



Buddhism in Central Asia III

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences, Doctrines

EDITED BY

Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert,

Henrik H. Sørensen and Yukiyo Kasai

BRILL

Buddhism in Central Asia III

Dynamics in the History of Religions

Editors-in-Chief

Volkhard Krech

Licia Di Giacinto

(Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany)

Advisory Board

Jan Assmann† (*Ruprecht-Karls Universität, Heidelberg*)

Christopher Beckwith (*Indiana University, Bloomington*)

Rémi Brague (*Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München*)

José Casanova (*Georgetown University*)

Angelos Chaniotis (*Oxford University*)

Peter Skilling (*University of Sydney*)

Guy Stroumsa (*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

Boudewijn Walraven (*Leiden University*)

VOLUME 14

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/dhr

Buddhism in Central Asia III

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences, Doctrines

Edited by

Lewis Doney
Carmen Meinert
Henrik H. Sørensen
Yukiyo Kasai



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.



BuddhistRoad



This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 725519).

BuddhistRoad is a project of



**RUHR
UNIVERSITÄT
BOCHUM**

RUB



CERES

Centrum für Religionswissenschaftliche Studien
Center for Religious Studies



Cover illustration: Line drawing of a Uyghur donor. Wall painting, Bezeklik Cave 31, Turfan, 10th–14th century.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019043286>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1878-8106

ISBN 978-90-04-52003-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-68728-8 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004687288

Copyright 2023 by Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert, Henrik H. Sørensen and Yukiyo Kasai. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

In Memoriam: Jan Assmann	IX
In Memoriam: Diego Loukota	XI
Foreword	XIII
Acknowledgements	XIV
General Abbreviations	XV
Bibliographic Abbreviations	XVIII
List of Illustrations	XXI
Notes on Contributors	XXIII

Introduction: The Meeting of Religious Traditions and of Beliefs in
Eastern Central Asia 1

Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Yukiyo Kasai

PART 1

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences

- 1 Islamic Expansion into Central Asia and Muslim-Buddhist
Encounters 13
Michal Biran
- 2 Witch Women and Amorous Monkeys: Non-Buddhist Substrata in
Khotanese Religion 65
Diego Loukota
- 3 Uyghur Buddhism and the Impact of Manichaeism and Native Religion:
The Case of Religious Terminology 90
Jens Wilkens
- 4 The Christian Communities in Tang China: Between Adaptation and
Religious Self-Identity 123
Max Deeg
- 5 On the Presence and Influence of Daoism in the Buddhist Material
from Dunhuang 145
Henrik H. Sørensen

- 6 Non-Buddhist Superhuman Beings in Early Tibetan
Religious Literature 183
Lewis Doney
- 7 The Fluid Lives of Tibetan Ritual Narrations during the Imperial and
Post-Imperial Period 212
Daniel Berounský

PART 2

Doctrines

- 8 People, Places, Texts, and Topics: Another Look at the Larger Context
of the Spread of Chan Buddhism in Eastern Central Asia during the
Tibetan Imperial and Post-Imperial Period (7th–10th C.) 257
Carmen Meinert
- 9 Sino-Tibetan Scholasticism: A Case Study of the
Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya in Dunhuang 296
Meghan Howard Masang
- 10 Prostration as *wuti toudi* 五體投地 or *wulun toudi* 五輪投地?
A Possible Trace of Contacts between Certain Uyghur Translators and
Esoteric Buddhism 350
Yukiyo Kasai
- 11 The Funerary Context of Mogao Cave 17 373
Mélotie Doumy and Sam van Schaik

Bibliography	401
Index of Deities and Buddhas	463
Index of Dynasties, Kingdoms, and Empires	465
Index of Personal Names	466
Index of Places	469
Index of Technical Terms	473
Index of Text Names	480



Jan Assmann

PHOTO BY MARTIN KRAFT, 2018. LICENSE: [HTTPS://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode)
[BY-SA/3.0/LEGALCODE](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode). VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

In Memoriam: Jan Assmann

Shortly before the final proofreading of this volume, we received the sad news that Jan Assmann, founding and long-time member of the editorial board of this series, passed away on February 19 at the age of 85. Jan Assmann is known as an Egyptologist, historian, and theorist of religion and culture. But above all, he was a true scholar of the ‘old school’ in the best sense of the word. Not only was his erudition astonishing, but he also had an admirable ability to combine historical details with big topics—from the impact of scripture, cultural memory, and the consequences of monotheism with and since his book “The Mosaic Distinction” to the epochal concept of the axial age, to name but a few of the relevant keywords. In this way, Jan Assmann has become and will remain one of the world’s most renowned and influential intellectuals.

I would like to take the liberty of saying a few personal words on this sad occasion. Since my time in Heidelberg in the second half of the 1980s and then again in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I have learned an extraordinary amount from Jan Assmann—especially regarding the aforementioned interweaving of historical knowledge and systematic thinking. Since my first visit to his colloquium, held at the University of Heidelberg, Jan Assmann’s writings and conversations with him have been a constant and enduring companion for me. Last but not least, the “Center for Religious Studies” (CERES) based at Ruhr University Bochum, Germany, breathes his spirit: Jan Assmann was not only a regular guest here, but many of the topics we deal with at CERES and even the entire scholarly approach of this institute were stimulated by him: If we want to avoid perceiving religious traditions as monolithic blocks and wish to understand “the dynamics in the history of religions,” research must not stop at disciplinary boundaries and has to take religious contact into account.

Jan Assmann was a scientifically subtle, personally sympathetic and an empathetic scholar—the likes of which have rarely been seen and, I am sure, will only occasionally be seen in the future. The members of the editorial board and all of us here at CERES are honoured and grateful for his commitment to the DHR series and to the institute in general. We will sorely miss Jan Assmann, but his spirit will live on through his many and varied works and continue to inspire us to new perspectives, questions, and thinking.

Volkhard Krech
Bochum, February 26, 2024



Diego Loukota

PRIVATE PHOTO BY STEPHANIE BALKWILL, 2023

In Memoriam: Diego Loukota

Just a few days before this volume went to press, we received the very sad news that Diego Loukota, our dear friend, colleague, and cooperation partner in the *BuddhistRoad* project, passed away on March 17 at the young age of 38. Diego Loukota had just started his promising career as Assistant Professor in Indian and Central Asian Buddhism at the University of California, Los Angeles, a few years ago after accomplishing degrees in three continents (a BA in Asian History from the University of Bologna in Italy, an MA in Sanskrit and Pāli from Beijing University in China, and a PhD in Buddhist Studies from UCLA in the US). He mastered not only the main canonical languages of Buddhism (Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan), but also the rare Central Asian scripts of Gāndhārī and Khotanese. Diego Loukota was one among a mere handful of scholars worldwide able to pair his exemplary philological expertise with the remarkable skill of placing bits and pieces of micro-history, deciphered from ancient Central Asian manuscript fragments, into his expert analysis of macro-historical processes of the medieval spread of Buddhism in Central Asia—thus exceptionally investigating local and translocal dimensions alike.

Diego Loukota kindly accepted our invitation to present a lecture at the *BuddhistRoad* project's final conference on impacts of non-Buddhist influences, and doctrines, held online in July 2021 with the results published in this volume. He was at that time probably the only Buddhologist able to contribute scholarship to the non-Buddhist traces from Persian, Indic, and Sinitic spheres impacting the formation of Khotanese Buddhism. We are extremely happy to be able to publish this final work of fine scholarship in our volume. Following the lively interactions enjoyed during the conference, we were then very glad that Diego Loukota agreed to join the *BuddhistRoad* team as cooperation partner two years ago. He contributed the *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.7 entitled “Ne Hāḍe Vajrropamā Vaśārā: Indic Loanwords in the Khotanese Book of Zambasta and the Chronology of the Spread of Buddhism to Khotan” (<https://omp.ub.rub.de/index.php/BuddhistRoad/catalog/book/274>), published in August 2023, but had to withdraw his commitment to the forthcoming co-authored volume of the BuddhistRoad Team, *The Buddhist Road: Major Themes in Central Asian Buddhism II*, when he was diagnosed with an incurable and aggressive form of brain tumor.

On a more personal note, it was moving, heartbreaking, and admirable to witness how Diego Loukota carried his fate, kept writing to us whenever he had the strength for it, and shared with us some glimpses of his final journey

through fear, hope, faith, friendship, gratitude, and letting go. Our last e-mail exchange was on November 13, 2023, closing with my wish:

Dear Diego, my favourite slogan of the mind training (blo sbyong) in the Tibetan tradition is this one:

Always apply only a joyful mind.

May you stay in this spirit—whatever the future will be.

The whole *BuddhistRoad* team is grateful for his dedication to the project's research agenda until his very end. We all miss him but are comforted to know that his creative thinking will continue to inspire scholars in Central Asian religions and beyond.

Carmen Meinert
Bochum, March 19, 2024

Foreword

Dynamics in Buddhist Network in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th Centuries (short: *BuddhistRoad*) aims to create a new framework to enable understanding of the complexities in the dynamics of cultural encounter and religious transfer in premodern Eastern Central Asia—a vast area extending from the Taklamakan Desert to north-east China. This region was the home of several neighbouring civilisations, something which to a large extent determined the complex dynamics of inter-religious and cultural exchanges that took place along the Silk Roads. Buddhism was one of the major factors in this exchange; its consistent and extensive transfer of religious knowledge and artefacts took hold in virtually all the cultures existing along the Silk Roads, thereby becoming a major civilising force. In many cases the spread of Buddhism overrode ethnic and linguistic boundaries in Eastern Central Asia creating a world shared by all, one which, despite its diversity, had Buddhism as its common point of reference. A primary aspect of this process was the rise of local forms of Buddhism. The *BuddhistRoad* project was set up to investigate these forms of local Buddhism that flourished between the 6th and the 14th centuries. At the core of the research are the areas of ancient Khotan, Kuča, Turfan, Dunhuang, and Ganzhou, as well as the territory of the Tangut Empire. The analytical themes of the project revolve around thematic clusters pertaining to doctrines, rituals and practices, the impact of non-Buddhist influences, patronage and legitimisation strategies, sacred spaces and pilgrimages, and visual and material transfers.

Under the direction of the PI of the project, Carmen Meinert, and the project coordinator, Henrik H. Sørensen, the *BuddhistRoad* project has already published two conference proceedings:

- *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 2019.
- *Buddhism in Central Asia II. Practice and Rituals, Visual and Materials Transfer*, edited by Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen, 2022.

Moreover, we await further forthcoming volumes to be co-authored by all *BuddhistRoad* team members and featuring the core findings of the project, and a monograph by Carmen Meinert on the history of Central Asian Buddhism, upon the conclusion of the project.

Carmen Meinert
Henrik H. Sørensen

Acknowledgements

The present volume comprises the proceedings of the ERC-funded *BuddhistRoad* project's third and final conference, "Establishing of Buddhist Nodes in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th c. Part III: Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences and Doctrines." This conference was convened by Lewis Doney and took place online and at the Ruhr University Bochum (Germany) between the 12th and 14th of July, 2021, and he would like to thank Franziska Burstyn for her help with the organisation.

The conference convenor and book editors are grateful to all the conference participants for making it a rich and lively event, despite the distance between us dictated by the COVID-19 pandemic, and to those participants who were able to contribute fine pieces of scholarship to the present volume and helped immensely throughout the editing process. This process was also aided by the hard work of our heroes behind the scenes. We are particularly grateful to Vivien Staps, Tanja Heilig, and Ben Müller for their energy and attention to detail, to Joseph Leach, Dawn Collins, and Dylan Esler for proofreading several contributions between them, to Licia Di Giacinto for liaising with excellent peer-reviewers and to the publication team at Brill, headed by Boris van Gool with the able assistance of Irene Jager.

We hope that readers enjoy and benefit from the work in this collective volume, and that it inspires future work on the rich intersections between Buddhism and non-Buddhist traditions, texts, and communities in Eastern Central Asia, and especially as reflected in and motivated by complex doctrinal concerns.

Lewis Doney

Carmen Meinert

Henrik H. Sørensen

Yukiyo Kasai

Bochum, December 11th, 2023

General Abbreviations

AH	<i>anno Hegirae</i>
a.k.a.	also known as
alt.	alternative
Arab.	Arabic
Av.	Avestan
BCE	Before Common Era
c.	century
ca.	circa
CE	Common Era
CERES	Center for Religious Studies (Centrum für Religionswissenschaftliche Studien), Ruhr University Bochum, Germany
cf.	confer
chap.	chapter
Chin.	Chinese
col.	colophon
d.	died
d.u.	dates unknown
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
ERC	European Research Council
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>
ff.	following pages
fig(s).	figure(s)
fl.	flourished
fn.	footnote
fol(s).	folio
Gand.	Gāndhārī
Germ.	German
Grk.	Greek
i.e.	<i>id est</i>
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i>
IDP	International Dunhuang Project at the British Library in London
Iran.	Iranian
Jap.	Japanese
Kh.	Khotanese
l./ll.	line/lines
lit.	literally

Lat.	Latin
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
Mong.	Mongolian
Mt.	Mount
n(s).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
nom.sg.	nominative singular
OT	Old Turkish
OU	Old Uyghur
Pers.	Persian
PI	Principal Investigator
pl(s).	plate(s)
r	recto side of a folio
r.	reign
RUB	Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
Syr.	Syriac
tab.	table
Tib.	Tibetan
THL	The Tibetan & Himalayan Library
TochA	Tocharian A
TochB	Tocharian B (Kuchean)
Turk.	Turkish
trans.	translated by
v	verso side of a folio
vol(s).	volume(s)

Symbols

>	borrowed into
[[xyz]]	cancelled text in the manuscript
...	damaged or illegible text
[xyz]	inferred text in obscured or missing part of manuscript
{{xyz}}	interlinear additions
(read: xx)	a proposal to amend a mistake in the text to read xx
/xyz/	reconstructed or modern phonetic value

- * reconstructed titles or terminologies
- I, N-, etc. reversed Tibetan glyphs, e.g., *gI* (𑄂) / *Na* (𑄃)
- 《xyz》 tentative reading
- + transcription of non-standard ligatures
- ^a transliteration of Tibetan *a* (𑄄) according to the policy of Old Tibetan Documents Online <https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/policy>.
- √ verbal root
- ⟨xyz⟩ written form (often different from its reconstructed or modern phonetic value)

Bibliographic Abbreviations

- BD Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved in the National Library of China, Beijing.
- BDRC Buddhist Digital Resource Center, <https://library.bdrc.io/?uilang=en>.
- BT V Zieme, Peter. *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975.
- BT IX Tekin, Şinasi. *Maitrisimit nom bitig: Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule*. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980.
- BT XIII Zieme, Peter. *Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*. Berlin: Buddhistische Akademie Verlag, 1985.
- BT XVIII Zieme, Peter. *Altun Yaruk Sudur—Vorworte und das erste Buch: Edition und Übersetzung der alttürkischen Version des Goldglanzsūtra (Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra)*. Turnhout, Brepols, 1996.
- BT XXIII Zieme, Peter. *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
- BT XXV Wilkens, Jens. *Das Buch von der Sündentilgung: Edition des alttürkisch-buddhistischen Kṣanti Kulguluk Nom Bitig*. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- BT XXVI Kasai, Yukiyo. *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- BT XXVIII Yakup, Abdurishid. *Prajñāpāramitā Literature in Old Uyghur*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- BT XXXIII Oda, Juten. *A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra Called Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruq or Säkiz Törlügin Yarumış Yaltrimış in Old Turkic*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.
- BT XXXVI Yakup, Abdurishid. *Altuigurische Aparimitāyus-Literatur und kleinere tantrische Texte*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.
- BT XXXVII Jens Wilkens. *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien*. Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā, 3 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.
- BT XLVI Moriyasu, Takao. *Corpus of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.
- BT XLVII Zieme, Peter. *Uiguratorum veterum fragmenta minora*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
- CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection, <https://www.cbeta.org/>.
- CKD Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass, *Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, 2002–. (gandhari.org).

- CMCT *Catalogue des manuscrits Chinois de Touen-Houang*. Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vols. I–V. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1970–1995.
- Derge Kangyur and Tengyur, Derge edition.
- DZ *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 [Daoist Canon from the Zhengtong Reign Period], 36 vols. Wenwu edition. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988.
- EO Extreme Orient section of Musée Guimet, Paris.
- Giles Giles, Lionel. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum, 1957.
- IO L Tib J Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London (formerly in the India Office Library (IO L)).
- IO L Tib N Tibetan wooden slips from various sites along the Silk Roads, especially Miran and Mazar Tagh, preserved at the British Library.
- bKa' 'gyur* *bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma* [Critical Edition of the Kangyur], 109 vols., comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2006–2009.
- KT Harold Walter Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, in 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969–1985).
- Mainz Manuscripts in various languages preserved at the Turfan Collection in Berlin (formerly preserved in Mainz).
- MG Musée Guimet Collection in Paris.
- NGB *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* [THL online catalogue, <https://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=ng>].
- OA Oriental Arts Section of the British Museum in London.
- P. Pelliot Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
- P. T. Pelliot Collection of Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
- Peking Tengyur, Peking edition.
- S. Stein Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London.
- T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Taishō Tripiṭaka], edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
- gTing skyes *gTing skyes rNying ma rgyud 'bum* [THL online catalogue, <https://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/catalog.php#cat=tk>].

- Tōhoku no. *Chibetto daizōkyō sōmokuroku* 西藏大藏經總目錄 *Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥbyur)*, ed. Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽 et al. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934.
- TT VII Gabdul Raschid Rachmati mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von Wolfram Eberhard. "Türkische Turfantexte VII," *Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 12 (1936): 3–124.
- U II Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller. "Uigurica II." *Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 3 (1910): 3–110.
- VOHD 13,14 Simone-Christiane Raschmann. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 6. Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtra. Teil 2: Viertes und fünftes Buch. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XIII*, 14. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002.
- VOHD 13,15 Simone-Christiane Raschmann. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 7. Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtra. Teil 3: Sechstes bis zehntes Buch Kolophone, Kommentare und Versifizierungen. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XIII*, 15. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.
- VOHD 13,26 Simone-Christiane Raschmann. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 18. Buddhica aus der Berliner Turfansammlung. Teil 1: Das apokryphe Sutra Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XIII*, 26. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012.
- Yu (羽) Chinese Dunhuang Manuscript preserved in the National Library in China (中国国家图书馆) in Beijing.
- ZW *Zangwai* 藏外 [Buddhist Texts Outside the Canon]. CBETA edition.
- ZWF *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 [Buddhist Textual Material Outside the Canon]. New Series, vols. 10–16, edited by Fang Guangchang 方廣錫. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2006–2011.
- ZZ *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Extension to the Tripitaka [Compiled] in Japan], 90 vols., edited by Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et al. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyōkai, 1980–1988.

Illustrations

Figures

- 1.1 The Mausoleum of Satuq Bughra Khan near Kašgar 31
- 1.2 The *Mi'raj* or The Night Flight of Muḥammad on his Steed Burāq 47
- 1.3 The Mausoleum of Tughluq Temür Khan near Yining 55
- 2.1 Possible scene of fire worship 74
- 2.2 Vāsudeva raising Mt. Govardhana (?) 80
- 2.3a–b Monkey figurines from Yōtkan 84
- 2.4 Pan and Maenad 86
- 2.5 The great *yakṣa* Gaganasvara from Mogao Cave 98 87
- 8.1 Exchange routes traversing cultural units in contested Tibetan-Chinese border region 259
- 8.2 Mourning scene upon the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* 262
- 8.3 Timeline relevant to the Tibetan-Chinese border region, 7th–11th c. 264
- 8.4 List of 20 *dharma* colleges established on the eastern fringes of the Tibetan Empire, 9th c. 274
- 8.5 Chan text *Lung chung* [Small Treatise] and description of lineages of *dharma* colleges, IOL Tib J 689 276
- 8.6 Phases of production of Dunhuang Chan manuscripts 277
- 8.7 Selected list of Dunhuang Chan manuscripts according to phases of production (fig. 8.6) 278
- 8.8 Temple of a Hundred Nāgas 285
- 8.9 Fresco of a thousand Buddhas in the Temple of a Hundred Nāgas 285
- 8.10a Section to the right of the fresco of a thousand Buddhas 286
- 8.10b Section to the left sides of the fresco of a thousand Buddhas 286
- 8.11 Tibetan emperor under umbrella 287
- 8.12 Chinese and Tocharian donors 288
- 8.13a Fresco inside the Temple of a Hundred Nāgas 289
- 8.13b Detail of fresco inside the Temple of a Hundred Nāgas 289
- 8.14 Cliff with *stūpa* and frescos 290
- 8.15a Detail of fig. 8.14: Fresco with deities with local hairdress (?) 291
- 8.15b Detail of fig. 8.14: Detail of fresco with deities with local hairdress (?) 291
- 8.16 Buddhist network with model of feedback loop by *BuddhistRoad* project 293
- 8.17 Exchange routes traversing cultural units 294
- 9.1 Detail of four Tibetan syllables, P. T. 764 302
- 9.2a The Tibetan preface to the *Epitome* 308
- 9.2b Detail of 'the Chödruṅ hand' on the Tibetan preface 308

- 9.3a Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome* 311
- 9.3b Detail of the scribal hand and annotation layout of the *Epitome* 312
- 9.4a Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, P. T. 766 313
- 9.4b Detail of annotation, P. T. 766 313
- 9.4c Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout, P. T. 766 314
- 9.5a Variant set of Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, IOL Tib J 623 318
- 9.5b Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout, IOL Tib J 623 318
- 9.6 Chinese *Epitome Notes*, S.269 321
- 11.1 Sketch of the three-storey complex of Mogao Caves 16, 17, 365, and 366 383
- 11.2a Front view of the three-storey complex of Mogao Caves 16, 17, 365, and 366 395
- 11.2b Side view of the three-storey complex of Mogao Caves 16, 17, 365, and 366 395

Maps

- 1.1 The Battle of Talas, 751 22
- 1.2 The Kara Khitai at its height: Asia in 1142 37
- 1.3 The Mongol Commonwealth: The Four Khanates after 1260 40
- 1.4 Mongol Central Asia: The Chaghadaid Khanate ca. 1330 49
- 7.1 Map of Central Tibet with locations mentioned in *A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death* 237
- 8.1 Network of Buddhist nodes in Eastern Central Asia 260
- 8.2 Network of Buddhist sites in the region of the Blue Lake before the Chinese and Tibetan conquests (1st–7th c.) 272
- 8.3 Location of *dharma* colleges in the region east of the Blue Lake 273

Tables

- 7.1 List of ritualists and their corresponding locations according to *A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death* 238
- 9.1 The outlines of the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan annotated gloss commentary 322
- 9.2 The opening lines of the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface 324
- 9.3 The five ‘matters to be known’, as applied to the *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* by the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface 326
- 9.4 A comparison of *Epitome Notes* glosses with two sets of Tibetan annotations 331
- 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations 339

Notes on Contributors

Daniel Berounský

is currently Associate Professor at the Institute of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague. His PhD thesis (2005) focused on the Tantra of Vajrabhairava and he then prepared a new study programme for Tibetan Studies at the Faculty of Arts. Starting in 2001, Berounský conducted regular field research in north-eastern parts of the Tibetan Plateau. This resulted in publishing case studies on contemporary spirit-mediums from Ngawa (Tib. rNga ba), a history of Kirti Monastery of Ngawa—the epicenter of the recent wave of self-immolations in Amdo—and descriptions of the cult of mountains and ‘warrior gods’ (Tib. *dgra lha/ dgra bla*) in these regions. Berounský’s research also focuses on the beginnings of the Tibetan institution of reincarnated masters, the Chinese tradition of post-mortem rites in Tibet, magical rituals associated with Tsongkhapa (Tib. Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, 1357–1419), and Bon religious practices. In recent years, he has been exploring the *gNyan ’bum* collection of myths on ‘fierce spirits’ (Tib. *gnyan*) included in the Bön Kanjur and the tradition of lay ritualists from Thewo (Tib. The bo) region in Amdo, called *léu* (Tib. *le’u*).

Michal Biran

is a historian of Central Asia, imperial China and the medieval Islamic world. She is the Max and Sophie Mydans Foundation Professor in the Humanities at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where she currently heads The Institute of Asian and African Studies, a Distinguished Professor in the Department of History at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, and a member of the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities. Biran has published extensively on the Mongol Empire, Mongol and pre-Mongol Central Asia, cross-cultural contacts between China, nomadic empires and the Muslim world, comparative study of empires, migrations and mobility, and Ilkhanid Baghdad. She is author or editor of 14 books and volumes and dozens of articles, and has most recently published with Hodong Kim, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2023).

Max Deeg

is Professor in Buddhist Studies at Cardiff University. In his research, Deeg focuses on Indic and Chinese sources. His main research interests are the history of Buddhism and its spread to Central Asia and China, particularly the transmission and change of Buddhist ideas, narratives, and translation

processes in the wider sense. He also researches Chinese Christian texts of the Tang period and has published a German annotated translation of the Xi'an stele (2018). Deeg's other major publications include a German translation and commentary of the *Faxian Gaoseng zhuan* [Biographies of Eminent Monks by Faxian] and a German translation of Kumārajīva's rendering of the Lotus Sūtra. Currently, he is working on a translation-cum-commentary of Xuanzang's *Datang Xiyu ji* [Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang] and, as a PI, on the "Xuanzang Trail" project funded by the Bihar Heritage Development Society.

Lewis Doney

is since 2021 Professor of Tibetan Studies at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, before which he was Research Associate on the *BuddhistRoad* project for a year. Doney received his PhD (Study of Religions) from SOAS, University of London, in 2011 and was then engaged in postdoctoral research on early Tibetan kingship and religion. He has since studied Tibetan connections with South Asia and their impact on the social history of Sino-Tibetan communities around Dunhuang, and later southern Tibetan Buddhist historiography and ritual and their relations to cultural identities and ecologies in the Himalayas. Doney's publications include a monograph titled *The Zangs gling ma: The First Padmasambhava Biography* (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2014) and the edited volume, *Bringing Buddhism to Tibet: History and Narrative in the dBa' bzhed Manuscript* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2021). He is currently working on a forthcoming book: with Brandon Dotson, *Producing Limitless Life: A Study of the Tibetan Dunhuang Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra Copies Kept in the British Library* (Berlin: De Gruyter).

Mélotie Doumy

holds a BA in Art History, Anthropology and Archaeology and an MA in Museum Studies from Ecole du Louvre (Paris), as well as a degree in Chinese Studies from INALCO (Paris) and an MPhil in International Relations from Cambridge University. She joined the British Library in 2015 to work as Curator of Chinese Collections, with a specific focus on the Stein Collection and the International Dunhuang Project (IDP). Doumy's interests include the material cultures of China and the Eastern Silk Road, Buddhism, history of collections, and cultural diplomacy. Her research has focused on the materiality of the Dunhuang manuscripts, and the social and religious practices associated with them. Doumy's publications include "The Diamond Sutra," in *The Book by Design*, ed. Philippa Marks (London: British Library Publishing, forthcoming);

“Dunhuang Texts,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.771); and “The Curious Case of a Miniature Painting at the British Library: A Tantric Ritual Implement for Empowerment,” *Arts of Asia* 50.1 (2020): 135–141.

Meghan Howard Masang

is currently the Khyentse Postdoctoral Associate in Tibetan Buddhist Studies at Yale University. With research interests centering on the Tibetan adoption and assimilation of Buddhism, she holds a PhD in Buddhist Studies from the University of California, Berkeley (2023), and an AB in Tibetan and Himalayan Studies from Harvard University (2004). Her dissertation examines the translation career of Wu Facheng/Go Chödrup (d. ca. 864, 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), an influential scholiast and translator of Buddhist scriptures from Chinese to Tibetan and vice versa based in the important Silk Road oasis of Dunhuang. Prior to graduate school, Howard Masang's work as a Tibetan translator and interpreter led her to Songtsen Library in Dehra Dun, India, where she spent four years translating a modern Tibetan commentary on the *Old Tibetan Annals* and *Old Tibetan Chronicle* by H. H. the Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang, published in English as *A History of the Tibetan Empire: Drawn from the Dunhuang Manuscripts* (Dehra Dun, India: Songtsen Library, 2011; translated with Tsultrim Nakchu).

Yukiyo Kasai

is one of the researchers of the *BuddhistRoad* project and received her habilitation degree from the Faculty for East Asian Studies of Ruhr University Bochum (Germany) in 2021 for her habilitation thesis “Zur Rezeption und Rolle von Religionen in der vor-islamischen uigurischen Gesellschaft (8.–14. Jh.)” Before that, Kasai was a researcher at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Academy of Sciences and Humanities, working in the Turfan Studies project. She specialised in the field of the Old Uyghur philology and Central Asian history focused on Uyghur Buddhism in the period between 7th and 14th century. Kasai demonstrates her knowledge of Uyghur manuscripts and their multilinguality in her publications, the most recent of which being an edition of a number of Old Uyghur Āgama fragments preserved in the Sven Hedin Collection: with Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Håkan Wahlquist, and Peter Zieme, ed., *The Old Uyghur Āgama Fragments Preserved in the Sven Hedin Collection* (Turnhout, 2017); and edition of Old Uyghur fragments which are partly written in Brāhmī script: in cooperation with Hirotohi Ogiyama, *Die altuigurischen Fragmente mit Brāhmī-Elemente* (Berliner Turfantexte XXXVIII, Turnhout, 2017).

Diego Loukota (1985–2024)

was Assistant Professor of South Asian Buddhism at the University of California, Los Angeles. His training was in philology, but constantly in dialogue with art history, archeology, and modern ethnography. He specialised in the early historic period in Gandhāra and Serindia using largely unpublished and undeciphered texts in the main scriptural languages of Buddhism (Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan), as well as the rarer Gāndhārī and Khotanese. Loukota's interests included the role of Buddhism within society and political power, its interaction with other religious traditions, and the texture of local culture and daily life in the multicultural mosaic of the Silk Roads. His recent publications included: "Made in China? Sourcing the Old Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139.1 (2019): 67–90; "Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotan: Quotations in Chapter 6 of the *Book of Zambasta* (1)," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 61.2 (2018): 131–175; and, with Ruixuan Chen, "Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotan: Quotations in Chapter 6 of the *Book of Zambasta* (11)," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 63.3 (2020): 201–261. In addition, Loukota was working on a book manuscript on the life and times of the third-century Gandhāran Buddhist author Kumāralāta and the crisis of the urban mercantile classes that supported Buddhism through its most dynamic phase in South Asia.

Carmen Meinert

holds the Chair for Central Asian Religions at CERES—a unique position in religious studies at German universities—and is Principal Investigator for the *BuddhistRoad* project. Trained in Buddhist Studies, Tibetan Studies and Sinology, she maintains a more systematic approach to the field of Central Asian religions and aims to integrate Central Asian studies and Tibetan studies into the larger framework of religious studies. Meinert has studied and conducted research at the Universities of Bonn, Hamburg, Beijing, Chengdu, and at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Essen. Moreover, she was a Numata Visiting Professor for Buddhist Studies at the University of Vienna (2013). She had already been involved with the Ruhr University Bochum before she became a professor at CERES—as a lecturer and substitute professor for East Asian Religions (2010–2011) and as a visiting research fellow at the Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe" (2011–2012). Meinert's recent publications include: with Henrik H. Sørensen, ed., *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 2020); "Embodying the Divine in

Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Karakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227),” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72; with Ann Heirman and Christoph Anderl, ed., *Buddhist Encounters and Identities Across East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); and ed., *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); and “Assimilation and Transformation of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet and China. Case Study of the Adaptation Processes of Violence in a Ritual Context,” in *Tibet after Empire. Culture, Society and Religion between 850–1000. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2010*, ed. Christoph Cüppers, Robert Mayer, and Michael Walter (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2013), 295–312.

Sam van Schaik

is Head of the Endangered Archives Programme at the British Library, having previously worked for the International Dunhuang Project (1999–2019). He received his PhD in Tibetan Buddhist literature from the University of Manchester in 2000, for research into the practice of Dzogchen in the works of the 18th century master Jigme Lingpa; this was published as *Approaching the Great Perfection* (Boston: Wisdom, 2004). van Schaik’s main area of research is Tibetan Tantric Buddhism and early Tibetan history, with a focus on the Dunhuang manuscript sources. He has worked on various research projects including “Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang” (Arts and Humanities Research Council), “Paleography of Chinese and Tibetan Manuscripts from Dunhuang” (Leverhulme), “Tibetan Chan Manuscripts” (British Academy), and “Beyond Boundaries: Religion, Region, Language and the State” (European Research Council). van Schaik’s publications include the books *Tibet: A History* (New Haven: Yale, 2011), *Tibetan Zen: Discovering a Lost Tradition* (Boston: Snow Lion, 2015), and recently, *Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing and Enchantment Through the Ages* (Boulder: Shambhala, 2020). He is also the co-author of a number of catalogues, including with Kazushi Iwao and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *The Tibetan Chan Manuscripts* (Bloomington: Sinor Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies Indiana University, 2014), *Old Tibetan Texts in the Stein Collection Or.8210* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2012) and with Jacob Dalton, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Lastly, van Schaik has co-edited the volumes: with Matthew Kapstein, *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) and with Daniela De Simone, Gergely Hidas, and Michael Willis, *Precious Treasures from the Diamond Throne: Finds from the Site of the Buddha’s Enlightenment* (London: British Museum, 2021).

Henrik H. Sørensen

serves as Coordinator of the *BuddhistRoad* project at CERES, Ruhr University Bochum. He received his PhD from the University of Copenhagen in 1988 in East Asian Languages and Cultures and taught at that institution as a lecturer for thirteen years. He was a senior researcher at the National Museum in Copenhagen from 1996 until 1998, when he left to work as an independent scholar. Sørensen's research interests include early Korean Sōn Buddhism, the history and practices of Esoteric Buddhism in Korea, the relationship between religious practice and material culture in East Asia (with a focus on the stone carvings in Sichuan), the definition, textual history and iconography of early Esoteric Buddhism in China, and the relationship between Daoism and Buddhism in medieval China (focused on their interaction and mutual adaptations). Sørensen's research for the *BuddhistRoad* project (2017–2023) has focused on Buddhism in Dunhuang and Eastern Central Asia between 600 and 1400.

Jens Wilkens

is a Turkologist and researcher of Old Uyghur texts at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony. While his main research interest lies with Central Asian Buddhist texts, he also spent considerable time researching Uyghur Manichaeism as well as Indian Buddhism. He works for the project Dictionary of Old Uyghur and is responsible for the recording of 'foreign elements' in the vocabulary of Old Uyghur. His recent publications include *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. III. Fremdelemente. Band 1: eč – bodis(a)v(a)tv* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021); *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. III. Fremdelemente. Band 2: bodivan – čigžin* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023); *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen: Altuigurisch—Deutsch—Türkisch* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2021); "Sacred Space in Uyghur Buddhism," in *Buddhism in Central Asia 1: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 189–203; with Jens Peter Laut, *Alt-türkische Handschriften Teil 3. Die Handschriftenfragmente der Maitrisimit aus Sängim und Murtuk in der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017); *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien. Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (Berliner Turfantexte xxxvii, Turnhout, 2016); and "Buddhism in the West Uyghur Kingdom and Beyond," in *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 189–249.

The Meeting of Religious Traditions and of Beliefs in Eastern Central Asia

Lewis Doney, Carmen Meinert, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Yukiyo Kasai

1 Introduction

The themes chosen for this volume, ‘Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences’ and ‘Doctrines’, are two of the established research clusters of the *BuddhistRoad* project.¹ They thus form an important part of the research activities that the project carries out with regard to Buddhist Eastern Central Asia, as reflected in the final project conference held on these subjects in July 2021.² Although ‘Doctrines’ and the ‘Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences’ were discussed on separate days of this conference, mostly for logistical reasons, the themes of inter-religious and intra-religious contact were always present. Furthermore, the contributors welcomed the possibility for dynamic cross-fertilisation of the project’s two topics and meaningfully engaged in the resultant dialogue that took place throughout the event. Despite the conference having to be held online due to COVID-19 restrictions, through the good-natured willingness of our participants to try out new technologies it was nonetheless an enjoyable event and allowed for the robust yet respectful debate of many topics. In that way, the final conference proved a fitting tribute to the aims of the overall *BuddhistRoad* project.

Complex interactions between Buddhism and non-Buddhist traditions and the related theme of Buddhist doctrines mark the period between the 6th and 14th centuries,³ Buddhism continued to spread along the many routes of an ancient, local political-economic-cultural system of exchange that is often referred to as the so-called Silk Roads.⁴ It thereby strengthened its position

1 The research agenda of the *BuddhistRoad* project is sketched in the report. See BuddhistRoad Team, “Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries: A Project Report by BuddhistRoad Team,” *Medieval Worlds* 8 (2018): 126–134.

2 The conference programme is available on the BuddhistRoad homepage, <https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/activities/organised-conferences/>.

3 BuddhistRoad Team, “Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer,” 126.

4 Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

in China, Central Tibet, and many of the nodes in between and across the wider network, such as Khotan, the Turfan Basin and Dunhuang (敦煌). In these places, Buddhism encountered other religions, from both east and west, indigenous traditions of interacting with superhuman beings, and novel non-religious technologies. Buddhist travellers, missionaries and converts had to negotiate, accept, adapt, or resist these influences, which had subsequent impacts on local forms of Buddhism in minor or major ways. These forms were often then transmitted to the other areas where they experienced multiple new forms of exchange.

The *BuddhistRoad* project is housed within the Center for Religious Studies (CERES) and its head, Volkhard Krech, has outlined various possible effects of inter-religious contact that range from conscious rejection to identification of parts of another religion with parts of one's own.⁵ However, Krech's key insight is that the religions taking part in this meeting are to a lesser or greater extent constituted *by* such interactions, as are their very ideas of themselves and others *as* religions.⁶ He states that possible consequences of "contacts between religions in the religious field can be the adaptation and amalgamation, as well as the eradication, of religious opponents internally or externally, the mystical sublimation and salvation religiosity, as well as inner-worldly radicalization and (missionary or charitable) activism" and that effects can be felt within both inter-religious and intra-religious relationships—but in different ways.⁷

Here especially, we editors find a connection between the impact of non-Buddhist influence and doctrine. Krech has already identified a number of key terms that are related to, but semantically different from, doctrine and that are important to "the trend towards differentiation of the religious from other societal spheres" (and of religions from one other), beginning with: "Certainty, certitude, assumption, wisdom, knowledge, belief, faith."⁸ This cognitive aspect provides people with orientation, one of four key components that go to make up the dialectical process by which a religion distinguishes itself as (a) religion on the basis of contact with other traditions, religions, and so forth—and these four components have been formative in the structuring of the *BuddhistRoad*

5 Volkhard Krech, "Religious Contacts in Past and Present Times: Aspects of a Research Programme," *Religion* 42.2 (2012): 205–210.

6 Krech, "Religious Contacts," 195–201. See also Volkhard Krech, "From Religious Contact to Scientific Comparison and Back: Some Methodological Considerations on Comparative Perspectives in the Science of Religion," in *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Jivanta Schöttli (Cham: Springer, 2015), 63–65.

7 Krech, "From Religious Contact," 64; see also Krech, "Religious Contacts," 200.

8 Krech, "From Religious Contact," 47; Krech, "Religious Contacts," 211.

project by means of inter-related research clusters.⁹ Integral to the new Central Asian Buddhist traditions (created in part by these processes) were altered worldviews, beliefs and creeds that were authorised by means of *inter alia* teachings, iconographies and textual commentaries. Should monks remain vegetarian where crops are scarce due to altitude or desert? Which are the acceptable sacred languages? Do certain autochthonous deities exist and, if so, where do they stand in the pantheon and do they represent a benefit or harm to the Buddhist path? Should the accepted understanding of a foetus' gestation depend only on Buddhist texts, or do indigenous or foreign medical traditions also inform this belief? Must one adjudicate or balance the Buddhist doctrines of one Central Asian land against those of another only with reference to Indic Buddhist teachings?

Krech conceptualises the relationship between inter-religious contact and this cognitive aspect of religion in terms of successive processes of transcendence—whether overcoming the 'other', synthesising the two positions in a new description of one's own tradition or 'religion' in general, or relating in a transformed way to the transcendent objects of Buddhism, say, and thereby altering one's relation between it and non-Buddhist people on the immanent plain of this world.¹⁰ Over time, these theoretical movements can also create (more or less porous) boundaries between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Such distinctions were made, collapsed and re-made in various forms of Buddhism by inter-religious contact and internal developments between the 6th and 14th centuries and tended to either strengthen the bonds between the insiders against a perceived 'other' or create power imbalances by means of identifying some groups of insiders as (in danger of being seen as) outsiders for *inter alia* the 'heretical' views that they were claimed to hold.¹¹ It is thus important not to forget the social context of religious traditions, practices and doctrines, and their relations with empires (be they Indic, Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut

9 Volkhard Krech, "Dynamics in the History of Religions: Preliminary Considerations on Aspects of a Research Programme," in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 21–22; Krech, "From Religious Contact," 68; Krech, "Religious Contacts," 201; *BuddhistRoad* Team, "Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer," 131.

10 This is most elaborated in Krech, "From Religious Contact," 47–52.

11 Krech describes such doctrinal consequences of inter- and intra-religious contact, including Japanese authors who regarded Christianity as a form of Buddhism, in "Religious Contacts," 200–201 and 203–204; Krech, "From Religious Contact," 65 and 68. Undoubtedly, such contact also affected other aspects of Buddhism that form the basis of the *BuddhistRoad* project, the sacred spaces and pilgrimage, rituals and practices, patronage and legitimisation strategies, and the visual and material transfers found in Eastern Central Asia. Yet, these topics lay beyond the scope of these proceedings.

or (semi-)nomadic Turco-Mongolian), kingdoms, or complex modern states,¹² whose rulers have the power to either weaponise discourses of ‘outsiders’ and ‘heretics’ or create pragmatic checks against over-zealous fence building.

Especially towards the end of our time frame, Buddhist missionary activity in Eastern Central Asia was increasingly joined by Islamic and Christian proselytism. In response, many modern Buddhists have attempted to move from theological notions of different religious traditions and religions (with the ecumenicism and inter-religious dialogue that this entailed) to ‘scientific’ descriptions of religion. This has influenced Buddhist doctrines concerning non-Buddhists and led to a general over-emphasis on doctrines as the meeting and sticking points between ‘religions’ both in inter-religious dialogue and religious studies. Krech outlines how the creation of ‘religion’ as a collective singular category, encompassing all scholastically defined ‘religions,’¹³ has led to such comparison and paved the way for the field of religious studies, in which many of the conference’s contributors situate themselves (at least in part), whose inheritance of doctrinal categories has caused problems for the study of religious traditions.¹⁴ More recent work in religious studies has done much to overcome this latter bias, including Carmen Meinert’s choice to include doctrines as only one of six aspects of Buddhism that together make up the *foci* of the project.¹⁵

Addressing issues of historical and ongoing inter-religious contact, resultant processes of transcendence and immanence,¹⁶ as well as notions of ‘religion’

12 See especially Krech, “From Religious Contact,” 53–62.

13 Krech, “Religious Contacts,” 197. See also the classic Jonathan Z. Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious,” in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269–284; and more recently, with respect to pre-modern East Asia, Christoph Kleine, “Religion als begriffliches Konzept und soziales System im vormodernen Japan: polythetische Klassen, semantische und funktionale Äquivalente und strukturelle Analogien,” in *Religion in Asien? Studien zur Anwendbarkeit des Religionsbegriffs*, ed. Peter Schalk (Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 2013), 225–292.

14 Krech, “Religious Contacts,” particularly 197–198; Krech, “From Religious Contact,” 39–45 and 63–70. His analysis and use of the term *Kollektivsingular* follows, *inter alia*, Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik vergangener Zeiten* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).

15 See BuddhistRoad Team, “Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer,” 126 and 131.

16 Transcendence arises out of the contact since applying a transcendent meaning to certain dialectical processes (which are based on the above-mentioned four dimensions including the cognitive) “is a special form of dealing with contingency” or the immanent problem of the ‘other’ which is encountered in inter- and intra-religious contact (Krech, “Dynamics in the History of Religions,” 22). These insights are applied to our Eastern Central Asian context in Carmen Meinert, “Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies: Tantric Rituals in Eastern Central Asia under Tangut Rule, 11th–13th C.,” in *Buddhism in*

that we have inherited as a result, leads back to engaging with the data of Buddhist religious traditions in new ways that thereby suggest new ways of re-considering the field in general.

Each of the contributors to these conference proceedings have their own comparative frameworks drawn from historical (Biran, Deeg, Sørensen, Meinert, and Doumy and van Schaik), philological (Doney, Berounský, and Howard Masang) or linguistic disciplines (Wilkins, Kasai, and Loukota), or they use more than one of these methods to stand back from and then carefully illuminate their chosen time periods and regions of Eastern Central Asia. Those addressing the impacts of non-Buddhist influence touched on doctrinal contexts and consequences of such interactions, while those focusing on doctrines were aware of the rich interplay of inter- and intra-religious contact that had created them. These conference proceedings thus simultaneously embrace the complex interactions between Buddhism and non-Buddhist traditions, and the multifaceted aspects of Buddhist doctrines in the same region.

We are happy that these proceedings bring out multiple areas of overlap between what were originally conceived as separate *foci* of the *BuddhistRoad* project, non-Buddhism and doctrines, and this has inspired us constantly through the editing of this volume.

2 Contents of This Volume

As stated above, this volume comprises two inter-related parts: Part 1 covers ‘Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences’ primarily and Part 2 deals for the most part with ‘Doctrines’. The first part focuses on regions containing a whole spectrum of religious traditions that made slight or serious impacts on Buddhism. Chapter 1 is Michal Biran’s “Islamic Expansion into Central Asia and Muslim Buddhist Encounters.” Biran analyses Islamic expansion into Central Asia from the rise of Islam in the 7th century up to the division of the Eurasian Steppe between Islam and Tibetan Buddhism in the 16th century, with a focus on the 10th–14th centuries, and on Islamic connections—political, economic, intellectual—with Eastern Central Asia’s Buddhist communities and polities. While this process has often been told as a violent struggle between Islam and Buddhism in which Islam eventually had the upper hand, the chapter reveals a more complex, less linear, relationship. It highlights the interplay between political power and religious expansion, the central position of Transoxania in

Central Asia II: Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 313–365.

Muslim networks, the connections of Muslims of different ethnicities and doctrines with various Buddhist centres (notably of India, China and Tibet), and aspects of Muslim-Buddhist crosspollination. It then focuses on the ‘Mongol moment’ (1206–1368) in Central Asia to compare Islamic and Buddhist conversion tactics among nomads and more sedentary peoples and investigate the elusive evidence of influence from Islam on Buddhism in this area.

Chapter 2, “Witch Women and Amorous Monkeys: Non-Buddhist Substrata in Khotanese Religion” by Diego Loukota, explores how the growing Buddhist culture of early historic Khotan was founded in part on non-Buddhist religious traditions beneath the surface. Its search for evidence of these traces centres on terminology, but takes into account the historical and geopolitical context of this oasis at the time. It uncovers indigenous Iranian and also ‘foreign’ Indic and Sinitic influences, including the presence of Iranian and possibly Greek gods in Khotan, non-Buddhist Indic deities and Sinitic cosmological notions, and practices of blood sacrifice, fire worship, mountain libations, fertility cults, zodiacal prognostication and funeral geomancy. Since Khotan was transformed again with the advent of Islam and the gradual death of Khotanese, such traces are hard to find. Yet, the importance of showing such non-Buddhist influences of an early age is still a vital part of demonstrating the variety of religious traditions interacting on the Silk Roads during the first millennium CE against a simplistic description of the mere transposition of an Indic model into the region.

Chapter 3, “Uyghur Buddhism and the Impact of Manichaeism and Native Religion: The Case of Religious Terminology” by Jens Wilkens, investigates traces of the indigenous religion of the Uyghurs in inscriptions from the Mongolian Plateau and Buddhist and Manichaean texts from the Turfan oasis and from Dunhuang. It also examines the impact of Manichaeism itself on Uyghur Buddhism (from the 9th to the 13th c.), along with the Buddhism of Tocharian, Chinese, Sogdian, and (from the 13th century) Tibetan types. The chapter shows the problems of relying on certain sources that are themselves part of the process of interreligious dialogue, and limitations of the applying certain comparative approaches that have been taken up in more recent scholarship. Nonetheless, it reveals a particular local form of Buddhism in the West Uyghur Kingdom and gives clues from terminology in usage there of the influence of non-Buddhist concepts and deities upon it.

Chapter 4, “The Christian Communities in Tang China: Between Adaptation and Religious Self-Identity” by Max Deeg, asks why there is no (apparent) impact of Tang Christianity on Chinese Buddhism. In pursuing this question, Deeg examines the self-representation of the Christian minority and diaspora community living under the Tang (618–907, 唐) regulations in a society

where Buddhism and Daoism were more widely favoured. Textual witnesses (especially from Dunhuang) suggest a Christian adaptation of Buddhist and, to a lesser degree, Daoist terminology and concepts rather an attempt to produce an independent religious vocabulary in Chinese. The stele inscription of Xi'an, the *Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 [The Stele Inscription of the Radiant Teaching of Daqin Transmitted to the Middle Kingdom] from the year 781 rather shows Christians using a strategy of portraying their strong links to the court and the Tang emperors, and their distinctive religious features, when presenting themselves semi-officially.

Chapter 5, “On the Presence and Influence of Daoism in the Buddhist Material from Dunhuang” by Henrik H. Sørensen, explores the presence of original Daoist elements in the Buddhist sources from Dunhuang. Over the course of its history in China, Buddhism went from being a foreign religion to a fully domesticated one, a process which owed much to the meeting with, and adaptation of, local traditions. Daoism in particular was responsible for the process through which Buddhism became a *bona fide* Chinese religion. When viewing the relevant material, it becomes evident that specific areas of Buddhist practice were more susceptible to Daoist influence than others. These include: divinities and spirits; production of apocryphal literature; conceptions of the netherworld; spell casting including formal curses; talismans and seals; various forms of issues for which ritual remedies and beliefs can be had; longevity practices; and astrology and divination. Finally, the chapter outlines a model for analytical analysis of the areas of Buddhist belief and practice where the foreign elements are most prevalent.

Chapter 6, “Non-Buddhist Superhuman Beings in Early Tibetan Religious Literature” by Lewis Doney, focuses on superhuman beings (‘radically other than’, though not necessarily ‘better than’, humans) in order to survey some of the many non-Buddhist religious elements left over from the Tibetan imperial period (ca. 600–850) in Buddhist and especially in established Bönpo (Tib. *Bon po*) literature and practice. Though also offering a number of useful caveats for such an enterprise, the chapter identifies certain continuities in myth and ritual between earlier and later times across the Tibetan cultural sphere. These are connected to community, post-death states, and the status of royalty and priests in the society. It lastly shows the shifts in their depiction that range from positive inclusion to negative portrayal and rejection in Buddhist writings after the fall of the Tibetan Empire. Some of the imperial-period traditions have been identified as Bön, but this chapter argues that such an over-simplistic correspondence should be resisted.

The final chapter of Part 1 is Chapter 7, “The Fluid Lives of Tibetan Ritual Narrations during the Imperial and Post-Imperial Period” by Daniel Berounský.

This piece focuses on Tibetan fierce spirits (Tib. *gnyan*) and ‘earth-lord’ spirits (Tib. *Sa bdag*) using mainly little-studied collections of myths entitled *gNyan ’bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection] and *Sa bdag ’bum* [Earth-Lord Collection], which were included into the Bönpo canon. Much later Bönpo chronicles claim that these scriptures were unearthed in West Tibet around the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. Regional associations of the ‘fierce’ spirits with the Dong clan (Tib. lDong, often represented in Chinese chronicles as Qiang [羌]) and the north-eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau stand out from the myths of the *Fierce Spirit Collection*. The ‘earth-lords’ are seen as a part of the original Chinese lore, which found its way into Tibet in a form fitting the expectations there. Yet in both cases, one can discern features showing the development of the locally based ritual traditions towards universal ones, which were in turn easily absorbed into Buddhist ritual.

The second part of this proceedings volume interrogates *inter alia* themes of orthodoxy, as well as the transmission and geographical instantiation of belief. Thus, Part 2 begins with Chapter 8, “People, Places, Texts, and Topics: Another Look at the Larger Context of the Spread of Chan Buddhism in Eastern Central Asia During the Tibetan Imperial and Post-Imperial Period (7th–10th C.)” by Carmen Meinert. This contribution highlights the importance of the region of the Blue Lake especially, connecting with the final chapter of the Part 1 as a result. The region was important for the Tang and Tibetan Empires, and later became part of the Tangut Empire, and thus an important multi-cultural area connecting the equally diverse oasis towns of the Hexi Corridor and the Tarim Basin with Sinitic and Tibetan cultural areas. This chapter explores the development of the contested space between these cultures in a broader historical context and explores the strategies through which religion (institutions as well as doctrines) were employed in a power struggle spanning the 9th and 10th centuries that touches on the influence of Chinese Chan Buddhism in Tibet far beyond the famous 8th century debate believed to have been held at Samyé (Tib. bSam yas) Monastery. This chapter thus brings together information on people, places, texts and topics related to Chan Buddhism in order to clarify how Chan masters, Chan texts and topics might have been used in local and transregional exchanges in Eastern Central Asia.

Chapter 9, “Sino-Tibetan Scholasticism: A Case-Study of the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* in Dunhuang” by Meghan Howard Masang, stresses the importance of textual formats for understanding how specific threads of Chinese, Tibetan, and Indic exegetical traditions were woven together in the Dunhuang materials related to the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination], a short Sanskrit work also found in the Chinese and Tibetan canons. The chapter engages in codicological, palaeographic, and orthographic analysis of

Dunhuang Tibetan texts related to the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥṛdaya*, focusing on a preface (P. T. 767) that was likely scribed by the famous Sino-Tibetan translator Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成), also known as Go Chödrup (Tib. 'Go Chos grub) and a set of Tibetan annotations to the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* that most probably were intended to circulate with the preface (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766). It argues that these materials may reflect the early stages of creating a Chinese commentary that may have been authored by Facheng, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kajue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of Causation] (T. 2816.85).

Chapter 10, “Prostration as *wuti toudi* 五體投地 or *wulun toudi* 五輪投地? A Possible Trace of Contacts between Certain Uyghur Translators and Esoteric Buddhism” by Yukiyo Kasai, uses the Old Uyghur translation for the Buddhist term *wuti toudi* 五體投地, whose worldly meaning is ‘to throw five (parts of the) body to the ground’ (*Skt. *pañcamaṇḍala-namaskāra*) and which describes a way of performing five-limbed prostration, to show that Esoteric Buddhist teaching left its trace in Old Uyghur Buddhist literature. Esoteric Buddhism experienced its heyday under the Tang Dynasty and was also transmitted in the Tang’s neighbouring regions like Dunhuang. There, numerous texts connected with Esoteric Buddhist teaching are found. Dunhuang was closely connected with the Turfan oasis under the Uyghur rules, so the further transmission of Esoteric Buddhism into that oasis is to be expected. Because of a dearth of materials, however, the flourishing of Esoteric Buddhism among the Uyghurs has not so far been well discussed. This chapter demonstrates that the study of a key term can help to clarify the transmission of Buddhist teachings through the difficult Old Uyghur material conditions.

The final chapter of Part 2 is Chapter 11, “The Funerary Context of Mogao Cave 17” by Mélodie Doumy and Sam van Schaik. It concerns the original and changing context of Mogao Cave 17 near Dunhuang, which has been so important to all of the above studies that it is fitting to end the proceedings with it. The cave was a funerary shrine for a monk called Hongbian (d. 862, 洪辯), whose statue, originally situated in the cave, had been moved at some point as the cave was filled with other material including non-Buddhist texts and objects. What ended up in the cave was an assemblage of items representing the everyday life of Dunhuang’s monasteries but also non-Buddhist cultural practices (both ‘secular’ and those of ‘other’ religions). Over the decades, scholars have offered various speculations concerning how the material came to be stored in the cave, and the reason(s) for its sealing. However, this chapter considers the matter from a comparative perspective, exploring the Buddhist ritual context (rather than an archival one) for the interment of manuscripts

and other religious objects in *stūpas* and shrines in funerary practices, and argues that the funerary context of Cave 17 has to inform any of our future theories about the cave's contents and closing.

Each of these 11 chapters contributes to the further development of the already rich tradition of research into Buddhist doctrines, as well as into the less tangible impact of non-Buddhist influences in Eastern Central Asia. These topics have been brought together in fruitful and often surprising ways, and we hope that the present volume thus inspires further studies on the important aspects of Central Asian Buddhism covered over the following pages.

PART 1

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences



Islamic Expansion into Central Asia and Muslim-Buddhist Encounters

Michal Biran

Abstract

The study reviews Islamic expansion into Central Asia (from eastern Iran to Gansu in north-west China) from the seventh to the 16th century, highlighting Muslim-Buddhist encounters. It first discusses an initial period of Islamic imperial military expansion into Central Asia, where Buddhism was only one, rather marginal, religion practiced among the sedentary population met by the conquerors. It then argues that further Muslim expansion into Central Asia from the late 10th century onwards was mainly due the Islamisation of nomadic or post-nomadic collectives who had adopted Islam primarily to acquire communal identity and legitimation. Around the same time, other nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in East and Central Asia adopted Buddhism as part of their state formation, for similar reasons. These Muslim and Buddhist polities were connected by trade and sometimes also marital and political alliances, but there is hardly any evidence for meaningful intellectual contacts prior to the Mongol conquest. The Mongol period (13th–14th centuries) not only resulted in a huge expansion of Islam, it also brought Islam and Buddhism under one rule and invigorated Muslim-Buddhist intellectual exchange. Under Mongol rule, Muslims and Buddhists became the major competitors for converting the Mongols, a process which eventually led to the division of the steppe between Islam and Tibetan Buddhism.

1 Introduction

The meeting between Buddhism and Islam, in Central Asia and elsewhere, has often been conceptualised as a violent struggle in which Islam eventually had the upper hand, forcefully destroying the vestiges of the peaceful *dharma*. A powerful symbol for this alleged antagonism was the Taliban's bombing of the Bāmiyān Buddhas of central Afghanistan in 2001, even though Muslims had ruled in the Bāmiyān region for centuries beforehand without harming the magnificent sculptures, which they had treated as one of the wonders of creation.¹ Obviously, the relations between Islam and Buddhism in Central Asia are more complex and non-linear. Not only were there periods of coexistence, economic co-operation, and cross pollination, but while Islam was making strides in Central Asia, Buddhism—though eventually losing ground in its Indian homeland—evolved in East, Southeast and Central Asia, and continued to spread into new realms (Tibet, Manchuria, Mongolia) and among new ethnic groups (Khitans, Tanguts, Mongols, Uyghurs), eventually making Tibetan Buddhism the main rival of Islam in Eastern Central Asia.

This chapter offers a bird-eye view of the gradual Islamic expansion into Central Asia from the seventh to the 16th century, namely from the rise of Islam to the division of the Eurasian steppe between Muslims and Tibetan Buddhists after the second conversion of the Mongols, with an emphasis on Muslim-Buddhist encounters. My focus is on Central Asia, the region stretching from the eastern borders of Iran to the eastern borders of Xinjiang (新疆) and neighbouring Gansu (甘肅) in North-Western China, including Tibet and Mongolia. Yet some of the most documented Buddhist-Muslim encounters during the period under review took place at court, away from the direct contact in Eastern Central Asia—for example in late eighth-century Baghdad or late 13th- to early 14th-century Tabriz.²

As for sources, very few primary sources were compiled in Central Asia itself before the 17th century,³ so in reconstructing its history we are mainly

1 Inaba Minoru, "The Narratives on the Bāmiyān Buddhist Remains in the Islamic Period," in *Encountering Buddhism and Islam in Premodern Central and South Asia*, ed. Blain Auer and Ingo Strauch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 75–96.

2 Note that while I sometimes refer to contacts with South Asia, the chapter does not cover Islamic expansion into India, which is another story.

3 Among the most important ones are Narshakhī's *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā* [History of Bukhara], originally compiled in Arabic but surviving in a 12th-century Persian translation; an 11th-century mirror for princes, the *Qutadgu bilig* [Wisdom of Royal Glory] written in Balāsāghūn (Kirgizstan) and Kashghar in Turkic; the *Mulḥaqāt al-Surāḥ* by Jamāl Qarshī written in Arabic in early 14th-century Kashghar; and Mīrzā Ḥaidar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* [History for Rashīd (Khan)]—titled by its translator as *A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*—written in

dependent on historical works that treat Central Asia as a periphery. While archaeology, numismatics, travelogues, and a few documents enrich this picture, there is no Muslim equivalent to Dunhuang (敦煌) or Turfan with their rich documentary collections. Yet this long-range review is obviously based mostly on secondary sources, notable among them is Johan Elverskog's magnificent *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*.⁴ My chapter, however, is written from the Muslim point of view, the only one to which I can do justice. The chapter is arranged chronologically and divided into four stages, covering *The Age of Empires: The Caliphate's Expansion* (7th–9th centuries); *The Era of Trans-regional States: Samanids, Karakhanid and Kara Khitai* (10th–12th centuries), *The Mongol Empire* (13th–14th centuries) and the *Post-Mongol Period* (14th–16th centuries). Due to my fields of research, more space is given to the second and third stages.

