

# Buddhism in Central Asia II

*Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*

*Edited by*

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# Practice and Rituals in Uyghur Buddhist Texts: A Preliminary Appraisal

*Jens Wilkens*

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The topic of practice and ritual in Uyghur Buddhism is a vast field with various layers and complex interconnections that is not well understood in its entirety.<sup>2</sup> Eyewitness accounts of ritual practice, such as the one Faxian

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- 1 I would like to express my thanks to Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich) for his response to my paper during the *BuddhistRoad* Mid-project Conference in Bochum.
  - 2 Some important aspects of practice and ritual have been addressed before. The practice of giving, merit making, and merit transfer is a central concept within Uyghur Buddhism that remains an important issue from the early phase of Uyghur Buddhism until the late period (14th c.). Merit transfer was a ritual means to strengthen the power of certain protective deities who would thus be equipped with further strength in order to protect the country of the Uyghurs. On merit transfer, especially in a group of unrelated Old Uyghur colophons, see Peter Zieme, “The West Uigur Kingdom: Views from Inside,” *Horizons* 5.1 (2014): 6, 10–11. Pilgrimage is another issue that has become an important object of study. For an overview of pilgrimage, see Tibor Porció, “Some Peculiarities of the Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions,” in *Searching for the Dharma, Finding Salvation: Buddhist Pilgrimage in Time and Space*, ed. Christoph Cueppers and Max Deeg (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014), 157–178. Very important new materials from the Dunhuang region, i.e. the Yulin Caves (Chin. Yulin ku 榆林窟) and Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟), etc., are collected in Matsui Dai 松井太, “Tonkō sekkutsu uigurugo mongorugo, daiki meibun shūsei 敦煌石窟ウイグル語. モンゴル語題記銘文集成 Uighur and Mongolian Wall Inscriptions of the Dunhuang Grottoes,” in *Tonkō sekkutsu tagengo shiryō shūsei 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成. Multilingual Source Materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes*, ed. Matsui Dai 松井太 and Arakawa Shintaro 荒川慎太郎 (Tokyo: Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku Ajia Afurika gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2017), 1–161. See also Simone-Christiane Raschmann’s recent paper, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, “Pilgrims in Old Uyghur Inscriptions: A Glimpse Behind their Records,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia I: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 204–229. Sometimes certain wall paintings have apparently inspired visitors of Buddhist caves to leave a record of their pilgrimage and to put down their thoughts. For instance, pilgrims added a whole group of inscriptions and scribbles to a *brāhmaṇa* painting from Bezeklik. See the analysis in Peter Zieme, “A Brāhmaṇa Painting from Bāzāklik in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg and Its Inscriptions,” in *Unknown Treasures of the Altaic World in Libraries, Archives and Museums: 53rd Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Institute of Oriental*

(ca. 340–before 423, 法顯) provides for processions and festivals in Khotan/Yutian (于闐) or Jiecha (竭叉),<sup>3</sup> are lacking.<sup>4</sup> Instead of dealing with a single aspect of the topic of practice and ritual in Uyghur Buddhism, I will, therefore, delimit my endeavour to a very basic overview of related issues, mostly based on an evaluation of textual materials. For the early phase of Uyghur Buddhist literature (2nd half of the 9th–early 11th c.),<sup>5</sup> practice and ritual are somewhat difficult to grasp. The Uyghurs were clearly interested in literature of ritual and apotropaic content from the earliest phase of their conversion to Buddhism. The scroll of the *Säkiz Yügmäk Yaruk* [Brilliance of the Eight Accumulations] from London that was found in Dunhuang (敦煌) (Or. 8212/104) is one of the most archaic examples of a Buddhist text in Old Uyghur.<sup>6</sup> It is a very early translation from a Chinese original, the *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神咒經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Principles of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 2897).

It is possible that the focus of early Buddhist literature in Old Uyghur was different, on the one hand, in Dunhuang, where texts were translated mainly from Chinese and, on the other, in Turfan and in the Hami region, where the first phase of translation activity centered on works in Tocharian A.<sup>7</sup> As for apotropaic literature, there is evidence that the narrative cycle of stories called *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* [Garland of Legends Pertaining to

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*Manuscripts*, RAS St. Petersburg, July 25–30, 2010, ed. Tatiana Pang, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, and Gerd Winkelhane (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2013), 181–195.

- 3 See Max Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle: Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 511–516; and Giuliana Martini, “Bodhisattva Texts, Ideologies and Rituals in Khotan in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries,” in *Multilingualism and the History of Knowledge, Vol. I: Buddhism Among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia*, ed. Matteo de Chiara, Mauro Maggi, and Giuliana Martini (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), 13–69.
- 4 As to processions and rituals, some chapters of the Old Uyghur translation of the biography of Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘) are rich in detail, but the text is secondary and cannot be used as a source for the study of Uyghur rituals. However, the terminology used therein is important.
- 5 See Johan Elverskog, *Uyghur Buddhist Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).
- 6 See the analysis of orthographic features of this particular scroll in Jens Peter Laut, *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 78–88. A complete facsimile is provided in volume two of James Hamilton, *Manuscripts ouïgours du ix<sup>e</sup>–x<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang* (Paris: Peeters, 1986), 331–350. For a comprehensive edition of various manuscripts and a translation of this important text, which is extant in different recensions, see BT XXXIII. It gives a list of manuscripts and prints in other languages. *Ibid.*, 284–286.
- 7 This assumption would only be valid if it could be ascertained that the London scroll of the *Säkiz Yügmäk Sudur* was actually produced in the Dunhuang region.

the Ten Courses of Action]—the Old Uyghur version is a translation from Tocharian A—made use of some sources with an affinity to the *rakṣā* genre.<sup>8</sup> The *Maitrisimit* [Meeting with Maitreya]—one of the earliest specimens of Uyghur Buddhist literature and also a translation from Tocharian A—is not only a kind of compendium of Buddhist knowledge and a biography of the future Buddha Maitreya, but also a text that possibly relates to visualisation techniques. The stock phrase at the beginning of each chapter that ‘one has to understand’ the scene treated therein and which replaces ‘stage directions’ depending on the (semi-)theatrical character of the Tocharian original could mean that the reader has to ‘imagine’ or ‘visualise’ the locality in his mind. Lists of the 32 marks of the Buddha (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*) or the very detailed scenes in the chapters dedicated to the description of the major and minor hells might also point to such an understanding. Other passages are likely only literary themes, such as the reference to the festival commemorating Bodhisattva Maitreya cutting off his hair knot (Skt. *cūḍāmaha*) in Chapter 13.<sup>9</sup> This event is, in any case, envisioned for the future.

Some Turkologists proposed that the *Maitrisimit* was performed for public entertainment during a specific feast, in the wake of which Buddha Maitreya would manifest himself during the performance of the very same spectacle.<sup>10</sup> This assumption turned out to be groundless.<sup>11</sup> The misunderstanding followed from an erroneous interpretation of the key term *yaŋı kün*, which literally means ‘new day’, but really shows a semantic spectrum ranging from ‘festival, feast’ and ‘ceremony, rite’ to ‘spectacle, wonder’.<sup>12</sup> Georges-Jean Pinault recently presented a detailed study of its Tocharian A equivalent *opṣäly* together with the Tocharian B cognate *ekṣalye*, in which he proves that the same semantic range applies for the two Tocharian terms, and that “the notion is not related to

8 BT XXXVII, vol. 1, 68.

9 Geng Shimin, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, and Jens Peter Laut, “Die Weltflucht des Bodhisattva’: Das 13. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der *Maitrisimit*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18 (1991): 283.

10 See especially Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya: Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 7.

11 Jens Wilkens, “Der ‘Neutag’ und die *Maitrisimit*—Probleme der zentralasiatischen Religionsgeschichte,” in *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit: Symposium anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Entzifferung des Tocharischen Berlin, 3. und 4. April 2008*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai, Abdurishid Yakup, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 375–401.

12 Wilkens, “Der ‘Neutag’ und die *Maitrisimit*,” 375–401.

any special Buddhist festivity or ritual".<sup>13</sup> The Old Uyghur and Tocharian terms can thus apply to any kind of feast, ritual, ceremony, spectacle, or wonder. A specific Maitreya festival with alleged Iranian antecedents—as Geng and Klimkeit surmise<sup>14</sup>—is out of the question.

It is difficult to tell which Buddhist festivals really had practical importance within Uyghur Buddhism. This topic needs further research. There is, for instance, very scarce evidence for the quinquennial festival (Skr. *pañcavārṣika*).<sup>15</sup> Besides a fragmentary reference in the *Maitrisimit*,<sup>16</sup> there is one mention of the term in an *avadāna* collection.<sup>17</sup> In both texts, we find a connection with alms-giving. The festival is, in all likelihood, only a literary motif without any historical significance.<sup>18</sup> Further examples are found in a Sanskrit-Old Uyghur bilingual manuscript in Brāhmī script<sup>19</sup> and in an alliterative poem, where the term is used as a substantive and as an adjective respectively.<sup>20</sup> The bilingual text and the first instance of the term in the poem combine the Sanskrit term *pañcav(a)rṣik* with the Chinese term *taičuy*, which is also recorded in the spelling *taičo*.<sup>21</sup> This last term and its adjectival derivative occur every now and then in Old Uyghur, for instance, in the translation of the biography of Xuanzang, (*Da Tang da C'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [The Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great C'ien

13 Georges-Jean Pinault, "The Tocharian Background of Old Turkic *yaŋı kün*," in *Kutadgu Nom Bitig: Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Elisabetta Ragagnin and Jens Wilkens with the assistance of Gökhan Şilfeler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 399.

14 Geng and Klimkeit, *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya*, vol. 1, 7.

15 See especially Max Deeg, "Origins and Developments of the Buddhist *Pañcavārṣika*—Part I: India and Central Asia," *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā* 16 (1995): 67–90.

16 BT IX, vol. 1, 215.

17 BT XXXVII, vol. 2, 522 (line 05691).

18 As Deeg observes, in the legend of Aśoka (r. ca. 268–232 BCE) and especially in the *Avadānaśataka* (T. 200.4), the term *pañcavārṣika* "[...] lost its connection to the historical facts and was only understood as an event of donations to the *saṅgha* by a donator—not even necessarily a king." Deeg, "Origins and Developments," 74. This observation is true for other specimens of *avadāna* literature, where the term is used without any reference to Aśoka or the legend pertaining to him.

19 Dieter Maue and Klaus Röhrborn, "Ein zweisprachiges Fragment aus Turfan," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976): 213 (line recto 5).

20 Aydar Mirkamal 阿依达尔·米尔卡马力, *Huihuwen shiti zhushu he xin faxian dunhuang ben yunwen yanjiu* 回鹘文诗体注疏和新发现敦煌本韵文研究. *Alliterative Verse Commentaries in Old Uyghur and Newly Unearthed Verses from Dunhuang* (Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2015), 185 (line 70), 209 (line 19).

21 On Chinese phonetic transcriptions of the Sanskrit term, see Deeg, "Origins and Developments," 68.

Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty], T. 2053.50)<sup>22</sup> and in a late *avadāna* text, in which it is used in connection with a banquet or feast to be offered to Buddha Maitreya and his entourage in future times.<sup>23</sup> The precise etymology of the term has not been established yet. Judging from the context in which the term *pañcavārṣika* appears in the Old Uyghur sources, the festival itself seems to be a mere literary motif. Although the monthly gatherings in Liang Wudi's (r. 502–549, 梁武帝) palace chapel are known to have represented the Buddhist *pañcavārṣika* festival,<sup>24</sup> there is, so far, no evidence that a similar institution existed in Uyghur Buddhism, even though the emperor was held in high esteem by Uyghur Buddhists.

