Samuel N.C. Lieu, Lance Eccles, Majella Franzmann, Iain Gardner and Ken Parry, *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Quanzhou (Zayton)*. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Archaeologica et Iconographica 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). Pp. x + 281; €125.

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INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

The history of the Church of the East throughout much of Asia must be reconstructed from scattered and often fragmentary textual and archaeological remains. Prominent amongst these remains, in terms of their ability to shed light on the expression of Syriac Christianity in Central Asia and China, are the many Christian gravestones found in Semirechye (now northern Kyrgyzstan and southern Kazakhstan), Almaliq (Xinjiang, NW China), Inner Mongolia and south-east China, chiefly in and around the city of Quanzhou. This volume, part of the ongoing *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* series published by Brepols, is the first attempt in English to gather together all the relevant archaeological remains of both Christianity and Manichaeism from Quanzhou, known to the many non-Chinese who lived and traded there in medieval times as Zayton (or Zaytun).

The book is the work of an inter-university and interdisciplinary Australian research team, led by Samuel N.C. Lieu, with members from Macquarie University, Curtin University (Perth) and the University of Sydney. The team members are experts in various aspects of ancient and medieval history stretching from the Mediterranean to China, particularly the history of Manichaeism and Christianity throughout Eurasia. The handsome volume is divided into eleven chapters (six authored individually and the rest co-authored by two or more team members), followed by a Bibliography, Index and list of Corrigenda. It contains several helpful maps and diagrams, as well as numerous colour or black and white images of the archaeological items in question.

Chapter 1 (Lieu) gives an overview of the geography and history of Quanzhou up to the end of the Mongol Yuan dynasty. The writing style is informative, easy to follow and copiously documented with extensive footnotes. All instances of Chinese names or terms (here and throughout the volume) are given in both

Pinyin transliteration and Chinese characters. Dates are scattered appropriately throughout the text in this chapter and those following, enabling the reader to keep track of the overall chronology. Frequent and extensive quotations from the original Latin reports of medieval travellers to the city convey the wonders of this bustling medieval trading port.

Chapter 2 (Lieu) continues the story of Quanzhou, starting with its decline under the Ming dynasty that succeeded the Mongols in 1368 and moving on quickly to the discovery of various Christian remains in and around the city, beginning as early as the mid-17th century and continuing up to today. Most of the chapter is dedicated to the work of Wu Wenliang, an archaeologist who single-handedly collected, photographed and documented most of the stones with Christian iconography and inscriptions that were uncovered in Quanzhou in the early 20th century. As the authors repeatedly affirm, their cataloguing project would have been impossible without Wu's labour of love to preserve this important legacy from medieval Zayton; their dedication of the volume to his memory is a fitting way of acknowledging their debt to his scholarship. The chapter includes a detailed list of sites in and near the city where Christian remains have been found and a timeline of all known Christian archaeological discoveries and identifications, with each one cross-referenced to its catalogue number (a helpful practice followed throughout the book, with the exception of Chapter 11).

Chapter 3 (Lieu) is devoted to the history of the Church of the East in Quanzhou and includes a brief introduction to the Persian background of the Church, followed by accounts of its initial Chinese presence and subsequent demise under the Tang dynasty (618–907), its possible survival under the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) and its final flourishing under the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). The chapter encompasses a grand sweep of geography and history, showing how members of the Church came to be commemorated on the gravestones that comprise most of the material remains discussed in this volume. Two topics discussed in Chapter 3 are of particular interest. Regarding the possible survival of Christianity between the Tang and Yuan dynasties, the author concludes that, although evidence is minimal, data from two gravestones in Chinese script and one bilingual Chinese-Syriac stone in the Quanzhou corpus suggest that this is a very real possibility (pp. 31–34). On the identity of the "Christians" encountered by Marco

Polo in Fuzhou, a lengthy analysis of the relevant passage from the Z manuscript of Polo's *Il Milione* leaves the question unresolved, but favours the conclusion that they were indeed Christians (isolated for centuries and heavily Sinicized), as opposed to Manichaeans or Jews, as suggested by previous scholars (pp. 49–52).

Chapter 4 (Gardner) discusses the medieval Franciscan mission to China and specifically its local manifestation in Quanzhou (a Catholic diocese from 1313 to 1342), with reference to John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, John of Montecorvino, Andrew of Perugia, Odoric of Pordenone and others. This information is particularly relevant to the topic of the book, given the survival of Latin gravestones from this time, notably that of Andrew of Perugia, Catholic bishop of Zayton (d. 1342, item B15 in the volume).

Chapter 5 (Lieu) is focussed on the Manichaean archaeological remains found in the area of Quanzhou. The chapter begins with an account of how Mani's "Religion of Light" spread from Persia through Central Asia and into China, particularly after the conversion of the Uighur Empire to Manichaeism in 762. Chinese Manichaeism's evolution into a popular religion that shared traits with both Buddhism and Daoism is carefully documented, and significant room is given to describing a Manichaean shrine from the Yuan dynasty located on Huabiao Hill, not far from Quanzhou. The shrine, which contains a large wall relief sculpture of Mani as the Buddha of Light, seems to have been used by Manichaeans already during the Song dynasty, before Mongol rule arrived in Quanzhou. This fascinating chapter also documents the survival of Manichaeism in the area well into the 15th century, as indicated by various extant inscriptions.

Chapter 6 (Gardner, Lieu and Parry) is the catalogue proper of Christian and Manichaean remains from Quanzhou. Part I contains 79 Christian remains, divided into four parts based on the type of remains: a) headstones; b) inscribed tombstones and decorated sarcophagus panels; c) Islamic-style sarcophagi with Christian motifs and d) cylindrical and other circular pieces (perhaps functioning originally as "stupa-style" tombs). Part II contains 15 Manichaean remains. Each Christian item has a B catalogue number associated with a Z catalogue number, while each Manichaean item has a C catalogue number; as noted on p. 84, the B and C numbers are found in the second edition of Wu Wenliang's catalogue, published

by his son in 2005, while the Z numbers reflect the original system used by the Australian Team prior to the publication of Wu's second edition. Each catalogue item is accompanied by a colour or black and white image, as well as the following information: current location, brief description, dimensions, text (where applicable), date and references to previous publications and photos. For some entries, information on iconography is also given, but the rationale for when this is included and when it is not is unclear.

Chapter 7 (Eccles and Lieu) gives the text, translation and commentary for 12 Christian gravestones from Quanzhou written in Latin (1), Chinese (6), Uighur Turkic in Uighur script (1), Chinese in Phags-pa script (1) and "bilingual" Chinese and Phags-pa script (3), along with 5 Manichaean inscriptions in Chinese, one of which is incised on a bowl. In contrast to the general assimilation of the Manichaeans to the Chinese language, the multiplicity of languages and scripts used for Christian inscriptions speaks of the "foreignness" of much of Quanzhou Christianity, whether reflective of the Latin Christians from Europe or those from Central Asia who used the Uighur or Phags-pa scripts made popular under the Mongols. This otherness of Christianity in Quanzhou is even more apparent in the Syro-Turkic inscriptions discussed in the next two chapters.

Chapters 8 and 9 do for the Syro-Turkic inscriptions (Turkic written in Syriac script) what Chapter 7 did for the inscriptions from Quanzhou in other languages and scripts. Chapter 8 (Eccles and Lieu) provides an introduction to the general topic of Syriac and Syro-Turkic inscriptions from Central Asia, including the Seleucid era dating system (commonly referred to as "the calculation of Alexander Khan, the son of the Macedonian Philip") used in many of the Turkic gravestones (in both Semirechye and Quanzhou) and the peculiarities of the adapted Syriac script used. The chapter includes the text, transliteration and translation of ten previously published gravestones from Semirechye and one from Bailingmiao (Inner Mongolia), inscriptions which feature many of the same literary characteristics found on the gravestones from Quanzhou.

Chapter 9 (Franzmann and Lieu) then proceeds to give the following data for each Syro-Turkic gravestone discovered in Quanzhou: text in Syriac script, transliteration into Latin script, transcription of the underlying Turkic represented by the Syriac characters, and English translation (I follow here the terminology

used in the volume, where "transliteration" indicates a direct substitution of Latin characters for Syriac characters and "transcription" indicates a representation in Latin characters of the Turkic pronunciation of the words). One example is given of a Syro-Turkic inscription from nearby Yangzhou (two Latin gravestone from Yangzhou are also discussed on pp. 247–248, 254, but they are not included in the general catalogue). The other nine gravestones documented in this chapter are all from Quanzhou (one of which, B18, is so weathered that no attempt was made to decipher it for the current volume). The chapter also includes a helpful summary of various attempts to decipher these gravestones, beginning in 1952.