The chapter argues that after an initial period of Islamic imperial military expansion into Central Asia, where Buddhism was only one, rather marginal, religion practised among the sedentary population met by the conquerors, further Muslim expansion into Central Asia from the late tenth century onwards was mainly by voluntary association of nomadic or post-nomadic collectives who had adopted Islam for the purpose of acquiring communal identity, legitimation and institutions that would facilitate their expansion into and rule in Muslim sedentary realms. Around the same time, other nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in East and Central Asia adopted Buddhism as part of their state formation for similar reasons. These Muslim and Buddhist polities were connected by trade, and sometimes also marital alliances, but there is hardly any evidence for meaningful intellectual contacts among them before the Mongol conquest. The Mongol period (13th–14th c.) not only led to a great

1546 in Persian (and later translated into Chaghatay Turkic). All are available in translations to English or Russian (in Qarshī's case) and are cited below. When the region began to have a thriving indigenous literature in the 17th century it was mainly in the form of hagiographies or *tadhkira* (Pers. *tazkirah*, lit. 'memorandum' or 'admonition'). They represented the local history of the Tarim Basin's cities and were closely connected to the veneration of local saints, at whose tombs they were read aloud to large audiences. Such hagiographies are of great value for understanding the society in which they were written, but their descriptions of the past, apart from colouring it with various legendary details, often reduce it to a struggle between good and evil, Muslims and infidels, that reflects the threat that Buddhist Empires like the Zunghar Khanate (1636–1757) and the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912, 清) posed to Central Asian Muslims during this period. See, for example, Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Jeff Eden, *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

4 Johan Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

expansion of Islam (after the initial shock of the conquest), but also brought Islam and Buddhism under one rule and invigorated Muslim-Buddhist intellectual exchange. Moreover, under Mongol rule, Muslims and Buddhists became the major competitors for the conversion of the Mongols, a process which eventually led to the division of the steppe nomads between Islam and Tibetan Buddhism from the 16th century.

2 **Stage One: The Age of Empires—the Caliphate's Expansion (7th–9th Centuries)**

Islam first made strides into Central Asia when Asia was divided among several mighty empires that competed over the rule of the continent's heartland, the site of the lucrative continental trade routes. In China, the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐), a great supporter of Buddhism for most of its reign, expanded deep into Central Asia in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, reaching up to the borders of Persia. This was partly due to its rivalry with the Steppe Empires of the Turks (6th–8th c.), who for the first time in world history combined the territory from Manchuria to the Caspian Sea under one rule, threatening the Chinese states as well as the Sasanian Empire in Persia (224–651) and being in contact even with Byzantium (331–1453). However, in 581 the Turkic Empire dissolved into eastern and western realms, and the subsequent unification of China under the Sui Dynasty (581–618, 隋), and later, the Tang Dynasty, challenged their rule. The Tang subdued the Eastern Turks in 629, although in 681 the latter managed to establish the second Turkic Empire that lasted till 743, ruling from Mongolia also parts of Manchuria and Xinjiang. In 659 the Tang subdued the Western Turks, whose remnants continued to roam in Western Central Asia but never established an empire therein. The Muslims therefore met only post-imperial Turks when they arrived in Central Asia. A new regional actor were the Tibetans, who for the first and last time in their history created a strong empire, the Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po), which eventually adopted Buddhism. This empire was also aggressively expanding into the Tarim Basin, competing with Tang China and with the Eastern Turks' successors, the Manichaeen Uyghurs (744–840, also known as Uyghur Steppe Empire). Thus, when the Muslim Empire was founded in 622, the Chinese, Tibetan and Steppe Empires competed over ruling Eastern Central Asia.

In contrast, Western Central Asia, which was closer to the Arab realm, was highly fragmented politically and religiously on the eve of the Muslim conquest. Both Transoxania (or Sogd, the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers,

mainly modern central Uzbekistan) and Tukharistan (Bactria, fragmented today among Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan), were divided among many local polities. Notable among those were the city states of the Sogdians, an Iranian-speaking people who since the fifth century had been the principal long-distance caravan merchants in Central Asia. United by language and culture but divided politically, the Sogdians established a network of trade diasporas working outwards from their centres in Samarqand, Bukhara and Kesh, which spread all the way to northern China. They made a fortune by trading the masses of silk that the Tang Dynasty had brought to Central Asia, mainly as salaries for its garrisons, and were also active in the steppe among Turks, and later, Uyghurs. In addition to the Sogdians, Tukharistan included local principalities of Hephtalites (White Huns, remnants of the empire that ruled in parts of Western Central Asia before the Turks) and Turkic dynasties, mainly remnants of the Western Turks. Many of the Sogdian city-states were nominal vassals of Tang China, and sometimes also of the Turkic confederations, that themselves often came under the Tang's nominal sway.⁵ The religious situation in pre-Muslim Central Asia was also complex, combining local religions (such as the Sogdian religion; Turkic Shamanism) with various local forms of universal religions (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity). Buddhism was apparent in both Transoxania and Tukharistan (notably in the city of Balkh, see below) but was far from being the dominant religion.⁶

The Muslims emerged from the marginal Arabian Peninsula, but soon established a mighty empire that rapidly overran the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire (Syria, Egypt, North Africa), and eliminated the Sasanian Empire, thereby arriving at the gates of Central Asia. Muslim expansion into Central Asia aimed, like the Muslim conquests in general, at broadening 'the abode of Islam' (Arab. *dār al-islām*), namely the territories under Muslim rule, at the expense of the 'abode of war' (Arab. *dār al-ḥarb*), the realms ruled by non-Muslims. Another, more specific, incentive was gaining access to the

5 For this period in Central Asia, see for example, David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia, and Mongolia* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 304–307; Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 50–58; Étienne de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 95–260. On the Hephtalites, see e.g., Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 79–84.

6 Christian, *A History of Russia*, 304–307; on Buddhism in Sogd, see for example, Xavier Tremblay, "The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia—Buddhism among Iranians, Tocharians and Turks before the 13th Century," in *The Spread of Buddhism*, ed. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 75–129.

lucrative trade routes, known as the Silk Roads, that connected Western Asia to China.⁷

2.1 *The Arabs' Entry into Central Asia*

The Arabs had limited acquaintance with Central Asia, yet their advance into the region began during their attacks on the Sasanian Empire in the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (632–660), the direct successors of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632). In 651, the Arabs took over Khurāsān (modern eastern Iran, Turkmenistan and parts of Afghanistan), the eastern-most province of the Sasanian Empire, in pursuit of the last Sasanian monarch who had escaped eastwards. He was eventually killed in the Khurāsāni city of Marw (Merv), which became the Arabs' stronghold in the region. In 670, after the consolidation of the Umayyad Dynasty (661–750) a garrison of allegedly 50,000 Arab warriors—the largest group of Arab settlers outside Arabia—was stationed in Marw. Marw thus became the launching pad for further Muslim expansion into Central Asia, led by the governors of Khurāsān. These commanders were subject to the Umayyad governor of the East, who was based in Iraq, and above him to the Caliph in Damascus. Thus, the events at the centre of the caliphate greatly influenced Muslim eastern expansion.

The Arabs crossed the Oxus in 654, if not earlier,⁸ and raided Transoxania in the 670s and the early 680s, but troubles in the centre delayed the conquest for a few decades. Already in 651, the Arabs sent a first embassy to China, and in Umayyad times fourteen embassies were sent from 681 to 747.⁹ Systematic conquest, however, began only in the early eighth century, under the governor of Khurāsān, Qutayba ibn Muslim (r. 705–715). Qutayba enjoyed the support of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (r. 705–715), and of the latter's powerful governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (r. 694–714). Implementing an efficient divide and rule policy towards the various Transoxanian city-states and annexing the

7 For the Muslim conquests, see e.g., Robert G. Hoyland, *In God's Path: the Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007); Bruno De Cordier, "The Original Islamization of Central Asia: From the Arab Frontier Colonies to the 'Governate Dynasties' (650–1000)," in *The European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies*, ed. Jeroen J. J. Van den Bosch, Adrien Fauve, and Bruno De Cordier (Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2021), 77–83.

8 de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, 265; Arezou Azad and Hugh Kennedy, "The Coming of Islam to Balkh," in *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (6th–10th Century)*, ed. Alain Delattre, Marie Legendre, and Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 284–310.

9 Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 356–358.

army of his subdued rivals into his troops, Qutayba led the conquest of both Balkh—the central city of Tukharistan and a major Buddhist stronghold—and the Sogdian cities of Baykand, Bukhara, and Samarqand. He later advanced further into Khwārazm, Farghāna and Shāsh (Tashkent), and perhaps even planned to raid Kašgar (in today's Xinjiang). Yet the conquests were neither linear nor easy: in most cases they involved reverses caused by local revolts. The combination of the lack of central political power, the complex topography, and the warlike population that had fostered good connections with Turkic mercenaries and overlords, resulted in a piecemeal, long, arduous, and violent conquest, unlike earlier Muslim campaigns. However, the failure of the region to present a united front eventually led to its fall.¹⁰ Simultaneously with Qutayba's achievements, another Umayyad general, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim (695–715), was advancing southwards towards Sind (modern Pakistan), another Buddhist stronghold. Excited by the success of his generals, al-Ḥajjāj allegedly promised the rulership of China to the commander who would reach it first.¹¹

Yet the consolidation of Muslim rule in Transoxania was not a straightforward process. With the death of the Caliph al-Walīd, Qutayba rebelled against the latter's successor and was killed by his own troops. His demise coincided with the heyday of the strong Türgesh Confederation (716–738)—a scion of the Western Turks—that evaporated most of the Muslim advance beyond the Jaxartes and threatened even their rule in Bukhara and Samarqand. Only after the Muslims almost accidentally killed the Türgesh leader in 738, was the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr ibn Sayyār (r. 738–748), able to regain Transoxania. Pacifying its Sogdian population and encouraging the return of emigrants to their former residences, he also advanced again beyond the Jaxartes. However, by then Khurāsān was already the nursery of the Abbasid revolution. The Abbasids (750–1258) soon deposed the Umayyads and moved the caliphate's centre from Syria to Iraq. The architect of the Abbasid

10 Hoyland, *In God's Path*, 148–154, 181–187. For a reconstruction of Qutayba's campaigns, see Sören Stark, "The Arab Conquest of Bukhārā: Reconsidering Qutayba b. Muslim's Campaigns 87–90 H/706–709 CE," *Der Islam* 95.2 (2018): 367–400.

11 Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wādiḥ al-Ya'qūbī: An English Translation*, trans. and ed. Matthew S. Gordon et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), vol. 3, 998. For the Umayyad conquests in Central Asia in general, see for example, Christian, *A History of Russia*, 307–310; Hoyland, *In God's Path*, 118–121, 148–155, 181–187; Kennedy, *Arab Conquests*, 225–295.

revolution, Abū Muslim (d. 755), remained in Khurāsān and became the strong man in Muslim Central Asia.¹²

Qutayba is famous for his (futile) attempts to convert the population of Bukhara: first by force, then by bribe (offering two *dirhams* to anyone who would attend the Friday mosque), and later by assimilation, settling his Muslim troops among Bukharan families.¹³ Yet this was the exception rather than the rule. Not only was forced conversion condemned in the Qur'an but making a territory part of 'the abode of Islam' meant subjugating it to Muslim rule, not converting its people. Furthermore, at this stage the Umayyads practised ethnic exclusivity, namely Islam was conceived mainly as the religion of the Arabs, and there was little pressure for the Islamisation of non-Arabs. Moreover, Islam rose to power in a multi-religious world and included mechanisms for treating non-Muslim subjects. Originally there was a distinction between "the People of the Book" (Arab. *ahl al-kitāb*), namely Jews and Christians, who were protected by the state and allowed to practise their religion in return for accepting certain legal obligations, and the polytheists, who were supposed to be killed. But soon the Arabs took over too many non-monotheist subjects and eliminating them was unrealistic. Thus, Zoroastrians, followed by Buddhists and Hindus were also classified as protected people (Arab. *dhimmi*) and were allowed to practise their religions in return for paying the poll tax (Arab. *jizya*), just like the People of the Book.¹⁴

The conquered population was also allowed to retain its local leadership. In other regions local leaders were religious clergy (Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian, Hindu), a fact that facilitated the retaining of the communities' identity under Muslim rule. Yet this was not the case in Sogd, where no hierarchy of religious clergy existed. The Sogdian city states were led by a civic elite (Sogd. *nāf*, lit. 'people'), that elected—and could depose—its leaders, who had administrative and ritual functions but not hereditary rights. After the conquest, the Muslims used the local leaders, giving them much broader authority especially in the economic realm (e.g., collecting taxes), that was previously managed by

12 On Abū Muslim and the Abbasid revolution, see e.g., Saleh Said Agha, *The Revolution Which Toppled the Umayyads. Neither Arab nor 'Abbāsīd* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Yury Karev, *Samarqand et le Sughd à l'époque 'abbāsīde: histoire politique et sociale* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2015), 41–126.

13 For example, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1954), 48; Kevin van Bladel, "Arabicization, Islamization, and the Colonies of the Conquerors," in *Late Antique Responses to the Arab Conquests*, ed. Josephine van den Bent et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 108.

14 Derryl N. Maclean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 41–44; Yohanan Friedmann, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 86.

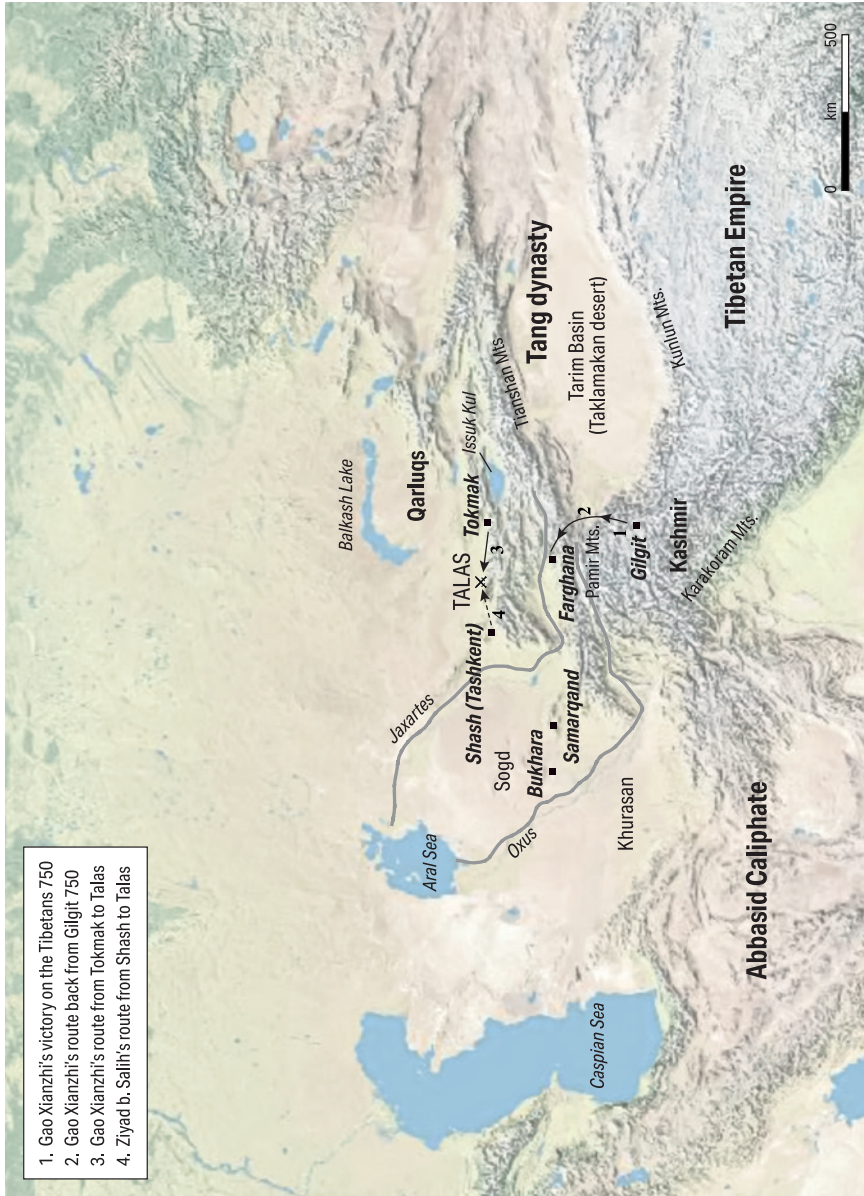
the civic elite. The local rulers used their new power for creating dynasties (like the Bukharkhudas, lords of Bukhara, who held power until the ninth century), thereby undermining the civic elite power and accelerating the decline of the Sogdian civilization. The violence that accompanied the conquest, combined with the mobility of the Sogdian nobility that allowed many of them to migrate eastwards to avoid Arab rule, also speeded the Sogdian decline. However, this state of affairs also prompted Islamisation, since quite a few members of the Sogdian aristocracy and intellectual elite joined the Arabs, notably during the early Abbasid period, and became instrumental in forging a new Islamic culture. The commercial skills of the Sogdians were highly appreciated by the Arabs, and obviously the socio-economic benefits of embracing the new religion, i.e., avoiding the poll tax and increasing the chance of getting a job in the new administration, also contributed, as did the colonisation of the Arabs in the main Transoxanian cities, which stood in sharp contrast to the behaviour of Sogd's former overlords, the Turks, or the Chinese. In fact, one of the problems the Umayyads had faced in eastern Iran and Transoxania was the growing Islamisation that threatened to reduce their tax base. While pious rulers readily exempted the newly converted, other caliphs preferred to doubt the sincerity of their faith and ignore their rights. The dissatisfaction of the new converts (Arab. *mawālī*, lit. 'clients [of an Arab tribe]'), due to their continuous discrimination, was one of the causes that promoted the Abbasid revolution.¹⁵

2.2 *The Battle of Talas*

After the Abbasid victory, Abū Muslim remained in Khurāsān and attempted to win support among the Central Asian principalities. This eventually resulted in the first (and last) military conflict between the Chinese and the Arabs, mainly because it coincided with a new wave of Tang forces advancing into Central Asia led by another ambitious general, the Korean Gao Xianzhi (d. 756, Kor. Ko Sōnji 高仙芝). The resulting battle of Talas (today's Taraz/Djambul in south Kazakhstan), which took place in 751 has often been considered a turning point in the history of Central Asia, beginning the dominance of Islamic civilisation in the region at the expense of Chinese influence.¹⁶ More accurately, it was a minor border incident initiated by local politics of the rival

15 Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia* (Princeton: Marcus Weiner, 1996), 215–216; Michael Shenkar, "The Arab Conquest and the Collapse of the Sogdian Civilization," in *The History and Culture of Iran and Central Asia in the First Millennium CE: From the Pre-Islamic to the Islamic Era*, ed. Deborah G. Tor and Minoru Inaba (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2022), 95–124.

16 This notion was initiated by Wilhelm V. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London: Luzac, 1968), 200.



MAP 1.1 The Battle of Talas, 751

MICHAL BIRAN, "TANG FOREIGN RELATIONS," IN *ALL UNDER HEAVEN: A HISTORY OF IMPERIAL CHINA*, ED. PINES YURI, GIDEON SHELACH, AND YITCHAK SHICHOR [RAA'ANA: OPEN UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2013], 436

principalities of Shāsh (modern Tashkent) and Farghāna, that called the Arabs and the Chinese to their aid respectively. While the imperial policy of both the Tang and the Caliphate was to refrain from interfering in local squabbles, this time the regional commanders, Gao Xianzhi and Abū Muslim's general Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, chose to respond to the call due to their own personal interests. The Muslims won the day, mainly because the Chinese's Turkic allies, the Karluks, who had replaced the Türgesh, defected to the Muslim side.

Yet the victory did not start a new wave of Muslim expansion, as the victorious Abbasids preferred to consolidate their rule in their core territories in the Middle East. Abū Muslim, whom the new Caliph saw as a threat, was executed in 755, and the Abbasids had to cope with a few rebellions—often with religious undertones—led by his adherents in Transoxania.¹⁷ The battle did not harm the Caliphate's relations with the Tang for long, as six Abbasid embassies, probably sent by Abū Muslim, reached Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安) in 753–754, and connections resumed, though less frequently, also after his execution. In parallel, the Sogdian city-states continued to ask for the Tang's help against the Arabs up to the early 770s, and the memory of Tang suzerainty in Transoxania lingered into the 12th century.¹⁸ Yet the Chinese did not regain their former position in Central Asia for centuries.

The Tang retreat, however, was not due to the battle of Talas, but happened amid the An Lushan (703–757, 安祿山) rebellion. This rebellion plagued their capital, obliging the Tang Emperor to abdicate and escape westwards, and encouraging the Tibetans to advance towards the Chinese capital, Chang'an. Only with the help of the Uyghurs, who succeeded the Turks in Mongolia in 744, did the Tang manage to regain their capital, but it never returned to its former glory nor to its expansive foreign policy. The rebellion also encouraged a xenophobic attitude towards Central Asians in China, as An Lushan was of half-Sogdian and half-Turkic origin.¹⁹ It also hampered Tang connections with the Buddhist kingdoms in India and the Tarim Basin, thereby encouraging the separate development of Chinese Buddhism. Furthermore, the end of the Chinese presence in Central Asia following the rebellion marked the conclusion of the enormous expenditure of silk on the Tang garrisons, as well as the peace maintained along the trade routes. Thus international trade was severely disrupted in the second half of the eighth century and reconstituted on a low

17 On the battle of Talas, see e.g., Karev, *Samarqand*, 62–78; see *ibid.*, 161–232, 271–344 on the rebellions.

18 Karev, *Samarqand*, 104–106; Shenkar, "Arab Conquest," 113; Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade*, 356–360; Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 98–99.

19 de la Vassière, *Sogdian Traders*, 178–180.

level during the ninth century with the help of the Uyghur Empire and its Sogdian middlemen.²⁰ The An Lushan rebellion is often regarded as a major juncture in the history of imperial China, and its chronological proximity to the battle of Talas resulted in the battle's retrospective importance for China's relations with Central Asia.²¹

More important than the battle's political results, however, were its well-known cultural ramifications: one of the outcomes of the battle was the considerable number of Chinese prisoners that fell into Arab hands. They took in various Chinese artisans, including, among others, weavers, metalsmiths, painters and, notably, paper makers. While paper making was introduced into Central Asia long before the battle, diffused mainly by Buddhist pilgrims from China, the expertise of the Chinese prisoners must have improved and expanded paper production in the Muslim world, thereby contributing significantly to the development of Muslim scholarship and trade. Samarqand, to where the prisoners were brought, remained a major centre for paper making for centuries.²² Moreover, one of the captives who eventually returned to China left a travelogue of his journeys in Western, Central and South Asia, which includes the first Buddhist reference to Islam. Du Huan (fl. 751–762, 杜環), the Buddhist captive, was mainly impressed by the Muslim insistence on meat sacrifices, but he also informs us that in 751 there were two active Buddhist monasteries in Marw, the capital of Muslim Khurāsān, in other words the Muslims allowed the Buddhists to continue their religious observances.²³

2.3 *Buddhist Influence during the Early Abbasid Period: The Barmakids*

Buddhist impact in Central Asia notwithstanding, the mid-late eighth century was the heyday of Indian knowledge, including Buddhism, in the Abbasid Caliphate. However, this new knowledge originated not in China but in India via Balkh, and the main cultural brokers who mediated it were the Barmakids, a family of Buddhist origin that provided the Abbasid caliphs with Muslim viziers during the second half of the eighth century. The Barmakids' ancestors administered the main Buddhist monastery in the Balkh oasis, known as the

20 Étienne de la Vaissière, "Central Asia and the Silk Road," in *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 158.

21 For the An Lushan rebellion and its impact, see for example, Mark E. Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), 40–60.

22 Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 38–45.

23 Alexander Akin, "The *Jing Xing Ji* of Du Huan: Notes on the West by a Chinese Prisoner of War," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999): 77–102.

Nawbahār Monastery, a richly endowed institution that according to Muslim sources controlled the whole oasis. During the conquest of Tukharistan that was completed under the Umayyad Caliph Hishām (r. 724–743), the Nawbahār was destroyed (although it remained a landmark up to the tenth century). The monastery’s keeper, who bore the title Barmak (d. after 738) and his son Khālid (ca. 706–781) were taken captives. They converted to Islam in the last decades of Umayyad rule, joined the Muslim army, and moved up through its ranks. Returning to Khurāsān and perhaps also to Balkh, they became key figures in the Abbasid revolution. Khālid ibn Barmak was responsible for the army’s finances in 749–753, and later advanced into high-ranking posts in the caliphate’s central administration, nurturing close connections with the Abbasid family. The Barmakids reached their height—but also fell—under Khālid’s son Yaḥyā (733/737–805), who was a foster father, tutor, and later the powerful vizier of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–909). In 803, however, the caliph deposed Yaḥyā and his sons (for reasons that are still debated), and the family lost its power for good.²⁴

The Barmakids had their feet in two worlds—the Buddhist and the Muslim—and were well aware of the broader Indic world made available to them through Buddhist mediation. With Barmakid patronage, Indian works of science—astronomy, medicine, and mathematics—were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic in the new Abbasid capital Baghdad and integrated into the emergent Muslim imperial culture. This was part of the Abbasid translation movement (8th–10th c.), that mostly dealt with sources originally in Greek. Yet while the translated corpus from Greek was strictly scientific, excluding Greek mythology or literary works, the tale of the historical Buddha entered the Muslim literary canon. A version of the story, rendered in Arabic as *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Budhāsaf* [The Story of Bilawhar and Budhāsaf], was translated in the eighth century, and became extremely popular. Other Buddhist *jātakas* later circulated, especially among Shi‘ites.²⁵ The Barmakids might have been involved in the original translation of the Buddha story, and a rhymed version

24 Kevin van Bladel, “The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids,” in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions Along the Musk Routes*, ed. Charles Burnett, Anna Akasoy, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham: Routledge, 2010), 45–87; Kevin van Bladel, “Barmakids,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE, 2012, Online edition. Note that Barmak, which the Arabic sources treat as a name is actually a title, probably of the monastery’s keeper or abbot.

25 Daniel Gimaret, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsaf selon la version arabe ismaélienne* (Geneva-Paris: Droz, 1971); Samuel M. Stern and Sophie Walzer, trans., *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories in an Arabic Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971). Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 72–73. For a recent engagement with the Buddha legend in Muslim and Christian contexts, see Jeremy Kurzyniec, “Buddha: The Story of a Christian-Muslim Saint,” report of the AGYA Workshop in Meteora, Greece, July 21–22, 2017, accessed March 2, 2022,

of it (that did not survive) was prepared for Yaḥyā ibn Khālid. In addition, the same Yaḥyā also sent an agent to India to collect medical herbs and speak to doctors and scholars. The latter left a full report of his travels, which included the first extensive account of Buddhism in a Muslim source. He not only identified the different schools of early Buddhism and ritual practices such as pilgrimage, but was also the first to describe the nascent movement of Tantric Buddhism. The original report is now lost; but it was copied into various Arabic works. It served as the basis for the description of Buddhism (and Indian religions in general) in the tenth-century *Kitāb al-Fihrist* [The Book Catalogue] of the Baghdadi book seller Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 998), and later for the description of Buddhism in *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* [The Book of Sects and Creeds] by al-Shahristānī (d. 1153). However, the fall of the Barmakids in 803 severely harmed Muslim interest in India and Buddhism up to the Muslim penetration into the subcontinent and the Tarim Basin in the late tenth–early eleventh century.²⁶

2.4 *Renewed Expansion into Central Asia*

Muslim interest in Central Asia arose once more under Hārūn al-Rashīd's son, the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–833), who spent most of his life in Khurāsān. By then the Abbasids had quelled several rebellions in Khurāsān and Transoxania, and Muslim traders had gradually replaced the Sogdians as the main agents of long-range trade. Al-Ma'mūn renewed Islamic expansion beyond the Jaxartes, and his brother and general, the future caliph al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842), created a new form of Islamic army, known as the *mamlūk* or *ghilmān* system, an institution that greatly encouraged Muslim interest in Central Asia. The *mamlūk* system was based on infidel Turkic (and at first also Sogdian) boys acquired through raids or bought in the slave markets. They were imported before puberty but after acquiring rudimentary skills in riding and archery, were enslaved and went through long and extensive training that usually included conversion to Islam and basic religious education side by side with structured military instruction. This army of military slaves was well-trained and devoid of family or tribal alliances (in contrast to the Arab or Khurāsānī army that preceded them) and hence loyal only to their master and peers. Thus, they soon

https://www.academia.edu/34649394/Buddha_The_Story_of_a_Christian_Muslim_Saint_-_conference_report.

26 van Bladel, "The Bactrian Background," 74–86; van Bladel, "Barmakids"; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 59–61; Johan Elverskog, "Buddhist and Muslim Interactions in Asian History," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, last modified September 30, 2019; accessed July 31, 2022, <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-418>.

became the backbone of the Abbasid army. The system might have originated in the Central Asian institution of the personal soldier-retainers of the nobility (Sogd. *chakars*, lit. 'guard'), but it soon became a typical Muslim institution. The new system encouraged raids and expansion into Central Asia as well as collecting information on its Turkic tribes, and was the first time in which Turks entered the Islamic world *en masse*.²⁷

Indeed, one of the main changes that occurred during the early Abbasid period was the transformation of Islam from an ethnic-Arabic religion to a universal one that encompassed people of all ethnicities and languages. This in turn encouraged conversion and facilitated the participation of the Central Asian population in the shaping of Islamic culture.

3 Stage Two: The Era of Trans-Regional States

Not long after al-Ma'mūn's reign, and partly due to the new Turkic army, the Abbasids lost more and more ground to their governors who, while nominally acknowledging Abbasid authority, were in practice consolidating their independent rule in large parts of the caliphate.²⁸ Such imperial dissolution was mirrored in other realms as well: the Uyghurs fell in 840 to the Kirghizs, who did not establish another steppe empire but retreated from Mongolia. The Uyghurs migrated to Gansu and Xinjiang, settled down, and became important actors along the Silk Roads; the Tibetan Empire collapsed in 842, and the Tang floundered for another half a century before it was finally overthrown in 906. The vacuum in East Asia was filled by the rise of new trans-regional and heterogeneous empires in Central Asia, the Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources known as Liao 遼) that ruled Manchuria, Mongolia and parts of northern China; and the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) that took over north-western China. Both coexisted with the Han-Chinese Song Dynasty (960–1279, 宋) in China proper. The rise of the new dynasties, and especially the Khitans' conquest of Mongolia in the early

27 On the *mamlūk* system, see for example, Reuven Amitai, "The Mamluk Institution, or: One Thousand Years of Military Slavery in the Islamic World," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, ed. Christopher L. Brown and Philip D. Morgan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 40–78, esp. 44–47; for the *chakars*, see Étienne de la Vaissière, "Čakar," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, accessed August 12, 2022. <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/cakar>.

28 For the dissolution of the Caliphate, see for example, Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (London: Routledge, 2022), 192–202.

tenth century and the consolidation of the Tangut Empire in the 11th century, led to migration of the remnant Turks from Mongolia westwards. This created a domino effect that reached up to Byzantium. These population movements drew many Turks westwards, closer to the Muslim world, and encouraged the creation of new Turkic dynasties such as the Karakhanids (ca. 999–1211) and the Seljuk Empire (1037–1194).²⁹ These new Central Asian dynasties on the fringes of China and the Muslim world each ruled over both sedentary and nomad realms (unlike former steppe empires). They adopted world religions, mainly Islam in the western steppe and Buddhism in the eastern steppe, in order to find a common ground with their heterogeneous subjects and enhance their legitimacy. The Buddhist and Muslim polities maintained economic, and sometimes even marital, relations but showed little interest in each other's creeds.

3.1 *The Iranians' Contribution to the Islamisation of the Turks*

One of the first regions to gain actual independence from Abbasid rule was Iran and Central Asia. There four Iranian dynasties rose to power, each of them ascribing its origin to a Sasanian figure, thereby adding an Iranian component to their Muslim legitimation. Among these dynasties, the Samanids (888–999, as Abbasid governors since 819) played a major role in the Islamisation of the Turks. Established by a noble Iranian family that attributed its origin to the Sasanian general and short-lived ruler Bahram Chobin (r. 590–591), the Samanids ruled from Bukhara over Khurāsān, Transoxania, Farghāna, Khwārazm and most of modern Afghanistan. They rose to power under al-Ma'mūn, when four Samanid brothers were appointed local governors in Khurāsān and Transoxania, and with the waning of the caliphate, they gradually became practically independent, although nominally they still acknowledged the caliph's position as the leader of the Muslim nation (Arab. *umma*) and received their titles from him.

To secure their legitimacy and increase their revenues, the Samanids resumed Islamic expansion into Central Asia, presenting themselves as warriors of faith (Arab. *ghāzīs*), and reconquering Talas from the infidel Turks in 893. The Samanids made a fortune from trading in *mamlūks*—brought from Central Asia and from among the Slavs in North-Eastern Europe and sold in the central Islamic lands—as well as used these slaves to man their own army. Famous mainly for their strong connections with Scandinavia where myriad

29 Michal Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 226–227.

Samanid coins have been unearthed, their commercial networks also expanded eastwards to the fringes of China as well as to India (*via* Balkh) and Byzantium, maintaining the Sogdian links. They received embassies from the Uyghurs, married into the families of non-Muslim rulers of Dunhuang and might have been in contact also with the Khitan Empire. Their commercial enterprises also led to the emergence of Muslim trade diasporas in places east and north of the Samanid realm (for example, in the Jaxartes region and among the Uyghurs), thereby intensifying contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims.³⁰

Moreover, under Samanid rule, Transoxania became from a remote peripheral province to the centre of Islamic culture. The Samanids revived the use of Persian as a written language, while preserving Arabic as the language of administration, science, and religion. They sponsored luminaries like the poet Rudakī (d. 941); the vizier Bal‘amī (d. 997), who translated into Persian the most prestigious Arabic history, Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* [History of the Messengers and the Kings]; the polymath and physician Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037); and Firdawsī (d. 1019 or 1025), the compiler of the Iranian epos, the *Shāhnāmāh* [Book of Kings].³¹ However, Buddhism played no role in this cultural opulence. In contrast, the emphasis on the Sasanian legacy led to the erasure of the Buddhist past, so that even the Nawbahār Monastery in Balkh was defined in the tenth century as a fire temple or the work of the Sasanians.³²

The Samanids’ considerable military, economic and cultural prestige impressed tribes and people outside the realm of Islam and encouraged further expansion of Islam, mainly by voluntary association. While Muslim subjects often converted due to socio-economic factors and acculturation (including that practised through the *mamlūk* system), Islamisation outside the Muslim realm usually derived from political and strategic reasons. Thus, the Samanid influence encouraged their neighbours to join the winners, acknowledging also that adopting Islam could provide legitimacy for ruling (the extensive) Muslim territories, facilitate access to Muslim trade networks and military support, as well as assist in shaping identity (distinguishing between us—believers—and them—infidels). It also provided a set of Islamic institutions that came in handy

30 de la Vassière, *Sogdian Traders*, 314; Deborah G. Tor, “The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid Era and Reshaping of the Muslim World,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72.2 (2009): 289.

31 On Samanid culture, see for example, Frederick S. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 225–266.

32 Étienne de la Vaissière, “Inherited Landscapes in Muslim Bactra,” *Eurasian Studies* 16.1–2 (2018): 132.

during the process of state formation.³³ Islamisation was further encouraged by commercial links, by the missionary activity led by the Samanid lawyers (Arab. *fuqahā*), and by the border forts (Arab. *ribāt*) system, that settled Muslim warriors acting out of religious zeal next to their non-Muslim neighbour-enemies, thereby promoting contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims. The result was the beginning of a large-scale Turkic Islamisation in the second half of the tenth century and the rise of the first Turkic-Muslim dynasties, the Karakhanids and the Ghaznavids (977–1186), the later rising from the ranks of the Samanids' *mamlūks*. By the end of the tenth century these two dynasties divided the Samanid realm between them—the Ghaznavids taking over Khurāsān, from where they renewed Islamic expansion into India, and the Karakhanids seizing Transoxania—thereby ending the 'Iranian intermezzo' in Islamic history and opening a millennium of Turco-Mongol dominance in the Muslim world.³⁴

3.2 *The Karakhanids and the Islamisation of the Tarim Basin*

The Karakhanids, known as the first Muslim Turkish Dynasty, rose to power near Kašgar, and renewed the direct contacts between Muslims and Buddhists, not least in the form of holy war (Arab. *Jihād*). A Turkic confederation of complex tribal origin, the Karakhanids embraced Islam towards the mid-tenth century. Their first Muslim ruler, Satuq Bughra Khan (d. 955) converted with the guidance of a merchant-lawyer of the Samanid house. He used his conversion to depose his infidel father (or uncle) and took his place, eventually assisted by neighbouring Muslims.

Soon afterwards, the Karakhanids began to expand both eastwards and westwards. Serving first as mercenaries of the Samanids, in 999 they conquered Transoxania from their former overlords. Simultaneously, from 971 onwards, they were engaged in a long war against the Buddhist Kingdom of Khotan (ca. 1st c.?–1006), some 500 km southeast of Kašgar, eventually taking the Khotan oasis only around 1006.³⁵

33 Biran, *The Empire*, 196–199; Devin A. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 17–27.

34 For the Samanids, see for example, Tor, "The Islamization of Central Asia"; Christian, *A History of Russia*, 314–323; Golden, *Central Asia*, 69; Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 289–299; Luke Treadwell, "The Samanids: The First Islamic Dynasty of Central Asia," in *Early Islamic Iran*, ed. Edmund Herzig and Sarah Stewart (London: Tauris, 2012), 3–15; Jürgen Paul, "Islamizing Sufis in Pre-Mongol Central Asia," in *Islamisation de l'Asie centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^e au XI^e siècle*, ed. Étienne de la Vaissière (Paris, Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 314; for the Ghaznavids, see e.g., Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 299–305.

35 Peter B. Golden, "The Karakhanids and Early Islam," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 354–362;



FIGURE 1.1 The Mausoleum of Satuq Bughra Khan near Kaşgar
PHOTO BY MICHAL BIRAN (2013)

Khotan was worth fighting for. The powerful kingdom was a major node on the Silk Roads connecting Central Asia with China, Tibet and India—a position it retained also in the 11th century. Khotan was a fertile oasis and source of jade that was highly coveted among its eastern neighbours, the Song Dynasty and the Khitan and Tangut Empires.³⁶ Buddhism played a significant role in Khotan's commercial networks: Buddhist monasteries functioned as postal stations along the trade routes, and Buddhist monks were favourite envoys for diplomatic and commercial missions—to Dunhuang, the Song Dynasty, Tibet, the Khitans and the Tanguts. Around the tenth century, the Uyghurs in Ganzhou (甘州) and Turfan also converted to Buddhism (from Manichaeism), not least due to the commercial advantages involved. Buddhist items such as *sūtras*, sculptures and relics were among the popular trading goods.³⁷

Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 226–234.

36 On Khotan on the eve of the Karakhanid conquest, see for example, *ibid.*, 199–226; Xin Wen, “Two Khotanese Account Tablets and Local Society in Pre-Islamic Khotan,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 63.1–2 (2020): 191–238; Hiroshi Kumamoto, “Khotanese Official Documents in the Tenth Century A.D. (Middle Iranian; Chinese Turkestan)” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

37 Hansen, *The Silk Road*, 199–226.

The Karakhanids came to this Buddhist stronghold as warriors of the Islamic faith. Maḥmūd al-Kashgharī (1008–1102), the Karakhanid scion and lexicographer who compiled *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* [The Compendium of Turkic Dialects], an Arabic-Turkic dictionary which is a trove of information about the various Turkic tribes, commemorated Karakhanid conquests in these often-cited verses:

We came down on them like a flood,
We went out among their cities,
We tore down the idol-temples,
We shat on the Buddha's head!³⁸

Yet while the Karakhanids were certainly proud Muslims, they were well aware of the advantages of trade with the East and its Buddhist networks. Soon after the conquest of Khotan they began to send tribute missions, notably to the Northern Song (960–1126, 北宋) and to the Khitan Empire; with the latter they also concluded a marital alliance in 1021. The Karakhanids' most extensive connections were with the Northern Song, to which they sent ca. forty missions between 1009–1124, most of them in 1063–1098. Those missions arrived mainly via the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zoulang 河西走廊), ruled by the Buddhist Uyghurs, and from the late 11th century *via* the Buddhist Tsongkha Kingdom (ca. 1015?–early 12th c.) in Tibet, that provided guides and interpreters to the Karakhanid envoys to China. These envoys were often professional diplomats, who travelled for several missions, and none had typical Muslim names (as opposed to Abbasid envoys, for example). While many emissaries were military commanders, in 1117 and 1118 they were defined as 'great monks' (Chin. *daseng* 大僧). In addition, in 1085 the Karakhanid envoy "fed monks and performed rites to help the deceased Emperor Shenzong [(1048–1085, 神宗)] attain bliss";³⁹

38 Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān lughāt at-Turk)*, trans. Robert Dankoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, 1982), 270; cited for example, in Hansen, *The Silk Road*; 228; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 95. Such an image was also commemorated in the holy war literature (Arab. *tadhkiras*) that became extremely popular in Xinjiang from the mid-17th century onwards. Various Chaghatay sources abound in descriptions of the acts of martyrdom of Karakhanid khans, princes or elite Muslims and the shrines dedicated to their memory, many of them still active today, although these reflect the 17th century reality more than the Karakhanid period (see, for example, Thum, *Sacred Routes*, chap. 1; Eden, *Warrior Saints*, for the religious literature on Satuq Bughra Khan, the Karakhanids' forefather).

39 Tuotuo 脱脱, *Songshi* 宋史, juan 490, trans. in Dilnoza Duturaeva, *Qarakhanid Roads to China* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 216.

and in 1096 a mission from Kuča, by then probably in Karakhanid hands, sent a Buddhist jade sculpture as a gift. All this suggests that the pious Karakhanids were quite pragmatic and ready to tolerate Buddhism to secure the lucrative trade with Song China.

The Karakhanids also positioned themselves as the main middlemen of the continental Silk Roads between the Chinese-Tibetan Buddhist realm and the Muslim world. Thus, other Muslim missions to the Song, for example from the Seljuks or the Ghaznavids, accompanied Karakhanid delegations and benefitted from their expertise. In terms of goods, the Karakhanids traded not only local products (jade, animals, slaves, etc.) but also commodities that originated farther west and north. These included Nishapuri glass, amber from the Baltic Sea (popular especially among the Khitans), frankincense from south Arabia, pearls from Iran or India, and walrus tusks from the Kirghizs. They also imported various Chinese goods, notably silk and tea (as well as musk and slaves from the Khitan realm) to the Muslim world.⁴⁰ Their close connections with their Eastern neighbours encouraged the Karakhanids to retain their Turkic identity markers, and judging by the names they chose for themselves (Karakhanid is a later western denomination), these eastern connections were an important part of their identity. The Karakhanids called themselves “descendants of the Khagan” (Arab. *al-Khāqāniyya*), the Turks’ Great Khan, and claimed to be offspring of the Ashina, the royal clan of the Turkic Empire of the sixth–eighth centuries. Another appellation was ‘The House of Afrasiyab’ (Arab. *Āl-i Āfrāsiyāb*), after the legendary king of Tūrān in Firdawsī’s *Book of Kings*, an appellation that both made them part of the Persian world and retained their Turkic identity. Furthermore, the Karakhanids also stressed their connection to China, many of their rulers bearing also the title of Khan of China (OT *tavgač khan*) or King of the East and China (Arab. *malik al-mashriq wa-l-šīn*) and referring to segments of their realm (notably Kašgar) as parts of China.⁴¹

Such connections with East Asia found visual expression in the wall paintings of the 12th-century Karakhanid palace in Samarqand, that are obviously

40 Ibid., esp. 37–97, 205–210; Dilnoza Duturaeva, “Between the Silk and Fur Roads: The Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade,” *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 28 (2016): 173–212; Dilnoza Duturaeva, “Qarakhanid Envoys to Song China,” *Journal of Asian History* 52.2 (2018): 179–208; Michal Biran, “The Qarakhanids’ Eastern Exchange. Preliminary Notes on the Silk Roads in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE*, ed. Jan Bemmann and Michael Schmauder (Bonn: University of Bonn Press, 2015), 575–595.

41 Michal Biran, “Ilak-khanids (or Qarakhanids),” in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. 12 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 621–628.

influenced by Dunhuang models and combine Chinese and Turkic motives with Persian content.⁴² Some Buddhist impact might have been apparent also in the 11th-century Turkic mirror for princes, *Qutadgu Bilig* [Wisdom of Royal Glory], notably in the figure of the ascetic known as ‘Wide Awake’. Other possible links, such as the typical Karakhanid lofty minarets competing visually with Buddhist pagodas or the colleges (Arab. *madrasas*) that were established in Central Asian towns originating in Buddhist architecture and institutions, are harder to prove. Despite the close commercial connections and some cultural borrowing, there is hardly any evidence of meaningful intellectual exchange among Buddhists and Muslims during this period.⁴³

This lack stands in contrast to the Ghaznavids’ simultaneous advance into North India, where in the late-tenth to early-11th century they famously demolished idol temples, including those of the local Buddhists who had been already losing ground to the Hindus. This advance produced, or at least made popular, the *Kālacakratantra* [The Wheel of Time Tantra], by far the most extensive Buddhist source on Islamic practice and thought. The *Kālacakratantra* highlights the myth of Shambhala, a legendary Buddhist kingdom. It claims that, after the world became fully Muslim, the king of Shambhala would ride forth with his Buddhist army—eliminating all the Muslims and ushering in a full revival of the *dharma*. The text also contains a framework of Islamic salvation history including Muḥammad and the various prophets who preceded him, for example biblical figures such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, and Jesus (all of whom are considered prophets in Islam).⁴⁴ It includes a description of Islamic practices such as prayer, fasting, and circumcision, and lays a special stress on meat sacrifices and Islamic slaughter, which are

42 Yury Karev, “Qarakhanid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarqand. First Report and Preliminary Observations,” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 45–84; Yury Karev, “From Tents to City: The Royal Court of the Western Qarakhanids between Bukhara and Samarqand,” in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City-life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99–147.

43 Yūsuf, khāṣṣ-ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, trans. Robert Dankoff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), Introduction; Biran, “Qarakhanid Eastern Exchange,” 587–588; Elverskog, “Buddhism and Muslim Interactions,” 6–7.

44 Before Muḥammad, the text also mentions ‘the White Clad One’, probably referring to al-Muqanna‘ (‘the Veiled One’, d. ca. 783), a rebel and false prophet active in Khurāsān in the mid-late eighth century, whose adherents, known for wearing white clothes, fled from the Abbasids to north India where they survived up to the 12th century. This group might have been the *Kālacakratantra*’s source about Islam. See Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 57, 98. On al-Muqanna‘, see Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 106–143; Karev, *Samarqand et le Sughd*, 161–232.

identified with the Vedic sacrifice, thereby linking the two main enemies of the *dharma*—Muslims and Hindus. The *Kālacakratantra* was also aware of the Islamic theory of the afterworld that refutes the Buddhist notion of reincarnation, an issue that would resurface during the Mongol period. Yet, it also acknowledged some positive aspects of Islam (for example, equality). In addition, the *Kālacakratantra* also reveals the impact of Muslim science on Indian knowledge, mainly in the astral sciences, thereby suggesting that scientific cross-pollination between Buddhism and Islam was not unilateral. This exceptional text also attests to a certain intellectual interaction between Buddhism and Islam, at least in India.⁴⁵

In Central Asia, there was a certain parallel only to the first part of the *Kālacakratantra* that foretells the decline of Buddhism due to Muslim expansion: the Karakhanid conquest of Khotan might have given a boost to the earlier ‘prophecy of Khotan’, which predicted the decline of the *dharma* due to the rise of Persian, Turks and Tibetan kings.⁴⁶ Yet the Karakhanid conquest of Khotan also left more practical marks on the Buddhist realm: Many Buddhist Khotanese emigrated, notably to Tibet, thereby strengthening Tibet’s position as *the* Buddhist centre (at the expense of India), and the Muslim threat might have contributed to the sealing of the Dunhuang treasure cave in the 11th century.⁴⁷ Another effect of the Karakhanid conquest was the beginning of the Islamisation of Khotan.

Simultaneously with their continuous connections to the Buddhist east, the Karakhanids also tried to enhance Khotan’s Muslim character. Very little information is available on Karakhanid rule in Khotan, which is described as the eastern fringe of the world in contemporaneous Muslim poetry. Yet they certainly relocated to the city Muslim scholars and dignitaries, mostly from Transoxania.⁴⁸ Archaeology reveals that quite a few Muslim shrines were built over originally Buddhist sites and sometimes even retained similar rites, though in the long run the original Buddhist past was completely forgotten.⁴⁹ The Islamisation of Khotan was a gradual process: a deed from the Khotan

45 For the *Kālacakratantra*, see Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 98–104; Elverskog, “Buddhist and Muslim Interactions,” 5–6, 16; John Newman, “Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.2 (1998): 311–372.

46 Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 97–98; for a detailed discussion of the prophecy, that originated in the ninth century, see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 188–202.

47 Xinjiang Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. by Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 131–133.

48 Biran, “Qarakhanid Eastern Exchange,” 581.

49 Thum, *Sacred Routes*, 125–126.

area that was drafted in 1107 (501 AH), attests that the buyer, seller and witnesses were all Muslims. Judging by their names (for example, Ḥusayn ibn Lingūkūhī), some of these individuals were probably second-generation adherents of Islam. Similarly, the first Khotanese scholar who is mentioned in the Muslim biographical literature is Sulaymān, son of Dāwud, son of Sulaymān al-Khutani (fl. ca. 1119), whose family appears to have been Muslim—or at least not Chinese or Buddhist—for several generations. By the mid-12th century, however, the city had already produced several Islamic scholars; and by the early 1200s, Khotan was an entirely Muslim town boasting “three thousand illustrious imams.”⁵⁰

3.3 *The Kara Khitai*

By this time and since the early decades of the 12th century, the Karakhanids had submitted to the Kara Khitai (ca. 1124–1218, in Chinese sources known as Xiliao 西遼). These were Khitan fugitives from northern China who escaped into Central Asia after their dynasty had been subsumed by their former vassals, the Jurchens. The latter established the Jurchen Dynasty (1115–1234, in Chinese sources known as Jin 金) that in 1127 pushed the Song into southern China. While the Jurchens were preoccupied in China, the Kara Khitai carved out for themselves a vast empire stretching from the Oxus to the Altai and centred in Balāsāghūn (modern Burana, Kirgizstan), overrunning both the Muslim Karakhanids and Buddhist Kočo (Chin. Gaochang 高昌)—as well as other polities and tribes—and famously subduing the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar in Qatwān near Samarqand in 1141. This battle gave a boost to the legend of Prester John, the Christian priest-king who was supposed to have hastened to the aid of his co-religionists in the Holy Land from his remote kingdom in Asia, as the rumours about the great Muslim defeat by their non-Muslim enemy reached even the Crusaders in Palestine. Indeed, the battle was the first setback of Islam in Central Asia since the Umayyad losses in the first half of the eighth century. Furthermore, it was the first time that Buddhist rulers governed a significant Muslim population, including centres like Bukhara and Samarqand. Interestingly, the infidel nomads managed to rule their heterogeneous but mostly Muslim population in rare harmony.

As I showed elsewhere, they cleverly manipulated their cultural capital as Chinese and Khitans, building on the remaining prestige of China in Central Asia since the Tang period (and through the Karakhanid incorporation of this

50 Ata-Malik Juvaini [sic], *Genghis Khan: The History of World Conqueror*, trans. John A. Boyle (Rpt. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 71; Biran, “Qarakhanid Eastern Exchange,” 581–582.



MAP 1.2 The Kara Khitai at its height: Asia in 1142
MICHAL BIRAN, *THE EMPIRE OF THE QARA KHITAI IN EURASIAN HISTORY*
(CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 2005), 220 (WITH CHANGES)

trademark) and on their nomadic heritage, that was common to many of the post-nomadic Turks in Central Asia. Practising religious pluralism, leaving most local rulers intact and securing peace and prosperity in Central Asia up to the late 12th century, the Kara Khitai won the loyalty of their subjects, Muslims and others, and, unlike their predecessors and successors in Central Asia, did not embrace Islam. Only when peace and order deteriorated with the rise of Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–1227) and the decline of the Kara Khitai ruling house, did ‘religious war’ rhetoric come to the fore.⁵¹

Under Kara Khitai rule the Silk Roads shifted to the north, so that the Tangut Empire as well as the Kočo Uyghurs played a bigger role at the expense of the Khotanese. This was not only due to the inclusion of Kočo in the Kara Khitai realm, but also due to the enmity between the Kara Khitai and the Jurchen as well as the retreat of the Song to the south, which forced it to rely more on the maritime routes. The Tanguts exploited the upheavals to take over the Blue Lake region (Tib. mTsho sngon po, Mong. Köke nayur, Chin. Qinghai hu 青海湖, in western literature often referred to as Lake Kokonor), the former realm of Tsongkha, which the Jurchens had ceded to the Tanguts. Most of the merchants from the Kara Khitai realm, notably Muslims and Uyghurs, passed through the Tangut realm and did not advance to China proper or beyond Jurchen border markets. However, certain Muslim merchants, especially from Kašgar and Balāsāghūn, were active in the Jurchen’s western trade. The Jurchens ordered the resident Muslim merchants to settle in the villages of the Uyghur immigrants. Yet Zhongdu (中都, also known as Yanjing 燕京, present day Beijing), the Jurchen capital, also held a major settlement of Central Asian immigrants—Buddhist Uyghurs and Muslims.⁵²

Central Asian Muslim merchants also maintained direct trade relations with the tribes of Mongolia, providing them with necessities such as clothes and commodities banned by the Jurchen (for example, ironware). Some of them, notably those active also in the Jurchen realm, were among Chinggis Khan’s first supporters.⁵³

51 Biran, *The Empire*, passim; Michal Biran, “True To Their Ways: Why the Qara Khitai Did Not Convert to Islam,” in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 175–169.

52 Yihao Qiu, “Ja’fār Khwāja: Sayyid, Spy, Merchant and Military Commander of Chinggis Khan,” in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants and Intellectuals*, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Z. Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 144–145; Biran, *The Empire*, 138; Biran, “Qarakhanid Eastern Trade,” 582.

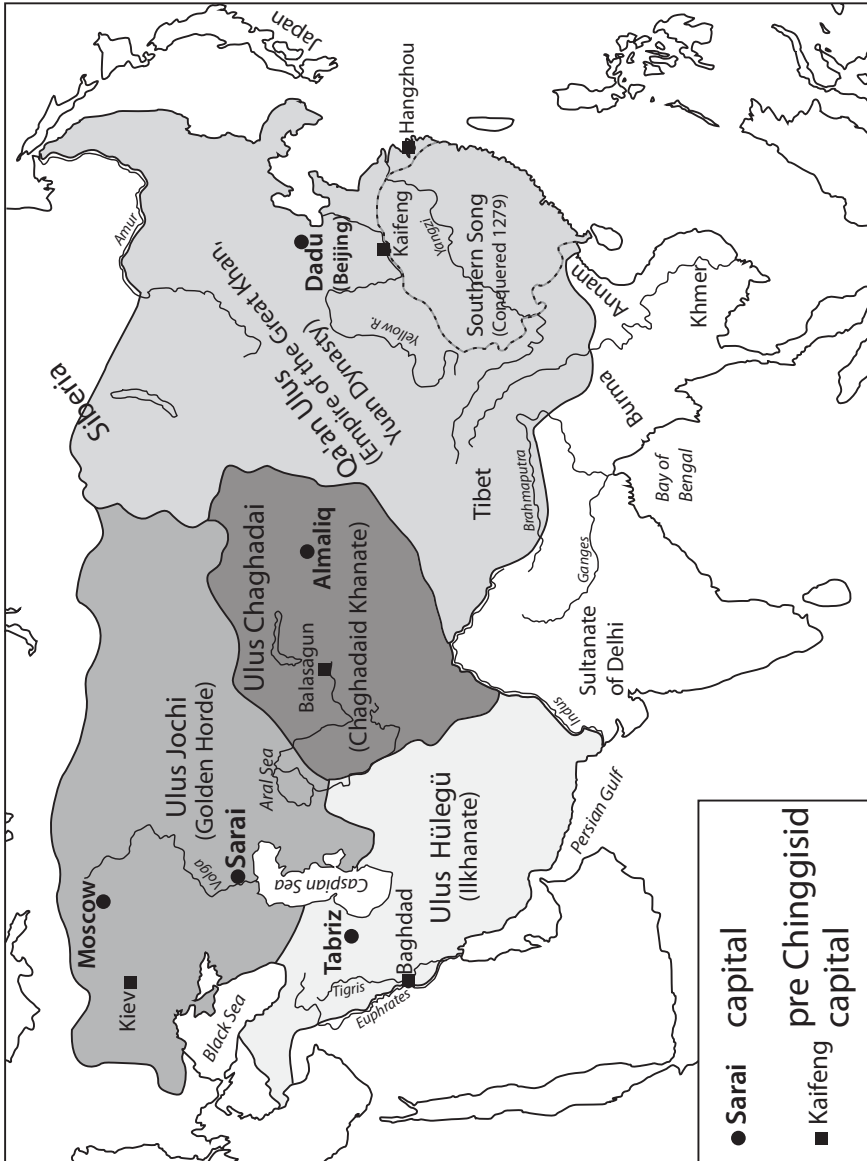
53 Qiu, “Ja’fār Khwāja,” 143–159.

The Kara Khitai period could have been a time of great cultural exchange between Buddhists and Muslims, not only through the merchants noted above but mainly in the central territory of the Kara Khitai, whose multi-lingual and multi-ethnic administration included Khitans, Uyghurs (including Buddhist monks), Muslims and Chinese. Yet we know nothing of such encounters, not only due to the dearth of sources about the Kara Khitai but also since Buddhism was less useful as a common denominator in Central Asia than in northern China: the ability of the Kara Khitai to achieve legitimacy among their mostly-Muslim population probably required them to downplay their Buddhist facets.⁵⁴ That said, Semirechye and especially the Chu Valley, namely the central territory of the Kara Khitai, are quite rich in Buddhist monuments: notably two monasteries in Ak Beshim, medieval Suyab, 15 km northwest of Balāsāghūn and two or three monasteries in Krasnaya Rechka (medieval Nawākit), 41 km northwest of Balāsāghūn. All are dated between the sixth and 11th century, even though Buddhist finds are sometimes uncovered together with Karakhanid-style bricks and ceramics dated between the 11th and 12th century, which may suggest that they were active also under the Kara Khitai.⁵⁵ In addition, a recently excavated tomb in the region of Kochkar in north-east Kyrgyzstan, a day's ride from Balāsāghūn, which my colleagues and I have argued was the first ever identified Kara Khitai elite tomb, contains many features unique to the Khitan Empire and attests to the retaining of the Kara Khitai's Khitan identity in Central Asia. While the findings do not include any specifically Buddhist items, the jade plates and ceramic tables that were found in the tomb are reminiscent of the banquet scenes which were typical of Buddhist tombs in the Khitan Empire, and the hanging mirrors unearthed in the tomb may also be part of a Khitan Buddhist ritual.⁵⁶ Further excavations

54 Biran, *The Empire*, 174–175; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 127–129 refers to this period as a dark age in terms of Buddhist-Muslim interaction. My view is less categorical, mainly due to the newly excavated tomb discussed below.

55 Asan I. Torgoev, et al., “The Buddhist Monastery of Krasnaya Rechka Settlement: The Main Findings 2010–2015,” in *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries*, ed. Christoph Baumer and Mirko Novák (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 349–364, esp. 355. For the difficulty of differentiating between 11th- and 12th-century layers, see Asan I. Torgoev, “Remennye ukrasheniya Semirech'ya V–nachalo XIII vv. (voprosy khronologii)” (PhD diss., University of Saint-Petersburg, 2011), 113–114. How much of the monasteries' dating derives from the common assumption in Central Asia that the Karakhanid period witnessed the full Islamisation of the Chu Valley (and more) is a question worth pursuing. See also next note.

