Buddhism in Central Asia III

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences, Doctrines

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CHAPTER 10

Prostration as *wuti toudi* 五體投地 or *wulun toudi* 五輪投地? A Possible Trace of Contacts between Certain Uyghur Translators and Esoteric Buddhism

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Abstract

With the rise of Amoghavajra (705–774, Chin. Bukong 不空), Esoteric Buddhism (Chin. *mijiao* 密教) experienced a heyday under Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) rule. This Buddhist tradition was transmitted not only within that dynasty's territory but also in neighbouring regions. In Dunhuang (敦煌), at the westernmost boundary of the Tang Empire, numerous texts found among the hoard of manuscripts in Cave 17 evidence that this Buddhist tradition attracted great interest there, too. Dunhuang was closely connected with its neighbours, such that Esoteric Buddhism was likely transmitted throughout Central Asia, including in Turfan. Many previous studies on Buddhism in Turfan, which was under Uyghur rule at the time, primarily dealt with the Uyghur's Buddhist worship and did not highlight the transmission of Esoteric Buddhism from Dunhuang to Turfan. This absence resulted from a lack of materials showing Esoteric Buddhism flourishing among the Uyghurs. This paper takes Old Uyghur expressions corresponding to the Chinese Buddhist term *wuti toudi*/*wulun toudi* (五體投地/五輪投地) 'to throw five limbs to the ground' as a case study that shows the possible transmission of Esoteric Buddhism to a few Uyghur translators during the pre-Mongolian period.

1 Introduction[1]

In the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐), Esoteric Buddhism (Chin. *mijiao* 密教) became influential during a particularly turbulent period. One incident, which initiated that period, was the rebellion led by An Lushan (703–757, 安祿山) and Shi Siming (703–761, 史思明). It caused serious instability for the

1 I would like to express my special thanks to Simone-Christiane Raschmann (Berlin) and Henrik H. Sørensen (Bochum), who kindly gave me their support as specialists in Old Turkish philology and Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, respectively. I alone, of course, am responsible for my mistakes.

Tang Dynasty and subsequently resulted in a decrease in the Tang emperors' authority. This was the same moment that Amoghavajra (705–774, Chin. Bukong 不空), the famous Esoteric Buddhist master, gained strong influence at the emperors' court, and was also involved in establishing the Tang emperors' new legitimatcy.[2] Amoghavajra's rise strongly supported Esoteric Buddhism's dissemination in Eastern and Central Asia, including Dunhuang (敦煌), on the edge of the Tang territory, where numerous copies of Esoteric Buddhist texts were found.[3]

In contrast to Dunhuang, the presence of Esoteric Buddhism in Turfan is not often addressed in scholarship. Buddhist culture in Turfan was primarily cultivated by the Chinese and Tocharians. After the Uyghurs migrated into the area and founded a new kingdom, the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half of the 9th c. to the 13th c.), the majority converted to Buddhism in the second half of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century,[4] and they also became one of the primary influences on Buddhist culture in the Turfan region. As a ruling class, their preferences for specific Buddhist teachings or traditions probably had an impact on local Buddhist society. Thus, the surviving materials in their language, Old Uyghur, are essential for thinking about the transmission and spread of Esoteric Buddhism in that area. Most of these materials are Buddhist texts that represent various teachings. The amount of material cannot be compared with that of Dunhuang, which constitutes a considerable wealth of detailed information on a large variety of topics. The dearth of material from Turfan makes it difficult to assess to what extent Esoteric Buddhism was broadly popular among the Uyghurs.[5] The Uyghurs established a keen interest in Tibetan Buddhism during the Mongolian period (13th–14th c.) and, as a

2 There are many studies on Amoghavajra and his involvement in the introduction of the Tang emperors' new legitimation strategies. They are listed, for example, in the following study: Geoffrey C. Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of a Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); Yukiyo Kasai, "The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Mt. Wutai, and Uyghur Pilgrims," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.4 (2020): 3–9.

3 For an overview of the Esoteric Buddhist materials, including those found in Dunhuang, see, e.g., Rolf W. Giebel, "*Taishō* Volumes 18–21," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 27–36; Henrik H. Sørensen, "Textual Material Relating to Esoteric Buddhism in China Outside the *Taishō*," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 37–70.

4 For a short explanation of the historical movements of the Uyghurs and relevant previous studies on that topic, see, e.g., Yukiyo Kasai, "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism," in *Buddhism in Central Asia 1—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 69–73.

5 The details are discussed in section 2 below.

result, a few more specifically tantric texts were translated from Tibetan into Old Uyghur. As a result, discussions of Esoteric/Tantric Buddhism in Turfan largely focus on the introduction and spread of Tantric Buddhism, which the Uyghurs mainly absorbed from the Tibetans.

The problems and difficulties of defining and using the terms 'esoteric' and 'tantric' have been well-discussed, but opinions still differ on them.[6] One salient point is when Esoteric Buddhism began to develop. However, the general introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghurs around the tenth century is much later than the generally accepted periods when Esoteric Buddhism developed in India and China.[7] Therefore, differing opinions on its development are not germane to this paper's discussion. Other features which characterise Esoteric Buddhism are 'ritual magic' and 'performative strategies and implements' (such as special altars, spells, and *dhāraṇī*s, *mudrā*s, *maṇḍala*s, *homa*, a highly developed iconography, and a distinct range of offerings to effect divine response for its adherents).[8] Extant materials and sources from Turfan also contain information on the Uyghur Buddhists, but they are rather fragmented, such that Uyghur Buddhist practice of esoteric rituals is often hard to trace. So, in the following, the Buddhist tradition, which was transmitted mainly via the Chinese to the Uyghurs during the pre-Mongolian period, will be referred to as Esoteric Buddhism in order to distinguish it from Tantric Buddhism, which was introduced via the Tibetans during the Mongolian period.[9] The following sections focus on the relationship between Esoteric Buddhist literature, its teachings, and the Uyghurs.

6 The different positions are summarised in Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen, "Introduction: Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: Some Methodological Considerations," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–18, esp. 5. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 155–175.

7 For the introduction of Buddhism among the Uyghurs and previous studies of this topic, see, e.g., Kasai, "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism," 73, n. 30.

8 Sørensen, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China," 157.

9 This provisional definition can be changed, of course, through future discussions.

2 Visual and Written Materials Connected with Esoteric Buddhism in Turfan

2.1 *Visual Materials*

The amount of Esoteric Buddhist materials that have actually been found in the Turfan area is relevant to any discussion of the Uyghurs' absorption of Esoteric Buddhism. A considerable amount of visual material clearly shows that Esoteric Buddhist deities were introduced there and seem to have gathered a significant number of worshippers and practitioners. The most popular one is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in its Esoteric Buddhist forms, including the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara. This bodhisattva is often the central motif of paintings on materials like papers, banners (on silk, cotton, or ramie), wooden plates, and cave walls.[10] Avalokiteśvara was, however, a favoured motif in Turfan before the Uyghurs migrated and a majority converted to Buddhism. Given this, it is likely that the local Buddhists, including Chinese speaking/writing people, were probably still involved in the production of visual materials depicting Avalokiteśvara and related iconography in the area.[11] Therefore, the popularity of Avalokiteśvara's esoteric forms in visual materials does not necessarily reflect a Uyghur Buddhist preference for Esoteric Buddhist teachings or deities.