Chapter 10 (Franzmann, Gardner and Parry) provides an interesting excursus into the connections between South China and South India, particularly the extensive maritime trade that linked Chinese ports (like Quanzhou) with Kerala and other areas of southern India during the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties. The chapter examines Hindu remains in Quanzhou and a former Chinese pagoda in Tamil Nadu (now destroyed), before recounting possible Manichaean connections with India and the much more certain history of early Indian Christianity, including the enigmatic figure of Thomas, who arguably provides links with both religious movements. The chapter closes with a discussion of iconographic links between Indian and Chinese Christianity, particularly the Persian "pearl" crosses found on Christian artifacts common to both regions.

Chapter 11 (Parry) continues this examination of the valuable role that art history can play in interpreting the possible flow of artistic influences in religious communities by focussing on the iconography of Christian remains in Quanzhou. It is a well-argued and fascinating journey into the ebb and flow of religious images that link Europe and Asia, as well as the religious traditions of Christianity, Buddhism, Manichaeism and Islam. Discussed here are the ubiquitous crosses found on the Quanzhou Christian remains, as well as the commonly-occurring imagery of lotus flowers, clouds, altars, angels and crowns. It is a fitting way to end this volume which so aptly illustrates the interconnected nature of medieval Eurasia and the way that both Christianity and Manichaeism benefited from transcontinental overland and maritime trade routes,

conduits of commerce and culture that spread multiple artistic, linguistic and religious traditions.

General Comments

Scholars in various fields will welcome this volume which fills a much-needed lacuna in the documentation of the stories of both the Church of the East and the Manichaean Church in East Asia. For the first time we have as complete an accounting of these archaeological remains as seems possible, given that the current locations of a number of stones originally documented by Wu Wenliang are unknown (e.g., B10–B12, the first gravestones to be published by Emmanuel Diaz in 1644, plus B23, B46). Furthermore, a significant number of the stones, including several of those with inscriptions, are replicas (e.g., B20, B21, B28, B37). Some of these replicas are very poorly made and the originals of many are probably in the Beijing Museum of Chinese History, where they were transferred in 1959; unfortunately, they are not currently accessible to scholars (this issue is discussed further on pp. 131, 185, 191, 196, 198, 201–202).

Further complicating matters for those attempting to decipher them are the stones which are so weathered that they are virtually illegible unless old photographs are available (e.g., B15, B18, B39) and those which are only partial remnants of originally longer inscriptions, now incomplete due to breakage (e.g., B22, B50) or the division of the original text into two or more panels, not all of which are extant (e.g., B20, B28, B51). The reader is often struck by the lengths to which the compilers of the catalogue had to go in order to locate the stones in question and then to read and decipher them. One hopes that similar efforts can be made to completely document the Christian gravestones from Semirechye, Almaliq and Inner Mongolia. Recent works by Niu Ruji (2008) and Chetin Džumagulov (2011) go some way to providing such catalogues, but these are less accessible to most Western scholars, since they are written in Chinese and Kyrgyz, respectively; additionally, both volumes contain errors in transcription and/or translation.

A few words are probably in order about some areas where this volume could have been improved. Technically, it is very well-produced, attractively laid out and easy on the eyes. However, the Syriac font used throughout (with very few exceptions; see pp. 42, 104, 249, 250) is visually inferior to the fine Unicode Syriac fonts

currently available. The font used looks particularly awkward when an Arabic *kaph* (ک) is inserted into the Syriac script to represent the modified letter used to render Sogdian or Turkic /x/, /q/ or occasionally /k/, discussed below (frequent examples in Chapters 8–9). The quality of the photographs included in the volume is generally very high, especially those taken by Michelle Wilson. Some, however, are unfortunately rather blurry (e.g., B7, B34, B40, B41). In some cases, due to the aforementioned problems with missing stones, replicas or excessively weathered stones, old black and white photographs had to be used, although occasionaly the latter are used when it seems that the original stone is still extant (e.g., B31, B56); colour images of replicas of B20, B23 and B37 are available on the project's website (www.mq.edu.au; search for "Quanzhou"), but these items are represented in the catalogue by black and white images of the original stones. Also curious is the listing of unpublished JPG images for several of the catalogue entries (pp. 109, 121, 122) – it is unclear what the purpose is, if these images are not generally available. It also seems that a few references to previously published photos were missed, specifically from Foster's 1954 article: B39 (p. 103) = Foster, 1954, Pl. X; B56 (p. 113) = Foster, 1954, Pl. VIII; B58 (p. 113) = Foster, 1954, Pl. VII.

There are a number of issues with the terminology used throughout the book. First and foremost is the dilemma that every scholar dealing with the Church of the East must face, namely what adjective to use other than the ill-advised "Nestorian" or the unwieldy "Church of the East." Despite identifying "Nestorian" as "a term of opprobrium" (p. 25), the authors struggle throughout the volume to maintain a consistent approach to this term, vacillating between using it and the more cumbersome (albeit correct) "Church of the East" (examples of both on p. 19 and then *passim* throughout the volume). Similarly, "Jacobite" (p. 25) would be better rendered "Syrian/Syriac Orthodox" (a term which fortunately works as both noun and adjective). The volume would also have benefited from a more consistent name for the "Nestorian Monument" (pp. 26–29), also known as the "Xi'an Stele" (pp. 238, 242).

The description of the Stele is extensive and informative, gathering together much of the information on Christianity under the Tang dynasty that this monument provides. I would however add the following clarifications. Rather than *Izdbuzid*, the name of the

priest from Balkh who set up the Xi'an Stele should be rendered *Yazdbuzid*, Middle Persian for "saved by God" (p. 28). Whether Yazdbuzid knew Sogdian is unclear (p. 29); hailing from Bactria (Tukharistan), he likely spoke Bactrian or even Middle Persian. We might also note that An, Kang and Mi, the "typical Chinese surnames adopted by Sogdians" (p. 29), come from the Chinese names for Bukhara, Samarkand, and Maimurg, all located in medieval Sogdiana; thus these are toponyms used as surnames.

Comments on the survival of the Church of the East in the Uighur Kingdom of Qočo (p. 30) also require some fine-tuning. The use of "Turkish" here and elsewhere throughout the book to describe the language and culture of the Central Asian Turkic peoples is potentially misleading, since that term is commonly restricted in English-language scholarship on the Turkic world to the inhabitants and language of Ottoman and Republican Turkey. Given the key linguistic role that the Turkic Uighur people and language played in the Mongol empire, "Uighur" (or "Uyghur") would have been a more accurate term to use throughout. In general, most Turkic Christians who have left inscriptions or other texts from this period up to the end of the Mongol era were probably speaking slightly different dialects of the same Old Turkic language, *viz.* Old Uighur (Middle Turkic dialects and languages only evolved as Mongol power eroded in Central Asia in the 14th century). Even those Turkic dialects spoken by some Christians that we have less information on, such as the Öngüt, likely differed little from Uighur, certainly when written in Syriac script. Thus, the reference to "Christian inscriptions…from Quanzhou, *viz.* Turkish, Mongol, Uighur…" (p. 43) mistakenly implies that Turkish and Uighur are two different languages.

A related terminological issue is the use throughout the volume of "Syro-Turkic" (or in places, "Syro-Turkish"). As noted above, Syro-Turkic is merely a convention to describe the practice of writing Turkic (usually Uighur) in Syriac script. However, the use of phrases like "Syro-Turkic script" (p. 151) and "hybrid language" or "mixed language" (pp. 129, 152, 181) implies that it is a quite separate script from Syriac script or even some kind of creole language. In fact, the only differences are (as discussed on p. 167): 1) the addition of the letter ܟ, modified from either ܟ or ܕ and used for /x/ in Sogdian or /q/ (and occasionally /k/) in Turkic; 2) the use of Syriac letters for sounds found in Syriac but not Turkic to

represent sounds found in Turkic but not Syriac (specifically ܚ for /γ/ and ܟ for /č/); and 3) the tendency to avoid letters which are subject to spirantisation by using letters for similar sounds, including ܛ for /t/, ܒ for /b/ (admittedly an exception to avoiding BGDKPT letters), and ܩ for /k/ (here the use of ܛ and ܩ follows the system of representing Greek ⲧ and ⲕ in Syriac; note that these "rules" are not followed systematically in the gravestone inscriptions).

