnscroll*. The god's name is missing in the present fragment. The Chinese text shows that the 5th Dominion is associated with the Friend of the Lights, the 6th with the Great Builder.

## cd

**M 738**: *W.-L. i* 561-62 with 599-603, and see *Cat.* — Here the verses are devoted to the Dominions themselves and the identification with the god is made only at the end of each verse.

**1 istün i hōstīgān**: an allusion to the Column of Glory, with which the Dominion is identified.

- 2 dhwm 'šnwhryy, tw zyndkr 'y nyw, mwrđ'hyz 'y gy'n'n. q'myšngr hy 'y sn'n 'nwšg'n, 'wd bxš'g 'y r'y \*'wd nyw'gyrdy 'w przynd'n 'y dyn, kyt pd 'šnwhryy zywyn'd hynd hn'm'n 'y xwyš.'wt pdyxšr'yyn'd yyšw' 'spyxt'n.
- 3 y'zdhw m xwbyh, w'xš 'st 'y zyhryn, whyh 'y pydr, 'wd b'm 'y wysp'n yzd'n, ky tw phykyrb hy 'y 'wy 'wx rwšn'xw, 'wd \*'hyng 'y šh dys, 'yg pwr wdymwštyy 'wd d'n'gyy. 'wt thmyn'd w'xš 'y zrw'n.
- 4 dw'zdhw m rwšnyy. rwšn hy 'y 'c šhr 'y rwšn'n, qyt 'brwxt, nyš'n 'y rwšnyy, 'y xwd w'xš 'st'ydg 'ndr dyl 'y prwxyd'r'n. 'wtyš'n qyrd 'z'd 'c 'yrdst 'y dyswys. 'wt 'st'y'd whm n rwšn, šhry'r 'y dyn.
- 5 nmbrym pd wzrg nyw' gyrdy 'w h'm'g wcydgyy ...

**dēn ī abardar** : i.e. the church or community of saved souls in Paradise (Lentz).

**2 senān anōšagān** : the identification is not certain, but possibly the association of the Dominion with Jesus has led to a further connection with the familiar triad Jesus — the Maiden of Light — the Great Nous.

**rāy \*ud nēwāgirdī** : the ms. has 'yd where Lentz emends to 'wd.

**kē-t pad ašnōhrī** ... : "whose (*kē* ... *xwēš*) limbs are made to live through your grace".

**3 \*ahēnag ī se dēs** : obscure. Lentz read tentatively 'h(w)ng, which would be a hapax.

**wāxš ī zurwān** : i.e. the Maiden of Light, called elsewhere (M 90 V 4 a-b, see *W.-L. i 555*) *gyān ī bay zurwān*; cf. further **c 1**, above.

**4 u-t-išān kird āzād** ... : lit. "and by you it has been set free to them", i.e. "and you have set them free".

## XII

HYMNS IN HONOUR OF MANI AND INDIVIDUAL  
CHURCH-LEADERS

## ce

## A memorial hymn for Mani

[Parthian]

prnybr'nyg b's'h

I cy wz'd ... mycrym p'dgws. I'myn kyrdg'r 'wyšt'd pd wyndyšn, pdwh'd 'w pydr pd 'frywn, kwm zmyq nmwšt 'wm kyšf'n pr'gnd 'wm b'r jywhryn prw'n tw s'n'd. mn dyšt 'pdn 'wd m'nyst'n hw'rmy'n 'w tw'n mnwhmyd. 'wd w'd wjydg kyštwm bwdyst'n, 'sprhmc'r hwzrgwn, 'wm pwsq wyšmn'g pdyc tw j'm'd. nys'gyn drxt'n mn kyrd b'rwr, 'wm r'h 'bdyšt 'w bwrzw'r z'dg'n. hnjftwm 'spwr tw

## XII

These hymns form a miscellaneous group, since one or two are detailed and of high poetic quality, others (more fragmentary) appear conventional. Since each saved soul is part of the world of Light, and of the same nature as the gods, any departed saint may be addressed as if he were himself god.