Talismans are also closely connected with Esoteric Buddhist practice. They are presented as various drawings on a paper according to their efficacies which are closely connected with urgent wish in everyday life like a safe childbirth or a recovery from an illness. The practitioners put them on a certain place at home, bore on a body, or burned and drunk with liquid expecting to fulfil their wish in the foreseeable future. In Chinese, the possible primary source for the Uyghurs, some canonical Esoteric Buddhist texts take talismans as their main subject, present them with drawings, and discuss their function and usage in detail. A few texts from Turfan contain talisman images and short explanation for their efficacy in Old Uyghur so that they indicate the Uyghur Buddhists' use

10 On this topic, see Yukiyo Kasai, "The Avalokiteśvara Cult in Turfan and Dunhuang in the Pre-Mongolian Period," in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 244–269. To the list of paintings which are mentioned in that paper, the painting of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara preserved in the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg, should be added. This painting is from Kočo, dated to the 11th century, and now bears the invental number TU-77. See Lilla Russell-Smith and Ines Konczak-Nagel, *The Ruins of Khocho: Traces of Wooden Architecture on the Ancient Silk Road* (Berlin: Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2016), 6.

11 For a detailed discussion, see Kasai, "The Avalokiteśvara Cult in Turfan and Dunhuang."

of talismans.[12] Unlike the talismans with explanations in Old Uyghur, however, most of these visual materials do not contain any information on the primary language used by the persons involved in producing them. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether they constitute a product of the Uyghur-speaking/writing Buddhists' activities.

2.2 *Written Materials*

In contrast to the visual materials, the manuscripts discovered reveal that the Uyghur Buddhists wrote, read, and used manuscripts written in Old Uyghur. In particular, vow or prayer texts, inscriptions, and colophons can indicate that the scribes, donors, petitioners adhered to divinities which have a close connection with Esoteric Buddhist teachings. However, texts dedicated to esoteric deities in the above mentioned genres are lacking.[13] With respect to the extant sources, the texts on teachings, including doctrines and commentaries, actually show the clearest connections with Esoteric Buddhism and provide the proof for that the Uyghurs studied Esoteric Buddhist teachings in their language. Classifying and identifying Esoteric Buddhist materials among the Uyghur texts is a crucial yet difficult task because the texts can be identified as esoteric according to a range of criteria. Furthermore, a single text can belong to multiple categories depending on the classification criteria selected. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail the possible classification of individual texts. Therefore, the texts discussed in "Canonical and Non-canonical Sources and Materials" in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*[14] are primarily taken here as the standard for esoteric texts.

As it stands, the number of the texts firmly connected with esoteric or tantric teachings is not significant. The existence of those texts was immediately recognised in academic circles when the Old Uyghur materials from Central

12 Peter Zieme collected these talismans. See, BT XXIII, Text 1, 179–185. Among them, the long list of talismans is worth mentioning. As mentioned above, this list depicts the talismans' image, under which follows a short explanation of its efficacy follows in Old Uyghur. On that list, see also, Yukiyo Kasai, "Talismans Used by the Uyghur Buddhists and Their Relationship with the Chinese Tradition," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 527–556.

13 The Buddhist colophons in Old Uyghur are already collected and edited. See, e.g., BT XXVI. The very limited number of remaining vow or prayer texts in Old Uyghur is also discussed in Kasai, "The Avalokiteśvara Cult in Turfan and Dunhuang," 256–260.

14 The two chapters comprising the section "Canonical and Non-canonical Sources and Materials" of *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* are Giebel, "*Taishō* Volumes 18–21" and Sørensen, "Textual Material Relating to Esoteric Buddhism."

Asia were discovered.[15] Since 2000, study of this genre have progressed dramatically, and more texts belonging to this category have been successfully identified. However, as mentioned in section 1, the majority shows a close connection with Tibetan Buddhism.[16] Up to now, only three texts have a proposed pre-Mongolian period translation. These probably did not have any relationship with the Tibetan tantric tradition that flourished during the Mongolian period. The texts in question are listed and commented on below:

1) *Foshuo daweide jinlun foding Chishengguang Rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing* 佛說大威德金輪佛頂熾盛光如來消除一切災難陀羅尼經 [The Dhāraṇī for Eliminating all Disasters of the Tathāgata Blazing Light on the Summit of the Greatly Awesome Virtues of the Buddha Golden Wheel Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 964.19)[17]

15 Johan Elverskog listed the texts which were identified by 1997, all under the category 'tantric texts'. See Johan Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 105–125. Two texts with tantric contents in Old Uyghur, *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* and *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*, were, for example, already published in 1910 by Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller. See U II, 27–75.

16 See, e.g., Klaus Röhrborn and András Róna-Tas, *Spätformen des zentralasiatischen Buddhismus: Die altuigurische Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005); BT XXIII; BT XXXVI; Anna Turanskaya and Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz, "Old Uyghur Blockprint of Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī in the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2 (2019): 19–38; Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz and Anna Turanskaya, "Old Uyghur Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī Fragments Preserved in the State Hermitage Museum," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 7.1 (2021): 100–117. On this topic, see also, Jens Wilkens, "Practice and Rituals in Uyghur Buddhist Texts: A Preliminary Appraisal," in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 430–464. On Tantric Buddhism and the Uyghurs, see also, e.g., Yang Fuxue and Zhang Haijuan, "Mongol Rulers, Yugur Subjects, and Tibetan Buddhism," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 377–386.

17 Peter Zieme published various manuscripts of this text. See BT XXIII, Text E, 81–87. Furthermore, during the conference at which this paper was presented, Jens Wilkens pointed out that two fragments of a scroll, Mainz 727 and Mainz 724, the text of which is identified as the *Cuṇḍīdevīdhāraṇī* (T. 1075.20), should also be dated to the pre-Mongolian period. Zieme, who published them, indicates the frequent dental confusions in Mainz 724. See BT XXIII, Text D, esp. 66. The appearance of this linguistic feature itself does not immediately allow us to date the fragment to the Mongolian period, but its frequency could be a feature of that period. See, e.g., Oki Mie 沖美江, "Kyū kara jūisseiki ni okeru uiguru moji no sho tokuchō—Jidai hantei heno tegakari wo motomete 9〜11世紀におけるウイグル文字の諸特徴—時代判定への手がかりをもとめて / A Few Characteristic Features of the Uigur Alphabet in the 9th–11th Centuries," *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 11 (1996): 39–42, 50–51. Because the dating of those fragments is still under discussion, whether this text can be categorised as an Esoteric Buddhist text translated during the pre-Mongolian period will have to await future research.

Only a few palaeographic and linguistic features indicate this text's completion during the pre-Mongolian period.[18]

2) *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* (T. 1057.20/T. 1060.20)[19]

Unlike the first case, this second text was translated by Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ (fl. second half of 10th c./beginning of 11th c.). An exceptional case for translators of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts during the pre-Mongolian period, Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ's life can be established with a fair amount of certainty. This is due to a preface added to the Old Uyghur *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (OU *Altun Yaruk Sudur* [T. 665.16], hereafter *Altun Yaruk* to distinguish this from versions circulating in other languages), another relevant work he translated, which bears the date 1022.[20] Regardless of whether this preface was actually composed for Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ's original translation or not, his translation would surely have been completed before that date.[21]

For modern scholars, Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ is regarded as one of the best-known and the most active Uyghur translators. Besides the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, he also translated the *Da Tang Daci'en si sanzang*

18 See BT XXIII, 81. At the conference at which this paper was presented, Jens Wilkens pointed out that the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (T.450.14) can also be counted as an Esoteric Buddhist text translated before the Mongolian period. See Peter Zieme, "Zur alttürkischen *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*-Übersetzung," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16 (1989): 198–200. Wilkens underlined the importance of this text because it uses the Sogdian term for 'sorcery' (Sogd. *w[a]rž*), and some Sogdian Buddhist texts from Dunhuang are translated from Chinese esoteric texts. For the Sogdian Esoteric Buddhist texts, see, e.g., Yutaka Yoshida, "Some Problems Surrounding Sogdian Esoteric Texts and the Buddhism of Semirech'e," *Teikyō daigaku bunkazai kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* 帝京大学文化財研究所研究報告 / *Bulletin of Research Institute of Cultural Properties, Teikyo University* 19 (2020): 193–203. The Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru is undoubtedly one of the buddhas which play an essential role in Esoteric Buddhism. Because the text is not contained in the chapters of the above-mentioned *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, it is mentioned secondarily.