Leading on from this point, it would have made more linguistic sense to include the one gravestone inscribed in Uighur script (B23, pp. 131–133) with the Syro-Turkic gravestones in Chapter 9, rather than with the gravestones in other scripts in Chapter 7. Other than the difference between the scripts, the language of B23 and that of the Turkic gravestones written in Syriac script is essentially identical, with the exception of a few formulaic Syriac expressions in the latter, principally the Trinitarian formula discussed on pp. 183–184. Admittedly, the term "Syro-Turkic" is addressed, albeit somewhat belatedly, in Chapter 8 (pp. 166–167), but even here there is some confusion, with the suggestion that a "non-conventional" script for "Uighur-Turkish" during the Mongol era meant a "non-Arabic" script and that "there was no standard script for East Turkic" at this time, when in fact this position was firmly held by the Uighur script. Furthermore the statement that the Syriac script was adopted "for other languages…such as Arabic and Sogdian" overlooks the fact that Sogdian Christians adopted the Syriac script long before Turkic Christians, who almost certainly followed the Sogdian example in their utilization of the Syriac script to write Old Turkic (although they also used the Uighur script to write Christian texts, as Sogdian Christians before them had also used the Sogdian script).

It should also be noted that, *contra* p. 30, the majority of Christian texts from Bulayïq (the location in the Turfan oasis where most Christian texts were found) are not in Sogdian; indeed there are roughly as many Syriac fragments as there are Sogdian ones (including a number that are bilingual Syriac and Sogdian). Moreover, the script they are written in is not the "Nestorian Syriac script" (pp. 30, 167) or the "Church of the East Syriac script" (p. 132), but rather a modified version of the Estrangela script, which shares most of the characteristics of Estrangela, as opposed to the East Syriac script. Specifically, *contra* pp. 167, 197, the letter ܨ on the Mongol-era gravestone inscriptions is not "often…represented by a

single vertical or slanted stroke"; although this may occur in word-final position or in certain ligatures, like ⠇, it is rare in other positions, where one typically sees a standard Estrangela ⠕ (in both the Turfan texts and the gravestone inscriptions).

Furthermore, the statement that "the general lack of attention to translation and enculturation by the Church of the East during the Yuan period evidences a very different approach [from that of Tang dynasty Christians]" (p. 242) is not at all borne out by the Christian texts from Turfan (or Dunhuang and Qara Khoto), not to mention the Syro-Turkic gravestones themselves. There is in fact clear evidence of efforts to translate Christian terms, concepts or indeed whole texts into Turkic and even to transliterate the Syriac biblical text into Uighur script (on which, see Dickens and Zieme, 2014). Now, if the point raised here refers to a lack of translation into Chinese, this is true. However, the reason for this omission (in contrast to the clear use of Chinese by Tang dynasty Christians) undoubtedly lies in the fact that the ruling Yuan dynasty was not Chinese, but Mongol; thus, communicating in Chinese was crucial for Christians under the Tang, but not under the Mongols, in whose court and military the Uighurs played a leading role.

In addition to the suggestion that "Turkic tribes bordering on Mongolia were converted to Christianity, probably by Uighur Christians from the Kingdom of Qočo" (p. 34), it is equally likely that the metropolitanate of Merv played a role in these conversions, given the description of the Kerait Turkic conversion by Bar Hebraeus and Mari ibn Sulayman (see Hunter, 1989/1991). The two Christian monks immortalized in the *History of Mar Yahballaha* are described as "Mark, an Öngüt, and Sauma, a Uighur" (pp. 35, 55), but based on the extensive research of Pier Giorgio Borbone on this topic, we can now conclude that both were in fact ethnic Öngüt Turks. We might also question the statement that the mission of Rabban Sauma to the courts of Europe was "undoubtedly a great success" (p. 35), based on the subsequent failure to form a genuine Mongol-European alliance. Indeed, it seems that the only successful aspect of the mission was Sauma's stated intention of seeing as many relics as possible during his sojourn in Europe! Furthermore, it is questionable whether the Mongol Il-khans of Persia "often used Church of the East clergy as their ambassadors" (p. 55); I know of no other instances apart from Rabban Sauma. Finally, regarding the discussion about the use of the Greek form of Mar Anthony's

name, ܬܐܘܕܘܪ in Central Asian and Chinese Christianity, rather than the common Syriac form ܬܐܘܕܘܪܘ (pp. 45, 142), it should also be noted that the Greek form occurs in two separate Syriac texts from Turfan (signature numbers SyrHT 178, SyrHT 354) and on one of the gravestones from Almaliq published by Kokovtsov, 1907, № 3 (p. 436).

COMMENTS ON CHAPTERS 8 AND 9

A number of comments are also in order regarding the Syro-Turkic inscriptions in Chapters 8 and 9, but before doing so, a brief observation on inscription B23 in Uighur script, addressed in Chapter 7 (pp. 131–133). The original is lost, so all decipherment depends on photographs made by Wu Wenliang. The first seven lines present no significant issues, but the reading of the final four Uighur words and their translation as "ascended to the divine heaven" are highly questionable. Indeed, this is indicated in the original publication of this text, where the authors state that the interpretation of the words concerned is problematic and uncertain (Hamilton and Niu, 1994, p. 163); thus, the reading and translation of these final lines presented in the volume under review, which have been basically copied from Hamilton and Niu's publication, should be considered very tentative at best.

Returning to Chapter 8, the statement that "Syriac was not the main spoken language of these Christian congregations [in China and Central Asia]" (p. 151) needs to be clarified; although these Christians were obviously not native Syriac speakers, the Turfan texts also clearly show us that Syriac was the primary liturgical language; thus, these congregations faced similar challenges to those that pre-Vatican II Catholics faced when reciting the liturgy in Latin. However, relying primarily on William of Rubruck's (frankly biased) observations and the generally poor knowledge of Syriac demonstrated in the gravestones from Semirechye (perhaps more a reflection of the stone engravers' skill than the overall Christian community's facility in Syriac), gives a distorted image of the role that Syriac must have played in these communities. Although no-one would suggest that these Turkic Christians used Syriac as a *lingua franca*, the many liturgical, biblical, and other texts in Syriac found at Turfan suggest that the language was read and recited in the Central Asian Christian communities more than many modern scholars have suspected.

The ruined "fort" (more properly tower) of Burana does not reflect a "Latin-sounding name" (p. 151), but rather a corruption of Arabic منارة *minara*, "minaret." This location, where many of the Semirechye gravestones were found, is usually referred to in the literature as Tokmak or Tokmek. Although most inscriptions discussed in Chapter 8 (all of which have been previously published) are properly referenced, several references are missing; thus, 1) that on the top of p. 155 can be found in Chwolson, 1890, No. 92 (57), p. 26; 2) that on pp. 158–159 (which coincidentally I will be including in a forthcoming article on gravestones currently kept in Tashkent) was also published in Chwolson, 1897, No. 69, p. 19; and 3) that on p. 164 was originally published in Kokovtsov, 1909, p. 788 (and later in Džumagulov, 1971, pp. 91–92). Additionally, the inscription on p. 160 was originally published in Kokovtsov, 1909, pp. 782–786; unfortunately Džumagulov's 1971 version, which the authors have followed, contains several errors in transcription which they have reproduced (see below).

There are a number of places in Chapters 8 and 9 where more standardization is needed, including the conventions used in translation. The CE equivalents of Seleucid dates on gravestones would have been better rendered by split dates (e.g., 1280/81, rather than 1280 on p. 155), although this was done in a few places (pp. 163, 253); the CE equivalent (1289/90) is omitted for B19 (p. 194). Some of the personal names on these gravestones should probably have been adjusted to reflect their proper pronunciation (e.g., Sauma or Ṣauma, instead of Zuma on p. 155; Yohanan or Yoḥanan, instead of Johanan on p. 157; and Šem'on, instead of Sm'wn on p. 158). Indeed, a more uniform approach to using either transliterated names or English equivalents would have been helpful (e.g., Jacob, instead of Yaq'ov on p. 155, but Yoḥanan, instead of John on p. 156).

