INTRODUCTION

Discovery of the Syriac Fragments at Turfan

Between 1902 and 1914, the Berlin Museum for Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde) mounted four expeditions to Turfan, an oasis located approximately 150 km. south-east of Urumqi, now in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, in western China. During the 2nd and 3rd expeditions (1904-1905 and 1905-1907), many fragments in Syriac script were unearthed, the richest haul being found by Theodor Bartus (1858-1941) at the monastery site of Shuïpang, near Bulayïq, north of Turfan. Albert von Le Coq (1860-1930), the leader of the 2nd German Turfan Expedition, discussed the Bulayïq finds as follows, ‘er hat ... in dem schauerlich zerstörten Gemäuer eine fabelhafte Ausbeute christlicher Handschriften ausgegraben’ (he excavated ... in the extremely ruined walls a marvellous booty of Christian manuscripts). However, von Le Coq, who was not present at the removal of the fragments from the Bulayïq site, did not comment further on the archaeological context of the find-spot. He did go into some detail about the various discoveries that were made, mentioning amongst other finds a psalter in Pahlavi script, but his only specific comment about the Syriac fragments was ‘[e]ndlich wurden zahlreiche liturgische und andere Handschriften der Nestorianer in syrischer Sprache und Schrift gefunden’ (finally numerous liturgical and other manuscripts of the Nestorians in Syriac language and script were found).

A small number of Christian fragments were also found at other sites in the area, including Astana, Qocho, Kurutka and Toyoq. Very little information about these discoveries has survived, but Mary Boyce, in her magisterial catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean script from Turfan, gives some gleanings. She wrote that during the exploration of ‘the little valley of Tuyoq (about 15 km. east of Khočo) a number of badly-ruined temples and stupas were explored’ by von Le Coq, who stumbled across a half-destroyed library that contained a miscellany of materials: Manichaean, Christian and Buddhist manuscripts, Chinese scrolls, Hephthalite fragments and fragments in Old Turkic runes. Von Le Coq gathered up two sacks of manuscripts, a ‘mixed bag’ so to speak; some were dated to the eighth and ninth centuries, while others, on the basis of their handwriting, he considered to be later. Apart from the note that the manuscripts from Toyoq included

---

4 Le Coq, Auf Hellas Spuren (1926), 88. An English account of the discovery is supplied by Le Coq, Buried Treasures (1928), 100. For further information on the Turfan Expeditions, see the following works (full bibliographic details are found in the Bibliography at the end of the Catalogue): Le Coq, Buried Treasures (1928); Le Coq, Von Land und Leuten (1928). A helpful summary can be found in Boyce, Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts (1960), ix-xxi. See also the booklet, ‘Turfan Studies’, that has been prepared by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and is available on-line (http://www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/turfanforschung/bilder/Turfan_engl_07.pdf).

5 Boyce, Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts (1960), xvii, n. 4 notes that von le Coq was at Danbanching.


7 A listing of these fragments, organised by find-site, is given in Appendix VI: Signature numbers from locations other than Bulayïq.

8 Boyce, Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts (1960), xvii.

9 Boyce, Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts (1960), xvii n.4, citing Le Coq, Auf Hellas Spuren (1926), 84.
‘one New Persian manuscript in Syriac script (M7340)’, tantalisingly no further details were divulged.\textsuperscript{10}

**Transfer to Berlin and Allocation of Signature Numbers**

Following their discovery, the fragments, wrapped in paper, were sent to Berlin in wooden crates, each containing a contents-list which used abbreviations signifying the expedition number and the find-site. The paper packets in which the fragments were wrapped were also individually numbered. Upon their arrival in Berlin, the expedition number and find-site abbreviation was written on every fragment in the consignment, along with the specific packet numbers. Today, many of these original signature numbers are still visible and consist of four elements: the first two stamped in ink, the last two written in pencil or pen:

- **T** to indicate the general location of Turfan
- **II** or **III** to indicate either the Second or Third Expedition
- **B** to indicate the major find-spot at Bulayïq; where fragments were found in a different location, this was indicated by another letter, e.g. **D** for *Dakianus-shahri* = Qocho; **K** for *Klosterruine* (in Dakianus-shahri); **S** for *Sàngim*; **T** for Toyoq
- the packet number