56 Michal Biran et al., “The Kōk-Tash Underground Mausoleum in North-Eastern Kyrgyzstan: The First-ever Identified Qara Khitai Elite Tomb,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*



MAP 1.3 The Mongol Commonwealth: The Four Khanates after 1260
 MICHAL BIRAN, "MONGOL IMPERIAL SPACE: FROM UNIVERSALISM TO GLOCALIZATION," IN *THE LIMITS OF UNIVERSAL RULE: EURASIAN EMPIRES COMPARED*, ED. YURI PINES, MICHAL BIRAN, AND JÖRG RÜPKE (CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2021), 238

will hopefully throw more light on Kara Khitai Buddhism. However, Islam continued to expand during the Kara Khitai reign by voluntary association, reaching eastwards into the Karluk principalities of Qayaliq (near modern Kopal in Kazakhstan) and Almaliq (near modern Yining 伊宁 in north Xinjiang, China), while Muslim scholarship and science continued to thrive in Transoxania and Farghāna.⁵⁷

4 Stage Three: The Mongol Moment (1206–1368)

The Mongol Empire that eliminated the Kara Khitai as well as their eastern and western neighbours, opened a new page not only in world history but also in Islamic expansion and Muslim-Buddhist encounters. Uniting the eastern Islamic world and various East Asian Buddhist polities—in China, Tibet, Korea, Uyghuria, Kashmir—under one rule, which extended up to the fringes of Orthodox Christianity in the Russian principalities; practising religious pluralism; and mobilising people, artefacts and ideas on an unprecedented scale, the Mongol Empire promoted religious exchange of unparalleled scope. It transformed the Eurasian religious landscape and encouraged religious relativism. The Mongols conducted their conquests under the banner of Tengri, the Sky god of the steppe, who conferred upon the Chinggisids the mandate to rule over earth and the charisma or good fortune required for holding it. They neither preached nor forced their ethnic, immanent religion, usually termed Shamanism, which was concerned mainly with the conditions of this life. Missionaries of universal, transcendental religions that stressed the afterlife saw the Mongols as a reservoir of potential converts, and competed over their conversion. Muslims and Tibetan Buddhists were pitted as the main competitors for converting the Mongols during the ‘Mongol moment’.⁵⁸

The ‘Mongol moment’ in world history is usually divided into two main periods, that of the United Empire (1206–1260) and that of the four states/nations

33.3 (2023): 713–745. Note that the Kochkar tomb was originally published as a unique Muslim tomb even though its characteristics are obviously not Muslim, due to the assumption discussed above.

57 Biran, *The Empire*, 177, 181–190; Michal Biran, “Scholarship and Science under the Qara Khitai (1124–1218),” in *The Coming of the Mongols*, ed. David O. Morgan and Sarah Edwards (London: Tauris, 2018), 58–72.

58 Michal Biran, “The Mongol Empire and the Inter-Civilizational Exchange,” in *The Cambridge World History*. Vol. 5. *Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict, 500 CE–1500 CE*, ed. Benjamin Kedar and Merry Wiesner-Hanks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 547–550.

(Mong. *uluses*) or Khanates (1260–1368), known as ‘the Mongol Commonwealth.’ The United Empire was an ever-expanding unified polity ruled from Mongolia. After 1260, the United Empire dissolved in a process that eventually resulted in the creation of four regional empires, which centred on China, Iran, Central Asia, and the Volga region, each ruled by a Chinggisid branch. The Great Khan’s (or Qa’an’s) state was centred in China, its rulers became known as the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) and their realm enjoyed a nominal, though not uncontested, primacy over its counterparts. The Ilkhanate was centred in modern Iran and Iraq, while the Golden Horde (1260–1502) ruled from the Volga region, and the Chaghadaid Khanate (1260–1678)—called after Chinggis Khan’s second son Chaghadai (d. 1242) held power in Central Asia, from Uyghuria to the Oxus. Despite the many, and often bloody, disputes between the four polities, they retained a strong sense of Chinggisid unity. In the late-13th to mid-14th century, the three western states embraced Islam, whereas Yuan China adopted Tibetan Buddhism even earlier. In the mid-14th century, all four khanates were embroiled in political and ecological crises that led to the collapse of the Ilkhanate as well as of Yuan China and considerably weakened the two other steppe khanates. The retreat of the Great Khan from China in 1368 is generally deemed to be the end of the ‘Mongol moment’ in world history, since it brought the Chinggisids back to the steppe, and disrupted the economic and cultural exchange typical of Mongol rule, even though both Chinggisid polities and the memory of the empire survived much longer.⁵⁹

4.1 *Islam and Buddhism under Mongol Rule: Coexistence and Exchange*

Even though the Mongol era had begun with major blows to the Muslim world, from Chinggis Khan’s devastating invasion of Central Asia (1219–1225) up to the elimination of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 by his grandson, Hülegü, eventually the Mongol period resulted in an immense expansion of Islam. As stated above, three of the four Mongol khanates embraced Islam in the late 13th to mid-14th century. Moreover, the population movements induced by the Mongol Empire and the opportunities it offered to merchants, experts and adventurers, led to further dissemination of Islam into China, India, Southeast Asia and Africa. This was done by the agency of Muslim soldiers, administrators, merchants, refugees, and experts of various kinds (including religious experts like scholars [(Arab. *‘ulamā’*)] and Sufis) who were either employed by

59 Biran, “The Mongol Empire,” 534–535.

the Mongols or quick to benefit from the open borders of the empire and the trade networks it invigorated that covered the entire Old World.⁶⁰

Tibetan Buddhism went through a similar process, albeit on a smaller scale. While the initial Mongol conquest devastated Buddhist communities in northern China and Tibet, already in the 1260s the Great Khan state centred in China adopted Tibetan Buddhism, though mainly as a court religion. The Mongols also oversaw the completion of Tibet's unseating of India as the centre of Buddhism and the beginning of theocratic rule in Tibet. The Buddhist efflorescence is lastly attested by its return to Iran under Mongol aegis, centuries after it was largely erased from the Persian-speaking world with the spread of Islam.⁶¹

The 'Mongol moment' created direct encounters between Muslims and Buddhists on an unprecedented scale. These took place both at the Mongol courts, at which the khans presided over religious debates and employed multi-ethnic experts of various kinds (such as physicians, astronomers, administrators), and across the Empire, notably among various groups of migrants, often transported by the Mongols. The arrival of newcomers was not always easy for the receiving population and migrants often found it hard to accommodate to their new environment. Thus, these encounters were not always amiable, and also involved tensions, hostility, and the rise of nativist feeling. For example, the Buddhist priests from the Uyghur summer capital Beš Balık (Chin. Beiting 北庭), a town to which the Mongols transferred myriads of Muslim artisans in the 1220s, allegedly suggested to the Great Khan Güyük (r. 1246–1248) the elimination of all the Muslims or at least their emasculation.⁶² Yet despite several cases of Buddhist or Muslim zealotry, and in spite of Chaghadaï's strict enforcement of the norms of the Mongol law code (Mong. *jasag*; Turk. *yasa*) ascribed to Chinggis Khan and often contradicting Muslim law, Mongol religious pluralism encouraged co-existence rather than persecution, certainly before Mongol Islamisation.⁶³

60 Michal Biran, *Chinggis Khan* (Oxford: OneWorld Publications, 2007), 93–98; Michal Biran, "The Mongol Empire and Inter-Civilizational Exchange," 547–549.

61 Brian Baumann, "Buddhism in the Mongol Empire," in *The Mongol World*, ed. Timothy May and Michael Hope (London: Routledge, 2022), 681–696, though he exaggerates the importance of Buddhism in Ilkhanid Iran; Roxann Prazniak, "Ilkhanid Buddhism: Traces of a Passage in Eurasian History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56 (2014): 650–680.

62 Minhāj al-Dīn Abū 'Umar ibn Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Kabul: Duniyā-yi kitāb, 1963–4), vol. 1, 171–173; Biran, *The Empire*, 196.

63 Biran, "Central Asia," 64–65; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 133–137, 182, 189.

The direct contacts between Muslims and Buddhists at the Mongol courts are documented already in the Mongol capital Karakorum where in 1254 the Flemish missionary William of Rubruck recorded the first court debate in which both Buddhists and Muslims took part, together with Christians of the eastern and Catholic churches. This debate famously ended with the Great Khan Möngke's (r. 1251–1259) statements that all religions are like different fingers leading to the palm in which God is located, putting all religions on equal footing.⁶⁴

Muslim-Buddhists direct contacts are documented mainly in Ilkhanid Iran, where they resulted in the most detailed descriptions of Buddhism in the Islamic world, notably by the renowned vizier and historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318), but also by other dignitaries such as the Sufi 'Alā' al-Dīn Simnānī (d. 1336). Rashīd al-Dīn, a Jewish convert to Islam known as the first 'world historian', compiled the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* [Compendium of Chronicles], which contains a volume on the history of the Mongols, from the rise of Chinggis Khan to the vizier's time, and a volume of 'universal history', including the histories of the Muslims, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Franks and Turks.⁶⁵ The *History of India* part of the latter includes a record of 'the life of the Buddha', which is the most detailed Muslim description of Buddhism. The account focuses on the Buddha's biography, the Wheel of Life, and the worship of the Buddha Maitreya, the Future Buddha. It also includes a detailed description of the *dharma*, recording Buddhist practices including those related to Chinese

64 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson with David O. Morgan (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), 232–237; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Multilateral Disputation at the Court of the Grand Qan Möngke, 1254," in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999), 162–183.

65 On Rashīd al-Dīn, see for example Stefan T. Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019); Jonathan Z. Brack, "Rashīd al-Dīn: Buddhism in Iran and the Mongol Silk Roads," in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Z. Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 215–237. Rashīd al-Dīn's authorship of the universal history was recently questioned and apparently considerable parts of it were taken from an earlier work by his protégé Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī (d. after 1324; see Osamu Otsuka, "Qāshānī, the First World Historian: Research on His Uninvestigated Persian General History, *Zubdat al-tawārikh*," *Studia Iranica*, 47.1 (2018): 119–149); for convenience I still refer to it as Rashīd al-Dīn's work (even though his role might have been closer to that of general editor rather than author). His authorship of his theological works (below) is uncontested. For Simnānī, see Devin DeWeese, "'Ala' ad-Dawla as-Simnani's Religious Encounters at the Mongol Court Near Tabriz," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 35–76.

Buddhist schools, notably Pure Land Buddhism. Indeed, Rashīd al-Dīn's version of Buddhism in *The History of India* demonstrates the impact of Buddhists of various origins—India, Kashmir, Tibet, Uyghuria and China—at the Mongol court of Iran. It also uses Muslim terms to explain Buddhist ideas. Famously, the Buddha is presented as a prophet with a book, and *nirvāṇa* is glossed by the Sufi term of 'the self-annihilation in the divine' (Arab. *fanā'*). A different description of the life of the Buddha—shorter and based on Chinese Chan (禪) Buddhist works—appears in Rashīd al-Dīn's *History of China*. All in all, these descriptions represent not only a quantum leap forward in Muslim knowledge about Buddhism but also willingness to engage with its creeds and not necessarily in a negative tone. Thus 'Alā' al-Dīn Simnānī, who recorded his meetings with Buddhist monks in the court of the pro-Buddhist Ilkhan Arghun (r. 1284–1291), could state that the *dharma* is similar to Muslim law while other Sufis borrowed notions from Tibetan Buddhism (for example, portraying Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316), the only Mongol ruler who [ephemerally] embraced Shi'ite Islam, as a reincarnation of 'Alī, the cousin and son in law of the Prophet Muḥammad and the father of Shi'ite Islam).⁶⁶ However, Rashīd al-Dīn's theological works, recently analysed by Jonathan Z. Brack, display a more ambivalent attitude towards Buddhism, based also on direct encounters with Buddhists in the Ilkhanid court. Rashīd al-Dīn praises the Buddhist priests' argumentation and logic, noting, for example, that they asked him what comes first, the chicken or the egg. Yet his theological works include three polemics against the Buddhists, dealing mainly with the question of the afterlife—the part that both Islam and Buddhism proposed to add to the mundane Mongol indigenous religion—and argues for the superiority of the Muslim notion of the afterlife over the Buddhist transmigration of souls. His detailed discussion attests not only that Hülegü's great grandsons and Arghun's sons, the Muslim Ilkhans Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) and his brother and heir Öljeitü, received Buddhist education, and were among Rashīd al-Dīn's informants on the foreign religion. It also states that Buddhist thought, and argumentation continued to have impact in Iran decades after the monks were expelled from the country after Ghazan's Islamisation in 1295.⁶⁷

66 Brack, "Rashid al-Dīn and Buddhism," 217, 221–224; Anna Akasoy, "The Buddha and the Straight Path. Rashīd al-Dīn's *Life of the Buddha*: Islamic Perspectives," in *Rashīd al-Dīn as an Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2013), 173–196; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 154ff.

67 Brack, "Rashid al-Dīn and Buddhism," 217ff; Francesco Calzolaio and Francesca Fiaschetti, "Prophets of the East: The Ilkhanid Historian Rashīd al-Dīn on the Buddha, Laozi and Confucius and the Question of his Chinese Sources (Part 1)," *Iran and the Caucasus* 23.1

Another major impact of Buddhism on Islam, widely attested in the illustrations to Rashīd al-Dīn's history, was visual. Buddhists (and Christians) used painting as a way to introduce their religion's pantheon and this technique was adopted by Muslims. Hence in Ilkhanid Iran, for the first time in Islamic history, we find various images of the prophet Muḥammad as well as other prophets and angels. These paintings were instrumental in encouraging Mongol conversion, as well as their further acquaintance with the new religion after its formal adoption. While we do not have illustrated manuscripts from the poorer Chaghadaid Khanate, there are many such manuscripts from the Timurid period (1370–1501), another golden age of Muslim culture in Central Asia, and later on. Some Timurid manuscripts include obvious references to Buddhist images. This is especially notable in representations of heaven and hell in manuscripts describing Muḥammad's night journey to heaven (Arab. *mi'rāj*), a story that fits well also in the context of Mongol Shamanism.⁶⁸

While there is nothing comparable to Rashīd al-Dīn's interest in Buddhism in Yuan China, Muslim experts in sciences—astronomy, medicine, geography—were highly appreciated both at the court of Dadu (大都, modern Beijing 北京) and in the provincial princely courts, and Muslim administrators and commanders frequented the Yuan court, armies, and provinces. Thus, there were many opportunities and arenas for Buddhist-Muslim interactions. One case worth mentioning is that of Khubilai's grandson, Prince Ananda (d. 1307), who ruled the heavily-Buddhist former Tangut realm (today's Ningxia 宁夏 and Gansu), to which the Mongols early on transferred Muslim soldiers. Ananda received Buddhist education and married a Buddhist wife. Yet he converted to Islam through the agency of his Muslim wet nurse and the Muslim soldiers in his guard. The Muslim prince then actively propagated Islam, that henceforth took its first steps in the realm of north-west China.⁶⁹

(2019): 17–34; Francesco Calzolaio and Francesca Fiaschetti, "Prophets of the East: The Ilkhanid Historian Rashīd al-Dīn on the Buddha, Laozi and Confucius and the Question of his Chinese Sources (Part 2)," *Iran and the Caucasus* 23.2 (2019): 145–166; DeWeese, "Ala' ad-Dawla as-Simnani," 35–74; Elverskog, "Buddhist and Muslim Interactions," 9. The most thorough analysis of Buddhist-Muslim relations under the Mongols, notably in Iran, is provided in: Jonathan Z. Brack, *An Afterlife for the Khan: Muslim Buddhists and Sacred Kingship in Mongol Iran and Eurasia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023).

68 Christine J. Gruber, *The Timurid Book of Ascension (Mi'rajnama): A Study of Text and Image in a Pan-Asian Context* (Valencia, Spain: Patrimonio Ediciones in collaboration with the Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008), esp. 311–326.

69 Ruth W. Dunnell, "The Anxi Principality: [Un]Making a Muslim Mongol Prince in Northwest China during the Yuan Dynasty," *Central Asiatic Journal* 57 (2014): 185–200; Vered Shurany, "Prince Manggala—The Forgotten Prince of Anxi," *Asiatische Studien /*



FIGURE 1.2 “The *Mi’rāj* or The Night Flight of Muḥammad on his Steed Burāq,” Folio 3v from a *Bustān* of Sa’dī, ca. 1525–1535, Bukhara or Herat

COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

[HTTPS://WWW.METMUSEUM.ORG/ART/COLLECTION/SEARCH/452670.](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/452670)

ACCESSED JANUARY 19, 2023

The Mongol period indeed pitted Muslims and Buddhists against each other as the main competitors in converting the Mongols. Both Islam and Buddhism were universal religions that had already proved capable of absorbing characteristics of other religions. This is obvious in the case of inclusive Buddhism but is also true for Islam, which presented itself as the most up-to-date Abrahamic religion, subsuming its Jewish and Christian predecessors.⁷⁰ Moreover, the interlocutors who initiated Mongol conversion in the different realms, probably aware of the translatability of the Mongols' indigenous religion, used the strategy of reversion, the claim to return to—rather than depart from—one's ancestral belief, to lay the foundation of Mongol conversion. Thus, Chinggis Khan was portrayed as a Buddhist king and a proto-monotheist (as well as an innate Confucianist), and converting to the new faith was presented to his descendants as a return to their ancestor's pristine path, not as a complete break with the past.⁷¹ The political dimension of the religion, its mobile and mercantile orientation, and the ability of its 'holy men' to perform 'miracles' (mainly healing) were also useful in both cases. Furthermore, both Buddhism and Islam formulated a synthesis which transformed the immanent religion of the Mongols into a transcendental one. This changed the sacred kingship of the Mongols into that of the Buddhist 'Wheel-Turning King' (Skt. *chakravartin*, Chin. *zhuanlun wang* 轉輪王) and a Muslim 'Lord of Auspicious Conjunction' (Arab. *ṣāhib qirān*), who has a personal direct connection to Allāh, respectively. This latter new type of sacred kingship was adapted and developed by the early modern Muslim empires in Central Asia and beyond, notably among the Timurids, Moghuls and Ottomans.⁷²

4.2 *Mongol Central Asia: Interfaith Contacts and Islamisation*

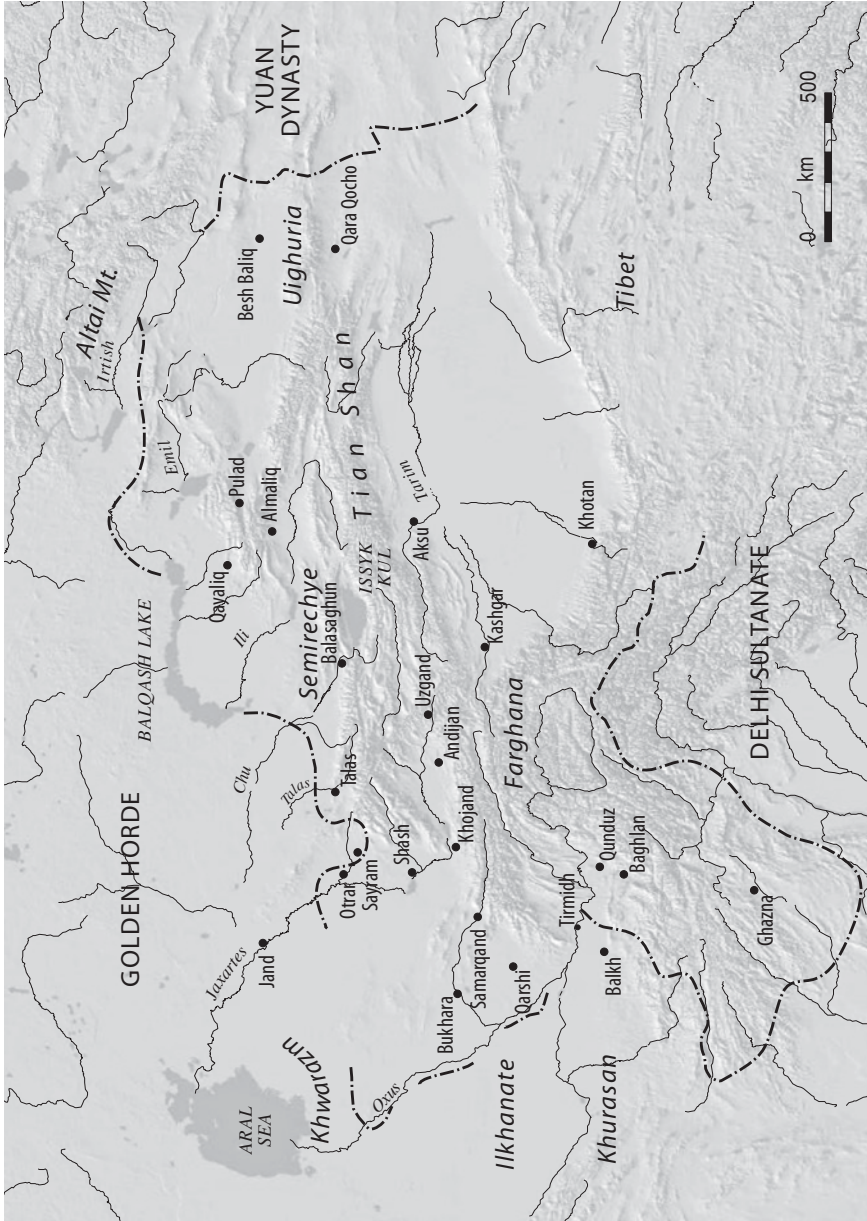
Central Asia was among the first regions conquered by the Mongols already in the reign of Chinggis Khan. Therefore, its resources, both human and material, were channelled for the benefit of the ever-expanding empire, often at the

Études Asiatiques 71.4 (2017): 1169–1188; Morris Rossabi, *From Yuan to Modern China and Mongolia: The Writings of Morris Rossabi* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 251–290.

70 Peter Jackson, "The Mongols and Religion: Precocious Tolerance or Cynical Manipulation?" Keynote lecture at the workshop "The Mongols and Religions," Austrian Academy of Science, Vienna, May 16–18, 2019.

71 Jonathan Z. Brack, "Chinggisid Pluralism and Religious Competition: Buddhists, Muslims, and the Question of Violence and Sovereignty in Ilkhanid Iran," *Modern Asian Studies* 56.3 (2022): 815–839.

72 Jonathan Z. Brack, "Theologies of Auspicious Kingship: The Islamization of Chinggisid Sacral Kingship in the Islamic World," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60 (2018): 1143–171; Brack, "Chinggisid Pluralism," 815–839.



MAP 1.4 Mongol Central Asia: The Chaghadaid Khanate ca. 1330
 MICHAL BIRAN, "RULERS AND CITY LIFE IN MONGOL CENTRAL ASIA (1220–1370)," IN *TURKO-MONGOL RULERS, CITIES AND CITY-LIFE IN IRAN AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES*, ED. DAVID DURAND-GUEDY (LEIDEN: BRILL, 2013), 259

expense of local interests. Despite Mongol successful attempts of restoration, notably under the Great Khan Möngke,⁷³ the century and a half of the Mongol moment was far from being a golden age in Central Asia. The Chaghadaid Khanate, lacking a sedentary basis and imperial tradition comparable to that of China and Iran, was constantly plagued by succession and inter-Mongol struggles, and suffered from constant emigration. Yet Mongol rule was also a watershed era in Central Asian history, as much of the region's subsequent political culture, ethnic composition, and concepts of legitimacy and law go back to Chinggis Khan.⁷⁴

Interfaith contacts, although less well documented, also existed in Mongol Central Asia. While most of the Chaghadaid subject population was Muslim, it also contained significant communities of Buddhists and Christians, as well as occasional Jews and others. While Buddhists were the majority in Uyghuria and Muslims in the western Khanate, the various communities—Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims—often shared the same space (partly due to the Mongol mobilisation policies mentioned above). Apart from Uyghuria, smaller Buddhist communities existed in Khotan, Kašgar and Qayaliq. Tibetan Buddhism was popular in Yuan China and introduced to eastern Turkestan via lamas (Tib. *bla ma*, lit. 'high master'), pilgrims, and merchants. It found many adherents among Uyghurs and Mongols alike, as proved by the number of Uyghur and Mongol Tantric texts unearthed in Turfan, and partly compensated for the ongoing Uyghur emigration. The Uyghurs maintained close connections with Buddhists in Yuan China, including the Uyghur diaspora there, notably in centres like Dadu, Hangzhou (杭州), and the closer Gansu, where a Chaghadaid branch subject to the Yuan patronised Buddhist translations and monasteries. Several Chaghadaid khans personally favoured Buddhism, mainly Du'a (r. 1282–1307), who gave his son the Buddhist name Tarmashirin (i.e., Dharmasīri d.u., lit. 'venerable in the *dharma*') and granted very generous exemptions to Buddhist monasteries, and Changshi (r. 1335–1337), who allegedly put-up Buddhist sculptures in every mosque. Other ephemeral khans, such as Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) and Yisün Temür (r. 1337–1339/40), also patronised Buddhism, inscribing various forms of attributes of Buddhist iconography known as *vajras* (Tib. *rdo rje*, Mong. *ochir*, lit. 'jewel'), on their coins. Even after

73 Michal Biran, "Central Asia from the Conquest of Chinggis Khan to the Rise of Tamerlane: The Ögödeid and Chaghadaid Realms," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia vol. 2: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Peter B. Golden, Nicola Di Cosmo, and Allan Frank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46–66; Michal Biran, "Mongol Central Asia: The Chaghadaids and the Ögödeids, 1260–1370," in *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*, ed. Michal Biran and Kim Hodong (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

74 Biran, "Central Asia," 46–47.

his Islamisation, Tughluq Temür Khan (r. 1347–1353) is said to have invited a Tibetan Buddhist teacher (and miracle maker) to his court.⁷⁵ Yet Mongolian and Uyghur documents unearthed in Turfan, such as a Mongolian work of the ‘Alexander romance’ genre, an Arabic sand divination text translated into Uyghur, and Uyghur poems which included references (sometimes polemic) to Islam as well as Arabic and Persian words, all suggest that western cultural influence reached even the Chaghadaids’ most eastern and Buddhist realm.⁷⁶

Simultaneously, significant Muslim scholarly activity continued in Mongol Central Asia under infidel rule. Before Chaghadaid Islamisation, local Muslim dynasties in Almalıq and Tirmidh recruited Muslim scholars. The Jaxartes region became more prominent, with centres also in Sighnāq and Farghāna. Lastly, Muslim jurists and Sufi sheikhs were active even further east, in such towns in Semirechye and Xinjiang as Qayalıq, Bārchkand, and Imīl, teaching and compiling books and commentaries. In the established Muslim centres of Transoxania, religious learning continued, often led by notable families some of whom originated during the pre-Mongol period and led the scholarly community throughout Chaghadaid rule. A good example is Şāhib al-Hidāya al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197), whose descendants took part in Chaghadaid’s administration and held religious posts in Samarqand well into the Timurid period. Bukhara in particular retained some of its pre-Mongol prestige as a centre of Hanafi law and Sufism, through luminaries such as Shams al-A’imā al-Kardārī (d. 1244), and his brightest student Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 1294), whose family continued its prominence in the scholarly community up to the Timurid period; the Maḥbūbī local leaders and eminent persons (Arab. *ṣadrs*, lit. ‘chest’), who headed Bukhara’s Hanafi school from 1238 to 1347; and Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 1261) the Sufi sheikh renown for converting the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (r. 1257–1267), the first Mongol ruler to embrace Islam. The tombs of these religious luminaries, and quite a few other contemporaries, remained sites of veneration at least into the 15th century.⁷⁷

75 Biran, “Central Asia,” 64–65.

76 Ibid.; Peter Zieme, “Notes on the Religions in the Mongol Empire,” in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 180–184; Márton Vér, “Interregional Mobility in Eastern Central Asia as Seen in the Old Uyghur and Middle Mongolian Sources and the Mid-Fourteenth Century Crisis,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (forthcoming); Biran, “Mongol Central Asia,” 381.

77 Biran, “Central Asia,” 65; Michal Biran, “The Mamluks and Mongol Central Asia: Political, Economic and Cultural Aspects,” in *The Mamluks in Global History*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Connermann (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2019), 380–384.

The infidel Mongols and their Muslim appointees established scholarly institutions in Central Asia. The Christian wife of the Great Khan Möngke founded an important endowment (Arab. *waqf*) in Bukhara for Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī, which remained under the administration of the sheikh's family until the mid-14th century, accumulating considerable wealth. Both Möngke's wife and the Khanate's main administrator Mas'ūd Beg (d. 1289) built colleges in Bukhara that were thriving institutions allegedly serving a thousand students in the 1250s and functioning into the 14th century. The curriculum of such madrasas included, apart from religious sciences, also basic mathematics, medicine, and literature, all subjects favoured by the Mongols.⁷⁸ Moreover, the many emigrants, often Hanafi scholars, who easily found a job in various realms, such as the other Mongol polities—including even Yuan China—or the Delhi and *Mamlūk* sultanates, brought local works with them so that Transoxanian masterpieces of the pre-Mongol and early Mongol periods, such the main 12th-century legal compilations, notably *al-Hidāya* [The Guidance] by al-Marghīnānī (d. 1196) and the *Fatāwā Qāḍī Khān* [The Legal Opinions of Qāḍī Khān], or *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* [The Key of Sciences] by al-Sakkākī (d. 1229), continued to be studied and appreciated across the Muslim world from India and China to Egypt and Anatolia.⁷⁹

Sufis also played a leading role in the Khanate's social and intellectual life and its cross-cultural contacts, and it is from the Mongol period that we see Sufis as conversion agents. During this period, they were acting more as individuals, as the orders were still nascent. Individual sheikhs (later defined as forefathers of the local *Katakiyya* order) were active in the eastern Chaghadaid Khanate, and some of them are credited with the conversion of Tughluq Temür Khan. The latter allegedly embraced Islam after the feeble sheikh defeated the local Hercules in a wrestling match. Bukhara was a centre mainly of the *Kubrāwī* order, called after Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1220). Apart from al-Bākharzī and his family (mentioned above), another major branch was that of Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 1273). He was Mas'ūd Beg's sheikh, preached also in the Jaxartes region and beyond, and is even credited with the conversion of Kashmir. Sheikhs of the *Yasawīyya* order, ascribed to Aḥmad Yasawī (d. ca.1166, but probably later) were also active mainly among the Turks and in the Jaxartes region, but the order was consolidated mainly under the Timurids, where it prevailed

78 Biran, "Central Asia," 65; Or Amir, "Islamic Learning on the Silk Roads: The Career of Jalal al-Dīn al-Akhawī," in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 290–314.

79 Biran, "The Mamluks," 378; Muhsin J. Musawī, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2015).

especially among the Kazakhs. Itinerant Bukharan Sufis were also active in India, Kashmir, China, and the Volga region. Sufis and scholars were closely connected: Many Sufis were themselves respected Muslim scholars, (such as jurists, Hadith transmitters) rather than eccentric dervishes, or married into Muslim scholars' families. Even though some of them won popularity through 'miracles', mostly related to healing, the once automatic equivalence between Sufis and shamans has proved to be too simplistic.⁸⁰

Both scholars and Sufis frequented the Mongol courts, manned Mongol administration, and played a major role in the khanates' Islamisation. While the extant conversion stories suggest that Mongol Islamisation began with a royal conversion and then spread downward, the current scholarly consensus, referring also to the better documented cases of Iran and the Golden Horde, is that the process was a bottom-up one, namely that Mongol khans accepted Islam in the wake of their rank and file. The existence of abortive Muslim khans, namely Muslim converts who did not manage to make Islam a state religion, in all three khanates reinforces this assumption.⁸¹ Political reasons therefore played a major role in the khans' conversions. In the case of Tughluq Temür, for example, adopting Islam not only gave him an additional form of legitimation that allowed him to overcome the rumours about his dubious genealogy and check the power of his military commanders. It also facilitated his ephemeral attempt to unify the Khanate's eastern and western halves, as the western half had already been Muslim when he rose to power.⁸²

As for the rank and files' conversion, it was accelerated by scholars and Sufis as well as acculturation. The scholarly elite appropriated the Mongol conquerors as 'God's party' (Arab. *ḥizb allāh*) and treated Chinggis Khan in messianic

80 Reuven Amitai, "Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on the Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42 (1999): 27–46; Biran, "Central Asia," 65; Biran, "Mongol Central Asia," 383–384; Devin DeWeese, "Islamization in the Mongol Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 120–134; Devin DeWeese, "Khawja Ahmad Yasawi as an Islamizing Saint: Rethinking the Role of Sufis in the Islamization of the Turks of Central Asia," in *Islamization: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. Andrew C. S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 340–348.

81 Charles Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām: The Conversion of Sultan Mahmūd Ghāzān Khan," *Pembroke Papers* 1 (1990): 159–177; Michal Biran, "The Chaghadaids and Islam: The Conversion of Tarmashirin Khan (1331–1334)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 (2002): 742–752; DeWeese, "Islamization," 120–133.

82 Biran, "Mongol Central Asia"; for Tughluq Temür's conversion story see Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, 1996), vol. 2, 8–11.

terms long before Mongol Islamisation,⁸³ thereby enabling the newly converted Mongols to remain proud in their Chinggisid identity. The high mobility of both scholars and Sufis enabled them to meet the Mongol nomads, who were often located in the pasturelands outside the cities. Later sources and hagiographies probably exaggerate the role of the Sufis, projecting the Sufis' later status back to the realities of the 13th and 14th centuries. Yet the Sufis' charismatic personalities, religious zeal and social prestige were instrumental in the conversion process. Moreover, at the local level, Sufis played a major role in social conversion, establishing communal connections for the new converts. The Sufis offered social bonds (framed in family terms or as master and disciples) in the context of the disruption of nomadic tribal structures due to the Mongol imperial building and new military organisation. They mediated the adoption of new political, economic and ritual frameworks; asserted correspondence between Mongol and Muslim genealogical and historical traditions; developed narratives of Islamisation and, in general, embodied Islam for the nomads by providing them with a new communal identity.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the highly Islamised landscape of Mongol Central Asia, which was dotted with colleges, Sufi lodges, winter and summer mosques, shrines, and mausoleums, was often venerated by both Mongols and Muslims. This must have been instrumental in attracting the Mongols to Islam, especially since some of the shrines also served as Sufi bases.⁸⁵

While in the Ilkhanate lucrative painting played a major role in encouraging Mongol conversion, in poorer Central Asia it was stories of the prophets (Arab. *qiṣaṣ al-anbīyā'*), a kind of Muslim equivalent of Christian saints' stories and Buddhist *jātakas*, that were used to attract the Mongols further into Islam. The main surviving work, the first Chaghadaid Turkic version of these stories, was completed in 1311 by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī, a certain Transoxanian judge (Arab. *qāḍī*). Commissioned by a young Mongol Muslim prince or commander from Ghazna (Afghanistan), the text includes not only the stories of the Israelite prophets and kings, Jesus, and St. George—all of whom are prophets in Islam—but also Alexander the Great, a highly popular figure among the Mongols, as well as the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Rightly Guided Caliphs and 'Alī's sons, thereby encapsulating everything the new converts

83 Jamāl Qarshī, *al-Mulḥaqāt bi-l-ṣurāḥ*, in *Istorija Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* [sic], vol. 1, ed. A. K. Muminov (Almaty: Daik press, 2005), CLXIII, CLIX.

84 DeWeese, "Islamization," 120–134; DeWeese "Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi," 347–348.

85 Qarshī, *al-Mulḥaqāt bi-l-ṣurāḥ*, CLXXVIII–CCX; Biran, "Mongol Central Asia," 384–385.



FIGURE 1.3 The Mausoleum of Tughluq Temür Khan near Yining (medieval Almaliq), China
PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAL BIRAN (2012)

needed to know about Islamic salvation history. It also gives pride of place to local heroes whose shrines must have been familiar to the audience.⁸⁶

All these means of Islamisation came, like in the other Mongol khanates, against the background of ongoing contact between Mongols and Muslim Turks mostly in the Chaghadaid armies, part of whom—the remnants of the Karakhanid and Khwārazmian armies, the *mamlūks* of Transoxanian notables—joined the Mongol army as Muslims. In addition, the Mongol garrisons who were stationed in the region from the United Empire period lived for decades in close proximity to a vibrant Muslim population, with which they interacted and intermarried.

Despite all of this, however, it took longer to bring Islam to the Mongol law-code-oriented Chaghadaids than to the Ilkhanids or Golden Horde khans. Even when Tarmashirin Khan (r. 1331–1334) embraced Islam in Transoxania, improving his legitimation among the region's Muslim subjects and his

86 Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā': An Eastern Turkish Version*, ed. and trans. Hendrik E. Boeschoten and John O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Biran, "Mongol Central Asia," 385–386.

commercial relations with the neighbouring Muslim states, his failure to combine Islam with the Mongol tradition contributed to his deposition by his eastern commanders. Two decades later, Tughluq Temür managed to successfully coalesce Islamic and Chinggisid legitimations. The khans' conversion in turn accelerated that of their subjects, both in the army and among civilians.⁸⁷ Chaghadaid Islamisation was also manifested in Muslim domed mausoleums (for Bayan Quli (r. 1347–1357) a.k.a. 'Puppet Khan' in Bukhara and Tughluq Temür in Almaliq), which became a common motif in the material culture of Mongol Eurasia, and a precedent for the magnificent Timurid architecture.⁸⁸

5 Stage Four: The Post-Mongol Period

During the post-Mongol period, characterized by decentralization and the rise of non-Chinggisid rulers, religion became more dominant as a source of legitimation and unity. The last period discussed in this chapter (mid-14th–16th centuries) saw the final Islamisation of Eastern Turkestan, including its eastern part of Uyghuria (Turfan), as well as a massive increase in the Islamisation of northwestern China. It also witnessed another golden age of Muslim Khurāsān and Transoxania under the Timurids (1370–1501), in whose realm also arose the more institutionalised Sufi orders, notably the Naqshbandiyya, that played a major role in the further Islamisation of Eastern Turkestan and China, as well as in encouraging a Jihadi attitude towards non-Muslims. Simultaneously, Tibetan Buddhism made inroads among the Mongols, so by the end of the 16th century Central Asia was divided between Turkic-speaking Muslims and Mongol-speaking Buddhists.

5.1 *Moghulistan and the Islamisation of the Uyghurs*

The mid-14th century crisis that put an end to the Ilkhanate and Yuan China did not eliminate the Chaghadaid Khanate. Yet already in 1347 it dissolved into eastern and western halves and saw the rise of the emirs (military commanders) at the expense of the khans. In 1370 Tamerlane (Timür-i lang (r. 1370–1405), a.k.a. Temür the Lame), an emir of the Turco-Mongol Barlas tribe, took over Transoxania. Soon afterwards he conquered Iran and embarked on a series of large-scale invasions that reached Delhi, Moscow, Damascus, Ankara and

87 Biran, "The Chaghadaids and Islam"; Deweese, "Islamization," 128–133.

88 Sheila Blair, "Muslim-style Mausolea across Mongol Eurasia: Religious Syncretism, Architectural Mobility and Cultural Transformation," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 62.3 (2019): 318–355.

Moghulistan. He appointed Chinggisid puppet khans, married Chinggisid princesses, celebrated his position as a Chinggisid son-in-law (Mong. *güregen*), and appropriated the legacy of both the Chaghadaids and the Ilkhans. Nonetheless, as a non-Chinggisid Tamerlane had to rely on other forms of legitimation. He therefore boosted his Muslim credentials, building mosques and shrines and sponsoring Muslim scholars and Sufis (while mercilessly butchering myriads of Muslims during his campaigns). In addition, Tamerlane used his incredible military successes to foster a personal legitimation, which eventually nearly equalled that of Chinggis Khan and was adopted by his heirs and later Central Asian rulers. The Timurids' reign saw another period of cultural splendour for Muslim Central Asia. The spoils—both human and material—of Tamerlane's campaigns across Eurasia were brought to adorn his capital Samarqand, that was also decorated by monumental building. His successors excelled more as cultural patrons—mainly in the fields of architecture, art, and literature—than as military commanders. The cultural norms and products created under their rule had a lasting impact on the early modern Muslim empires from the Ottomans to the Moghuls.⁸⁹

In the eastern part of the Chaghadaid Khanate, the khans held power under Tughluq Temür, who after embracing Islam even managed to reunite the Khanate for the last time. However, his son already had to retreat from Transoxania before Tamerlane in ca. 1365. Soon after his return, a Dughlat commander, Qamar al-Dīn (d. ca. 1388), deposed the khan and held power for more than two decades. The Dughlat tribe, whose appanage was in the Tarim Basin, had been instrumental in enthroning Tughluq Temür, and retained its position as kingmakers or even alternative rulers throughout most of Moghul rule. Qamar al-Dīn withstood Tamerlane's attacks, yet his rebellion prevented the Moghuls from making any gains from the collapse of Yuan China. Only in 1389 did a rival Dughlat commander enthrone Khiḍr Khan (r. 1389–1399), Tughluq Temür's younger son, who became the ancestor of all the subsequent Moghul khans. The new khan had to submit to Tamerlane, to whom he paid tribute and gave his daughter in marriage, thereby bolstering Tamerlane's position as a Chinggisid son-in-law. Later Moghul khans attempted in vain to reconquer Transoxania (or secure the support of the Chinese Ming Dynasty [1368–1644, 明] for such acts) and were unable to defeat the Timurids. Timurid-Moghul

89 See, for example, Beatrice F. Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; Beatrice F. Manz, "Tamerlane and the Timurids." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, last modified April 26, 2018, accessed August 3, 2022, <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-10?rskey=hPkWHl&result=11>; Starr, *Lost Enlightenment*, 478–514.

relations then alternated between raids (first by the Timurids, later by the Moghuls), and peaceful periods backed by marriage alliances, the most famous of which produced Bābūr (1483–1530), the Timurid prince who, escaping from the conquering Uzbeks, fled to India where in 1526 he established the Mughal Dynasty (1526–1858).⁹⁰

Already Khidr Khan conducted raids eastwards into Turfan, allegedly bringing it into the domains of Islam, although the Moghuls continued to struggle for full control of the oasis well into the 15th century. In 1513 the pious Moghul Khan Manṣūr (1485–1543), who made Turfan his stronghold, took over Hami, expelling its Buddhist population, and raiding north-western China, while in 1532 his brother and co-ruler, Saʿīd Khan (1486–1533), ruling from Kašgar, marched on a failed religious war against Tibet, the main idol temple of which was defined as ‘the direction of prayer (Arab. *qibla*) of Tibet and Cathay [China]’.⁹¹ While during this period the division of the Moghul realm between two khans resulted in stability, the endemic succession struggles among the Moghul royal clan were usually less beneficial and strengthened the position of the Dughlat kingmakers. Another strategic threat was the coveting of the Moghuls’ northern pasturelands by other, often newly founded, nomadic confederations—such as the Oirats, Kirghizs, and Kazakhs. These new forces gradually pushed the Moghuls southwards and eastwards, into the oases of the Tarim Basin, limiting their ability to sustain a considerable nomadic army and eventually forcing these ‘true Mongols’ to settle down, their new centres being Yarkand and Turfan. As the khans’ power dwindled, Sufis originating in western Turkestan began to play a bigger role in Moghulistan, replacing the Dughlat as kingmakers and eventually deposing the Moghuls and taking their place as rulers in 1678.⁹²

From the early 15th century, the Moghuls conducted intensive commercial relations with the Ming Dynasty. The Ming’s *Shilu* 實錄 [Veritable Records] enumerates 766 embassies from continental Central Asia, and while obviously not all of them arrived from the Mughals, most of them passed through their realm, thereby contributing to Moghulistan’s economy and its contacts with the other, more established Muslim realms.⁹³ Thus, like the Karakhanids

90 For Moghul-Timurid relations, see, for example, James Millward, “Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 261–265; Ali Anooshahr, *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires: A Study of Politics and Invented Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 128–132.

91 Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Taʾriḫ-i Rashīdī*, vol. 2, 76, 253; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 175.

92 Biran, “Mongol Central Asia,” 365–368.

93 Millward “Eastern Central Asia,” 267.

before them, the Moghuls positioned themselves as middlemen between more western Muslim polities and Buddhist East Asia, but here too there is no record of intellectual inter-religious exchange.

The Islamisation of the Moghuls was not complete even half a century after Tughluq Temür's conversion. His grandson Muḥammad Khan (r. 1408–1416), in whose time “most of the Moghul nation converted to Islam,” had to apply pressure on the Moghuls (for example, “if a Moghul did not wear a turban he would have a horseshoe nail driven into the man's head”).⁹⁴ A certain reaction to this expanding Islamisation can be seen in the Uyghur *Insadisūtra* unearthed in Turfan and dated to the late 14th century. It includes a denunciation of Islam, describing Muḥammad as evil, and expresses (the somewhat anachronistic) messianic hopes that upon the return of Maitreya he would win over both Baghdad and Byzantium.⁹⁵

Yet at least until the 1420s, Buddhists were the majority in Turfan, and Muslim and Chinese travellers attest that Buddhist temples and Islamic mosques existed side by side in eastern Turkestan.⁹⁶ Later on, the Moghuls, by then under the influence of Naqshbandī Sufis, took pride in their forced conversion of the idolaters of Turfan and Hami.⁹⁷ Like in the case of Khotan about half a millennium earlier, with the Uyghurs' conversion, Buddhist sacred places and lore were appropriated by the Muslims who gave them new meanings (e.g., the Toyok Buddhist cave temples became the seat of Sufis, who described them as the caves of the seven sleepers) mentioned in the Qur'an [8: 19–26]).⁹⁸ Moreover, Uyghur Islamisation and emigration led to the gradual erosion and loss of Uyghur ethnic identity: Mīrzā Ḥaydar, the 16th-century Moghul historian, attests that in his time (1541) “what is called the province of the Uyghur is not now known at all; no place can be shown with this name,”⁹⁹

94 Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, vol. 2, 31 (the Persian in vol. 1, 36 reads: *akthar-i Ulūs-i Mughūl dar 'ahd-i mubarak-yi wai dar Islām dar āmadand [...] agar Mughūl bisar dastār nibastī, mikh-i asb bar sar-i-wai furū bardī*).

95 Semih Tezcan, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra* (Berlin: DDR Akademie-Verlag, 1974), 71, 75, 78 for the dating; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, “Christians, Buddhists and Manichaeans in Medieval Central Asia,” *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 1 (1981): 47; David A. Scott, “Buddhism and Islam: Past to Present Encounters and Interfaith Lessons,” *Numen* 42.2 (1995): 143.

96 Morris Rossabi, *From Yuan to Modern China and Mongolia*, 45; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 204.

97 Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 189–203.

98 *Ibid.*, 315, ns. 84, 85; Elverskog, “Buddhist and Muslim Interaction,” 23, n. 67; Scott, “Buddhism and Islam,” 146.

99 Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, vol. 2, 225 (vol. 1, 299), saying also the same on the name Tangut. The modern ethnonym Uyghur resurfaced only in the early 20th century, though its bearers ascribe themselves to the historical Uyghurs.

This was also the fate of other, mostly eastern, steppe peoples—Khitans, Tanguts, Kipchaks—after the end of Mongol rule. That the new Central Asian peoples that emerged at the wake of the Mongol Empire—such as the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Tatars who had coalesced around the dead or alive figure of a certain Chinggisid prince and still exist today—were all Muslims, also attest to the spread of Islam in Mongol and post-Mongol Central Asia.¹⁰⁰

5.2 *Institutionalised Sufism: The Naqshbandiyya*

The further Islamisation of Eastern Central Asia and north-western China, that accelerated these ethnic changes, owed much to the rise of the more established Sufi orders, notably the Naqshbandiyya (that eventually subsumed the Kubrāwiyya, Katakīyya and Yasawiyya) in the Timurid realm. By the late Mongol period, Sufism had become an important force in religious, social, and political life. However, it was only in the course of the 15th century that most Sufi orders or paths (Arab. *ṭarīqas*) emerged as organisations with clearly recognised hierarchies, set practices, and a demand for exclusive loyalty. The most dominant of the new Central Asian orders which was also the most closely associated with the later Timurid sultans, was the Naqshbandiyya. The founder of the order, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389), was active in the Bukhara region during Temür's reign. The order came to be known for its adherence to the Muslim law (Arab. *sharī'a*), its rejection of the use of dance and music, and its encouragement of taking an active part in the social and political spheres, as opposed to more ascetic orders. It also supported a jihadi policy against non-Muslims.

The Naqshbandīs began to send missionaries outside Bukhara already in the early 15th century but expanded considerably under Khwāja Aḥrār (1404–1490), who rose to eminence partly by supporting the Timurid Sultan Abū Sa'īd (r. 1451–1469) in his takeover of Samarqand in 1451. Khwāja Aḥrār then settled in Samarqand where he accumulated incredible wealth and considerable political power. Under his leadership, the Naqshbandiyya became more tightly organised, and as Khwāja Aḥrār sent disciples to distant regions, it began to spread well beyond the Timurid realm.¹⁰¹ Already in the first decades of the 15th century Naqshbandī sheikhs found favour among the Moghul khans, and in the early 16th century they were highly involved in the Khanate's political affairs, eventually replacing the Dughlat as kingmakers, in-laws, and potential rivals. They were responsible for the Jihadi fervour that prompted the Moghul attacks against Tibet and north-western China, where Khwāja Aḥrār's disciples were also preaching. In both northern China and Moghulistan, the

100 Biran, "The Mongol Empire," 554.

101 Manz, "Tamerlane and the Timurids," 12–13.

Naqshbandīs played a major role not only in proselytising activities but also in invigorating Islam among the existing Muslim communities.¹⁰²

In the late 16th and throughout the 17th century, the Naqshbandī Khwājās were the most influential men in Moghulistan. Originating in the lineage of one of Khwājā Aḥrār's successors, the Samarqand master Aḥmad Kāsānī (1461–1542), known as the “greatest master” (Pers. *makhdūm-i a‘zam*), they soon split into two lineages, the Iṣḥāqiyya and the Afāqiyya, competed for the khan's favour and gradually took a greater part in the government. Yet, only with the aid of Buddhist leaders was the Afāqiyya able to depose the Moghul khan in 1678 (see below).¹⁰³

5.3 *The Revival of Tibetan Buddhism*

While the Naqshbandīs were consolidating Islam in Eastern Central Asia, Tibetan Buddhism was advancing among the Mongol-speaking population further east and north. Around the middle of the 15th century, Esen Khan (d. 1455), the leader of the non-Chinggisid Oirats of western Mongolia, adopted Tibetan Buddhism, trying, just like Tamerlane, “to ameliorate his genealogical deficiencies by cloaking himself in the sanctifying garb of religion.”¹⁰⁴ Portraying himself as the heir of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294), he was replicating the system of dual rule created by Khubilai's teacher, Phakpa (1235–1280, Tib. 'Gro mgon Chos rgyal 'Phags pa), according to which a political leader governed side by side with a religious one, a lama who legitimised the khan's rule. Esen's attempt to win legitimacy as khan failed miserably—he was deposed by his troops in 1454 merely two years after proclaiming himself—but it portrayed the Yuan rule as a wholly Buddhist one (which it never was) and encouraged the use of Tibetan Buddhism as an alternative or additional legitimation among aspiring Mongols and other North Asian rulers. The iconic meeting between Altan Khan (r. 1571–1582), a Chinggisid of the lesser Tümed branch, and the Lama Sonam Gyatso, who in 1578 received from the khan the title of (the third) Dalai Lama, signifies the second conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism, this time as a mass religion. Later on, other Mongol groups, notably both the Oirat's descendants, the non-Chinggisid Zunghars (1636–1757) and the Manchu Qing

102 Joseph Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China,” in *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. Beatrice F. Manz (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), vol. XI, 1–46; Millward, “Eastern Central Asia,” 268.

103 Fletcher, “The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China”; on the Khwājās, see Alexander Pappas, “Khojas of Kashgar,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, last modified November 20, 2017, accessed August 2, 2022, <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-12>.

104 Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 206.

(1636–1912)—who in 1644 succeeded the Ming and eventually conquered Zungharia, Mongolia and Xinjiang—embraced Buddhism, too. The result of the Mongols' second conversion was a division of the steppe between Islam and Tibetan Buddhism, which prevented a further nomadic unification under the standard of Tengri.¹⁰⁵

The common Chinggisid origin still enabled friendly interaction between the Buddhist Tümeds and the Moghul khans, but when political power shifted to theocratic rulers, the Khwājās in Moghulistan and the Dalai Lamas in Tibet, this common denominator was eroded, and rivalry increased.¹⁰⁶ Even after that, however, Muslims and Buddhists sometimes cooperated for political reasons. A notable example is the case of the Afāqiyya leader approaching the Dalai Lama for help against the Išhāqiyya and the Moghuls in 1678. The Dalai Lama sent to his aid his protégé the Zunghar Khan, who deposed the last Moghul khan, appointing the Khwājās to replace him as rulers of the Tarim Basin, but under Zunghar aegis. The Muslim version of the incident includes a miracle competition between the Khwājā and the Dalai Lama, and the Khwājā's victory allegedly resulted in the Dalai Lama's embracing Islam.¹⁰⁷

This wishful thinking, however, was a reaction to the change of the political balance between Buddhism and Islam in Eastern Central Asia: from the mid-17th century onward, the pendulum shifted to the Buddhists' side, as the Buddhist Zunghars and Manchus ruled over the Muslim population of Xinjiang (and Gansu). Yet religiously these regions, which maintained contacts with Muslim communities in Western Central Asia and beyond, retained their Muslim identity even after centuries of Buddhist rule.¹⁰⁸

6 Conclusion

Islamic expansion into Central Asia was a slow and incremental process. While beginning with violent conquest and marred by several cases of forced

105 Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 206–226; Thomas T. Allsen, “Eurasia after the Mongols,” in *The Cambridge World History. Vol. 6: The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE, Part 1, Foundations*, ed. Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Sanjay Subrahmainam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 159–181.

106 Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 214–215.

107 Ibid., 224–225; Thierry Zarcone, “Between Legend and History: About the ‘Conversion’ to Islam of Two Prominent Lamaists in the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Islam and Tibet—Interactions along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 281–292.

108 For this period see Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 222–260.

conversions and religious wars, it advanced mainly through voluntary association. This was true both among the sedentary population living under Muslim rule, that embraced Islam mainly for social and economic reasons, and especially among the nomadic peoples roaming outside the abode of Islam, where political considerations were more potent. For the nomads, Islam gave new forms of communal identity, legitimation and means of state formation, as well as connections to the Muslim nation with its accompanying political, economic, and cultural benefits. Simultaneously, Buddhism provided similar functions for the more eastern and northern nomadic people notably those who took over parts of the sedentary realms.

The experience of converting nomads came in handy during the Mongol period. Although it began with a major setback for the Muslims, the Mongol moment ended with a huge expansion of Islam. This was mainly due to Islam's ability to make the best out of the possibilities offered by the open world of the Mongol Empire. Notably three out of the four Mongol khanates, including the Chaghadaid Khanate in Central Asia, embraced Islam, while Mongol China adopted Tibetan Buddhism. The connection between these religions and the Chinggisids was used in the post-Mongol period for legitimating non-Chinggisid polities or adding an additional layer of legitimacy to rulers with weak Chinggisid credentials. Eventually this conversion process divided the steppe roughly across the Altai mountains between Turkic-speaking Muslims and Mongol-speaking Tibetan Buddhists, thereby undermining their common nomadic tradition and preventing a further unification under the standard of Tengri.

Transoxania, the Islamisation of which was quicker than that of most regions in the Middle East, became both a centre for Islamic culture, thriving especially in the tenth and 15th centuries, and a launch pad for the dissemination of Islam eastward. Sufis began to play a major part as conversion agents during the Mongol period, first as individuals, and—especially from the 15th century onwards—as part of organised orders that disseminated religion and invigorated Muslim society in Eastern Turkestan and north-western China, albeit at the expense of the region's former tolerance towards other religions.

While Muslim-Buddhist encounters continued on a small scale throughout the period under review, they impacted Islam especially during the early Abbasid period, mainly by paving the way to the incorporation of the achievements of the Indian sciences into the nascent Muslim imperial culture. While absorbing Buddhist converts, for example in Karakhanid Khotan or Moghul Turfan, Islam appropriated Buddhist sacred spaces, lore, and artistic elements—usually without acknowledging their origin or while conferring upon them a new meaning in a Muslim context. Only during the Mongol

period were there extensive direct intellectual contacts between Muslim and Buddhists, initiated mainly by Mongol policies and following the interests of Mongol khans. These were documented mostly in Ilkhanid Iran due to some uniquely broadminded intellectuals like Rashid al-Dīn. While their long-term impact on the Muslim world is hard to assess, the impact of Buddhist art on Islamic painting of the late medieval-early modern period is visible, and the competition with the Buddhists at the Ilkhanid court affected the synthesis of the Mongol-Muslim variant of sacred kingship, which eventually impacted the early modern Muslim empires.

Evidence of Islamic impact on the Buddhist world is even more elusive: Islamic expansion into Central Asia encouraged the appearances of apocalyptic prophecies like the *Kālacakratantra* or the prophecy of Khotan. Khotanese migration after the Karakhanid conquest enriched Tibetan Buddhism and contributed to its later prominence in eastern Central Asia, and a few echoes of polemics against Islam can be traced in Buddhist literature also during the Mongol and post-Mongol period. However, the medieval expansion of Islam that eventually supplanted Buddhist presence from most of Central Asia, did not result in a full-fledged intellectual engagement with the Muslim challenge.

Witch Women and Amorous Monkeys: Non-Buddhist Substrata in Khotanese Religion

Diego Loukota

Abstract

This paper surveys the evidence of the non-Buddhist religious traditions that underlie the dominantly Buddhist culture of early historic Khotan, focusing on the indigenous Iranian background as well as on Indic and Sinitic influences. The survey considers the presence of Iranian and possibly Greek gods in Khotan as also non-Buddhist Indic deities and Sinitic cosmological notions, along with the practices of blood sacrifice, fire worship, mountain libations, fertility cults, zodiacal prognostication, and funeral geomancy.

1 Introduction

If we believe the ancient texts, the oasis Kingdom of Khotan (ca. 1st c.?–1006), nested in the very middle of the Central Asian silk roads, was in good hands. According to the Chinese version of the *Candragarbhasūtra* (Chin. *Yuezang jing* 月藏經), translated in the sixth century by the monk Narendrayāśas (517–589, Chin. Naliantiyeshe 那連提耶舍), a native of the ancient land of Oḍḍiyāna (modern Swāt valley in Pakistan):

The World-Honored [i.e., the Buddha] entrusted with the country of Khotan the divine son Hard-to-Vanquish and his thousand attendants, the *yakṣa* general *Sanchi¹ and his thousand attendants, the great *yakṣa* Ram-Footed and his eight thousand attendants, the *yakṣa* Garland of Golden Flowers and his five hundred attendants, the dragon king

1 In keeping with mainstream linguistic notation, reconstructed forms are preceded by an asterisk (i.e., *, see the table of symbols). The reconstructions in this passage are from Middle Chinese. All reconstructions of Late Han (LHC) and Middle Chinese (MC) are marked with an asterisk and taken from Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), although simplified in phonological detail for the sake of readability.

Heated-Dwelling and his thousand attendants, the goddess *Anakinshou, and her ten thousand attendants, and the goddess *Thanandjali and her thousand attendants [saying]: By joining the divine power of king Vaiśravaṇa, you will now protect and support the territory of the country of Khotan.²

The passage above is only one version—the earliest extant—of several lists of the major protector deities of Khotan, who are attested in both text and art: several other minor protective *numina*, whose jurisdiction includes often only a monastery or a *stūpa*, are attested also elsewhere. In the case of the *Candraḡarbhasūtra* list, although through comparison of the various sources one can end up distilling a neat roster of Sanskrit theonyms (i.e., (1) Aparājita, (2) Saṃjñin, (3) Gaganasvara, (4) Suvarṇamāla, (5) Gṛhāvātāpta, (6) Aṅkuśā, (7) Sthānavatī, (8) Vaiśravaṇa),³ if the text is translated directly, as above, one is bound to be struck by how an Indic frame encloses a cohort of deities without clear Indic counterparts or names, and who yet act obediently under the command of the Indic Buddha.

If one looks at the history of the Tarim Basin from the main textual, artistic, and archaeological sources, it is clear that Buddhism deeply pervades every aspect of the history of the peoples of the region throughout the first millennium of the common era. In its Indic homeland and in Sinitic East Asia, as in the rugged landscape of Tibet and in maritime Southeast Asia, we can clearly witness Buddhism having to contend with other religious traditions, which either preceded it and were deeply rooted in local cultural identity, or else came from elsewhere but vied vigorously for diffusion. By contrast, at least on the surface, the pre-Islamic history of the Tarim Basin—the Serindia (Grk. *Sērinda*) of late Hellenistic antiquity (ca. 3rd–7th c.)—seems to be characterised by the unchallenged primacy of Buddhism as a religious paradigm. An aggravating factor is that unlike in many other corners of the ancient Buddhist world, in the Tarim Basin, Buddhism eventually managed to uniformly win

2 *Candraḡarbhasūtra*, T. 397.13, 368a: [...] 世尊以于填國土付囑難勝天子千眷屬, 散脂夜叉大將十千眷屬, 毘羊脚大夜叉八千眷屬, 金華鬘夜叉五百眷屬, 熱舍龍王千眷屬, 阿那緊首天女十千眷屬, 他難闍梨天女五千眷屬: 「毘沙門王神力所加, 共汝護持于填國土」.

3 For a careful textual and iconographic study of the eight protector gods (Kh. *hastā parvālā*) see Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang, “The Eight Great Protectors of Khotan Re-Considered: From Khotan to Dunhuang,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 6.1 Special Issue: Ancient Central Asian Networks, *Rethinking the Interplay of Religions, Art and Politics across the Tarim Basin (5th–10th C.)*, ed. Erika Forte (2019): 47–85.

over the hearts of the rulers and of the elite, which accounts for the uniform Buddhist veneer of the pre-Islamic culture of the area.