Other texts relate to a ceremony that was actually performed, the *pravāraṇā*,<sup>25</sup> the ceremony concluding the annual monastic retreat during the rainy season.<sup>26</sup> The most peculiar textual specimen is the *Insadisūtra*, a late composite text in cursive script, the title of which is, so far, unexplained.<sup>27</sup> The second part of the text refers directly to the *pravāraṇā* and contains Chinese characters that correspond to Chinese versions of the *Pravāraṇāsūtra*.<sup>28</sup> It is conceivable that the Uyghurs used a Sanskrit text to perform the ritual itself, because the *pravāraṇā* is a monastic ceremony. A confirmation of this assumption could be found in two manuscripts in Uyghur script in which the corresponding Sanskrit parts are given in Brāhmī script.<sup>29</sup> A letter containing

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- 22 In the fifth chapter, the festival is mentioned in connection with King Śīlāditya (= Harṣa). See Siglinde Dietz, Mehmet Ölmez, and Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie V, nach der Handschrift von Paris und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 126 (line 1012). In chapter four, the term is likewise used with reference to King Śīlāditya. See John Peter Claver Toalster, "Die uigurische Xuan-Zang-Biographie: 4. Kapitel mit Übersetzung und Kommentar" (PhD diss., University of Gießen, 1977), 90 (line 854).
- 23 Masahiro Shōgaito, "Drei zum *Avalokiteśvara-sūtra* passende *Avadānas*," in *Der türkische Buddhismus in der japanischen Forschung*, ed. Jens Peter Laut and Klaus Röhrborn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 90 and 98, lines 234–235, 333: *taičunlug tapıgın tapınıp udunup* "regaling and feasting with a *pañcavārṣika* regalement"
- 24 Chen Jinhua, "*Pañcavārṣika* Assemblies in Liang Wudi's Buddhist Palace Chapel," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66.1 (2006): 45.
- 25 See Jin-Il Chung, *Die Pravāraṇā in den kanonischen Vinaya-Texten der Mūlasarvāstivādin und der Sarvāstivādin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998).
- 26 See the study by Peter Zieme, "Das *Pravāraṇā-Sūtra* in alttürkischer Überlieferung," in *Barg-i sabz—A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Jes P. Asmussen*, ed. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Fereyduñ Vahman, and Werner Sundermann (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 445–453.
- 27 The edition and translation are in BT III.
- 28 Zieme, "Das *Pravāraṇā-Sūtra*," 446.
- 29 These manuscripts are dealt with in Zieme, "Das *Pravāraṇā-Sūtra*." See also the enlarged edition in BT XXXVIII, 89–109.



instructions to carry out Buddhist ceremonies mentions also the recitation of the *Pravāraṇāsūtra*.<sup>30</sup> Recently, a bilingual text (Sanskrit and Old Uyghur) in Uyghur script related to the *pravāraṇā* ritual was also discovered.<sup>31</sup> The liturgical formulas are in Sanskrit, whereas the ritual instructions are in Old Uyghur.

The *poṣadha* ~ *posatha* day was of particular importance for Buddhist practice. One can deduce from various dated sources that this day was considered as especially auspicious and was chosen deliberately by practitioners who commissioned the printing or writing of a text<sup>32</sup> or by pilgrims who left an inscription on the walls of Buddhist caves.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the day was considered auspicious for making a pilgrimage or a visit to Buddhist shrines. An otherwise unknown scholar named Nomkulī Šabi K(1)ya checked the meanings of the terms in ten volumes of the Old Uyghur translation of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* on this day.<sup>34</sup> A remarkable colophon to a block-printed collection of *sūtras*<sup>35</sup>—containing, among others, the *Vajracchedikāpraññāpāramitāsūtra* [Diamond Sūtra] and the *Praññāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* (Chin. *Xinjīng* 心經) [Heart Sūtra], as well as some texts related to mature Tantric Buddhism—mentions a certain Bodhidhvaja Śīla (fl. 14th c.) as the sponsor of the edition, which definitely served ritual purposes. The printing was effected on the 15th day of the seventh month, presumably of the year 1347. The colophon calls this day *agir ulug poṣad bačag kün* “the very great *poṣadha* fast day”. It is possible that the date might also indicate that Uyghurs celebrated the ghost

30 Simone-Christiane Raschmann and Osman Fikri Sertkaya, *Alltürkische Handschriften Teil 20: Alltürkische Texte aus der Berliner Turfansammlung im Nachlass Reşid Rahmeti Arat* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016), 101–102 (cat. no. 063).

31 Jens Wilkens, “Buddhist Monastic Life in Central Asia—A Bilingual Text in Sanskrit and Old Uyghur Relating to the *Pravāraṇā* Ceremony,” *International Journal of Old Uyghur Studies* 2.2 (2020): 137–152.

32 BT VII, 66 (lines 105–108) = BT XXVI, 209 (No. 11b line 1); BT XIII, 124 (lines 46–48) = BT XXVI, 56 (line 1); BT XIII, 164 (lines 2–3) = BT XXVI, 240 (line 1); BT XXIII, 148 (lines G324–325) = BT XXVI, 132 (lines 4–5); BT XIII, 161 (lines 1–3) = BT XXIII, 148 (line G337) = BT XXVI, 133 (line 1). Peter Zieme, “Donor and Colophon of an Uighur Blockprint,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1995/96): 412 (section C); reedited in BT XXVI, 245 (lines 7–8).

33 For the Yulin Caves, see Matsui, “Tonkō sekkutsu uigurugo mongorugo,” 88, 89, 102.

34 BT XXVI, 136 (lines 2–4). This statement made by Nomkulī Šabi K(1)ya refers apparently to a revision of the translation in which he was involved.

35 Edited in BT XIII, 163–170 (text 46). Reedited in BT XXVI, 239–243 as text 129.

festival (Chin. *yulan pen* 盂蘭盆),<sup>36</sup> because it always fell on the 15th day of the seventh month.<sup>37</sup>

Another aspect of Uyghur Buddhism related to practice has to be mentioned here. Annemarie von Gabain provides a rather detailed description of a Buddhist festival held on the 15th day of the first month of the year. She mentions confessions, material offerings, spiritual gifts, symbolic gifts, liturgical ceremonies for the benefit of the departed, readings of edifying tales, pictures on display, and performative arts.<sup>38</sup> However, an analysis of von Gabain's method reveals that this particular festival is nothing but her fictional construct, in which she combines observations based on texts from different periods and totally unrelated contexts.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, some scholars take her fictitious account for granted.

## 2 Practice and Rituals as Mirrored in Old Uyghur Texts

### 2.1 *Blessings*

Blessing texts are a genre connected with practice and ritual.<sup>40</sup> One example of this type of literature is the *Diśāstvustik* (Skt. \**Diśāsāvāstika*) [Blessing of the Cardinal Points] from the Krotkov Collection in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in which the legend of the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika provides the narrative frame.<sup>41</sup> The incomplete text—apparently from the late classical period of Old Uyghur (ca. 12th c.)—is a booklet in European style and—on account of its rather small

36 I argue this in Jens Wilkens, "Hatten die alten Uiguren einen buddhistischen Kanon?" in *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger, and Christoph Kleine (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 366.

37 Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

38 Annemarie von Gabain, *Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850–1250* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 73–74.

39 Jens Wilkens, "Performanz vs. Perspektive: Narratologische Anmerkungen zu einer altuigurischen Erzählungssammlung," *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları. Researches in Turkic Languages* 24.2 (2019): 281–304.

40 On this literary genre, see Zieme, "The West Uigur Kingdom," 11–12.

41 This text is edited and translated in Abdurishid Yakup, *Diśāstvustik: Eine altuigurische Bearbeitung einer Legende aus dem Catuspariṣat-sūtra* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006). Parallel passages in Sanskrit and Chinese texts are listed on pp. 10–28. See also the survey of the different versions of this legend in Mark Allon, "A Gāndhārī Version of the Story of the Merchants Tappusa and Bhallika," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute New Series* 23 (2009): 9–19, here: 10–11.

format—probably intended for personal use. The glosses in Brāhmī script are unusual for a manuscript. In essence, the text is a blessing of the cardinal points with copious names of *yakṣas* and minor female divinities and interspersed with *dhāraṇīs*. The text is also supposed to offer basic protection. The whole setting is Indian, and Central Asian place names are not mentioned.

In Old Uyghur literature, there are additional examples of blessing texts that are likely native Uyghur compositions rather than translations, for example, extant texts include two New Year's blessings,<sup>42</sup> two harvest blessings,<sup>43</sup> and a blessing of a sacrifice, which mentions it is intended to heal several ailments and ward off demonic beings.<sup>44</sup> The formulas used are, in part, spell-like.

The harvest blessings in particular reflect a local form of Buddhism. I will discuss briefly the two extant examples of harvest blessing texts. The first includes a lengthy description of agricultural activities, mentions a libation of wheat beer (OU *sorma*) to the god of wealth (Skt. *dhanyadeva*), Kubera.<sup>45</sup> It also mentions the sacrifice of a he-goat and a pig in order to prepare a banquet.<sup>46</sup> The goal of the rituals referred to in the text is to produce an outstanding crop yield.<sup>47</sup> The last part of the harvest blessing is a detailed depiction of an evil spirit with certain animal characteristics, whom one intends to ban by means of the text.<sup>48</sup> The second text is on the whole quite similar. A blessing for a vineyard, which has not been edited yet, is reported in a catalogue description.<sup>49</sup>

42 For the first text, see the first edition in Peter Zieme, "Zur Verwendung der Brāhmī-Schrift bei den Uiguren," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11.2 (1984): 331–346. It is reedited with additional fragments in BT XXXVIII, 192–203. For the second text, see Peter Zieme, "Māngi bulzun! Ein weiterer Neujahrssegen," in *Dr. Emel Esin'e Armağan*, ed. Şükrü Elçin (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1976), 131–139. This fragment is combined with a prayer for forgiveness. In its final part, the prayer evokes images from nature to strengthen the efficacy of the liturgy.

43 For editions and translations of the two texts, see Peter Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Erntesege," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 3 (1975): 109–143 (pls. 19–20); and Ádám Molnár and Peter Zieme, "Ein weiterer uigurischer Erntesege," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16.1 (1989): 140–152 (pl. 1).

44 Zieme, Peter, "Ein fast vollständiger altuigurischer Opfer-Segen," February 2015, accessed January 29, 2020. [https://www.academia.edu/11093961/Ein\\_fast\\_vollständiger\\_altuigurischer\\_Opfersegen](https://www.academia.edu/11093961/Ein_fast_vollständiger_altuigurischer_Opfersegen).

45 Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Erntesege," 118.

46 *Ibid.*, 118.

47 For a recent edition of a very elaborate ritual manual on agriculture, see Gergely Hidas, *A Buddhist Ritual Manual on Agriculture: Vajratuṇḍasamayakalparāja—Critical Edition* (Berlin, Munich, Boston: de Gruyter, 2019).

48 Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Erntesege," 119.

49 Raschmann and Sertkaya, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 20*, 232–233 (cat. no. 250).

## 2.2 *Confessions*

One of the most striking features of Uyghur Buddhism and, one may add, one of its enigmas, is the popularity of confession texts intended to be used by lay disciples. Despite several studies, the possibility of a historical connection with a Manichaean pattern is still unclear.<sup>50</sup> While confessions often have a preparatory and cathartic function within the wider context of complex Buddhist rituals, especially of the esoteric type, the work known as the *Kṣanti kulmak atl(ı)g nom bitig* [The Book Called Making a Confession] is self-contained. Although many manuscripts are extant, the title of this text is preserved in only a few of them.<sup>51</sup> *The Book Called Making a Confession* is either a group of similar texts with sets of matching lines or, in fact, only one work that was open to additions and alterations, depending on the specific requirements of the sponsors. We have examples of manuscript copies of the text, typically in the form of scrolls but also in the Indian *pustaka* format, characterised in this case by long vertically oriented folios with string holes.<sup>52</sup> It is certainly not by sheer accident that the majority of the manuscripts were found at Yarkhoto. The rather short text, consisting of only one scroll, was intended for lay people who were in need of a text dealing with their various offences. The names of these people are recorded in the manuscripts. Ritual formulas and merit making are important in this text. It was particularly important that the work consisted of only one scroll, so that ordering a copy was not as expensive as copying works in many fascicles. While what Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain refer to as Part A and Part B in their edited text seem to belong to the Śrāvākayāna tradition—since they name as addressees of the confession Maitreya and several *koṭis* of *arhats*—the first scroll that Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller

50 See especially Claudia Weber, *Buddhistische Beichten in Indien und bei den Uiguren unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der uigurischen Laienbeichte und ihrer Beziehung zum Manichäismus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

51 Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain, "Türkische Turfan-Texte IV. Ein neues uigurisches Sündenbekenntnis," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 24 (1930): 444 (text B, lines 67–68). The title of this work in the scroll Masahiro Shōgaito edited is *tsui ayıg kulmčlarıg öküniüp boşunup kṣanti kulmak* [Making a Confession by Regretting the Misdeeds and Asking for Forgiveness]. Masahiro Shōgaito, "Ein uigurisches Fragment eines Beichttextes," in *Scholia: Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Klaus Röhrborn and Horst Wilfrid Brands (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 163–169. The colophon was reedited in BT XXVI, 227–228.