## ce

**M 5:** *Mir. Man. iii d*, see further *ibid.*, p. 912, and *Cat.* — This abecedarian hymn (of which verses *k* onwards are preserved) appears to be based on the prose text given above as *p*, or on a very similar source. From internal evidence the hymn was composed in A.C. 384 (or A.C. 387, according to whatever date is accepted for Mani's death); but even at that comparatively early date Indian loan-words appear, see *Mir. Man. iii* 865 n. 1.

**I mišrem pādḡōs:** Egypt (here given in the Hebrew form of the name) represents the material world (H.).

**lālmīn kirdagār:** i.e. Mani, who stands before his death in prayer to the Father of Greatness, and speaks in figurative terms of his labours in the world.

**bar žīwahrēn ... pusag wišmenāḡ:** metaphors for his harvest of saved souls. The *appadān ud mānistān* probably refer to the Man. church.

**u-m rāh aḡdišt ō burzwār zādagān:** probably (since *burzwār* is more commonly subst. than adj.), "I have shown the way to the sons of the Height (i.e. Paradise, since men are the children of Light);" or, conceivably, "I have shown to the children the way to the Height".

- frm'n kyrbg, cy hw wsn'd fršwd hym 'w 'ym lwg. s'n'h 'w mn 'w mwxšyyg 'ngwn, kw ny wyn'n dws̄mnyn p'dgyrb, ms ny 'šnw'n hwyn wcn syzdyyn. 'ymwm y'wr dh'h pws̄g wzrg prywj''n.
- 2 'zgwł'd pdwhn bgr'štygr, 'wš fršwd fryštg'n 'wd d'hw''n wzrg'n, kw dh'h 'bdys 'w wxybyy wjydgylt, 'wd tw 'wr 'br sn'h 'w 'r'm 'nwšg.
- 3 pd sxt cwhrm m'h šhryywr, pd dws̄mbt 'wd jm'n 'ywnds, kd hmyw 'yšt'd pd 'frywn, fr'mwxtyyš tnb'r pdmwcn 'bdyn. cw'gwn kd wrwc tgnbnd wyt'b'd, rws̄nyst'r 'c myhryzd rws̄nyft wybr'z'd wrdywn, 'wd fryštg''n wy'wrd, 'wš'n drwd d'd 'w yzd r'štygr. qdg 'sm'ng 'mbst 'w byh 'rg, zmyg wlrz'd, wcn wzrg 'xšy'd, 'wd mrdwhm'n ky 'ym nyš'n dyd whyrd 'hynd 'wd kft 'br dym. rwc 'st drdyn 'wd jm'n z'ryh, kd prnybr'd fryštg rws̄n. hyštyš ymg'n ky dyn p'ynd, 'wš kyrd pd drwd hmg rm kl'n.
- 4 šhrd'r 'rg'w wxybyy pdyst hnj'm'd, cyš w'xt 'w 'm'h, kw 'šm'h wsn'd prxyz'n 'c 'br, pd wrdywn 'byn, 'wt'n hrw jm'n 'dy'wryft frš'w'n. tšyy wnwh bwt 'spwr sd 'wd ds s'r'n cy sd 'yy tw, bg, 'w 'njmn r'myšn. 'w's gd jm''n kw 'rd'wyft whynj'h, 'wd 'ym g'h wxybyy 'brdr pdr'z'h. nyw 'škyb'm, šwb'n'n r'št'n, wjydg'n 'mwst'n 'wd ngwš'g''n. 'by'd d'r'm yzd'n 'ndrz ...

**im gāh wxēbeh abardar padrāzāh**: "you should raise this your throne higher" i.e. *pusag wuzurg paryōzān* can be variously translated, as "the great victory of the Wreath", or "the wreath, the great Victory", or "the wreath of the great Victory".