However, when Buddhism came to the Tarim Basin and to Khotan in the early centuries of the common era, it did not come in a vacuum. While the introduction of Buddhism in the area does in fact virtually inaugurate the historical era in the region, as it coincides with the introduction of writing, the basin had been inhabited by nomadic and sedentary peoples for thousands of years. Furthermore, the basin lies at a point of supreme geopolitical importance where, now as then, the Indic, Sinitic, and Iranian worlds meet. As far as we can glean from written sources, the peoples of the Tarim Basin seemed happy to envision their own history as an appendage of India's, leaving us mostly in the dark about emic understandings of their pre-Buddhist culture and religion. This apparent wholesale assimilation to Indian culture may have responded to an often unrecognised historical process: I have argued elsewhere that the strong Indian flavor of the culture of the ancient Tarim Basin was at least partly the outcome of a process of reactive ethnic determination that responded to the increasing political grip of the Sinitic East on the area.⁴ The assimilation to an Indic paradigm was, however, often more notional than real: the sixth century travel account of Song Yun (fl. 6th c., 宋雲), contained in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 [Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang] (T. 2092.51, 1019a) mentions that a royal shrine in Khotan zealously guarded the boots of an independent buddha (Skt. *pratyekabuddha*), in apparent contrast with the widespread Indic ideal of ascetic barefootedness.⁵

All these caveats are particularly relevant to the culture of the oasis of Khotan. Khotan appears in Sinitic and Tibetan sources often depicted as an ideal Buddhist country, a source of authoritative texts and teachers where the law of the Buddha flourished unimpeded. This cliché, taken at face value, has made it so that the religion of pre-Buddhist Khotan as well as the non-Buddhist religious traditions that accompanied the development of Khotanese Buddhism have remained largely uninvestigated. The hints that could lead us towards tracing a map of the non-Buddhist undercurrents of the Khotanese religious landscape are admittedly scant, but by no means absent, and the purpose of this paper is precisely to gather and examine a representative selection of this information.

4 Diego Loukota, "Made in China? Sourcing the Old Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139.1 (2019): 84–86.

5 Although injunctions against footwear of varying severity are to be found in all the extant *vinayas*, perhaps the most draconian and emphatic one is found in the Pāli *Vinaya*, see *Mahāvagga*, comp. Hermann Oldenberg (London: The Pāli Text Society, 1879), 190.

Sitting at one of the most nodal points of the silk roads, Khotan witnessed the passage of people of bewilderingly disparate origins and religions, who often left traces in its land or even settled there: for example, traces of Christianity and Judaism can be found in pre-Islamic Khotan.⁶ Yet, we will focus here on the religious traditions that may have been concurrent with the introduction and consolidation of Khotanese Buddhism, with a focus on the seminal first half of the first millennium BCE. Therefore, we will survey here the religious aspects of the Iranian Śaka/Scythian background of the Khotanese people, the Gandhāran influx that informed the elite cultural register of Khotan, and the religious effect of the political and economic gravitational pull of the Sinitic East.

2 The Iranian Background

The Śaka languages of the Tarim Basin, Khotanese and Tumšūqese, belong to the Eastern branch of the Middle Iranian languages. The ancient ethnic group that brought the ancestor of those languages to the Tarim Basin is attested in a wide variety of forms according to their source (Grk. *Sákai/Skýthai*,⁷ Old Pers. *Sakā*,⁸ Skt. *Śakāḥ*, and LHC **Sek* 塞). It is clear that ‘Scythian’ or ‘Śaka’ was only a broad label for the nomadic Iranian speakers of the Eurasian steppe, and therefore not all the information that we have about these people from ancient (especially Greek) sources necessarily applies to the particular branch that settled in the Tarim Basin. While it is most likely that the Scythians on which Herodotus (fl. 5th c. BCE) based his account lived north of the Black Sea, it is also likely that some cultural elements were shared across the vast

6 For Christianity, see Daniel King, “Syriac Christianity in Central Asia,” in *The Syriac World*, ed. Mark Dickens (London: Routledge, 2018), 583–625; for the Judeo-Persian letters from Khotan see Bo Utas, “The Jewish-Persian fragment from Dandān-Uiliq,” *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968): 123–136, and Zhang Zhan 張湛 and Shi Guang 時光, “Yijian xinfaxian Youtai-Bosiyu xinzha de duandai yu shidu 一件新發現猶太波斯語信笥的斷代與釋讀 [A Newly-Discovered Judeo-Persian Letter],” *Dunhuang Tuhufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 [Research on Dunhuang and Turfan] 11 (2008): 71–99.

7 The first term appears to be strictly speaking a Greek rendering of the Persian one, while the second is the proper Greek ethnonym. According to Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. Alfred D. Godley (London: William Heinemann, 1920–1925), 7.64.2, “the Persians call all Scythians Sakas” (Grk. *Pérsai pántas tous Skýthas kaléousi Sákas*).

8 The Old Persian taxonomy is particularly nuanced, distinguishing in various sources between (1) Śakas with pointed hats (Old Pers. *Sakā tigraxaudā*), (2) Śakas who drink *haoma* (Old Pers. *Sakā haumavargā*), (3) Śakas beyond the [Caspian] Sea (Old Pers. *Sakā tyaiy paradrayā*) and (4) Śakas beyond Sogdia (Old Pers. *Sakaibiš tyaiy para Sugdam*).

spectrum of the Iranian-speaking nomads of the steppe. We have, for example, no evident link between the Scythian pantheon outlined by Herodotus and the deities attested in Khotan.⁹ As we will see, though, other bits of information on Scythian religion preserved by the Greek sources may echo religious traditions and practices among the Tarim Śaka.

Where exactly the ancestors of the Khotanese and Tumšūqese fall within the Scythian/Śaka spectrum has been the matter of some debate, but there is no strong reason to exclude the ancestors of the Tarim Basin Iranians from the larger Scythian cultural complex of the steppe: in particular, the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 [Book of the Later Han] (completed 445) is unambiguous in stating that by the second century CE there were Śakas settled in the Tarim Basin.¹⁰ In fact, Harold W. Bailey's characterisation of Khotanese and Tumšūqese as "Saka languages" has become standard.¹¹ A recent genetic study identified two polar haplogroup clusters among Scythian/Śaka burials throughout the Eurasian steppe, which would, however, have merged into a broad cultural and genetic continuum.¹² The linguistic evidence too is contradictory. One important phonetic change that affected almost universally the Iranian languages and even managed to spill into some non-Iranian neighbours like Gāndhārī, namely the fortition of **u* into *p* after sibilants, is attested in some Scythian words preserved in Greek sources. A possible derivative of the Proto-Indo-Iranian word for horse, **aćua*, appears as second member in the western Scythian personal name Baioraspos (lit. 'possessing a myriad horses?') which shows this phonetic change also featured in the Avestan derivative *aspa* and in most other Iranian languages, but Khotanese has instead the form *aśśa* with progressive assimilation along with another important outlier, Old Persian *asa*; compare also the Khotanese term for 'white' (Kh. *śśeta*) against Avestan *spaēta*, from Proto-Iranian **ćuaita*, etc. At the same time, a conjectural Old Iranian lexeme for 'fish', **kapa*, is possibly present in the form that Herodotus gives as the Scythian name for the Inhul river, Pantikápēs, but is otherwise only attested in the Ossetian languages of the Caucasus and in Khotanese, Sogdian, and their modern neighbours.

9 For a survey of Herodotus' notices on the Scythian pantheon, see Askold Ivantchik, "Scythians," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, last modified April 25, 2018, last accessed April 28, 2021. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/scythians>.

10 Yu Taishan, "A Study of Saka History," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 80 (1998): 179–184.

11 Harold W. Bailey, "Languages of the Saka," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten*, vol. 4, ed. Bertold Spuler (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 131–154.

12 Martina Unterländer et al., "Ancestry and Demography and Descendants of Iron Age Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe," *Nature Communications* 8 (2017): 1–10.

According to James P. Mallory, one of the main authorities on the archaeology of the Tarim Basin, the study of graves in the region allows us to speculate that the predecessors of the Khotanese and Tumšūqese may have entered the area around the late first millennium BCE: the Śaka graves feature examples of the animal art and exquisite gold jewellery most commonly associated with the Scythians/Śakas and the human remains contained therein include the famous female mummies wearing pointed ‘witch hats’ that recall other descriptions of Scythian attire.¹³

In view of this, it might be opportune to consider generally what we know about the Tarim Basin Śaka/Scythians before focusing specifically on the oasis of Khotan, and with this chronological framework in mind we can begin by contrasting the evidence from the Tarim Basin with what we know about ancient Iranian religion.

Two older Iranian theonyms survive in Khotanese.¹⁴ The Iranian Ahura Mazdā survives as the most basic word for the sun in Khotanese (Kh. *urmaysdān*-). The specialisation of this ancient theonym is shared by Khotanese with several languages of the Pamir Plateau.¹⁵ As Mary Boyce remarks, since light is a main attribute of Ahura Mazdā and therefore Zoroastrian prayer can be directed indifferently towards the sun or the fire, the roots of the Khotanese and Pamirian identification of Ahura Mazdā with the sun probably lie deep in Iranian antiquity.¹⁶ The Khotanese word *urmaysdān*- of course also conventionally translates the name of Sūrya, the Indian Sun God, and it is possible that Ahura Mazdā survived in Khotan as a solar god: an anthropomorphic Urmaysdān is perhaps represented in a Khotanese mural painting.¹⁷ Another ancient theonym is Śśandrāmatā, which Bailey identified as corresponding

13 James P. Mallory, “Bronze Age Languages of the Tarim Basin,” *Expedition* 52.3 (2010): 44–54.

14 The terms discussed in the following two paragraphs are taken from Harold W. Bailey, “Balysa-,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, last modified December 15, 1988, last accessed April 28, 2021. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/balysa-khotan-saka-barza-tumsuq-saka-a-word-adapted-to-buddhist-use-for-the-transcendental-buddha>.

15 Vasily I. Abaev, *The Pre-Christian Religion of the Alans* (Moscow: Oriental Literature Publishing House, 1960), 15.

16 Mary Boyce, “Ahura Mazdā,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, last modified July 29, 2011, last accessed May 15, 2021. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahura-mazda>.

17 See Matteo Compareti, “The ‘Eight Divinities’ in Khotanese Paintings: Local Deities or Sogdian Importation?” in *Proceedings of the Eight European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Pavel B. Lurje (St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2019), 128–129; Matteo Compareti, “The Representation of Non-Buddhist Deities in Khotanese Paintings and Some Related Problems,” in *Studies on the History and Culture Along the Continental Silk Road*, ed. Xiao Li (Singapore: Springer, 2020), 110–111.

to the Avestan deified principle, 'Bounteous Devotion' (Av. Spəntā Ārmaiti). In the Khotanese version of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, also known as the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (T. 665.16), Śśandrāmātā stands for the Sanskrit theonym Śrī, the goddess of splendor and good fortune in an Indic context.¹⁸ The cult of Spəntā Ārmaiti in ancient Iran gave rise to an annual ritual, still attested in Islamic times, and the name survives in many Middle Iranian languages as a calendrical term;¹⁹ moreover the Avestan liturgical hymn *Yāšt* XVII to the goddess of good fortune, Aši, describes her as daughter of Ahura Mazdā and of Spəntā Ārmaiti.²⁰

Linguistic evidence also supports a continuation of the Iranian divine taxonomy of deities (Av. *yazata*) against demons (Av. *daēuua*). In Khotanese, the cognate terms *gyasta-* (cf. also the more archaic Tumšūqese *jezda-*) and *dyūva-* render, respectively, the Indic notion of 'deity' (Skt. *deva*), which in a classical Indic context indicates a beneficial divine being, and the Indic notion of 'ghost' (Skt. *bhūta*).²¹ The infrequent term *dyūva-* occurs, as also Śśandrāmātā does, in the oldest Khotanese manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, whose archaic language and conjectured early date would account well for the equations of Indic Buddhist terms with their equivalents in the indigenous religion of the Khotanese. Here, the demons (Kh. *dyūva-*) are said to be 'life-sapping' (Kh. *ūśahāra* > Gand. **oyah^lā*)*ra*, Skt. *ojohāra*) and children of Hārītī.

In terms of ritual terminology, Khotanese also retains the Indo-Iranian term for 'sacrifice' (Av. *yasna*, Skt. *yajña*) in the form *gyaysna-*. The term occurs in another Old Khotanese translation, the one of the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*, in which it tellingly refers to human and animal blood sacrifice.²² While in a Zoroastrian context the Avestan term for 'sacrifice' came to mean, generally but with

18 On the connection on Śrī and Vaiśravaṇa, see the rich discussion by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *The Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras. The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004), vol. 2, 345.

19 Mary Boyce. "Armaiti," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, last modified August 12, 2011, last accessed May 14, 2021. <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/armaiti>.

20 James R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1987), 323.

21 Compare two versions of the phrase that defines Hārītī as the mother of malevolent entities: the Khotanese parallel *Hārāva dyūvānu ūśahārānu māta*, lit. 'Hārītī, mother of the life-sapping demons' and the Sanskrit *Hārītī bhūtamātā*, lit. 'Hārītī, mother of ghosts' in the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*; see Skjærvø, *The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, vol. 1, section 1.13.

22 Giotto Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra: A Critical Edition* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1993), 81–83.

exceptions, the regular non-violent worship of the gods,²³ in Khotanese the non-violent worship of the Buddha and other deities is regularly expressed by the term for ‘worship’ (Kh. *pajsama-*). The parable in the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* features instead a couple who goes to a priest of the gods (Skt. *devapālaka*) in order to enquire the means to reestablish the health of their ailing son: the priest prescribes the blood sacrifice (alternatively Skt. *yajña*, *yajana*) of a sheep and of a man. We may remark here in passing that Herodotus mentions the practice of human sacrifice in the cult of the Scythian god Ares.²⁴

The terms for ‘priest’ and for ‘temple’ in the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* passage are interesting, too. The priest is termed both *vālaa-* and *mātr-vālaa-* in Khotanese. Giotto Canevascini has preferred to see in the element *mātr-* the *mātṛkās*, the cohort of Hindu spousal deities, with *-vālaa-* as a derivation of an Indic word for the concept of ‘protector’ or ‘cultor’ (Skt. *pālaka*),²⁵ but Bailey suggested instead an indigenous Śaka etymon, **ma[n]tra-wardaka*, ‘cultivator of mantras’.²⁶ The temple (in the Sanskrit text given as *devakula*) is rendered as Khotanese *vāna-*. Bailey suggested an origin in the root *van-*, ‘to cover’;²⁷ Prods Oktor Skjærvø suggests instead that *vāna-* is the Khotanese outcome of an Old Iranian term for the concept of ‘dwelling’ or ‘residence’ (Iran. **dmāna*, cf. Av. *dāmāna*, Sogd. **dmān*),²⁸ and therefore, according to this interpretation, the temple would have been a metaphorical residence of the gods. It is interesting to see that this term differs from the ones used for the classical loci of the Buddhist worship, the *stūpa* (Kh. *balsa*, of unclear origin) and the monastery (Kh. *saṃkharma* > Gand. *saṃgh[ā]r[ā]ma*).

The Khotanese term for ‘fire’ (Kh. *dāa-*) is an epithet (i.e., ‘burner’ from a conjectural Old Iran. **dāgaka*) and suggests some sort of taboo avoidance of the usual Indo-Iranian terms for ‘fire’ (see Skt. *agni*, Av. *ātarš*, and perhaps the

23 This chapter’s judicious peer reviewer points out that in some corners of the Zoroastrian world such as Nērangestān, animal sacrifice in the context of Zoroastrian liturgy is attested up until the 20th century, as also by Middle Persian linguistic evidence. This curiously parallels the largely non-violent nature of Hindu *pūjā*, with the exception of the *Kālīpūjā*.

24 Herodotus, *Histories*, 4.62.

25 See Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra*, 81–83.

26 Harold W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), s.v. *mātrvālai*.

27 *Ibid.*, s.v. *vāna*.

28 See Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “vāna-,” in *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese*, vol. 2, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983–1997), 129.

Sanskrit name [M]ātar[īśvan]).²⁹ Such avoidance may be an outcome of the exalted state of fire and its central role in Iranian religion, which may have encouraged the spread of a euphemism. In support of the practice of fire worship among the Tarim Basin Śaka, we have several archeological attestations of portable altars of fire, accompanied by what may be ritual utensils for the fire worship.³⁰ The famous embroidered carpet from Noyon Uul in Mongolia, of undisputed Iranian affiliation, depicts what could be a scene of fire worship performed on one of such portable altars (see fig. 2.1).³¹ The altars have been found together with kindling sticks, which have also been found in graves associated with the Śaka in the region.³²

Linguistic evidence allows us, again, to glimpse something of how the pre-Buddhist Khotanese may have envisioned the role of the religious professional. The term universally adopted in Khotanese to render the concept of Buddha is *balyša-* (compare also Tumulqese *bārza-*). One possible etymological analysis of this term put forward by Bailey makes it a cognate of Sanskrit *bráhmaṇ* and *brhas[pati]* as well as Old Persian *brazmanīy*.³³ In the Indic case, the term *bráhmaṇ* designates the activity of the professional caste priest, i.e., the formulation, preservation, and handling of sacred words; the Iranian situation is more ambiguous as the meaning of Old Persian *brazmanīy* is still not settled, but an exalted religious meaning is beyond the question as it occurs paired with the term for the deified principle of truth (Old Pers. *arta*, Av. *aša*)

-
- 29 See Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 255–256, n. 3, in which this analysis of the name Mātariśvan is attributed to Stanley Insler.
- 30 See Shen Hui et al. “Wood Usage and Fire Veneration in the Pamir, Xinjiang, 2500 Yr BP,” *PLOS ONE* 10.8 (2015): 1–13, and Wang Se 王瑟 “Pami’er gaoyuan baihuojiao yizhi xin faxian 帕米尔高原拜火教遗址 [New Discovery of Zoroastrian Ruins in the Pamir Plateau],” *Zhongguo kaogu wang* 中国考古网 [Chinese Archeology Network] (2016), last accessed April 18, 2021. <http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/xccz/20161221/56556.html>.
- 31 Sergei A. Yatsenko, “Yuezhi on Bactrian Embroidery from Textiles Found at Noyon Uul, Mongolia,” *The Silk Road* 10 (2012): 39–48.
- 32 Ma Yong and Wang Binghua, “The Culture of the Xinjiang Region,” in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, ed. János Harmatta (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 206ff.
- 33 Bailey, “Balyša-.” A competing explanation, put forward from the very beginning of Khotanese studies by Rudolf Hoernle (*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan: Facsimiles with Transcripts, Translations and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 408), connects *balyša-* with Old Indic **brh[át]* ‘lofty’ and the derivatives of the Proto-Indo-European root **bʰrǵh-* ‘rise, be lofty’. Ronald Emmerick and Skjærvø have endorsed this interpretation. See Ronald E. Emmerick, “Some Remarks on Translation Techniques of the Khotanese,” in *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, ed. Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 17–18; Skjærvø, *The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, vol. 1, lxx.



FIGURE 2.1 Possible scene of fire worship, from the carpet from barrow 31 in the site of Noyon Uul, in Mongolia, early centuries CE

DRAWING BY DIEGO LOUKOTA ON THE BASIS OF SERGEI A. YATSENKO, "YUEZHI ON BACTRIAN EMBROIDERY FROM TEXTILES FOUND AT NOYON UUL, MONGOLIA," *THE SILK ROAD* 10 (2012): 39–48, FIG. 2

central to Zoroastrianism. Paul Thieme conjectured convincingly that the Indo-Iranian term that underlies these cognates must have meant something along the lines of 'sacred formulation'.³⁴ That the Buddha may have been envisioned among the Śakas as a source of sacred discourse says something about the way the early Khotanese may have envisioned the role of the religious specialist: the most common Khotanese phrase for referring to the Buddha (Kh. *Gyasta balysa*) would translate then quite literally as 'god that formulates sacred speech'. Bailey goes one step forward and posits that the pre-Buddhist religion of Khotan would have been 'Barzaic', presumably with a focus on sacred speech, as opposed to the Zoroastrian 'Mazdaic' model centered on

34 See Paul Thieme, "Bráhmán," in *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1971), 122.

‘worship set in the mind’ (*Av. mazdayasna*).³⁵ Herodotus speaks of a class of professional priests (Grk. *mánties*) among the Scythians, who prognosticate by means of willow branches and were constantly ‘speaking’ as they ‘prophesied’ (Grk. *thespízousi* [...] *légontes*): their craft is, moreover, said to be inherited from fathers to sons (Grk. *patrôie*), which hints at the hereditary priestly class well known from other corners of the Indo-Iranian world.³⁶ Although no examples of pre-Buddhist Khotanese literature survive, the Khotanese reworkings of Indic Buddhist literature suggest indeed a rich and highly prized indigenous poetic craft that could be explained by a priestly caste with a strong focus on ritual speech, as we know to have been the case in Vedic India. Skjærvø has, moreover, highlighted how old elements of the Iranian epic tradition did survive in Khotan under a Buddhist guise.³⁷ All of this suggests indeed a deeply rooted cultural appreciation of the elevated dignity of speech, which may have spanned the realms of sacred hymnography to royal panegyric and epic.³⁸

Additional elements of religious life in the Iranian milieu of Śaka Khotan can be gleaned from the corpus of Kharoṣṭhī documents from the neighbouring kingdom of Nuava (ca. 1st–5th c., Chin. Shanshan 鄯善). Previous speculation on the indigenous people of the kingdom tended to lean towards positing a Tocharian substratum, but more recent research has not only failed to uncover a substantial Tocharian base but tended to highlight instead a strong Iranian element.³⁹

35 See Bailey, “Balysa-.” It should be borne in mind also the Bactrian mural inscription from Kara Tepe <*boddomazdo*> (**bud mazd*), i.e., Buddha Mazda. See Boris J. Stavsky, “Buddha-Mazda from Kara-Tepe in Old Termez (Uzbekistan),” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 2.3 (1980): 89–94. The phrases *bud mazd* and *gyasta balysa*, both referring to the Buddha, suggest that regardless of the specific divine principle equated with the Buddha, in an Iranian milieu a divine dignity alone was understood to befit the Buddha.

36 Herodotus, *Histories*, 4.67.

37 See Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions I. Siyavas and Kunala,” in *Mir Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff and Craig Melchert (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1998), 645–658.

38 See Stephanie Jamison, *The Rig Veda between Two Worlds—Le Ṛgveda entre deux mondes* (Paris: Collège de France, 2007), 146–148.

39 The *locus classicus* for the Tocharian substratum hypothesis is Thomas Burrow, “Tocharian Elements in Kharoṣṭhī Documents,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4 (1935): 667–675. Although a fully fledged refutation of this hypothesis is yet to appear in print, there seems to be a broad consensus among Tocharianists to the effect that the Tocharian substratum hypothesis for the Gāndhārī documents from Shanshan in particular lacks evidence. I have heard this *visa voce* from leading Tocharian scholars like Hannes Fellner and Michaël Peyrot.

One of the most certain Iranian elements in the corpus in terms of religious practice is the Gāndhārī phrase *khakhordi stri* or *khakhorda stri*, used to designate women (Gand. *stri*) recorded in the documents to have been hunted and brought to summary justice; they were evidently both reviled and feared (see CKD 58, 63, 248). The term is recorded under the form *k^lā^lkhorda* in Buddhist Sanskrit, where it designates evil charms or spells. Thomas Burrow translated the phrase as ‘witch’ and suggested an origin in a form akin to Avestan *kaxvarəda*,⁴⁰ according to Christian Bartholomae formed from ‘black’ (Av. *xvarəda*) and the pejorative prefix *ka-*:⁴¹ the Avestan word designates a not better described class of demonic beings, but the word was apparently also loaned to Armenian, where it means ‘charm’. The term *khakhorda* is unlikely to be Khotanese—from **ka-xūarda* we would expect in Old Khotanese something along the lines of **kahala*, hence possibly Late Khotanese *kauvāle*, ‘sorcerer’—but dialectal features might be at play here and the survival of an older Iranian designation for black magic remains likely.⁴²

Another enigmatic element of possible religious significance and Śāka affiliation, as much as it may not ring any bells among specialists of Iranian antiquity and could well have been a local development, is an event termed *vaṣḍhiḡa* in the documents (CKD 140, 622, 634, 637). The event involves a pilgrimage to the mountains and the bringing of food and alcohol. The *vaṣḍhiḡa* is performed both by low-status subordinates (CKD 622, 634) and by aristocrats alike (CKD 637), always only by men. The suggestion that the *vaṣḍhiḡa* involved some sort of religious festivity, presumably in honour of mountain gods or spirits, has featured in the work of various scholars.⁴³ The phonetic value of the term is difficult to recreate, but if *vaṣḍhiḡa* is cognate with the Khotanese

40 Thomas Burrow, “Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan II,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7.4 (1935): 781.

41 Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg: K.J. Trübner, 1904), s.v. *kaxvarəda*.

42 Pace Harold W. Bailey (*Dictionary*, s.v. *kauvāle*) and Mauro Maggi (“Kauvāle,” in *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese*, vol. 3, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Verlag, 1982–1997), 42). Thanks to Prof. Chen Ruixuan (陳瑞翹) for the latter reference. He also provided ample and wide-ranging commentary on this paper as discussant during the *BuddhistRoad* final conference in July 2021. Although every remark was intriguing and relevant, exploring all the paths laid open by him will require a separate treatment in the future.

43 Mariner E. Padwa, “An Archaic Fabric: Culture and Landscape in an Early Inner Asian Oasis (3rd–4th Century CE Niya)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007), 256; Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長沢和俊, “Shiruku Rōdo-shi kenkyū シルグ・ロード史研究 [Research on the History of the Silk Road]” (PhD diss., Waseda University, 1979), 223.

verb *bāysdai-* ‘to observe, be watchful’ it may have had the conjectural meaning of ‘observance’.

Documents CKD 157 and CKD 361 from Niya mention specific deities (Gand. *devata*, Skt. *devatā*). While the phrase *bhatro devata* may be simply a generic Indic epithet meaning auspicious deity (Skt. *bhadra devatā*), the other, *acokisǰiya devata*, remains opaque. The document is unfortunately broken in all but the passage that contains the name of the god, but the Gāndhārī sequence “[...] *a co ki sǰi ya de va ta sa*” must not necessarily be read, as it has been so far, *acokisǰiya-devataša*,⁴⁴ but can be easily resegmented to “[...] the courier (*aco*). The deity Kisǰiya’s [...]” (Shanshan Gand. [...] *aco kisǰiyadevataša*), as the words for courier (Shanshan Gand. *aco*, *acovina*) are ubiquitous in the corpus. The graph *ǰ* in all likelihood represents either a voiced palatal fricative or a mere palatal glide (cf. spellings like *aprameǰa* for *aprameya*), and so the pronunciation of the written form <*kisǰiya*> must have been close to **/kisǰijǰa/* or **/kisǰija:/*. One may postulate then that the conjectural theonym Kisǰiya could be related to the Eastern Iranian root ‘grow exuberantly’ (Iran. **kais-*) suffixed with *-ǰya*: Bailey postulated **kais-* as underlying Khotanese ‘abundant, luxuriant’ (Kh. *kīśśāna*) and perhaps also an unidentified tree name (Kh. *kīśauka*) as well as the Sogdian term for ‘luxuriant vegetation’ (Sogd. *kysn’k*).⁴⁵ As tenuous as speculations based only on etymology are, Kisǰiya may have been a deified principle of abundance or growth.

I will mention here only in passing that the record of Khotanese art features an interesting array of divine figures, conventionally marked as such by a halo. Matteo Compareti has investigated this artistic corpus in his previously referenced studies, particularly in the comparatively late painted boards from the site of Dandan Uiliq. Although offering only a few tentative identifications of Iranian deities (Nana and Urmaysdān)—the others being left with provisional monikers such as ‘the god riding a horse’, ‘the god riding a camel’, and ‘the silk god’—Compareti convincingly dispels the earlier speculation of a Sogdian origin for these gods, most richly featured in late Khotanese art, stressing however the numerous Indo-Iranian Kushan iconographic elements that they display.⁴⁶

44 Auguste M. Boyer, Edward J. Rapson, Emile Senart, and Peter S. Noble, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920–1929), § 361.

45 Bailey, *Dictionary*, s.v. *kīśśāna*.

46 See Compareti, “The ‘Eight Divinities’ in Khotanese Paintings,” 117–141; Compareti, “The Representation of Non-Buddhist Deities,” 88–120.

3 Theistic and Epic Indic Echoes

One of the most remarkable facts of the early history of the Tarim Basin is that although actual political and military subjection of the area to Kuṣāṇa Gandhāra (ca. 1st–3rd c.?), if it ever took place, must have been short-lived, the vibrant culture of Gandhāra shaped the cultural makeup of the Tarim Basin for about a millennium. The Gāndhārī language, no longer recorded after the third century in its homeland, was used for administrative purposes beyond the Pamirs in the Tarim Basin for at least another two centuries, and the art, religion, and material culture of Gandhāra shaped indelibly the elite register of Serindian society. It will be opportune then here to review briefly what we know about the religious landscape of Gandhāra in the early centuries of the common era. Gandhāra, and in particular the region of Suvāta, modern Swāt, seem to have been early areas of Indo-Aryan penetration in the Indic subcontinent and therefore an important centre of Vedic culture, but it is fairly clear that by the turn of the common era the orthodox brahmins of Gangetic India already considered Gandhāra to be outside and beyond the ‘circle of the noble ones’ (Skt. *āryavarta*). Buddhism in turn does not appear unequivocally in the archaeological record up to the third century before the common era and does not become archaeologically frequent until the Kuṣāṇa Dynasty.⁴⁷ Buddhist art and architecture of high quality, as well as numerous Buddhist books and inscriptions are attested from about the first to fourth centuries of the common era. Gandhāran Buddhists were keen to see their homeland as a promised land of the Buddhist religion, from where the teachings of the Buddha could spread to the rest of the world.⁴⁸ The richness of the record of Buddhism in Gandhāra should not, however, be unequivocally interpreted as evidence that Buddhism was the dominant religion in Kuṣāṇa Gandhāra. The royal record, in particular, is mixed: from the second century BCE up to the last demise of the

47 Pierfrancesco Callieri, “Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swāt, Second Century BCE to Fourth Century CE,” in *Gandhāran Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*, ed. Kurt Behrendt and Pia Brancaccio (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 60–82.

48 Particularly telling in this regard is the first story in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* [Garland of Examples Adorned by Poetic Fancy] by the Gandhāran author Kumāralāta (fl. 3rd c.), in which a Gandhāran merchant visits Mathurā and converts to Buddhism a group of brahmins who worship Viṣṇu and Śiva. The praise of the converted brahmins includes etymologising Gandhāra as the ‘holder of the earth’ (Skt. *gāṃdhāra*) on account of the support of Gandhārans for Buddhism. For a study of the story with an edition of the Tibetan text and translation, see Michael Hahn, “Kumāralāta’s *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* Nr. 1. Die Vorzugleichheit Des Buddha,” *Zentral-Asiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprache- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasien der Universität Bern* 16 (1982): 309–337.

Kuṣāṇas in the early fourth century, the rulers of the area most often associated themselves in coinage with non-Buddhist religious effigies and symbols: the coinage of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles (r. 190–180 BCE) features Zeus, the deified Alexander, Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva; the famous Kuṣāṇa issues with the Buddha Śākyamuni and Maitreya, while highly significant, are marginal when compared with the host of Iranian, Greek, and non-Buddhist Indic deities depicted therein. Some rulers of this region openly patronised Buddhism, as in the case of Senavarman (fl. 1st c.), of whose existence we know thanks to the repair of a *stūpa* that he recorded in an elaborate inscription on a golden sheet.⁴⁹ The Kuṣāṇas seem to have sponsored Buddhist monasteries,⁵⁰ but possibly not more often than they sponsored the establishments of other religions, and the Kuṣāṇa royal shrine of Surkh Kotal in Tukharistan (Bactria, fragmented today among Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and northern Afghanistan) is a classic Mazdean fire-shrine with, if anything, some traces of Śaivite iconography.⁵¹

Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva and Śiva/Maheśvara, originally minor gods of the Vedic pantheon, are of especial relevance for Gandhāra. Once again, early coin issues from Gandhāra are some of the earliest non-textual attestations of these gods. Their temple-based cult seems to have generally irked the orthodox faction of Vedic brahmins, who tend to speak with utmost contempt of temple priests (Skt. *devalaka*).⁵² Both of these gods are attested in Gandhāran art: Verardi attributes the lesser visibility of iconography tied to Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism to “their taking root in rural areas” and to “the fact that the trading class—an object of scorn for the authors of the early Kali Age literature—did not find representation among them.”⁵³ In tandem with the diffusion of the cult of early Hindu gods, we should also mention that by the early centuries of the common era, Greek gods were still present and relevant in Gandhāra, sometimes equated with Indic gods, and featured in art and coinage.

All in all, if we go back to the role of Buddhism in Gandhāra, the safest assumption seems to be that its popularity was concentrated within the urban

49 Richard Salomon, “The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29.4 (1986): 261–293.

50 Mark Allon, “A Unique Gāndhārī Monastic Ledger Recording Gifts by Vima Kadphises,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 42 (2019): 1–46.

51 Gérard Fussman, *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, 1 Architecture* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1983).

52 See for example *Manusmṛti* 3.152, 3.180 and *Mahābhārata* 13.24.15 and especially 12.77.8, where temple priests are said to be ‘outcastes among brahmins’ (Skt. *brāhmaṇacaṇḍala*).

53 Giovanni Verardi, “Buddhism in North-Western India and Eastern Afghanistan, Sixth to Ninth Century AD,” ZINBUN: *Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University* 43 (2011): 147–183.

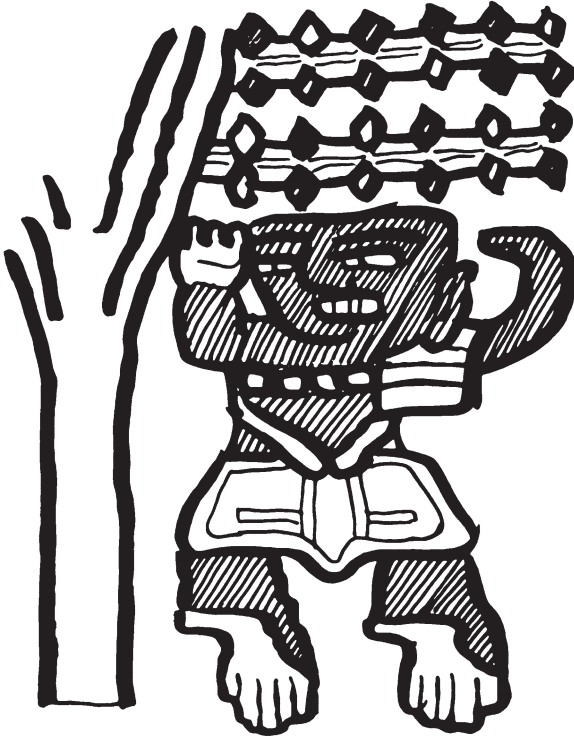


FIGURE 2.2 Vāsudeva raising Mt. Govardhana (?). From a carpet from Sanpul, Khotan, ca. 6th century
DRAWING BY DIEGO LOUKOTA ON THE BASIS OF DUAN QING, “ACROSS-REGIONAL AND LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MYTHOLOGIES: ON THE BASIS OF OBSERVING THE LOP MUSEUM CARPETS,” IN *NON-HAN LITERATURE ALONG THE SILK ROAD*, ED. LI XIAO (SINGAPORE: SPRINGER SINGAPORE, 2020), FIG. 1.2

mercantile classes, whose diaspora beyond Gandhāra is well-documented; their dominant adherence to Buddhism is also clear. The Gandhāran elite and the ruling class, which would remain non-native for several centuries, seem to have been much more eclectic in their religious preferences and therefore far less exclusive in their support of Buddhism.

Returning now to the Tarim Basin and to Khotan, we can fully expect that, given the major role that Gandhāra had in shaping the culture of the region, the rich religious *mélange* of Gandhāra was transported with all its intricacies beyond the Pamirs. Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva and Śiva/Maheśvara are both represented in Khotanese art, although the caveats here are that, on the one hand,

the representations are not particularly early and, on the other, that both gods were eventually absorbed into canonical lists of deities who protect Buddhism in the Sinitic traditions of the twenty-four (or twenty) *devas*, which include both Viṣṇu and Śiva along with such Hindu gods as Sarasvatī and Brahmā. For the Khotanese repertoire of Śiva/Maheśvara, the work of Riccarda Gallo underlines however the continuity of the Khotanese iconography with the art of Dunhuang (敦煌) and of China.⁵⁴ As for Vāsudeva, a very significant piece of evidence is a series of sixth century brightly coloured carpets from Sanpul that according to Zhang He portray scenes of the childhood and youth of Vāsudeva.⁵⁵ The most crucial detail is a scene with very clear affinities to contemporary representations of Vāsudeva raising mount Govardhana from India and South East Asia (see fig. 2.2). In Late Khotanese secular documents, a high official (Kh. *ṣau*) identified with the *vaiṣṇava*-sounding name Viṣṇadatta is often mentioned.

An Indic god in a liminal position within Khotanese religion is Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera, the god of wealth, commander of the armies of the *yakṣas* and one of the protectors of the cardinal directions in Buddhism. A host of Chinese and Tibetan sources make this god the head of the octad of protector gods of Khotan, and the main divine patron of the kingdom.⁵⁶ Valerie Hansen has collected passages from Chinese sources that describe the temple of Vaiśravaṇa that once stood in the capital of Khotan: it is described as a richly adorned wooden building of seven stories, with the god housed in an upper chamber.⁵⁷ One may add to all of this a passage from the Tibetan *Li yul lung bstan pa* [Prophecy of the Li Country (i.e., Khotan)] to the effect that Vaiśravaṇa was worshipped together with his consort, Śrī.⁵⁸ Ancillary attendant gods are ubiquitous in the Buddhist world, but a temple devoted to the exclusive worship of a specific god (Skt. *devakula*) would be extraordinary at least from the point

54 See Riccarda Gallo, "The Image of Maheśvara: An Early Example of the Integration of Hindu Deities in the Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Pantheon" (MA thesis, SOAS, 2013), 21–26.

55 See Zhang He, "Figurative and Inscribed Carpets from Shanpula-Khotan: Unexpected Representations of the Hindu God Krishna: A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5 (2010): 59–73, and "Krishna Iconography in Khotan Carpets—Spread of Hindu Religious Ideas in Xinjiang, China, Fourth-Seventh Century CE," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 51.4 (2016): 659–668.

56 Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang, "The Eight Great Protectors of Khotan," 50–58.

57 Valerie Hansen, "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" in *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Ebrey (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 80–82.

58 Ronald E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 20–21.

of view of contemporary mainstream Indic Buddhism, and may speak about the mode of temple worship that was then starting to become normative for Hindu gods.

Also, in connection with Vaiśravaṇa we should mention that one of the eight protector gods of Khotan, Saṃjñin (LMC *Sanchi 散脂) is, at least in the Sinitic context, understood to be identical to Pañcika, the main general of the *yakṣa* army of Vaiśravaṇa and consort of Hārītī, the well-known Buddhist goddess of fertility and childbirth.⁵⁹ Although Hārītī does not feature under that name in the roster of the eight protector gods, she is mentioned along with Saṃjñin/Pañcika as an appointed tutelary deity for Khotan in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*.⁶⁰ An exquisite comb of bone fretwork from Yōtkan, now in the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm (item number 1903.11.0359), features Saṃjñin/Pañcika and Hārītī, who in this representation holds the cornucopia that distinguishes her in Gandhāran statuary. Vaiśravaṇa, for his part, is also associated with fertility: the story of the foundation of Khotan reported by Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘) tells how the first king of the country beseeched Vaiśravaṇa for a son, and when the god granted his wish, the king built the magnificent temple to Vaiśravaṇa mentioned above as a token of gratitude.⁶¹

Both of the Sanskrit epics appear mentioned and briefly summarised in a passage of the *Book of Zambasta* (5.2–6),⁶² the Khotanese tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is further attested by a famous Late Khotanese manuscript.⁶³ As for the *Mahābhārata*, one of the Gāndhārī tablets of Shanshan contains a loose parallel (CKD 523 rev.3) of a verse from the *Udyogapārvaṇ* section of the *Mahābhārata* (5.36.44).

The modes of religious specialists associated with the milieu of the epics may potentially be attested in the environs of Khotan too. The secular corpus of Gāndhārī documents from the site of Niya mentions brahmins once, within the compound that conventionally indicates the full spectrum of religious

59 The most recent and thorough survey on Hārītī and her association with childbearing seen from the Buddhist monastic codes can be found in Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Nuns, Monks, and Other Worldly Matters: Recent Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 131–156.

60 Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, 8–9.

61 *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty], T. 2087.51, 943b–c.

62 For the title of the *Book of Zambasta* see Diego Loukota, “Ne Hāde Vajjropamā Vaśārā: Indic Loanwords in the Khotanese Book of Zambasta and the Chronology of the Spread of Buddhism to Khotan,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.7 (2023).

63 Harold W. Bailey, “The Rāma Story in Khotanese,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59.4 (1939): 460–468.

specialists (Shanshan Gand. *śramaṇnabramamaṇna*, Skt. *śramaṇabrāhmaṇa*) (CKD 554). By the third or fourth century, this compound, of illustrious Aśokan pedigree, may have become simply a generic designation of religious professionals, regardless of creed; there is, however, a slim possibility that a certain class of priests or officiants may have been termed *bramaṇna* in the settler-colonial context of the Tarim Basin of the early centuries CE. These putative brahmins, if they were there at all, were most likely associated with the theistic temple cults and may have been the officiants of the sacrifice of a cow to the auspicious deity (Shanshan Gand. *bhatro devata*) recorded in CKD 157. (Neo-)Orthodox Vedic Brahmanism like the one formulated in the *dharmasāstras* is not clearly attested in the early centuries CE in Gandhāra or in the Tarim Basin. A small but telling sign of this is that the rich body of manuscripts of Sanskrit grammar of the region emphasises treatises that do not include a description of Vedic Sanskrit, such as *Kātantra* and *Kaumāralāta*.

Another element that points to a connection with the religious models that imbue the epics concerns the Yōtkan clay figurines. As per Mark A. Stein's assessment, Yōtkan would have been the ancient site of the capital of Khotan, and the site of the temple of Vaiśravaṇa,⁶⁴ but unfortunately the site has been continuously inhabited since antiquity and no horizontal excavation has ever been conducted; on top of that, the archaeological context of the figurines is lost, as neither Stein nor Sven Hedin, who collected the largest number of these, were able to conduct proper excavation at the site and relied instead on the mediation of local treasure hunters. Although there is great thematic diversity among the figurines, a very large number of these features monkeys (fig. 2.3a–b), and these can be divided into two main classes: (1) monkeys engaged in masturbation, copulation, or childcare, or else (2) monkeys playing musical instruments. Stein remarked on the surprising fact that the Rhesus monkey, widespread as it is in what was once Gandhāra, has never been endemic to the Tarim Basin or to Khotan:⁶⁵ the image of the monkey must therefore have come from elsewhere, in all likelihood from Gandhāra, although the Sinitic East could also have been a source.⁶⁶ Bearing in mind that the monkey was therefore a foreign animal in Khotan, it is inevitable to be reminded of the central role that monkeys play within the Rāma narrative cycle, which we know to have circulated in Khotan. The Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa* contains monkey

64 Mark A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. 1, 200–202.

65 Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 208.

66 Prof. Chen Ruixuan (personal communication) notes too that the words for monkey (Chin. *hou* 猴) and marquis, high civil official (Chin. *hou* 侯, synecdoche for civil service promotion) are and were homophones in Chinese (LHC **go* 猴/侯).

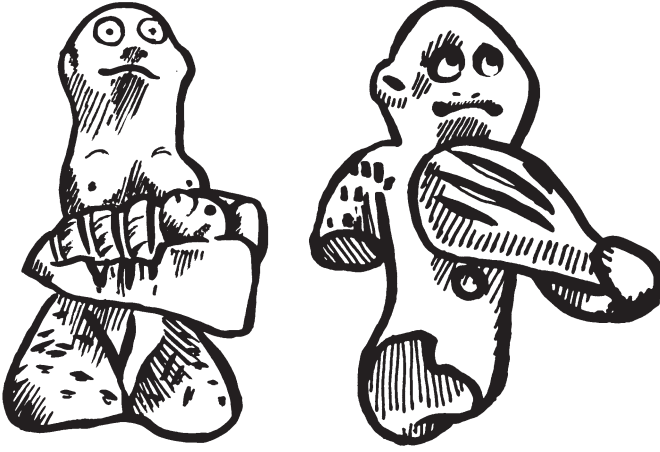


FIGURE 2.3A–B Monkey figurines from Yōtkan, early centuries CE (item numbers 1901.23.0042 and 1903.11.0037). Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm
DRAWING BY DIEGO LOUKOTA ON THE BASIS OF THE ONLINE MUSEUM CATALOGUE (LAST ACCESSED FEBRUARY 5, 2023, [HTTP://COLLECTIONS.SMVK.SE/CARLOTTA-EM/WEB](http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web))

narratives unknown to Valmiki's, and therefore it is possible that now lost narrative cycles concerning monkeys spun off the narrative matter of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were once widespread in Khotan. Another seductive possible connection of the Yōtkan monkeys with the Rāma narrative concerns a passage of the vulgate of Valmiki's *Bālakaṇḍa* in which the monkey general Gandhamādana is said to be the son of Vaiśravaṇa (Skt. *danadasya sutah*, 1.16.491.5). One figurine in the British Museum (MAS.159/Yo.00166), also from Yōtkan and made not from clay but from the precious jade that made Khotan famous, features a monkey in the posture that the Chinese termed 'Serindian kneeling' (Chin. *hugui* 胡跪). Its head is surrounded by a halo, which conventionally identifies gods in Khotanese art. The jade figurine is unlikely to represent the divine Hanumat, omitted from the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it may represent the monkey prince Naṇḍa, who in the Khotanese narrative takes the role of companion of Rāma in the attack on Laṅkā.

The fact that the monkey figurines of Yōtkan emphasise mating and breeding is not surprising given the colourful sexual behaviour of the Rhesus monkey.⁶⁷ As for the musical aspect of the monkeys, while it might be simply

67 Joshua Seinfeld, "Macaca Mulatta (Rhesus Monkey)," *Animal Diversity Web*, last accessed May 28, 2021. https://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Macaca_mulatta/.

a metaphor of the pleasures of life, we might remark too that whereas in a Buddhist context Vaiśravaṇa is typically characterised as the king of the *yakṣas*, the epic descriptions sometimes make him the king of the scent-eaters (Skt. *gandharva*), synonymous with music.⁶⁸ The monkey is also associated with good luck and prosperity in the extant guides to zodiacal prognostication in Gāndhārī and Khotanese from the area.⁶⁹

The figurines are very small—about 5 cm in length on average—and the fact that they often bear holes suggests that they could be threaded and worn on the neck or sewn to clothing.⁷⁰ It seems reasonable to conjecture that the Yōtkan monkeys may have been tokens, amulets, or exvotos linked to a cult that emphasised fertility (reproduction and motherhood) and prosperity (a leisurely life embodied through the performance of music), perhaps associated with the famous shrine where the tutelary divine couples of Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī and also their close associates Saṃjñin/Pañcika and Hārītī may have been worshipped as divine embodiments of the conjunction of wealth and fertility. In contrast with the Buddha images from Yōtkan, all made from bone or metal, the facture and humble material of the monkey figurines are undoubtedly cheap and unsophisticated but also lively and original: they speak to us about a more popular register of religion than the one we can access from written sources and from more highbrow art.

Finally, we can briefly survey the possible continuation of deities of Greek origin. As mentioned before, Greek religious and mythological elements are well-represented in Gandhāra and therefore also in the early historic Tarim Basin. A famous cloth from Niya features Heracles and Tyche; the famous Sanpul pant-leg, although possibly imported from Tukharistan, features a centaur.⁷¹ The list of the eight protector gods of Khotan of the *Candragarbhasūtra* that

68 Washburn Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Strassburg: Karl Trübner Verlag, 1915), §83, §88, §93.

69 See Or.11252/1, r43–46 from the British Library: “A man is born in the year of the Monkey. He will have to go to foreign [?] land and he will have many sons and he will be good with respect to *gift(s). He will have many servants and horses.” (Kh. *makala sabya hve ysaīyi hāysai śaṃdā tsañai hīme u pūrai pha hīmāre [u h]aurina śiri hīme bisai pha hīmāri u aśa*). Text and translation from Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations* (London: The British Library, 2003), 82–85. See also CKD 565, rev. b5: “[Under the asterism of the] monkey, there is ease for all tasks.” (Shanshan Gand. *makaḍa ca sa{r}va karyāna lahu*).

70 Gösta Montell, “Sven Hedin’s Archaeological Collections from Khotan: Terra-cottas from Yotkan and Dandan-Uiliq,” *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 7 (1936): 190.

71 Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road. A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 39; 144.



FIGURE 2.4
Pan and maenad, Gandhāra, early
centuries CE, now in a private
collection in Japan
DRAWING BY DIEGO LOUKOTA
ON THE BASIS OF TANABE “THE
DIONYSIAN IMAGERY,” 11

opens this article starts with a ‘great yakṣa with the feet of a ram’ (Chin. 殺羊脚大夜叉); later versions of the list replace this deity with the Sanskrit name Gaganasvara (lit. ‘Sound of Heaven’). No Gandhāran representations of the Hellenistic ram-footed Pan or satyrs survive, yet there is a Gandhāran relief featuring two vignettes of a ram-horned Pan embracing a maenad in a frieze of clear Dionysian affiliation—see the hanging bunch of grapes—now in an undisclosed private collection in Japan (fig. 2.4).⁷² The representation of the god Gaganasvara in Cave 98 of Mogao (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟) seems to have horn-like elements in his headdress (fig. 2.5), and this feature might be an echo of the iconographic attributes of a god with caprine features whose origin might be sought in the Hellenistic representations of Pan.

72 Tanabe Tadashi, “The Dionysian Imagery from the Mediterranean to Gandhāra,” *Ancient Punjab* 8 (2020): 11.



FIGURE 2.5
The great *yakṣa* Gaganasvara,
from Mogao Cave 98,
9th–10th centuries
DRAWING BY DIEGO LOUKOTA
ON THE BASIS OF RONG AND
ZHU, “THE EIGHT GREAT
PROTECTORS OF KHOTAN
RE-CONSIDERED,” 69

4 The Sinitic Influence

At this point we should mention also the early influence of the Sinitic East. The medium of the Chinese language inaugurates the historical records of the Tarim Basin: the earliest secular documents, coins, and inscriptions of the area are all either completely or partially in Chinese.⁷³ This early Sinitic influence soon gave way to the Gandhāran paradigm that would infuse the whole cultural makeup of the basin with the Indic flavour that characterises it up to the advent of Islam. In spite of the active adherence to Indic models, the successive imperial polities of the Sinitic East remained throughout the first

73 For documents and coins, see Hansen, *The Silk Road*, 36, 48; for the second century Liu Pingguo (劉平國) inscription see Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉, “Lüelun gudai Qiuci wenshu zhizuo chuantong zhi mengnie 略論古代龜茲文書製作傳統之萌蘖 [Brief Discussion on the Origins of the Tradition of Record Production in Ancient Kuča],” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 內陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 33 (2018): 45–46.

millennium the main political and economic force of gravity for the Tarim Basin. It would be only natural then if along the lines of economic and political hegemony, cultural and religious elements would be transmitted too. We know from the Chinese garrison in Loulan that the Chinese military colonists based in the region read and studied a variety of texts that included astrology and cosmology.⁷⁴ The most enduring Sinitic inheritance to the region may be, in fact, precisely the twelvefold Sinitic animal zodiac. Recent discoveries of bamboo slips from the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BCE, 秦) have finally laid to rest early speculation on the non-Sinitic origin of the animal zodiac.⁷⁵ Guides to prognostication on the basis of the Sinitic zodiac are attested in Gāndhārī and in Khotanese,⁷⁶ and although a thorough study of Khotanese names remains to be done, the presence of zodiac names, well attested in a Sinitic context (albeit in a mostly popular cultural register) is also reasonably well attested in Khotan and its environs. One very well-attested individual from the Niya corpus in Gāndhārī bears a variously spelled name (<Ṣaḡamovi>, <Ṣaḡamoya>, <Zaḡimovi>, <Ṣaḡamoi> = *[za:jəmuwji]) that perhaps contains in its second part the Khotanese term for ‘tiger’ (Kh. *mūyi*-). From CKD 843, probably a payroll originally from Niya or from Khotan itself, written in Kharoṣṭhī but possibly not in Gāndhārī and still poorly understood, we have the personal name Śazdha, which in all likelihood represents the term snake (Kh. *śaysda*-). Furthermore, from late Khotanese secular documents we have ample attestations of people bearing the names Makala, ‘monkey’ (Kh. *makala*) and Mulaka, ‘mouse’ (Kh. *mulaka*).

Further Serindian and Khotanese echoes of Sinitic cosmology can be found in funeral accoutrements. A rich, but unfortunately pillaged Shanshanese grave of about the fourth century has frescoes signed in Gāndhārī by the painter but featuring an Iranian-looking scene of a drinking party in the afterlife, as well as depictions of buddha-worship; the coffin, however, is decorated with the Chinese sun-crow and moon-toad, as well as a Chinese funeral unicorn (Chin. *xiezhi* 獬豸) of the same type found in Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220, 漢) graves in the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zoulang 河西走廊) and Turfan.⁷⁷ Another, much later Khotanese coffin now in the Hetian County Museum from the Later Tang

74 See Henri Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1953), 62.

75 Chen Sanping, “Yuan Hong: A Case of Premature Death by Historians?,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123.4 (2003): 845.

76 See fn. 69 above.

77 Lin Meicun 林梅村, *Sichou zhi lu kaogu shiwu jiang 丝绸之路考古十五讲* [Fifteen Lectures on the Archaeology of the Silk Road] (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2006), 107–126.

Dynasty (923–935, 後唐) features on each side, instead, the four symbols of the cardinal directions (i.e., (1) the blue-green dragon of the east, (2) the red bird of the south, (3) the white tiger of the west, and (4) the murky warrior of the north). As much as the evidence is scant, it seems possible that the rich Sinitic cosmological models and traditions of funeral geomancy permeated the culture of the Śakas of Khotan.

5 Concluding Remarks

A detailed study of Khotanese Buddhism understood in its own specificity remains to be written. Khotanese is a dead language without living descendants, and Khotanese culture experienced a radical makeover with the advent of Islam into the Tarim Basin from about the second millennium CE. Moreover, the difficult political situation of Xinjiang (新疆) and the tragedy of the Uyghur people, who in part descend from the ancient peoples of the basin and continue the traditional ways of life of the region, complicate investigation into the ancient culture of Khotan. All of these factors make research into ancient Khotan, including its variegated religious landscape, both urgent and more difficult than ever, as in the current political climate international participation and cooperation in archaeological and ethnographic research is impossible. Yet, ancient Khotan is a prime example of the fecund symbiosis of various cultural influences, and its own brand of Buddhism bears witness to the unique cultural hybridity of the ancient kingdom. A history of Buddhism in Khotan that avoids the simplistic approach of seeing merely a transposition of an Indic model, as it has been so often the case, should take into account the vibrant religious undercurrents that shaped the introduction and diffusion of Buddhism into this ancient land.

Uyghur Buddhism and the Impact of Manichaeism and Native Religion: The Case of Religious Terminology

Jens Wilkens

Abstract

Uyghur Buddhism owes its emergence to a specific cultural milieu. Not only is it strongly influenced by Tocharian, Chinese, Sogdian, and—in later times (13th–14th centuries)—also Tibetan Buddhism, but because of the royal patronage granted to Manichaeism, the latter helped shape the religious landscape in the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half of the 9th c.–13th c.). Even though Buddhism has exerted a much stronger influence on Manichaeism than vice versa, the latter has played a certain role in the formation of Buddhist literature among the Uyghurs. Faint traces of the indigenous religion of the Uyghurs can also be found in Buddhist and Manichaean texts from the Turfan oasis and from Dunhuang (敦煌). This chapter attempts to pinpoint these aspects, while discussing methodological problems and limitations to the applicability of certain comparative approaches that might help to determine how we should imagine the native religion of Uyghurs. However minor the impact of Manichaeism and native religion may have been, the development of a particular local form of Buddhism in the West Uyghur Kingdom was helped by this contribution.

1 Introduction¹

The impact of Uyghur Manichaeism on Uyghur Buddhism is a much disputed issue covering such fields as art,² legends,³ terminology, and also literature

1 All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own. A subscript 2 in the translations signifies a word-pair/binomial in the Uyghur original. Parentheses in the translations are simply explanatory additions. Late Middle Chinese (LMC) reconstructions follow Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991).

2 Lilla Russell-Smith, *Uyghur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 141–153.

3 See, e.g., Yukiyo Kasai, “Ein Kolophon um die Legende von Bokug Kagan,” *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 19 (2004): 1–27.

(for instance, whether Uyghur confession texts for lay people originated first within Manichaeism or Buddhism). To elucidate the complex relationship and to understand the religious dynamics involved, the native religion of the Uyghurs has to be included in the discussion. This is particularly true of religious terminology. For the sake of brevity, the following examination will be dedicated to this topic.

The Turkic speaking Uyghurs became a major political player in the Inner Asian steppe region after the foundation of their empire, the East Uyghur Kaganate in Mongolia (744–840; also known under the name Uyghur Steppe Empire). In terms of the history of religions the adoption of Manichaeism as a court religion, shortly after 760,⁴ represents a turning point in the persecution-ridden history of this religious community, which was founded in third century Mesopotamia by Mani (ca. 216–276/277). Even in the late period of Uyghur Buddhism, during the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元), the Uyghurs preserved accounts on the introduction of Manichaeism during the East Uyghur Kaganate. The fragmentary text with the shelf number 81TB10: 06–3a discovered in the year 1981 at Bezeklik (Xinjiang 新疆) is an important testimony. We owe its reading and interpretation to Peter Zieme who presented his

4 There is no consensus among scholars as to how to date this event exactly. Larry Clark ("The Conversion of Bögü Khan to Manichaeism," in *Studia Manichaica. iv. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 115) who sees the reason for the changeable first phase of the Uyghurs' acquaintance with this new religion in the undecided attitude of the ruler, summarises his views as follows after an evaluation of the available sources: "Whether or not Bögü Khan's conversion occurred prior to his becoming Khan, or whether it occurred in the distant Tienshan-Tarim region or closer to home, he issued an official permission for the practice of Manichaeism throughout his realm after he was enthroned in 759, an act that was memorialised by the Manichaeen church as the propagation of 761. Even so, his attachment to this religion did not translate into firm sponsorship or protection until an affirmation of faith was wrested from his adventurous spirit by Manichaeen clerics brought back to the steppe from China in 763." On the date of Bögü Khan's conversion see also the remarks by Takao Moriyasu, "New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism," *Open Theology* 1 (2015): 319–322. Moriyasu calls some of Clark's assumptions into question but both scholars come to the conclusion that the ruler's conversion did not go smoothly. The most important Uyghur account of Bögü Khan's conversion is found in the two manuscript leaves U 72 and U 73 from the Turfan Collection in Berlin. Nobody seems to have taken the additional fragmentary piece U 206 into account. See Jens Wilkens, *Alltürkische Handschriften Teil 8: Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 80–81, no. 54.

findings in Chinese.⁵ Another text is a kind of historical account known under the title ‘Memorandum’.⁶

There is no consensus among researchers on how to conceive of the religion of the Uyghurs before the conversion of parts of their elite. Some scholars have opted for the (impossible) assumption that it was Buddhism,⁷ while others were in favour of shamanism.⁸ The term ‘shamanism’ itself is a problematic concept in religious studies and a widely accepted definition is not to hand. What is more, the sources we have do not allow us to decide whether the Uyghurs practiced a religion similar those of ethnic groups of Siberia or Mongolia before the Russian Revolution in 1917, in the wake of which the native religions of these regions were seriously affected and sometimes even wiped out.

The Turkic languages underwent contact-induced changes on a linguistic level over millennia until recently. The same is true if we look at the religious sphere, although religious change is not always visible—depending on the diverse character of the source materials. Methodological decisions and which source materials we select greatly influence the results we obtain. If we want to research the native religion of the Uyghurs, the degree of reliability of our results depends largely on how we answer the following basic questions:

- 1) Do we have original sources which allow us to make a sketch of the basic beliefs of the Uyghurs before they converted to Buddhism?

5 Peter Zieme (Cimo 茨默, trans. Wang Ding 王丁), “Youguan Monijiao kajiao Huihu de yijian xin shiliao 有关摩尼教開教回鶻的一件新史料 [On a New Uyghur Source on the Propagation of Manichaeism],” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 2009.3: 1–7, incl. 1 pl.

6 Zhang Tieshan and Peter Zieme, “A Memorandum about the King of the *On Uyghur* and his Realm,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64.2 (2011): 129–159. See the remarks by Takao Moriyasu, “New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism,” 319: “The fact that the history of the East Uighur period, a time when Manichaeism flourished, has been preserved in a Uighur text of the Mongol period, when the Uighurs had abandoned Manichaeism and converted completely to Buddhism, clearly demonstrates that from early times they persistently held on to a ‘sense of history’ that engendered in them a desire to preserve works of history.” Zhang and Zieme, “A Memorandum,” 129, are of the opinion that the text describes events from the early period of the West Uyghur Kingdom (10th–11th centuries).