19 On the preserved manuscripts of this text in various collections and the previous studies, see, e.g., Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature*, 120, no. 70.

20 On the previous study on this preface and its date, and for its edition, see, Peter Zieme, "Die Vorrede zum altuigurischen Goldglanz-Sūtra von 1022," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989): 237–243.

21 On this topic, see also, James Russell Hamilton, "Les titres *Šäli* et *Tutung* en ouïgour," *Journal Asiatique* 272 (1984): 435–436; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, "Chibetto moji de kakareta Uiguru-bun bukkyō kyōri mondō (P. t. 1292) no kenkyū チベット文字で書かれたウイグル文仏教教理問答(P. t. 1292)の研究 / Études sur un catéchisme bouddhique ouigour en écritue tibétane (P. t. 1292)," *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 / *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Osaka University* 25 (1985): 59–60; Peter Zieme, *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo: Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992), 25.

fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [The Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty] (T. 2053.50), hereafter *Xuanzang Biography*, and the *Ätözüg Köŋülüg Körmäk Atl(ı)g Nom Bitig* [Teaching about the Contemplation of Body and Mind].[22] Scholars also discuss his possible Buddhist adherence. Kudara Kōgi and Klaus Röhrborn point out that this translator had a close relationship with the Yogācāra school, which was widespread in Dunhuang, and had a good knowledge of Chinese Buddhist texts.[23] His translation of the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* could, therefore, indicate the transmission of Esoteric Buddhism from Dunhuang.

3) *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha, OU *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur*] (T. 2897.85)[24]

Several Uyghur manuscripts of this third text exist, one of which was found in Cave 17, the so-called Library Cave in Dunhuang. Because of this finding place, the Dunhuang manuscript of this Old Uyghur version could be dated to before the first half of the 11th century. Thus, it is one of the earliest Buddhist texts translated into Old Uyghur.[25] Besides its esoteric characteristics, this *sūtra* is

22 The last one contains a partial quotation from the Chan Buddhist text *Guanxinlun* 觀心論 [Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind] (T. 2833.85), although the identification of the complete text is still debated. The remaining manuscript is a printed version, so it was very probably made during the Mongolian period. For this text and its edition, see, e.g., BT XXVIII, Text G, 235–249.

23 See Kudara Kōgi 百済康義, "'Myōhō rengekyō gensan' no uigurugo dampen 妙法蓮華経玄賛のウイグル語断片 [Uyghur Fragments of the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanzan*]," in *Nairikuajia, nishiajia no shakai to bunka* 内陸アジア西アジアの社会と文化 / *Society and Culture of Inner Asia and the Muslim World*, ed. Mori Masao 護雅夫 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1983), 201; Klaus Röhrborn, "Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Vita: Biographie oder Hagiographie?" in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Swisttal-Odendorf: India et Tibetica Verlag, 1997), 551. For this translator, see also, Peter Zieme, "Sïngqu Säli Tutung—Übersetzer buddhistischer Schriften ins Uigurische," in *Tractata Altaica: Denis Sinor, sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata*, ed. Walther Heissig and Denis Sinor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 767–775; BT XXIX, 14–15, 18–21.

24 There are numerous manuscripts of this text, and they are catalogued and edited. See VOHD 13,26; BT XXXIII; *Catalogue of the Old Uyghur Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS*, comp. IOM, RAS, and The Toyo Bunko (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2021), 92–123.

25 Juten Oda, who studied this text in detail, points out that the Old Uyghur translation has two different versions, in general terms: the first and the revised versions. The first version is the one that contains some additional sentences using Manichaean terms. This indicates that the first translation was made when Manichaeism was still influential among the Uyghurs. See, e.g., Juten Oda, "On Manichaean Expressions in the *Säkiz*

well known as an apocrypha, which 'reflects a strong awareness of contention with China's traditional Daoist milieu and popular beliefs as Buddhism spread among the masses'.[26] Thus, it is still an open question whether the translator of this text attached importance to it because of its esoteric character, namely it is a scripture on spells, or perhaps because of its other features.[27]

Visual and written materials show that Esoteric Buddhism was introduced to the Turfan area and that the Uyghurs probably practised some of its rituals, including the use of talismans. However, the small number of sources written in Old Uyghur indicate that the spread of this Buddhist tradition was limited to certain rituals or practices and may not have gained wide popularity. The rich visual materials prove that the adherents and practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism in Turfan also included non-Uyghur speaking local Buddhists, especially Chinese. Moreover, the fact that Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ translated one of the esoteric texts deserves special notice. Not only the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* but also three other texts, as mentioned above, are identified as his translations. Because of this, he is easily one of the most significant translators in the history of Old Uyghur Buddhist literature. Even if this evaluation may not precisely reflect the historical situation, he should certainly be recognised as a highly relevant translator of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. Thus, the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* was likely read by and circulated among some Uyghur Buddhists groups.

Even so, Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ's works were all translations from Chinese. The impact of Esoteric Buddhism on him, and possibly his contemporary Uyghur Buddhists, cannot be determined through the analysis of their content alone, because these translations basically replicate the ideas represented in their Chinese originals. It is possible to glean further information on his relationship to Esoteric Buddhism by examining the terms and sentences in Old Uyghur selected to translate relevant expressions connected with Esoteric

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yükmäk yaruq Sūtra," in *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan: Festschrift für Peter Zieme, anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstags*, ed. Mehmet Ölmez and Simone-Christiane Raschmann (Istanbul, Berlin: Şafak Matbaacılık, 2002), 179–198. Counter-arguments have been made by Klaus Röhrborn. See Klaus Röhrborn, "Zum manichäischen Einfluß im alttürkischen Buddhismus," in *Studia Manichaica IV: Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 494–499. As mentioned above, Buddhism became the primary religion of the Uyghurs probably in the second half of the 10th century, at the earliest. See fn. 4.

26 BT XXXIII, 3.

27 Kahar Barat suggests the possibility that this text was also translated by Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ. See Kahar Barat, "*Šïngqo Šäli Tutung*, traducteur du *Säkiz yükmäk yaruq nom*?," *Journal Asiatique* 278.1–2 (1990): 155–166. Although some scholars agree with his assumption, the conclusive evidence is still lacking. See also, BT XXXIII, 248.

Buddhist teachings, rituals, and practices, since they can reflect the translator's understanding of them. One such expression is the Old Uyghur translation of the Chinese Buddhist term *wuti toudi* (五體投地) 'to throw five limbs to the ground' (*Skt. *pañcamaṇḍalanamaskāra*).[28] This term itself does not denote exclusively the specific way of prostration which was used only in Esoteric Buddhist ritual, but instead it denotes the type of prostration that is generally widespread among the Buddhists, including the Uyghurs, as discussed in detail in the following section. However, some Uyghur translations for that term could indicate the indirect impact of Esoteric Buddhism on the Uyghur translator(s) who chose those translations. Before comparing the Old Uyghur and Chinese terms, their variants and relationships with Esoteric Buddhism in Chinese texts are discussed in the following section.