**2 dāhwān wuzurgān**: i.e. the 3 symbols of victory; cf. Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, 54, 10. — Mani's prayer is given there, p. 52 ff. (H.).

**3 frāmōxt-iš tanbār padmōzān aβdēn**: "he laid aside the wonted garment of the body" (H.).

**wardyūn**: evidently the *nāw rōšn* of p 1, see notes.

**kadag āsmānag ambast ...**: lit. "the house of the sky collapsed to the outer side". The passage is imitated from the gospel-accounts of the death of Jesus; for detailed comparisons see *Mir. Man.* iii 864, nn. 6, 7, 8, 9.

**4 wardyūn ābēn**: cf p 1, above. Mani dwells with the redeeming gods in the moon until the end of the world.

**im gāh wxēbeh abardar padrāzāh**: "you should raise this your throne higher" i.e. to Paradise, that is, it is time for the world to end. The expression *im gāh* suggests that the hymn was sung at the Bema festival, when Mani's empty throne was set before the congregation.

## Memorial hymns, probably for Mani

[Parthian]

prnybr'nyg b's'h

cf

- 1 I'myn nxwyn bwxtg pdgryft ws 'rg'wyft 'c pydr 'wd \*m'd rwšn, 'wd hrw br'dr'n hw'xšd. mrd whygr rwšn hsyng 'd pnj \*pwhr'n rwšn'n ...

[three verses badly preserved or missing]

- 2 frh cy tw wzrgyft ky šhyd w'xt 'wt wyfr'št? \*'bdyswt r'styft 'spwr, qyrdg'n tšy rwšn 'wt t'r.

[four verses badly preserved or missing]

- 3 ... d'm, z'dmwrd zwnws, cy tnb'r hrw \*ns'w 'b'yšn. fršygyrd rg \*'bdrynjyd, ngwšyd ky bwxt q'myd.  
4 tšy w'xt hrwyn bwt'n, pydr'n hsyng'n, jyr'n, kw bw'h 'w d'm ...

cf

**M 8171 R i – V i (T III D 267):** *Mir. Man. iii f 1-35*. The fragment is badly preserved, and is written moreover in a small very cursive script. A number of the readings are therefore doubtful. There also appear to be some scribal errors. Some of the more obscure lines are omitted here.

The second hymn on the fragment (**cg**, below) is certainly a memorial hymn to Mani, and the present one is probably to the prophet. It is abecedarian, with verses *k* to *tau* wholly or partly preserved.

**1 aš ... mād:** the reading *m'dr* is also possible (H.).

**2 \*aβdēs-ut rāštīft:** "teach your righteousness" (H.). The ms. has an inexplicable 'bdymwt.

**3 cē tanbār harw \*nasāw abāyišn:** the reading *ns'w* is slightly doubtful, and even if it is accepted, the meaning is not very clear. "For (there is) need of it (i.e. of *zādmurd*?) for every *nasāw* of the body", i.e. every physical embodiment is subject to reincarnation.

**\*abdrnjēd:** H.'s restoration; a hapax. The ms. has 'bdynjyd.

## cg

- 1 'br s'r pñj'st 'wd pñj 'c prnybr'n mry m'ny fryštḡ, kd 'br pdr'st' 'w  
m'h wrdywn, 'ngwd 'd pydr 'whrmzydbḡ, 'w bwj'gr mry m'ny 'fryn'm.  
2 bwt brmg wzrg šwj ...