52 See, e.g., the copy edited in Peter Zieme, "Ein uigurisches Sündenbekenntnis," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22.1 (1969): 107–121.

edited,<sup>53</sup> (*The Confession of the Lay Female Buddhist Üdrät*)<sup>54</sup> is directed to the 496 Bodhisattvas of the fortunate aeon (Skt. *bhadra kalpa*) beginning with Maitreya.<sup>55</sup> The second scroll Müller edited<sup>56</sup> also mentions the 496 bodhisattvas and Maitreya, but at the end, the lay woman Kutlug mentions that she commissioned not only the confession text in one scroll but also the *Zun sheng jing* 尊勝經 [Sūtra of the Victorious One with the Uṣṇīṣa] (Skt. *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*) in one scroll and the Avalokiteśvara chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* [Lotus Sūtra] one scroll.<sup>57</sup> The ritual context of copying the confession text is different in this particular case, on account of the idiosyncrasies and religious goals of the female lay person acting as a benefactor.

One of the most relevant chapters of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra* [Sūtra of Golden Light] in terms of practice and ritual is certainly the fifth chapter, dedicated to confession.<sup>58</sup> In Old Uyghur, this section is also rendered as a separate text on its own in poetical form, and as such, is an independent reworking in strophic alliteration. It is preserved in handwritten and block-printed form.<sup>59</sup> An independent prose version of this chapter was also recently identified in the fragment U 2585.<sup>60</sup> Over the course of centuries, the text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra* grew more and more. Nobel observes that the *dhāraṇī* portions in particular were added.<sup>61</sup> Gradually, the literary character trans-

53 Müller's edition (see the next footnote) comprises several texts. Nos. 7 and 8 are both confession texts of lay female Buddhists in the form of scrolls. The first one was commissioned and used for her own spiritual benefit by a certain Üdrät, the second by a woman named Kutlug.

54 The edition and translation are in Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, *Uigurica II* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), 76–81. The colophon was reedited in BT XXVI, 224. The scroll that was reported to be lost in World War II was rediscovered. Nikolai Pchelina and Simone-Christiane Raschmann, "Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2.2 (2016): 11–12.

55 In the scroll edited in Shōgaito, the goal is for the relatives to whom merit is transferred to achieve rebirth in Tuṣita heaven. Shōgaito, "Ein uigurisches Fragment eines Beichttextes".

56 The edition and translation are in Müller, *Uigurica II*, 84–89. The colophon was reedited in BT XXVI, 247.

57 The correct reading is in BT XXVI, 247.

58 For a slightly outdated edition and translation of the Old Uyghur version of this section, see Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain, "Uigurische Studien," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10 (1930): 194–207.

59 The standard edition and translation are found in BT XIII, 86–103, which supersedes Bang and von Gabain "Uigurische Studien," 208–210. Zieme was the first scholar who correctly identified the text as a versification of the fifth chapter of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*.

60 Simone-Christiane Raschmann, "What Do We Know About the Use of Manuscripts among the Old Uighurs in the Turfan Region?," *Eurasian Studies* 12 (2014): 526.

61 Johannes Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-Sūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrit-Text des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus; I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung*.

formed into a typical specimen of an Esoteric Buddhist text.<sup>62</sup> The Old Uyghur version contains several independent texts in the preface, one of which is a ritual offering to the four Great Kings (Skt. *mahārāja*), which is most likely based on a Tibetan model, because the term *torma* (Tib. *gtor ma*) is one of the key words in the manual.<sup>63</sup>

The most important ritual work in Old Uyghur, judging from the great number of manuscripts identified so far, is the *Kṣanti kulguluk nom bitig* [The Book on How One Should Practice Confessions],<sup>64</sup> a translation from the Chinese *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). This native Chinese work in forty chapters is an elaborate repentance ritual in which the invocation of the names of the buddhas of the fortunate aeon and of several bodhisattvas plays an essential part. One objective is to provide help for the beings living in unfortunate existences, especially for members of one's own family. Röhrborn surmises that the text was used during funerary ceremonies and functioned as a kind of 'funeral requiem'.<sup>65</sup> It was definitely performed in congregation,<sup>66</sup> which is underlined by the recurrent expression relating to the practitioners: '[persons] possessing the same kind of activity' (OU *bir išdäš*). Stylistically the *The Book on How One Should Practice Confessions* is characterised by many repetitions and formulaic expressions,

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*Erster Band: I-Tsing's chinesische Version übersetzt, eingeleitet, erläutert und mit einem photomechanischen Nachdruck des chinesischen Textes versehen* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), xx. Nobel even surmises that, originally, the text did not contain *dhāraṇīs* at all.

62 Except for the narrative of the hungry tigress, the chapters with marked ritual content are represented most often in the Chinese fragments from Dunhuang of Yijing's (635–713, 義淨) version. Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-Sūtra*, xxiv.

63 Edition and translation are in BT XVIII, 112–119.

64 Edition and translation are in BT XXV.

65 BT II, 7. The German title "Totenmesse", too, was deliberately chosen to strengthen this characterisation of the text. The designation is a bit misleading because it evokes Christian motifs. This edition comprises fragments of the eighth and ninth scrolls.

66 Charles Orzech recently highlighted the concept of liturgical 'subjects'. He writes, "[...] [i]n this view, 'subjects' are socially produced in ritual and discourse. The subject then can be understood as an institutional construct, typical, rather than unique and fully autonomous—a subject produced socially for institutional ends. Thus, liturgy, performed in congregation, produces a liturgical subject that is primarily constructed in a social performance." See Charles D. Orzech, "Tantric Subjects: Liturgy and Vision in Chinese Esoteric Ritual Manuals," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 21. He continues, "[...] we can see in such confessional liturgies a communal process through which the worshipper is created as a criminal subject in need of purification." *Ibid.*, 23.

which enhance its ritualistic features. Sponsors are given the opportunity to have their names inscribed in place holders based on Chinese *mou jia* (某甲) (a certain person, N.N.) at specific intervals provided by the text. The names included in the manuscripts shed some light on the persons who were active in the Uyghur Buddhist society of the Turfan region.

Peter Zieme achieved an important discovery because he identified a confession text he had originally published in the year 2001 in the reprint of his selected articles on Uyghur Buddhist studies.<sup>67</sup> The confession text in this unique manuscript, which also includes a remarkable version of the *Araṇemijātaka*, is a translation of the Chinese *Cibei shui chanfa* 慈悲水懺法 [The Dharma of Repentance Pertaining to the Water of Compassion] (T. 1910.45). A re-edition with matching Chinese text is highly desirable.

A late poem in strophical alliteration is dedicated to a glorification of the 35 Buddhas of Repentance to whom the practitioner bows.<sup>68</sup> Although there are similarities in this poem to other Buddhist works, the Old Uyghur work has some unique features regarding structure and wording.<sup>69</sup>

Occasionally, the Uyghurs used their own script to write down texts in Sanskrit, although the Uyghur alphabet is ill-suited to such an endeavour. One example of a Sanskrit text written in the Uyghur script is a particular confession text to which parallel passages exist in Sanskrit texts from Central Asia in Brāhmī script. A single fragment contains parts in Uyghur script and in Sanskrit in Brāhmī script.<sup>70</sup> The text mentions that the person making the confession, Indrasena, has a monastic background, because it states that he is a *saṃghasthavira*, a community leader or abbot.<sup>71</sup> The Sanskrit verse text was likely produced in Central Asia.<sup>72</sup>

67 Peter Zieme, "Araṇemi-jātaka und ein Sündenbekenntnistext in einer alttürkischen Sammelhandschrift," in *De Dunhuang à Istanbul: Hommage à James Russell Hamilton*, ed. Louis Bazin and Peter Zieme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 401–433 (pl. 36–53). Identification on p. 321 of the reprint.

68 The poem is edited and translated into Modern Turkish in Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Eski türk şiiri* [Old Turkic Poetry] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965), 80–101.

69 See the analysis in Peter Zieme, *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 219–228.

70 Edited in Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Klaus Wille, and Peter Zieme "Indrasenas Beichte," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 9–10 (1996): 203–216.

71 Hartmann, Wille, and Zieme "Indrasenas Beichte," 206–208.

72 *Ibid.*, 212.

### 2.3 *Amitābha Worship*

Pure Land Buddhism<sup>73</sup>—characterised by its visualisation techniques—had a deep impact on Uyghur followers. After groups of Uyghurs—who fled from Mongolia after the demise of the East Uyghur Khaganate in 840 and settled in the Turfan area—converted to Buddhism on a large scale around the turn of the first millennium, some of them must have subsequently encountered Chinese Buddhist visualisation practices. The Toyok Cave Temple complex was definitively a hub of meditative practices centered on visualisation techniques of Amitābha and his paradise, so the Uyghurs who settled there must have had access to this tradition. Nobuyoshi Yamabe highlights the importance of this site by combining textual and pictorial evidence—especially Cave 20 and 42—to tracing the history of the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 [Sūtra on the Contemplation of Amitāyus] and related texts.<sup>74</sup>

The early history of Uyghur Pure Land Buddhism has not been investigated in detail yet. The three foundational scriptures in Pure Land Buddhism, the *Smaller Sukhāvātīyūhasūtra*, *Larger Sukhāvātīyūhasūtra* and the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 [Sūtra (Concerning) the Contemplation of Amitāyus],<sup>75</sup> have been identified by scholars as well as the *Abitake* (Chin. *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經) [Sūtra of Amitābha], a text which has only partly matching passages in Chinese Buddhist literature.<sup>76</sup> Either is its Chinese original lost or the *Abitake* is an original composition of a Uyghur author who compiled his text from various Chinese Pure Land sources and gave it its present form. Based on the materials discovered so far, Pure Land Buddhism did not spread among the Uyghurs of Turfan earlier than in the late 11th or early 12th century but remained an important Buddhist tradition until the late period (14th century). The *Āryāparimitāyurjñānanāmamahāyānasūtra* [Sūtra of the Great Vehicle Entitled Knowledge of the Noble One with Infinite Life], which was particularly popular in the Mongolian period, is extant in

73 For a recent anthology on Pure Land Buddhism, see Georgios T. Halkias and Richard K. Payne, ed. *Pure Lands in Asian Texts and Contexts: An Anthology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019).

74 Nobuyoshi Yamabe, "Practice of Visualization and the *Visualization Sūtra*: An Examination of Mural Paintings at Toyok, Turfan," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 4 (2002): 123–152.

75 There is also a well preserved Old Uyghur poetic adaptation edited in Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義 and Peter Zieme ペーター・ツィーメ, *Uiguru-go no Kanmuryōjūkyō* ウイグル語の觀無量壽經. *Guanwuliangshoujing in Uigur* (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1985).