7 For example, Li Tang, “A History of Uighur Religious Conversions (5th–16th Centuries),” *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series* 44 (2005): 29. For a critical assessment of the assumption that the Uyghurs were Buddhists before converting to Manichaeism see Takao Moriyasu, “Introduction à l’histoire des Ouïghours et de leurs relations avec le Manichéisme et le Bouddhisme,” in *World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road*, ed. Takao Moriyasu (Osaka: Osaka University, 2003), 27–29.

8 This clearly is the opinion in Moriyasu, “Introduction à l’histoire des Ouïghours,” 28.

- 2) If we think we have discovered a possible original source, how representative is it for Uyghur native religious concepts?
- 3) Do later sources preserve important characteristics of the native religion and what do 'atypical elements' in the Manichaean and Buddhist Uyghur texts tell us about a native 'layer' in these two religions?
- 4) What does the shared terminology imply for a reconstruction of inter-religious contacts?

In this chapter I examine such central questions, some of which are interrelated. By doing so, a new scenario for the early history of Uyghur Buddhism can be sketched out, although satisfactory answers are not always possible owing to the character of the source materials.

2 Old Gods and Sacred Places

Starting with the first question, the main sources to hand are archaeological remains and a few texts on memorial steles. But the inscriptions from the East Uyghur Kaganate are mostly uninformative as far as religious themes are concerned. Important information about religious themes, though presented only in very brief allusions is recorded in the trilingual (Chinese, Sogdian, Uyghur in runiform script) Karabalgasun Inscription which was erected during the reign of the eighth Kagan, Ay Tängriḍä Kut Bulmıš Alp Bilgä Kagan (808–821, Chin. Baoyi 保義). The Chinese version, which is the best preserved, mentions the burning of certain "idols" called "images of the demon" (Chin. *moxing* 魔形) after Kagan Būgü's (759–779, Chin. Mouyu 牟羽) conversion to Manichaeism shortly after 760.⁹ For the Sogdian part, Yutaka Yoshida recently established the new reading "idols made by [human] hands" (Sogd. *xy-δ δsty 'krty ptkryt*).¹⁰ The ceremonial renunciation of the ancestral religion is expressed in the two versions with a different emphasis in each case, but we are not informed in the inscription how exactly to imagine it. In the Chinese version, the people are called upon to abandon praying to the spirits and embrace the Religion of Light (= Manichaeism) instead. By royal decree a vegetarian diet is also prescribed as mandatory.

9 Translated in Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine (deuxième partie)," *Journal Asiatique* onzième série 1 (1913): 193–194. Būgü was the third Khagan of the East Uyghur Kaganate.

10 Yutaka Yoshida, "Studies of the Karabalgasun Inscription: Edition of the Sogdian Version," *Modern Asian Studies Review* 11 (2020): 50.

The better preserved major inscriptions from the Second Türk Kaganate (ca. 682–744),¹¹ which preceded the East Uyghur Kaganate provide glimpses into the religious ideas and concepts of the Türk elite—who were not necessarily identical to those of their opponents, the Uyghurs.¹² One can only assume that some basic concepts were similar. One of these is definitely the perception of the traditional sacred centre known as “the Ötükän ground” (OT *ötükän yer*) or “the Ötükän mountain meadow” (OT *ötükän yış*) in the inscriptions from the Second Türk Kaganate and the East Uyghur Kaganate.¹³ The bestowal of the royal charisma is apparently connected with this place,¹⁴ an idea still prevalent in the enthronement of the ruler of the West Uyghur Kingdom (OU *idok kut*) as evidenced in a Manichaean text.¹⁵ A colophon mentions a presbyter (OU *m(a)histak*), a cleric of the third rank in the Manichaean hierarchy, by the name of M(a)r New Mani who was based at the Ötükän.¹⁶ In the Buddhist historical account (*Memorandum*) from the Yuan Dynasty, it says about the Uyghur ruler: “He deigned to establish the lands belonging to him as well as the Ötükän people” (OU *özkä sanlıg yerin suvın ötüken bodunun ornatu yarlıkadı*).¹⁷ The narrative refers in all probability to the early years of the West Uyghur Kingdom, which would confirm the significance of the old sacred space even after the Uyghurs’ resettlement in the eastern Tianshan (天山) region. They kept alive the memory of the original seat of nomadic imperial power even during the times of Mongol rule.

-
- 11 The three most important inscriptions are from the memorial complexes of the personages Tunyokuk (720–725), Kül Tegin (732), and Bilgä Kagan (735).
- 12 A survey of the religion of the Orkhon Turks is provided in Jean Paul Roux, “La religion des Turcs de l’Orkhon des VII^e et VIII^e siècles,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 161.1 (1962): 1–24.
- 13 See Takashi Ōsawa, “The Significance of the Ötüken yer to the Ancient Turks,” in *Ötüken’den İstanbul’a Türkçenin 1290 Yılı (720–2010) 3–5 Aralık 2010, İstanbul. From Ötüken to Istanbul, 1290 Years of Turkish (720–2010) 3rd–5th December 2010, Istanbul*, ed. Mehmet Ölmez et al. (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011), 405–423. The location is disputed. According to Ōsawa it was rather “a vast area” rather than “a particular region” (p. 405).
- 14 Ōsawa, “The Significance of the Ötüken yer,” 410. I cannot follow the author’s contention, however, that the charisma was “delivered to the great Turkic Qaghan by the *Tängri* God on the sacred Mountains through Shamanistic ceremonies.”
- 15 See Takao Moriyasu, “Manichaeism under the East Uighur Khaganate with Special References to the Fragment Mainz 345 and the Kara-Balgasun Inscription,” in *World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road*, ed. Takao Moriyasu (Osaka: Osaka University, 2003), 54–55.
- 16 See Moriyasu, “New Developments,” 317: “Although a short text, it is an important one in that it informs us that there was a Manichaean ‘master of doctrine’ in the Ötükän region of Mongolia in the year of the pig (795).”
- 17 Zhang and Zieme, “A Memorandum,” 139, ll. 39–40. The translation in the edition (p. 142) differs slightly.

Although the so-called Orkhon Inscriptions in runiform writing of the Second Türk Kaganate, dating from around 730, sometimes refer to religious themes, their religious background is disputed.¹⁸ In general, we can assume a similar local diversity of concepts and practices among the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups and political entities as among the Germanic tribes before Christianisation.¹⁹ Turkic speaking communities were scattered over a vast area of Eurasia in medieval times and the sources at our disposal that might give us an idea about their religious concepts and practices are diverse and of varying source value. It is customary to 'reconstruct' a Turkic belief system for the ancient period by recourse to sources from different historical contexts. The danger of this approach has been rightly observed.²⁰ When following a comparative approach to explain certain early Turkic religious motifs or ideas, extreme caution should be exercised (although comparison should not be abandoned completely). Early original sources that did not originate within the literary traditions of Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam are rare and not very explicit regarding religious issues, taking for granted that the audience was aware of the religious context in which the texts were produced. Reports from outsiders are often biased and/or ill-informed. There are some common elements, such as the preponderance of the Sky God Tängri and heavenly charisma or royal fortune (*ou kut*) in the titles of Uyghur rulers and the important role both terms play in the royal ideology in the inscriptions of

18 Edina Dallos, "Shamanism or Monotheism? Religious Elements in the Orkhon Inscriptions," *Shaman* 12.1–2 (2004): 63–84.

19 Roux, "La religion des Turcs de l'Orkhon," 4, addresses the problem of whether the information in Byzantine sources from the second half of the sixth century about the Western Turks can be used to explain the religion of the Orkhon Turks of the eighth century. He has answered the question in the affirmative, the argument being, however, questionable: "But if the Turks are easily influenced, they are also very conservative (the Great God Tängri, attested since prehistoric times, still exists in the 20th century, etc.);" Translated from the French original: "Mais, si les Turcs sont fort influençables, ils sont aussi fort conservateurs (le Grand Dieu Tängri, attesté dès la préhistoire, existe encore au xx^e siècle, etc.)." Taking the new decipherment of the Brähmī inscriptions from Khüis Tolgoi and Bugut into account (see below), the language of the elite of the Turks of the First Kaganate was an archaic variant of Mongolic. See also the sizeable article by Peter Golden, "Religion Among the Qipčaq of Medieval Eurasia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42.2 (1998): 180–237, in which he discusses indigenous religious concepts and practices of the medieval Kipchaks from a comparative perspective using a wide range of sources as well as the relation to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

20 Dallos, "Shamanism or Monotheism?," 64, who for this very reason uses only the Orkhon inscriptions as source materials.

the Second Türk Kaganate.²¹ These terms are found even in the religious texts of the missionary religions Buddhism, Manichaeism, and the Church of the East produced in the West Uyghur Kingdom and adjacent areas inhabited by Uyghurs (such as Dunhuang and Karakhoto). There, *t(ä)ŋri* and *kut* are highly significant religious concepts, although they are used in different contexts. Despite the great importance of the concept of *t(ä)ŋri* in the native religions of the Turks, it is in all likelihood a foreign term.²²

The religious context of the runiform inscriptions from the East Uyghur Kaganate and of the Orkhon Inscriptions was in all likelihood similar in certain respects. The most important deity in the Orkhon Inscriptions was the Sky God Tängri, followed by his female consort Umay (lit. 'placenta'). Because of the importance of the former, the religion of the early Turks is often depicted under the keyword Tengrism or Tengriism, a much disputed concept.²³ Sometimes the scope of this term is extended to cover the religion of the Uyghurs before the conversion to Manichaeism or even to the Altaic peoples in general.²⁴ Writers from the 19th century, such as Friedrich Schelling (1775–1854), Friedrich Welcker (1784–1868) or Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), would have described the Turkic religion of the inscriptions as a kind of 'henotheism'. Some scholars use the term even today.

21 Yukiyo Kasai, "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism," in *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 63.

22 Stefan Georg, "Türkisch/mongolisch *tengri* 'Himmel, Gott' und seine Herkunft," *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 6 (2001): 83–100, who stresses that *t(ä)ŋri* is neither a Turkic nor a Mongolic term (p. 83). He discusses previous inner-Turkic etymological proposals as well as foreign terms underlying *t(ä)ŋri*, including Chinese, etc. Georg sees the origin of the term in a Yeniseic language (proto-Yeniseic **tīŋŋVr-* "high"). According to Georg, *t(ä)ŋri* was borrowed from Turkic into Mongolic. For the semantic development see his remarks on p. 83, n. 2: "There is no doubt that one has to start from the original meaning '(physical) heaven, which only secondarily became 'numen, deity.'" Translated from German original: "Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß man von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung '(physischer) Himmel' auszugehen hat, die erst sekundär zu 'numen, Gottheit' wurde."

23 As Yukiyo Kasai rightly pointed out in her response to the paper I presented during the conference of which this is the proceedings, the general interpretation and characterisation of the religion of the early Turks in scholarly literature depends on the sources on which the scholars based their arguments. While European scholars relied mainly on the early Turkic inscriptions which mention Tengri very often, Japanese scholars focused on Chinese historical sources which describe practice and rituals of the Turks in terms of their own Chinese religious traditions and religious specialists.

24 Jean-Paul Roux, "Tängri: Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 149.1–2 (1956): 49–82, 197–230; 150.1–2 (1957): 27–54, 175–212.

Umay was certainly an important deity, although she is mentioned only twice in the Orkhon Inscriptions.²⁵ A brick inscription found in the vicinity of Ulan Bator and consisting of four fragmentary lines only speaks of “the ruler Tānri” (OT *h(a)n t(ä)jri*) and “the queen Umay” (OT *um(a)y h(a)tun*).²⁶ The inscription is also known as the Nalayh Inscription,²⁷ and is dated around the year 730.²⁸ Here we see a correspondence between earthly and heavenly rulership. In the Kül Tegin Inscription, prince Kül Tegin’s mother is compared with Umay.²⁹ The goddess and the term for ‘matrix, womb’ are known in Mongolian too,³⁰ and it was even argued that the Turks adopted Umay as a female deity from the Mongols in early times.³¹ In Uyghur Buddhist texts, the term *umay* is rarely attested and, if so, in nearly all instances bears the meaning ‘placenta,

-
- 25 Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipp, “Die alttürkische Religion und ihre Darstellung bei einigen türkischen Historikern,” *Die Welt des Islams* 31.2 (1991): 175. For short information on this deity see Jean-Paul Roux, “Die alttürkische Mythologie,” in *Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und Nordasien*, ed. Egidius Schmalzriedt and Hans Wilhelm Haussig (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1999), 261–262. The word *umay* appears in one of the Yenisei inscriptions (supposed to be connected to the Kirghiz), namely in Altın Köl 1, although the interpretation of the sentence in which it is found is difficult. See Erhan Aydın, “Yenisey yazıtlarındaki tek örnekler. *Hapax legomena in Yenisei Inscriptions*,” *Türk Bilig [Turkic Wisdom]* 26 (2013): 37–49, 39.
- 26 Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları [Old Turkic Inscriptions]* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994), 353.
- 27 Erhan Aydın, “Moğolistan’daki runik harfli eski Türk yazıtlarının envanter sorunları ve bir numaralandırma denemesi [Problems of an Inventory of the Old Turkic Inscriptions in Runic Writing System in Mongolia and an Attempt at Numbering them],” *Eski Türçeden çağdaş Uyğurcaya: Mirsultan Osman’ın doğumunun 85. yılına armağan / Festschrift in Honor of Mirsultan Osman on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday*, ed. Aysima Mirsultan, Mihriban Aydın, and Erhan Aydın (Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2014), 71, no. Mo 73.
- 28 Osman F. Sertkaya, “Köl Tigin’in ölümünün 1250. yıl dönümü dolayısı ile Moğolistan Halk Cumhuriyeti’ndeki Köktürk harfli metinler üzerinde yapılan arkeolojik ve filolojik çalışmalara toplu bir bakış [An Overview of the Archaeological and Philological Studies on Texts in the Köktürk Alphabet in the Mongolian People’s Republic on the Occasion of the 1250th Anniversary of Köl Tegin’s Death],” *Belleten* 47.185 (1983–1984): 75.
- 29 Kül Tegin East 31, Talât Tekin, *Orhon Yazıtları [Orkhon Inscriptions]* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2010), 32.
- 30 Ferdinand D. Lessing, ed., *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society, 1982), 874a.
- 31 Denis Sinor, “‘Umay’, a Mongol Spirit Honored by the Türks,” in *Guo ji Zhongguo bian jiang xue shu hui yi lun wen ji 國際中國邊疆學術會議論文集 / Proceedings of the International Conference on China Border Area Studies, National Chengchi University, April 22–23, 1984*, ed. Lin Enxian 林恩顯 (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue, 1985), 1–7. Umay is known in several modern Turkic languages. See Sadettin Gömeç, “Umay meselesi [The Problem of Umay],” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi [Journal of Historical Investigations]* 5.1 (1990): 277–281.

womb'.³² There is one important exception in the eighth scroll of the Uyghur version of the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*. The phrase runs as follows: “the mistress of the placenta named Bhūtamātā who worships the god Buddha” (OU *t(ä)ñri burhanıg ayataçı buçe-mata atl(ı)g umay iyäsi*).³³ The Chinese equivalent is *guizimu* (鬼子母).³⁴ Thus, *umay iyäsi* is a kind of Uyghur gloss which underlines her specific sphere of activity instead of explaining the Sanskrit term. Chinese *guizimu(shen)* (鬼子母[神]) corresponds to Sanskrit Hārīti, a goddess and converted demoness who is believed to protect children and enjoys a great popularity from India to Japan. There is a rich pictorial tradition of her in Central and East Asia, for instance in Kızıl, Turfan, and Dunhuang.³⁵ It is almost certain that by adding the gloss, a faint echo of the native goddess Umay shines through. It was correctly observed that the name of the goddess, obviously one of fertility and child protection, cannot be separated from the term for ‘placenta’.³⁶ The 11th-century Muslim lexicographer and savant Maḥmūd al-Kāšgārī (ca. 1020–1070) refers under this term to the placenta only but mentions a cult dedicated to it all the same. This was rightly interpreted as an attempt to downplay the importance of the ‘pagan’ goddess.³⁷

The native term *t(ä)ñri* is not only a general term for ‘god’ in Buddhism and Manichaeism but it is equally used quite often as an epithet or honorific of Mani and the Buddha. Buddhist texts give additionally ‘god of gods’ (OU *t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñristi*), corresponding to Sanskrit *devadeva* or *devātideva*. These epithets are very common and even used when the source texts from which Uyghur

32 For instance, Vasilij V. Radlov and Sergej E. Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (sutra zolotogo bleska): Tekst uġurskoj redakcii* (Petrograd: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, 1913–1917), fol. 550:16. See also the term *umay isigi* “puerperal fever” in BT XXIII, 183, no. XXVIII or the phrase *umay keč tüšsär* “if the placenta is expelled late” (BT XXIII, 184, no. XL).

33 Radlov and Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, fols. 509:23–510:2.

34 The whole phrase in the underlying Chinese text is: *jingli guizimu* 敬禮鬼子母 (T. 665.16, 438c3). Johannes Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung. Erster Band: I-Tsing's chinesische Version übersetzt, eingeleitet, erläutert und mit einem photomechanischen Nachdruck des chinesischen Textes versehen* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 264, n. 8, suggests to read according to the variant *fo* (佛) instead of *li* (禮). The Uyghur translation corroborates Nobel's suggestion.

35 Emmanuelle Lesbre, “La conversion de Hārīti au Buddha: origine du thème iconographique et interprétations picturales chinoises,” *Arts Asiatiques* 55 (2000): 98–119.

36 Louis Bazin, “La déesse-mère chez les Turcs pré-islamiques,” *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 2 (1953): 124–126.

37 *Ibid.*, 125.

translations were made have no equivalent. In Manichaeism, the elect are sometimes designated as *t(ä)ñrilär*, ‘gods’.³⁸

3 Native Religious Vocabulary

When the Uyghurs translated Manichaean and Buddhist texts into their own language they adopted a large number of foreign words to express religious concepts. On the other hand, they had a whole set of native terms at their disposal that sometimes evolved semantically within a new religious context.³⁹ This is a kind of cross-religious vocabulary. These terms include the following, to name only a few:

- 1) *arviš* ‘magic, magic formula’, *arvišči* ‘wizard, magician’, *arva-* ‘to bewitch, cast spells’;
- 2) *bügü* ‘sorcerer, wizard’ (attested mainly in titles of rulers but also in the standard epithet of the Buddha: *bügü biliglig* ‘possessing supernatural knowledge’);⁴⁰ in referring to the native concept of *bügü* the Uyghur Buddhists adhered to the traditional notion of divine knowledge, but at the same time they stressed that the Buddha is true possessor of superknowledge;
- 3) *idok* ‘holy, sacred’;
- 4) *ırk* ‘oracle, omen, lot, die’;
- 5) *kam* ‘religious specialist of the native religion, priest of a foreign religion’ (‘shaman’ in some modern Turkic languages);
- 6) *kut* the term was already mentioned as ‘fortune, royal fortune’ but there are several other inherited meanings. The hendiadys *kut wahšik* is common in Manichaean and Buddhist texts as ‘protective spirit₂’. The term *wahšik* ~ *vahšik* was borrowed from Sogdian *w’xšyk*, whereas *kut* ‘protective spirit’ must be a native Turkic term hailing from pre-Manichaean times. We even find *kut* as ‘soul, departed soul, spirit’ in Manichaean and,

38 Takao Moriyasu, *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße: Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 63.

39 On terms related to sorcery, etc., see Jens Wilkens, “Magic, Sorcery and Related Terms in Early Turkic,” in *Historical Linguistics and Philology of Central Asia: Essays in Turkic and Mongolic Studies*, ed. Bayarma Khabtagaeva (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 201–226.

40 On *bügü* and derived terms see Wilkens, “Magic, Sorcery and Related Terms,” 206–209.

rarely, in Buddhist texts too.⁴¹ In some Buddhist texts, the native idea of *kut* as related to the lifespan of a certain person is preserved. They will have a long life if *kut* is thick and a short one if it is thin.⁴² This concept is also attested in the Second Karabalgasun Inscription.⁴³ Important derived words are *kutlug* ‘possessing fortune, fortunate, charismatic person’, *kutsuz* ‘without fortune, unlucky’ and *kutad-* ‘to enjoy divine favour, bring good fortune’. Presumably old synonyms or quasi-synonyms of *kut* are *kiv* and *ülüg*;

- 7) *öz konok* ‘vital spot = seat of the soul’ (corresponding to Skt. *marman*);
- 8) *saviš* ‘incantation, jinx’ (extremely rare and not attested in Manichaean texts);
- 9) next to *t(ä)ñri* ‘god’ mentioned above there are several derived terms and compounds: *t(ä)ñrim* ‘a title; goddess (lit. ‘my god’), *t(ä)ñri hatunu* ‘goddess’, *t(ä)ñriçi* ‘religious specialist, a person who deals with the gods’, *t(ä)ñridäm* ‘godlike, heavenly’, *t(ä)ñrilig* ‘belonging to the gods’, *t(ä)ñrilik* ‘temple, a place to worship ‘pagan’ gods’,⁴⁴ only very rarely does *t(ä)ñrilik* permit the interpretation ‘Buddhist temple’;⁴⁵
- 10) *törö*, the term has a broad semantic spectrum ranging from ‘custom, moral, law, prescription, precept, manners, tradition’ over ‘phenomenon, appearance’ and ‘ceremony, rite, obsequies, funeral’ to ‘thing, fact’, and so

41 For the complex semantics of *kut* see Jens Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen: Altuigurisch—Deutsch—Türkisch* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2021), 428b. Occasionally, *kut* is the equivalent of Skt. *puṇya* ‘merit’.

42 See Jens Wilkens, “Sacred Space in Uyghur Buddhism,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia 1—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 195–196. A further important instance of this idea can now be added from the *Mātrisimit*: “may our mother, lady Silig Kün, who is like the present god(dess) of fortune, be joyful for a long time—with a long life and a thick *kut*, without ailments₂, without dangers, in joy₂ and in enjoyment of the world” (OU *közünü turur kut t(ä)ñrisi täg ögümüz kün silig kunčuy yüz yulkatägi uzun özin kaln kutn igsiz togasız adas(i)z tudasız ögrünčü mänjin yertinčü mänisin ürkä ögrünčülüğ ärmäki bolzun*). See BT IX, vol. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), 25–26, pl. 1 v. 6–12.

43 Jens Wilkens, “Zwischen Historiografie und Ideologie: Der literarische Charakter der alttürkischen Runeninschriften,” in *Geschichten und Geschichte: Historiographie und Hagiographie in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Peter Schalk et al. (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2010), 314, n. 123.

44 Purely speculative, without any evidence in the source materials is the explanation in Emel Esin, “*Balıq* and *Ordu* (The Early Turkish Circumvallations, in Architectural Aspects),” *Central Asiatic Journal* 27.3–4 (1983): 173: “For the sake of convenience, the term *tenğrilik* will be used to designate a temple of heaven, or of astrologic deities which at a later date were a feature of celestial cults.”

45 See BT XLVI, 67, ll. 04 and 05.

forth.⁴⁶ The term *törö* is already important in the Orkhon Inscriptions, where it signifies among other things ‘governmental power’.⁴⁷ (Next to ‘custom, law, tradition’ this seems to be the basic meaning.) In Buddhism, the word is one of the Uyghur equivalents of the Sanskrit term *dharma*.⁴⁸ There are many derivatives including *töröçi* ‘religious specialist’;

- 11) *üzüt* ‘spirit, imperishable factor in a human being’;⁴⁹
- 12) *yagış* ‘sacrifice’, *yagışla-* ‘to sacrifice’, *yagışluk (oron)* ‘sacrificial altar, offering site’.

Some of the above terms are rarely attested, but they still reflect their native origin.

4 The Central Asian Connection: Cosmological Terms

There are some terms in Uyghur Buddhist texts pertaining to the semantic field of cosmology that reveal the impact of either the former native religion of the Uyghurs or Manichaeism. The two most frequently used terms for ‘world’ in Uyghur Buddhist texts are, first, *yertinçü* and, second, *yer suv*, a composite term comprised of two components, namely *yer* ‘earth’ and *suv* ‘water’.⁵⁰ This latter combination (in the spelling *yer sub*) is already found in the earliest Turkic

46 Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen*, 739a–b.

47 In the Khüis Tolgoi Inscription from the time of the first Türk Kaganate discussed below the term is already present as *drö*. The language of the inscription is in an early form of Mongolic. Alexander Vovin, “A Sketch of the Earliest Mongolic Language: the Brāhmī Bugut and Khüis Tolgoi Inscriptions,” *International Journal of Eurasian Linguistics* 1 (2019): 167, 168.

48 For further Sanskrit equivalents see Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen*, 739a.

49 For *üzüt* in a Buddhist context signifying ‘spirit’ in a description of hells see Annemarie von Gabain, *Maitrisimit: Faksimile der alttürkischen Version eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule II [Beiheft]* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 85, l. 18. In the *Säkiz Yügmäk Yaruk Sudur* [Sūtra of Brilliance of the Eight Accumulations], ‘spirits and demons’ (OU *üzüt yäklär*) is present in the oldest manuscript testimonies and render Chinese *guishen* (鬼神). See BT XXXIII, 190, § 293 Ia and Ib. The recension Ia has additionally ‘the powerful ones below the earth’ (OU *yer altınki ärkliglär*). The existence in one of the hells is the context also in: “after the souls have escaped from the torments of hell” (OU *üzütlär tamutakı ämgäktin ozuq*) in Gabdul Rašid Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte VII* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937), 49 (text 40:30). The religious communication is possible with a *üzüt* in: “one should give a departed soul food” (OU *üzütkä aš bergül*) Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte VII*, 35 (text 25:8).

50 Sometimes the terms are combined to *yertinçü yer suv*. On the descendants of *yer suv* in modern Turkic languages see Mehmet Ölmez, “Türkçede dinî tabirler üzerine [On Religious Terms in Turkic],” *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* [Researches in Turkic Languages] 15 (2005): 214.

sources, the Orkhon Inscriptions. In these inscriptions the term does not only convey a cosmological but also a spiritual meaning.⁵¹ Next to the Sky God Tängri and the female goddess Umay the *yer sub* are the only numina mentioned by name in these epigraphic sources. Judging from the rather vague wording in the inscriptions, they are a collective of spiritual helpers or guardians with a connection to the land perceived as sacred. The spiritual connotation of *yer suv* is apparently no longer present in Old Uyghur.

In contrast, the religious imagery of the celestial bodies presents an interesting case of preservation of native Inner Asian ideas. Again, the look at the above-mentioned atypical elements in Uyghur Buddhist texts is crucial here. In the eighth scroll of the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*, the Uyghur version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, a passage describes the far-reaching benefits if a just ruler is guided by the *dharma*. Here it says: “the sun and the moon, the palaces, will not confuse (their) right measure₂” (OU *künli aylı ordolar kolu[sın] täñin šašurmaz*).⁵² The Chinese text by Yijing (635–713, 義淨) on which the Uyghur translation is based has a slightly different wording: *riyue wuguaidu* (日月無乖度)⁵³ which I would tend to translate as “the sun and the moon won’t leave their orbit.” In the *Säkiz Yügümäk Yaruk Sudur* [Sūtra of Brilliance of the Eight Accumulations], a translation from Chinese, the palaces of the sun and the moon are also mentioned, although in the Chinese original we find only *riyue* (日月).⁵⁴ Another sentence speaks of the “light of the gods residing in the sun and the moon, the two bright palaces” (OU *kün t(ä)ñri ay t(ä)ñri iki y(a)ruk ordolar içintäki t(ä)ñrilär y(a)ruki*).⁵⁵ In the *Maitrisimit* [Meeting with Maitreya], a Uyghur translation of the Tocharian A *Maitreyasamitināṭaka*, Buddha Maitreya holds a long speech and addresses his dialogue partners as follows: “and you have settled in the palace of the moon” (OU *yänä ay t(ä)ñri ordosinta*

51 See the table in Dallos, “Shamanism or Monotheism?,” 73, which specifies for what actions the *yer sub* are responsible in the Orkhon Turkic sources. See also the tables on p. 74 giving the number of attestations and whether the *yer sub* are mentioned together with other numina. It is noteworthy that *yer* (‘earth’) alone is a distinct numen. It is doubtful whether the opposition assumed in *ibid.*, 76 between *yer sub* (“profane”) vs. *ıdok yer sub* (“sacred”) is valid.

52 Radlov and Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, fols. 565.22–566.1.

53 T. 665.16, 443c22.

54 BT XXXIII, 176, § 242, Ia: *kün ay t(ä)ñri iki y(a)ruk ordolar*; Ib: *kün t(ä)ñri ay t(ä)ñri iki yaruk ordo*, both can be translated as: “the sun and the moon, the two bright palaces”. In recension Ia § 243 reads additionally: “the palaces adorned with sparkling₂ jewels,” *y(a)ruk y(a)ltr(i)kl(i)gr(a)dnen y(a)ratmuş ordolar* (BT XXXIII, 176). For the Chinese parallel see *ibid.*, 177. See also *ibid.*, 220, § 404.

55 BT XXXIII, 184, §§ 272–273, cited according to recension Ia, recension Ib being very similar.

olurduyuzlar).⁵⁶ Another Buddhist text, a Uyghur original composition, uses the image of the sun and the moon as palaces. The context is a description of the Mt. Sumeru and its four sides consisting of four kinds of jewels: “the sun and the moon revolve in their (respective) palaces⁵⁷ around (him)” (OU *kün ay t(ä)ñri ordosinta tägzinür*).⁵⁸ Apart from an astrological text discussed a few lines further down in this chapter, I could find one instance where the Chinese original actually mentions a ‘hall’ if not a palace is the eighth chapter of the Uyghur translation of the biography of Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘): “by observing first of all in the sky the palace of the moon which is marked with the seal of the hare” (OU *kök t(ä)ñritä*⁵⁹ *äj başlayu tavişgan tamgalıg ay t(ä)ñri ordosın körüp [...]*).⁶⁰ The Chinese text has *suitian chutu, jianyuedian er chenghui* (素天初兔，鑒月殿而澄輝, T. 2053.50, 267a) which was partly misunderstood by the Uyghur translator.⁶¹ I quote the translation of the Chinese by Li Rongxi: “[...] and the New Rabbit appearing in the clear sky illuminates the hall of the Moon with lucid brilliance.”⁶²

One might assume that the expression would reflect a Manichaeic image because in Uyghur Manichaeic texts the sun and the moon are imagined as palaces, too. Prominent examples are from the confession for auditors, the *Xwāstwānift*: “And second: (sins) against the sun and the moon and the gods residing in the two radiant palaces” (OU *ekinti yämä kün ay täñrikä eki yaruk*

56 BT IX, vol. 1, 148, pl. 164, r. 32–v. 1. For the palace of the moon see also Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain, *Türkische Turfantexte. v* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1931), 4, l. A 5.

57 In Uyghur in the singular.

58 Peter Zieme, “Nachträge zu ‘Die Lehre des Buddha und das Königshaus des Westuigurischen Reichs: Die vier Begegnungen,’” *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 5.1 (2021): 196, l. 4. The interpretation of this short sentence is difficult. The editor translates it as “with the sun and the moon he wanders (?)” Translated from German original: “Mit Sonne und Mond wandelt er (?)” (Zieme, “Nachträge,” 198).

59 ‘The blue heaven’ (OU *kök t(ä)ñri*) is a traditional native Turkic designation found already in the Orkhon inscriptions. See Dallos, “Shamanism or Monotheism?,” 67 and 72.

60 Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII, nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 160, ll. 1830–1832. Another instance where the Chinese original mentions a celestial palace is in Radlov and Malov, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, fol. 399:15 with the corresponding Chinese original in T. 665:16, 427a4.

61 Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII*, 261 (commentary to l. 1832).

62 Li Rongxi, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty Translated from the Chinese of Śramaṇa Huili and Shi Yancong* (Berkeley, California: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), 268.

ordo icrä olurugma täñrilärkä).⁶³ A similar wording is found a few lines further down.⁶⁴ Another Manichaean text refers several times to the palaces of the moon and the sun.⁶⁵ Despite these Manichaean examples, a Manichaean origin of the Buddhist ones is not necessarily certain because the image of the palace is one of the atypical elements in Manichaeism. Only in a Chinese Manichaean text, the so-called *Traité Manichéen*, do we find the sun imagined as a palace.⁶⁶ Although Uyghur Manichaeism is heavily dependent on the Middle Iranian literary traditions, the image of the sun and the moon as palaces was introduced by the Uyghurs. Otherwise they are conceived of as ships,⁶⁷ ferries, or chariots. The obvious conclusion would be that an indigenous concept was preserved in Uyghur Manichaean and Buddhist texts. In Chinese literature planets are associated with their respective palaces, too.⁶⁸ One Uyghur text is a translation of a Chinese original which enumerates nine planetary palaces.⁶⁹ That the image of the sun and the moon as palaces appears in Uyghur literature *before* translations from Chinese were produced could point to *early Inner Asian-Chinese religious contacts*.

The terms for the two celestial bodies are also worth mentioning. In the quotes from Uyghur original Buddhist sources, I have translated the terms *ay t(ä)ñri* and *kün t(ä)ñri* as ‘moon’ and ‘sun’ respectively. Literally they are

63 Quoted after the slightly normalised reading text in Larry Clark, *Uyghur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary. Volume 11: Liturgical Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 83 (11A). My translation differs from Clark’s. Because the gods residing in the sun and the moon are explicitly differentiated from the two luminaries Clark’s translation “Sun and Moon Gods” (p. 89) is less preferable. On the three deities residing in each luminary see Gábor Kósa, “The Manichaean Attitude to Natural Phenomena as Reflected in the Berlin *Kephalaia*,” *Open Theology* 1 (2015): 258.

64 Clark, *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. 11*, 83 (11B).

65 Albert von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. III nebst einem christlichen Bruchstück aus Bulayiq* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922), 7–8, no. 2.

66 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Chinesische Manichaica, mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und Glossar* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 92–93.

67 For a pictorial representation of the sun and the moon as ships in the Chinese Cosmology painting see Gábor Kósa, “Ships and Ferries in the Manichaean Cosmology Painting,” in *Danfeng canggui—Zhang Xun bainian danchen jinian wenji* 丹枫苍桧—章巽百岁诞辰纪念集 [Collection of Papers for the 100th Anniversary of Zhang Xun’s Birthday], ed. Rui Chuanming 芮传明 and Zhang Jiaping 章嘉平 (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 2015), 41–67.

68 Also pointed out by Henrik H. Sørensen during the Final Conference of the ERC project *BuddhistRoad*.

69 Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte VII*, 21–22 (text 13) with sinological remarks by Wolfram Eberhard on p. 99.

‘moon god’ and ‘sun god’.⁷⁰ We have a full documentation of *ay t(ä)ñri* in the dictionary *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*⁷¹ in which Sogdian *m’xβγ-* (nominative *m’xβγγ*) was identified as the base of the Uyghur calque,⁷² although a possible Tocharian model was also taken into consideration.⁷³ In a Manichaean context the Sogdian term *xwrβγ-* (nominative *xwrβγγ*) ‘sun god’ is attested.⁷⁴ The Tocharian terms retrieved from Buddhist texts are as follows with the element ‘god’ as the second part of the compounds: TochB *meññäkte*, TochA *maññkät* ‘moon’ and TochB *kaumñäkte*, TochA *komñkät* ‘sun’. In both languages, the word for ‘earth’ is formed in the same way (TochB *keññäkte*, TochA *tkaññkät*), for which we have several corresponding terms in Uyghur: *yer t(ä)ñri*, *yer t(ä)ñrisi* and *yer t(ä)ñri hatuni*—the latter formation emphasising the female aspect of the deity.⁷⁵ One can only agree with the conclusion drawn by Werner Winter, who examined the three Tocharian expressions: “All three of these may be taken to have been part of a Central Asian pre-Buddhist pantheon.”⁷⁶ The Uyghur terms corroborate this assumption.

But it is not necessarily certain that the Uyghurs copied the terms from another language *when making their translations*. That the sun and the moon were designated as ‘sun god’ and ‘moon god’ could also be regarded as a Central Asian areal linguistic phenomenon that would have to be dated to a much earlier period than the late ninth century, when Uyghur Manichaean literature started to emerge in the West Uyghur Kingdom. To actually find the ultimate source would be extremely difficult. In my view, the Tocharian side makes it likely that the terms were pre-Manichaean but certainly helpful for the Manichaeans in their proselytising endeavours in a Central Asian context. There is some discussion in scholarship as to whether the important role of the sun and the moon in terms of royal investiture is an important trait of pre-Manichaean native Uyghur religion, or whether the phenomenon is related to Manichaeism. It is true that the sun and/or the moon as bestowers of

70 See also Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, “The Sun and the Moon as Gods in Central Asia,” *South Asian Religious Art Bulletin* 2 (1983): 11.

71 Klaus Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien—Neubearbeitung—II. Nomina—Pronomina—Partikeln. Band 2: aš—äžük* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017), 98–100.

72 Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, 98 after Walter Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937), 85.

73 Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, 98, without actually quoting the terms.

74 Nicholas Sims-Williams and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 221b.

75 Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen*, 890a.

76 Werner Winter, “Tocharian B *ñakte*, A *ñkät* ‘God’: Two Nouns, their Derivatives, their Etymology,” *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 15 (1987): 310.

royal charisma (*kut* or its synonym *ülüg* respectively) appear in titles of Uyghur kings only after the conversion to Manichaeism.⁷⁷ As the idea of the two luminaries as the source of regal power is not developed elsewhere in Manichaeism, a Manichaean origin for this concept cannot be proven with certainty. It is difficult to assess how indigenous Uyghur ideas relate to Manichaean ones in this context because of the dearth of sources on pre-Manichaean Uyghur religion. At any rate, this phenomenon is still reflected in some throne names of Uyghur rulers in the West Uyghur Kingdom.⁷⁸

5 Manichaean and Native Terms for Deities in Buddhist Texts

Among the Uyghur manuscripts, the majority of the Manichaean ones form the oldest layer. They are several decades or approximately a century older than the earliest Buddhist ones. It is possible that the Uyghurs produced Manichaean manuscripts already during the time of the East Uyghur Kaganate,⁷⁹ and brought them with them to the eastern Tianshan region after their empire had been destroyed by the Kirghiz. Yet, so far there is no evidence for such a scenario. The religious texts of the Uyghurs were probably all written after the demise of their Kaganate, during which presumably only parts of the Uyghur elite had converted to Manichaeism.⁸⁰ Consequently, it is likely that when the Uyghurs founded the West Uyghur Kingdom parts of the populace still followed customs of the native religion. This complex religio-cultural *mélange*, combined with the customs of a predominantly Buddhist population in the Tarim Basin and in the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zoulang 河西走廊), certainly shaped the emergence of Uyghur Buddhism to some degree.

In Uyghur Buddhism, names of deities and other supernatural beings usually appear in their Tocharian A or B forms, or less often in Sogdian garb that are ultimately of Indic (Sanskrit or Middle Indic) origin. There are some

77 Klimkeit, "The Sun and the Moon as Gods in Central Asia," 11–12.

78 Ibid., 11, noted that already the Xiongnu (匈奴) "ascribed to sun and moon a special power investing kingship with authority." On the sun and the moon as gods in Central Asian art starting with Kuṣāṇa coinage see pp. 15–21.

79 Moriyasu, "New Developments," discusses the few written Manichaean sources relating to the East Uyghur Kaganate. Not all these sources were actually produced during the period of the East Uyghur Kaganate. This issue is briefly discussed also in Moriyasu, "New Developments," 319.

80 The Middle Persian *Maḥrnāmag* ("Hymnbook"), begun in 762 and completed between 808 and 821, mentions male and female members of the Uyghur nobility and thus makes a case for contacts between Manichaeans in the Tarim Basin (the book was begun in Ark = modern-day Karašahr) and those in the East Uyghur Kaganate.

important exceptions however. The most high ranking gods Brahmā and Indra/Śakra appear under their Sogdian Manichaean names *äzrua* (*t(ä)ηri*) and *hormuzta* (*t(ä)ηri*). In Manichaeism the former is the name of the highest divinity, the Father of Greatness, while the latter designates Primal Man, an important figure in Manichaean cosmogony who sets out with his five sons—the five light elements—to confront the Realm of Darkness in a primordial battle. The Uyghur equivalent of the Buddhist Māra is *š(i)mnu*, also a loan from Sogdian already in Uyghur Manichaean texts where it designates the antagonist of the Father of Greatness, the King of Darkness. Due to the poor attestation of Sogdian Buddhist literature it is difficult to decide whether the transference of the Manichaean names to Buddhist deities occurred already in Sogdian Buddhism or first in Uyghur circles. The former is more likely because the correspondence Sogdian *ʾzrwʾ* (= Skt. Brahmā) is established for Buddhist Sogdian.⁸¹ For Buddhist Sogdian *šmnw* (= Skt. Māra), too, we now have clear evidence.⁸² The impact of Manichaeism on Uyghur Buddhist terminology is thus indirect in this particular case. (As an aside it should be mentioned that the Mongols copied the three Uyghur terms.)

The king of the underworld, Yama, is only very rarely found under his Indic name in Uyghur Buddhist texts. I could trace only one instance in an unpublished block-print from the Turfan Collection in Berlin, where Yama appears in the form we would expect for terms borrowed via Tocharian, namely *yame*.⁸³ A direct Sanskrit loan is *yamarača* (Skt. *yamarāja*), a form that is likewise attested only once.⁸⁴ The term was probably chosen for this text only because a word beginning with *y*^o was needed to conform with the poetic principle of strophic alliteration (Germ. *Stabreim*). The same applies for *yamadeve* (Skt.

81 Badrozaman Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English* (Tehran: Farhangon Publications, 2004), 93, no. 2336.

82 Yutaka Yoshida, "On the Sogdian *Prātihārya-Sūtra* and the Related Problems," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.2 (2019): 146, l. 17. In Tocharian the terms are *mārñakte* (TochB) and *mārñkät* (TochA). See Winter, "Tocharian B *ñakte*, A *ñkät* 'God,'" 304.

83 Shelf-mark: U 4261 r. 1 (with the gloss in Brāhmī script *ya mye*). There is a description of this fragment in the catalogue by Abdurishid Yakup, *Alltürkische Handschriften Teil 15: Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung Teil 3: Stabreimdichtungen, Kalendarisches, Bilder, unbestimmte Fragmente und Nachträge* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009), 75–76, no. 107, who does not cite the first line. In one text the direct loan from Sanskrit *yama* is the name of a hell which the editors interpret as "the hell (ruled by) Yama." See Zhang Tieshan and Peter Zieme, "An Old Uigur Version of the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta* Extended by a Poem," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.2 (2019): 200, and *ibid.*, n. 65.

84 Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Eski Türk şiiri* [Old Turkic Poetry] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 122, l. 43.

yamadeva).⁸⁵ In all other texts the deity is called *ärklig han* ‘the Powerful King’,⁸⁶ a designation already found in the earliest Buddhist texts such as the *Maitrisimit*.⁸⁷ In a Manichaean text which is even older than the *Maitrisimit*, namely in the Uyghur translation of the *Sermon on the Light Nous*, *ärklig han* is mentioned in the following sentence: “and incessantly he thinks about appearing before the Powerful King (= the Righteous Judge) and his gaze and standing before his countenance” (*ymä üzüksüz ärklig han anaŋ köziŋä köziünü yüzün utru tururča sakınur*).⁸⁸ Another Manichaean text broaches the issue of the fate of the individual soul after death. The text sustained secondary damage after the first edition but the name *ärklig han* is preserved in the directive case.⁸⁹ In Chinese Manichaeism this personage is called ‘King of Justice’ (Chin. *pingdengwang* 平等王). (Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot have already pointed out that this term appears in the Buddhist *Sūtra of the Ten Kings*.⁹⁰)

It is likely that the Powerful King is a pre-Manichaean and pre-Buddhist deity worshipped by the Uyghurs before conversion to the two missionary religions took place.⁹¹ In Manichaeism, the Powerful King is the Uyghur equivalent of the figure of the Righteous Judge. The same deity goes by the name ‘the Righteous Official’ (OU *köni buryuk*), who oversees the judgement of the dead

85 BT XIII, 143, text 29:5 and 153, text 38:41. In another text, in which *yamadeve* is found, strophic alliteration is not applied in this particular section but many words beginning with the letter *y*^o are found all the same. Thus ‘normal’ alliteration might have been an intention of the author. See Peter Zieme, “Die Lehre des Buddha und das Königshaus des Westuigurischen Reichs: Die vier Begegnungen,” *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 4.2 (2020): 602, l. 073.

86 Most examples are recorded in Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, 268.

87 See Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, “Das 16. Kapitel der Hami-Version der *Maitrisimit*,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985): 85: “above, in the heaven (called) end of (the realm) of form, as far as the palace of Yama” (OU *üstün öŋ alkinčusi t(ä)ŋri yer-intä ärklig han ordosuŋa tägi*, fol. 11a 2–3). See also p. 86 (on the same leaf 11 a 25). In one text the Sanskrit term *yamaloka* (*yamalok*) is glossed with an Uyghur equivalent: “in *yamaloka*, the world of *ärklig han* (= Yama)” (OU *yamalok ärklig [han yertinčüsin]tä*). For a discussion of this passage see BT XLVII, 313–314. We find the Uyghur expression *ärklig han yerinčüsi* “the world of Yama” also in other texts, for instance in the *Uşŋişavijayādhāraṇī*. See Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, *Uigurica II* (Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), 33 (upper document, ll. 7–8), 34 (ll. 16–17 in the variant *ärklig hannuŋ yertinčüsi*), 39 (ll. 95–96), 45 (ll. 42–43 in the variant *ärklig hannuŋ yertinčüsi*).

88 Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*. III, 22 v. 7–9.

89 Ibid., 31, upper document, l. 7.

90 Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,” *Journal Asiatique* 18 (1911): 584.

91 Roux, “Die alttürkische Mythologie,” 194.

and weighing of the souls in a set of scales.⁹² Most of the Uyghur Manichaean texts are translations from Middle Iranian and their terminology (calques and loanwords) is heavily dependent on Parthian, Middle Persian, and Sogdian terms. Equivalents in Middle Iranian are attested only for *kōni buryuk*, namely Parthian *d'dbr rštygr* and Sogdian *rštyy 'xtw* ('Righteous Judge').⁹³ That *ärklig han* as a religious term is an atypical element in Uyghur Manichaeism shows that the Uyghur Manichaeans introduced the name to convey the idea of the Righteous Judge, which certainly resonated with their native religious tradition. This is all the more interesting because the Righteous Judge is not a ruler of the netherworld, as in Buddhism and probably in native Uyghur religion, but he is located in the atmosphere according to textual and visual materials.⁹⁴

Looking for evidence in sources outside the corpus of Uyghur Buddhist and Manichaean texts, the deity is obviously mentioned in one of the Yenisei Inscriptions (Altın Köl 1) without the honorific title *han*: "the powerful one parted us" (OU *bizni ärklig adirt(t)*).⁹⁵ The majority of the Yenisei Inscriptions—a corpus that is in all probability connected with the Kirghiz—can be classified as memorial texts resembling epitaphs in which are often expressed the thoughts that the deceased think on parting from their relatives, and so forth. Thus the interpretation that *ärklig* refers to a 'liminal' deity guarding the spheres of life and death makes sense. There is no proof that *ärklig* in the runiform inscription corresponds to the native Uyghur deity that later

92 Albert von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. II* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919), 12, r. 6.

93 See Werner Sundermann, "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6 (1979): 100. On the Bactrian equivalent *rštyg l'dbr* cf. Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M 1224)," in *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, ed. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009), 250, l. v. 8 and pls. x–xi. On the terminological correspondences, see also in the same volume Jens Wilkens, "Ein manichäischer Alptraum?" in *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, ed. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009), 339–340.

94 See Zsuzsanna Gulácsi and Jason BeDuhn, "Picturing Mani's Cosmology: Analysis of Doctrinal Iconography on a Manichaean Hanging Scroll from 13th/14th-Century Southern China," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute New Series* 25 (2011): 66, 83, pls. 4–16 and fig. 13.

95 After Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 186b. See also Erhan Aydın, "S. Gerard Clauson'un etimolojik sözlüğüne Yenisey yazıtlarıyla ilgili veriler [Data Related to the Yenisei Inscriptions in the Etymological Dictionary by Sir Gerard Clauson]," *Turkish Studies* 4.4 (2009): 105.

developed into the Manichaeic and Buddhist *ärklig han* in Uyghur texts, but there is at least a relatively high probability that this conclusion is justified.

Some scholars proposed an inadequate identification of *ärklig* in Altın Köl I because they disregarded the textual history and religious context of a particular Uyghur text. In the *Säkiz Yügmäk Yaruk Sudur* the attendants of Yama (OU *Ärklig Han*) are mentioned. All of them are ‘intermediary beings’ related to astrology imagined as military leaders of the underworld and are called “the powerful ones [...] who command the army of the Powerful King (i.e., Yama)” (OU *ärklig han süüsün başlaquçı* [...] *ärkligläär*).⁹⁶ One of these generals is called simply *ärklig* ‘the powerful one’. As rightly observed by the first editors of the text, the Uyghur name is a rather free translation of the Chinese term *jiangjun* (將軍) ‘general’.⁹⁷ According to the context, this deity represents the planet Venus. This has caused some confusion among some Turcologists because they thought that the deity mentioned in the Yenissei Inscription must be the planet Venus too,⁹⁸ and even that “Venus was previously regarded as a warrior in Turkish mythology.”⁹⁹ But there is no evidence for these assumptions because the Uyghur *Säkiz Yügmäk Yaruk Sudur* is a translation from the Chinese *Ba yang jing* 八陽經 [Sūtra of the Eight Bright Ones] and is therefore dependent on its religious background and imagery. The designation *ärklig*

96 BT XXXIII, 136, § 91 Ia and Ib. The Chinese parallel has a different wording.

97 Willi Bang, Annemarie von Gabain, and Gabdul Rašid Rachmati, *Türkische Turfantexte. VI: Das buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yügmäk* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934), 60.

98 Hatice Şirin User, “Çolpan ‘The Planet Venus’ in Turkic,” *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 19 (2014): 169–170, n. 2 lists scholars who in her view made this identification. However, Bang, von Gabain and Rachmati did not mention the Altın Köl I Inscription at all nor did Peter Zieme accept this interpretation. Cf. Peter Zieme, “Die alttürkischen Planetennamen,” in: *Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türkssprachen: Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums Berlin, 7. bis 10. Juli 1992*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Marek Stachowski (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 202. Şirin User cites also Németh as a propounder of this theory. But if we check the article by Julius Németh, “Über alttürkische Sternnamen,” *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18.1–2 (1968): 1–6 we find that he mentions *ärklig* as a Uyghur name of Venus on p. 3 but he does not refer to the Altın Köl I Inscription. However, Roux, “Die alttürkische Mythologie,” 194 indeed says that the god mentioned in the inscription represents the planet Venus and gives the following theory: “The fact that Venus appears above the horizon in the east every morning has easily given rise to the idea that Ä. (= Ärklig, J.W.) is a god of hell.” Translated from the German original: “Die Tatsache, daß die Venus jeden Morgen im Osten über dem Horizont erscheint, hat leicht die Vorstellung entstehen lassen können, daß Ä. (= Ärklig, JW) ein Höllengott sei.” The interpretation is following in the footsteps of the 19th-century ‘naturalist mythology school’ (Germ. Naturmythologische Schule).

99 Şirin User, “Çolpan ‘The Planet Venus’ in Turkic,” 169.

for the planet Venus is found only in this text.¹⁰⁰ The religious context of the Yenissei Inscription is completely different.

The Mongols borrowed the expression *ärklik* into their own language. When they refer to the king of the underworld, we find both the variants *erlig* and *erglig*¹⁰¹ and the longer expression *erlig nom-un qayan* “Erlig, the supreme ruler of the *dharma*.”¹⁰²

6 Manichaeism and Early Chinese Terminology in Uyghur Buddhist Texts

One of the fields in which Manichaeism had a certain impact on Uyghur Buddhism is religious terminology.¹⁰³ Takao Moriyasu chose the three Sogdian terms borrowed into Uyghur, *č(a)hšap(u)t* ‘precepts, commandment’, *nizvani* ‘affliction, defilement, passion’ (corresponding to *kleśa* in Uyghur Buddhist texts), and *nom* ‘religion, religious community, doctrine’, to disprove the co-called Sogdian hypothesis,¹⁰⁴ namely that Sogdian Buddhism exerted a certain influence in the early phase in the development of Uyghur Buddhism. Recently, Antje Wendtland re-examined the three terms from the point of view of Sogdian studies.¹⁰⁵ Some of her findings should be mentioned here. Firstly,

100 This was correctly observed in Zieme, “Die alttürkischen Planetennamen,” 202.

101 For Uyghur *ärklik* in texts in Uyghur (ʀLYK) and Tibetan script (*e-rlig*) from Dunhuang as a base for the Mongolian form *erlig* see Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, 267.

102 Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, 331a.

103 It is remarkable, for instance, that the oldest Uyghur manuscript to attest the term *bodhisattva* (spelled *bodis(a)v* borrowed either via Sogdian *pwtysβ* or early New Persian *bwdysf*) is a Manichaean text from Kočo containing a scene from the legend of the Buddha. See Albert von Le Coq, “Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan),” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 48 (1909): pl. 14, 1208, lower document, l. 1, 1209, l. 14, and 1210, header, l. 1. In this Manichaean piece *bodhisattva* is the name of the prince. This particular spelling <PWTYSV> is significant because only an early Uyghur Buddhist text in Tibetan script from Dunhuang (ca. 10th c.) shows comparable spellings. See Dieter Maue and Klaus Röhrborn, “Ein ‘buddhistischer Katechismus’ in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil 1),” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134 (1984): 286–313, here: 308, l. 19: <*bō dye seb*>, l. 21: <*bō dye sib*>, and 309, l. 30, damaged: <*bhō dhē* |||>.

104 Takao Moriyasu, “L’origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l’apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien,” in *Documents et archives provenant de l’Asie Centrale: Actes du Colloque Franco-Japonais organisé par l’Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales*, ed. Akira Haneda (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1990), 147–165, especially: 151–154.

105 Antje Wendtland, “Zum manichäischen Ursprung sogdischer Lehnwörter in buddhistischen uigurischen Texten: Gab es ein manichäisches religiöses Vokabular im

Wendtland argues that *nwm* is not attested in Buddhist Sogdian but only in Manichaean and Christian texts, whereas the Sogdian counterpart (*nyzβ'ny*) to Uyghur *nizvani* is found in the literature of all three major religions: Buddhism, Manichaeism, and the Church of the East.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, Wendtland has voiced the opinion that the three terms are not specifically Manichaean but rather part of the common religious vocabulary of Sogdian everyday language, and so not of the specialised terminology of the Buddhist Sogdian texts.¹⁰⁷ Wendtland thinks that especially the Buddhist variant *šks'pt* instead of *čxš'pδ*¹⁰⁸ was only used in learned circles of Buddhist monks. Indeed, spellings have to be taken into account too. And in the case of the latter term, the conclusion is perfectly clear: Uyghur Manichaean and Buddhist texts follow the conventions of Sogdian Manichaean texts.¹⁰⁹

With Uyghur *nom* the issue is somewhat more complex, because new materials have come to light. Because *nom* is one of the most important religious terms in Uyghur literature—if not the most important one—with several thousands of examples, it is essential to trace the religious context in which it was borrowed. However, this is not as simple as it seems. The straight path, namely a loan from Manichaean Sogdian in Uyghur Manichaeism from which the term was adopted for Uyghur Buddhist texts, is not necessarily the correct one. The first source which casts doubt on this hypothesis is a trilingual manuscript in Sanskrit, Tocharian B, and a Turkic language of an archaic cast but very similar to Uyghur written in Brāhmī script. On this leaf, there are three examples for *nom* (Brāhmī in transliteration: *nau-m*).¹¹⁰ The expected word *č(a)hšap(a)t* for 'precept, commandment' is not used. Instead we find *nom bitig*. In standard Old Uyghur *nom bitig* is often used for 'sūtra' or 'Buddhist scripture' in general. For Sanskrit *dharma* we find *burhagan nom bitig* in the threefold refuge formula whereas in Uyghur sources it is simply *nom*. As proven by the editor, the manuscript is certainly archaic and displays a more western form of Turkic compared with Uyghur. The terminology is instructive, for instance *burhagan* (Brāhmī in transliteration: *pū rkā kām ~ pū rka kaṃ*) instead of

Sogdischen?," in: *Der östliche Manichäismus im Spiegel seiner Buch- und Schriftkultur: Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 11./12. März 2015*, ed. Zekine Özertural and Gökhan Şilfeler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 141–150.

106 Wendtland, "Zum manichäischen Ursprung sogdischer Lehnwörter," 145, 147.

107 Ibid., 149.

108 Further spellings for both variants in Wendtland, "Zum manichäischen Ursprung sogdischer Lehnwörter," 142. The "Manichaean" variant is found in one Buddhist Sogdian text.

109 For *nom*, of course, there is only one spelling.

110 Dieter Maue, "Three Languages on one Leaf: On 10L Toch 81 with Special Regard to the Turkic Part," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 71.1 (2008): 62–63.

standard Old Uyghur *burhan* ('buddha'). So too is the phonology, for example *toñin* (Brāhmī in transliteration: *to ñin*) instead of standard Old Uyghur *toyin* ('Buddhist monk'). This proves that at an early stage Turks in the Tarim Basin came into contact with Buddhism—with Maitreyan Buddhism of Tocharian (B) descent¹¹¹ to be precise—and that Chinese Buddhism made an impact on terminology at that stage. The semantics of the words used in this manuscript are also atypical because *toñin* does not denote a single Buddhist monk, as in standard Old Uyghur, but the community of monks (Skt. *saṃgha*).¹¹²

In Uyghur we can observe that the term *burhan* 'buddha' occurs first in early Manichaean manuscripts from the West Uyghur Kingdom and refers to Mani and other apostles of light. If we had no access to the trilingual manuscript, we might speculate that *burhan* was first coined by Uyghur Manichaeans. Yet, we have *burhagan* in a more western variant of Turkic. This suggests that the Uyghur Manichaeans had recourse to a set of Buddhist terms developed in a Turkic-speaking *Buddhist* community that already used *burhan* to designate the Buddha.¹¹³ It is difficult to say whether the adoption of the term occurred in the Tarim Basin after the establishment of the West Uyghur Kingdom or before. I am rather inclined to assume the latter, especially when we take the phonetic side into account. Already in classical Uyghur, namely in the translation of the

111 The form *maitreya* (Brāhmī in transliteration: *mai tre ye*) is one of the variants of Skt. *maitreya* in Tocharian B. The standard Uyghur name is *maitre* (spelled <M'YTRY>) borrowed from late Sogdian. In Manichaean texts the name appears rarely and only in the spellings <MYTRY> (Uyghur script) and <MYTRY> (Manichaean script). See on these issues Dieter Maue, "Uigurisch <m'ytry>: Zu einem vernachlässigten Problem," 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), 139–159.

112 Maue, "Three Languages on one Leaf," 67. In Uyghur Manichaean texts there is only one certain example of *toyin* (spelled <TWWYYN>) used for "Buddhist monk" in Larry Clark, *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Texts, Translations, Commentary. Vol. III: Ecclesiastical Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 50, L. EB 232. Clark now has corrected the other supposed example on p. 238, L. EH 612 of his edition. See the first edition in BT V, n. to l. 364.

113 A short pilgrim inscription in Brāhmī script in Sanskrit and Uyghur or a similar dialect of Turkic from Kumtura from the western part of the Tarim Basin contains the phrase *bur bolayn* "I want to become a buddha." The editor proposes that the usual term *burhan* was still felt by the Uyghurs to be separable into two parts (*bur* and *han*) and that the scribe omitted the second part as an expression of modesty. See Dieter Maue, *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), 203, n. 4. It is possible that *bur* and *burhan* correspond to English 'buddha' and 'the Buddha'. But it is equally conceivable that *burhan* was not yet established in the Turkic speaking communities in the Western part of the Tarim Basin as a standard term at the time when the pilgrim inscription was inscribed.

biography of Xuanzang made at the turn of the first millennium,¹¹⁴ the Chinese character *fo* (佛) is represented in the spelling <VYR> /fir/ which corresponds to LMC *ffijyt*. We have to reckon with Turkic-speaking Buddhist communities in eastern Central Asia centuries *before* the West Uyghur Kingdom was founded. The process of standardisation of the Buddhist terminology took place around the turn of the first millennium, perhaps in the first half of the tenth century. The enormous impact of Tocharian B Buddhist terminology on Uyghur can perhaps best be explained if we assume an inner-Uyghur or inner-Turkic line of transmission starting from the western and moving to the eastern part of the Tarim Basin under Tocharian B influence. Although Tocharian B was known in the Turfan region too, it would be rather difficult to explain the great amount of Tocharian B words of Sanskrit origin because translations into Uyghur were made from Tocharian A texts.