3 *Wuti toudi*, Its Other Variants, and Their Use in Chinese Texts

The term *wuti toudi* describes a way of performing the so-called 'five-limbed prostration by touching hands, knees, and forehead to the ground'.[29] It appears in many Chinese Buddhist texts translated at different times, and as such, these texts contained the teachings of different Buddhist traditions, including Esoteric Buddhism.[30] According to Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘), the five-limbed prostration by touching hands, knees, and forehead to the ground is the highest of nine types of reverence in Buddhist worship.[31] In many texts, the term is used for a scene in which someone displays his or her highest homage to buddhas or other divinities.[32] There are many forms besides the

28 The translation given for this Chinese term is a literal one. As mentioned below, this term describes a special form of prostration. The Sanskrit form follows that in Nakamura Hajime 中村元, comp., *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 仏教語大辞典 [The Large Dictionary of Buddhist Terminologies] (Tokyo: Tokyo shoseki, 1981), 371b.

29 Daniel B. Stevenson, "Buddhist Ritual in the Song," in *Modern Chinese Religion I. Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 386.

30 In the whole Taishō *tripiṭaka*, this term is used 820 times in various texts. See https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php, accessed June 11, 2021.

31 See *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty] (T. 2087.51, 877c12–15). For the English translation, see, e.g., Xuanzang, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, trans. Li Rongxi (California: BDK America, Inc., 2006), 51.

32 Some research deals specifically with this term, and it mostly focuses on China. See, e.g., Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄, "Chūgoku ni okeru 'wuti toude' no hensen 中国における〈五体投地〉の変遷 [Transition of the '*wuti toude*' in China]," *Buzan kyōgaku taikai kiyō* 豊山教学大会紀要 / *Memoirs of the Society for the Buzan Study* 24 (1996): 97–109; Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄, "'Wuti toude, ru taishanbeng' kō—Hairei no chūgokuteki

standard variant, *wuti toudi*, namely *wuti zhudi* (五體著地), *wulun zhudi* (五輪著地), *wulun zhidi* (五輪至地), and *wulun toudi* (五輪投地).[33] They differ in the second character, *ti* or *lun*, which together with the first character means the 'five limbs' in both variants, and the verb in the third position, *tou*, *zhu*, or *zhi*, which explains how the body of the person practising this reverence touches the ground. These differences do not, however, considerably change the meaning. While the use of *wuti zhudi* and *wulun zhidi* are extremely limited, the other two, *wulun zhudi* and *wulun toudi*, appear in some texts. Therefore, the latter ones were known at some level. The frequency of their use is, however, far from that of the widespread standard variant. Like the standard one, these minor variants were primarily used for describing scenes of the highest homage to buddhas and others was displayed.

However, the last variant, *wulun toudi*, warrants special attention. It is used in fourteen texts translated or composed in China and preserved in the Taishō *tripiṭaka*, thirteen of which constituted Esoteric Buddhist teachings.[34]

Seven of the texts were composed by three famous Esoteric Buddhist masters who were active during the Tang period:[35]

1) Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735, Chin. Shanwuwei 善無畏)
   - *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (T. 848.18)
   - *Da piluzhenajing guangda yigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 [Extensive Ritual Manual for the Mahāvairocana Sūtra] (T. 851.18)
2) Bodhiruci (d. 727, Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流支)
   - *Amoghapāśakalparājasūtra* (T. 1092.20)
3) Amoghavajra
   - *Da piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lüeshi qizhi niansong suixingfa* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 [Short

tenkai 〈五體投地如太山崩〉考-拝禮の中国的展開 [Study on '*Wuti toude, ru taishanbeng*'—Chinese Evolvement of the Worshipping]," *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 / *Journal of Eastern Religions* 89 (1997): 55–72. In both articles, Tanaka points out that this devotional method was shared both by Buddhists and Daoists in China.

33 The attestations of these variants in texts included in the Taishō *tripiṭaka* are: 6 (*wuti zhudi*), 72 (*wulun zhudi*), 7 (*wulun zhidi*), 31 (*wulun toudi*). See https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php, accessed June 11, 2021.

34 This term is attested 31 times in altogether 22 texts, including eight texts composed in Japan. Among them, eight were composed by Japanese monks, while the last one is *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song Dynasty] (T. 2061.50), completed in 988.

35 For those masters' activities, see, e.g., Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651–780)," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 263–285; Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism*.

Liturgy of the Invocation for the Seven Branches of the Outline of the Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtraindrarāj anāmadharmaparyāya] (T. 856.18)

- *Darijing lüeshe niansong suixingfa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法 [Short Liturgy of the Invocation for the Summarised *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃb odhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtra*] (T. 857.18)
- *Sheng guanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yuga guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽觀行儀軌 [Ritual Manual for the Contemplative Practice of the Yoga of the Holy Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Heart Mantra] (T. 1031.20)
- *Daweinu wuchusemo yigui jing* 大威怒烏芻澁麼儀軌經 [Sūtra on the Ritual Manual for Ucchuṣma] (T. 1225.21)

The variant's appearance in these texts indicates some degree of relationship between the variant *wulun toudi* and Esoteric Buddhism. This variant appears in the ritual manuals (Chin. *yigui* 儀軌) in some of the texts, where this manner of prostration is part of the ritual practice.[36] Nonetheless, the standard variant, *wuti toudi*, is also used in Esoteric Buddhist texts.[37] It seems that translators used the two variants, *wuti toudi* and *wulun toudi*, based on criteria which we cannot currently discern. Therefore, at this point, we cannot say why Esoteric Buddhist masters decided to introduce and use this new variant in addition to the standard one for some of their translations.[38]

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36 For example one of the ritual texts, *Sheng guanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yuga guanxing yigui* [Ritual Manual for the Contemplative Practice of the Yoga of the Holy Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Heart Mantra] (T. 1031, 04c25–28), explains it in following manner: "The person who practises the *yoga* training first sets up the *maṇḍala* at the quiet place. He scatters and sprinkles the fragrant water and disperses various seasonal flowers on the *maṇḍala*. The practitioner should first cleanse his body and wear new clean clothes. Second, [(the practitioner)] enters the place of enlightenment and stays in front of the honourable images. [(The practitioner)] perform five-limbed prostration by touching hands, knees, and forehead to the ground, expresses [(his)] great respectful attitude, and pays homage to all *tathāgata*s and various bodhisattvas." (Chin. 夫修瑜伽者 先於靜處建立曼荼羅 以香水散灑 以種種時華散於壇上 行者先須澡浴著新淨衣 次入道場對尊像前 五輪投地發殷重心 頂禮一切如來及諸菩薩).

37 The same applies to the other variant, *wulun zhudi*. Although it appears 72 times in the texts preserved in the *Taishō tripiṭaka*, its frequency cannot be compared with the standard one which appears 820 times.

38 Research focusing on the terms used specifically in the Chinese translation of Esoteric Buddhist texts is still in progress and is beyond the scope of this paper. The topic could be clarified in the future.