However, some signature numbers only contain two or three of these elements. Occasionally, where more than one fragment was included in a packet, each one was designated either alphabetically, e.g. (a), (b) etc., or numerically, e.g. No. 1, 2, etc. In most cases, each fragment was glassed individually, but sometimes several were placed together in *Sammelplatten* ‘collected plates’. A second, more detailed, label was glued on the glass plates between which each fragment was placed.\textsuperscript{11} Some of these labels have survived, but many are no longer extant or have been replaced by later labels.

The majority of the Syriac fragments are now housed in the *Staatsbibliothek* and have recently been allocated signature numbers beginning with *SyrHT*, an acronym for *Syrische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden*.\textsuperscript{12} The fragments bearing *SyrHT* signature numbers do, however, include three Sogdian or Uighur fragments in Syriac script, as well as a bilingual Syriac-New Persian fragment.\textsuperscript{13} Some Syriac texts that have been written in Uighur script have also been allocated *SyrHT* signature numbers.\textsuperscript{14} Whilst the holdings of the *Staatsbibliothek* comprise the largest number of Syriac language fragments, smaller quantities of Syriac material, as well as Syriac-Sogdian bilinguals and New Persian texts written in Syriac script now form part of the collections held by the *Turfanforschung* in the headquarters of the *Berlin Brandenburger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW). These have been allocated a variety of signature numbers, including **M** (for *Manichaica*), **n** (for


\textsuperscript{11} The fragments are still preserved as such.

\textsuperscript{12} Digital images of the Syriac fragments in the BBAW can be found at http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html. Those at the *Staatsbibliothek* can be found at http://idp.bl.uk/ (enter SyrHT in the search box).

\textsuperscript{13} The three non-Syriac fragments are SyrHT 105 (Sogdian), SyrHT 343 (Sogdian) and SyrHT 393 (Uighur). The Syriac-New Persian Psalter fragment is SyrHT 153.

\textsuperscript{14} SyrHT 20-27, MIK III 58 and So 20131.
Nestorianisch), So (for Sogdica) and U (for Uigurica). The fragments which were kept in the Museum für Völkerkunde and subsequently the Museum für Indische Kunst that are now part of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin-Dahlem have been allocated numbers beginning with MIK, an acronym for the Museum für Indische Kunst.

**Hand-lists of the Syriac Fragments from Turfan**

Two hand-lists of the Syriac fragments are currently kept at the Turfanforschung in the BBAW. The first and most likely the earlier hand-list is headed Syrische Turfan-Fragmente der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, indicating that it was compiled at some point between 1946 and 1972, after which the Academy was renamed Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. The original, typewritten hand-list is no longer extant, only a photocopy, from which all further copies have been made. The hand-list has been supplemented by handwritten annotations, either in pen or pencil, most of which appear to be by a single hand. The fragments are arranged in the hand-list according to the original signature numbers that were allocated when they were brought to Berlin. Hence the sequence runs from T II B 1 No. 1 to T II B 69 No. 4, and then is followed by various other signatures beginning with T II D (2 entries), T II K (1 entry), T III B (4 entries), T III K (1 entry), T III T (1 entry), T III T.V.B (1 entry), T III Kurutka (5 entries), T III (10 entries) and M (1 entry). Following these signature numbers are several references to various miscellaneous fragments without signature-numbers, written in the same hand as the annotations throughout the hand-list.