## ch

## Memorial hymn for Mar Zaku

[Parthian]

- 1 'wn 'mwcg wzrg, mryzkw ... šwb'n. 'wn bzmḡ wzrg, ky wzwd  
tgnbnd. sy'wg bwd 'w 'm'h cšm, tnd 'wd nb'm. 'wn gwrđ rzmyywz,  
ky 'sp'd hyšt. gryft' prm'w gwnd, 'wd whyrd k'rw'n. 'wn d'lwg  
wzrg, ky bšn'n 'mšt, bwd wnwhḡ 'w mwrg'n ky 'hy'ng wygnd.  
'wn xwrxšyd wzrg, ky 'c šhr nwrđ. t'r bwd 'm'h cšm, cy rwšn  
ngwst. 'wn wzyšt srtw', ky 'bhyšt s'rt pd wy'b'n, dšt, kwf'n, 'wd

## cg

**M 8171 V ii (T III D 267)**: *Mir. Man. f* 37-45. This hymn was identified by H. with M 1, line 236, and the opening words, *abar sār panjāst ud*, are restored from there. The present fragment begins with the words *panj aš parniḡrād*. M 1, 126 has instead *aš parniḡrān*, which is evidently correct. The hymn was thus composed in A.C. 332 or thereabouts. Only parts of verses *alif* to *b* are preserved.

**2 būd bramag wuzurg sōz**: Mani is similarly described in *Man. Homilien* (60. 22), where also (54.29 and 56.19) he is said to have wept at his last prayer (H.).

## ch

**M 6**: *Mir. Man. iii e*, with p. 912 n. — The Mar Zaku of this memorial hymn is almost certainly the Zaku who was one of Mani's earliest disciples (see Flügel, *Mani* 75.2; 51.8), and who can hardly therefore have lived to much beyond A.C. 300. The hymn, which contains Indian loan-words, is one of the finest surviving pieces of Man. Parthian literature, and is almost perfectly preserved on **M 6**. Only the opening words, *a'ōn amōžag wuzurg Mar Zaku*, are restored from M 1, line 239. From the end of the 2nd paragraph, *tābād ō any pādḡōs*, the text is partially preserved on M 281, with some minor variants.

There is slight irregularity in the alphabetic scheme, in that both the *h* of the *hau* verse and the *k* are represented by *x*. (*xwarxšēd* may originally have been spelt *hwarxšēd*). The *s* verse cuts across the general sense, and appears to be a canon or antiphonal verse.

**1 tnd 'wd nb'm**: these words were discussed by E. Benveniste, *JA* 1936, 200; but *nb'm* occurs also in an unpublished text where the meaning suggested unfortunately does not fit. See also *Mir. Man. iii* 903, s.v.



- dr'n. 'wn zyrd 'wd gy'n, ky 'c 'm'h 'pyd. wx'z'm hw tw hwnr, pdm's 'wd frh.
- 2 'wn jywndg zryh, ky hwšk bwd. nhxt rwd'n cmg, 'wd ms ny tcynd. 'wn hwzrgwn qwf, kw mys'n crynd. wrg'n šyft 'bsyst, myš'n z'ryh 'ndmynd. 'wn t'wg pydr, ky ws zhg ywbynd, hrwyn frzynd ky bwd sywg. 'wn ywdy'g xwd'y, ky bwrđ wyg'w. dyrd 'b'd 'w bg kdg pd hrw cyš. 'wn x'nyg wzrg, ky cšmg frbšt. nhxt prwrz wxš 'c 'm'h rwmb. 'wn lmtyr nys'g, ky rwšn frd'b t'b'd 'w 'ny p'dgws. 'm'h bwd nys'm.
- 3 'wn mryzqw, šwb'n, 'mwcg frwx, zwwrm'n 'w'hs bwd 'c tw ww'r. nyt wyn'm ms pd 'byn cšm, 'wt ny šnw'm 'nwšyxn sxwn. — srwš'wyzd wxšn'm, b'myn xwd'y, h'ws'ryt ny 'st pd hrw bgyft. — 'frg'r'm, 'ndm'm 'wd z'ryy brm'm. 'by'd d'r'm hmyyw hw tw frhyft. p'dg'hyg bwd 'yy pd hrw šhr'n. šhrd'r'n 'wd wzrg'n 'w tw nyz'y'd. cyhrg zbyn fryhgwn, wy'w'r crb, ky dybhr txl ny kyrd kd'c.
- 4 q'w wzrg zwrmd ky pd bwrđyft, bwrđwd 'w hrw qyc, bwd 'yy n'mgyn. r'štygr pydr, 'n'z'r, 'xšd'g, d'hw'nyg, r'd, rwdwr, myhrb'n. š'dgr 'w tryxtg'n, ky 'n's'g gryw bwj'd 'c wdng, j'm'd 'w pdyšt. thm nyw kyrdg'r, ky wynd'd g'h, cw'gwn hrwyn fryšt'g'n, bwt'n 'wd bg'n. nm'cwd pd sr br'm, 'z z'dg ksyšt, ky sywg 'wd 'zdyh wz'd hym 'c tw, pydr.