76 On this literature, see Peter Zieme, "Local Literatures: Uighur," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Vol. 1: Literature and Languages*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk, et al. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 875b–876a.



about 200 fragments in both block-printed and handwritten form.<sup>77</sup> The *Amṛtadundubhisvaradhāraṇī* [Dhāraṇī of the Sound of the Drum That is Like Ambrosia], a text sometimes assigned to either Esoteric or mature Tantric Buddhism, can now be added to the corpus of works dedicated to the worship of Amitābha.<sup>78</sup> Because only block-printed fragments are extant, the text was probably translated during the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元). Perhaps both texts, the *Āryāparimitāyurjñānanāmamahāyānasūtra* and the *Amṛtadundubhisvaradhāraṇī*, were translated into Old Uyghur based on versions in two different languages.<sup>79</sup> A fragment of a poem from Dunhuang related to Pure Land beliefs refers to the famous Vaidehī story.<sup>80</sup> Zhang and Zieme, the editors of this source, discovered that a text from the Turfan Collection in Berlin<sup>81</sup> features a parallel text that has, however, different spellings of proper names.

#### 2.4 *Worship of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*

There are several Old Uyghur texts of ritual or practical background related to Avalokiteśvara,<sup>82</sup> the most popular of which is the translation of the *Guanyin jing* 觀音經 [Avalokiteśvara Scripture], the 25th chapter of Kumārajīva's (344–413, 鳩摩羅什) version of the *Lotus Sūtra*.<sup>83</sup> This section centers on the 33 forms of the bodhisattva's appearance and was transmitted as an independent text. A poem that praises Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara makes reference

77 For an edition and translation, see BT XXXVI, 41–121 (text A).

78 Edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 75–136 (text B).

79 BT XXXVI, 125.

80 Zhang Tieshan and Peter Zieme, "Two Old Uigur Fragments from Dunhuang Connected with the Pure Land Belief," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 71.3 (2018): 253–256.

81 Edited in BT XIII, 64 (text 7).

82 On Avalokiteśvara in Esoteric and Tantric Buddhism, see George A. Keyworth, "Avalokiteśvara," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 525–528. For the cult of this particular bodhisattva in Uyghur Buddhism, see also Yukiyo Kasai's paper in this volume.

83 A nearly complete scroll of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* is edited and translated in Wilhelm Radloff, *Kuan-ṣi-im Pusa: Eine türkische Übersetzung des XXV. Kapitels der chinesischen Ausgabe des Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1911). See also the edition and translation of a *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* scroll formerly housed in Berlin published the same year in Müller, *Uigurica II*, 14–20. This piece was rediscovered in the St. Petersburg Collection. Pchelin and Raschmann, "Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage," 21–23. Fragments from other manuscripts are found in various collections.

to this chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*.<sup>84</sup> The cult of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed esoteric form of Avalokiteśvara spread across China in the 10th century.<sup>85</sup> There is a corpus of texts<sup>86</sup> translated from Chinese during the classical period of Uyghur Buddhism, which are ascribed to Šiṅko Šāli Tutuṅ (fl. second half of 10th c./beginning of 11th c.),<sup>87</sup> who was active around the turn of the first millennium. The most important text of this group, the *Qianshouqianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 [The Vast, Perfect, and Unobstructed Dhāraṇīsūtra of the Great Compassionate Heart (Taught by) the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with 1000 Eyes and 1000 Arms = *Nilakaṇṭha(ka)sūtra*] (T. 1060.20),<sup>88</sup> is extant in several manuscripts, most of which are still un-edited,<sup>89</sup> although the relationship between this work and the *Qianyan qianbi guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神呪經 [The Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī Spell of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with 1000 Eyes and 1000 Arms] (T. 1057.20) is not always certain.<sup>90</sup> Given that Šiṅko Šāli was probably the most illustrious translator

84 The edition and translation in BT XIII, 121–130 replaces Georg Hazai, “Ein buddhistisches Gedicht aus der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23.1 (1970): 1–21.

85 Keyworth, “Avalokiteśvara,” 526.

86 While the edition is still to be expected, it remains unclear whether the Old Uyghur version is based on T. 1057, T. 1060, or both texts.

87 Zieme, “Local Literatures: Uighur,” 876b. For a re-edition of two preserved colophons, see BT XXVI, 125–129.

88 The identification of a fragment in Brāhmī script that belongs to this text in Zieme, “Local Literatures: Uighur,” 872b, is highly important. See the catalogue entry (no. 43) in Dieter Maue, *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), 174. The text is edited in Annemarie von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII: Texte in Brāhmī-Schrift* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954), 61–62. For an in-depth study of the Chinese original, see Maria Dorothea Reis-Habito, *Die Dhāraṇī des Großen Erbarmens des Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara mit tausend Händen und Augen: Übersetzung und Untersuchung ihrer textlichen Grundlage sowie Erforschung ihres Kultes in China* (Nettetal: Steyler, 1993).

89 An edition and translation of two leaves of one manuscript are in Klaus Röhrborn, “Fragmente der uigurischen Version des ‘Dhāraṇī-Sūtras der großen Barmherzigkeit,’” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126 (1976): 87–100. Raschmann and Sertkaya describe one partly preserved scroll that bears on the recto what is probably a short *dhāraṇī* of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara. See Raschmann and Sertkaya, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 20*, 168–169 (cat. no. 147).

90 The edition and Japanese translation of the St. Petersburg fragments are in Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, *Roshia shozō uigurugo bunken no kenkyū: Uiguru moji hyōki kanbun to uigurugo butten tekisuto* ロシア所藏ウイグル語文献の研究-ウイグル文字表記

of Uyghur Buddhist literature, we can perhaps infer that his reason for selecting the texts related to Avalokiteśvara can be found in his personal devotion to this particular bodhisattva.

Other manifestations of Avalokiteśvara were also popular, which is reflected in Old Uyghur literature and art. There is also a composite manuscript including the *Ruyi lun tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 如意輪陀羅尼神呪經 [Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī Spell of Cintāmaṇicakra].<sup>91</sup> Another text related to this bodhisattva that is preserved in many manuscripts and block-prints is the translation of the apocryphal *Foding xin da tuoluoni jing* 佛頂心大陀羅尼經 [Great Dhāraṇīsūtra of the Heart of the Buddha's Crest].<sup>92</sup> It was most likely translated in the pre-Mongol period but became more popular because the technique of printing, which spread under Mongol rule, facilitated the dissemination of the *dhāraṇī*. One pronounced practical function of this composition was its obstetrical benefit, because the second chapter is dedicated to making childbirth easier. But we also find a section with the ritual empowerment of water by means of talismanic writing. The Chinese original of the text was, until recently, mainly known from late prints from the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644, 明), dating from the 15th century.<sup>93</sup> There are also copies of the Chinese text from Dunhuang that bear different titles and an engraved version from the site of Fangshan (房山), dated to the Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources

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漢文とウイグル語佛典テキスト。 *Uighur Manuscripts in St. Petersburg: Chinese Texts in Uighur Script and Buddhist Uighur Texts* (Kyōto: Nukanishi Printing, 2003), 180–196.

- 91 Zieme, "Local Literatures: Uighur," 876b. One leaf was already identified and published by Shōgaito, *Roshia shozō uigurugo bunken no kenkyū*, 196–199.
- 92 See the edition and translation in Georg Kara and Peter Zieme, "Die uigurische Übersetzung des apokryphen Sūtras 'Fo ding xin da tuo luo ni,'" *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13.2 (1986): 318–376. A fragment of a block-printed folded book that was preserved only as a transcript when the edition was made was rediscovered in the St. Petersburg collection. Kara and Zieme, "Die uigurische Übersetzung," 320, 329–330. See also Pchelin and Raschmann, "Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage," 16–18 (with some improved readings in fn. 20). For a lost fragment from the Arat Estate, which is nearly fully transcribed, see Raschmann and Sertkaya, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 20*, 282–284 (cat. no. 339). Newly identified fragments from the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku beiqū 莫高窟北区) (B 159:28, B 159:29, B 159:39) are mentioned in BT XXIII, 10. See also the edition by Aydar Mirkamal 阿依达尔·米尔卡马力, "Dunhuang xin chu hui huwen 'Fo ding xin da tuoluoni jing' yanjiu 敦煌新出回鹘文《佛頂心大陀羅尼經》研究. Research on the New Discovered Dunhuang Uighur Text of the *sūtra* 'Fo ding xin da tuoluoni jing,'" *Wen jin xue zhi* 文津學誌 4 (2011): 54–62.
- 93 Herbert Franke, "Zu einem apokryphen Dhāraṇī-Sūtra aus China," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134 (1984): 318–336.

known as Liao 遼) or the Jurchen Jin Dynasty (1115–1234, 金).<sup>94</sup> The Chinese version from Dunhuang originated around the year 850.<sup>95</sup>

Only very few lines and the colophon of an *Avalokiteśvarastava* text are preserved.<sup>96</sup> Two *Avalokiteśvarasādhana* texts based on the tradition of mature Tantric Buddhism and translated from Tibetan are still not identified with any known Tibetan text.<sup>97</sup> Two block prints of the first text date to the years 1333 and 1336 respectively.<sup>98</sup>

It should be mentioned that a sizeable number of fragments of votive banners from the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Berlin) found in the Turfan region relate to different aspects of this bodhisattva.<sup>99</sup> One example (inv. no. III 6355) of the Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara is well-known.<sup>100</sup> Three banners show only the eyes of the bodhisattva.<sup>101</sup> Two banners (III 7307 and III 7308) were found in Toyok, the one from Murtuk (III 7787) is painted in a crude way. One banner from Toyok (III 7307) is inscribed on both sides in a late form of Old Uyghur.<sup>102</sup> It is tempting to see a connection with the Eye-Healing Avalokiteśvara known from Tibet and Mongolia, but this is

94 Li Ling and Ma De, “Avalokiteśvara and the Dunhuang Dhāraṇī Spells,” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 343–348. The authors discuss two further texts extolling Avalokiteśvara’s role as a helper with childbirth, namely the *Jiuchannan tuoluoni* 救產難陀羅尼 [Dhāraṇī for Delivery from Childbirth Obstacles] and the *Nan yuewen* 難月文 [Text on the Difficult Months (of Pregnancy)].

95 Li and Ma, “Avalokiteśvara and the Dunhuang Dhāraṇī Spells,” 345.

96 The first edition and translation are in Georg Hazai, “Ein uigurisches Kolophon zu einem Avalokiteśvara-Lobpreis,” in *Tractata Altaica: Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata*, ed. Walther Heissig, et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 273–276. A new edition is provided in BT xxvi, 229–231.

97 See BT VII, 63–67 (text B = block-prints) and 67–68 (text C = manuscript).

98 Peter Zieme, “Bemerkungen zur Datierung uigurischer Blockdrucke,” *Journal Asiatique* 269 (1981): 397–398. For the colophons, see also BT xxvi, 208–210.

99 Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner, *Central Asian Temple Banners in the Turfan Collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin: Painted Textiles from the Northern Silk Route* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2003), 174–231.

100 *Ibid.*, 59 (colour plate).

101 *Ibid.*, 203–205 (cat. no. 203–205). During the *BuddhistRoad* Mid-project Conference in Bochum, several participants mentioned a wooden panel covered all over with depictions of eyes that was found in 2010 in the vicinity of Domoko (Chin. Damagou 大瑪溝).

102 See the edition and translation in Takao Moriyasu in collaboration with Peter Zieme, “Uighur Inscriptions on the Banners from Turfan Housed in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin,” Appendix to: Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner, *Central Asian Temple Banners in the Turfan Collection of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin: Painted Textiles from the Northern Silk Route* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2003), 466b–466c.

perhaps too speculative, because this cult developed later.<sup>103</sup> One inscription identifies the main deity as Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, to whom a lay person, together with his wife, dedicated the banner.<sup>104</sup>

Female manifestations of Avalokiteśvara have to be mentioned as well, the most famous of which is Tārā. The *Tārā-ekaviṃśatistotra* was probably translated from a Tibetan original, but it is also possible that the translator consulted more than one version. Most of the extant copies are from different block-prints, while the *stotra* part is also preserved in handwritten form.<sup>105</sup> Another aspect of Avalokiteśvara is Cuṇḍī.<sup>106</sup> An Old Uyghur translation of a *dhāraṇī* dedicated to her has not been identified with any known version so far,<sup>107</sup> although it has similarities to the *Cuṇḍīdevīdhāraṇīsūtra* (T. 1075.20). What makes this text particularly interesting is that it is rich in ritualistic details (the construction of a *maṇḍala*, the position of the image of the deity, the description of various ritual tools, the sequence of the *vaśīkāraṇa* and *abhicāra* rituals, the accomplishment of the painting of Cuṇḍīdevī, etc.).