Hindoo is described as a "very common Mongol name" (p. 171) but this again needs clarification, since the extant examples of this name amongst "Mongols" that I am aware of all occur with ethnic Uighurs (again, to be discussed in my forthcoming article). Given that other occurrences of this name can be found in the Semirechye gravestone corpus, as well as with two patriarchs in the Uniate Diyarbakir/Amid Patriarchate of the "Chaldean" Catholic Church from the late 18th-early 19th century, it is likely that this name, indicating some form of connection with India, entered the

Uighur onomasticon via the Syriac Christian connection. Perhaps here we have indications of trade relations that Syriac Christians maintained between Persia, India and Central Asia.

Contra p. 174, "the use of the pagan Turkish word for God (*täŋri*) in a Christian text" need not be surprising – rather, this demonstrates the "attention to translation and enculturation" that is judged by the authors to be missing in Mongol-era Christianity (p. 242). Indeed, both Turkic *Täŋri* and Persian *Xudā* are still used alongside Arabic *Allāh* by Central Asian Muslims to refer to God. The reference to "Nestorian" inscriptions from "Semiryechie and Biškek" (p. 184) is also misleading; the two locations where the majority of gravestones were recovered were Karajigach, near Pishpek (now Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan) and Burana (medieval Balasaghun), just south of Tokmak, both of which at the time were situated in the former Russian colonial territory of Semirechye.

A few matters mentioned on p. 213 also need clarification. Syriac ܩܝܡܬܐ, *qyāmthā* (not ܩܝܡܬܐ, *qaimta*, as rendered on this page), "resurrection," is highly unlikely to have been spelled with the adapted Turkic letter ڭ, viz. ܩܝܡܬڭ (as proposed on this page); this letter is reserved for Turkic or Sogdian words, and so would not be used in a Syriac name. Similarly, there is only one linguistically defensible explanation for the "name" *Kušnač*, a variant of ܩܘܫܬܢܟ, *Quštanč* or *Xuštanč* (found in this volume on pp. 160–161). It cannot be (as discussed on p. 213) "the popular female name Koshtanz (< Lat. *Constantia*)," an idea first broached in Chwolson, 1890, pp. 12, 134. Greek/Latin names commencing with *Consta-* are invariably spelled ܩܘܢܣܛ in Syriac, so Constance would be spelled ܣܩܘܢܣܛ (or perhaps ܣܩܘܢܣ, as the male name *Constans* is: Payne Smith, 1879-1901, col. 3549) and, as noted above, the adapted letter ڭ is used for Turkic or Sogdian words, not Syriac ones. Rather, as the eminent Iranologist Werner Sundermann has shown, ܟܘܫܬܢܟ, *xuštanč* must be the female form of the Sogdian word for "teacher," extant outside the gravestone corpus only in the masculine form *xušti*, which coincidentally also occurs in the Semirechye gravestone corpus at least once (Chwolson, 1890, pp. 19–21). The fact that the feminine form *xuštanč* occurs on 21 out of 169 female gravestones found in Semirechye (12% of the corpus of demonstrably female gravestones) either indicates that a significant number of female members of the Church of the East in Central Asia were involved in some sort of teaching or that this ti-

tle had been incorporated into personal names, as was the case with the Turkic titles *Tegin* and *Tarim* (originally designating male and female members of the royal family, respectively), which occur frequently in the corpus.

The authors note that since "the decipherment of the Nestorian inscriptions in Syro-Turkic…[is] an ongoing process" they "anticipate contribution [*sic*] from other well qualified scholars to help bring this process to a successful conclusion" (p. 179). In light of this and with the awareness that what follows may well include errors and oversights on my part, I offer here some suggested changes to some of the transcriptions of Syriac script and/or translations, based on checking all previous publications, where relevant, and all accessible images, where possible. I have not addressed errors or inconsistencies in the transliterations and transcriptions of Turkic words, but these will also need to be revisited in any future editions of this work.

Arslan gravestone (pp. 154–155)

- ܫܬ ܡܐܐ → ܫܬ ܡܐܬ, "six hundred and nine" (p. 154, l. 2).

Shliḥa gravestone (pp. 155–156)

- "which is the year of the Dragon and in Turkish…exegete and preacher who enlightened all the monasteries…unite his noble soul with those of the righteous and of the forefathers. May all glory…" → "it was the year of the Dragon, in Turkish…exegete and teacher who enlightened all the inhabitants…unite his noble spirit with the righteous and the fathers. May all delights…" (p. 156).

Yoḥanan gravestone (pp. 156–157)

- "He died the death…(?) *He left life* (lit. the eye of his life decayed). This is the grave of Johanan Ḥabiba" → "He died of plague (on?) a safe day. His young eye(s) became distant. This is the grave of the beloved Yoḥanan" (p. 157).
- Rather than the suggestion that "ܟܠܘܐ may be a proper noun" (p. 157, n. 27) it is likely the Arabic/Persian loan-

word سالم, "safe, healthy" (although it also functions as a name, this is unlikely here, given the Turkic grammar).

- The word ܐܝܪ more likely represents the verb stem *ïra-*, "be distant" (or possibly *arï-*, "become clean"), rather than *iri-*, "decay, rot, putrefy." The latter would be highly unlikely in a culture that used euphemisms to speak of death.

Shem'on gravestone (pp. 157–158)

- ܫܢܬ ܥܟܪ → ܥܟܪ ܫܢܬ, "year of the Mouse" (p. 157, l. 3, based on the original text in Chwolson, 1890, incorrectly transcribed in Džumagulov, 1971).
- ܐܝܡ → ܐܡ (p. 157, l. 7).
- (ܣ)ܡܠܦܢܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ → ܡܠܦܢܐ, "scholar" (p. 157, l. 10, based on the original text in Chwolson, 1890, incorrectly transcribed in Džumagulov, 1971).
- "is the year of the Mouse…their scholasticus" → "was the year of the Mouse…the scholar" (p. 158 – the gravestones are all in past tense, whether Syriac or Turkic).

Mangutashtai gravestone (pp. 158–160)

- As noted on p. 159, the Turkic phrase (ܐܢ) ܝܛ ܝܕ *yād bolsun* literally means "may there be remembrance/ commemoration" (without the preposition "of him/her," as sometimes added in translations in Chapters 8–9) and in the context of the gravestones obviously means "may he/she be remembered"; *yād* was a loan-word from New Persian, a language which had a long pedigree in Central Asia and which crops up frequently on the gravestones, in both loan-words and personal names.
- ܬܘܪܟܝܐ → ܬܘܪܟܝܐ, "in Turkic" (p. 159, l. 5, based on my examination of images of this stone, still extant in Tashkent).

Tap-Terim gravestone (pp. 160–161)

- ܥܪܘܒܬܐ → ܥܪܘܒܬܐ, "Friday" and ܡܥܡܕܢ → ܡܥܡܕܢ, "the Baptist" (p. 160, l. 3, based on the original

text in Kokovtsov, 1909, incorrectly transcribed in Džumagulov, 1971; see also footnotes to be accordingly corrected, pp. 160, n. 33; 161, n. 36).

- ܛܐܢ → ܛܐܢܓ, “dawn” (p. 160, l. 5, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909, incorrectly transcribed in Džumagulov, 1971).
- ܟܠܝܢܟܝܛܐ → ܟܠܝܢܟܝܬܐ, “maiden” (p. 160, l. 7, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909, incorrectly transcribed in Džumagulov, 1971).
- ܐܘܙܘܛ → (ܣ?)ܐܘܙܘܛ, “her soul” (p. 160, l. 11, based on what would be grammatically correct, although this is not in Kokovtsov, 1909).
- A note on some of the words occuring in this inscription, reflecting the multi-lingual lexicon used by these Turkic Christians: ܟܐܓ̰ܐܣܝ = Turk. *kečasï* (Turk. *e* can be represented by either ܐ or ܝ); ܐܓ̰ܡ = Ar. غم, “grief”; ܛܐܢܓ = Turk. *taŋ*, “dawn”; ܦܝܫܝܢܕܐ = Pers. پيشين, “prior, previous” + Turk. locative case ending ܕܐ = “before”; ܡܦܩܢܐܣܝ = Syr. ܡܦܩܢܐ, “departure” + Turk. poss. suffix ܣܝ = “departure of” (p. 160, ll. 2, 4, 5, 8; see also footnotes to be accordingly corrected, pp. 160, n. 34; 161, n. 37–38).
- Džumagulov’s 1971 publication of the inscription on pp. 160–161 does not make clear (as Kokovtsov’s 1909 publication does) that the Syriac words ܐܬܐ ܚܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܦܪܘܩܢ, “The sign of life, Jesus our Saviour,” are inscribed in the four arms of the cross on the gravestone. This may relate to a curious verso mark found on many Christian manuscript fragments from Turfan, which incorporates a cross with what appears to be the word ܚܝܐ.
- “in the night…at daybreak followed the end of this maiden Tap-Tärim Kuštanč…the soul of this virtuous (woman) had departed from the surface of this transitory world” → “the evening of grief. The departure of this maiden Tap Terim Quštanč/Xuštanč took place before dawn …Her soul passed from this transitory world” (p. 161); “virtuous” reflects confusion between *ertimlig*, “transitory, fleeting” and *erdemlig*, “virtuous” – ܐܪܬܝܡܠܝܓ represents the former, not the latter.