Uyghur Buddhism may have drawn inspiration from a variety of sources, which may also have informed the terminology. In addition to a presumably early Buddhist mission of a Turkic-speaking community in the western part of the Tarim Basin, another recently deciphered source is also significant, as it suggests a knowledge of Buddhism in the Steppe region in the early seventh century. The memorial Khüis Tolgoi Inscription was engraved during the time of the First Türk Kaganate. It was found between the Orkhon river and the Tuul river system in Mongolia written vertically on two stones in a variant of Turkestan Brāhmī. The language was identified by an international team of scholars as (Para-)Mongolian resembling mainstream Mongolian.¹¹⁵ The same scholars solved the riddle of the Brāhmī part of the Bugut Inscription¹¹⁶ and deciphered short inscriptions in the same alphabet on stone balbals (= representations of slain enemies in a memorial complex), the so-called Keregentas Inscriptions. All testimonies are in the same archaic (Para-)Mongolic language and preliminarily identified as Ruanruan (蠕蠕). Only in the rather short

114 In the compound *firten* (Chin. *fodian* 佛殿, LMC *ffijyt thian*), 'buddha hall'. See Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII, nach der Handschrift von Leningrad, Paris und Peking sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie von Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 107, l. 1184. Cf. also the early manuscript of the *Araṇemijātaka* from Dunhuang (ca. 10th c.) which already attests the personal name F(a)rdu or F(1)rdu (Chin. *fonu* 佛奴, LMC *ffijyt nuš*) edited in James Hamilton, *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-Houang*, vol. 1 (Paris: Peeters, 1986), 6, l. 10'.

115 See the article by Dieter Maue and Mehmet Ölmez, with the cooperation of Étienne de la Vaissière and Alexander Vovin, "The Khüis Tolgoi Inscription," *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 52 (2019): 73–89.

116 On the Sogdian part see the new edition by Yutaka Yoshida, "Sogdian Version of the Bugut Inscription Revisited," *Journal Asiatique* 307.1 (2019): 97–108.

inscription of Khüis Tolgoi dated between 604 and 620,¹¹⁷ a certain knowledge of Buddhism must be surmised,¹¹⁸ because the Buddhist terms *bodi-satva* (1st and 8th column)¹¹⁹ and *buda* (2nd column) appear.¹²⁰ The text contains the phrase *buda qayan* which corresponds to *bur hagan* in the trilingual text in Sanskrit, Tocharian B, and Turkic edited by Maue as mentioned by the editors, although the term is phonetically much closer to the Sanskrit one. The same goes for *bodi-satva*.

The Bugut and the Khüis Tolgoi Inscriptions both date from the period of the First Türk Kaganate which split into two parts in 581 (an eastern and a western part lasting until 630 and 657 respectively). It is not certain that the hypothetical identification of *Ruanruan* as the language of the inscriptions is correct. However, it is highly significant that inscriptions found in the territory of the First Türk Kaganate are in a local language that is not Turkic. Presumably the elite were not speakers of a Turkic language. Also the names and titles of the rulers of the First Türk Kaganate are all of foreign origin. At least the Khüis Tolgoi Inscription clearly testifies to a certain familiarity with Buddhist concepts in a society largely dominated by a nomadic lifestyle and in a region which later became the centre of the East Uyghur Kaganate. The use of Brāhmī is also significant. It is true that Buddhist terms are completely absent from the inscriptions dating from Second Türk Kaganate and the East Uyghur Kaganate, but we already knew that a term such as *nom* is found in the Sogdian part of the Bugut Inscription.¹²¹ Given the linguistic landscape of the First and Second Türk Kaganate (as well as the ensuing Uyghur Kaganate) and the sources such as the archaic trilingual manuscript that attest the term *nom*, it cannot be regarded as an established fact that the Uyghur Buddhists adopted the term from the Manichaeans.

The early Chinese-influenced terms *burhan* and *toñin* (standard Old Uyghur *toyın*) have already been mentioned. The foreign terms in Old Uyghur that are ultimately of Chinese origin are especially difficult to evaluate. This group apparently includes also terms such as *bahši* ‘religious teacher’ (Chin. *boshi* 博士, LMC *pak šhr*) and *buši* ‘alms, offering’ (Chin. *bushi* 布施, LMC *puǎ*’

117 Vovin, “A Sketch of the Earliest Mongolic Language,” 163.

118 For the Bugut Inscription see Alexander Vovin, “Groping in the Dark: The First Attempt to Interpret the Bugut Brāhmī Inscription,” *Journal Asiatique* 307.1 (2019): 121–134.

119 “Bodhisattva is either a given name of the Turkic *qayan* from the First Khanate, or rather Bodhisattva could be meant here as a honorific title.” (Maue, Ölmez, de la Vaissière, and Vovin, “The Khüis Tolgoi Inscription,” 78).

120 Ibid., 78.

121 See now the edition by Yoshida, “Sogdian Version of the Bugut Inscription Revisited,” 104 (B–11), 105 (B–2:10 = twice; B–3:4).

ḡi)¹²² that belong to an early layer of linguistic borrowings found already in the Manichaean texts. It is unlikely that they entered the religious vocabulary of Uyghur Manichaeism directly from Chinese. I would propose that they belong to an early stratum of Chinese Buddhist terms in an archaic variant of Old Turkic not attested as such. Because these terms are absent from the Middle Iranian languages, it is reasonable to assume this layer of early Chinese Buddhist terms must be older than the oldest extant Uyghur Manichaean manuscripts. This can only mean that they were adopted by Uyghurs already during the period East Uyghur Kaganate, but it has yet to be determined in what region exactly. The most likely scenario is contacts between Manichaean Uyghurs and speakers of a similar variant of Turkic who already adhered to Buddhism. It is possible that these terms entered the Uyghur Manichaean vocabulary after the establishment of the West Uyghur Kingdom under local Chinese Buddhist influence, but this possibility is not as attractive—as the phonetic side of *burhan* shows.

Other loanwords of clear Manichaean origin came to be used in Uyghur Buddhist texts. Thus, Uyghur *dentar* ‘elect’ (Sogd. *δyndʾr*, Middle Persian *dyndr*) is also one of the terms for a Buddhist monk while in other Buddhist texts it is the equivalent of Sanskrit *śramaṇa* or *brāhmaṇa*. In Christian texts it usually means ‘priest’. While the usual Uyghur Buddhist term for ‘monastery’ is *vrhar* (Sogd. *βryʾr*, Skt. *vihāra*), occasionally the Manichaean term *manistan* is used.¹²³

7 Native Religion in the *Irk Bitig* and in Other Texts

I already mentioned in my introductory questions the difficulty of identifying original Uyghur sources that might give us an idea of their native religion. In some texts that discuss mantic practices and concepts, we cannot identify specific Buddhist or Manichaean ideas.¹²⁴ The religious background of these

122 The latter is first attested in Uyghur Manichaean texts. See the full documentation of the entry *buṣi* in Jens Wilkens, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. III. Fremdelemente. Band 2: bodivan—čigžin* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023).

123 For instance, see BT XIII, 189, text 59:2.

124 In this respect the *Irk Bitig* apparently has a similar background as the Tibetan dice divination manuscripts with pips from Dunhuang, Turfan and Mazār Tāgh (8th to 9th c.) that do not “easily classify as belonging to either the Buddhist or the Bon religions” as put by Brandon Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations: Early Tibetan Dice Divination by the Numbers,” in *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination—Past and Present*, ed. Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, and Rolf Scheuermann (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 11. On Tibetan

sources must be considered indeterminate, especially since the category of ‘folk religion’ that is often used to describe them is too vague. One must always expect that some texts may be translations from other languages. There are several different methods of divination, some of which were certainly applied by specialists.¹²⁵ The most well-known text is the *Irk Bitig* [Book of Omens] in runiform script found in the Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟) at Dunhuang by Aurel Stein (British Library, Or.8212/161).¹²⁶ Despite the peculiar vocabulary here and there, the language of the *Book of Omens* can be classified as Uyghur. The script alone presents no counter-argument, as texts in runiform writing from Turfan and Dunhuang are found at the same sites as Uyghur Manichaean or Buddhist texts.¹²⁷ The majority of the manuscripts in the runiform alphabet have a Manichaean background. The colophon of the *Book of Omens*¹²⁸ points to a newly ordained Manichaean elect (*kič(i)g de<n>t(a)r*) as the scribe of the text, although the content itself has no connection whatsoever with Manichaeism. To make things even more interesting, the runiform text is not the only one in the booklet in butterfly-binding. It also contains two Buddhist texts in Chinese which were added a few decades later.¹²⁹ This

dice divination, see also in the same volume Ai Nishida, “A Preliminary Analysis of Old Tibetan Dice Divination Texts,” in *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination—Past and Present*, ed. Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, and Rolf Scheuermann (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 49–72. I would like to express my thanks to Lewis Doney and Ai Nishida for making this important article accessible to me.

- 125 For a short overview see Michael Knüppel, “Zur alttürkischen Mantik,” *Anthropos* 106 (2011): 21–29.
- 126 For an edition and English translation see Talat Tekin, *Irk Bitig: The Book of Omens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).
- 127 The runiform texts from Miran have to be mentioned as this site is off the beaten track of the usual sites of Uyghur manuscripts. See Vilhelm Thomsen, “Dr. M. A. Stein’s Manuscripts in Turkish ‘Runic’ Script from Miran and Tun-huang,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1912): 181–227.
- 128 On the colophon see James Russell Hamilton, “Le colophon de l’İrq Bitig,” *Turcica* 7 (1975): 7–19, Peter Zieme, “Runik harfli birkaç pasaj üzerine kimi yorum önerileri [Some Proposals for a Solution Concerning Some Passages in Runic Script],” *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı—Belleten* 2000 [Yearbook of Researches on the Turkic Language—Bulletin 2000] (2001): 378, and Peter Zieme, “Mānistān ‘Kloster’ und manichäische Kolophone,” in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, ed. Team “Turfanforschung” (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 746.
- 129 On the book format and the two Buddhist texts see the detailed study by Volker Rybatzki and Hu Hong, “The İrq Bitig, the Book of Divination: New Discoveries Concerning its Structure and Content,” in *Interpreting the Turkic Runiform Sources and the Position of the Altai Corpus*, ed. Irina Nevskaya and Marcel Erdal (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2015), 149–173. On p. 154 the authors refer to their discovery of the sheet numbers in Chinese intended for the binder.

circumstance gives rise to speculation about the religious leanings of the book's last owner, and his ethnicity. The Turkic or Old Uyghur part, probably written in 930 or 942,¹³⁰ represents a divination manual. The manner of divination is with three rectangular prolonged dice with one, two, three or four pips on each side, known also from texts and dice retrieved from other parts of Asia.¹³¹ The pips in the manuscript are headers of an oracular response connected with one of the theoretically possible 64 combinations—although 65 declarations are actually given—and followed by the text, in other words the oracular response proper and its evaluation.¹³² The arrangement of the responses in the *Book of Omens* is only partly systematic, beginning for example with the combinations 2/2/2, 4/4/4, 3/3/3, 1/1/1¹³³ and the corresponding texts are all first-person utterances which appear also in other sections of the text here and there. In the divination text found in part IV of the Bower manuscript the first four combinations are 4/4/4, 3/3/3, 2/2/2, 1/1/1.¹³⁴ The ensuing responses were recently characterised as an “apparent chaos.”¹³⁵ The following similarities between the *Book of Omens* and the Tibetan sources on dice divination can be mentioned:

- 1) the form of the three dice;¹³⁶
- 2) the arrangement of the pips as headers,¹³⁷ and the ensuing oracular responses in the manuscripts;
- 3) the evaluation following at the end of each entry;¹³⁸
- 4) a similar dating of the manuscripts (9th and 10th c.);

130 Rybatzki and Hu, “The Īrq Bitig,” 163. Tekin, *Irk Bitig*, 2, dates the Turkic text to the ninth century.

131 Such as the *pāśaka* in Sanskrit. On the material aspect of the dice found in Central Asia (Niya, Mazār Tāgh, etc.) and elsewhere see Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations,” 13–22. On the cultural history of dice divination in Central Asia see Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, *ReOrienting Histories of Medicine: Encounters along the Silk Roads* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 41–61.

132 In early Tibetan dice divination, the Indian *Pāśakakevali*, the divination texts in the Bower manuscript, and in a Chinese divination text from Dunhuang the total number of responses is also 64. See Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations,” 24.

133 Tekin, *Irk Bitig*, 8.

134 Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations,” 29.

135 *Ibid.*, 32.

136 It is also possible that dice divination was performed with a single die so that three tosses were necessary. See for the Tibetan material Nishida, “A Preliminary Analysis,” 52.

137 In the *Irk Bitig* the pips are small circles in black ink filled in with red ink. In some Tibetan divination texts red ink is also used for the pips. See Nishida, “A Preliminary Analysis,” 53.

138 As Nishida argues in *ibid.*, 55, the Tibetan dice divination texts “were not merely personal or individual elaborations—even though the correlation between the triads and final evaluations appears arbitrary—because they were probably produced by groups of professionals and because they share a certain fixed pattern for drawing the final evaluations.”

- 5) the occasional first person utterances “sometimes from the mouth of a god”;¹³⁹
- 6) the references to fortune (Tib. *phya*,¹⁴⁰ 〇U *kut*);
- 7) the significant role played by animals in both traditions;¹⁴¹
- 8) the importance of hunting in both traditions;
- 9) references to the landscape and a non-urban lifestyle;
- 10) the “allusive and archaic language”;¹⁴²
- 11) the enigmatic imagery;
- 12) colour terms are relevant in some evaluations.

The content is often classified as belonging to the sphere of ‘folk religion’.¹⁴³ But how representative is the worldview underlying the *Book of Omens*? Does it give us a reliable idea of the Uyghur native religion? A word of caution is appropriate here. Although the images the book invokes are at first glance seemingly drawn from daily life, a closer view reveals that they are enigmatic vignettes and only to be decoded by the system of the oracle book itself, viz. whether the omen is good, extremely good, or bad.

Looking for further materials which might shed a light on Uyghur native religion an early manuscript housed in the Turfan Collection in Berlin comes to mind. It is torn into several pieces and was written in a very early variant of the Uyghur script on the verso of a Chinese scroll bearing the text of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra*.¹⁴⁴ A poetic style shows through here and there.

139 Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations,” 13, n. 5. See also Nishida, “A Preliminary Analysis,” 65.

140 On the difference between the good fortune of human beings (Tib. *phya*) and the rejuvenation of well-being (Tib. *gyang*), and the overlap of these two categories in the Tibetan dice divination texts, see Brandon Dotson, “Hunting for Fortune. Wild Animals, Goddesses, and the Play of Perspectives in Early Tibetan Dice Divination,” *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* 50 (2019): 6–9. Such a distinction is unknown in the Turkic-speaking world.

141 Dotson, “Hunting for Fortune,” 1–2. In the *Irk Bitig*, wild and domestic animals are equally important.

142 Dotson, “Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations,” 12.

143 See, e.g., Rybatzki and Hu, “The ırq Bitig,” 155. The authors point out the structural differences between the *Irk Bitig* and Tibetan *mo*-divination as well Indic dice divination. As closest parallels they mention Uyghur and Sogdian “Nestorian texts” as well as a Tibetan divinatory text from Turfan. They also refer to the seemingly “mathematically illogical” way of arranging the omens in the *Irk Bitig* and in the *Zhouyi* 周易 [Changes of the Zhou] (p. 156).

144 Edited by Semih Tezcan and Peter Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche. Ein neuer Text,” *Journal of Turkology* 2.2 (1994): 259–271. Peter Zieme (“Fragmente von Erzählungen, Sprichwörtern und Reimsprüchen aus der altuigurischen Zeit,” *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü dergisi* / *Journal of Social Sciences* 13 (2013): 473–496, 483) discovered later another small fragment of this manuscript.

I discussed the text briefly at the last *BuddhistRoad* conference and presented my interpretation that it is an incantation and invocation with highly enigmatic and allusive phrasing including images drawn from nature.¹⁴⁵ The editors already assumed that the piece might be an original composition.¹⁴⁶ They also adduced parallels for the peculiar motif of the three suns (a white one, a black one, and a grey one) in lines 15–17 of the text among some ethnic groups of Siberia.¹⁴⁷ And they add: “If cosmogonic ideas of shamans could really be taken as a basis, we would have a first indication of shamanism among the ancient Turks in the Turfan region.”¹⁴⁸ I agree that the incantation is one of the few specimens that might belong to the native religion of the Uyghurs, irrespective of whether or not a shamanistic background can be postulated. The deity invoked is called ‘The only holy Tǎŋrikǎn’ (OU *bir idok t(ä)ŋrikǎn*), a title otherwise used for Uyghur rulers.¹⁴⁹ The sun, the moon, and the thunderbolt are mentioned in subsequent lines with the addition of *t(ä)ŋri*.¹⁵⁰ The same triad (OU *kün ay t(ä)ŋri y(a)šın t(ä)ŋri*) is mentioned in a Manichaean hymn after the four aspects of the Father of Greatness and before the Light Nour (OU *nom küt*), Lord Mani (OU *m(a)rmanī*) and the apostles (OU *freštī*).¹⁵¹ But the incantation seems to invoke a set of demons connected with nature, which would be difficult to account for in a Manichaean text.¹⁵² The god (or goddess) of lightning is identified in Uyghur Manichaeism with the Maiden of Light (OU *yašın t(ä)ŋri k(a)ni rošn t(ä)ŋri*).¹⁵³ Yet, this terminology is one of the atypical elements because only in Chinese Manichaeism do we find a similar, but not exactly matching expression in *dianguangming* (電光明) ‘Flash of Lightning’.¹⁵⁴ In Iranian Manichaeism, on which Uyghur Manichaeism is otherwise heavily dependent especially in terms of terminology, the Maiden of Light is not

145 Jens Wilkens, “Practice and Rituals in Uyghur Buddhist Texts: A Preliminary Appraisal,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 458–461.

146 Tezcan and Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche,” 263.

147 Translated from *ibid.*, 266–267: “Wenn wirklich kosmogonische Vorstellungen von Schamanen zugrundegelegt werden könnten, hätten wir einen ersten Hinweis auf Schamanismus bei den alten Türken im Turfangebiet.”

148 *Ibid.*, 267.

149 *Ibid.*, 263, l. 20.

150 *Ibid.*, 262, ll. 11–13.

151 *Le Coq, Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. II, 10, ll. 2–4 middle.*

152 Tezcan and Zieme, “Alttürkische Reimsprüche,” 262, ll. 5–9.

153 Clark, *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. II*, 211, l. LH411. In one text the God(ess) of Lightning is called the daughter of the Father of Greatness. See Zekine Özertural, *Der uigurische Manichäismus: Neubearbeitung von Texten aus Manichaica I und III von Albert von Le Coq* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 68–69, ll. 186–189.

154 Kósa, “The Manichaean Attitude to Natural Phenomena,” 259.

associated with lightning. Thus, the triad *kün ay t(ä)ñri y(a)šin t(ä)ñri* is most likely an original native one interpreted in a Manichaean context. (Perceiving native religious concepts through the lens of Manichaean theological ideas made proselytising easier for the Manichaean missionaries.) With the incantation we do get closer to original native Uyghur concepts, although it is not representative for the Uyghur native religion in general. The incantation and the *Book of Omens* are, in all probability, limited to a specialised group of practitioners.

8 Conclusion

The above study shows that the religious terminology of the Uyghurs allows certain conclusions to be drawn about processes in the history of religions of Inner Asia. However, it also reveals certain limitations in the basic character of the source materials. As we have seen, newly discovered texts—however insignificant they may seem at first glance—can complicate the overall picture considerably. Simple solutions are not always the best ones. The source material sometimes makes it necessary to postulate complex historical scenarios. In certain cases definitive answers cannot be given. The interactions of the indigenous religion of the Uyghurs, Manichaeism, and Buddhism can be traced mainly in the field of terminology. Here, every single piece of evidence can be important. The combined evidence of the sources discussed above suggests what I would call the ‘pre-history’ of Uyghur Buddhist terminology. Traces are found in the Uyghur Manichaean and Buddhist terminologies themselves, perhaps best exemplified by the term *burhan*. Thus Uyghur Buddhist terminology does not start with the earliest extant translations of Buddhist texts.

The newly deciphered (Para-)Mongolian Inscriptions suggest a kind of “nomadic Buddhism” in the steppe, which was at least nascent. The Uyghurs do not necessarily have to have learned the basics of Buddhism for the first time in the oasis towns of the Tarim Basin after their migration in the middle of the ninth century, even if they had not yet converted to Buddhism. A term such as *nom* must have had a long tradition in the steppes of Inner Asia before Manichaeism became the court religion in the East Uyghur Kaganate. Since Sogdian, as one of the official languages of the First Türk Kaganate, must have had supra-regional status, the use of *nom* in the Sogdian part of the Bugut Inscription is relevant to the history of this term in the steppe region. (It is worth noting that the history of this important concept in Sogdian has also not been sufficiently studied yet.) Looking at the additional evidence from the archaic trilingual manuscript in Brāhmī, in which *nom bitig* bears the meaning

‘precepts, commandment’, it can be assumed that *nom* essentially had a legal connotation before its scope widened and it denoted also ‘religious community’, ‘doctrine’ and ‘holy scripture’.

Some religious terms borrowed from other languages, such as *buši*, *buyan*, *dentar*, or *nom*, developed into a common vocabulary not only for Manichaeism and Buddhist but also for Christian texts. Thus, religious contacts between the three major religions of the Uyghurs must have been considerable. The fact that the terminology of another religion was not used in a polemical or pejorative way might also indirectly tell us something about the relations between the religions involved. Religious polemics in Turfan texts are attested, but they do not play a significant role.

Despite an extensive philological investigation of Uyghur Buddhist texts, evidence for the impact of the native religion of the Uyghurs is scant. A survival of pre-Buddhist ideas about the Sky God Tängri, the goddess Umay, and the Powerful King god Ärklig Han seems pretty certain, though. The same applies for Inner Asian-Chinese notions concerning the sun and the moon which are depicted as palaces in Manichaeism and Buddhist texts. The identification of atypical elements in the texts from both religions is generally a helpful tool and especially in this particular case.

The first basic question formulated in the introduction, namely whether there are sources that report details about the native religion of the Uyghurs, can be answered positively, but with one qualification. The *Book of Omens* and the incantation examined in section 7 very likely preserve native religious ideas, but in all probability only those of a highly specialised religious elite.

The Christian Communities in Tang China: Between Adaptation and Religious Self-Identity

Max Deeg

Abstract

This paper will discuss the ‘strategies’ of self-representation of the Christian minority and diaspora community in Tang China (618–907, 唐) in the wider context of a society and culture dominated by strong religious competitors (Buddhism, Daoism) and state (court) regulation. The few preserved documents suggest that the community drew heavily on Buddhist terminology and inherited Chinese religio-cultural concepts when presenting their religion in Chinese (so-called Dunhuang documents) but used a strategy of court affinity and distinction from other religions when presenting itself in a semi-official way (e.g., in the stele inscription of Xi’an 西安).

1 Introduction

When I was asked to contribute a paper on early Chinese Christianity with the ‘task’ of tracing its impact (influence) on Buddhism, my first reflexive reaction was: “But there is none!”¹ After pondering for a while on what could be meaningfully said in the projected context of the conference, I thought that it may

1 As a footnote, I should mention the idea popularised by the Japanese ‘pioneer’ of Tang Christianity (Chin. Jingjiao 景教) studies, Peter Yoshirō Saeki, following the lead of the British Protestant missionary Timothy Richard, that the Chinese folk-religion “Teaching of the Golden Elixir” (Chin. Jindan jiao 金丹教)—which does not exist as an institutionalised religion but is a wider movement in the context of ‘precious scrolls’ (Chin. *baojuan* 寶卷), religiosity—has inherited and continued doctrines of the Tang Christians: Peter Yoshirō Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916), 53–61; see Max Deeg, “Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualisation of the Jingjiao-Documents of the Tang Period,” in *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia, Proceedings of the Second Jingjiao Conference, University of Salzburg*, ed. Dietmar W. Winkler et al. (Berlin, Vienna: LIT, 2009), 143.

be helpful to take it from exactly there and ask the question: “Why is there no (evident) impact of Tang Christianity on Chinese Buddhism?”

Some parts or aspects of the answer are obvious but will have to be elaborated on. In the case of Christianity in Tang China (618–907, 唐), we have a clear case of non-influence on the host culture, and there are several reasons why this is the case:

(1) Christianity in the Tang Empire—called ‘Brilliant (or: Radiant) Teaching’ (Chin. Jingjiao 景教), in the religion’s own documents—was a late-comer on the religious stage in China. It arrived when the two other main religious traditions, Daoism and Buddhism, had already been well established. As a religion arriving from outside of the Sinitic cultural sphere, from an Oriental Christian and a Persian-Sasanian context, it had to adapt, at least to a certain extent, to the already existing structures and ways of communicating its religion to the wider Chinese society. The model for doing this by, for instance, producing religious texts was Buddhism with its sophisticated and ongoing improvement and development of translation techniques and religious terminology. Here, the impact clearly goes into the opposite direction: Christian authors took over concepts and vocabulary from the complex religio-cultural context in which they found themselves.

(2) Christianity was, as far as we can conclude from the sources available, a diaspora religion, a religion of merchants and exiles from the crumbling and eventually disappearing Sasanian Iranian Empire (224–651). Since it did not really proselytise (at least, there is no evidence for this), the need for religious texts in Chinese, either translations of canonical or liturgical texts or independently produced scriptures, was probably not very high; in other words, these texts were not produced so much for the literate Chinese population in general but probably more for Christian community members. The church language was Syriac (written in Estrangelo or Syriac script), and it can be assumed that this was the liturgical and ‘doctrinal’ language among religious specialists in the Christian communities in the Chinese Empire as well.²

2 This is underlined by the Syriac part of the stele inscription (see Erica Hunter, “The Persian Contribution to Christianity in China: Reflections in the Xi’an Fu Syriac Inscriptions,” in *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, ed. Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang (Berlin, Vienna: LIT, 2009), 71–85) which gives the date of the erection of the stele, a short family tree over three generations of the person who initiated the erection of the stele (author?), Jingjing (景淨)/Adam, the origin of the family from Balkh in Bactria, and a list of names and titles of members of the community. An analysis of the onomastic material shows a mixture of Christian and Iranian elements. The Christian material in Sogdian from Central Asia may suggest that communities with an ethno-linguistic Sogdian majority, as for instance in Luoyang (洛陽), also used Sogdian for certain purposes.

(3) The religious policy of the Tang court and its administration attempted to control and to keep religious communities separate (distinct and discernible) from each other.

2 Religions and the Tang Court

An oft-quoted and oft-discussed example for the last point is an episode that involves two of the prominent religious players in the mid-Tang period, an Indian Buddhist monk and the ‘author’ of the most valuable source of Tang Christianity, the stele inscription of Xi’an (西安), Jingjing (景淨) a.k.a. Adam, and the Indian Buddhist monk Prajña (744–ca. 810, Chin. Banruo 般若). This episode, first detected and discussed by the Japanese Buddhologist Takakusu Junjirō,³ is found in a Tang-period catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, the *Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 [Catalogue of the Teaching of the Śākya[muni] from the Kaiyuan [Era], Continued from the Zhenyuan [Era] of the Great Tang], compiled by Yuanzhao (fl. second half of 8th c., 圓照). It reports the ultimately unsuccessful collaboration between the Indian monk and Jingjing in order to translate the Buddhist *Liu boluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經 [Sūtra of the Six Perfections] (Skt. *Ṣaṭpāramitāsūtra*) (T. 2156:55):

In the 2nd [year] of the [era] Zhenyuan (786), [Prajña] met a relative from his home, the Commander [of the Army] of Emminent Strategy [(Chin. *shence shijiang* 袖策十將)], Luo Haoxin, who was the son of the maternal uncle of the Tripiṭaka Master Prajña. They were sad [because they were so far away from their homeland but also] pleased [to see each other] and consoled one another. They went into the house [of Luo who] paid [Prajña] much honour, had him stay very long and made donations to him. [Since Haoxin] was a fervent believer in the three jewels [(i.e., Buddhism)] [he asked Prajña] to translate Buddhist *sūtras*; thereupon, [Prajña] translated the *Ṣaṭpāramitā[sūtra]* in seven fascicles based on a version in a *hu*[-language], together with the Persian monk Jingjing from the Daqin-monastery. Because Prajña did not understand the *hu*-language at this time and also had not mastered the language of the Tang [(i.e., Chinese)], and Jingjing did not know Sanskrit [(Chin. *famwen* 梵文)] and did not understand the Buddhist teaching [(Chin. *shijiao* 釋教)] they did not grasp half of the jewels [of the Buddhist teaching]

3 Takakusu Junjirō, “The Name ‘Messiah’ Found in a Buddhist Book; the Nestorian Missionary Adam, Presbyter, Papas of China, Translating a Buddhist Sutra,” *Toung-Pao* 7 (1896): 589–591.

although they called [their work] a translation. They strived for superficial and empty honour but did not achieve merit. They made a petition to the throne to have [their translation] incorporated in the [official] catalogue [of Buddhist texts] and hoped that this would help to propagate [their work]. His Imperial Majesty with His austere wisdom and scholarship had seriously [studied] the Buddhist scriptures and realised after a meticulous inspection [of the translation] that the principles [of the *dharma*] had been obscured, and that [their] rendering was without context. Besides the living style in a Buddhist monastery [(Chin. *jialan* 伽藍)] and in a temple of Daqin are completely incompatible. Jingjing should teach the teaching of the Messiah [(Chin. *mishihe jiao* 彌尸訶教)], the *śramaṇa* and Śākya-son should propagate the Buddhist *sūtras*. [His Majesty] wished that the ways of teaching should be clearly discerned from each other so that the people would not be confused. True and false [teachings] should remain different like the river Jing and the river Wei flow separately.⁴

I have emphasised elsewhere⁵ the need to contextualise this report in the framework of the text and context in which it is given: it is found in a Buddhist

4 T. 2156.55, 756a18–28: 至貞元二祀，訪見鄉親袖策十將羅好心，即般若三藏舅氏之子也。悲喜相慰，將至家中，用展親親，遂留供養。既信重三寶，請譯佛經。乃與大秦寺波斯僧景淨，依胡本六波羅蜜，譯成七卷。時為般若不閑胡語，復未解唐言，景淨不識梵文，復未明釋教，雖稱傳譯，未獲半珠。圖竊虛名，匪為福利，錄表聞奏，意望流行。聖上睿哲文明允恭釋典，察其所譯，理味詞疎。且夫釋氏伽藍，大秦僧寺居止既別，行法全乖。景淨應傳彌尸訶教，沙門釋子弘闡佛經。欲使教法區分，人無濫涉。正邪異類，涇渭殊流。 See Max Deeg, “The ‘Brilliant Teaching’. The Rise and Fall of ‘Nestorianism’ (Jingjiao) in Tang China,” *Japanese Religions* 31 (2006): 97–98; and Deeg, “Ways to Go and Not to Go,” 144. Recently, this passage has been discussed, among others, by Huaiyu Chen, “The Connection between Jingjiao and Buddhist Texts in Late Tang China,” in *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, ed. Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2006), 93–113, and Tod Godwin, *Persians at the Christian Court: The Xī'an Stele and the Early Medieval Church of the East* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2018), 141–142. For the historical context of this failed translation attempt see Nakata Mie 中田美絵, “Hasseiki ni okeru chūō-yūrashia no dōkō to Chōan-bukkyō-kai: Tokusō-ki-‘Daijō-rishu-roku-haramitta-kyō’-hon’yaku-sankasha-no-bunseki yori 八世紀における中央ユーラシアの動向と長安仏教界—徳宗期『大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經』翻訳参加者の分析より [Trends in 8th-Century Eurasia and the Buddhist Environment of Chang’an—The Period of Dezong: From an Analysis of the Members of the Translation [Team] of the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing*],” *Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 [Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University] 44 (2011): 153–189.

5 Deeg, “Ways to Go and Not to Go,” 145.

catalogue which does, of course, represent an official Buddhist view and therefore subscribes to the imperial verdict (if it really existed in the way it is described) which requests the separation of both religions. Therefore, this is not, as Saeki and others have tried to claim, an example of a Jingjiao-influence on Buddhism but exactly the opposite: it emphasises, both from the side of the court and by the Buddhists, the differences between the two religions. The fact that the court which was responsible for giving Buddhist (and probably also other religious) translations its *imprimatur* and acceptance into the imperially regulated catalogues⁶ interfered with the translation project shows that religious agents in the Tang Empire were moving in a relatively restricted and prescribed space.

3 Religious Identity

The textual material already marks a division in content and genre, an aspect of Tang Christianity which one often fails to see in an (understandable) attempt to create a valid and as coherent a historical picture as possible from the scattered and rare sources we have.⁷ In another paper in the CERES conference series,⁸ I have focused on the Iranian identity of the Christian community in China, and the ideas and concepts of identity which I discussed in that article can well be applied to religious identity as well. In a way, the identity of the Christian communities in Tang China was defined by a combination of ethnic-cultural (Persian-Iranian⁹) and religious (Christian) markers, and it is the latter on which I would like to concentrate in the present paper.

A brief look at extant textual sources of Tang Christianity in Chinese already reveals the basic tension between adaptation to the social and religious context of the host culture and an attempt at coining a self-identity which was distinct from the other religions present in the Tang Empire, particularly from Buddhism and Daoism. To be sure: by tension I do not imply that this was a

6 On catalogues and censorship see Tania Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography: Censorship and the Transformation of the Tripitaka* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2014).

7 For a new translation and discussion of the documents see Matteo Nicolini-Zani, *The Luminous Way to the East: Text and History of the First Encounter of Christianity with China* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

8 Max Deeg, "The 'Brilliant Teaching': Iranian Christians in Tang China and Their Identity," *Entangled Religions* 11.6 (2020).

9 I hesitate to use one specific term here since the Christian communities had members from different Iranian cultural-political backgrounds: Sasanian Persians, Sogdians, and Bactrians.

problem for the historical agents—the Christian communities and their members; I rather suggest that this is a question directed at the modern scholar to give an answer for. Identity is constructed, but it is indeed perceived as ‘real’ by those who accept it as their own (including the ‘constructors’) with a distinctive set of markers (language, religion, customs, etc.); for the historian or the Cultural Studies scholar, however, it is more important to deconstruct and critically discuss these markers after identifying them than speculating about the ‘truth’ behind them.

These principal deliberations have serious consequences for the topic of inter-religious exchange with its ancillary and related terms ‘influence’ and ‘impact’. We touch upon phenomena (or sometimes constructed pseudo-phenomena) such as syncretism, cultural adaption, integration, etc. In the Chinese context this is a complex field. Its complexity is shown in not only more recent scholarship on so-called Buddho-Daoism¹⁰ but also the discourse about Sinification or Sinicisation¹¹ of, for example, Buddhism in China.

For a similar setting as the one of Tang Christianity, namely that of Late Antique Antioch—three competing religious traditions in the same cultural environment—Isabella Sandwell has formulated the following, in our context quite useful definition of religious identity:

Religious identities do not have an objective existence that naturally arises out of an essential and distinctive package of religious traits. Rather, they result from boundaries that are constructed by human actors, who choose to identify themselves with some people and differentiate themselves from others.¹²

The few Christian manuscript texts in Chinese that have come down to us reflect more of an adaptation of Buddhist and, to a lesser degree, Daoist terminology and concepts than they do show an attempt to produce an independent religious Christian vocabulary in Chinese.¹³ This is, to a certain extent,

10 See, for instance, Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

11 See, for instance, Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 10–12.

12 Isabella Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4.

13 Realistically, the philological analysis of the terminological ‘apparatus’ of the Jingjiao texts, as restricted and few as they are, is the only access to the ‘world of thinking’—I

understandable since the Iranian Christians started to be active in China at a time when Buddhist translation activities gained a new momentum through the court-supported translation ‘bureaus’ of the famous Buddhist traveller Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘) during the reigning periods of the emperors Taizong (r. 626–649, 太宗) and Gaozong (r. 649–683, 高宗) and, a generation later, the translations of Xuanzang’s ‘successor’ Yijing (635–713, 義淨) and others.¹⁴ This may also be the reason that the stele inscription, in a kind of self-serving and self-aggrandising way, claims that the first ‘scriptures’ (Chin. *jing* 經) brought by the first Christian ‘missionary’ Aluoben (阿羅本)¹⁵ to the Chinese capital of Chang’an were translated, on the order of Emperor Taizong, in the ‘Academy of Scholars’ (Chin. Shudian 書殿),¹⁶ although this is an anachronistic statement¹⁷ and it is rather unlikely that the court supported the translation of newly arrived religious scriptures from a foreign empire, at that time still the Sasanian.¹⁸

am using this term instead of a simplifying and generalising concept of Jingjiao ‘theology’—of the Tang Christians. I have warned on several occasions against a too hasty ‘re-Christianisation’ of this ‘apparatus’ by reading Christian theological concepts into them—and have been criticised for it: see, e.g., Johan Ferreira, *Early Chinese Christianity: The Tang Christian Monument and Other Documents* (Strathfield: St. Pauls Publications, 2014), 150–151. I am aware that I thereby am rather aiming at a ‘reader-response’ interpretation of the texts (how were the texts understood by a Chinese reader who did not necessarily know much about Christian doctrine?) instead of searching for the ‘Christian’ meaning intended by the ‘author’ of such a text. While sometimes it is quite clear what a certain Buddhist term is meant to express in terms of Christian concepts, there are many cases where a Christian interpretation is quite speculative—at least more speculative when the Buddhist connotations of an originally Buddhist (or, more rarely, Daoist) term are not taken into account.

- 14 I do not subscribe to the ‘two-period’ theory of translations and the respective attribution of the preserved texts to one of these periods propagated since Saeki, i.e., an early period under the first ‘missionary’ Aluoben, and a later, more mature one led by Jingjing/Adam, the person responsible for the stele inscription. Philologically, there are no particular reasons to assume such a division.
- 15 Although there are other explanations of this name, I still think that Aluoben is a transliteration of the Iranian name Ardabān. Max Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre—Die Stele von Xi’an (Übersetzung und Kommentar)* (Vienna, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2018), 110–111, n. 89.
- 16 “[The emperor] had the scriptures translated in the Academy of Savants; [inside] the forbidden gates [(i.e., the palace)] [the emperor] asked [Aluoben] about the Way (Dao), [...]” (Chin. 翻經書殿, 問道禁闈, [...]).
- 17 If Shudian (書殿) stands for any real institution, then it is the ‘Academy of the Learned Worthies’ (Chin. Jixian dian shuyuan 集賢殿書院), which was not established before the beginning of the eighth century, see Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre*, 116–117, n. 95.
- 18 In reality, the few texts that have survived are no translations of Christian sources at all—the closest to translating a Christian text is the so-called *Jingjiao sarwei mengdu zan*

4 Terminological and Conceptual Adaptation and the Presence of Buddha(s) in a Christian Text

Let us look at one of the preserved texts to show the process of adaptation of Buddhist terminology in Jingjiao documents. I have chosen the text with the most mysterious name of all sources, the *Xuting mishi suo jing* 序聽迷詩所經,¹⁹ usually translated as or called (following Saeki) *Jesus Messiah Sūtra*. Already the beginning of the text reads like a Buddhist *sūtra* when the Messiah (Chin. Mishihe 彌師訶) starts delivering a sermon which has no obvious parallel in the gospels:²⁰

-
- 景教三威蒙度讚 [Gloria in Excelsis Deo], which again is more a paraphrase of the original Syriac than a straight translation: see Ferreira, *Early Chinese Christianity*, 260—but rather what I have called elsewhere “vademecums or anthologies intended to transmit the basic notion of the religion”: Max Deeg, “La littérature chrétienne orientale sous les Tang: un bref aperçu,” in *Le christianisme syriaque en Asie centrale et en Chine*, ed. Pier Giorgio Borbone and Pierre Marsone (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2015), 206.
- 19 I have tried to resolve this problem on a philological level and suggested the reconstruction *Ting mi suo shuo jing* 聽迷所說經 [Sūtra of the One Preaching the Regulation of Errors]; for the philological details of this reconstruction see Max Deeg, “Messiah Rediscovered: Some Philological Notes on the so-called ‘Jesus the Messiah Sutra,’” in *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu and Glen L. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 112–116.
- 20 To show the evident examples of Buddhist terminology I mark these in bold in my translation and explain their Buddhist meaning or connotation in the footnotes. It should be noted that syntactically the text is not without problems and that the translation depends very much on structuring the syntax—partly indicated by the punctuation—a process which itself has to rely on the wider contextual meaning ascribed to the text. I have used the version in the Buddhist canon (T. 2142.54, CBETA edition, based on Haneda Tōru’s edition) and checked it against the recently published excellent facsimile of the original manuscript in Takeda kagaku shinkōzaidan 武田科学振興財, ed., *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 [Dunhuang Treasure Box], vol. 6 (Osaka: Kyōu shoten 杏雨書店, 2009–2013), and added my own punctuation. I do not go into a detailed discussion and critique of earlier translations (Saeki, Li Tang) since they very much build on wild emendations (Saeki), speculation about the meaning of words and terms, and, in my view, wrong punctuation which is neither substantiated by a sound philological approach nor a stringent hermeneutical method. I have to admit that I was not able to consult the most recent study of the text by Victor Manuel Aguilar Sánchez (*Corpus Nestorianum Sinicum: ‘Thus I Have Heard on the Listening of Mishihe (the Messiah)’ 序聽迷詩所經 and ‘Discourse on the One God’ —神論. A Theological Approach with a Proposed Reading Structure and Translation* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 2019)) because of my restricted access to libraries and partly because of the price of the book (almost 200 Euros).

At that time,²¹ the Messiah expounded the law²² of the book²³ of the Heaven-Honoured One²⁴ as follows: “There are [quite] some false views.²⁵ Who is able to expound the meaning of the scriptures?²⁶ It is [so] difficult to settle differences.²⁷ Who is able to explain the Heaven-Honoured One?

-
- 21 *ershi* (尔时): this is an unspecified time indication since the text does not give more context as to when the Messiah is supposed to have delivered this sermon. As such, it reminds of the frequent use of this syntagma in Buddhist narrative literature.
- 22 *fa* (法): an early and established Buddhist translation term for Skt. *dharma*, the ‘law’ or teaching preached by the Buddha. There is no other way of understanding this term here than in the Buddhist way, since other Chinese meanings like ‘way (of), ‘juridical law’, etc. make no sense.
- 23 For a speculative but contextually sound interpretation of the obvious transliteration—interestingly not discussed in Hidemi Takahashi’s work—“On Some Transcriptions of Syriac Names in Chinese-Language Jingjiao Documents,” in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, ed. Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang (Vienna, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 13–34; “Transcriptions of Syriac in Chinese and Chinese in Syriac Script in the Tang Period,” in *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, ed. Johannes den Heijer (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 329–249; Hidemi Takahashi, “Representation of the Syriac Language in Jingjiao and Yelikewen Documents,” in *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu and Glen L. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols Publisher, 2020), 23–92—on transliterations in the Chinese Jingjiao corpus—*xupo* (序婆) / *ziǎ’-ba, emended from *xusuo* (序娑) of the manuscript, as ‘book’ (Syr. *spr*), see Deeg, “The ‘Brilliant Teaching’: Iranian Christians in Tang China,” 116–117.
- 24 *tianzun* (天尊): *tianzun* is a translation term for Skt. *bhagavat*, ‘the Exalted One’, the most-used epithet of the Buddha (for a detailed discussion of this term see Max Deeg, “Bhagavat in Chinese Buddhist Translation: An Indirect Example in Oral Nirvacana in Buddhist Text Translations?,” in *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers. Prof. Musashi Tachikawa’s Felicitation Volume*, ed. Shoun Hino and Toshihiro Wada (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004), 153–167). I translate ‘Heaven-Honoured One’—i.e., the One venerated in Heaven (Chin. *tian* 天)—as this seems to be the intentional semantic twist of the Buddhist term which originally meant something like ‘the one honoured by the gods (*tian*)’. The choice of *tianzun* for God over the term *shizun* (世尊), ‘World-Honoured One’ (for *bhagavat*) much more frequently used in Buddhist texts is a ‘smart’ one from a contrastive-semantic perspective: while the Buddha is only venerated imminently, in the world (Chin. *shi* 世), the Christian God is venerated in the transcendence of Heaven.
- 25 *yijian* (異見): means different, false views in a Buddhist context, e.g., in the *Dīrghāgama* for the views of the *brāhmaṇas* (Chin. *poluomen* 婆羅門).
- 26 *jingyi* (經義): although *jing* is used for ‘authoritative scriptures of the past’ before the advent of Buddhism (*Shijing* 詩經 [Book of Songs]; *Yijing* 易經 [Book of Changes], *Daode jing* 道德經 [Book of the Way and the Power], etc.), it obtains the connotation of religious scriptures as a translation term for Skt. *sūtra*. The combination *jingyi*, ‘meaning of the *sūtras*’, is frequently found in the Buddhist canon.
- 27 *xishi* (息事): this term is, for instance, found in the Chinese translation of Aśvagoṣa’s *Buddhacarita* (T. 192.4, 21c4); the equivalent passage in the Sanskrit version does not show a direct parallel.

[Among] the **buddhas, non-humans,**²⁸ **judging deities,**²⁹ **arhats**³⁰—who is able to see that the Heaven-Honoured One is among the **living beings?**³¹ There is no human [who] can see the Heaven-Honoured One. Which man has the power to see the Heaven-Honoured One? Because the appearance of this Heaven-Honoured One resembles the Wind³²—and which man was [ever] able to see the Wind? For a long time, the Heaven-Honoured One has inspected [his] creation³³ of the **world;**³⁴ because of this, each human being dwells carrying the vital energy³⁵ of the Heaven-Honoured One [and] only then comes alive; thus [each human being] finds calmness in [his] house,³⁶ and the sense of a **perfect mind**³⁷ is achieved. Since the sun has risen, and the sun has set, [each human being in the realm] of living when realizing [one's own] thought and mind reaches [one's]

-
- 28 *feiren* (非人): Skt. *amanuṣya*, a collective term in Buddhism for 'species' of non-human beings like Skt. *kiṃnara*, *mahoraga*, *yakṣa*, etc.
- 29 *pingzhang tian* (平章天): this term is not attested in the Buddhist canon while *pingzhang* is found several times in the meaning of "to deliberate, to judge." Under the Tang, the term *pingzhang* is used for the highest ranks of officials (Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 385b, s.v. *p'ing-chang*). This does not really fit the present context with its clear hierarchy from Buddhas to *arhats*, and it may well be assumed that *pingzhang* is an error for *pingchang* (平常), 'common, ordinary', and the term **pingchang tian* (平常天) was coined to distinguish the Buddhist (and other) gods (*tian*) from the Christian God and position them like the *arhats* (see the following note) on a relatively low position on the projected hierarchy of superhuman beings.
- 30 Emend *aluomo* (阿羅漢) to *aluohan* (阿羅漢): Skt. *arhat* (nom.sg. *arhān*), a Buddhist saint.
- 31 *zhongsheng* (眾生) is the standard Buddhist term for living beings, Skt. *sattva* (or *prāṇin*, *jana*, etc.), including animals.
- 32 *feng* (風) here is the term for Hebrew *rûaḥ*, Syriac *rucha*.
- 33 *jubian* (居編): my translation of this *hapax legomenon* (as far as I can see) is tentative. It takes *ju* (居) as referring to the realm ('dwelling') of the living beings—in contrast to the deceased (*wang* 往: see *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典 [Great Dictionary of Chinese Characters] (used version: PLECO for android devices, s.v. *ju*, 14)—and *bian* (編) in the sense of "fabricated, created." Another possibility is to emend *bian* (編) to 遍 and to translate "[...] [the Heavenly-Honoured One] dwells everywhere."
- 34 *shijian* (世間): Skt. *loka*, '(immanent) world', or *laukika*, 'worldly, mundane'.
- 35 *qi* (氣): clearly meant as the breath of the creator which also brought the first human to life (Gen. 1.2.7). I translate 'vital energy' since this would probably be the connotation of a Chinese reader without knowledge of Christian cosmogony.
- 36 *zaijia* (在家): is this a reference to the body?
- 37 *zhixin* (至心): Skt. *adhyāśaya*, 'intention, determination, superior thought, will, etc.'

destination, [and] the body rests in luminous bliss, [and] being purified transcends to the peaceful dwelling in Heaven.”³⁸

As already emphasised, it is clear from the outset that this text is neither a translation nor a paraphrase of a gospel text. It is, at least in this first part, an eulogy on the transcendence of God (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊, ‘the Heaven-Honoured One’). Although it abounds in Buddhist terminology, the text is highly critical of Buddhism and tries to demonstrate the superiority of its own teaching and religion.

This critical and dismissive attitude towards other religions is already expressed in the list of ‘superhuman beings’ who are said to not be able to perceive the Christian God. Here and elsewhere (nine times in total) the first half of the document, which was probably an independent text, refers to the Buddha or the buddhas (Chin. *fo* 佛). The numerous and blunt use of this term in a Christian text³⁹ has puzzled translators and scholars. Peter Saeki’s odd comment on the list of superhuman beings in the passage translated above and starting with the buddhas reflects this consternation quite well:

These are very unusual expressions to be found in the Nestorian writings, but may throw some side light on the history of the very beginning of the Nestorian Church in China. Such expressions may show that the Nestorian author of this text was assisted by a Chinese Buddhist scholar in composing this sūtra, if not under the influence of Chinese Buddhism, as far as his phraseology and diction were concerned.⁴⁰

To smooth out the difficulty of having buddhas mentioned in the text, Saeki completely distorts the text in his translation:

38 T. 2142:54, 1286b5–15: 尔時，彌師訶說天尊序娑法云：“異見多小，誰能說經義？難息事，誰能說天尊？在後顯，何在停止，在處其何？諸佛及非人，平章天，阿羅漢，誰見天尊在於眾生？無人得見天尊，何人有威得見天尊？為此天尊顏容似風，何人能得見風？天尊盈不少時巡歷世間居編，為此人人居帶天尊氣，始得存活。然始得在家安，至心義到，日出日沒已來，居見想心，去處皆到，身在明樂靜度，安居在天，皆諸佛為此風流轉，世間風流無處不到”。

39 In this respect, Christianity was different from Manichaeism where buddhas were an integral part of the original doctrinal-soteriological system: see David A. Scott, “Manichaeism: Views of Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 25.2 (1985): 99–115.

40 Peter Yoshirō Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: The Toho Bunkwa Gakuin, The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 1951), 148, n. 4.

All the buddhas as well as the Kinnaras and the Superintendent-*devas* (?Yama) and Arhâns can see the Lord of Heaven.⁴¹

Usually, it is assumed that *fō* in this text refers to supernatural beings, in some instances it is even taken as referring to the Christian God who is, however, clearly called *tianzun*, the ‘Heaven-Honoured One’, throughout the text. When taking a closer look at the passages where the Buddha or the buddhas occur, a pattern emerges: as in the list of superhuman beings translated above, all these passages show the inferiority of the buddha(s) in comparison with the Christian God, the ‘Heaven-Honoured One’. This is achieved by either pointing to the immanence of the buddha(s) versus the transcendent status and power of God or by claiming that the buddha(s) have no real power and that the only world-creating and world-sustaining power is the one of the Christian God.

The immanence of the buddha(s) is emphasised again in the sentence immediately following the passage translated above:

All buddhas are revolving [in the circle of rebirth]⁴² because of the current of this [Divine] Wind, [and] there is no place in the world where the current of the [Divine] Wind does not reach to.⁴³

According to this sentence, the buddhas are, contrary to the basic teaching of Buddhism, caught in the circle of rebirth (Skt. *samsāra*) and immanence of the world (Chin. *shijian* 世間) and cannot escape it. Moreover, the force behind all this is the Divine Wind, i.e., the Holy Spirit; while, according to the next sentence, God resides in the realm of transcendence.⁴⁴

Another passage mentioning the buddha(s) emphasises the futility of counting or relying on the buddha(s):

When humans are in trouble, [they] often call the name of the buddhas. There are so many ignorant humans⁴⁵ [who] address the spir-

41 Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics*, 125; Li Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and Its Literature in Chinese* (Frankfurt a.M., New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 145, does not comment on the term at all.

42 *zhuan* (轉) here either refers to the circle of rebirth—shortened for *zhuanliu* (轉流)?—or the sequence of the buddhas in different periods and times.

43 T. 2142.54, 1286b5–15: 皆諸佛為此風流轉, 世間風流無處不到。

44 T. 1286.54, 1286b14–15: “The Heaven-Honoured One always stays at the place of pure transcendence and happiness” (Chin. 天尊常在靜度快樂之處)。

45 *wuzhi zhi ren* (無知之人): the concept that knowledge (Skt. *vidyā*) and discerning knowledge (Skt. *prajñā*)—opposed to ignorance (Skt. *avidyā*) of a stupid individual

its in the same category as the Heaven-Honoured One, [or] also call [them] ‘Glorious Honoured Ones’ [or] ‘Glorious Bliss’. Each human speaks⁴⁶ according to [his] custom [as if saying]: ‘Ours is a different Heaven-Honoured One’. Many [humans] stay in [their] individual belief, [their] individual position. [But] the Heaven-Honoured One has given human plenty of will and wisdom. Who [could] **repay the grace**⁴⁷ of the buddhas?⁴⁸⁴⁹

In a further passage, the buddhas are almost equal to humans in that they are, again against Buddhist doctrine, entrenched in the karmic process of merit-building and retribution:

There are **living beings** [who] have the need to think about the **retribution of their own [actions]**,⁵⁰ and] the Heaven-Honoured One welcomes **hard efforts**⁵¹ [to improve]. [When he] first created the **living beings**, the principles for **living beings** were not far from the buddhas: [he] created the human’s self with a will of his own, and good [actions] lead to **good merit**,⁵² [but] evil [actions] lead to **bad karma**.^{53 54}

When the text starts discussing the Christian commandments, it emphasises that, despite the similarity of the moral rules, followers of the Buddha will get it completely wrong because they do not worship God:

(Skt. *mūrkha*)—as a virtue (and soteriological *conditio sine qua non*) to reach liberation is essentially Buddhist and not Christian.

46 I am tempted to emend the odd *yushe* (語舌) to *yuhua* (語話).

47 *bao* (報) is the Buddhist term for karmic retribution (Skt. *vipāka*); *cīen* (慈恩) usually stands for the buddha’s compassion or kindness.

48 This question seems to indicate that it is fruitless to pay back the kindness of the buddhas with the implication that with their immanent status referred to before, they are not able to help humans.

49 T. 2142.54, 1286b20–24: 人急之時, 每稱佛名. 多有無知之人, 喚神比天尊之類, 亦喚作‘旨尊’, ‘旨樂’. 人人鄉俗語舌: ‘吾別天尊’. 多常在每信每居. 天尊與人意智不少. 誰報佛慈恩?

50 *guobao* (果報); Skt. *phalavipāka*.

51 *xinku* (辛苦); Skt. *śrama*, *ārta*, etc.

52 *shan* (善); Skt. *kuśala*; *fu* (福); Skt. *puṇya*.

53 *e* (惡); Skt. *pāpa*; *luan* (緣); Skt. *nidāna*, ‘karmic bonds’.

54 T. 2142.54, 1286c15–17: 有眾生先須想自身果報, 天尊受許辛苦. 始立眾生, 眾生理佛不遠. 立人身自專. 善有善福, 惡有惡緣.

If someone has **received the precepts**⁵⁵ but does not fear the Heaven-Honoured One and solely **relies** on the *dharma* of the Buddha—then he has not successfully **received the precepts**, and he is a man who acts against [the precepts].^{56 57}

The last passage which contains the term *fó* is embedded in what seems to be a discussion of the first commandment and, once more, the reader is asked to give up veneration of the buddhas since they do not liberate from suffering:

To accept the **doctrine** of the Heaven-Honoured One [means one] should not **break the precepts**. [According to] what the Heaven-Honoured One accepts and [if one] accepts the Honoured teaching, [one] first [has] to give up paying reverence to the gods and the buddhas [as done by] the living beings⁵⁸ because the buddhas⁵⁹ accept **suffering**.⁶⁰ Heaven and earth were only established through the pure power [of the Heaven-Honoured One]. The August Ruler⁶¹ only has to strive to increase the passing of [old

-
- 55 *shoujie* (受戒): in a Buddhist context laypeople take the five precepts (Skt. *śīla*) which, more or less, correspond to the last five commandments in the Christian Decalogue. Since the text discusses the commandments—later in the text called *yuan* (願), ‘vow’ (Skt. *pranidhāna*)—*shoujie* seems to refer to the keeping of the commandments.
- 56 I read *fanni* (返逆) where the manuscript has the variant character or *yitizi* (逆). The meaning is derived from the use in Buddhist texts, as for instance in the *Zhuanlun shengwang xiuxing jing* 轉輪聖王修行經 [Sūtra of the Practice of the Wheel-Turning King] of the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 [Long Collection (of Sūtras)] (Skt. *Dīrghāgama*, T. 1.1, 41a): “[...] most respected are the ones who perverts in immorality (*wudao*)” (Chin. [...] 返逆無道者便得尊敬). See the Pāli parallel in the *Cakkavattisihanāda-suttanta* in the *Dīghanikāya* (edition Joseph Estlin Carpenter, *The Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. 111* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1976), 72; translation Maurice Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard. The Long Discourses of the Buddha: Dīgha Nikāya* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1987), 402) which is not an exact parallel but reflects the idea that in an age of decline any morale and societal order is inverted.
- 57 T. 2142.54, 1287a14–16: 如有人受戒, 及不怕天尊, 此人及一依佛法, 不成受戒之所, 即是返逆之人。
- 58 *zhutian* (諸天): Skt. *deva*.
- 59 Here, the text strangely juxtaposes the full and the simplified characters for *fó* (佛 and 仏).
- 60 *ku* (苦): Skt. *duḥkha*.
- 61 *shengshang* (聖上): obviously, in an attempt to make the Jingjiao teaching, particularly the Christian Decalogue with its uncompromising request to only venerate God, more palatable for the Chinese emperor and the court, the text constantly and flatteringly refers to the emperor and even leaves an honorific space before the term which is not granted the Jingjiao God (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊).

and wrong] customs and to keep away the buddhas from the palace of the August Ruler.^{62 63}

The use of the word *fó*, buddha(s), in the text demonstrates that the ‘authors’ of Jingjiao texts were quite conscious about the adaptation of Buddhist terminology and its potential function, and used it quite skilfully even while arguing polemically against Buddhism and claiming a clear distinctiveness from it.

5 The Construction of Jingjiao Self-Identity in the Stele of Xi’an

The statement put into the mouth of the emperor in the passage from the Buddhist catalogue quoted above—that the styles of living in a Buddhist and a Christian monastery are distinct and should stay so—obviously was taken seriously by the Christian community, at least in their own presentation in its most famous document, the stele inscription of Xi’an, the *Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 [The Stele Inscription of the Radiant Teaching of Daqin Transmitted to the Middle Kingdom] from the year 781. Generally, this document represents a different self-understanding, one of a self-identity of the Jingjiao community with a strong link to the court and the Tang emperors from the advent of the religion in the year 635 to the time of the stele’s erection at the beginning of the ruling period of the Tang emperor, Dezong (r. 779–805, 德宗).

Although there are some traces of Buddhist terminology and concepts, the inscription tries to create a quite distinct religious identity by using more ‘classical’ Chinese terms and concepts.⁶⁴ After a cosmogonic-cosmological and theological introduction—the creation of the world and the advent of Christ—the specific features of the Christian monastics are outlined with a few strokes of the brush (or rather with the chisel). It is an interesting presentation of the

62 The translation of the last two difficult and obviously corrupted phrases—(*shengshang wei xu qinjia xiling, shengshang gongdian yu zhufu jiu de* 聖上唯須勤伽習倭, 聖上宮殿於諸佛救得)—is quite speculative and based on the dismissive approach to the buddhas reflected in the text. I read *jia* (加) for *jia* (伽) and take *jiu* (救) in the second phrase in the meaning of ‘to hold back, to prevent’. There are still quite some syntactical problems.

63 T. 2142.54, 1287a23–26: 受天尊法教, 不合破戒。天尊所受, 及受尊教, 先遣眾生禮諸天, 佛, 為仏受苦。置立天地, 只為清淨威力因緣。聖上唯須勤伽習倭, 聖上宮殿於諸佛救得。

64 See Max Deeg, “The Rhetoric of Antiquity: Politico-religious Propaganda in the Nestorian Stele of Chang’an,” *Journal of Late Antique Religion and Antiquity* 1 (2007): 17–30.

Church of the East's form of monasticism, which implicitly distinguishes it from its Daoist and particularly its Buddhist counterparts:

[Following their] Law [they] take a bath in water and wind [and thereby] wash off futile embellishment and purify [themselves to achieve] emptiness and stainlessness. As [their] seal [they] have the sign 'cross' [which] amalgamates the 'four radiant' [cardinal directions, but at the same time] unifies [them] without restriction. [They] beat the wood [and thereby] invoke the sound of humanity and compassion. [They] venerate the East [and thereby] incite the Way of 'Honour in Life'. [They] leave [their] beards growing because [they still] act in the world; [they] shave [the] crowns [of their heads] because [they] do not have any inner passions. [They] have no slaves and make no difference between men, [no matter if] of low or high status. [They] do not pile up wealth and demonstrate poverty towards themselves. [Their] fasting [customs consist in] the taming of the activities of the mind, [their] rules of conduct are solidified in calmness and attention. Seven times [a day they dedicate themselves] to veneration and praise [and thereby deliver] great protection for the living and the dead; every seventh day [they] purify [their] minds [and] return to simplicity.⁶⁵

This idealised description of monasticism in the Church of the East is an interesting documentation of the community's self-understanding and self-presentation. It presents its own specific features (baptism, cross), but also takes up concepts of (particularly) Buddhism and Daoism and distinguishes itself from these other religions (way of venerating, keeping of slaves, specific tonsure and fasting practices).