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- 103 Olaf Czaja, "The Eye-Healing Avalokiteśvara: A National Icon of Mongolia and its Origin in Tibetan Medicine," in *Tibetan and Himalayan Healing: An Anthology for Anthony Aris*, ed. Charles Ramble and Ulrike Roesler (Kathmandu: Vajra, 2015), 125–139.
- 104 Moriyasu and Zieme, "Uighur Inscriptions," 463a (line 10).
- 105 Geng Shimin, "Qādimqī uyğurčä buddhistik äsär 'Ārya-trāta-buddha-mātrika-vimsati-pūjā-stotra-sūtra'din fragmentlar [Fragments from the Old Uyghur Buddhist Work 'Ārya-trāta-buddha-mātrika-vimsati-pūjā-stotra-sūtra']," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1979): 295–306. Peter Zieme, "Zum uigurischen Tārā-Ekaviṃśatistotra," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 36.1–3 (1982): 583–597 (reprinted in FBV 474–488 with additions and corrections on 489–490, including newly identified fragments). One of the new fragments is part of the Chinese *stotra* written in Uyghur script. In Zieme's article, we find corrections to Geng's publication and the identification of text M in BT VII, 78. Later on, two fragments (U 4145, U 4135) are identified as part of the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*. See Peter Zieme, "Zum mehrsprachigen Blockdruck des *Tārā-Ekaviṃśatistotra*," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16.1 (1989): 196–197. Cf. also Peter Zieme, "Further Notes on the Uigur Blockprints of the *Tārā-Ekaviṃśatistotra*," in *Shouju zhongguo shaoshu minzu guji wenxian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 首届中国少数民族古籍文献国际学术研讨会论文集 [Proceedings of the 1st International Colloquium on Ancient Manuscripts and Literatures of the Minorities in China], ed. Huan Jianming 黄建明, Nie Hongyin 聂鸿音, and Malan 马兰 (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2012), 285–295. Further information is found in BT XXIII, 9.
- 106 Henrik H. Sørensen, "Central Divinities," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 99–100.
- 107 Edition and translation are in BT XXIII, 65–79. On p. 77, Zieme points out that the *Cuṇḍīdevīdhāraṇī* is also attested in Arat, *Eski türk şiiri*, 9 (lines 78–81).

## 2.5 *Ritual Texts of Mature Tantric Buddhism*

There was a new religious dynamic in Uyghur Buddhism under Mongol rule. The growing interest the Mongol elite took in mature Tantric Buddhism also affected the Uyghurs. This coincided with the spread of the block-printing technique, which enabled the production and distribution of a large number of texts. The efficacy of these texts was probably thought to be enhanced by the glosses in Brāhmī script sometimes added to the Indic elements in the text. One of the most widespread block-printed texts with glosses in Brāhmī script is certainly the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*.<sup>108</sup> Some scholars claim that next to various block-printed editions—most of them found at Murtuk—there should also be a handwritten manuscript<sup>109</sup> but this assumption is groundless. The exact version from which the Old Uyghur translation was made has yet to be determined. It is generally assumed that it must have been a Sanskrit text.<sup>110</sup> In a colophon, the initiator Kamala Ačari, also known as Kamala Anantaširi (fl. 14th c.), mentions that he commissioned the printing of 108 copies of the

108 The masterly first edition *cum* translation is Müller, *Uigurica II*, 50–75 (with parallel Chinese text). Müller already identified the majority of the extant fragments. Subsequent publications are Sergej Malov, “*Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* v uĵurskoj redakcii,” *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1930-B (1927): 88–94 and Albert von Le Coq, “Kurze Einführung in die uigurische Schriftkunde,” *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin. Westasiatische Studien* 11 (1919): 105–107. See also Zieme “Zum uigurischen Tārā-Ekaviṃśatistotra,” 591–592. The standard (re)edition is Klaus Röhrborn and András Róna-Tas, *Spätformen des zentralasiatischen Buddhismus: Die altuigurische Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005), 237–321. Two further fragments from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, reported to originate from Cave 181 in Dunhuang, were later edited by Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz, “Bibliothèque Nationale de France’ta muhafaza edilen *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* fragmanları üzerine. On the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* Fragments which are Conserved in Bibliothèque Nationale de France,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 26 (2017): 239–252. For catalogue information on the block-printed fragments in Berlin, some of which are duplicates of the ones in Müller’s first edition, see Abdurishid Yakup and Michael Knüppel, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 11: Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung. Teil 1: Tantrische Texte* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007), 33–93. Two fragments of folded books from Berlin (ed. Müller, *Uigurica II*, 57–59), which were considered lost during World War II, were recently rediscovered in the St. Petersburg Collection. See Pchelin and Raschmann, “Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage,” 13–14, 23–24. On the Chinese versions in vol. 19 of the Taishō *tripiṭaka*, see 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, Boston: Brill, 2011), 31.

109 Röhrborn and Róna-Tas, *Spätformen*, 244–245.

110 *Ibid.*, 246–247. An important comparative study of the terminology of one particular passage is found in Louis Ligeti, “Le sacrifice offert aux ancêtres dans l’*Histoire Secrète*,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27.2 (1973): 155–159.

text.<sup>111</sup> The colophon expressly states that longevity of the Mongol imperial family is one of the intended goals of printing the text. There is one additional colophon of a block-printed text called the *Sitātapatrāsūtra*, which states that a Sanskrit and an Old Uyghur version of this text were printed in an edition of 10,000 copies.<sup>112</sup> The colophon also mentions the Mongol emperor. Since the Mongol emperors venerated Sitātapatrā as a powerful divinity in military conflicts,<sup>113</sup> imperial patronage and distribution of this important text was probably encouraged with respect to the Uyghurs. Mythologically, Sitātapatrā is said to have originated from the Buddha's Uṣṇīṣa.<sup>114</sup> Another text held in high esteem among the Uyghurs during the Yuan Dynasty was the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*.<sup>115</sup> It also exists only in block-printed editions,<sup>116</sup> which are quite similar to those of the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*.<sup>117</sup> Here, glosses in Brāhmī script are likewise found. In all likelihood, it is significant that glosses in Brāhmī script are—in most cases, though not exclusively—found with texts that have a ritualistic character. Also the majority of the block-printed fragments were found during the third Turfan expedition in Murtuk. Where the Turfan expedition code of folios or fragments of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* points to another site such as Dakianuṣṣāhri (= Kočo) or, specifically, ruin μ in Kočo this often coincides with the information that can be gleaned from the fragments belonging to the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*. Both texts were found at the same sites, obviously. Additionally, there is a handwritten fragment from Toyok (U 2378a) that contains an Old Uyghur explanation of the (inflected) Sanskrit terms in the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* on its verso.<sup>118</sup>

111 The colophon is edited and translated into Modern Turkish in Arat, *Eski türk şiri*, 233–235. This first edition was later superseded by BT XIII, 170–172.

112 BT XIII, 172.

113 Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014) s.v. *Sitātapatrā*.

114 Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Tārā are also connected with this *lakṣaṇa*.

115 For the edition and translation, see Müller, *Uigurica II*, 27–50 (with parallel Chinese text). On the Chinese versions in vol. 19 of the Taishō, see Giebel, “*Taishō* Volumes 18–21,” 32.

116 There is one block-printed folded book that contains not only this *dhāraṇī* but also the *Āryāparimitāyurjñānanāmamahāyānasūtra*. See BT XXXVI, 46.

117 Catalogue information, including newly identified parallels to the first edition, is provided in Yakup and Knüppel, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 11*, 151–178. One fragment of a block-printed folded book formerly thought to be lost during World War II was rediscovered. See Pchelin and Raschmann, “Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage,” 10–11.

118 Uğur Uzunkaya, “A Fragment of Old Uyghur *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī* from the Berlin Turfan Collection,” *Erdem* 75 (2018): 223–250. See also BT XXIII, 9.

One should also mention a translation made by Puṇyaśrī (fl. 14th c.) around the year 1330 from the Tibetan version of the *Śrīcakrasaṃvaramaṇḍalābhīsamaya*.<sup>119</sup> This is clearly one of the most important ritual texts in Old Uyghur of tantric content. Another translation made from Tibetan during the Yuan Dynasty is a nearly complete booklet with square leaves, which contains Sakya Paṇḍita's (1182–1251, Tib. Sa skya paNDi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan) *Lam zab ma bla ma'i rnal 'byor* [The Profound Path of Guru Yoga].<sup>120</sup> Further texts of mature Tantric Buddhism are the following: a *Vajrapāṇīsādhana*,<sup>121</sup> a fragmentary description of Ratnasambhava<sup>122</sup> as well as part of a description of the five *tathāgatas* of which only sections on Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are preserved,<sup>123</sup> two fragmentary *maṇḍala* descriptions one of which relating to Amoghasiddhi and his consort,<sup>124</sup> a ritual instruction for a offering cake (Tib. *gtor ma*) ritual to Heruka,<sup>125</sup> a visualisation of Cakrasaṃvara,<sup>126</sup> two fragments of a yet unknown visualisation text including a *dhāraṇī* of a boar-headed Tejomahākāla,<sup>127</sup> a fragment of a visualisation of several buddhas located on the body parts of the practitioner,<sup>128</sup> a colophon to an unidentified text,<sup>129</sup> a fragment of a praise of Vajrasattva<sup>130</sup> as well as two fragments of block-prints of the Vajrasattva *mantra*,<sup>131</sup> a *Mañjuśrīsādhana* that was translated from Tibetan (*'Phags pa Jam dpal gyi sgrub pa'i thabs*) by Saṃghaśrī (fl. 14th c.) around the year 1300,<sup>132</sup> a fragmentary double leaf of

119 Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, "Ein uigurisch-lamaistisches Zauberritual aus den Turfan-Funden," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1928): 381–386. An analysis and edition (with German translation) are in BT VII, 5–63 (text A). A parallel is BT VII, 69 (text E).

120 An Edition, translation, and comparison with the Tibetan original are in BT VIII, 17–79.

121 Edition and translation are in BT VII, 68–69 (text D).

122 Edition and translation in BT VII, 70 (text F).

123 Edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 145–149 (text D).

124 Edition and translation in BT VII, 70 (text G), 71–72 (text H).

125 Edition and translation in BT VII, 72 (text I).

126 Edition and translation in BT VII, 73–74 (text J). As shown in BT XXXVI, 159, this fragment might belong to text A in BT VII, because the fragment U 5689 runs parallel to parts of text A and parts of text J. But there are still some differences in the sequence of sentences. For an edition U 5689 and two further Cakrasaṃvara texts, see BT XXXVI, 159–171 (text F). The very late fragment Beida Fu T1 V (232, 4012, 483642) found on pp. 165–168 is an improved re-edition of Abdurishid Yakup, "A New Cakrasaṃvara Text in Uighur," *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 19 (2000): 43–58.