- ܩܠܛܐ → ܩܛܐ (p. 161, n. 36).

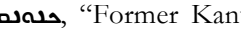
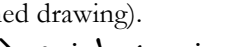
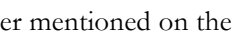
Yushmid gravestone (pp. 164–165)

- ܣܝܬ → ܐܝܬ, "forty" (p. 164, l. 3, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909) – this is likely an error for ܫܝܬ, but without access to the original stone, it is impossible to tell.
- ܕܝܠ ܐܚ → ܕܝܠ ܐܝ, "of Latter" (p. 164, l. 4, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909).
- ܚܡܫ → ܚܡܫܐ, "fifth" (p. 164, l. 5, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909).
- ܝܘܫܡܐ → ܝܘܫܡܐ, "Yushmid (name)" (p. 164, l. 6, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909).
- ܕܝܠ ܩܪܝ → ܕܝܠ(ܕ)ܩܪܝ, "the reciting of" (p. 164, l. 8).
- ܫܢܬܐ → ܫܢܬܐ ܕܒ, "the year of [his reciting the oath was] the Pig" (p. 164, l. 8, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909).
- ܢܦܫܗ → ܢܦܫܗ, "soul" (p. 164, l. 9, based on the original text in Kokovtsov, 1909, perhaps to be amended to ܕܢܦܫܗ, "his soul"?).
- "His call to communion was in the year of the Pig, but in the year of the Sheep he departed…remembered." → "The year of his reciting the oath was the Pig. His soul passed in the year of the Sheep…remembered, Amen." (p. 165).
- This inscription seems unique amongst the gravestone corpus in preserving the Old Turkic numerical system, whereby ܬܘܩܘܙ ܐܬܘܙ *toquz otuz*, lit. "nine thirty" means "nine in the decade of numbers leading up to thirty," i.e., 29.
- The phrase ܐܘܕܝ ܥܕܬܐ, "Confess, O Church," in this inscription refers to the incipit of an antiphon used in the Church of the East during the liturgical season of ܩܕܫ ܥܕܬܐ, "Consecration of the Church" and particularly on the Fourth Sunday of that season. The 29th of Latter Teshri would fall towards the end of this season, just before the beginning of Advent, so it was likely at the time of

the Fourth Sunday, in which case "fifth day" in the inscription probably does refer to the day of the week, as indicated in the translation on p. 165 (my thanks to Mar Awa Royel for this information).

- Also of note are the use here and in other inscriptions of the Turkic word  , *yarlïğ*, "command from a superior to an inferior," a common term used in the Mongol Empire to indicate an edict, mandate or decree from the Mongol sovereign. Thus (as noted on p. 186), many Syro-Turkic gravestones use the phrase  *täŋri yarlïğïn bütürdi* "he/she carried out God's command," as a euphemism for death.
- It is unclear what "reciting the oath" consisted of, but the Turkic verb used makes it clear that something was read out or recited by the deceased.

Alma Khatun gravestone (pp. 165–166)

-  → , "Former Kanun" (p. 165, l. 3, based on the drawing of the stone in Džumagulov, 1968, incorrectly transcribed by the author in that same article).
-  → , "four(th) of" (p. 165, l. 3, based on the standard pronunciation of this Turkic word and supported by the aforementioned drawing).
-  → , "sitting on the throne" (p. 165, l. 8, again based on the drawing).
- The name of the ruler mentioned on the throne at the time of Alma Khatun's death –  Čangši Khan – is not a reference to "Qinggis (Genghis) Khan" as the authors assert (p. 166), but rather to Čangši, ruler of the Chagatay Ulus (Khanate) of the Mongol Empire (1335–1338), who governed the territory in which the Christians of both Yeti Su and Almaliq lived, as earlier recognized by Aubin (1976, p. 24, n. 34). Interestingly, this ruler was one of those that Benedict XII wrote to in 1338 (Moule, 1917, pp. 15, 18). However, I am not convinced that the inscription suggests that the deceased was the wife of Čangši, as proposed by Klein (2000, pp. 258–259).

- "at the head of the kingdom" → "in leadership of the realm" (p. 166).
- Although not included in the excerpt from this inscription on pp. 165–166, this stone shares a characteristic with the stone on pp. 160–161, namely the words ܢܝܫܐ ܚܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܦܪܘܩܢ "The sign of life, Jesus our Saviour" in the four arms of the cross.

Bailingmiao gravestone (pp. 167–169)

It is difficult to determine what the original reading of the Bailingmiao inscription should be in places; characters which are either ܒ or ܟ are all rendered as ܓ in Niu Ruji's 2006 publication of this inscription (recycled in separate publications in 2008 and 2009) and the images included in his articles are too low resolution to decipher; with this caveat in mind, I make the following observations on the transcription and translation of this inscription.

- ܦܐܠܝܒ ܠܝܒ (p. 168, l. 2) is ܦܐܠܓܠܓ in Niu's 2006 article, but should probably be ܦܐܠܝܟܠܝܟ, "resident of the city" (given its usual pronuncation in Turkic languages as *balïq*, not *balïɣ*). The same can be said about the occurrence of this word (sometimes split between two lines) in several inscriptions in Chapter 9: p. 179, l. 6; p. 195, ll. 4–5; p. 204, l. 3; p. 210, l. 5 (in the latter, however, the image indeed supports the reading of ܦܐܠܝܒ ܠܝܒ)
- ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ (p. 168, l. 3) → ܐܠܒܣܢܕܪܘܣ, "Alexander," as in Niu's 2006 article.
- ܝܝܠܝܢܬܐ (p. 168, l. 4) → ܝܝܠܝܢܛܐ, "in the year," as in Niu's 2006 article.
- ܐܝܠ (p. 168, l. 5) → ܝܝܠ, "year," as in Niu's 2006 article.
- ܐܕܬ (p. 168, l. 9) → ܐܕܛ, "memory, rememberance," as in Niu's 2006 article.
- ܐܘܫܛܡܐܩܛܐ (p. 168, l. 11) is ܐܘܫܛܡܐܓܛܐ in Niu's 2006 article, but should probably be ܐܘܫܛܡܐܟܛܐ, "in paradise" (given its usual pronuncation in Turkic languages as *uštmaq* or *uštmax*).
- ܐܘܪܢܛܐ (p. 168, l. 11) → ܐܘܪܢܐܛ, "place(ment)," as in Niu's 2006 article.

- ܡܐܒ (p. 168, l. 12) → ܡܐܟ, "-ment (suffix)" (this spelling is found neither in this volume nor in Niu's 2006 article, but is based on phonological rules for Turkic suffixes).
- "twelfth month…May his soul rest in" → "tenth month…May the placement of his soul be in" (p. 169); like the two stock phrases already mentioned, "may he/she be remembered" and "he/she carried out God's command," this inscription contains another common sentiment (with several variations) found on many Syro-Turkic inscriptions: ܒܘܠܣܘܢ ܐܘܫܛܡܐܩܛܐ ܐܘܙܘܛܝ *öẓüti uštmaqta bolsun* "may his/her soul be in paradise," which utilizes *uštmaq*, the Sogdian word for "paradise."