The passage about the life and conduct of Christian monks is presented in a clearly constructed way: the outer appearance and actions lead to 'spiritual' achievements. Structurally, it is divided into two groups of two 'features' which have a closer inner connection which may be called 'sacramental'⁶⁶ (baptism and the sign of the cross)⁶⁷ and 'ritual' (the beating of the semantron and the subsequent veneration in the eastern direction).

65 See Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre*, 57, ll. 19–24: 法浴水風，滌浮華而潔虛白；印持十字，融四照以合無教。擊木，震仁惠之音；東禮，趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外行，削頂所以無內情。不畜臧獲，均貴賤於人；不聚貨財，示罄遺於我。齋以伏識而成，戒以靜慎為固。七時禮讚，大庇存亡；七日一薦洗心反素。

66 Called *fa* (法), '(holy) law' in Chinese.

67 On the connection between the sign of God's son ('Seal of God's Son') which finishes and emphasises the baptising rite and baptism itself see Hubert Jedin, ed., *Handbuch*

The passage starts with baptism as an outer symbol of religious belonging:⁶⁸ “take a bath in water and wind” (Chin. *fa yu shui feng* 法浴水風). Chinese *yu* (浴) normally means the washing or bathing of the whole body, either through submerging or by pouring water over the body: the rite described would therefore refer to the immersive baptism which was normal in the context of the Persian Church of the East.⁶⁹ The expression *shui feng* (水風), lit. ‘water-wind’, may reflect the idea that the concrete baptising with water is linked to that of the reception of the Holy Spirit (Chin. *feng* 風). The two elements can be found in the same order in John 3:5 (Jesus to Nikodemus): “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter in the kingdom of God.”⁷⁰ This connection of baptism with or in water and the reception of the Holy spirit clearly refers to the individual baptising of Jesus himself through John the Baptist,⁷¹ and baptism through Jesus.⁷²

That passage gives as the ‘purpose’ of baptism that “futile embellishment is washed off and one is purified [to achieve] emptiness and stainlessness.” The Chinese phrase *di fu hua er jie kong bai* (滌浮華而潔虛白) probably refers to the purification of the soul in the process of baptising, the abandoning and purification (exorcism) from (Satan’s) vain deception (Chin. *fuhua* 浮華, lit.

der Kirchengeschichte (Berlin: Digitale Bibliothek, 2000), 561–562 (Letter of Barnabas), and 933.

- 68 On baptism and its different symbolic aspects see Maxwell E. Johnson, *Images of Baptism* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2001).
- 69 For the baptism of the head Buddhist terms like *guanding* (灌頂), corresponding to Sanskrit (*mūrdha-*)*abhiṣeka*, could have been used.
- 70 *Amen amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto* (Grk. ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος), *non potest introire in regnum Dei*. All translations from the Gospels are from the King James Bible, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 71 Matt. 3:16–17; Marc 1:9–10; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:32; Diatessaron 4:35–41 (James Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, Being the Diatessaron of Tatian (Literally Translated from the Arabic Version and Containing the Four Gospels Woven into One Story)* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2001), 17).
- 72 Matt. 3:11: “I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance (*baptizo in aqua in peonitentiam*); but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, [...] He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire (Lat. *in Spiritu sancto et igni*, Grk. ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ.)” (see also Luke 3:16); John 1:33: “[...] but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.” Diatessaron 4:36–41 (Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, 17).

‘empty, vain embellishment’)⁷³ and to the forgiveness of sins (purification).⁷⁴ This passage, consequently picking up the term *shui feng*, could mean the abjuration of demonic forces⁷⁵ and fasting as taught in Christian catechisms.⁷⁶

The following sentence then makes the most obvious symbol of the religion, the cross, its main point of reference which the stele text combines with Chinese-cosmological ideas already elaborated on at the very beginning of the text. The term for cross in the Chinese is *shizi* (十字), lit. ‘the sign “ten” (十)’. Like in the earlier passage, the cross is positioned in a traditional Chinese context: *si zhao* (四照), “the four shining [directions],” is found in the most important literary model of the stele inscription, the fifth-century Buddhist Dhūta-inscription; the latter again takes up a *locus classicus* in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 [Classics of Mountains and Seas]. Contrary to its classical models the Christian inscription focuses on the universally unifying and liberating (Chin. *wuju* 無拘) symbolism of the cross. Following the reference to baptism, the cross as a ‘seal’ (Chin. *yin* 印)⁷⁷ makes good sense: through it the baptised is accepted into the community of Christians.

The following part emphasises the peculiarities of Eastern Syrian monasticism, highlighting the beating of the semantron (Chin. *ji mu* 擊木, Grk. σήμαντρον, Pers. *nāqūs*). This, like the description of the specific way of treating hair and beard, is used to distinguish the Christian monastic community positively from other religious communities in China, particularly from the Buddhists. In the Buddhist context the semantron-like tool (Skt. *gaṇḍī*, Chin. *jianzhi* 鍵椎), was beaten on occasion of the fortnightly confession meetings (Skt. *upoṣatha*) of the *saṃgha* but also as a sign of the communal meals in the refectory of the monasteries. In the Tang period these tools were mostly made

73 The East-Syriac formula of renunciation during the baptising ritual also clearly points to the evil work of Satan: Timothy A. Curtin, “The Baptismal Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington DC, 1970), 178–180, quoting Theodore of Mopsuestia: “I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps and his service, and his angels, and his deceptions, and all things under him.” See also Curtin, “The Baptismal Liturgy,” 181 and 185.

74 See the *Acts* 2: 38: “The Peter said unto them, Repent, and baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of the sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.”

75 Compare Curtin, “The Baptismal Liturgy,” 112–115.

76 See Joseph Chalassery, *The Holy Spirit and Christian Initiation in the East Syrian Tradition* (Rome: Mar Thomas Yogam, 1995), 53.

77 One is reminded of the importance of the seal (Syr. *ḥāt mā*) or the sign (Syr. *rūš mā*)—in most cases probably the sign of the cross (John Chrysostomus)—during the Syriac ritual of baptising: Curtin, “The Baptismal Liturgy,” 217–221; see also Johnson, *Images of Baptism*, 73–104.

of metal,⁷⁸ and the emphasis of the stele text may refer to the simplicity and modesty of the Christian community.

The following prayer, or more literally: greeting, venerating in eastern direction (Chin. *dong li* 東禮), is a specific marker of the Church of the East but is also found in the apostolic canon (Matt. 24:27): “For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.” The explicit mentioning of the veneration of the East in the Chinese context seems to express another concept as well. Through the travelogue of the famous Buddhist monk Xuanzang, the *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty] (submitted to the throne in 646), the idea had been spread that the eastern region of the Buddhist continent Jambudvīpa (Chin. Zhanbu zhou 瞻部洲)—identified as China—would morally rank first among all empires of the four cardinal directions—including Persia as the Western empire. According to Xuanzang the Indians therefore venerated the East and its ruler.⁷⁹ It is well possible that the stele inscription took up this idea and emphasised the fact that the Christians (or Christian monks) venerated the East even when they were in the East.

Keeping a beard (Chin. *cun xu* 存鬚) and referring to the coronal tonsure (Chin. *xiao ding* 削頂) certainly were the most distinctive outer features of the monks of the Church of the East. This was also in accordance with the ethnographic pattern which the Tang Chinese had of Persians.⁸⁰ The coronal tonsure distinguished the Christian monks from the full tonsure of the Buddhists, but also from the Daoists and the Manichaeans who left their hair unshaved. The context shows the meaning of the two ‘virtues’ corresponding to beard and

78 There is evidence that the material in China changed more and more from the original wood to metal; this is suggested by references in the Song period Buddhist encyclopaedias like the *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 [Essential Display of the [Teaching] of the Buddha] 3 (T. 2127.54, 304a) or the *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 [Collection of Translated Meanings] 7 (T. 2131.54, 1168b–1169c).

79 *Datang Xiyu ji* 1, T. 2087.51, 869b29–869c, 2: “In the customs of the three rulers [of the South, the North and the West] the East is highly revered. The doors of their residences are open in eastern [direction], and when the sun rises [they] turn east to venerate [it]. The land of the ruler of men [(i.e., China)] honours the southern direction” (Chin. 三主之俗，東方為上。其居室則東闢其戶，旦日則東向以拜。人主之地，南面為尊). For a discussion of this passage see Max Deeg, “Umgestaltung buddhistischer Kosmologie auf dem Weg von Indien nach China,” in *Religion im Wandel der Kosmologien*, ed. Dieter Zeller (Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1999), 241–254.

80 Cf. Xuanzang’s description of the western empire (Persia) in the *Datang Xiyu ji* 1, T. 2087.51, 869b25–26: “[...] [they] cut [their] hair and «grow a beard»; [...]” (Chin. [...] 斷髮《長鬚》, [...]).

tonsure: *waixing* (外行), lit. ‘external action’, and *neiqing* (內情), lit. ‘inner feeling’, obviously refer to the two aspects of *vita activa* and *vita contemplative* of the Christian monks which are kind of middle path between strict asceticism which the Manichaeans *electi* followed and the luxury found in some Buddhist monasteries. The Christians here recommend themselves by positive social conduct without discrepancy between ideal and reality, trying to invalidate the usual catalogue of critical points against monastic religious communities.

The remark that Christian monks do not possess slaves (Chin. *zanghuo* 臧獲) is to be seen in a similar context. One should remember that the possession of slaves was one of main points of attack from the state even before the later great persecution of the Buddhists—but also to a lesser extent of the other ‘foreign’ religions like the Manichaeans and the Christians—by Emperor Wuzong (r. 840–846, 武宗) in the year 845. However, this point had already led to criticism from high court officials before, as representing an evident contradiction between the ascetic-monastic ideal of the Buddhist *saṃgha* and the economic practice.⁸¹ Earlier, under the rule of the second Tang emperor, Taizong, this had been regulated in the *Daoseng ge* 道僧格 [Rules for the Daoist [Clergy] and Buddhist Monks], which was part of the juridical codex *Zhenguan li* 貞觀律 [Law Code of the Zhenguang (Era)] from the year 637.⁸² This is probably also the reason that the ‘author’ of the stele uses the archaic and more pejorative term *zanghuo* (臧獲)⁸³ instead of the usual *nubi* (奴婢) for slaves: it expresses a critical position towards the issue of holding slaves.

The reference to a life without possession is followed by one to fasting. The term *zhai* (齋) in a Buddhist context, from which it was certainly adapted together with the term *jie* (戒), ‘precepts’, has a rather broad semantic range, and this has to be taken into account when trying to understand its potential meaning in the stele text. Originally, *zhai* was a translation for Sanskrit *poṣatha*, the fortnightly confession assemblies of the Buddhist *saṃgha* which

81 Cf. the rules in the *Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 [Chinese Manichaean Compendium], T. 2141a54, 80c: “[The *electi*] only occupy ‘hearers’ [(i.e., the *auctores*, Manichaean laypeople)] and are not supposed to keep slaves” (Chin. 唯使聽人, 勿畜奴婢); see also Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, “Das buddhistische Gewand des Manichäismus. Zur buddhistischen Terminologie in den chinesischen Manichaica,” in *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*, ed. Walter Heissig and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 74.

82 Taizong referred to the instructions given by the Buddha before his *nirvāṇa* in the *Fochui bannipan lüeshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教戒經 [Sūtra of the Abridged Explanation of the Precepts [at the Time] of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha], where it says (T. 389.12, 110c): “Those who keep the pure precepts are not supposed [...] to keep humans, slaves [or] animals [...]” (Chin. 持淨戒者不得 [...] 畜養人民奴婢畜生, [...]).

83 For instance, in the *Xunzi* 荀子 [Xunzi] (see *Hanyu dacidian*, s.v.).

was combined, at least in China, with the practice of fasting. In the Tang period the originally rather individual and moderate events had developed into large feasts for a large number of monks, paid for by well-off laypeople. These grand events were the target of criticism by the opponents of Buddhism and were used to point out the corrupt situation of the Buddhist *saṃgha*.⁸⁴ By using the term *zhai* with its double meaning—ascetic fasting and luxurious feasts—the stele text seems to draw attention to the ideal lifestyle of Christian monks versus the boasting display of wealth of at least some Buddhist monasteries and some members of the *saṃgha*. The message is: contrary to these Buddhists, Christian monks do not accept lavish feasts but practise real penitence and individual fasting. The second phrase, which refers to the precepts (Chin. *jie* 戒, Skt. *śīla*) of the monks, has a similar contextual meaning. While Buddhist monks practise the formal recitation of the precepts or rules during the regular days of observances (Skt. *poṣatha*), but break them in practice—this, at least, is one of the criticisms of the opponents of Buddhism—Christian monks keep their rules without making a lot of fuss around them (i.e., they do not recite them during the liturgy).

The last reference in this passage is to the liturgic routine according to which the monks prayed seven times a day—more often than the services of their Buddhist counterparts—and the Sunday Eucharist (Syr. *ʿràzê*). Here, the argument seems to be one of quantity and regularity and may relate to the concept of the protection of the state which the ritual services of monks—usually Buddhist—was supposed to guarantee.

6 Conclusion

To emphasise the distinctive features of Christian monks in the general Chinese context around 781, when the stele was erected, the ‘author’ of the stele obviously and skilfully used terminology from the Chinese classical texts and from Buddhism. Since the whole stele text clearly has a propagandist intention of showing the idealised relationship of the Christian community with the Tang court and the emperors, the ‘description’ of Christian monasticism followed

84 See, for instance, in the first half of the Tang period the notoriously anti-Buddhist advisor of the first two Tang emperors Gaozu (r. 618–626, 高祖) and Taizong (r. 626–649, 太宗), Fu Yi (555–639, 傅奕), quoted in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明記 [Great Collection of the Elucidation of the Dharma], T. 2103.52, 134c: “If the monks and nuns dressed in normal cloth [and] restricted themselves on the occasion of the feasts [(Chin. *zhai*)], the poor [would] not have to suffer hunger [and] the silkworms would not have to die in such a disastrous amount” (Chin. 僧尼衣布省齋, 則貧人不飢, 蠶無橫死者).

this intentional pattern as well. This fits well into the context of religious policy of the court around the time of the erection of the stele. In the year 779, Emperor Dezong ascended the throne. He immediately issued restrictions of, and measures against, the rich Buddhist monasteries and clergy and interdicted the construction of new monasteries and the ordination of new monks.⁸⁵ In the light of this situation, the text of the stele should not be read as a ‘description’ of a historical reality but as an apologetic-propagandist reaction to this situation. The depiction of the monasticism of the Church of the East fits nicely in this contextual framework and addresses most of the issues Dezong had with the Buddhist institutions—accumulation of wealth and land, keeping slaves, the display of luxury and neglect of normatively regulated practice. The passage skilfully combines generalities of good religious behaviour (spiritual purity and asceticism) with peculiarities of Christian monasticism to paint an idealised portrait of monastic communities. Thus, it sets itself apart from its competitors, particularly the Buddhists, through a set of distinctive identity markers. In a way, the adaptation of Buddhist terminology seen in the Jingjiao texts is reversed and turned into a strategy of othering: by referring to outer markers, ritual actions and symbols, which were partly shared with Buddhist monasticism, it creates an idealised and distinct religious self-identity. How successful this ‘strategy’ was in the short term is difficult to judge—in the long run, it did not save the Jingjiao communities from the consequences of the great persecution of Buddhism and other foreign religions (843 and 845) under Emperor Wuzong.⁸⁶

85 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 89–93.

86 Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 114–136; Deeg, “The ‘Brilliant Teaching’. The Rise and Fall,” 105–107, and Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre*, 50–55.

On the Presence and Influence of Daoism in the Buddhist Material from Dunhuang

Henrik H. Sørensen

Abstract

The present chapter is meant as an introduction to the types of Daoist data we encounter in the Buddhist material as found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. By ‘Daoist data’ we mean concepts, practices and beliefs which originated in the Daoist religion, but which—over the course of time—gradually found their way into Chinese Buddhism through a consistent and prolonged process of inculturation. This was a process during which Daoism from its side adopted, appropriated and modified salient aspects from Buddhism as well.

The Buddhist Dunhuang material which reflects this Daoist influence/impact takes a variety of forms. However, the most dense concentration can be found in Buddhist apocrypha, as well as in compositions associated with Esoteric Buddhism (Chin. *mijiao* 密教). Talismans and talismanic seals are one of these areas in which Buddhism adopted from Daoism. While the Buddhists created their own types, which in many cases reflect Buddhist concepts, divinities and functions, the manner of usage has a clear imprint from Daoism.

When looking for a conceptual model with which to understand and highlight the manner by which Daoist practices entered Buddhism, it would seem that it was chiefly the traditional Chinese sciences, such as astrology, medicine, etc., which served as the primary conduits for this exchange.

1 Introduction

By the late Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) period virtually all aspects of Chinese culture were permeating Chinese Buddhism, and by the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) most if not all aspects of Chinese Buddhism were in turn impacting Chinese culture. Although a religion in its own right and as such an integral part of Chinese culture, Daoism would also naturally leave its imprints on Buddhist practices over time, and it is these that

we shall be looking at in closer detail in this presentation—with Buddhism in Dunhuang (敦煌) as our focus.

The following examples from the Buddhist manuscripts found at Dunhuang will highlight the various ways in which Daoist elements, inherently foreign to Indian culture, reflect the manner in which local Buddhism—and by extension Chinese Buddhism—absorbed and integrated religious elements which in their origin were foreign and originally non-Buddhist in nature. The examples under discussion have been chosen not only on the basis of this criteria, but also for their density in the source material, i.e., for their seeming importance during the time in question. By presenting them as a whole, it is hoped that they will underscore this density, arranged in accordance with the salient categories of source materials in which they appear. They are as follows:

- 1) Gods and divinities
- 2) Production of apocryphal literature
- 3) Conceptions of the netherworld
- 4) Spell casting including formal curses
- 5) Talismans and seals
- 6) Various forms of issues for which ritual remedies and beliefs can be had
- 7) Longevity practices
- 8) Astrology and divination (including geomancy, dream-interpretation, etc.)

Having established these ‘fields’ as representative for the areas in which the Daoist impact is most noticeable and dense with regard to Buddhist practice, a discussion of how each of these categories impacted Buddhism in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, i.e., during the ninth–tenth centuries.

Let it be said here at the outset that I reject the unqualified use of terms such as ‘folk culture’ or ‘folk customs’ to describe religious hybridity, but instead prefer to make use of the term ‘popular culture’ for practices which are commonly accepted and broadly used within a given population at any given location and time. The reason for this is that the two former terms are heavily influenced by anthropological thinking, and as such not very useful to the attempt at accounting for the presence of one religion’s practices within another as they unfolded in the historical continuum. Moreover, ‘popular culture’ has the advantage of avoiding the classical pitfall of imagining that popular practices were necessarily determined by social class distinctions or education.

What follows here is a study of how the interaction between Daoism and Buddhism played out in a remote, yet important, Buddhist centre on the eastern stretches of the Silk Road.

2 Conceptualising Daoist Influence on Buddhism

Before presenting and discussing the cases in which Daoist presence in Buddhist written sources are apparent in the Dunhuang material, let us begin with a short elucidation concerning how Daoist influence on Buddhism in the Sinitic cultural sphere is being envisaged.

Once Buddhism had begun the process of indigenisation it gradually changed from a foreign, i.e., Indian, religion to a Chinese one. While this process continued for several centuries with constant modifications and accommodation of new Buddhist trends from abroad, the religion steadily turned into a *bona fide* Chinese religion. This is a process in which extended contact with Daoism played a major role.

When viewing the Daoist influence on Buddhism in the *long durée* it is clear that while the former left strong imprints on the latter, it was only in certain areas or 'fields' as indicated above. There are of course reasons for this. Most obvious is that in the major 'hard' areas, i.e., in those pertaining to doctrine, core beliefs, fundamental ethics, etc., the Daoist impact was comparatively minor, or at least less effective, whereas in 'softer' areas, such as the literature, traditional sciences, and popular beliefs which tend to blend with common cultural practices, it was relatively strong. This is also the case with regard to ritual practice, which was one aspect of medieval Chinese Buddhism where Daoism was able to offer new or different methods with which to enrich the former's already formidable ritual tool box.

Given that many Daoist practices and beliefs historically were themselves heavily influenced by Buddhist thought, it is of course important to note that many of the practices which Chinese Buddhist took over from Daoism were actually representative of earlier Buddhist influences on the latter. One may in those instances talk about a process of 'feed-back loops', by which Chinese Buddhism was re-influenced by its own earlier dispensations that had undergone processes of indigenisation via Daoism, or more broadly conceived by Chinese culture as such.

One of the results of the interaction between the two religious systems in China was the appropriation by Daoism of various types of beliefs and practices that were not current in the Central Kingdom prior to the arrival of Buddhism, or which were more developed in Buddhism, which after all had a much longer history, and which was philosophically and doctrinally superior to Daoism. In time this led to the creation of Daoist scriptures thoroughly infused with Buddhist beliefs and cosmological concepts. This trend, which

came about over the course of the fourth–fifth centuries, eventually gave rise to that curious tradition which we refer to as Buddho-Daoism, and which was foremostly—but not exclusively—expressed in the scriptures associated with Lingbao Daoism (Chin. Lingdao daojiao 靈寶道教).¹

On the Buddhist side the meeting and interaction with Daoism influenced the religion in a variety of ways that to a considerable extent took Chinese Buddhism in directions that were alien to its Indian mother religion. As part of this meditation practices, concepts of longevity, astrology and healing methods underwent considerable modifications over the course of time. Buddhist ritual practices as already stated absorbed salient Daoist practices, either wholesale or with modifications. This development caused many, essentially alien concepts and ideas to be incorporated. Likewise, a considerable part of the Buddhist apocryphal literature that was produced in China features the imprint of Daoism. In certain extreme cases, these scriptures have been found to be carbon copies of Daoist texts.

The implication of this is that Chinese Buddhism would have looked very different without the input from Daoism. Conversely, Daoism would surely not have evolved the way it did without the strong influence it received from Buddhism during the latter half of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and afterwards. The courses of the two religious traditions became incontrovertibly linked over time, in fact to such an extent that it makes little sense to see them as inherently independent or separate traditions. That is not to say that they are the same, nor that they have become completely integrated over time. Both Buddhism and Daoism retained, and still retain, salient characteristics such as rather different doctrinal underpinnings for their respective soteriological beliefs, as well as many distinct forms of practice, many of which were not shared or imitated by the other side. Nevertheless, the active borrowing and appropriation, as engaged in actively by both religions, underline their

1 On the connection between Lingbao Daoism and Buddhism as reflected in the Dunhuang material, see the monumental study by Wang Chengwen 王承文, *Dunhuang gu Lingbao jing yu Jin Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 [The Old Lingbao Scriptures from Dunhuang and Daoism from the Jin to the Tang] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002). See also the now classical studies by Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten* 道教とその經典 [Daoism and Its Scriptures] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1997), etc. Some of the issues pertaining to the Daoist material from Dunhuang has also been dealt with in a series of illuminating articles in Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光 et al., ed., *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō* 敦煌と中国道教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism] (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1986). A recent study by Funayama Tōru (船山徹) documents the impact of the Chinese Buddhist bodhisattva-concept on Daoism. Cf. Funayama Tōru, “Buddhist Theories of Bodhisattva Practice as Adopted by Daoists,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 15–33.

inherent indebtedness to each other on many parameters over the course of history.²

When studying Daoist and Buddhist integration it is not uncommon to find that mainly Chinese scholars sometimes have a problem distinguishing what constitutes formal Daoist practices on the one hand, i.e., recognisable aspects of Daoist religion, and what constitutes Chinese cultural practices on the other. This lack of distinction is of course understandable as Daoism is a Chinese religion which naturally incorporates many traditional beliefs and practices which in their original forms did not have anything, or at least very little to do with the later religion. Some of these, many in fact, did not even become part of formal Daoism later on. We see this type of problem to varying degrees in the studies by Xiao Dengfu (蕭登福), a vehement defender of Daoist sovereignty and independence from Buddhist influence, and more recently in that of Zhou Xipo (周西波) just to mention a few cases where conceptual conflation of Daoism and Chinese culture tends to obfuscate and undermine their scholarly arguments.³ This is of course especially critical when comparing Daoism and Buddhism to show how Buddhism has been influenced by Daoism. In many cases Chinese Buddhism has certainly adopted or appropriated salient aspects of Daoist practice and belief as already said. Yet, in many other cases it simply absorbed Sinitic cultural norms across the board, including popular beliefs and practices, which of course existed outside the structural boundaries of formal Daoism. For instance, the Confucian undercurrent in Chinese culture influenced both Daoism and Buddhism in equal measure. Since Buddhism after its introduction to China relatively quickly became a *bona fide* Chinese religion, and with the vast majority of its followers being Chinese, it is evident

2 A discussion of the mutual influences between Daoism and Buddhism in medieval China from the perspective of rituals can be found in Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China* (St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2012), 155–176. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, “Buddho–Daoism in Medieval and Early Pre-modern China: A Report on Recent Findings Concerning Influences and Shared Religious Practices,” *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 109–138.

3 See Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, “Cong ‘Dazang jing’ suoshou fojing zhong kan daojiao xingdou chongli dui fojiao zhi yingxiang 從大正藏所收佛經中看道教星斗崇拜對佛教之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Astral Lore on Buddhism to be Found in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Taishō Tripitaka],” *Taizhong shangzhuang xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 23 (1991): 105–156; Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, “Daojiao fulu zhouyin dui fojiao mizong zhi yingxiang 道教符籙咒印對佛教密宗之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Talismanic Documents and Spell Seals on Esoteric Buddhism],” *Taizhong shangzhuang xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 24 (1992): 51–87; and Zhou Xipo 周西波, “Dunhuang daojiao zhaiwen de neirong yu yiyi 敦煌道教齋文的內容與意義 [The Content and Meaning of Daoist Meagre Feast Texts in Dunhuang],” *Wenxue xinyao* 文學新論 [New Keys to Textual Studies] 13 (2011): 61–86.

that both religions would have shared many of the same cultural norms and behavioural patterns. For this simple reason, it is important to avoid the trap of essentialism in uncritically regarding all the numerous Sinitic elements we encounter in Chinese Buddhism—including salient elements in the apocryphal literature—as simply adaptations or borrowings from Daoism.

Another problem that arises from dealing with certain Chinese cultural elements in Chinese Buddhism is when they are conceptualised as expressions of folklore (Chin. *minsu* 民俗) or folk religion.⁴ Such a manner of comprehension tends to reduce many Sinitic cultural practices and beliefs to expressions of something primitive or simplistic, even illiterate, i.e., the undifferentiated and unstructured religion of the ordinary, unschooled people. While it is undeniable that visions, oracles or home-made beliefs informed various local cults in China, and therefore are to be considered spiritually superficial from the point of view of established religious practice, in many historical cases their leaders were not illiterate or uncultured, on the contrary. This does not mean that there have not been many religious mass movements in China that fall outside the framework of formal, orthodox religion. There were and still are, but even though they tend to mix various forms of religious beliefs including those of Daoism and Buddhism (and more recently Christianity as well), and in many cases can be seen as stretching the limits of reason and propriety beyond their own hermeneutical structures in ignorant and confused ways, they are in reality not that different from what one may find in many accepted religious contexts. Just think about the report on the procession of the Buddha's finger bone from Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安) to and from Famen Temple

4 This problem can be encountered in the various studies by Gao Guofan (高国藩), who tends to conceptualise popular, religious practices and beliefs under one 'folk religion'. Cf. e.g., Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Zhongguo minsu tanwei: Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian* 中國民俗探微: 敦煌古俗與民俗流變 [An Investigation into Chinese Folklore: Dunhuang's Ancient Lore and the Transformation of Folklore] (Nanjing: Hehai daxue chubanshe, 1990); and the more recent, Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Dunhuang fu zhou fengsu* 敦煌符咒風俗 [The Folklore of Talismans and Spells in Dunhuang] (Hong Kong: Dong'a wenhua chubanshe, 2005). Despite the fact that Gao covers a great many aspects of talismanic and spell-related practices in medieval Dunhuang, his 'folklore' approach means that he overlooks many central aspects of both Buddhism and Daoism, in particular their mutual integration. Also, his historical understanding of Esoteric Buddhism as a cultural phenomenon leaves much to be desired. The same tendency can also be seen in Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史, "Tonkō no minkan shinkō to bukyō, dōkyō—bukkyō bunken ni mirareru fuin o chūshin toshite 敦煌の民間信仰と佛教, 道教—佛教文獻に見られる符印を中心として [Dunhuang's Folk Religious Beliefs and Buddhism, Daoism—Focusing on the Talismanic Seals as Found in the Buddhist Literature]," *Tonkō sahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Yearbook of Dunhuang Manuscript Studies] 14 (2020): 51–67.

(Chin. Famen si 法門寺) during the Tang.⁵ The religious fervour of the faithful is said to have created a spectacle far beyond what should be expected from the behaviour of pious Buddhists. Likewise, one could refer to the behaviour of devout Christians in the Church of Nativity in Jerusalem where one may witness highly un-Christian scuffles, even fist fights, evidently with the purpose of getting blessed first. Obviously, expressions of popular religion involve people from all walks of life.

Moreover, separating so-called 'high religion' from 'low-religion', i.e., the religion of the 'struggling masses', inadvertently creates the idea of popular religion as something existing outside and beyond *bona fide* religious practice. This is clearly an untenable position to take, especially as regards Chinese religion, which on the level of popular religion in the majority of documented cases does not discriminate between social classes, or even levels of education. Popular religion in China drew and still draws on all current forms of beliefs and practices, including what may be considered high-level philosophy, traditional science, and all kinds of more generalised religious forms of expression. Popular religion is simply popular religion, i.e., one that is shared and participated in by the many. In medieval Dunhuang this was certainly also the case.

3 Gods and Divinities

One important area in Chinese Buddhism is its pantheon, wherein one finds deities and spirits who did not originate in India. Not only that, but many of these indigenous divinities and demons derive directly from Daoism, or have otherwise been incorporated into Buddhism from mainstream Chinese culture. The Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang underscore in many ways the developments we find in the Chinese heartlands, and as such they document the presence of a good many gods and spirits which were alien to Indian Buddhism. Among these are the gods of the Great Dipper, the God of the Hearth (Chin. Zaoshen 竈神), the God of the Soil (Chin. Tushen 土神), and a sundry variety of demons and evil spirits. Even a few major gods of Daoism, such as Taishang Laojun (Chin. Taishang Laojun 太上老君), the Lord of Taishan (Chin. Taishan jun 泰山君), Zhen Wu (真武), as well as a generic host of heavenly worthies (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊), found their way into the Buddhist pantheon in Dunhuang.

5 See the account in Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 102–103.

One case that is especially interesting for the present purpose is that of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist thaumaturge and founder of Madhyamaka, and the Dark Lady of Daoism (Chin. Xuannü 玄女), the consort of the Yellow Emperor (Chin. Huangdi 黃帝) and later a Daoist goddess. The reason for this is that the cross-religious affair between the two also plays out in a text included in a composite manuscript from Dunhuang, entitled *Longshu pusa jiutian Xuannu zhou* 龍樹菩薩九天玄女咒 [Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Spells for the Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens] (P. 3835V^o [4]). In order to get a better understanding of the implications of this 'divine romance', let us take a look at what is transpiring here.

The text is a combined instruction on the absorption of vital energy (Chin. *qi* 氣), followed by ritual proceedings, including the effectuation of the rite by using a spell, and finally a mystical alchemical process whereby the vital energy is captured and preserved. All of these rather Daoist or Daoistic processes are placed in what is otherwise a straight-forward Buddhist arrangement including terminology and the offering of precept incense, meditation incense, and wisdom incense symbolising the three precepts (Skt. *śīla*). Following this is a lengthy, Daoist style invocation entitled *Xuannu zhou* 玄女咒 [Spell of the Dark Lady] in which Buddhist and Daoist divinities are invoked. Then follows an invocation—also in Daoist style—of the Buddhist King of the Northern Direction, Vaiśravaṇa, and a spell, the *Poyang zhou* 破傷咒 [Spell Against Tetanus], indicating that the ritual proceedings might somehow be connected to warfare.

Now, what may we learn from this? While both divinities referred to in the text are mainly present in name, it is noteworthy that the already multifarious Nāgārjuna (fl. ca. 150–250) persona has been recast as a practitioner of both inner and outer alchemy (Chin. *neidan* 內丹, *waidan* 外丹). Moreover, the relation between the two divinities occurs as a harmonious one in which both sides are recognised and their respective divinities respected. Thus, one cannot say which religion has incorporated which, but rather that an integration of the two has taken place. Even so, it appears that the over-all context in which Nāgārjuna and the Dark Lady met was predominantly Buddhist. This is something which is also clear from the manuscript, which features additional Buddhist material.

The other case relates to two minor divinities, or rather messenger spirits, namely the Lads of Good and Evil (Chin. Shan E' tongzi 善惡童子), who begin to appear in Buddhist contexts during the second half of the Tang period.⁶

6 See the discussion in Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Daojiao Siming Silu xitong dui fojiao jian zhai ji Shan E' tongzi shuo zhi yingxiang 道教司命司錄系統對佛教檢齋及善惡童子說之影

The history of these originally astral gods, who figure under the names Siming (司命) and Silu (司錄) in the Daoist material, go back to the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220, 漢), where they appear as minor astral bureaucrats in the retinue of the divine Lord Wenchang (Chin. Wenchang jun 文昌君). While one may argue that they are as much a part of traditional Chinese cosmological imagination as of formal Daoism, it is surely in the scriptures of the latter that this class of messenger gods find their most well-defined expression—in particular as part of the belief in body-dwelling worms.⁷ The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 [Scripture on the Karmic Causes of the Highest Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure] (DZ 336, 81c), a classical Lingbao work that features considerable Buddhist influence, includes the pair of messenger gods in a more elevated fashion.

Over the course of Buddhism's inculturation in China, the Lads of Good and Evil were introduced as acolytes of King Yama in the netherworld. The earliest appearance of the pair in a Chinese Buddhist context is in the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 [Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings] (T. 590.15),⁸ where their function is that of divine spies. Later, in material from the early part of the eighth century, they are directly identified with Simin and Silu as officials of the netherworld in the *Azhapaju yuanshuai dajiang shang fo tuoluoni jing xiuxingyigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 [Cultivation of the Ritual Proceedings of the *Āṭavakasūtra*] (T. 1239.21, 195a) ascribed to Śubhākarasimha (637–735).

Once we turn to the Dunhuang material from the late medieval period, the Two Lads of Good and Evil appear relatively often, both in Buddhist scriptures and in Buddhist art.⁹ Among other contexts they figure in the short text, *Dizang pusa shi zhai ri* 地藏菩薩十齋日 [The Ten Fast Days of Bodhisattva

響 [On the Influence of the System of Siming and Silu in Daoism on the Buddhist Repast for Inspection and the Discourse on the Lads of Good and Evil],” accessed June 5, 2021. <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-AN/119595.pdf>.

7 See Michel Strickmann and Bernard Faure, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 76–77. They can also be seen referred to as ‘corporeal parasites’ in Yamada Toshiaki, “Longevity and the Lingbao wufuxu,” in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. Livia Kohn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1989), 97–122.

8 See Henrik H. Sørensen, “Divine Scrutiny of Human Morals in an Early Chinese Buddhist Sūtra: A Study of the *Si tianwang jing* (T. 590),” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995): 44–83.

9 For examples, see MG 17664, and Henrik H. Sørensen, “Donors and Image at Dunhuang: A Case Study of OA 1919,0101,0.54,” *Buddhist Road Paper* 4.1 (2019). When appearing in tableaux depicting the Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings, the Lads of Good and Evil tend to be represented as a series of generic attendant figures. Cf. e.g., EO 3644, and OA 1919,0101,0.23.

Kṣitigarbha] (zw 64C.7). As it happens there are different versions of this text among the Dunhuang material, and in another of these we find both the Lads of Good and Evil as well as Siming and Silu/Chaming (察命) appearing in the roles of divine spies or karmic reporters (zw 64G.7). Furthermore, they are in the company of several Daoist gods such as Taishan Fujun (太山府君) a.k.a. Taishanjun (泰山君), Tian da jiangjun (天大將軍), and Wudao jiangjun (五道將軍).

4 Conceptions of the Medieval Netherworld in Dunhuang

Netherworld beliefs and concepts abound in Dunhuang, not only in the relevant manuscripts of Buddhism and Daoism, but also in pictorial renderings as votive paintings and wall-paintings in the Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟). In fact the sheer amount of material in Dunhuang which deals directly with concerns about the netherworld gives food for thought. Of course the primary concern in this regard was how to avoid falling into the netherworld and there to suffer the horrors of torture having one's karma evaluated and a verdict passed. Fear of the torture in the hells of the netherworld is of course one that was shared by many medieval religions, and one which was capitalised on by religious functionaries. Dunhuang was no exception to this. Hence, the entire business that evolved around the afterlife, both good and bad, was surely a driving force in its religious life.

The construction of the Sinitic Netherworld with its elaborate bureaucracy and hells is a direct and meaningful example of the integration of Buddhist and Daoist imagination in medieval China, a process in which both religions played crucial roles. One may in this case even speak about a sort of 'democratic' solution to a major religious issue.

The coming about of a generally accepted and functioning concept of a netherworld building equally on Daoist and Buddhist beliefs did of course not come about overnight; it took several centuries before a fully formed vision appeared. Not only that, after the merger of the two visions took place, concepts of the netherworld continued to evolve into the pre-modern period resulting—among other things—in the physical creations we see in Sichuan (四川) from the Song (960–1279, 宋) and Ming periods (1368–1644, 明), such as the carvings found in Dazu (大足) and at Fengdu (丰都).¹⁰

10 See Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Meeting of Daoist and Buddhist Spatial Imagination: The Construction of the Netherworld in Medieval China," in *Locating Religions: Contact,*

In Dunhuang it is to some extent possible to trace the development of the Buddho-Daoist netherworld in the surviving manuscripts as well as in the related imagery. This material shows a development from a rudimentary model of the netherworld to one that is more sophisticated and ordered.¹¹ As already hinted at above, the Buddho-Daoist netherworld most certainly did not originate in Dunhuang, but was imported or transmitted to this remote part of the Hexi Corridor over the course of the sixth–seventh centuries. Despite the fact that it was not invented in Dunhuang, extant imagery relating to the netherworld was indeed built upon by local artisans, wherefore we are fortunate to have a fair number of related objects to inform us.

Although they were originally distinct cults or conceptual groups of formation, during the late medieval period one finds that netherworld beliefs and the cult of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha were collapsed into one.¹² The *Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing* 佛說淨度三昧經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhi of Pure Deliverance] (zw 63.3),¹³ an apocryphal scripture which enjoyed some degree of popularity in Dunhuang, features a version, and system, of the netherworld with eight kings and their departments.¹⁴ This Buddhist apocrypha may have helped give rise to the later Buddhist netherworld ruled over by the group of ten kings (Chin. *shiwang* 十王) as taught in the *Shiwang jing* 十王經 [Scripture on the Ten Kings] (zz 20.1) that greatly influenced Buddhism in Dunhuang during the ninth–tenth centuries.¹⁵

Diversity and Translocality, ed. Reinhold F. Gleis and Nicholas Jaspers (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 234–292.

- 11 For this development see Steven F. Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994). See also Neil Schmid, "Revisioning the Buddhist Cosmos: Shifting Paths of Rebirth in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Art," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 293–326.
- 12 Zhang Zong, "Comment le bodhisattva Dizang est parvenu à gouverner les Dix Rois des Enfers," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 265–292.
- 13 Edited by Fang Guangchang (方廣昌). There are several surviving manuscripts of this interesting scripture. A full introduction can be found in the preface to the edited version (zw 672.11: 226a–230a).
- 14 For a study of the Buddhist hells and the role of the *Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing*, see Costantino Moretti, "Scenes of Hell and Damnation in Dunhuang Murals," *Arts Asiatiques* 74 (2019): 5–30.
- 15 See Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings*.

5 Daoism and Buddhist Apocryphal Literature from Dunhuang

The production of a distinct class of indigenous Buddhist literature, i.e., apocryphal texts (Chin. *weijing* 偽經) is one of the characterising features of Chinese Buddhism. Whether understood as ‘false’ scriptures, scriptures masquerading as Indian *sūtras*, or simply rewritings of Daoist scriptures, the Chinese Buddhist apocrypha constitutes one of the most important and influential vehicles for conveying Buddhist messages to a wider audience of Chinese-speaking peoples.¹⁶ Characteristic for most of the apocryphal literature is that individual scriptures try to give the impression that they are the Buddha’s words, or at least were transmitted from India or Central Asia and translated into Chinese. Thus, the history of Buddhist apocrypha began almost as soon as Buddhism arrived in China and has continued up until the modern era, producing literally hundreds of indigenous scriptures and texts.

While it is evident that not all apocryphal scriptures of Chinese Buddhism contain or otherwise reflect Daoist ideas and practices, a rather large number of them do. One could say that the presence of Daoist elements in a given Buddhist scripture pretending to be of canonical status are among the most certain clues that it is apocryphal or not. Otherwise, conceptual elements that clearly signal Sinitic cultural discourses are another good sign that one is dealing with a Chinese composition.¹⁷

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts we find a large number of these apocryphal Buddhist scriptures in Chinese, including many variant texts which (one way or another) also fall into the category of ‘fabricated scriptures’. Since much of this material has already received due attention from the scholarly community, it would be superfluous to get into a discussion of this material here, except to provide a few examples of those texts which document a clear

16 For a conceptual and ground-breaking discussion of apocrypha in Chinese Buddhism, see Robert E. Buswell, “Introduction: Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990), 1–30. See also the series of important articles in Fang Guangchang 方廣昌, ed., *Fojiao wenxian yanjiu* 佛教文獻研究 [Studies in Buddhist Texts], vols. 1–2 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016).

17 One such example is the *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 2897.85). This apocryphal scripture features a section on geomancy as well as cosmological and astrological beliefs that all originated in Chinese culture. As far as we can tell this scripture was composed some time during the eighth century, and the fact that several copies have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts underscores the scripture’s immense popularity locally. However, the Chinese material that appear in this scripture is not directly related to Daoist influence, but rather to Sinitic culture *per se*.

and undisputed influence from Daoism (similar to those examples provided above).

One apocryphal scripture which consists of an interesting mix of both Buddhist and Daoist beliefs is the *Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhi of Pure Deliverance* referred to above.¹⁸ Among other things it features a comprehensive series of Daoist divinities similar to those listed above, including the Lads of Good and Evil, Taiyi (太一), the god of the Pole Star, demon generals, messenger spirits, etc. These are presented together with the usual host of Buddhist divinities, including bodhisattvas, and gods like Indra, Brahmā and the Four Heavenly Kings (Chin. Si tianwang 四天王) (zw 63.7: 232a). We are clearly dealing with a scripture with composite contents, what we may refer to as a typical Dao-Buddhist work.¹⁹ The *Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhi of Pure Deliverance* was widely circulated in Dunhuang and is certain to have left an imprint on the way Buddhism was perceived locally.²⁰

Despite a lack of detailed information about institutional Daoism from the period after Dunhuang came under Tibetan control, we have enough information at hand to document that while Daoist monks and nuns may have fled this part of the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zuolang 河西走廊) prior to the surrender to the Tibetans, many types of Daoist belief and related practices continued to exist among the general population as before. However, as far as our current knowledge goes, it would appear that much of these beliefs and practices were mixed with Buddhist elements.²¹ In any case there are hardly any traces of the continued practice of sectarian Daoism after ca. 800. Because of this situation, many Daoist scriptures ended up in Buddhist libraries. This

18 Edited by Fang Guangchang (方廣昌). There are several surviving manuscripts of this interesting scripture. A full introduction can be found in the preface to the edited version (DZ 672.11, 226a–230a).

19 For a discussion of the Daoist input in this scripture, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, “Dunhuang xiejuan Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing suojian de daojiao xixiang 敦煌寫卷佛說淨度三昧經所見的道教思想 [The Dunhuang Manuscripts of the Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing Wherein One may See Daoist Concepts],” in *Quanguo Dunhuang xue yantao hui lunwen ji* 全國敦煌學研討會論文集 [Collected Essays of the National Seminar for Dunhuang Studies] (no editor given) (Jiayixian, Taiwan: Zhongzheng daxue, 1995), 181–200.

20 As many as twelve copies of the scripture have been identified so far, something which underscores its relative importance among Dunhuang’s Buddhists (and Daoists?).

21 Cf. Liu Yongming 刘永明, “Lun Dunhuang fojiao xinyang zhong de fo dao ronghe 论敦煌佛教信仰中的佛道融合 [A Discussion of the Harmonisation between Buddhism and Daoism in Buddhist Belief in Dunhuang],” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 1 (2005): 45–55; Liu Yongming 刘永明, “Tubo shiqi Dunhuang dao-jiao ji xiangguan xinyang xisu tanxi 吐蕃时期敦煌道教及相关信仰习俗探析 [An Analysis of Daoism in Dunhuang and Related Beliefs and Customs During the Period of Tibetan Control],” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 4 (2011): 36–44.

meant that they would have been available to members of the local Buddhist *sangha*, and may have influenced their thinking.²² We do not know to what extent Buddhist monks and nuns studied this material, but one would suppose that much of the Lingbao Daoist material could in principle have been read by them. Moreover, given that many of the apocryphal Buddhist scriptures found at Dunhuang contain Daoist elements to varying degrees, one is inclined to think that conceptual demarcation lines between the two would have been rather oblique, at least to the less educated monks and nuns.

6 Spell-Casting and Curses

The use of magical spells permeates Chinese Buddhist practices and is well-documented in the canonical literature from the fourth century onwards, underscoring that such practices were part of the Buddhist tradition before it arrived in China.²³ Once spell-related practices gained ground and began to appear in a variety of contexts it was unavoidable that they should become part of the Buddhist interaction with Daoism. Daoist spells and ritual curses constitute a special category in the religion's literature, but in contradistinction to spells in Buddhism, variously referred to as spells (Chin. *zhou* 咒), *dhāraṇī* (Chin. *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼), and *mantras* (Chin. *zhenyan* 真言, *ming* 明), the Daoist or Daoistic spells we meet with in the Buddhist sources are normally written in a mixture of poetry and prose, i.e., as more or less understandable text. This means that we must distinguish between spells (i.e., *dhāraṇīs*, *mantras*, etc.) that originated in Indian Buddhism, and those produced by Chinese Buddhists under inspiration from Daoist spells and spell-curses. Buddhist spells mimicking Daoist spell-curses come in two varieties; either as direct appropriation or through inspiration. In the Dunhuang material both types are common, as shall presently be seen in a couple of illustrative examples.

22 For an approachable overview of the Daoist material found in Dunhuang, see Wang Ka 王卡, *Dunhuang daojiao wenxian yanjiu* 敦煌道教文獻研究 [Studies in the Daoist Texts from Dunhuang] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004). This lists the different text-types together with a brief introduction to each. The introductory chapter is highlighting the relationship between Buddhist and Daoist texts. See also Liu Yi 刘屹, *Dunhuang daojing yu daojiao* 敦煌道经与中古道教 [The Daoist Scriptures from Dunhuang and Chinese Ancient Daoism] (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010).

23 See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in the Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c.300–600 CE) and their Implications for the Rise and Development of Esoteric Buddhism," in *Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*, ed. Meir Shahar and Yael Bentor (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 41–71.

The Buddhist use of Daoist spell-curses and incantations written as normal text came in vogue during the second half of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) period, and appear in a variety of Buddhist contexts such as in the *Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Miscellaneous Collection of Spells] where we encounter a Daoist spell-curse, the *Foshuo zhou tu tuoluoni* 佛說咒土陀羅尼 [Buddha Speaks the Dhāraṇī for Putting Spells on the Land] (T. 1336.21, 609c–610a).²⁴ A pronounced Daoist flavour is evident throughout, including the appearance of four of the five directional spirits, i.e., the Blue Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Peacock (Phoenix) and the intertwined Tortoise and Snake here represented by Xuanwu (玄武, Zhenwu 真武), as well as other spirits of the soil. At the end of the invocational section of the scripture, we also find the command: ‘Quickly let the spell [be effective] in accordance with the command of the law’ (Chin. *ji zhou ru li ling* 急咒如律令).²⁵ Incidentally the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* was also quite popular among the Buddhists in Dunhuang as a compendium of spells during the late medieval period.

Among the Dunhuang material we find a rather typical example of a Daoist spell-text of the commanding type, in prose, in a Buddhist ritual context. The text in question reads:

Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions

We respectfully invite the Green Faced Vajrapāla of the eastern direction to come into the ritual space. His teeth are like sword trees, his eyes resembling shooting stars, his mouth like bloody jar, his hand holding an iron lance (Comment: [his] lion resembles a gourd, with iron claws). Do not eat the five grains and the eating of cereal.

Proceed to invoke the White Tiger, [so that he] will devour the deviant *māras*, and the *wang liang*, in the morning three thousand, and in the evening eight hundred. Subsequently, [make sure that] all will not be stuck in the lower courts for future inquest.

Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the law. Effectuate!

24 This section in the *Tuoluoni zaji* represents a sort of digest of the apocryphal *Foshuo anzhai shenzhou jing* 佛說安宅神咒經 [Buddha Utters the Divine Spell Scripture on Calming Dwellings] (T. 1394.21). This scripture is supposed to have been in circulation in China as early as the Eastern Han (25–220, 東漢), however given the wording and style this seems quite unlikely.

25 This command is missing from the *Foshuo anzhai shenzhou jing* itself, indicating that it was added later.

Comment: To the southern, western, and northern directions chant [the spell] once each, and spit thrice. Chant the Spell of the Four Directions. Again, recite the Spell for Destroying from one to seven times, for each spit three times.²⁶

The text of these spells represents a hybrid of Daoist ritual liturgy mixed up with Esoteric Buddhist iconographical imagination. Although the ‘outer trappings’ follow Buddhist conceptualisation, in reality this kind of spell is essentially Daoist in nature. In addition to the Daoist command for effectuation, i.e., ‘Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the law’ (Chin. *jiji ru lü ling* 急急如律令),²⁷ a further exorcist element not commonly found in Buddhist practice is the ritual practice of spitting. Hence, both, format, the commanding tone, the effectuation, and spitting are all Daoist elements that the Buddhist took over.

The effectuating command can be found in a variety of contexts, such as in the apocryphal *Foshuo qiqian fo shenfu jing* 佛說七千佛神符經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Talismans of the Seven Thousand Buddhas] (T. 2904.85, 1446b), the *Foshuo sanchu jing* 佛三廚經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Three Kitchens] (T. 2894.85, 1413b–1414c), a work studied by Christine Mollier,²⁸ the spell and talismanic compendium, the *Guanshiyin pusa fuyin* 觀世音菩薩符印 [Talismans and Seals of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara] (S. 2498), and the *Ruyilun wang monizhu batuo biexing fa yin* 如意輪王摩尼味拔陀別行法印 [Seal Method of the Variant Practice of Ciñtāmaṇicakrarāja Mañibhadra] (P. 3835V°, P. 2153, etc.),²⁹ to mention some of the more important works. Although most of these occurrences appear in apocryphal scriptures copied after Daoist scriptures or at least inspired by them, it would appear that the usage of the spell-command gradually entered into the rituals of Esoteric Buddhism—as it can be found in many scriptures transmitted in Central and East Asia during the late medieval period.³⁰

26 *Sifang jingang zhou* 四方金剛咒 [Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions]; for the Chinese text see Appendix A.

27 An early occurrence can be found in the Chinese Buddhist canonical material is ostensibly in the important, early sixth century *Tuoluoni zaji* (T. 1336.21, 609c).

28 See Mollier, *Buddhism and Daoism Face to Face*, 23–54.

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

30 Among these, mention can be made of the *Weiji jingang jin bai bianfa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [Scripture of the Vajrapāla Guhyapada’s One Hundred Preventive and Transformative Methods] (T. 1229.21, 160a); the *Qi xiaoxing chen bie xing fa* 七曜星辰別行法 [Alternative Method of Practice Worship of the Seven Luminaries and Asterisms] (T. 1309.21, 456c); the *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 [Essential

It goes without saying that the borrowing and take-over of spells also happened on the Daoist side. However, that trend would appear to have begun fairly late in the Tang Dynasty, after the Esoteric Buddhist associated with the important patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism Amoghavajra (704–774, Chin. Bukong 不空) had become influential.³¹ However, as is commonly known, Daoist spells written in imitation of Sanskrit abound in the ritual practices of Daoism from the Northern and Southern Song periods (960–1279, 宋).

7 Use of Talismans and Talismanic Seals

Magical seals and the use of talismans are central to the Daoist religion and, although they have overlapping functions, they were meant to serve different ritual purposes. Talismans are essentially documents meant to send and receive messages from the heavens.³² They are written in a special type of script understood only by the gods (and the Daoist adepts, of course). As sacred documents written in a secret or hermetic language they encompass the highest level of Daoist arcana, in other words they are ritual tools of power. As the embodiment of divine power, they may be understood as a condensation of one or more gods. A talisman could also be conceptualised as representing one or all of the five elements (Chin. *wuxing* 五行) in traditional Chinese cosmogony.³³

Collection Displaying the Secret of Complete Penetration for Accomplishing the Buddha Mind], (T. 1955.46, 996c), etc. See also Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dianji* 道教術儀與密教典籍 [Daoist Ritual Lore and Its Influence on Esoteric Buddhist Books] (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1994). This listing also includes several Dunhuang manuscripts.

31 Martin Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 351–359. Certain aspects of Amoghavajra's ritual formulations can be found discussed in Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 168–193. For a historical study of this important monk, see also Geoffrey C. Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of a Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

32 Cf. Xie Shiwei, "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoist Tradition" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2005).

33 See Monika Drexler, *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten Fu im Daozang* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994). Drexler's study is a pioneer work, which was highly welcome when it first appeared more than 25 years ago. It offers detailed insights into the forms and structures of orthodox Daoist talismans as they appear in Daoist canonical scriptures chiefly from the Southern Song (1127–1279, 南宋). However, its main problem is that it relies overly much on materials deriving from a very late talismanic tradition, and for this reason one must be careful not to take the data in her book as representative of earlier periods. The talismans found in the Daoist material

In addition to being heavenly documents, a talisman written on paper could also be a remedy against a given disease or problem. By burning the talisman and have the sick person consume the ashes dissolved in water, it was believed that a cure could be had.

In contrast the talismanic seals, i.e., proper seals for imprinting, are magical tools of control and command.³⁴ Like talismans they are inscribed with magical/'divine' script or graphic symbols, or a combination of both. By imprinting the seal onto a person or object the Daoist adept was believed to be able to harness the seal's powers to effectuate his command, which could be both benevolent or violent depending on a given case. As already stated talismans and seals overlap in function as devices of healing. Talismans may be worn on the person, placed on the door of a house, but are commonly burnt and ingested, while the seal is imprinted upon the sick person or the part of his or her body where the sickness is believed to dwell.³⁵

Talismans and talismanic seals can be found in many of the Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang, chiefly in texts that reflect formations of Esoteric Buddhism.³⁶ This is surely not a case of something like parallel developments

from Dunhuang in fact constitute the single most important examples, as many of them can be found in manuscripts predating the late eighth century.

34 Cf. Paul Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang." Here Copp identifies the relevant manuscripts while at the same time providing a characterisation of the seals as follows: "The four manuscripts containing the seal manual (P. 2153, P. 2602, P. 3835, and P. 3874) seem to have been handbooks used by practitioners of a local style of Buddhist ritual practice strongly shaped throughout by native Chinese (perhaps specifically Daoist) forms—one of the chief modes, of course, of what has come to be called 'Buddho-Daoist practice'. Cf. *ibid.*, 199–209. Throughout this study Copp reads *fuyin* (符印) as 'talisman seals' and in doing so conceptualises them as a unity. I take a slightly different approach, and while also seeing them as a unity, as 'talismanic seals', i.e., as seals with a talismanic function, I also allow for the presence of actual talismans (Chin. *fu* 符), i.e., 'heavenly documents' and 'divine prescriptions' within the same context. While this point may on the surface seem a tedious or somewhat unnecessary observation, it nevertheless signals an important difference in ritual function and orientation—something which may actually be more obvious to specialists of Daoism than to those of Chinese Buddhism.

35 For a pioneering study of the use of magical seals in Chinese religious culture, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 123–193.

36 Michel Strickmann was the undisputed pioneer of the study of Buddhist talismans and other aspects of Daoism that the Chinese Buddhists took over during the medieval period. He was also the first to note their presence in the Dunhuang material, and its significance. Unfortunately, his life ended prematurely, and he was unable to expand further on this fascinating aspect of Chinese religion. The next to work extensively with the Buddhist talismanic writing from Dunhuang was Xiao Dengfu, a scholar from Taiwan. Much of his scholarship has been focused on identifying Buddhist borrowings and appropriations of

of practices, as available evidence clearly shows that Buddhism appropriated the use of these magical devices from Daoism in order to serve their own ends.³⁷ In some cases the Buddhists simply took over orthodox Daoist talismans, but it was more common for them to invent their own, and it is actually possible in most cases from Dunhuang to distinguish Buddhist from Daoist talismans and seals since the former often, but not always, feature Buddhist elements, either symbols or names of buddhas or bodhisattvas.

Buddhist seals and talismans tend to be found in apocryphal literature—whether in scriptures that were copied from Daoism, or in originally composed scripture.³⁸ However, once talismans and seals began to be adopted in Esoteric Buddhist ritual contexts, they tended to be attributed with new functions and meanings. Incidentally the same holds true for Daoist appropriation of Buddhist practices. As for the talismanic seals in Buddhism, their history is slightly different.³⁹

Here one must distinguish between talismans and talismanic seals produced in actual Daoist contexts, and those produced by Buddhists under inspiration from Daoism. The reason is that the talismans and seals had specific and well-defined functions in the Daoist material, most notably as part of various ritual procedures. By contrast in Buddhism, where both were intrinsically alien and do not fit particularly well with the imported Indian practices, in particular with those of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism where they tend to occur, they appear strange and in most cases out of place.

Daoist practices, and he was among the first to document the wider significance of the Daoist-inspired talismans and talismanic seals in the Dunhuang material.

- 37 The use of ‘magic’ or ‘magical’ refers to beliefs that attribute divine or paranormal activity as their perceived operating force, i.e., causation. The use of this term has been criticised, but misconstrued in a positivistic manner in Bumbacher, *Empowered Writing*, 179–186.
- 38 A very useful study can be found in James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 48.2 (2008): 130–169. Bumbacher, who otherwise provides an eloquent discussion of talismanic writing in ritual settings, completely ignores the extensive Buddhist material, cf. his *Empowered Writing*, 134–154.
- 39 Paul Copp, “Seals as Conceptual and Ritual Tools in Chinese Buddhism, ca. 600–1000 CE,” *The Medieval Globe* 4.1 (2018), accessed December 30, 2021. <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/tmg/vol4/iss1/3>. For the use of seals as reflected in Chinese Buddhist art, see Tom Suchan and Henrik H. Sørensen, “The Talismanic Seal Incorporated: An Iconographic Note on Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan and the Significance of Seals within the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition,” *Artibus Asiae* 73.2 (2013): 403–443. See also Arami, “Tonko no minkan shinkō to bukkyō, dōkyō.” This is a sensible essay, one that attempts to give an overview of the talismans and talismanic seals we encounter in the Buddhist Dunhuang material written in Chinese. Unfortunately, the author was unaware of the research of Western scholars over the past two decades and more, something which obviously leaves it rather inadequate to the topic as a whole.

There is also the interesting issue of a number of talismans found in the more overt mantic material from Dunhuang. These date from the period of the Tibetan rule over the Dunhuang region and were evidently used in connection with military operations in the Hexi Corridor. Carole Morgan, who has studied the related manuscripts, claims that these talismans are “almost certainly Buddhist and not Taoist” on the grounds “that Buddhism was the predominant religion of the Tibetans.”⁴⁰ However, to read them as ‘Buddhist’ on such flimsy ground is in my opinion a rather obvious indication that she is missing an important point. As they stand there is nothing Buddhist about them, neither graphically nor conceptually. They are not even specifically Daoist either (so on that score she is correct), although typologically they of course reflect Daoist practices. The question remains, if the talismans and their accompanying instructions are not Buddhist, and also not really Daoist, what are they? The answer to this is actually rather simple. There can be no doubt that they are Chinese, and as such bear the hallmark of medieval Chinese science, especially its mantic lore and the over-all cosmological system of belief. As both their usage as well as their formats reflect standard examples of Chinese cultural patterns with regard to mantic practices, the only meaningful way of ‘reading them’, i.e., conceptualising and accessing the context in which they appear in the setting of Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang, is to see them as examples of Tibetan usage of Chinese mantic arts, possibly with a few cultural elements of their own in the mix. And why not? It is well known that the Tibetans were actively adopting and adapting foreign cultural aspects to their own reality, hence it would be almost logical if they made use of Chinese cultural elements in a Tibetan-ruled area such as the part of the Hexi Corridor under their control.

The first example to interest us here is the *Sanwan fo tong genben shenmi zhi yin bing fa Longzhong shangzun wangfo fa* 三萬佛同根本神秘之印並法龍種上尊王佛法 [The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas of the Same Origin, and the Method of the Highest Venerable and Royal Buddha of the Dragon Class] (T. 2906.85/S. 2438 [1–2]).⁴¹ Strickmann pointed

40 Discussed in Carole Morgan, “Mayhem on the Northwest Frontier,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 183–215.