The hand-list supplies entries for 215 fragments, with a further 80 designated as fehlt ‘missing’. Some of these ‘missing’ fragments appear to have been extant when the typed hand-list was prepared, but subsequent annotations designate them as lost. Conversely, some of the signature numbers that were described as missing were actually found amongst the Syriac fragments during the process of assembling this catalogue. The hand-list identifies the genres of some 50 fragments (including some of the ‘missing’ fragments), mostly biblical texts (Psalters or lectionaries) or liturgical texts from the Hudra or Taksa. Other identifications on the hand-list include the fragments of the St. George legend, published by Miklós Maróth in 1991. The list is supplemented by hand-written annotations which include references to previously published work, the latest being the fragments belonging to the Barshabba legend which were published in 1934. Some of the hand-written annotations have proved to be incorrect, but on the whole they have been extremely helpful in compiling this catalogue, providing a basis upon which to collect the biblical and liturgical fragments into manuscript groups, such as Hudra ‘E’ or Psalter ‘D’.

---

15 In some cases these designations (SyrHT, M, n, So, U) are incorrect, as can be seen by perusing the appendices at the back of this volume, particularly **Appendix I: Identified fragments in numerical sequence**. On the history of the Turfan manuscript fragments after their arrival in Berlin, including the various signature numbering systems, see Boyce, *Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts* (1960), xxi-xxvii and the Introduction to VOHD 18,4 (Sims-Williams, *Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection*).

16 Those that are listed as missing on the list are inferred from other extant signature numbers. Thus, if T II B 1 No. 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12 and 13 are extant, T II B 1 No. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 10 are listed as fehlt. Where only No. 1 from a given packet number is extant, the hand-list notes Weitere Nummern fehlen.

17 Discussed below under **Previous Scholarship on the Syriac Turfan Fragments**.

18 Also discussed below under **Previous Scholarship on the Syriac Turfan Fragments**. Barshabba was the legendary founder of Christianity in Merv, on which see Sims-Williams, ‘Baršabba’ (1988 [1989]).
There is also a second, hand-written hand-list which may have been prepared by the person who added the annotations to the aforementioned type-written hand-list. Lacking any heading, the second hand-list consists of a sequence of numbers running from 1000 to 1907, with the Syriac fragments being allocated the consecutive numbers 1625 to 1905 inclusive.\(^19\) Thus they were part of a broader classification scheme to be used with the Turfan fragments. On this hand-list, the original signature numbers allocated to each fragment are correlated with numbers in the consecutive sequence, e.g. T II B 1 is written next to 1625. Various annotated identifications have also been made on this list; some of them are in an identical hand to that found on the first type-written hand-list, while others are corrections or additions. Another system, which was developed by the renowned Iranist Olaf Hansen (1902-1969) in the 1960’s to classify the Christian Sogdian texts, consists of a capital C (perhaps denoting Christlich-soghdisch) followed by a number. This system is occasionally encountered with texts that include Syriac excerpts, especially the bilingual fragments.

The identities of the compilers of the two hand-lists remain enigmatic.\(^20\) Various suggestions have been offered, including an unidentified student of the Syriac scholar Anton Baumstark (1872-1942) or Hansen himself, who worked on the Turfan material and, in the case of the Sogdian fragments, ‘was responsible for the first serious attempt to sort and classify the texts’.\(^21\) Another possible compiler of the hand-lists is Heinrich Junker (1880-1970), who worked in the Academy in the 1950’s. As noted above, the title on the type-written hand-list indicates that it must have been compiled after 1946; thus the handwritten reference to the 1934 publication of the Barshabba legend suggests that the compiler of the first hand-list was unfamiliar with this article or it would have been included in the typed material. The top right-hand corner of this hand-list bears the name of Dr. Heinz Giesecke, who taught Persian and Turkish at the Humboldt University in the 1950’s, but whether he was responsible for its compilation or not cannot be confirmed.

### Previous Scholarship on the Syriac Fragments from Turfan

In comparison to their Christian Sogdian and Uighur counterparts, the Syriac fragments from Turfan have received much less scholarly attention.\(^22\) However, in the first few years following the discoveries made by the German Turfan Expeditions, there was a spate of publications. Already in 1905, the distinguished Orientalist Karl Eduard Sachau (1845-1930) published single folios from three exemplars of the Hudra, using photographs that he received on the 30\(^{th}\) August from von Le Coq, who had sent them from Kara Khoja together with a letter, dated 24\(^{th}\) June.\(^23\) Possibly due to time constraints, Sachau only

\(^{19}\) See Appendix IV: List of sequential numbers from the second hand-list.