Yangzhou gravestone (pp. 172–174)

My readings and suggestions below are based on consulting the images in the volume under review and in Geng Shimin's 2006 article, both of which contain several places where the reading is uncertain. Judging by the variant interpretations of this inscription by Geng, Niu and the authors of the current volume, it seems that an authoritative reading of this inscription has not yet been arrived at.

- Unless it represents a Chinese name or title, ܫܡ ܫܐ (p. 173, l. 5) is possibly a misspelling of the Syriac title ܫܡܫܐ, "deacon" due to phonological confusion; ecclesiastical titles typically occur on these gravestones after proper names.
- It is unclear from images in this volume and Geng's article whether the Australian Team's reading of ܒܘܛܘܪܕܝ, "carried out" (p. 173, l. 6) is better than Geng's reading of ܒܘܛܘܪܕܘܒ "carrying out" – the Turkic grammar would permit either, although the latter is preferred.
- ܩܝܙܠܐܠܕܠܐܪ (p. 173, l. 8) → ܩܝܙܠܐܢܕܠܐܪ (this accords better with what I can see on the image, as well as the correct Turkic passive verb form, as sugested in the transcription on p. 174), in which case this should be translated as "she was reckoned as a daughter" (with the plural ܠܐܪ –*lar* ending functioning as an honorific here).

- ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ (p. 173, l. 10) → ܠ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ (as in Geng's 2006 publication), in which case it should be translated as "for thousands of years."
- ܐܪܟ ܗܪ (p. 173, l. 10) → ܐܪܟܝܠܪ (as Geng notes, "the last three letters are not clear"); the grammar dictates that this word must be a noun or adjective; thus ܐܠܦ ܠ ܐܪܟܝܠܪ (ʔ) ܒܪܟܬ should be translated as "may it (her soul) be ____ for thousands of years" (I am unconvinced by any of the translations of this line thus far).
- ܐܪܟ ܬܘܪ (p. 173, l. 11) → ܐܪܟܬܘܪ, "woman"; the next word cannot be ܟܝܪܟܬܘܪ, but I cannot read it on the image.
- ܬܟܠܠܟ (p. 173, l. 11) → ܬܟܬܠܟ, "being done" (again, this accords better with what I can see on the image and the correct Turkic passive verb form).
- "Ioannis Sam-Sha…laid aside her life…inside the tomb…May her soul take residence and place with the pure princesses Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel. May she be remembered in posterity and may (her) name remain forever" → "Ioannis the deacon…(Her?) tears/life poured out…inside this grave…May her soul, taking residence with Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel, the pure daughters of the Emperor who are in eternal paradise, be ____ for thousands of years. Like a woman ____, may she be remembered" (p. 174).

B17 (pp. 179–184)

Although, as the authors note, "the accurate transliteration and decipherment of this text" is hindered by the rough surface of the stone (p. 183), the reading seems reasonably certain, to which I offer the following suggested emendations:

- ܟ ܟܠܪ ܐܒܢܟ (p. 179, l. 5) should be ܐܒܢܟ ܟܠܟܠܪ, "at 26."
- There are several other places where the Syriac text provided includes the letter ܓ (γ) in places where one would expect ܟ (*q* or *x*) in the Turkic, but without access to a higher resolution image, I cannot verify these readings:

ܠܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ → ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ, "to the city" (l. 9); ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ → ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ, "in paradise" (l. 11); see the discussion on p. 183 about discerning when the scribe has written ܒ versus ܟ.

- Since the name ܐܘܫܛ (p. 179, l. 7) is not obviously Syriac, the Turkic pronunciation (and therefore transliteration) should be *Üšta* or *Öšta*, not *Awšṭa*; I am somewhat confused by the comment on p. 183 that "the last letters of the word appear to the present authors to be ܐܬ."
- Since the initial letter of the city name translated as *Zitun* "could easily be read as a Zain" (p. 181), clearly visible to me on the image in the catalogue and on the project website, it is unclear why it has been rendered in Syriac as ܙܝܬܘܢ (p. 180, l. 9), not ܨܝܬܘܢ (ܙܝܬܘܢ would imply a Turkic pronunciation of *Čitun*/*Čaytun*).
- "May his soul be in eternity" → "May his soul be in paradise" (p. 180).
- The suggestion that the word *yïlï*; "year of" [not "of the year"] which can be supplied at the end of l. 2 would be "tautological in the context, as *yïlïnta* 'in the year' occurs on line 3" (p. 183) is not correct; for examples of this pattern with both *yïlï* and *yïlïnta*, see pp. 164, ll. 3–4; 165, ll. 2–3; 173, ll. 2–3.
- The location of the Turkic modifiers in the inscription makes it unclear whether "inhabitant of the city of Qočo" refers to the father or the son. Furthermore, given the statement that the son "at the age of sixty seven, reaching this city of Zayton, carried out God's command," it is unclear what period of time had elapsed between either father or son leaving Qočo and the latter's arrival in Zayton. Thus, although this inscription gives evidence of a connection between the capital of the Uighur Kingdom of Qočo and the expatriate Turkic Christian population of Quanzhou (as discussed on p. 183), it is unclear how strong that connection was and I am not sure to what degree "we can safely assume that the Nestorians in Quanzhou…were from the area around Gaochang [i.e., Qočo or Turfan]," as the authors assert.

B28 (pp. 185–191)

As the authors note, "a great deal more research clearly needs to be done on this inscription" (p. 191); the original, amongst those transferred to Beijing in 1959 and currently inaccessible, will certainly require examination to produce a more authoritative reading, as the authors indicate by their "tentative readings" (p. 189). Given my access solely to the black and white image in the catalogue, my observations below are offered in the same tentative spirit.

- ܡܚܠܝܪ (p. 189, l. 1) should be ܡܚܠܝܪ, "command of."
- ܥܠܡܗ̈ (p. 189, l. 2) should be ܥܠܡܐ, "this world" (as is visible in the image).
- ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܠ (p. 189, l. 11) is probably ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܠ, "slave of God," especially given its Turkic gloss in l. 12, which must surely be ܐܠܟ ܟܪܓܝܣ, "slave of God," not ܐܠܐ.
- ܣܒܐ (p. 189, l. 13, clearly visible in the image) is presumably a spelling error (based on Turkic pronunciation) for the name ܣܒܥ.
- ܪܘܚܝ (p. 189, ll. 14–15) is probably a misspelling of ܪܘܚܢܝ, representing Ar. روحانى, "spiritual."
- ܟܠܝܐ (p. 189, l. 16) should be ܟܠܝܢܐ, "inside" (just visible on the image).
- ܐܣܚܩ ܝܥܩܒ (p. 189, l. 17) should be ܐܣܚܩ ܡܫܝܚ, "Isaac, Jacob," but this is not clear from the image (unless misspellings indicate the Turkic pronunciation of these Semitic names, as with ܣܒܐ above).
- ܥܡܐ (p. 189, l. 19) should be ܥܡ, "with," as in p. 173, l. 9.
- "Whatever…sins he committed in this world, (through) the Messiah…in the heart of the Mari Hashiya they may be wiped away…The soul of the slave of God Sargis Sauma (?) may pass with the Fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob…" → "Whatever his sin has been, Messiah will show the way in the heart of the Right Reverend…[Syr.] The servant/slave of God, [Turk.] the soul of the slave of God, Sargis Sauma [sic] in the spiritual eternal paradise

with the fathers Abraham, Isaac (and) Jacob. His virtue…" (pp. 190–191).

B19 (pp. 192–194)

Much of the image is unclear to me, so the following suggestions often reflect what the text should say, based on standard Turkic spelling and grammar, not necessarily what it does say. If the readings provided by the authors are in fact correct, they reflect a significant number of misspellings relative to the rest of the corpus. Alternate spellings that I can confirm from the image include ܛܒܟܐܓ instead of ܛܒܓܐܓ, "Chinese" (l. 7); ܓܪܠܝܟܝ instead of ܓܪܠܝܓܝ, "the command of" (l. 15); ܐܘܣܘܛܝ instead of ܐܘܙܘܛܝ, "soul of" (l. 18); ܐܘܟܠܝ instead of ܐܘܓܠܝ, "son(s) of" (l. 19); and ܘܐܘܪܘܟܝ instead of ܘܐܘܪܘܓܝ, "and descendent(s) of" (l. 19). As noted in the volume, the inscription is some way from being "fully deciphered" (p. 194).

- ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐܠܝܟ (p. 192, l. 1) should be ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐܠܝܓ, "Macedonian."
- ܐܘ (p. 192, l. 1) should be ܐܘ[ܓܠ], "son of" (the missing letters are obscurred by part of the cloud design, but would have been understood by Turkic-speakers at the time as a standard part of the Christian gravestone formula).
- ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ (p. 192, 2) should be ܐܠܓܣܢܕܪܘܣ, "Alexander."
- ܒܝܪ ܬܐ (p. 192, l. 3) should be ܒܝܪܛܐ, "in one."
- ܐܘܘܛܝܠ (p. 192, l. 7) should be ܐܘܘܛ ܝܠ, "year of the Ox."
- ܛܘܟܣܘܢܓ (p. 192, l. 8) should be ܛܘܟܘܙܘܢܓ, "ninth."
- ܟܝܢܓܙܐ (p. 192, l. 8) should be ܟܝܢܓܛܐ, "on the day."
- ܡܫܝܓܐ and ܡܣܝܓܐ (p. 193, ll. 13, 17) should be the name ܡܫܚܬܐ (on which, see my comments below).
- Could ܛܘܟܐܠ ܝܓܪܡܝ ܝܫܢܛܐ (p. 193, l. 14) be an error for ܛܘܟܘܙ ܝܓܪܡܝ ܝܫܢܛܐ? If the former, the gloss is something like "at the full age of twenty"; if the latter, "at age nineteen" in the the Old Turkic numerical system (discussed above under the Yushmid gravestone).

- 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀 (p. 193, l. 16) should be 𐼰𐽂𐽀, "grave."
- 𐼰𐽆𐽁𐼰 (p. 193, l. 16) should be 𐼰𐽆𐽁𐼰, "inside."
- 𐽆𐼰𐽆𐽂 (p. 193, l. 17) should be 𐽆𐽁𐼰𐽆𐽂, "she was reckoned as a daughter" (the same verb is used, with an honorific plural, in the same context on the Yangzhou stone, p. 173, l. 8)
- (𐼧)𐽀𐼰 𐼰𐽂𐽆𐽆𐽀𐼰 (p. 193, l. 18) should be 𐽀𐼰𐼰𐽂𐽆𐽆𐽀𐼰, "that is in paradise."
- (𐼧)𐽀𐼰 𐽂𐽀𐽁𐼰𐽀 (p. 193, l. 19) should be 𐼰𐽂𐽂𐽀𐽁𐼰𐽀, "and to her descendent(s)."
- 𐽆𐽁𐼰 (p. 193, l. 20) should be 𐽆𐼰, "remembrance."
- The proposed name of the deceased, 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀 or 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀𐽀, glossed as *Qamča* (p. 194), deserves some comment. Although none is given in the commentary for B19, the authors discuss it in the commentary for B50, where they propose that "the name or title 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀 could well be a corruption of the Syriac term 𐼰𐽆𐽀𐽀 [sic] 'resurrection,' in which case it "could be a generic phrase meaning 'this resurrected (i.e., deceased) lady' and not the name of the deceased" (p. 213). This latter suggestion is highly unlikely, given that Syriac 𐼰𐽉𐽀𐽀𐽀 means "resurrection" (not "resurrected") and there are several examples of this female name in the Semirechye corpus, as documented in Chwolson, 1890, p. 135. Moreover, the reading of 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀 or 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀𐽀 as a corruption of 𐼰𐽉𐽂𐽀𐽀 here in B19, as well as in B50, must be abandoned. Examination of the images in this volume plainly shows that all instances of supposed 𐼰𐽂𐽀𐽀 are in fact 𐼰𐽉𐽂𐽀𐽀, with the 𐼰𐽉 ligature (the same palaeographic form is quite common in the Syriac texts from Turfan) being mistaken for 𐼰𐽂. Moreover, *qamča*, Turkic for "whip," is a very unlikely name to give to a daughter in a culture that places a high value on good names, as does Turkic culture.
- In light of the above observations and the uncertainty in reading ll. 4–6, 9–13, 19–20, although I cannot give a complete reading for this stone, I would suggest the following translation, which varies slightly from that on p. 194: "(According to) the calculation of Alexander Khan,

> the son of the Macedonian Philip Khan, in the year one thousand six hundred and one, on the eighth day of the eighth month…(according to) the Chinese calculation, (it was) the year of the Ox, the seventh day of the ninth month…wife, Lady Qyāmthā, at the full age of twenty (or at age nineteen?), carried out God's command. Inside this tomb-grave, she was reckoned as a daughter and with the soul of this Lady Qyāmthā that is in paradise, may _____ to her (husband?), her son(s), her daughter(s) and her descendant(s) _____. May she be remembered, Amen."

B20 (pp. 195–198)

As the authors note, an authoritative reading of the final four lines of this inscription must await access to the original stone in Beijing (p. 198). Again, I offer the following suggestions with the caveat that I do not have access to a clear image.

- I question the reading ܥܕܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ, which can be glossed as "(according to) the calculation of the flock" (supposedly referring to a calendrical system, in contrast to the Seleucid and Sino-Turkic animal calendar dates mentioned earlier in the inscription). Despite the use of "flock" to refer to groups of Christians (Matt. 26:31; Luke 12:32; John 10:16; Acts 20:28–29; 1 Pet. 5:2–3), this seems too colloquial to refer to an ecclesiastical calendar (and if it does, what calendar is being referenced?); more evidence is needed to show that this term was in use elsewhere amongst Central Asian Turkic Christians (there is no evidence of such a system amongst the calendrical fragments from Turfan, on which see Dickens and Sims-Williams, 2012). Also problematic for this explanation is the fact that the year in this system is not indicated. My translation renders the following dates: "(According to) the calculation of Alexander Khan the King, son of Philip Khan from the city of Macedonia, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen. (According to) the Chinese calculation, (it was) the year of the Dragon, the sixteenth evening of the tenth month. (According to) the calculation of the flock (?), (it was) the year [no year number or name given] on the twelfth evening of the ninth

month." If this gravestone does indeed use three dating systems, rather than the two aforementioned systems commonly found on many other Christian gravestones from Central Asia and China, then it would be unique amongst this corpus. Rather than a third dating system, we would expect the name of the deceased to be found at this point in the inscription, sandwiched between the date and the final exhortation "May she be remembered."

B21 (pp. 199–204)

Again, this is a problematic stone to read, as indicated by the widely divergent readings by Niu Ruji and others and the Australian Team's conclusion that "serious study of this inscription must await the availability in the future of the original" (p. 202); indeed, lack of access to the original stone means that some readings, particularly those for ll. 6–7 and the end of l. 10, are questionable.

- ܡܪܝ (p. 203, l. 4) is an odd spelling for ܡܪܝܐ, "Lord, Saint"; although orthographic errors are not uncommon in the gravestone corpus, it would be surprising to misspell this fundamental Syriac lexical item which would be used frequently in a Christian context.
- ܥܠܡܐ ܥܠܡ (p. 203, l. 10) is more likely something like ܒܪܝܫܐ ܥܠܡ "his pure soul," which would fit at this point in the Turkic gravestone formula. If correct, ll. 10–12 should be translated "His pure soul eternally in paradise, may he be remembered." I cannot tell from the image supplied, but the proposed reading of these two Syriac words (which the authors have not included in the English translation) does not seem correct.
- "This is the grave of Mar Wang Fudao, the son of Wang the son of George" → "This is the grave of Wang Bar Giwargis, the son of Mar Wang Fudao" (p. 204). Since the father's name is actually ܡܪܝ ܦܘܕܐ ܘܐܢܓ "Mar Wang Fudao," the son ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܒܪ ܘܐܢܓ cannot be "Wang the son of George." Assuming the reading of ܒܪ ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ is correct, this must be part of the son's name, rather than a patronymic (unless his father Wang Fudao also had the Syriac name Giwargis).

B22 (pp. 204–205)

- ܫܡܐ (p. 204, l. 8) should be ܫܡܢ, "eight" (as in inscriptions on pp. 160, 173), but this final line on B22 is obscured by surface chipping of the stone, so it is impossible to tell.