Furthermore, another important Buddhist group in Asia, the Tibetans, also has a term for the same type of prostration compared with the Chinese standard variant: 'prostration with the five limbs falling upon the ground' (Tib. *yan lag lnga sa la phab pa'i phyag 'tshal*). I am grateful to my colleagues Lewis Doney and Dylan Esler, who kindly provided

Given the widespread use of the standard variant and the close connection of the variant *wulun toudi* with Esoteric Buddhist texts, especially those translated during the Tang period, it is worth examining how this type of prostration is expressed in the Old Uyghur materials and whether the manner of expression could possibly indicate a connection between Esoteric Buddhism and the translator who chose it. Because these variants appear in Chinese Buddhist texts, analysing the corresponding expression in Old Uyghur must primarily focus on texts translated from Chinese or chosen by a translator who is connected with Chinese Buddhism.

4 Old Uyghur Expressions for the Highest Reverence

4.1 *Different Variants in Old Uyghur*

As mentioned in section 2.2, three Esoteric Buddhist texts, (1) the *Dhāraṇī for Eliminating all Disasters of the Tathāgata Blazing Light on the Summit of the Greatly Awesome Virtues of the Buddha Golden Wheel Spoken by the Buddha*, (2) the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra*, and (3) the *Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha*, have been documented so far in Old Uyghur. The term *wuti toudi* and its other variants are not used in the corresponding Chinese texts, so it is not unusual that the Old Uyghur translations do not contain this expression. Sometimes, the Old Uyghur versions have additions or interpretations which differ from the Chinese. However, the term in question does not appear in those instances either.

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me with this Tibetan form. According to them, there is also another form: 'stretched-out prostration' (Tib. *brkyangs phyag*). In Tocharian, the speakers of which also belong to one of the more influential Buddhist groups in Central Asia and played a relevant role in introducing Buddhism to the Uyghurs, the expression is 'to descend on the earth' (Toch. *keṃtsa kārpa*). Hirotoshi Ogihara kindly informed me of this form and I want to express my appreciation for his specialist support. He found two attestations of this expression. In both, the prostration is devoted to the Buddha. From Tocharian, some Buddhist texts were translated into Old Uyghur. See, e.g., Elverskog, *Uyghur Buddhist Literature,* 32–33, 42–46, 139–145; BT XXXVII. It is still debated how familiar the Uyghur Buddhists were with Tibetan. At the very least, a manuscript preserved in Paris provides evidence that the Tibetan script was used to write Old Uyghur. See Moriyasu, "Chibetto moji de kakareta uigurubun bukkyō kyōri mondō," 1–85; Dieter Maue and Klaus Röhrborn, "Ein 'buddhistischer Katechismus' in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil I)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134.2 (1984): 286–313; "Ein 'buddhistischer Katechismus' in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil II)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 135.1 (1985): 68–91.

The number of attested Old Uyghur expressions corresponding to *wuti toudi* is actually quite small. They occur in the following Old Uyghur texts translated from Chinese: *Xuanzang Biography*, *Altun Yaruk*, and *Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法 [The Dharma of the Ritual of Repentance at the Bodhimaṇḍa of the Compassionate One] (T. 1909.45) (hereafter *Kšanti* to distinguish this from other versions). While the first two are part of Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ's translation, as mentioned in section 2.2, the *Kšanti* was probably translated between the 11th and 13th centuries.[39] All three were almost certainly translated from Chinese before the Mongolian period, when Tantric Buddhism was introduced to the Uyghurs via Tibetans. Five variants can be found in Chinese, and their corresponding slight differences in Old Uyghur are listed here and will be explained below:

– Variant 1: *beš mandal yinčürü töpün yükün-*
– Variant 2: *beš pančamandalın yinčürü töpün yükün-*
– Variant 3: *beš tilgänin pančamandal yinčürü yükün-*
– Variant 4: *pančamandal beš tilgänin yinčürü töpün yükün-*
– Variant 5: *beš tilgänim*(*i*)*zni yerkä tägür-*

The phrase *yinčürü töpün yükün-* in Variant 1, 2 and 4 literally means 'to bow with top of head',[40] while in Variant 3, *töpün* 'with top of head' is lacking. Only Variant 5, *yerkä tägür-* 'to throw on the ground', does not share any verbs and words with others. The first part in all variants, *beš mandal* (Variant 1), *beš pančamandalın* (Variant 2), *beš tilgänin pančamandal* (Variant 3), *pančamandal beš tilgänin* (Variant 4), *beš tilgänim*(*i*)*zni* (Variant 5), can be translated as 'five wheels', namely five limbs.[41]

39 BT XXV, 9.

40 Both verbs, *yinčür-* and *yükün-*, mean 'to bow'. While the former is given in a converb form, the latter is used as the main verb. For meanings of each Old Uyghur word, see, e.g., Jens Wilkens, comp., *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen. Altuigurisch-Deutsch-Türkisch* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2021), 904, 924.

41 Each word can literally be translated: *beš* 'five', *mandal* 'wheel' (Skt. *maṇḍala*), *pančamandal* 'five wheel' (Skt. *pañcamaṇḍala*), *tilgän* 'wheel'. See, e.g., Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen*. The forms *pančamandalın* (Variant 2) and *tilgänin* (Variant 4) are those with the instrumental suffix *+In*. The form *tilgänim*(*i*)*zni* (Variant 5) is explained as that to which the possessive suffix for 1st person plural *+im*(*i*)*z* and the accusative suffix are added. For those suffixes, see Marcel Erdal, comp., *A Grammar of Old Turkic* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 160, 170–171, 175–177.

The *Xuanzang Biography* uses Variant 1. The *Altun Yaruk* uses Variant 1–4.[42] The *Kšanti* uses Variant 5.[43] Variant 1 seems to have been standard in Old Uyghur because it is used in other Buddhist texts, some of which were copied during the Mongolian period.[44]

42 See Mehmet Ölmez and Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie III: Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 101, 169; VOHD 13,15, 251–257, nos. 669, 671, 673. The third volume of the *Xuanzang Biographie* is in the Old Turkish text database VATEC, which can be accessed here: https://vatec2.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de, accessed August 24, 2022. However, the edition quoted here is the more recent version.

43 See Ceval Kaya, *Uygurca Altun Yaruk: Giriş, Metin ve Dizin* [Uyghur *Altun Yaruk*: Introduction, Text and Index] (Ankara: Görsel Sanatlar, 1994), 348, fol. 673, l. 1; 305, fol. 568 ll. 7–8; 119, fol. 132a, ll. 22; 232, fol. 398, l. 15. See also, VOHD 13,14, 164, No. 398; BT XXV, 68, l. 0251; 72, l. 0337; 74, l. 0371; 80, l. 0436; 82, l. 0477; 96, l. 0687; 108, l. 0964; 116, l. 1004; 118, l. 1022; 122, l. 1084; 128, l. 1202–1203, and so on.