127 Edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 151–157 (text E).

128 Edition and translation in BT VII, 74–75 (text K).

129 Edition and translation in BT VII, 75–77 (text L).

130 Edition and translation in BT VII, 78 (text M).

131 Edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 137–143 (text C).

132 Edited in Oda Juten 小田壽典, "Uigurubun monjushirijōjuhō no danpen ichiyō ウイグル文殊師利成就法の断片一葉. A Fragment of the Mañjuśrī-sādhana in Uighur



*Vajravidāraṇānāmasādhana*, presumably translated from Tibetan,<sup>133</sup> a ritual manual mentioning several gurus with Tibetan names,<sup>134</sup> and a text relating to Tibetan Buddhism of unknown content.<sup>135</sup> A composite ritual manual of four texts related to the Cakrasaṃvara cycle of Nāropa's (1016–1100) teachings, which dates to around the year 1350 and begins with a text that is similar to the so-called *Book of the Dead* (Tib. *Bar do thos grol*),<sup>136</sup> was discovered in Dunhuang.<sup>137</sup> The three other mature Tantric Buddhist texts of this book are an instruction based on Nāropa's teachings<sup>138</sup> by Mahāguru Dharmadhvaḥa (1108–1176, Tib. Chos kyi rgyal mtshan) from Amdo, a text on the six *dhyānas* of Caṇḍālī, and a sacrifice text for Cakrasaṃvara. This collection of four texts assembled in one book is a fascinating example of the late phase of Uyghur Buddhism and its complex relationship to Tibetan culture and yogic instruction in this region. We now know that in Gansu (甘肃), the religio-political situation was dominated by the inclinations of the ruling Mongol Bin (鬲) clan, who promoted Tibetan Buddhism among the Uyghur population. Scholars are of the opinion that the modern Yugur nationality descended from this Uyghur group. The decision to align with Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294)—and

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Script],” *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 *Studies on the History of the Orient* 33 (1974): 86–109. For the colophon, see BT XXVI, 211–212.

- 133 Edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 174–177 (text G).
- 134 Edition and translation in BT VII, 78–79 (text N).
- 135 Edition and translation in BT VII, 79 (text O). Further unidentified tantric fragments, including a description of a Mañjuśrī visualisation are edited and translated in BT XXXVI, 179–195 (text H).
- 136 For a recent evaluation of the *Bar do thos grol* [Liberation through Hearing in the Bardo], see Yoshiro Imaeda, “The *Bar do thos grol*: Tibetan Conversion to Buddhism or Tibetanisation of Buddhism?” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 145–158.
- 137 Edition and translation in Peter Zieme and György Kara, *Ein uigurisches Totenbuch: Nāropas Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang British Museum Or. 8212 (109)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979). For improved interpretations of the first text, see Georg Kara, “Some Passages of the Uyghur Antarābhava-Treatise Revisited,” in *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan: Festschrift für Peter Zieme anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags*, ed. Mehmet Ölmez and Simone-Christiane Raschmann (Istanbul, Berlin: Mehmet Ölmez, 2002), 93–101. See also the article by Siglinde Dietz, “Definitionen der ‘Zwischenexistenz’ im tibetischen und uigurischen ‘Totenbuch,’” *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* Neue Folge 24 (2010/2011): 82–94. Similar fragments from the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves (B 160:7, B 161:9) are mentioned in BT XXIII, 10.
- 138 See Ulrich Timme Kragh, “Prolegomenon to the Six Doctrines of Nā ro pa: Authority and Tradition,” in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition: PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, ed. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2011), 131–177.



FIGURE 13.1 Block print of the Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* in Uyghur characters with interlinear Brāhmī text

U 4705A AND U 4704C DEPOSITUM DER BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHEN  
AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU  
BERLIN—PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ ORIENTABTEILUNG

thus with Tibetan Buddhism—during the end of the 13th century is credited to the brothers Chūbaī (fl. second half of 13th–beginning of 14th c.) and Qabān (fl. second half of 13th c.).<sup>139</sup>

One of the most popular texts of mature Tantric Buddhism was certainly the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.<sup>140</sup> There is not only the block-printed Old Uyghur translation but also a block-printed version of the Sanskrit version in Uyghur characters with accompanying interlinear Brāhmī text (fig. 13.1). A

139 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, Boston: Brill, 2017), 377–386, especially 378.

140 Edition and translation in BT VIII, 91–121. Further fragments are edited in Georg Kara, “Weiteres über die uigurische *Nāmasaṃgīti*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8 (1981): 227–236. New identified pieces are listed in BT XXIII, 9.

single manuscript sheet featuring the *mantravinyāsa* [The Arrangement of the Mantra] in Sanskrit in Uyghur script is a recent discovery.<sup>141</sup>

Zieme is preparing an edition of fragments related to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.<sup>142</sup> The scroll of a text known in Old Uyghur studies as *bahṣi ögdisi* [Praise of the Teacher] in the Turfan Collection in Berlin (U 5678) is believed to be related to Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>143</sup> It mentions the Buddha Vairocana in one line (l.9). As mentioned above, the *Amṛtadundubhisvaradhāraṇī*, which is related to the worship of Amitābha, is known from only three fragments.<sup>144</sup> The *Māricīdhāraṇī*<sup>145</sup> is a text that was most likely based on a Tibetan version and translated in the Mongolian period.<sup>146</sup> Because she was associated with warfare,<sup>147</sup> Māricī was perhaps attractive as a goddess to support the Mongol Empire and their vassals. In the *dhāraṇī* she is invoked to protect against enemies and dangerous wild beasts. Text A, which is edited in *Türkische Turfantexte V*, is still enigmatic. It contains several ritual instructions including visualisations, a *dhāraṇī*, and several *mudrās*.<sup>148</sup> The manuscript contains some archaic spellings, which point to a rather early translation probably made from a Chinese original, if a loan word such as *hwašin* from the Chinese *hua shen* (化身 = Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) should prove to be conclusive. The text does not seem to belong to mature Tantric Buddhism in the narrow sense.

## 2.6 Amulets and Talismans

The use of amulets and talismans is widespread in Esoteric Buddhism.<sup>149</sup> The first amulet made known to the public is dedicated to Avalokiteśvara and

141 Jens Wilkens, "A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* in Uyghur Script," *International Journal of Old Uyghur Studies* 2.1 (2020): 27–35.

142 BT XXIII, 9.

143 Edition and translation into Modern Turkish in Mehmet Ölmez, "Tibet Buddhizmine ait eski Uygurca *Bahṣi Ögdisi* [An Old Uyghur *Bahṣi Ögdisi* Related to Tibetan Buddhism]," in *Bahṣi Ögdisi: Festschrift für Klaus Röhrborn anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags / 60. Doğum Yılı Dolayısıyla Klaus Röhrborn Armağanı*, ed. Jens Peter Laut and Mehmet Ölmez (Freiburg, Istanbul: Simurg, 1998), 261–293.

144 See BT XXIII, 9, and the edition and translation in BT XXXVI, 124–136.

145 Edition and translation in BT XXIII, 89–114 (with corresponding Tibetan text).

146 BT XXIII, 89.

147 Sørensen, "Central Divinities," 119.

148 Edition and translation in Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain, "Türkische Turfan-Texte V," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 14 (1931): 324–340.

149 James Robson, "Talismans in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 225–229. See also Paul Copp, "Altar, Amulet, Icon: Transformations in Dhāraṇī Amulet Culture, 740–980," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 17 (2008):

was published by Wilhelm Radloff in 1911.<sup>150</sup> In the same year, Müller—who referred to Radloff’s publication in his supplement to *Uigurica II*—added further examples, such as an amulet for easy childbirth and one for removing a headache.<sup>151</sup> In 1937, Gabdul R. Rachmati published several other specimens—one for a person ill with fever, one to avert evil spirits, and one to avoid delivering a female child, among others.<sup>152</sup> Zieme published them again in 2005.<sup>153</sup> An apotropaic work with the still-enigmatic title *Garbaparimančanisūtra* is preserved in printed and handwritten form.<sup>154</sup> The text, which includes a *dhāraṇī* and is unusually replete with metaphors, even for Old Uyghur standards, says that the *apsarases* Śaśī, Urvaśī, and Tilottamā continuously recite the *sūtra*.<sup>155</sup> The Buddha entrusts Ānanda with the task of helping a doe, heavy with young, in the throes of birth. Another apotropaic text which Radloff edited could be supplemented with further pieces by Zieme, who identified it as dedicated to the group of the Seven Guanyins, that is Avalokiteśvaras, and related to Amoghavajra’s (705–774, Chin. Bukong 不空) translation of the *Avalokiteśvaratrilokavijayavidyādharaśūtra* (T. 1033.20).<sup>156</sup>

## 2.7 *Astrological and Astronomical Works*

Uyghur astrology relies heavily on Chinese paradigms.<sup>157</sup> A small number of fragments that definitely are from the pre-Mongolian period testify to the cult

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239–264; Paul Copp, “Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang,” *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie* 20 (2011): 193–226.

150 Radloff, *Kuan-ši-im Puser*, 110.

151 Müller, *Uigurica II*, 99–100.

152 Gabdul R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII, mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von W[olfgang] Eberhard* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937), 73.

153 BT XXIII, 182–184. A large fragment of a scroll from the collection in Berlin (The Seven Guanyins), which was considered lost during World War II, was rediscovered in the St. Petersburg Collection. See Pchelin and Raschmann, “Turfan Manuscripts in the State Hermitage,” 8–9. Further amulets, some of which are connected with certain stars, are edited in BT XXIII, 184–185.

154 Edition and translation in BT XXIII, 151–177.

155 BT XXIII, 164 (lines H025–027).

156 Edition in BT XXIII, 179–182.

157 See Jeffrey Theodore Kotyk, “Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty” (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2017). On astrology in Esoteric Buddhism see Henrik H. Sørensen, “Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 230–244. Astrology and planetary worship in the art of China and Central Asia are dealt with in Lilla Russell-Smith, “Stars and Planets in Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Art in the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries,” *Culture and Cosmos* 10.1–2 (2006): 99–124. Uyghur art is one of the main subjects of this important study.

of Tejaḥprabha Buddha among the Uyghurs. They correspond to the *Foshuo dawei de 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).<sup>158</sup> The names of donors mentioned in the fragments point to lay persons.<sup>159</sup> In her book on Uyghur patronage in Dunhuang, Lilla Russell-Smith discusses in detail a pictorial representation of Tejaḥprabha from Bezeklik Cave 18 (= Grünwedel's Cave 8).<sup>160</sup> The most popular Old Uyghur astrological work of Yuan period was the *Yetikän Sudur*, a text with talismans and *dhāraṇīs* dedicated to the worship of the Big Dipper<sup>161</sup> in order to procure long life,<sup>162</sup> a concept generally related to the heavenly bodies in medieval Chinese Buddhism.<sup>163</sup> It is preserved in handwritten and block-printed form (fig. 13.2). A small fragment in Tibetan script was also identified by Zieme,<sup>164</sup> who was able to reconstruct nearly the whole text.<sup>165</sup> Some of the seals or talismans are preserved.<sup>166</sup> Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian versions are also extant. The Old Uyghur version is related to the Chinese *Foshuo beidou qixing yanming jing* 佛說北斗七星延命經 [The Sūtra of the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper Procuring Longevity Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 1307.21). The relationship between the

158 There is also one temple banner inscribed with the *dhāraṇī* of this text. See Moriyasu, Zieme, "Uighur Inscriptions," 466a–468a. On Tejaḥprabha see Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets," 239–241.

159 BT XXIII, 85.

160 Lilla Russell-Smith, *Uyghur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 104–110. Cf. also Russell-Smith, "Stars and Planets," 103–113 and Takao Moriyasu, "Chronology of West Uighur Buddhism: Re-examination of the Dating of the Wall-paintings in Grünwedel's Cave No. 8 (New: No. 18), Bezeklik," in *Aspects of Research into Central-Asian Buddhism: In memoriam Kōgi Kudara*, ed. Peter Zieme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 196. In an article Russell-Smith describes the Uyghur painting as follows: "This Tejaḥprabhā composition is an important example of the links between the Uygurs, Dunhuang, the Tanguts and central China" (Russell-Smith, "Stars and Planets," 112).

161 On the Chinese version, see Herbert Franke, "The Taoist Elements in the Great Bear Sūtra (Pei-tou ching)," *Asia Major* 3 (1990): 75–111.

162 On the connection between the worship of the Big Dipper and procuring longevity, see Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology," 202–204. See also Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets," 237.