3 **zwwrm'n 'w'hs būd aš tō wiwār**: both *zwwr* (assuming *-m'n* to be a suffix) and *'w'hs* presents difficulties, discussed by H., *Mir. Man.* iii 866 n. 2. He suggests taking *zwwr* for the more usual *z'wr*, despite the fact that this is a daevic word. An emendation of *'w'hs* to *'w's* is tempting and would yield good sense; but the word occurs in the same spelling in both M 6 and M 281.

**andamām ud ...**: *ud* is only in M 281.

**hō tō frihīft**: *hō* is only in M 6.

4 **kaw wuzurg zōrmand ...**: The verse can be variously translated. Probably: "Great, mighty Giant who (are) patient; you bore with everyone, you were renowned".

**šādgar ō trixtagān**: M 281 has *šādgar ēē trixtagān*.

**bōzād aš widang**: M 281 has *bōzād aš narah*.

## cj

## The opening lines of three hymns to Šād-Örmizd

[*Persian and Parthian*]

- 1 'pryn'm 'w tw, xwd'y', bg š'd-'wrmyzd', bwj'gr. tw bwd 'yy 'w  
 'm'h' nw'g mwrđ'hyz', 'njywg.  
 2 nmbrym 'w š'd-'whrmzd, zyndkr 'ym'n gy'n. pscg 'w tw, dwšyst,  
 'st'yšn 'wd nwg 'fryn.  
 3 'w tw 'st'y'm', by š'd-'whrmzyd, pws 'y dwšyst' m'ny xwd'wn,  
 šhry'r 'y dyn'. tw 'rz'n hy' 'st'yšn 'wd 'fryn ws.

## ck

## Lines in honour of Wahman-Xwarxšēd

- 1 ... 'rd'w'n p'k'n o l o r'ynd'ryy 'wd pyšwb'y 'y xwd'ym'n  
 'prydg-n'm o m o mry whmn-xwrxšyd, hmwc'g 'y hwr's'n p'ygws ...  
 o n o n'mgyn s'r'r 'y ch'r 'twgryst'n.

## cj

**M 315 I R 9 – 21:** *W.-L. i 60*, and see *Cat.* — The opening lines of hymns in honour of the founder of the Dēnāwars, composed therefore not earlier than the 7th century. The 1st and 3rd hymns make free use of the suffixed invoking *alif*. The variant spellings -'wrmyzd and -'whrmzyd suggest a relatively late date for the ms.

## ck

**P 2:** *HR. i 351, MSt. 32, H.*, “Argi and the ‘Tocharians’”, *BSOS IX 3*, 1938, 551. 3 verses from an abecedarian hymn in honour of an otherwise unknown Teacher, head of the ‘eastern patriarchate’. This patriarchate comprised all the Man. communities east of the Pamirs, the Teacher’s seat being at Qočo, at least during the reign of the northern Uighurs. The Leader is also here given the title “Head of the Four-Tuḡr country”, possibly the original name of his patriarchate, before the conversion of the Uighurs led to a more ambitious title. The “Four-Tuḡr Country” appears to have comprised Bišbaliq, Qočo and Qarašahr (H.). The elegant setting out of the text, with each verse preceded by the appropriate letter of the alphabet, written separately, is unusual. The proper signature of the fragment is IB 8259.