44 BT XIII, Text 14, 104, Text 56, 185; Şinasi Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980), 231; Ch/U 7517, https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00024891, accessed December 11, 2023. For Variant 1 with a slight change, *beš mandalın yinčürü töp*[*ün yükün-*], see Peter Zieme, "Merit Transfer and Vow According to an Old Uyghur Buddhist Text from Qočo/Gaochang," *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenyūjo nenpō reiwa ninendo* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報令和二年度 / *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* (*ARIRIAB*) *at Soka University for the Academic Year 2020* 24 (2021): 220, 224, l. 029; *beš mandal yinčürü töpün agırla-*, see Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica*, 208. The verb *agırla-* means 'to venerate'. Furthermore, according to Simone-Christiane Raschmann, in the Old Uyghur translation of the apocryphal *Foshuo yuxiu shi-wang shengqi jing* 佛說預修十王生七經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Ten Kings for Rebirth after Seven (Days)], the term in question appears a few times, although all attestations are fragmentary. See U 4278, recto, l. 1: https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00030602, accessed December 11, 2023; U 5143, recto, l. 3: https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00031517, accessed December 11, 2023; and Ch/U 7291. I sincerely appreciate her specialist support. In the other text which explains the admission of the transgressions, a similar expression is used: *pančamandalın yükünü-*. The text was first published by Shōgaito Masahiro, who read the first word as *barčamantalın*. Peter Zieme re-edited it and presented the reading mentioned above. See Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, "Nakamura Fusetsushi kyūzō uigurugo monjo dampen no kenkyū 中村不折氏旧蔵ウイグル語文書断片の研究 / A Study of the Fragments of Uigur Text Found in the Fusetsu Nakamura Collection," *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋学報 / *The Toyo Gakuho* 61.1 (1979): 018–019, l. 33; Peter Zieme, *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 215, l. 15b. Whether this text is an original work of Uyghur Buddhists or a translation from another language, is still an open question. The text is written in block script which does not provide any information for dating. As Shōgaito and Zieme point out, the sentences form the alliteration verses which became popular during the Mongolian period.

In comparison with the Chinese original (standard) term, only Variant 5 can be considered a word-for-word translation: *beš tilgänim*(*i*)*zni* 'our five wheels (accusative)' for *wuti* (五體), *yerkä* 'to the ground' for *di* (地), *tägür-* 'to throw' for *tou* (投). For every instance of Variant 5 in the *Kšanti*, the term *wuti toudi* appears in the Chinese source text.[45] However, the Old Uyghur translation corresponds better to the minor variant, *wulun toudi*, although no Chinese version of this text with the minor variant has been found yet.

For the other variants in the *Xuanzang Biography* and the *Altun Yaruk*, different terms are used in the Chinese original. While in the *Xuanzang Biography*, the Chinese term *libai* (禮拜) 'reverence' stands for Variant 1, the *Altun Yaruk* provides *feng* (奉) 'to serve, to respect' for the same variant.[46] Variants 2 and 3 also correspond to the same Chinese term as that of Variant 1. For Variant 4, *dingli* (頂禮), literally translated as 'prostration (by touching) forehead (to the ground)' appears in the Chinese original.[47] The last term *dingli* is regarded as the same level of reverence as *wuti toudi*[48] and is the closest one that can be reconstructed from the second half of Variants 1–4 in Old Uyghur, *töpün yükün-* 'to bow with the top down'.

Apart from these different Chinese counterparts, all variants in Old Uyghur share the same feature: they contain words corresponding to *wulun*. No Chinese Buddhist text preserved in the Taishō *tripiṭaka* contains compounds like **wuti/wulun libai* (五體/五輪禮拜), **wuti/wulun feng* (五體/五輪奉), or **wuti/wulun dingli* (五體/五輪頂禮), as reconstructed from the Old Uyghur translations literally.[49] All the Chinese terms indicated above as counterparts for Variants 1–4, however, convey the meaning of reverence, so their use in Old Uyghur as a translation is an acceptable interpretation. Considering the meaning of the term *dingli*, a synonymous expression for *wuti/wulun toudi*, the use of the Old Uyghur variants could indicate that the translator of the *Xuanzang*

45 See the corresponding terms in BT XXV, quoted above in fn. 43.

46 See the corresponding variants in the *Sanzang fashi zhuan*: T. 2053.50, 238a18. For the corresponding variant in the *Altun Yaruk*, see T. 665.16, 456c18.

47 For the correspondences to Variants 2 and 3, see T. 665.16, 456c18, 444a08. For the corresponding term to Variant 4, see T. 665.16, 414a05. For this variant, there is a further correspondence in Chinese, *dingshou* (頂受) 'to heed', in T. 665.16, 426c24. For this term, Variant 4 stands together with *töpülärintä tuta* 'holding at the tops'. See, Kaya, *Uygurca Altun Yaruk*, 232.

48 See, e.g., *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 964c.

49 In quite a few cases, the term *wuti toudi* or its minor variant *wulun zhudi* are followed directly by the verbs *libai*, *feng* or *dingli*. Thus, the possibility that those cases inspired the Uyghur translators' translation is not completely excluded. The case of *feng* is interesting because it is attested only in the Chinese version of the *Kšanti*. However, it does not constitute a compound of **wuti/wulun feng* (五體/五輪奉). See, e.g., T. 1909.45, 923b17–18.

Biography and the *Altun Yaruk*, Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ—or anyone who may have changed and introduced those variants at a later occasion, potentially when producing copies—had a good knowledge of Buddhism. Such a person probably created or adopted the Old Uyghur expressions for both Chinese terms *wuti/wulun toudi* and *dingli*.

It should be noted that in the *Xuanzang Biography*, only Variant 1 appears, while four variants are found in the *Altun Yaruk*. The use of different variants in the *Altun Yaruk* probably resulted from the existence of different manuscripts, which were produced between the 10th and the 17th centuries.[50] It is, in fact, quite remarkable that the latest of these manuscripts contains Variants 2–4. Therefore, it is not the case that Variants 2–4 are used in addition to Variant 1. Rather, the former replaces the latter.[51] Variants 2–4 differ from Variants 1 and 5 because the former uses the term *pančamandal*. In that term, even the number five is given in a form which originated in Sanskrit (*pañca*). That manuscript was copied in 1687 and contained an additional tantric text as a part of the *Altun Yaruk*. That text was devoted to four *mahārāja*s and translated from Tibetan.[52] The translator of this additional part was a monk active during the Mongolian period.[53] This indicates that the latest copy did not transmit

50 There are a few manuscripts of the *Sanzang fashi zhuan*. However, aside from the most extensive manuscript, which contains almost all of the chapters of the text, the others are only fragments. Any other variants for the expression in question do not appear in them. For the other manuscripts, see, e.g., Kōgi Kudara and Peter Zieme, "Fragmente zweier unbekannter Handschriften der uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11.1 (1984): 136–148; Peter Zieme, "Some Bilingual Manuscripts of the *Xuanzang Biography*," in *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism: In Memoriam Kōgi Kudara*, ed. Peter Zieme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 475–483; Peter Zieme, trans. Wang Ding, "Baizikelike chutude 'Xuanzang zhuan' huihuyu yiben xincanpian 柏孜克里克出土的«玄奘传»回鹘语译本新残片 / A New Manuscript of the Old Uigur Translation of the Xuanzang Biography among the Bezeklik Fragments," *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐鲁番学研究 / *Turfanological Research* 2 (2011): 142–144. There is the possibility that other extensive manuscripts of this text will be found in the future and that they may contain the other or new variants of this expression.

51 The Chinese verb *feng* in chapter 10 was, for example, translated as Variant 1 in the older manuscripts of the *Altun Yaruk*, and as Variant 2 in the latest one. For Variant 1 in earlier manuscripts, see U 709a [T II S 32ª] recto, ll. 14–15; U 2874 [T II S 32ª] + Mainz 602 [T II S 32] verso, l. 3; U 613 recto, ll. 4–5. For the parallel in the youngest manuscript, see Kaya *Uygurca Altun Yaruk*, 348.

52 For the date of this copy, see, e.g., TT VII, 81; Louis Bazin, *Les systemes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kidadó, 1991), 353–354. Peter Zieme edited this part. See BT XVIII, 6–8, 112–119.