163 See Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets," 230.

164 BT XXIII, 128–129.

165 See the edition and translation in BT XXIII, 115–149, which supersedes all previous work on the Old Uyghur version.

166 See also Robson, "Talismans in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism," 228. The Chinese goddesses of the Big Dipper and their seals are depicted in Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology," 203.

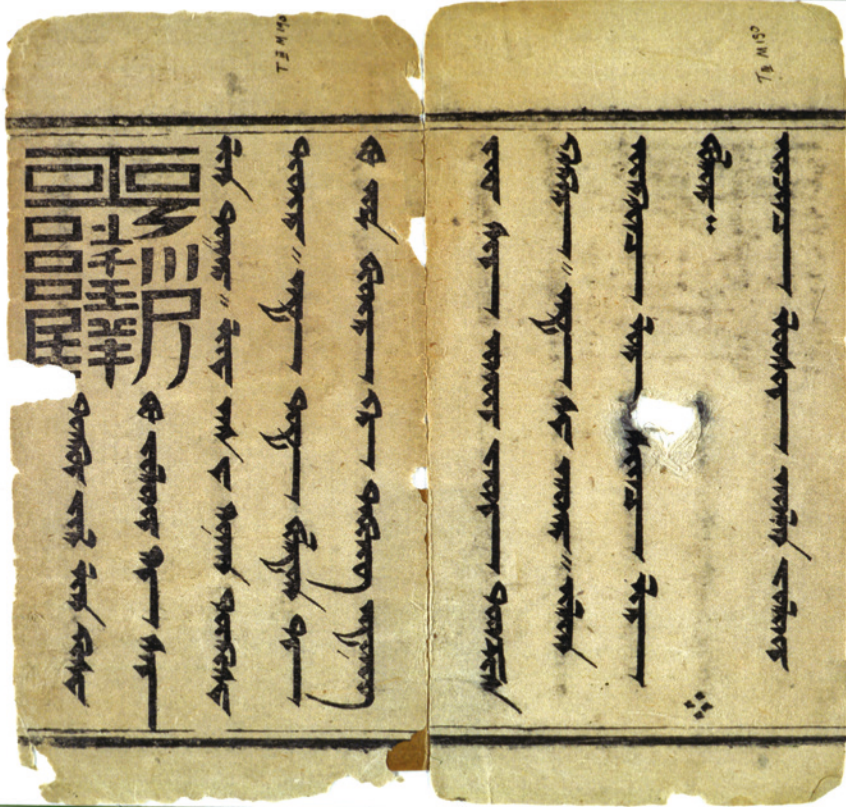


FIGURE 13.2 Old Uyghur Block Print of *The Yetikän Sudur*  
 U 496\_01, DEPOSITUM DER BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHEN AKADEMIE  
 DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN—  
 PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ ORIENTABTEILUNG

Old Uyghur and the Mongolian versions is not sufficiently clear.<sup>167</sup> Although phrased differently, both extant Old Uyghur colophons mention that a *posatha* day was selected by the lay donors for copying (in case of a manuscript) or printing (in case of a block-print) the work.<sup>168</sup> The donors of the manuscript colophon request protection for the realm while the colophon of the block-print

167 See Johan Elverskog, “The Mongolian Big Dipper Sūtra,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29.1 (2008): 90: “The opening passage of the Mongolian text provides a history of its translation: it was translated from Chinese into Mongolian, which in turn was used as the basis for the Tibetan translation. The colophon also notes that an Old Uyghur translation was prepared and printed, but it never states explicitly whether it was used as an intermediary in the translation from Chinese into Mongolian.”

168 For the colophons, see BT XXIII, 148–149.



FIGURE 13.3 Old Uyghur astrological text

U 494 RECTO, DEPOSITUM DER BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN—PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ ORIENTABTEILUNG

asks for welfare for the Mongol royal family. The latter colophon tells us that the lay female donor Silig Tegin commissioned the printing of 1000 copies of this text in order to recover from illness and never be reborn in a female body in the future.

The *Modingqie jing* 摩登伽經 [Mātāṅgīsūtra] (T. 1300.21)—known also under the Sanskrit title *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*—is a work with astrological contents.<sup>169</sup> We can now add at least four further fragments (Mainz 356a–c, U 293) to the published materials of this version.

In case of the *Grahamāṭṛkadhāraṇī*, the Old Uyghur fragments show corresponding parts to the *Zhuxingmu tuoluoni jing* 諸星母陀羅尼經 [Sūtra of the Mother Dhāraṇī Among the Stars] (T. 1302) as well as to the *Foshuo shengyaomu tuoluoni jing* 佛說聖曜母陀羅尼經 [The Holy Mother Dhāraṇī Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 1303.21).<sup>170</sup>

169 Edition and translation in BT XXIII, 47–60. The fragments U 1580 and U 1581 are actually part of the narrative cycle of stories called the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. See Jens Wilkens, *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 10: Buddhistische Erzähltexte* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010), 191 (no. #232), 275–276 (no. 370).

170 Edition and translation in BT XXIII, 61–64.

Literature of astrological content must have been substantial at some point among the Uyghurs. The introductory part of a treatise housed in the Beijing National Library on the portents of meteors, depending on their outward appearance, was recently identified.<sup>171</sup> So far, the text as a whole has no matching Chinese parallel, although the editor identifies similar descriptions in Chinese astrological or divinatory texts. Matsui identified fragments of almanac divination texts related to the *Yuxiaji* 玉匣記 [Records of the Jade Casket] found at Dunhuang and dating to the Yuan Dynasty.<sup>172</sup>

In the late phase of Uyghur Buddhism, other astrological and hemerological works (fig. 13.3) flooded the scene, as did amulets devised for protection against various influences (illness, evil spirits, groundless accusations, death of livestock etc.) and for application in different aspects of life (childbirth, combat, and so on).<sup>173</sup> A new evaluation of these texts that takes the progress in Dunhuang studies into account is a desideratum.

## 2.8 *Spells and Incantations*

The *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* and *Āṭānāṭikahr̥daya* were first known from Sanskrit-Old Uyghur bilingual texts,<sup>174</sup> but later, monolingual Old Uyghur versions of both texts were also discovered.<sup>175</sup> Two leaves (U 3831, U 3832) of a *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* manuscript in gold letters on indigo paper are remarkable because the text is presented in a particularly prestigious way (fig. 13.4). The translation of the *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* was, in all likelihood, made from a Sanskrit text (version from Xinjiang).<sup>176</sup>

171 Abdurishid Yakup, "An Old Uyghur Fragment of an Astrological Treatise Kept in the Beijing National Library," in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, ed. Team "Turfanforschung" (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 711–717.

172 Matsui Dai, "Uighur Almanac Divination Fragments from Dunhuang," in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. Irina Fedorovna Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Slavia, 2012), 154–166.

173 Most texts are edited in Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII*. Some fragments are based on the system of the nine palaces (Chin. *jiu gong* 九宮). A re-edition of the amulets, including new ones, some of which are connected to the stars, is found in BT XXIII, 182–185.

174 Dieter Maue, "Sanskrit-uygurische Fragmente des *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* und des *Āṭānāṭikahr̥daya*," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* Neue Folge 5 (1985): 98–122.

175 Edition and translation in BT XXIII, 31–45.

176 BT XXIII, 37.



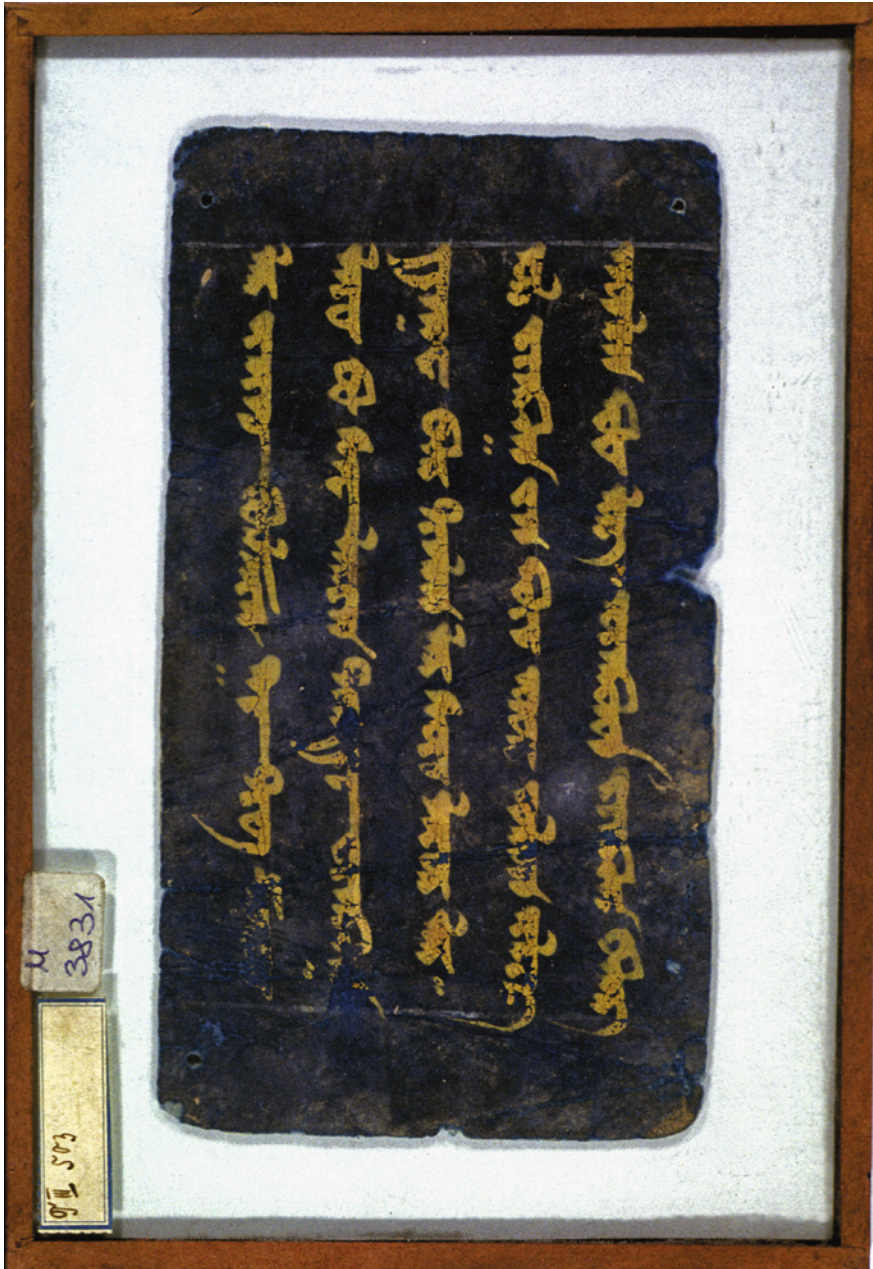


FIGURE 13.4 Old Uyghur leaf of the *Ātānātikasūtra*  
 U 3831 RECTO, DEPOSITUM DER BERLIN-BRANDENBURGISCHEN  
 AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU  
 BERLIN—PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ ORIENTABTEILUNG

Three different versions of a snake charm entitled *Maitrīsūtra* that is related to the *Upasenasūtra* were identified:<sup>177</sup> first, a complete scroll containing a transliteration of the Sanskrit text in Uyghur script; second, one leaf of a small booklet with a Sanskrit-Old Uyghur bilingual text; and third, a *pustaka* manuscript in Old Uyghur. Only the first and the second text are independent works,<sup>178</sup> while the third is embedded in a manuscript that is a composite text with a basic narrative structure and formulaic parts.<sup>179</sup> As the title indicates and as is explicitly stated at the beginning of the third text, an important practical aspect of the snake charm is the perfecting of *maitrī*.