B37 (pp. 206–209)

- ܐܪܥܘܬܐ (p. 206, l. 1) should be ܐܪܥܘܬܗ, "the regions + genitive suffix" (based on the image and the correct Turkic spelling).
- ܫܡܝ (p. 206, l. 2, clearly visible in the image) seems to be a shortened form of ܫܡܢܝ, "eighth," unless the writer of the inscription (who rather uncharacteristically identifies himself at the end of l. 2) confused ܢ and ܝ, but this seems unlikely.
- ܙܘܡܐ (p. 206, l. 2) should be the name ܙܘܡܥ (visible on the image).
- "Mar Shlimen…Zauma the administrator leading (the mourners) wrote this on the fifteenth day of the eighth month" → "Mar Shleymun…on the fifteenth of the eighth month, the leader Ṣauma wrote (this)" (p. 207).

B50 (pp. 210–214)

- ܫܡܫܝ (p. 210, l. 17) should be the name ܫܡܫܐ (as noted above under B19, the ܫܐ ligature is formed exactly as it is on many of the Syriac texts from Turfan).
- ܡܠܟܢܐ (p. 210, l. 18) should be ܡܠܟܢܗ, "the command of" (as in all other occurrences in these inscriptions).
- The reading (ʔ)ܥܒܕ(ʔ)ܠܥ (ʔ)ܡܢܓܘܬܐ ܕ, glossed as "His preparation for this everlasting stone" or "Mangutash has raised" (p. 210, ll. 19–20, p. 212) is questionable. It would be very odd to write only the first letter (as opposed to a full syllable) of the proposed word Mangutash (literally, "eternal stone," also used as a personal name) on l. 19 and then continue it on l. 20. Moreover, the name as it appears in the gravestone corpus is spelled ܡܢܓܘ or

 or , but never . Futhermore, if this reading is correct, it should rather be translated as "Mangutash did (this)" or perhaps "Mangutash's doing." According to the standard formula observed on other Syro-Turkic gravestones, we would rather expect to see something like , "his soul in paradise" at this point in the text. The image is unclear for these lines, so a definitive reading is difficult.

- "this Lady Qamča" → "this Lady Qyāmthā" (p. 212).
- The authors' closing comments in Chapter 9 are a fitting way to end this section of my comments: "The eventual full publication of the team's many high quality photographs of this important epigraphical text will undoubtedly help to clear up a number of uncertain readings" (p. 214), something which hopefully can be said for all the inscriptions included in this chapter which await finalized readings and translations.

TYPOS

- Chingizide/Chingizde → Chingizid (pp. 3, 13)
- missing B catalogue numbers for Z32 and Z1 under timeline dates 1946 and 1984 (pp. 22, 23)
-  → (p. 28, n. 17)
- B47 = Z56 → Z57 (p. 31)
- "althoug minimal" (p. 33)
- Qinggis → Chinggis (p. 34 – the latter is the current standard in Mongolian studies)
- Saracens → Muslims (pp. 36, 57 – although used in the original European sources, "Saracens" is an outdated term)
- Halberstma → Halbertsma (pp. 40, 153, 270)
- → (p. 45)
- Abaka → Abaqa (p. 55)
- Almalyk → Almaliq (p. 58)
- 22 → B41 (= Z22) (p. 105)
- 198 needs additional digit for date (p. 108)
-  → (p. 142 x2)

- Chwolson, *op. cit.*, I → Chwolson, *op. cit.*, II (p. 152, n. 8 and thus all subsequent *op. cit.* references to this work in Chapter 8)
- Graves of the East → Graves of the Church of the East (p. 153, n. 12)
- Chwolson…97 (137), 27 → 27–28, 138 (p. 156, n. 26)
- Chwolson…No. 11,3 (160), 139 → 42–44, 139 (p. 157, n. 28)
- Chwolson's 1897 publication on gravestones missing from footnote (p. 175, n. 12)
- B17 = Z25 and B [number missing] (p. 176)
- Frazmann → Franzmann (p. 194)
- "appears…to the the" → "appears…to be the" (p. 196)
- ܗܘ ܡܚܢܐ → ܗܘ ܡܚܢܐ (p. 213)
- 6–7 → 5–7 (p. 216, n. 8)
- pp. 7 → pp. 6–7 (p. 217, n. 12)
- 1918 → 1980 (p. 226, n. 45)
- G. Shimin → Geng S. (p. 255, n. 58)
- Franiscan → Franciscan (p. 267)
- 2002 → 2005 (p. 273, under Niu Ruji)

FINAL COMMENTS

A final area that perhaps needed more attention in the editorial phase concerns the standardization of bibliographic references. Not only are there a significant number of footnote references missing from the Bibliography (I counted at least 25), but repeat citations are sometimes given in full bibliographic form and sometimes in abbreviated form, *op. cit.* is frequently used (and *ibid.* occasionally used) in a way that obscures references, and abbreviated references are sometimes unclear (as with Lieu, *Manichaeism*, which could theoretically refer to two separate books in the Bibliography). Also somewhat confusing are several bibliographic references to items with incorrect dates (e.g., Saeki, 1932, four times in Chapter 6).

The approach in the Bibliography to translations of primary sources (without accompanying editions) also seems inconsistent, with some listed under the (Primary) Sources section of the Bibliography and others under the Secondary Works section. Additionally, the convention of listing primary source translations after their

editions has resulted in several works being much less easy to find in the Bibliography, notably Saeki's *Nestorian Documents and Relics* and Pelliot's *L'Inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, both listed under the Chinese title of the Xi'an Stele. I also found the system of referring to edited volumes in the Bibliography somewhat awkward, including the use of abbreviations listed earlier in the catalogue (pp. 83–84) but not reiterated in the Bibliography itself, notably *FPTZ* for *From Palmyra to Zayton*, an important collection of articles by three members of the Australian Team.

Similarly, not all edited volumes are listed separately in the bibliography and most articles (other than sometimes the first one listed) from those volumes do not contain the full bibliographic information (specifically contributions to Malek (ed.), *Jingjiao* or Watt, ed. *op. cit.*); this can make it more difficult for readers to track down the appropriate information. Finally, based on spot checks, the Index seems incomplete, with only a selection of topical entries included and (at least for those I checked), only a selection of relevant page numbers included. Undoubtedly, these and other consistency issues are a challenge when a volume like this is being co-written by several authors.

In closing, I must bring some balance to what may seem to some like an overly critical review. Producing a catalogue of archaeological remains like those found in this volume is a time-consuming process which provides an invaluable service to subsequent researchers; the authors are to be commended for all the time and effort that has obviously been put into the project and for presenting the results of their research in an attractive and informative format. In so doing, they have made available textual and iconographic material which was previously scattered across many publications, many of them in Chinese and therefore accessible to only a limited number of scholars.

The volume does an excellent job of placing the archaeological and textual material into the geographical context of the city of Quanzhou and the historical context of Syriac Christianity under the Mongols. The detailed description of previous scholarly work on the remains gives invaluable insight into the laborious and layered process whereby these primary sources have been located, identified and deciphered. It is all too easy to assume that the gravestone inscriptions, formulaic and repetitive as many of them are, have little to reveal and should be relatively easy to decipher.

This volume shows in fact how difficult it can be to interpret texts that are not only written in a foreign script, but also include loan-words from a variety of languages; the Syro-Turkic inscriptions include Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Sogdian and Chinese loan-words that were in common use by the Turkic-speaking Christians of Central Asia and China. In particular, the longer inscriptions that tend to be found amongst the Quanzhou material potentially have much to tell us about how the Christian community related to the broader cultural context, whether the Mongol-Turkic elites of the Yuan ruling class or the Chinese-speaking populace surrounding them.

Additionally, the chapters devoted to the Latin presence in Quanzhou, the history of Manichaeism in the area and the historical connections with India further highlight the cosmopolitan nature of this key city in the medieval equivalent of a "global economy," which functioned as a clearing-house of culture as well as commerce. Finally, the focus on art history in the last chapter is a crucial reminder of the fluid nature of religious iconography and the means by which vastly different traditions can influence each other in ways that are not always apparent until all the data is gathered together, as it has been in this volume.

Having said all this, it is clear from my analysis of the texts and translations provided in the current volume that more work needs to be done (as the authors acknowledge in various places) to provide accurate and authoritative readings (and therefore translations) of the Syro-Turkic texts, particularly Y1 (the Yangzhou stone), B18, B19, B20, B21, B28 and B50 (I pass over here any of the Chinese or Phags-pa texts that may be in question). Hopefully, access to the high quality images taken by the Australian Team and the original stones moved to Beijing will enable scholars to eventually accomplish this goal.

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