53 On this monk, see, e.g., Herbert Franke, "Chinesische Quellen über den uigurischen Stifter Dhanyasena," in *Memoriae Munuscullum: Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain*, ed. Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 63–64.

the original version translated by Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ in its entirety, but rather transmitted a slightly changed version with the additional part incorporated during the Mongolian period or later. The use of the different variants in the earlier and the latest manuscripts is another example of such a change. Given these facts, the form based on Sanskrit, *pančamandal*, likely began to be used as an element of this expression during the later period—probably when the revised version of the *Altun Yaruk* was made. During the Mongolian period, some Uyghur Buddhist monks were diligent in searching for proper Sanskrit forms. The use or addition of this Sanskrit form could be a result of this tendency.[54]

Still, the last relevant question remains: Why do all variants in Old Uyghur contain compounds which correspond to *wulun* rather than *wuti*? As mentioned above, adding those compounds is an acceptable interpretation in semantic comparison with the Chinese originals. However, no Chinese source text of the *Xuanzang Biography*, *Altun Yaruk*, or *Kšanti* preserved now uses the variant *wulun*. How did a variant closely connected to Esoteric Buddhism become more familiar than *wuti* to the Uyghur Buddhists who produced these three texts?

4.2 *Possible Indirect Connections between Uyghur Translators and Esoteric Buddhism*

It is especially remarkable that most of the collected variants appear in the *Xuanzang Biography* and the *Altun Yaruk*, although they do not belong to the class of texts which explain esoteric practices or rituals. Different variants in various manuscripts of the *Altun Yaruk* may indicate that the original translation was changed when it was copied and that any variants introduced during the later period were added by copyists or revisers who preferred one particular form over the others because of their Buddhist affiliation. This is probably the case for Variants 2–4, which appear in the latest *Altun Yaruk* manuscript. As discussed above, that manuscript contains an additional tantric part, and the variants containing Sanskrit elements can also be recognised as the result of a Uyghur Buddhist preference to seek correct Sanskrit forms during the Mongolian period. However, the fact that Variant 1 is used in both the *Xuanzang Biography* and the earlier manuscripts of the *Altun Yaruk* indicates that this variant might stem from the original translator. As mentioned

54 Klaus Röhrborn calls the movement the 'Renaissance of Sanskrit scholarship'. See Klaus Röhrborn, "Zum Wanderweg des alttürkischen Lehngutes im Alttürkischen," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des vorderen Orients: Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans R. Roemer and Albrecht Noth (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 340.

in section 2.2, both texts were translated by Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ, who also translated the Esoteric Buddhist text *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* and likely had a close relationship with Yogācāra Buddhism, which was widespread in Dunhuang.[55] His name appears as Shengguang (勝光) in Chinese and his hometown was Beš Balık (Chin. Beiting 北庭), one of the capitals of the West Uyghur Kingdom, yet it remains an open question what his mother tongue actually was.[56] His translation of the *Xuanzang Biography* contains many misunderstandings of Chinese traditional idioms or concepts, whereas his translation of the *Altun Yaruk* shows an excellent knowledge of Buddhist Chinese.[57] At the very least, this indicates that he was fluent in Buddhist Chinese.

Furthermore, the so-called Uyghur-inherited pronunciation of Chinese characters is relevant in this context. Some Japanese scholars like Takata Tokio, Shōgaito Masahiro, and Yoshida Yutaka have worked extensively on that topic.[58] They point out that some Uyghur Buddhists borrowed the pronunciation of Chinese characters from the dialect spoken around Dunhuang in the tenth century.[59] This borrowing was carried out in a manner that was both systematic and artificial. That is, for all Chinese characters, such borrowed pronunciations were prepared. Until the Mongolian period, the Uyghurs maintained

55 See fn. 23.

56 See Zieme, "Sïngqu Säli Tutung," 767–768. His hometown is mentioned in the colophon added to his translations. See, e.g., Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII: Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 185, l. 2146.

57 For misunderstandings in the *Sanzang fashi zhuan* see, e.g., Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII*, 186, comment 1; 189, comment 63–64; and so on. The misunderstandings were probably caused by the parts of the text which describe Xuanzang's life in China and his contacts with Chinese laypeople. These descriptions are not necessarily Buddhist. According to Klaus Röhrborn, Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ intentionally interpreted the sentences in a Buddhist context and omitted non-Buddhist sentences. See, Röhrborn, "Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Vita," 551–557.

58 Yutaka Yoshida gives a good explanation of this topic in English. See, Yutaka Yoshida, "Further Remarks on the Sino-Uighur Problem," *Gaikokugaku kenkyū* 外国学研究 / *Annals of Foreign Studies* 45 (2000): 1–3. A comparable phenomenon can be observed in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.

59 The area from which Uyghurs adopted the pronunciation of Chinese characters remains an open question. In Turfan, the Chinese spoke (and practised Buddhism) in their own language, although their dialect is unknown. If they spoke the same dialect as those living in Dunhuang, the pronunciation adoption could have happened inside the Turfan area. In other cases like Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, however, they adopted their pronunciation directly from the capital of the contemporary Chinese dynasties, namely, the contemporary cultural centre—although Chinese people probably lived in those countries, too. Therefore, if Uyghurs had adopted the pronunciation prevalent within the Turfan area it would be an absolutely exceptional case within the wider world of linguistic exchanges.

these borrowed pronunciations in their original forms, without changing them to adapt to contemporary pronunciations. Although the borrowed pronunciations were consistently maintained, there were some slight adjustments to the Old Uyghur phonetic system. These pronunciations are used in the *Xuanzang Biography*, so they probably had been completely adopted by the time it was translated, and Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ had an excellent knowledge of them.[60]

All these facts indicate that Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ had a close relationship with Chinese Buddhism in Dunhuang and an exceptional understanding of it, including of the (Buddhist) Chinese language. Thus, in his case, the possibility that Esoteric Buddhism *per se* was part of his Buddhist education cannot be completely denied, although it remains unclear where he was educated. The other possibility is that Esoteric Buddhism became important among Buddhists in Dunhuang and Esoteric Buddhist texts indicate a preference for the minor variant *wulun toudi* as the well-known form to a large extent.[61] As mentioned in section 1, numerous copies of Esoteric Buddhist texts found in Dunhuang show that this tradition was indeed transmitted there. In addition, the following example indicates that the term *wulun toudi* was generally widespread and even used in texts which were not necessarily connected with Esoteric Buddhism. This term appears in the so-called *Jiangmo bianwen* 降魔變文 [Transformative Text on the Subjugation of Demons] which explains neither Esoteric Buddhist teachings nor their rituals:

> 小女雖居閨禁，忽聞乞食之聲，良為敬重尤深，奔走出門外，五輪投地，瞻禮阿難.[62]

60 The pronunciations used in the *Sanzang fashi zhuan* have been collected and studied, for example, by Shōgaito Masahiro. See Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, "Uiguru bunken ni dōnyū sareta kango ni kansuru kenkyū ウイグル文献に導入された漢語に関する研究 / Chinese Loan Words in Uighur," *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 2 (1986): 17–156.

61 As discussed in section 3, in the other variant, *wulun zhudi*, the term *wulun* is also used. This variant is attested 72 times in the Taishō *tripiṭaka*, which is more than *wulun toudi* (31 times). The term *wulun zhudi* is also used in texts translated by other Esoteric Buddhist masters, including Amoghavajra and Bodhiruci, although its use is not limited to Esoteric Buddhist texts. Therefore, if certain Uyghur Buddhists learned the element *wulun* through the variant *wulun zhudi*, it could have been transmitted via Esoteric Buddhism. As discussed below, a text from Dunhuang leads me to assume that the Uyghurs learned the variant *wulun toudi* through the Dunhuang Buddhist texts.