\(^{20}\) The on-going cataloguing of the archives of the Turfanforschung at the BBAW may yield this information.

\(^{21}\) VOHD 18,4, 12.


\(^{23}\) Sachau, ‘Litteratur-Bruchstücke’ (1905), 964-973. Sachau recorded the Syriac fragments as B-55, B-7 and B-26; the fourth fragment which Sachau published was Sogdian written in Syriac script. B-55 has been lost and B-26 has the signature number MIK III 45. The three folios of B-7 have the signature numbers SyrHT 41, SyrHT 42 and SyrHT 43 and have recently been published by Hunter, ‘Christian Library’ (2012).
published transcriptions of the Syriac texts, partial translations and summations of their contents. Full English translations of the folios which Sachau published were supplied in 1937 by the Japanese scholar, Yoshiro Saeki (1875-1960). The bilingual material in Syriac script also quickly attracted the attention of distinguished scholars. Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller (1863-1930), the inaugural head of the Orientalische Kommission that had been established in Berlin in response to the sensational Turfan discoveries, published a number of bilingual Syriac-Sogdian fragments from the New Testament in two articles (1907, 1913), followed by a fragment from a bilingual Syriac-New Persian psalter (1915). The Syriac-Sogdian fragments were, in turn, commented on by Baumstark in 1915 and, a decade later, by the noted English scholar, Francis Crawford Burkitt (1864-1935) who, on the basis of extant rubric lemmata, compared these ‘leaves and parts of leaves of a Gospel Lectionary written in Syriac letters in the Soghdian language’ with readings in a Syriac Gospel lectionary written at Mosul in 1586. A different tangent of scholarly work was realized when the noted composer and musicologist Egon Wellesz (1885-1974), published in 1919 his important discussion of recitation accents in the Syriac-Sogdian bilingual fragments. In the same year, von le Coq also noted the existence of several folios in Uighur script which had clearly been transcribed from Syriac, but was unable to decipher them. These fragments have now been identified as belonging to the ‘Uighur Psalter’, a Syriac text written in Uighur script.

After this spate of activity in the opening decades of the twentieth century, the rate of publication slowed down considerably, but did not entirely cease. In 1934, Hans-Jakob Polotsky (1905-1991) published the text and translation of two fragments of the Barshabba legend, one of the few hagiographical texts in Syriac to have been found at Turfan. The same volume also saw the publication of a Sogdian fragment, with Syriac lemmata, of the legend of the discovery of the true cross by Helena. More Sogdian fragments with Syriac excerpts were published in 1955 by Hansen. The next publication of Syriac material occurred a decade later, in 1965, by Hieronymus Engberding, who provided a physical description and translation of five folios from B-26, a liturgical text consisting of sixty-one folios. This was the longest sequence of folios to be discovered amongst the Syriac fragments and is now held in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin-Dahlem under the signature MIK III 45. Discussing the contents of folios 1-5, Engberding wrote that they came from an old East Syriac ‘Request and Atonement Liturgy’ but added, ‘[i]ch kenne

24 Saeki, Nestorian Documents (1951), 334-347.
27 Baumstark, ‘Christlich-literarischen’ (1913); Baumstark, ‘Neue soghdisch-nestorianische’ (1915) noted the Syriac lemmata in n162.
28 Burkitt, Religion of the Manichees (1925), 119.
30 Wellesz, ‘Miscellanea zur orientalistischen Musikgeschichte’ (1919).
31 Le Coq, ‘Kurze Einführung’ (1919), 95, n. 1.
33 Müller & Lentz, ‘Sogdische Texte II’ (1934), 559-564; SyrHT 45 & SyrHT 46.
34 Müller & Lentz, ‘Sogdische Texte II’ (1934), 513-514.
keinen Ritus in der ostsyrischen Liturgie, welcher sich mit unserem Ritus vergleichen liese' (I know of no rite in the East Syriac liturgy that permits comparison with our rite).36