The practice of rainmaking with a special kind of stone is widespread in Inner Asia. There are a few fragments in Old Uyghur that mention this stone.<sup>180</sup> One of these fragments (U 3004) mentions a *maṇḍala* on the verso.<sup>181</sup> Interestingly, the word *mantal* (Skt. *maṇḍala*) is used together with the verb *ba-* 'to bind', which here means 'to construct' or 'to make use of in the context of a magical ritual'.<sup>182</sup>

An unidentified manuscript contains a quote from a ritual text along with two contracts and scribbles. In lines 13–15, the quote mentions that the practitioner should make a water *maṇḍala* in order to cause rain to fall.<sup>183</sup>

There are further fragments of spell-related literature. The Uyghurs knew the *Pañcarakṣā* quite well, as one can infer from extant *mantras* in Uyghur script. There are also fragments pertaining to individual works of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection.<sup>184</sup> And there is an archaic text that the editors interpreted as

177 Peter Zieme, "Indischer Schlangenzauber in uigurischer Überlieferung," in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, ed. Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 425–440. The story of Upasena is contained in the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* as well.

178 Zieme, "Indischer Schlangenzauber," 427.

179 For this manuscript, see Wilkens, *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 10*, 302–306.

180 Peter Zieme, "Appendix: Alttürkische Fragmente über den Regenstein," in *Weather Magic in Inner Asia*, ed. Ádám Molnár (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1994), 147–151.

181 Zieme, "Regenstein," 148.

182 *Ibid.*, 148.

183 Raschmann and Sertkaya, *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 20*, 170–171 (cat. no. 149, especially fn. 6).

184 Edition and translation in Peter Zieme, "Uigurische Fragmente aus der *Pañcarakṣā*," in *The Black Master: Essays on Central Eurasia in Honor of György Kara on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Stéphane Grivelet, et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 151–164. A fragment of an Old Uyghur translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, which is not only a transliteration of the *mantras* as in case of the other known pieces, is edited in Wilhelm Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler: Materialien nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von S[ergej]*

containing rhymed sayings,<sup>185</sup> but which I prefer to treat as an incantation. In line 10, the word *saviš* ‘jinx, incantation, spell’ appears in the phrase *ačgu saviš* ‘revealing spell.’<sup>186</sup> However, the overall impression is that the incantation is not Buddhist in content. In the last three lines, the speaker announces that he wants to collect *taš* of certain animals, which the editors take to mean ‘testicles.’<sup>187</sup> But the literal meaning of the word is ‘stone’, and because all the animals mentioned are ruminants (sheep, bovines, goats, and stags), I take it to mean ‘bezoar’ (a concretion in the stomach or intestines of some animals).

## 2.9 Consecration Rituals

The stake inscriptions are a highly important group of local Buddhist sources, four of which are in Old Uyghur (nos. I, III, IV, and V) and one in Chinese (no. II).<sup>188</sup> These stakes made of wood are clearly connected to consecration rituals of Buddhist buildings. In the inscribed texts of stake inscriptions I and III, members of the Uyghur nobility appear as a group of faithful Buddhists. It is possible that there is a connection between these wooden stakes—either

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*Malov* (Leningrad: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften der USSR, 1928), 109–112. It was later identified and reedited with parallel Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian, in Pentti Aalto, “Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Pañcarakṣā*,” *Studia Orientalia* 19.2 (1954): 29–34. Aalto also points out that the text published in Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, 194–196 is likely a commentary to the *Pañcarakṣā*, although it was—in Aalto’s words—“very clumsily edited”. However, Aalto’s assumption that the text is a commentary cannot be confirmed. In the first text Radloff edited, the deity is conceived of as male. Zieme identified a fragment of the *Mahāpratisarā* from the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves (B 464:146) as the *Mahāpratisarā* (BT XXII, 9). On the *Mahāpratisarā*, see Gergely Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvīdyārājñī, the Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells: Introduction, Critical Editions and Annotated Translations* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012). A reference to the Old Uyghur version is on p. 10.

185 For this interpretation see the edition in Semih Tezcan and Peter Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche. Ein neuer Text,” *Journal of Turkology* 2.2 (1994): 259–271.

186 Tezcan and Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche,” 262. The editors think that the keyword *saviš* means ‘Reimspruch’. Tezcan and Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche,” 259. For a discussion of the verb *sav-* “to bewitch” and its derivatives (*saviš* etc.), see Georges-Jean Pinault, Michaël Peyrot, and Jens Wilkens, “Vernaculars of the Silk Road—A Tocharian B—Old Uyghur Bilingual,” *Journal Asiatique* 307.1 (2019): 81b–82a.

187 Tezcan and Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche,” 264.

188 See the article by Takao Moriyasu, “Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan,” in *De Dunhuang à Istanbul: Hommage à James Russell Hamilton*, ed. Louis Bazin and Peter Zieme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 148–223, in which stake inscriptions I and III are edited and translated. According to Moriyasu (*ibid.*, 157), stake inscription V is from the Yuan Dynasty.

driving them into the earth or placing them into walls—and the use of *khadirakīlakas* (pegs made of *khadira* wood) in Buddhist rituals of India and elsewhere. It is possible that the mention of a harpist (OU *kuṛḥaučī*) in an enumeration of persons from different walks of life in stake inscription I indicates that the consecration ritual itself was accompanied by music.<sup>189</sup>

### 3 Concluding Remarks

The appropriation of ritualistic literature took a long time in Uyghur Buddhism and served various purposes, from individual needs to imperial demands. The history of this process still has to be reconstructed on the basis of the extant sources. Such an endeavour would also have to take local varieties of Buddhism into account. The secular documents provide interesting materials, such as naming the four *mahārāja* kings and the seven sisters as witnesses in contracts.<sup>190</sup> What seems to be certain now is that Dunhuang was a source of new text-related ritual systems, such as the one exemplified in the *Shiwang jing* 十王經 [Scripture on the Ten Kings], which was extremely popular at Dunhuang. The text reached the Turfan region, presumably in the late phase of classical Uyghur literature, by the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. von Gabain was the first to discuss illustrated fragments of the Old Uyghur version of the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* retrieved from the Turfan region.<sup>191</sup> Kōgi Kudara later added a fragment found at Dunhuang.<sup>192</sup> Given the importance of the Chinese original of this scripture in its different recensions in the Dunhuang region,<sup>193</sup> it seems highly probable that the Uyghurs received

189 Jens Wilkens, “Buddhism in the West Uyghur Kingdom and Beyond,” in *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 202.

190 Nobuo Yamada, *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*, ed. Juten Oda, et al., vol. 2 (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1993), 130–131 (document Em01 l. 17), 136–137 (document WP02 lines 17–18). See also Raschmann, Sertkaya, *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 20*, 113 (cat. no. 074, fn. 6).

191 Annemarie von Gabain, “Kṣītigarbha-Kult in Zentralasien: Buchillustrationen aus den Turfan-Funden,” in *Indologen-Tagung 1971: Verhandlungen der Indologischen Arbeitstagung im Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin 7.–9. Oktober 1971*, ed. Herbert Härtel and Volker Moeller (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 47–71, especially 53–56.

192 Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Tenri toshokanzō Uiguru-go bunken 天理図書館蔵ウイグル語文献 Uigur Texts Preserved at Tenri Central Library,” *Biburia* ビブリア *Biblia* 86 (1986): 147.

193 Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

the complex system of the purgatories and the related scripture as well as their iconography and rites from Dunhuang. Zieme studies the textual material in an article,<sup>194</sup> later complemented by Simone-Christiane Raschmann's paper.<sup>195</sup> The case of the transmission of this particular work may serve as an example of how open the Uyghurs were to religious innovations. Art historical research reveals that the esoteric pictorial programme of some of the caves at Bezeklik (Turfan)—especially the iconography of Avalokiteśvara—was also inspired by esoteric Dunhuang art.<sup>196</sup> This applies especially to Cave 20, where a pedestal, mural paintings, silk banners, and even vestiges of a wooden statue are connected with this bodhisattva.<sup>197</sup> The name Čituŋ (Chin. Zhi tong 智通) mentioned in a cartouche retrieved from the cave was identified as the same person who acted as a translator of the Chinese *dhāraṇī* mentioned above (T. 1057. 20).<sup>198</sup>

A further line of enquiry is ascertaining the ritual implications of why various works serving ritual purposes were combined in one manuscript.<sup>199</sup> To give one example, the last part of the confession text *Kṣanti kulmak nom bitig* [The Book Called Making a Confession] mentioned above is extant in fragmentary form in one specific piece of a scroll from the Turfan Collection in Berlin (U 5033).<sup>200</sup> The first part of the fragment refers apparently to the misdeeds of other people. It is followed by a colophon which remarks that two lay persons commissioned the copy of one scroll each of the *Yamarājasūtra*

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- 194 Peter Zieme, "Old Turkish Versions of the 'Scripture on the Ten Kings,'" in *Proceedings of the 38th PIAC; Kawasaki, Japan: August 7–12, 1995*, ed. Giovanni Stary (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 401–425. Zieme (p. 402) underlines that it is difficult to ascertain which Chinese recension the Old Uyghur fragments parallel, given their poor state of preservation.
- 195 Simone-Christiane Raschmann, "The Old Turkish Fragments of The Scripture on the Ten Kings (十王經 Shiwangjing) in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS," in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research* 敦煌學: 第二個百年的研究視角與問題 Дуньхуановедение: перспективы и проблемы второго столетия исследований, ed. Irina F. Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Slavia, 2012), 209–216.
- 196 Li Lin, "Esoteric Buddhist Relics of the Uighur Kingdom Period in Bezeklik Temple," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 36 (2007): 61–78.
- 197 Koichi Kitsudo, "Historical Significance of Bezeklik Cave 20 in the Uyghur Buddhism," in *Turfan no bukkyō to bijutsu: Uiguru bukkyō o chūshin ni* トルファンへの仏教と美術: ウイグル仏教を中心に. *Buddhism and Art in Turfan: From the Perspective of Uyghur Buddhism*, ed. by Research Center for Buddhist Cultures in Asia, Ryukoku University (Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 2013), 142–143. See also Fig. 3.
- 198 Kitsudo, "Historical Significance," 147.
- 199 See also the colophon by Bodhidhvaṣa Śīla mentioned above.
- 200 Edited and translated in Peter Zieme, "Colophons to the *Sākiḥ yūkmāk yaruq*," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10.1 (1983): 146–147.

(OU *y(a)mlaywaŋ-ke*, Chin. *Yanluowang jing* 閻羅王經), the *Säkiz Yügmäk Yaruk* [Brilliance of the Eight Accumulations], and *the Book Called Making a Confession*.<sup>201</sup> The context of the collection of texts to which the colophon refers could very well be a mortuary ritual to safeguard the wellbeing of the donors' deceased family members. Transference of merit for deceased family members was widespread among the Uyghurs. One example is a famous votive banner that was devised for the soul (OU *özüt*) of Kara Totok, the father of the dedicating person.<sup>202</sup> Zsuzsanna Gulácsi recently interpreted this specimen as a funerary banner.<sup>203</sup> Written information on textile materials in ritual functions is rather scarce, but one such document from a late period, viz. the Yuan Dynasty, is a request for embroidered depictions of Vajrapāṇi, Samantabhadra, and Mañjuśrī.<sup>204</sup>

201 A re-edition and translation of the colophon is in BT XXVI, 246.

202 Moriyasu and Zieme, "Uighur Inscriptions," 464c–465a.

203 Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, "The Manichaean Roots of a Pure Land Banner from Kocho (III 4524) in the Asian Art Museum, Berlin," in *Language, Society, and Religion in the World of the Turks: Festschrift for Larry Clark at Seventy-Five*, ed. Zsuzsanna Gulácsi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 337–376.

204 Dolkun Kämberi 多魯坤 = 闕白爾, Umemura Hiroshi 梅村坦, and Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, "Uiguru bun bukkyō sonzō juryō meirei monjo kenkyū USp nanbā 64 nado ni mieru 'čuv' no kaishaku o kanete ウイグル文佛教尊像受領命令文書研究 USp No. 64 などにみえる 'čuv' の解釈を兼ねて. A Study on the Uyghur Order Document of Receiving Buddhist Portraits: Interpretation of the Word 'čuv' Seen in the USp No. 64 and Others Combined," *Ajia-Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū* アジアアフリカ言語文化研究 *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40 (1990): 14–15 (photo on p. 16).