62 This quotation follows the edition in Wang Chongmin 王重民 et al., comp., *Dunhuang bianwenji* 敦煌變文集 [Collection of the Transformation Texts from Dunhuang] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1959), 361–394, esp. 362. One of the compilers, Wang Qingshu (王庆菽), thought that the word *wulun* was an error and suggested the correction to *wuti*. See *Dunhuang bianwenji*, 391, n. 12. It was Chen Xiulan (陈秀兰) who pointed out that the

> The young woman stayed in the women's quarters, but when she suddenly listened to the beggar's voice, she virtuously and very deeply respected [(him)], ran out of the gate, **performed five-limbed prostration by touching hands, knees, and forehead to the ground**, and looked relevantly and revered Ānanda according to the ritual.

This text belongs to the class of popular Buddhist scriptures called 'transformation texts' (Chin. *bianwen* 變文), which were produced in Dunhuang in large numbers. In these texts, various Buddhist tales are explained through popular storytelling devices. The narratives were recounted orally in front of an audience of mainly laypeople and accompanied by corresponding pictures.[63] The *Transformative Text on the Subjugation of Demons* explains the narrative on the acquisition of the Jetavana Monastery in the Kingdom Kosala.[64] Because six heterodox masters opposed the Buddhist's acquiring this monastery, Buddha Śākyamuni's disciple, Śāriputra, competed with the heterodox masters' representative, Raudrākṣa with supernatural powers in front of King Prasenajit. This story appears in various canonical texts, but the main source of this transformation text is the tenth fascicle of the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 [Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish] (T. 202.04).[65] This story was one of the most popular topics during the ninth and tenth centuries in Dunhuang, and many paintings depict the scene of the contest of supernatural powers between Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa. The previous studies on the *Transformative Text on the Subjugation*

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word *wulun* is correct and is used in various texts, including Esoteric Buddhist texts, composed during the Tang period. See Chen Xiulan 陈秀兰, "'*Wulun toude*' laiyuan kao '五轮投地' 来源考 [Study on the Origin of the *wulun toude*]," *Xinan minzu xueyuan xuebao, zhexue shehui kexue ban* 西南民族学院学报 哲学社会科学版 / *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities. Philosophy and Social Sciences* 23.12 (2002): 72.

63 For the transformation texts, see, e.g., Victor H. Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 398–404. The relationship between the transformation texts and the paintings is discussed, for example, by Wu Hung. See Wu Hung, "What is *Bianxiang* 變相?—On the Relationship between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.1 (1992): 111–192.

64 For this transformation text, see, e.g., Victor H. Mair, "Śāriputra Defeats the Six Heterodox Masters. Oral-Visual Aspects of an Illustrated Transformation Scroll (P 4524)," *Asia Major Third Series* 8.2 (1995): 1–55. The following explanation is also based on Mair's study.

65 This text's relationship with other texts is also discussed. See, e.g., Li Wenjie 李文潔 and Lin Shitian 林世田, "'Foshuo rulai chengdao jing' yu 'Jiangmo bianwen' guanxi zhi yanjiu 《佛说如来成道经》与《降魔变文》关系之研究 [Studies on the Relationship between *Foshuo rulai chengdao jing* and *Jiangmo bianwen*]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2005): 46–53.

of Demons clarify its main source and discuss some specific elements which indicate a close relationship with various texts.[66] However, it is still debated why this text became so popular during that period in Dunhuang, and which teaching context promoted its popularity.[67]

Because of continuing debate over the establishment of this text, the relationship between the *Transformative Text on the Subjugation of Demons* and Esoteric Buddhism remains unclear. However, the use of *wulun toudi* in one of these transformation texts indicates that this variant was sufficiently popular in Dunhuang that the laypeople could understand it even by only hearing it. This variant's popularity surely resulted from the importance of Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang, and the fact that Esoteric Buddhist texts were studied by the monks as a relevant part of local Buddhist education. Esoteric Buddhism's presence in Dunhuang also made it possible for Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ to become acquainted with the tradition. Although the Chinese version of the *Dharma of the Ritual of Repentance at the Bodhimaṇḍa of the Compassionate One* containing *wulun toudi* which was used as the source text of the Uyghur *Kšanti* is now lost, it was probably transmitted via Dunhuang, from where it eventually came to be in the possession of the translator of this text. Because there is no further information on the translator of the *Kšanti*, it is not known whether he intentionally used the version containing the esoteric variant *wulun toudi*. In any case, this means that two Uyghur translators active during the pre-Mongolian period had contact with Esoteric Buddhism, or were impacted by it, directly or indirectly.

66 In addition to the above mentioned studies, further studies are collected and quoted by Lin Shenghai 林生海, "Tonkō shahon 'Gōma henbun' to saiiki shūkyō 敦煌寫本『降魔変文』と西域宗教 [Dunhuang Manuscript *Jiangmo bianwen* and Religions in the Western Regions]," *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Research Annual of the Dunhuang Manuscripts] 12 (2018): 67–84, esp. 71.

67 The supernatural power or magic, a main topic of this transformation text, is also a crucial factor in Esoteric Buddhism. See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhism and Magic in China," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 197–207. Thus, the possibility that the topic 'magic' became popular in Dunhuang through the spread of Esoteric Buddhism. As Sørensen pointed out, supernatural power was present before the development of Esoteric Buddhism, and rites and words play a relevant role for Esoteric Buddhist magic. However, it is another question whether laypeople understood differences between esoteric and general Buddhist magic. To clarify the relationship of the *Jiangmo bianwen* with Esoteric Buddhism, a comprehensive study on the transformation texts and their teaching background is necessary, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

5 Closing Remarks

The possible transmission of the Chinese term *wulun toudi*, the relevant variant for Esoteric Buddhism, to the Uyghur translators during the pre-Mongolian period indicates that they had contact with this form of Chinese Buddhism. However, it is unclear to what extent they were familiar with its teachings, whether they actually practised Esoteric Buddhism, or whether they were even aware of the esoteric character of this Chinese term when using it in their translations into Old Uyghur. Nonetheless in the case of Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ, who also translated the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra*, an Esoteric Buddhist text, into Old Uyghur, his explanatory translation of this term shows that he possibly knew how this form of reverence should be performed. Because this term appears in the ritual manuals in Chinese, it is even possible he practised it during esoteric rituals as part of his Buddhist education at monasteries in Dunhuang or Turfan. He might have learned about this type of reverence and its doctrinal background through written sources and practices. It remains unclear whether Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ was an exception or to what extent his Buddhist education was standard for contemporary Uyghur Buddhists. Because the Old Uyghur expression for this form of reverence appears only in a few texts, Esoteric Buddhist influence on the Uyghurs could have been limited. Nevertheless, this knowledge would have been shared within the circle of Uyghur practitioners who had ties with the Buddhist community in Dunhuang, which had itself absorbed Esoteric Buddhism. The translator of the *Kšanti* probably also belonged to this circle.

This case study shows that Old Uyghur translations of certain Buddhist keywords can inform us of the possible relationships between certain Uyghur translators and certain forms of Chinese Buddhism. Given the fragmented condition of the Old Uyghur material, we must hope that further studies on such key terms will provide relevant pieces of the puzzle with which we can slowly establish a more complete picture of Uyghur Buddhist society.