In the 1970’s and 1980’s, important light was shed on the role of Syriac and its relations with other languages, notably Sogdian and New Persian, when Werner Sundermann (1935-2012) published an adjoining partial folio from the Syriac-New Persian psalter, MIK III 112, in 1974 and released a re-edition of various Syriac-Sogdian New Testament fragments in three articles (1974, 1975 and 1981).37 Nicholas Sims-Williams also addressed issues arising from the interaction between Syriac and Sogdian in the Christian Sogdian texts in various articles and released his monograph on the C2 Christian Sogdian manuscript.38 Further publications in the 1990’s continued to address the interaction between Syriac and Sogdian, as well as highlighting the ethno-linguistic diversity of the Christian communities at Turfan and Dunhuang.39 At the same time, interest in the Syriac fragments was rekindled by Miklós Maróth in several publications, including editions and translations of pharmaceutical recipes for the restoration of hair loss,40 a previously unknown version of the hagiographical legend of Mar George, which he dated to the 9th-10th centuries,41 and a draft letter from a Byzantine official,42 as well as an overview of the Turfan Syriac collection published in 1991.43 Most recently, Maróth has completed a translation of a dialogue between a Christian and a Jew that debates various questions surrounding the Trinity.44

A steady flow of publications on the Syriac fragments has ensued since 2008, as part of the ‘Christian Library of Turfan’ project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).45 Erica Hunter has published an overview of the Turfan fragment genres,46 three folios of an important exemplar of the Hudra, dated to the mid-12th century,47 a fragment from the liturgical commemoration of Mar Cyriacus and his mother Julitta,48 fragments from a prayer-amulet dedicated to Mar Tamsis49 and further works on other fragments of prayer-amulets.50 Mark Dickens has produced several articles surveying the biblical fragments found at Turfan, particularly the Psalter fragments,51 multilingualism in the

36 Engberding, ‘Fünf Blätter’ (1965), 144.
44 Maróth, ‘Syrischer Dialog’ (forthcoming).
45 See the Bibliography under Dickens, Hunter, Sims-Williams and Zieme.
46 Hunter, ‘Syriac, Sogdian and Old Uyghur’ (2012).
50 Hunter, ‘Syriac, Sogdian and Old Uyghur’ (2012); Hunter, ‘Prayer-amulets from Turfan’ (forthcoming).
51 Dickens, ‘Biblical Fragments’ (forthcoming); Dickens, ‘Importance of the Psalter’ (2013).
Christian fragments,\textsuperscript{52} and scribal practices reflected in the fragments.\textsuperscript{53} Sebastian Brock and Nicholas Sims-Williams have published excerpts of an early East Syriac baptismal rite, dated ‘to about the ninth or tenth centuries’ where the instructions to the priest are in Sogdian.\textsuperscript{54} Dickens and Sims-Williams have published numerous fragments of calendrical tables that were used to calculate the dates of major festivals, including Easter.\textsuperscript{55} Dickens and Peter Zieme have deciphered and published the nine folios of the aforementioned ‘Uighur Psalter,’ thus completing the task that von Le Coq set out to do, nearly one hundred years ago.\textsuperscript{56} Finally, U 338, a small prayer booklet of 10 consecutive folios, written in Uighur but prefaced by a Syriac prayer from the East Syriac Euchologion, has been addressed by both Dickens and Zieme in separate articles.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{52} Dickens, ‘Multilingual Christian Manuscripts’ (2009): SyrHT 83 (side a), HT 124 (side a), SyrHT 161 (side a), SyrHT 287 (side b), U 5545 (side b).
\textsuperscript{53} Dickens, ‘Scribal Practices’ (2013).
\textsuperscript{54} Brock & Sims-Williams, ‘Early fragment’ (2011), 81: SyrHT 66 and SyrHT 88.
\textsuperscript{57} Zieme, ‘Notes on a bilingual prayer book’ (2009); Dickens, ‘Syro-Uigurica II’ (2013). As Mar Awa Royel notes, this prayer is for the imposition of hands prior to the dismissal of the catechumens before the Eucharist, an archaic liturgical remnant practiced to this day only in the Church of the East.