41 This singular, but greatly fragmented text has been studied by Strickmann in *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 161–166. While Strickmann does mention the Daoist prescriptions at the beginning of the manuscript, he fails to realise that it actually consists of two separate texts: An untitled series of prescriptions for the preparation of magical medicine, and a text on magical seals entitled *Sanwan fo tong genben shenmi zhi yin bing fa* 三萬佛同根本神秘之印並法 [Thirty-Thousand Buddhas of the Same Origin Seal of Divine Mystery with Methods]. It is clearly the latter of the two which interested Strickmann, although the former is in fact equally so. See also the resumé of T. 2906.85 in Xiao, *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dian ji*, 464–467. This offers a useful supplement to Strickmann.

to the various Daoist elements in the manuscript and found that it referred to immortals from the Heaven of Great Purity (Chin. *Taiqing tian* 太清天), the paradises associated with the Three Pure Ones (Chin. *Sanqing* 三清) of the Lingbao school of Daoism:⁴² the three corpses (Chin. *sanshi* 三尸),⁴³ avoidance of grain, attainment of longevity, ascendance to heaven (Chin. *shengtian* 昇天), heavenly writ (Chin. *tianwen* 天文), a euphemism for divine communication or talismanic script, use of alcohol,⁴⁴ 'breath of heaven' (Chin. *tianqi* 天氣),⁴⁵ even the numbers that appear in the prescriptions reflect Daoist ideology. Interestingly the Royal Buddha of the Dragon Class, the primary divinity of the text, is categorised as the 'highest worthy' echoing 'heavenly worthy' (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊), the standard title given a Daoist divinity. Normally, the Buddhist appellation would be 'world honoured one' (Chin. *shizun* 世尊), used for buddhas. Next, mention should be made of the powerful seal around which the discourse of the scripture evolves. The text describes the processes through which it may be manufactured and later used to bestow magical powers upon its user. It is effectuated by chanting a spell, otherwise a standard rite of empowerment of ritual tools common to formal Esoteric Buddhism, except that the concept of this type of seal is not originally Buddhist. In comparison with the prescriptions that appear in the first part of the manuscript, the text of *The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas* has a more 'Buddhist' tone to it, although it is clearly an apocryphal text. Buddhist texts featuring magical seals are comparatively common among the Dunhuang manuscripts, and can be found in a number of local compositions as well as in various apocrypha.⁴⁶

These various instances of Daoist, or perhaps better Daoistic influences, reveal the considerable degree to which Daoist beliefs had entered Buddhist practice. Nevertheless, the over-all conceptual nature of the scripture is unmistakably Buddhist. For instance, the highly important and popular Bodhisattva

42 See especially the *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天章經 [Scripture on the Stanzas of the Natural Life Spirits from the Nine Heavens of the Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure] (DZ 318.5). It is discussed in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, ed., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 1 (Chicago, London: Chicago University Press), 220.

43 A discussion of how to rid oneself of the 'three corpses', actually bodily worms (= bacteria), is given considerable space in the manuscript's part of prescriptions for healing. Again, this shows the close relationship that persisted in the medieval imagination between religion and healing.

44 Alcohol is otherwise forbidden in Buddhism.

45 For a traditional discussion of this central concept, see Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤 [The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel], vol. 2, annotated by Li Yongsheng 李永晟 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 653–659.

46 See Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang."

Avalokiteśvara also makes his appearance in *The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas*, thus underscoring that the scripture represents a hybrid Buddhō-Daoist scripture.

Another case is that of the *Talismans and Seals of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (S. 2498) mentioned above. This is a lengthy manuscript featuring a series of ritual practices related to one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara in which an entire series of talismans and talismanic seals occur in the context of Esoteric Buddhist ritual instructions. What is interesting to note in this context is that the section where the majority of the seals and talismans can be found is somewhat divorced from the ritual proceedings, as if they were essentially foreign to them (which of course they also were).

There are two interesting Esoteric Buddhist scriptures to be found in the printed Chinese canons, the *Huiji jingang shuo shentong da man tuoluoni fashu lingyao men* 穢跡金剛說神通大滿陀羅尼法術靈要門 [The Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma Utters the Divine and Penetrating Great and Complete Dhāraṇī Method of the Numinous, Essential Approach] (T. 1228.21), and its companion volume *Weiji jingang jin bai bianfa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods of the Prevention of the One Hundred Transformations] (T. 1229.21), the translation of which has been attributed to Ajitasena (fl. beginning of 8th c.). Both belong to the cult of the *vajrapāla* Ucchuṣma (a.k.a. Mahābala).⁴⁷ Of these two, it is the latter which holds a special interest for us here, as it features a series of 46 Daoist-style seals and talismans including directions for their use. It so happens that both of these works have been partially preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts, something which not only indicates their authenticity as medieval texts, but also that they were from early on considered a pair (P. 3047.II, [1–2]).⁴⁸ It is almost certain that *The Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma utters the Divine and Penetrating Great* and *The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods* were not conceived in Dunhuang or Central Asia, since other versions of both texts were transmitted in China, eventually to be included in the *Ōbaku Canon* (Jap. Ōbaku Zōkyō 黃檗藏經).⁴⁹ Moreover, for the latter of the two scriptures, it is clear that it is not a translation *per se*, given that the section on talismans could only

47 For the cult of this demon-protector, see Yang Zhaohua, “Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2013).

48 CMCT 3, 38. In 1983, when this part of the catalogue was published, the significance of these two texts went largely unnoticed.

49 For the use of these talismans and seals in Uyghur Buddhism in Turfan, see Yukiyo Kasai, “Talismans used by the Uyghur Buddhists and their Relationship with the Chinese Tradition,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 527–556.

have been conceived in China. Even so, the presence of the latter of the two scriptures among the Dunhuang manuscripts would appear to have exerted a considerable impact on the adaptation and use of talismanic lore among local Buddhists. The seals and talismans and accompanying spells of the latter text correspond closely to those of the printed text, indicating that they did indeed form part of the original version.⁵⁰

In this latter case the talismanic material functions as a kind of ritual addenda to what are otherwise mainstream ritual sequences of Esoteric Buddhism. When comparing *The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods* against other Buddhist texts featuring Daoistic talismans from Dunhuang, it is rather evident that by the late medieval period it had become common to insert seals and talismans into scriptures, especially those relating to ritual practices.

As a final remark on the presence of such talismanic seals and talismans, it is important to be aware that, although these ritual tools were borrowed from Daoism, it did not mean that the Daoist ritual procedures that normally accompany them were also taken over by the Buddhists. Their meaning and function were to a large extent re-configured, as we have just seen, to fit into the wider Buddhist ritual and conceptual universe. This meant that the inclusion of talismans and seals served as an addition to Buddhist practices. In other words, they gave a further dimension to Buddhist rituals, and as time wore on gradually became part of Buddhism. Hence, when we encounter talismanic seals and talismans in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang, they had long since become an integrated part of Buddhist practice.

8 Medicine

In recent years scholars in the field of Chinese Buddhist studies have come to realise that the sources relating to different aspects of traditional Chinese medicine hold a lot of promise from the perspective of providing new information and new insights on the interplay between Chinese culture and Buddhism during the medieval period.⁵¹ In this regard the Dunhuang material is especially

⁵⁰ CMCT 3, 38.

⁵¹ See C. Pierce Salguero, "Research Note—A Missing Link in the History of Chinese Medicine: Research Note on the Medical Contents of the Taishō Tripiṭaka," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 47 (2018): 93–119. Additional information can be found in Han Guozheng 韩国正, "Zhong Ri yixue wendian zhong de Seng shen fang yanjiu 中日医学文献中的僧深方研究 [A Study of the Seng shen fang as Found in Chinese and Japanese Medical Books]" (MA thesis, Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyi kexueyuan, 2012). Buddhist prescriptions, both clinical as well as those based on magic in some form, appear

rich and may throw further light not only on Buddhist medicine and its impact on Chinese culture, but certainly also the other way round.⁵² Unsurprisingly the presence of Daoist or Daoistic practices can be found reflected in many of the relevant Buddhist manuscripts to varying degrees. One reason for this is that many Daoist adepts were also experts in traditional Chinese medicine; many even authored or compiled important materia medica.⁵³

The relationship between Buddhism and medicine in medieval Dunhuang has already been documented in various, recent writings, so there is no need for us to repeat here what has already been said.⁵⁴ However, one should understand that this relationship rested on a number of factors over and beyond strictly medicinal concerns. Although the transmission of the lore of traditional Chinese (as well as Indian and Tibetan) medicine was not the sole province of Buddhist clerics, it would appear that much of this knowledge was

in a number of traditional materia medica from as well China as the rest of East Asia, including the important Japanese compilation *Ishinpō* 醫心方 [The Heart of Medicinal Prescriptions] from the late tenth century; see <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=156143>, accessed December 30, 2021.

52 See Li Yingcun 李應存, *Dunhuang foshu yu chuantong yixue* 敦煌佛書與傳統醫學 [Buddhist Books from Dunhuang and the Study of Traditional Medicine] (Taipei: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2013).

53 These include among others Tao Hongjing's (456–536, 陶弘景) *Bencao ji zhu xu lu* 本草集注序錄 [Annotated Preface and Record of the Bencao ji] (P. 3714R^o); and Sun Simiao (581–682, 孫思邈), who is credited with writing the *Qian jin yifang* 千金翼方 [Prescriptions for Aid Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces], accessed December 30, 2021. <https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0065/>. For a discussion of the Daoist involvement in the medicinal culture of China, see also Chen Ming 陈明, “Fang jia, liandan yu Xitu yao—Zhong gu dao jiao yixue yu wailai wenhua chutan 方家, 炼丹与西土药—中古道教医学与外来文化初探 [Doctors, Refining the Potions of Immortality, and Western Medicine: A Discussion of Medicinal Study in Ancient Chinese Daoism and Foreign Culture],” *Shilin* 史林 [Forest of History] 2 (2013): 48–60.

54 For a comprehensive overview of medical texts relating to Buddhism from Dunhuang, see *Dunhuang foshu yu chuantong yixue* 敦煌佛书与传统医学 [Buddhist Books from Dunhuang and the Study of Traditional Medicine], compiled by Li Yingxu 李应存 (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2013). See also Li Yingxu 李应存 and Shi Zhenggang 史正刚, “Cong Dunhuang foshu zhong de yixue neirong tan fo jiao de shisu hua 从敦煌佛书中的医学内容谈佛教的世俗化 [On the Secularisation of Buddhism in Dunhuang based on Medicinal Contents in Buddhist Books],” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2007): 111–116. Apart from the fact that the article's authors are mistaken with regard to their conceptualisation of ‘Buddhist secularization’, the article offers useful background information on the presence of medical discourses in the Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang. For a study on the transmission of Buddhist medicinal lore in Dunhuang, see Geoffrey C. Goble, “Three Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang: The Scripture on Healing Diseases, the Scripture Urging Goodness, and the New Bodhisattva Scripture,” *Asian Medicine* 12 (2017): 265–278.

actually transmitted by this category of religious professional, monks in particular. One should also remember that the Daoist religion, which was the prime originator of medical treatises during the Tang, was no longer directly active in Dunhuang after the area was taken by the imperial Tibetan army in the second half of the eighth century.⁵⁵ The practical implications of this meant that the practice of medicine in Dunhuang after that time would to a large extent have been handled by Buddhist monks (possibly nuns as well?), and trained members of the laity, i.e., doctors and performers of healing (Chin. *wu* 巫). This is something which is also reflected in the relevant corpus of manuscripts.⁵⁶

The Buddhist imprint on and transmission of medical lore in Dunhuang means that, even in the cases where we are obviously dealing with traditional Chinese materia medica and *bona fide* Daoist medical prescriptions, they were in the majority of cases—and as far as we can tell—taking place within the settings of Buddhist monasteries.⁵⁷ This meant that medicinal lore, whether of the belief type or the actual test-based variety (clinical medicine), and Buddhist beliefs, had a tendency to be conflated and mixed-up. Incidentally, this is something which also holds true for many medicinal prescriptions directly related to Daoism.⁵⁸ Moreover, this trend was amplified by a continuous influx of both foreign as well as new Chinese material that arrived in the Hexi region up throughout the ninth and tenth centuries.

Although prescriptions for the healing of various diseases and other ailments were mixed up in both religious and medical texts, for practical and analytical reasons it does make sense to distinguish between these two categories

55 For a highly useful survey of medical practices reflected in the Dunhuang material, see Catherine Despeux, “Buddhist Healing Practices at Dunhuang in the Medieval Period,” in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2020), 118–159.

56 See Gao Guofan 高國藩, *Zhongguo wushu shi* 中国巫术史 [The History of Chinese Witchcraft] (Shanghai: Shanghai san shuju, 1999).

57 A discussion of Buddhist monks as doctors in Dunhuang can be found in Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林 and Dang Xinling 黨新玲, “Tang dai Dunhuang seng yi kao 唐代敦煌僧醫考 [Concerning Monks and Medicine in Dunhuang During the Tang Dynasty],” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 20 (1995): 31–46. For an attempt at providing visual examples of medicinal practices in Dunhuang, mainly reflecting data from Buddhist murals, see Wang Jinyu 王進玉 (translated with Lu Di 蘆笛), “Images of Healing, Hygiene and the Cultivation of the Body in the Dunhuang 251 Cave Murals,” in *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 251–270. This rather fanciful study of imagery relating to medicinal practices in the Mogao Caves provides several interesting examples of pictorial imagination. However, it offers little in terms of medicinal practices in Dunhuang as such.

58 See Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 1–57. This offers one of the best overviews of medicinal practices in Daoism.

of medicinal prescriptions, mainly because they tend to operate on different levels: a faith based one, and a proper medical one as understood by modern science today. Even so, a given cure may be attributed to the application of a medicinal prescription based on herbs, etc., while at the same time the patient would pray to buddhas and spirits for healing, or have certain rituals performed on his or her behalf. In the case of a successful cure, which of the two approaches was the one which caused the patient to recover? Was it the compound, *bona fide* medicine or divine beings? Or was it a combination of the two? Perhaps it therefore makes better sense to simply add a third category to the above two, namely one which builds on a mixture of both. Certainly the primary sources allow us to do so. After all we are dealing with material from the medieval period in China and Eastern Central Asia, where the conceptual demarcation between belief and practical function was very slim indeed.

It is highly instructive to find an example of such prescriptions in the form of an epigraph in situ in the Longmen Caves (Chin. Longmen ku 龍門窟).⁵⁹ While this medical prescription does not reflect specific Daoist concerns *per se*, it is obviously not coincidental to find a prescription of this kind in one of the holiest sites of Chinese Buddhism. Indeed, when looking more closely at the context in which the epigraph occurs, Buddhism rather than Daoism is apparent. Even so, it is obvious that the prescription itself originated in traditional Chinese medicinal lore, and not in that of Buddhism or Indian Ayurvedic medicine as could perhaps be imagined.

Although part of the traditional Sinitic medical lore the Chinese Buddhists incorporated as part of the process of inculturation, the belief in deceases caused by ‘flying corpses’ (Chin. *feishi* 飛屍), or ‘corpse transmission’ (Chin. *chuanshi* 傳屍), a belief which took on special forms when adapted to Buddhist ritual practices. Belief in the disease of corpse transmission has a fairly long history in China, and is one of those which may have entered formal Daoism as early as the Eastern Han (25–220, 東漢). In Dunhuang this belief, which in effect straddles the categories of religious belief and traditional, functional science, is noticeable in several manuscripts, including both medical and *bona fide* religious texts. It is not the place here to venture deeply into this otherwise highly interesting area of study, except to provide a few examples with which to

59 See Zhang Ruixian, Wang Jiakui, and Michael Stanley-Baker, “Clinical Medicine Texts: The Earliest Stone Medical Inscription,” in *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 373–389. See also Wan Fang 万方, “Guanyu Longmen shiku Yaofang dong yaofang de jige wenti 关于龙门石窟药方洞药方的几个问题 [A Number of Issues Regarding Medical Prescriptions in the Cave of Medical Prescriptions in the Longmen Caves at Guanyu],” *Hunan keji daxue xuebao* 湖南科技大学学报 [Journal of Hunan Technical University] 6 (1989): 74–78.

get the basic ideas across. We also find here the idea of the five body-dwelling worms or bacteria living off people eating grains (meaning essentially all Chinese). This is a belief that in Daoism became closely associated with the lifespan of humans and, as such, part of the idea that the determination of human life spans were judged and evaluated by astral gods dwelling in the Great Dipper (Chin. Beidou 北斗), the seat of the bureau of human lifespan. It was believed that on a certain day of the month, the cyclical *shengeng* day, the body-dwelling worms went to heaven to report on the misdeeds of their hosts (Chin. *shou shengeng ri* 守申庚日).⁶⁰ This idea also entered Buddhism, although in a somewhat modified form.⁶¹

In some of the relevant manuscripts found at Dunhuang we see types of text which consist of an integrated mix of liturgical materials and medicinal prescriptions of the magical category. One such manuscript is S. 5598V^o which also features various Buddhist hymns, i.e., liturgical material. Among the texts contained in this manuscript we find one entitled *Pishamen tianwang feng Xuan heshang shenmiao buxin wan fang* 毗沙門天王奉宣和尚神妙補心丸方 [The Divine and Wondrous Prescription for Pills with which to Restore the Mind Bestowed by the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa on Venerable Xuan], a prescription for a strong tonic in pill form for invigorating the mind of Buddhist practitioners.⁶² The prescription itself does not refer to Daoism as such, but the compounds of medicine which go into making these pills clearly reflect a Chinese cultural background rather than an Indian one. Again, it is noteworthy that the text of the prescription makes a known Buddhist cultural hero a transmitter of magical pills, namely Vaiśravaṇa. The text reads:

60 For a study of this practice, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, “Daojiao shou gengshen dui fojiao jingji zhi yingxiang 道教守庚申對佛教經籍之影響 [The Influence of the Daoist shou gengshen on Buddhist Scriptures],” accessed June 5, 2021. <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MAG/119594.pdf>. See also Livia Kohn, “Kōshin: Expelling Daoist Demons through Buddhist Means,” in *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and Their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*, ed. Jeffrey L. Richey (London: Routledge, 2015), 148–176.

61 Cf. Arthur, Shawn, “Life without Grains: Bigu and the Daoist Body,” in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, ed. Livia Kohn (Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006), 91–122. The practice of grain-avoidance in both Daoism and Buddhism is also given considerable attention in Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 23–54.

62 The Venerable Xuan, who appears in the title, most likely refers to Daoxuan (596–667, 道宣), the celebrated vinaya master and scholar monk of Mt. Nan (Chin. Nan shan 南山) outside the Tang capital Chang’an (長安, modern Xi’an 西安). Otherwise, Venerable Xuan does not appear in the text itself.

[(Take)] clean, dried yam,⁶³ clean, dried yellow soil, eucommia,⁶⁴ one hundred sections, protected from the wind, common ginseng, red ginseng,⁶⁵ China Root,⁶⁶ fritillaria, lactose, the five flavours, rock calamus, asparagus with their hearts removed, roasted sweet grass, milkwort, and pine seeds. These medicinal ingredients of seventeen flavours must be finely cut and rinsed to get rid of particles. Clean and dry it by roasting, and finally take plain honey to make pills, [(which should be)] big like a marble ball. Every day with an empty mind swallow one pill slowly together with the saliva. Get rid of the dregs using a cup to swallow it down. Take a potion and [(after)] ten to twenty days one's limbs will be pure and elegant, after thirty days the bones will be strong, one's body will be at ease. One will not be startled or have doubts, the mind will open, one's intellectual capacities will grow, and one's bone marrow will be fortified. Eating it [(i.e., the pills)] for a long time will stop the process of ageing (?), one's virtue will be extensive and great [(in a way that)] cannot be fathomed.⁶⁷

As is apparent from this prescription, it mainly consists of natural ingredients and appears as a *bona fide* medicinal prescription. The magical part is when its effects are described. There it is openly stated that, by consuming it on a regular basis for an extended time, the patient/practitioner will attain supernatural powers. It is also noteworthy, that it has essentially no religious address. The only thing that remotely connects it with Buddhism is its title, in which Vaiśravaṇa is included. Otherwise, the pill is simply presented as a powerful medicine.

Another similar text is the prescription entitled *Guanyin pusa zuisheng miao xiangjiu fa* 觀音菩薩最勝妙香丸法 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Highly Victorious and Majestic Method of Fragrant Pills] (P. 2637R^o (2), P. 3912R^o (4), and P. 2703R^o) (see Appendix B).⁶⁸ This prescription is meant for ascetic

63 Lat. *Dioscorea opposita*.

64 Lat. *Eucommia ulmoides*.

65 Lat. *Tuckahoe; poris cocos*.

66 Chin. *fushen* (茯神).

67 S. 5598V^o: 毗沙門天王奉宣和尚神妙補心丸方: 乾薯蕷, 乾地黃, 杜仲百節[部]方 [防]風, 芒[人]參, 丹參, 茯苓, 茯神, 貝母, 乳糖, 五味子, 石菖蒲, 麥門冬去...[心]甘草炮過, 遠志, 柏子, 仁右[?]. 上件藥, 十七味, 細挫, 法去塵, 幹焙為末. 煉白粉蜜為丸如彈子大, 每日空心嚙一丸, 徐徐咽津, 去滓, 細嚼嚙下. 服十日, 二十日口支[肢]清雅, 三十日骨健身安不驚疑. 開心益智, 補髓, 久食駐顏, 功力廣大不可述.

68 For a lengthy discussion of this prescription, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Dunhuang xiejuan suojian shou daojiao bigu shiqi sixiang yingxiang de fojing 敦煌寫卷所見受道教避穀食氣思想影響的佛經 [On the Influence of the Daoist Ideas of Grain-Avoidance and

monks, who venture deep into the mountains to practise meditation or chant spells. When they experience hunger, they are to prepare the special, fragrant pills laid out in the text, so as to gradually learn to avoid eating solid food at all. The text is replete with Daoist notions of grain-avoidance and belief in the power of ingesting vital energy into the body.

9 Longevity Beliefs and Practices

Much of the longevity-related beliefs and practices one frequently encounters in the Buddhist Dunhuang material ultimately derives from Daoism. It is obvious that speculations on how to prolong life was not solely a Daoist concern, but one which is also addressed in numerous canonical and non-canonical Buddhist scriptures. Nevertheless, the Buddhist beliefs related to longevity we find reflected in the Dunhuang manuscripts outside the canonical literature overwhelmingly reflect Daoist formulations rather than Buddhist ones.⁶⁹ The reason for this is that in the Sinitic cultural sphere traditional longevity beliefs are not only very common, they are in many ways central to our understanding of Chinese spirituality. Hence, and as already seen in a number of the cases presented here, Chinese Buddhism bought into and appropriated many of the related Daoist types of belief, including ways to prolong life. This situation was not unique to Dunhuang, but rather reflects a broad tendency in medieval Chinese Buddhism.⁷⁰

These longevity beliefs and practices in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang fall into three distinct categories: (A) one that pertains to the performance of physical exercises that were believed to assist the practitioner in attaining long life, such as special forms of meditation; (B) those that are obtained through the use of magical prescriptions; and (C) ritual performance involving the use of spells and sometimes also talismans as discussed above.

Ingesting Qi in Buddhist Scriptures as Seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts],” *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 [Research in Religious Studies] 2 (2002):1–13. Christine Mollier refers to the prescription briefly in her *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 35–36, n. 44.

69 For important examples see *Foshuo yanshou ming jing* 佛說延壽命經 [Scripture on the Extension of Lifespan Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 2888.85), as well as the popular *Xu ming jing* 續命經 [Scripture on the Extension of the Span of Life] (T. 2889.85), etc. The idea of heavenly spies descending to the human realm to report on wrongdoings, whereby human lifespan is shortened, can be found in the *Foshuo jiuji jing* 佛說救疾經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Salvation from Disease] (T. 2878.85), a scripture which was also circulated in Dunhuang during the late medieval period.

70 Cf. Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 100–133.

One may debate whether longevity practices should formally be conceptualised as belonging to religion or instead to medical/hygienic practices, as they could easily be placed in both on the grounds that they fit both categories equally well. Even so, here it has been placed in a category of its own. The reason for this is that these practices tend to fall under the category of hygienic practices in Buddhism, but are mainly seen as religious from the Daoist perspective. In contrast to Buddhism, longevity practices are central to Daoism for mainly soteriological reasons. This can be seen from the status enjoyed by the religion's primary category of saints, usually referred to as immortals (Chin. *xianshen* 仙神).⁷¹

There is also a tradition of longevity practices in Chinese Buddhism that derives from Indian sources, more specifically in Esoteric Buddhism. There the attainment of longevity is understood as the result of the accumulation of personal accomplishments (Skt. *siddhi*) through prolonged ascetic practices and austerities. However, in the context of Chinese Buddhism many of the documented cases concerning life-prolongation reflect to some extent Daoist beliefs. For instance, various techniques of meditation aiming at breath control, including inner circulation of vital energy, are integral to the Buddhist tradition broadly defined.⁷² In Dunhuang that material can be found integrated with Daoist longevity techniques, more specifically methods deriving from the tradition of inner alchemy, which again harkens back to the pre-Daoist hygienic traditions of ancient China.⁷³

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts we find a number of texts that invoke the figure of Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530), the so-called First Patriarch of Chan Buddhism (Chin. *chanzong* 禪宗), not as a promoter of Buddhism *per se*, but of Daoist practices belonging to the tradition of inner alchemy. Although not constituting a large amount of texts, the material is sufficiently extensive to show

71 This also explains why Buddhist saints, when appropriated into the Daoist fold, often appear as masters of longevity-related practices. Cf. Henrik H. Sørensen, "Looting the Pantheon: On the Daoist Appropriation of Buddhist Divinities and Saints," *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 57–79. The Chan patriarch Bodhidharma stands as one of the central Buddhist figures incorporated into Daoism, cf. e.g., Joshua Capitano, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43,2 (2015): 119–160; and the more recent study by Stephen Eskildsen, "Bodhidharma Outside Chan Literature: Immortal, Inner Alchemist, and Emissary from the Eternal Realm," *Journal of Chinese Religion* 45,2 (2017): 119–150.

72 The practical dimension of the ingestion of vital energy, *qi* (Chin. *shiqi* 食氣) is discussed in Stephen Jackowicz, "Ingestion, Digestion, and Regestation: The Complexities of Qi Absorption," in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, ed. Livia Kohn (Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006), 68–90.

73 See Isabelle Robinet, *Méditation taoïste* (Paris: Dervy Livres, 1979), 214–215.

how Buddhism applied such Daoist practices to its own curriculum on the one hand, and the degree to which Daoism was able to compete with Buddhism in one of its primary areas of expertise, namely meditation. The text in question is titled *Dasheng yaoguan Nantian zhuguo Damo chanshi jiyi* 大乘藥關南天竺國達摩禪師急譯 [Medicinal Gate of Mahāyāna Quickly Translated by the Chan Master Bodhidharma from Southern India; hereafter *Bodhidharma's Text*] (P. 3181).⁷⁴ It is a short treatise on meditation with focus on breathing techniques combined with visualisation. A temporal frame for the practice is provided. Towards the end of the text the practitioner is to prepare a special medicine (no ingredients are mentioned), which is to be completed by invoking the Bodhisattva Medicine King with the *Dacheng ruding zhenyan* 大乘入定真言 [Mantra of the Mahāyāna for Entering Samādhi].

Bodhidharma's Text is interesting for a variety of reasons. First of all, it has essentially nothing to do with Bodhidharma or Chan Buddhism *per se*. It is to all intents and purposes and intents a Daoist inner alchemy work that has simply been ascribed to the Chan patriarch by followers of Daoism. It is noteworthy that the *Damo taixi lun* 達磨胎息論 [Bodhidharma's Treatise on Embryonic Breathing] as transmitted via the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel] mentioned above, was evidently also in circulation in Dunhuang as discussed by Cao Ling (曹凌), a young scholar from Shanghai Normal University, who has endeavoured to show that parts of this work can be documented in at least two Dunhuang manuscripts (BD 11491, P. 3043).⁷⁵ Provided Cao's research holds water, this would mean that not only was the *Bodhidharma's Treatise on Embryonic Breathing* transmitted in Dunhuang a full century or more before it was incorporated into *The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel*, but despite its strong Daoist imprint, nevertheless circulated in what was otherwise a religious environment dominated by Buddhism. In other words, Daoist inner alchemy practices were in use by local Buddhists in Dunhuang during the tenth century.

74 See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Bodhidharma, Meditation, and Medicine: On the message of a Fragmented Buddhist Medical Text from Dunhuang," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 3.1 (2023).

75 Cao Ling 曹凌, "Damo taixi lun zhuben de cheng li—yi Dunhuang ben wei zhongxin 《達磨胎息論》諸本的成立—以敦煌本為中心 [Accounting for All the Versions of the Damo taixi lun: From the Perspective of the Dunhuang Versions]," *Fagu foxue xuebao* 法鼓佛學學報 [Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies] 23 (2018): 25–67.

10 Astrology and Related Portents

While medieval Indian Buddhism had a developed astrological tradition of its own, much of the material we encounter among the hoard of manuscripts from Dunhuang is predominantly Chinese, i.e., non-Buddhist.⁷⁶ However, this did not mean that Buddhist or even Chinese astrological beliefs were limited to those originating in Chinese culture. There are many cases where we find the Indian and Chinese systems mixed up or at least conceptualised as belonging to the inherently same system. In some cases this integration of the two astrological systems caused some problems. These arose when the basic parameters of the two systems were at odds with each other. As is well known, the Sinitic system builds on the five elements as fundamental building blocks for understanding the world in which humans live, whereas the Indian Buddhists—and in the medieval period Chinese Buddhists as well—followed by and large the traditional Indian model using four elements. Over the course of the first centuries of the Common Era Buddhism built on and fine-tuned the traditional Indian system and integrated it with its cosmology and highly detailed analysis of the so-called physical world (Skt. *dharmadhātu*) as found in the copious *abhidharma* literature, constituting one of the structural divisions making up the Buddhist canon (Skt. *tripiṭaka*). This model of comprehension was brought to China in successive waves of cultural and religious imports where it met with and gradually became integrated with the pre-existing Chinese models of understanding. In the case of the Buddhist *abhidharma*, Chinese culture did not have a matching system, at least it did not have one that was as developed and detailed as the Buddhist one.⁷⁷ Moreover, *abhidharma* may be understood as a major, 'hard-wired' aspect of Buddhist philosophy and thinking, one which naturally has accompanied the religion's expansion to all the cultures in which it has taken root, and as such is present everywhere in its literature whether Indian in origin or locally produced.

For astrology, and several of the traditional sciences referred to above, this meant that a certain process had to be initiated in order to accommodate the Buddhist understanding of the interrelationship between the asterisms and human beings, with that which prevailed in Chinese culture. The outcome was one in which the two systems were gradually integrated, but also one where fundamental differences and inconsistencies would continue to be present.

76 See Bill M. Mak, "The Transmission of Buddhist Astral Science from India to East Asia: The Central Asian Connection," *Historia Scientiarum* 24.2 (2015): 59–75.

77 See Jeffrey Kotyk, "The Sinicization of Indo-Iranian Astrology in Medieval China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 282 (2018): 1–95.

The solution to this otherwise challenging issue was actually a simple one, namely to allow the differences to remain, thereby creating a parallel system. Only quite late, around the middle of the tenth century, do we see a tendency for the Indic astrological system to become less apparent and the Sinitic system eventually to dominate. Even so, the Indic system never ceased to function entirely, and there were periods where it reasserted itself, such as during the Tangut Empire (1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) and under the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) when Tibetan Buddhist influences became particularly strong.

In the nature of things astrology, whether Indian or Chinese, is a traditional science, and as one such it combines *bona fide* observations of planets and stars with specific sets of beliefs based on these. Obviously this means that astrology should not be considered a science as we understand it today, but in effect a system of comprehending the cosmos that is closer to religious belief proper. In both the Indian and Chinese systems the asterisms were identified as divinities or spirits, and while careful and methodic observations of the sky were made, astrological readings and interpretations of the movements of the celestial bodies including seeing omens. The writing of talismans, as discussed above, was originally a means of communicating with the gods in heaven. In time, this became a major aspect of the ritual practices in formal Daoism. Many of the designs and magical symbolism common to talismans are directly related to astrological beliefs. Hence, the Buddhist use of similar (and sometimes the same) talismanic designs, is of course an example of a shared if not appropriated practice.

Over the course of the Tang the strong Esoteric Buddhist influence in the twin capitals of the empire meant that a wave of Indian astrological material was introduced and also produced.⁷⁸ In particular the Indian masters associated with the establishment of a mature Esoteric Buddhism contributed greatly to this development.⁷⁹ This not only impacted the development of Chinese Buddhism broadly conceived, but also found its way into state-astrology.⁸⁰ Even so, traditional Chinese astrology, including calendrical science and the reading of portents in the sky, did not decline, but continued to develop on

78 For a detailed discussion of this phase in the astrological history of China, see Jeffrey Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017).

79 See Jeffrey Kotyk, "Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism: Timing of Rituals According to Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing," *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13 (2018): 1–29.

80 See Bill Mak, "Astral Science of the East Syriac Christians in China during the Late First Millennium AD," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16 (2016): 87–92.

its own terms, and by the end of the dynasty, there is a tendency—even in the Buddhist material—that the Sinitic system had become the dominant one, although in a somewhat modified form.

In the Dunhuang material we see this entire development reflected in the extant documents, i.e., in the Chinese non-Buddhist material, and in the more overt Buddhist writings, including prayers and ritual texts, where astrological notions in a more popular form can be documented.⁸¹ As such the astrological material from Dunhuang does not in a specific manner deviate much from other fields in the traditional sciences in medieval China. However, it reinforces the already established assertion that the Daoist elements evident in Chinese astrology were in large measures adhered to by local Buddhists as well. However, as elsewhere in the Chinese cultural sphere it was augmented by data deriving from the Buddhist astrological traditions from India (and perhaps ancient Persia as well).

A good part of the astrological material as used by the Buddhists in Dunhuang concerns worship and ritual proceedings to avoid disasters believed to be caused by the movements of the celestial bodies. Thus we find the Daoist, semi-mythological figure of Ge Xiangong (葛仙公), a.k.a. Ge Xuan (164–244, 葛玄), appearing in the Buddhist context.⁸² One text of particular note is the *Ge Xiangong li Beidou fa* 葛仙公禮北斗法 [Ge Xiangong's Method for Worshipping of the Great Dipper] (P. 2675). The material in which this printed text was found belonged to the renowned government official and prominent lay Buddhist Zhai Fengda (881–959?, 翟奉達), and documents the extent to which Daoist or Daoistic practices had become part of Buddhism in the late medieval period. Evidently, Zhai Fengda was a worshipper of the Great Dipper,

81 See Yoichi Isahaya and Jyuh Fuh Lin, “Entangled Representation of Heaven: A Chinese Divination Text from a Tenth-Century Dunhuang Fragment (P. 4071),” *Historia Scientiarum* 26.3 (2017): 153–171. See also Yu Xin, “Personal Fate and the Planets: A Documentary and Iconographical Study of Astrological Divination at Dunhuang, Focusing on the ‘Dhāraṇī Talisman for Offerings to Ketu and Mercury, Planetary Deity of the North,’” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 163–190; and Christine Mollier, “Astrological Talismans and Paper Amulets from Dunhuang: Typology and Function,” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 [Studies in Dunhuang and Turfan] 2 (2015): 505–519.

82 Ge Xiangong a.k.a. Ge Xuan, is an important a semi-mythological figure in Daoist history. He was the spiritual ancestor of the celebrated Ge Hong (283–343, 葛洪). On Ge Xuan's appropriation by the Buddhists, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, “Cong ‘Dazang jing’ suoshou fojing zhong kan dao jiao xingdou chongbai dui fo jiao zhi yingxiang 從大正藏所收佛經中看道教星斗崇拜對佛教之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Astral Lore on Buddhism to be Found in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Taishō Tripitaka],” *Taizhong shangzhuan xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 23 (1991): 105–156.

Daoist style, while at the same time being an ardent Buddhist.⁸³ However, Ge Xuan's incorporation into Buddhist astral worship is not an isolated case, but can also be documented in the important *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 [The Indian Hora (System) and Nine Celestial Bodies] (T. 1311.21, 462a), a work incorrectly ascribed to the important Esoteric Buddhist master and astrologer Yixing (673–727, 一行).⁸⁴

The presence and/or influence of Daoism in Buddhist astrological beliefs is to a large extent similar to the material on talismans discussed above, probably best reflected in the ritual material relating to Esoteric Buddhism, as well as in surviving examples of iconography and imagery. However, the question remains whether this influence was directly from Daoism to Buddhism, or whether it was part of the traditional Chinese sciences that the religion encountered in China. Probably it was a mixture of both.

11 Conclusion

It is clear from what has been presented here that it is not a very fruitful exercise to essentialise a given religion by insisting on its peculiarities and distinctions to the exclusion of those elements it contains that are culturally speaking more complex, multifarious and ambivalent. This is even more true when discussing a religion that has been transplanted to another culture, where elements of displacement and misunderstanding are in most documented cases not only evident, but endemic. Such is really the case with Chinese Buddhism, which in its progress from India to East Asia underwent multiple changes and transformations, some more radical than others, but all of such a nature that it underwent fundamental alterations. When seen as a Sinitic form of Buddhism that thrived on the margin of the Chinese cultural sphere, Buddhism in Dunhuang was obviously no exception to this. Therefore, it makes better sense to characterise it as a hybrid religion which encompassed not only all the basic cultural formations from China, but those from several other cultures as well, thereby becoming a veritable religious melting pot.

83 See Xie Shiwei 謝世維, "Lidou fa de lishi yu jin xiandai de douke 禮斗法的歷史與近現代的斗科 [The History of the Method for Worshipping the Great Dipper and Contemporary Dipper Customs]," Special Project Report, National Chengchi University, 2015, accessed June 20, 2021. <https://ah.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/115426/1/104-2410-H-004-185.pdf>.

84 Cf. Jeffrey Kotyk, "Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing: A Misunderstood Astronomer-Monk," *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 31 (2018): 1–37.

It goes without saying that the Daoist impact on Buddhism was not limited to Dunhuang, nor was it particularly strong there in comparison to elsewhere in the Chinese heartlands. Surely the same situation would have applied throughout the Chinese Empire. Daoism, or rather its beliefs, were simply a major factor in Sinitic Buddhism as well as in the other East Asian cultures.

When looking closely at Daoist input in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang, we can clearly identify certain areas of practice in which there is a notable densification. Those areas include ritual practices broadly envisaged, afterlife beliefs, including yearning for longevity, and a range of those traditional sciences, such as medicine, astrology, prognostication, geomancy, etc., where Sinitic cultural practices impacted Chinese Buddhism from early on. Since many of these practices and beliefs were also shared by Daoism (in fact a good many of them actually originated in Daoist contexts), it is neither surprising nor otherwise enigmatic that there should have been a mutual blending or infiltration in the cross-field between the two religions, as indeed there was. Although, I have remained mostly focused on Buddhist appropriations and borrowings from Daoism here, it is self-evident that the same took place the other way around—and this has been shown in several scholarly writings elsewhere.

The impact of Daoism on the development of Chinese Buddhism was already felt during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (and vice versa), which means that over the course of the Tang the beliefs and practices characterising both traditions had become deeply intertwined, some significantly so. The import of this situation was that in effect parts of Chinese Buddhism had a Daoist hue, and the same was the case for Daoism. This fact makes it difficult to meaningfully talk about 'pure Buddhism' or 'pure Daoism', as both were obviously containing and building on aspects of the other. The same goes of course for Buddhism and Chinese culture in broader terms. Such entanglement is surely not limited to Chinese Buddhism, but could as easily be envisaged as having taken place with regard to other religious formations worldwide. This observation could lead one to speculate whether such phenomena as 'pure religion' or 'essential religion' ever existed except in the minds of scholars with a pronounced positivist inclination, or of fundamentalists, for whom proper, historical and cultural analysis is largely irrelevant.

In the end it is impossible to take out of Chinese Buddhism the cultural and religious imprint from Daoism, and we should therefore accept that this presence has been part and parcel of Chinese Buddhism in various forms and degrees since the very beginning of the religion's history in China. However, this does not mean that there was not a well-defined and self-conscious Chinese Buddhism historically and religiously. Surely there was, as the many Buddhist

histories written by Chinese Buddhist monks document. Nevertheless, the Chinese Buddhist vision can always be seen as having allowed a certain amount of non-Buddhist beliefs and practices as accepted aspects of itself. As we have seen, this included salient elements of the Daoist religion which clearly affected the development of Buddhism in Dunhuang.

Appendix A

Sifang jingang zhou 四方金剛咒 [Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions].
P. 3835^V (5)/S. 2615.

四方金剛咒
奉請東方青面金剛來入道場。
牙入劍樹，眼似流星，口如血盆，手
執金槍，獅子似瓜，似金鉤。不食五穀，純食
走誦白虎，邪魔魍魎，朝食三
千，暮食八百。次一不捉下府[符]來索。
急急如律令勒攝。南西北方各念一遍
噴三噴。誦四方呪，
後念破傷呪，一七遍。每遍噴三噴。

Appendix B

Guanyin pusa zuisheng miao xiangjiu fa 觀音菩薩最勝妙香丸法 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Highly Victorious and Majestic Method of Fragrant Pills].
P. 2637^R (2), P. 3912^R (4), and P. 2703^R.

爾時觀世音菩薩告大梵天王：卻後未來，五濁惡世之時，十魔競起，三災八難，刀兵飢饉，草劫諸難生時，若有比丘入於深山坐禪持咒，修無上道，飢火所迫，我為人說妙香丸法，令此比丘永得解脫，不遭水火之難，大小便利，息比斷絕，得如來大圓鏡海，壽千萬歲，獲五神通。妙香丸法，但依經修合。

毗夜那（防風）諾迦多（仁參）必厲 杓[?]睿 摩那（朱砂）

達多夜松脂練過 菅眾禹 石餘 朱膝 茯苓白蜜（三兩）

右件藥各一兩，新好者，細搗為末，練蜜為丸，丸如彈子大。若要服時，於佛前禮拜，發至願，當度眾生。用糯米一升，杏仁一合，白臘壹兩，相和煮粥，飽食一頓，後更吞大豆一合，一丸，後用乳香湯下一丸，得八十日。後又服一丸，三十二個月。後更吞一丸，得終身也，永脫飢渴之苦。至須誠

貪嗔, 五辛, 酒肉等物. 若力怯時, 可餐棗[煮]三七顆助之, 一月已來, 定無疑也. 若要開食, 即喫葵菜湯轉下, 後以香水洗藥, 於生土坑內埋三七日, 取出. 如服, 依前法食之. 後念天王護身真言[...]⁸⁵念諸真言及服藥, 一年後, 身輕目明; 二年, 諸根通利, 大藏經一轉無遺; 三年後, 疾如風; 五年後, 水上不沒; 七年後, 入火不燒; 十年, 萬病不侵; 十年五, 肉眼變為天眼; 廿一年, 知一切眾生心念, 如來大圓鏡海, 壽命無量, 一切無礙, 是真沙門也.

85 Here the manuscript presupposes a *mantra* to be used. However, it is actually not given.

Non-Buddhist Superhuman Beings in Early Tibetan Religious Literature

Lewis Doney

Abstract

This contribution discusses non-Buddhist religious practices and pantheons evident in documents from the Tibetan imperial period (ca. 600–850) and shortly afterwards that influenced the growing Tibetan Buddhist tradition, and which were later incorporated into the established Bön (Tib. *bon*) religion that did not exist as such at the imperial court. While problematising our evidence for indigenous Tibetan religious traditions existing before the advent of Buddhism in Tibet, let alone a single pre-Buddhist religion in Tibet, this contribution identifies some rituals, beliefs and narratives that influenced later Buddhist practice, ideology and historiography. It reveals that non-Buddhist elements were positively incorporated into some Buddhist literature and ritual, as well as elsewhere forming a negative ‘other’ to which Tibetan Buddhist identity was opposed.

1 Introduction

If we define ‘religion’ along with Melford Spiro as “an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings,”¹ then we immediately face a problem in discussing early, indigenous, non-Buddhist religious influence on Tibetan Buddhism. We can identify what appear to be superhuman beings (‘radically other than’, though not necessarily ‘better than’, humans), and in this chapter I refer to them as deities, gods, spirits and so forth (making no major distinctions between such terms).² Yet,

1 Melford Spiro, “Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation,” in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Banton (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), 196. Here, I am not advocating for Spiro’s definition, or for any one definition as satisfactory. Instead, I wish to use this definition as a useful oversimplification of more complex realities; in this case, a heuristic device to discuss the ‘religious’ within the Tibetan linguistic zone (an area of shared language and attendant ‘cultural’ patterns and postulations).

2 Useful discussions of superhuman, ‘meta-human’ or ‘metapersons’ in the context of early Tibetan religion and society are found in Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias

it is the ‘institution’ in Spiro’s definition that scholars have struggled to locate or failed to convincingly reconstruct even in the Tibetan imperial period (ca. 600–850)—when Buddhism first entered the Tibetan Plateau and was spread especially by the later emperors and their court apparatus in the central Tibetan heartland of the empire—let alone in the earlier, pre-historical period.

The non-Buddhist religion named Bön (Tib. *bon*) was not an institution before the fall of the empire and instead gradually took shape as Buddhism took root among local populations during the early post-imperial period (see below). Thus, the established Bön religion should not be assumed to represent the pre-Buddhist or indigenous religion of Tibet. These identifiers (along with shamanic) of Bön are among the most in need of scare quotes in Tibetan studies. Such a statement is not intended to diminish Bön, sublimating or demoting it beneath Buddhism by denying its myths or path to liberation through enlightenment as some form of plagiarism. The rich history of influences and adaptations in both directions throughout later Tibetan history shows Bön to be a strong tradition in its own right that can be studied in a number of ways that bear rich fruit. However, it is important not to let anachronisms obscure a better understanding of how influences from outside Tibetan Buddhism played formative roles in its gestation and maturation. Similar creative processes affected the contemporaneous birth of Bön too, though this topic falls outside this chapter’s purview.

Returning to Spiro, the lack of an identifiable religious institution that influenced Tibetan Buddhism is also not such a problem for this volume, since ‘non-Buddhist influences’ do not need to come from an already established religious institution to make an impact. In this contribution though, I shall use the adjective ‘religious’ to refer to institutional and non-institutional interaction with superhuman beings but reserve the noun ‘(a) religion’ for Buddhism and Bön.

A second problem concerns our data. No ‘pre-Buddhist’ literature and very little datable pre-Buddhist art (excluding ‘animal-style’ rock art) is extant that we can unproblematically draw upon to distinguish the ‘non-Buddhist’

Fermer, “Foreword,” in *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, ed. Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022), 2–3, and Guntram Hazod, “The ‘Stranger-King’ and the Temple: The Tibetan Ruler Image Retained in Post-Imperial Environments—the Example of the *lha* of Khra ’brug,” in *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, ed. Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022), esp. 61–63.

element that influenced Tibetan Buddhism from Buddhism itself. As Geoffrey Samuel has observed:

Tibetan archaeology is in a much more basic state [than elsewhere], so the archaeological record cannot so easily be used as a background into which the cultural fragments [of Tibetan religion] might be fitted. However, there is enough to suggest, at least, various ideas around which early Tibetan concepts of place and spirit seem to cohere.³

Early speculations concerning imperial-period non-Buddhist Tibetan (religious) concepts have been partially corroborated by Old Tibetan literary documents and recent scholarship based on them, as well as by non-documentary evidence, as archaeology returns in a limited way to the Tibetan Plateau. These investigations shed light on not only prehistoric ritual practices but also the important tumulus burial tradition of aristocratic elites and rulers contemporaneous with the imperial period, whose coffin paintings depict royal hunts, feasts and animal sacrifices and the important aspects of imperial life.⁴ However, the Tibetan script was only created in the early-to-middle seventh century. Thus, any literature containing what we could define as religious was obviously not ‘pre-Buddhist’ when it was written down and cannot unproblematically be said to be unaffected by Buddhism.⁵ Some literature appears to

3 Geoffrey Samuel, *Introducing Tibetan Buddhism* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 188.

4 See especially Marc Aldenderfer, “Bringing Down the Mountain: Standing Stones on the Northern and Central Tibetan Plateau, 500 BCE–CE 500,” in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, ed. David A. Barraclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 242–248; Amy Heller, “Observations on Painted Coffin Panels of the Tibetan Empire,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 147–202.

5 Scholars have long known that some of our information on non-Buddhist ritual practices from the Tibetan imperial period comes from Buddhists seeking to refute their logic and/or efficacy; see the discussion and sources referenced in Sam van Schaik, “The Naming of the Tibetan Religion: *Bon* and *Chos* in the Tibetan Imperial Period,” *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 227–240. Joanna Bialek has recently argued that certain other texts dating from close to this period were recorded not by the practitioners themselves but by outsiders, including non-Tibetans and Buddhists; see Joanna Bialek, “‘Tibetan’—All-Inclusive? Rethinking the ‘Tibetan-ity’ of the ‘Tibetan Empire,’” in *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, ed. Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022), 42; Joanna Bialek, “Filtered Through Multiple Lenses: What We Think Buddhists Thought Ritual Specialists Did. Preliminary Remarks on the Character of Old Tibetan Funerary Texts Exemplified with 10L Tib J 489 and 10L Tib J 562,” in *Guruparamparā: Studies on Buddhism, India, Tibet and More in Honour of Professor Marek Mejer*, ed. Katarzyna Marciniak et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2022), 75–76.

be relatively unaffected and will be described below, but the contemporaneity of our earliest evidence for both Buddhism and non-Buddhist practices should be borne in mind when surveying these sources.

One final caveat is necessary at the outset. Previous studies of early Tibetan religion and Buddhism have tended to apply their descriptions to all Tibetan speakers throughout the Tibetan Plateau or even, implicitly, non-Tibetan speakers. In contrast, here large geographic variation in what was considered important to Tibetan-speaking people (even narrowly conceived) must be assumed. Yet, the level of that variation is at present very much an unknown quantity and thus should be considered a vital hidden factor in our analysis. People across the Tibetan Plateau spoke numerous languages before the imperial introduction/imposition of spoken and written Tibetan during the seventh to ninth centuries, while many present-day minority languages and their attendant cultures and religious traditions still exist within the former borders of the Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po).⁶ Even two people speaking some form of Tibetan today, but one brought up in Sichuan (四川) and the other in western Nepal, say, may be fed by completely different streams of mythic thought and ritual practice, and not only as a result of the hegemony of discourses of nation, state and province in current media. Since religious landscapes shift non-uniformly over time, some mythic or ritual motifs can exert major influence on Tibetans in some places and be unknown a few valleys away. Furthermore, the sources privileged for investigating historical external influence on Tibetan Buddhism is overwhelmingly literary data, rather than anthropological data from today. This is understandable given current constraints on travel in Tibetan regions, but not keeping this fact in mind may bias our analysis in favour of the elite discourses of literate male Buddhist masters with positions of power and large followings in history. Nevertheless, this contribution will identify some examples of external influence on Tibetan Buddhism as the latter came into being from the Tibetan imperial period (ca. 600–850) onwards.

6 For a useful introductory account of these processes and their relations to power and prestige, see Birgit Kellner, "Vernacular Literacy in Tibet: Present Debates and Historical Beginnings," in *Anfangsgeschichten / Origin Stories: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive / The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Norbert Kössinger et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 381–402.

2 Non-Buddhist Traditions in the Tibetan Linguistic Zone

A number of ethnographers have recently described evidence of certain non-Buddhist religious practices, ideas and narratives within Tibetan-speaking communities in the eastern Himalayas today—or existing only in a minor way on the margins of these communities' Buddhism (or Hinduism, etc.). The object of this research has been recently summarised by Samuel under the term *bön*, but he stresses that this is not to be confused with Bön.⁷ The Bön religion describes a certain pantheon of deities that form a hierarchy reaching up to the most ethereal enlightened beings. In this respect, Bön resembles Buddhism by distinguishing between mundane (Skt. *laukika*, Tib. *'jig rten pa*) and supra-mundane (Skt. *lokottara*, Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa*) deities, as well as in the similar value that both religions place on following a path to liberation by enlightenment. In contrast, among the Khumbo, the heavenly deity ritualist that the anthropological literature refers to as *lhaven* (Tib. *lHa bon*) pronounces “invocations [that] name more than a hundred local spirits in relation to various places in the Khumbo territory.”⁸ The heavenly deity ritualists of the Te community, having different functions from in Khumbo and known in the literature as *lhawen*, “still carry out animal sacrifices to the local deities or *yul lha*” today.⁹ The Tamang heavenly deity ritualist, different again and known as *lambu* (perhaps also related to Tib. *lHa bon*) “like the Khumbo and Te *lha-bon*,

7 Geoffrey Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity: Bon Priests and Ritual Practitioners in the Himalayas,” *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 77–97. Echoing my point above, Samuel (*ibid.*, 92) concludes that “if Western scholars from the beginning had been less caught up in the idea of a ‘Bon religion’ separate from ‘Buddhism’, and more able to figure both *chos* (‘Buddhism’) and *bon* as complex, situationally-variable signifiers used in a variety of historically-specific contexts, we might have found the whole question of what Bon means less paradoxical and contradictory.” In a similar vein, Charles Ramble has used the term ‘pagan’ to refer to a similar object of investigation and also warned against identifying it either with “high religion” like Buddhism or Bön, or with “some organised creed called ‘Paganism’”; see Charles Ramble, *The Navel of the Demoness: Tibetan Buddhism and Civil Religion in Highland Nepal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially page 369, n. 1.

8 *Ibid.*, 82; see also Hildegard Diemberger, “Die beseelte Landschaft: Natur, Kosmologie und Gesellschaft im tibetischen Kulturraum am Beispiel der Khumbo Ostnepals,” in *Metamorphosen der Natur*, ed. Andre Gingrich and Elke Mader (Vienna: Bohlau, 2002), 103–125.

9 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity,” 83; see also Ramble, *The Navel of the Demoness*.

has a fixed repertoire of chants referring to the various local deities.”¹⁰ Similar non-Buddhist ritual interactions with superhuman beings are found elsewhere in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh, and perhaps also Yunnan (雲南). Samuel also notes that:

[W]hile there is a shamanic component to *bön* in some of the Nepalese and Sikkimese material, the key role, the one most specifically labelled as *bönben*, *lhaven*, *lambu* etc., is not about possession, but about the making of invocations and offerings to local gods. These invocations and the ritual procedures that go with them, including the offering of *torma*, the sacrificial offering-cakes of butter and barley-flour widely used also in the ritual of the lamas, are the key ritual knowledge for these specialists.¹¹

However, as part of his argument that *bön* does not mean any single thing applicable to all the phenomena across Tibet and the Himalayas called *Bön*, *bon*, *bön* and variants, Samuel distances these practitioners’ rituals from the religious practices of the Tibetan imperial period. He states:

The role of *bon* and *gshen* in non-Buddhist religious documents from Dunhuang [... and] the use of [the term] *bon* in such texts seems to have little relationship to the other senses of Bon listed above.¹²

Yet, is this true with respect to their pantheon or their distinctions between mundane and supra-mundane in regard?

There is a dearth of sources for the oldest religious strata current among the everyday subjects of the Tibetan Empire. Undoubtedly, as Samuel elsewhere observes:

Tibetan society also had a vast body of informal knowledge, some of it explicit in stories, proverbs, craft lore and the like, much of it implicit. This was certainly true of the Tibetans before the coming of Buddhism. Matters such as the knowledge of proverbs, oratorical ability, knowledge of wedding songs and speeches, folk stories and narrations, invocations

10 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity,” 85; see also David Holmberg, “Ritual Paradoxes in Nepal: Comparative Perspectives on Tamang Religion,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 43.4 (1984): 697–722.

11 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity,” 87.

12 *Ibid.*, 89.

to local deities, and the like were of great importance among both agricultural and pastoral populations.¹³

The earliest such extant ritual-myth literature contains many varied ‘antecedent’ liturgical narratives (and collections of the same) to guide the successful performance of a certain ritual by recounting how it was performed in the distant past.¹⁴ These ritual tales are sometimes called ritual narrations (Tib. *smrang*, derived from *smra ba* ‘to speak’, much like the etymologies of *myth* or *saga* suggest shared roots with the words ‘mouth’ and ‘say’ respectively),¹⁵ and the texts themselves contain the terms ‘account’ (Tib. *rabs*, perhaps of a succession of events or a lineage) or ‘history’ (Tib. *lo rgyus*, lit. a ‘collection of tidings/reports’)—but these terms are not exclusive to such ritual texts.¹⁶ These narratives can be collected together in short or long ‘catalogues’ of ritual performances said to have first taken place in different geographical or chronological settings. Catalogues cover a spectrum from brief shorthand lists to series of extended retellings and perhaps reflect ritual practice, while also being found as myth in Tibetan historiography.¹⁷

Recent research suggests that ritual-myths related to longevity (Tib. *tshe*), a ‘good death’ (that does not disturb the spirit of the deceased or the community), rejuvenation of well-being (Tib. *g.yang*) and good fortune (Tib. *phya*), which ethnographers also describe in the present, have continued to survive in some sense from an early period.¹⁸ They are found in important genres of

13 Samuel, *Introducing Tibetan Buddhism*, 102–103.

14 Brandon Dotson, “Complementarity and Opposition in Early Tibetan Ritual,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128.1 (2008): 41–67; Brandon Dotson, “The Dead and Their Stories: Preliminary Remarks on the Place of Narrative in Tibetan Religion,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 77–89.

15 I owe this comparative insight to Charles Ramble.

16 Bialek, “Filtered Through Multiple Lenses,” 74, n. 23; Dotson, “The Dead and Their Stories,” 79–80; Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, “Enduring Ritual: *smrang*, *rabs* and Ritual in the Dunhuang Texts on Padmasambhava,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 15 (2008): 289–312.

17 Marcelle Lalou, “Catalogues des principautés du Tibet ancien,” *Journal Asiatique* 253 (1965): 189–215; Dotson, “The Dead and Their Stories,” 84–89; see also Daniel Berounský’s chapter in this volume.

18 See most recently Toni Huber, *Source of Life: Revitalisation Rites and Bon Shamans in Bhutan and the Eastern Himalayas*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020). The ethnographic secondary literature on these practices is summarised in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 1–10 before the rest of this monumental work proceeds to argue along these lines. On well-being and good fortune, see also John V. Bellezza, *Spirit-Mediums, Sacred Mountains and Related Bon Textual Traditions in Upper Tibet: Calling Down the Gods* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Charles Ramble, “The Deer as a Structuring Principle in Certain Bonpo Rituals: A Comparison of Three Texts for the Acquisition of

Tibetan literature from Dunhuang that appear indigenous and non-Buddhist (perhaps with roots in *some parts* of pre-Buddhist Tibet).¹⁹ Some works are also found in the slightly later collection from the Gatang (Tib. dGa' thang) *stūpa* discovered along with Buddhist texts in southeast Tibet,²⁰ and continue to be transmitted and performed in the Bönpo (Tib. *bon po*) literature of the tenth century onwards and among certain groups of Tibetan-speaking groups in the eastern Himalayas and across the eastern side of the Tibetan Plateau up to today.²¹ A few examples of such ritual-myths will give a flavour of these narratives, show the continuity and re-use of key terms and themes, but also indicate the temporal and geographic variety rather than the homogeneity of non-Buddhist Tibetan sources. These three examples will then be shown to have exerted different levels or types of influence on Tibetan Buddhism over the centuries.

First, Charles Ramble has compared versions of a community-ritual and wide-spread set of tales still around today but, significantly, sharing terminology with Dunhuang ritual texts.²² Their central myth sets out a cosmogony before relating that, at a later time, people were deprived of a 'base of good fortune' (Tib. *phyā gzhi*) and cattle deprived of the 'base of well-being' (Tib. *g.yang gzhi*) that both of them formerly possessed.²³ In order to rectify this a certain prince, whose father is the divine Odé Gunggyel (Tib. 'O lde gung rgyal, see also 'O lde spu rgyal below), travels to the north and tries to persuade a

Good Fortune (*g.yang*)," in *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya*, ed. Patrick McAlister, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, and Helmut Krasser (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 509–540; and references to Daniel Beroušský below.

19 Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Matthew T. Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, ed., *Sources of Tibetan Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 127–136; see also Rolf A. Stein, "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang," in *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, ed. Ariane Macdonald (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1971), 479–547.

20 Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, ed., *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gzar du rnyed pa'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs* [Collection of the Ancient Bönpo Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2007).

21 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 1, 25–41.

22 Ramble, "The Deer as a Structuring Principle."

23 For a wider discussion of good fortune and well-being rituals, see Daniel Beroušský, "Tibetan Myths on 'Good Fortune' (*phyā*) and 'Well-Being' (*g.yang*)," *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '14 Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture* 7.2 (2014): 55–77, which records this narrative on *ibid.*, 59 and on which I have based my précis and my translations of these two main terms. Ramble, "The Deer as a Structuring Principle," 509–510 instead translates *g.yang* as 'good fortune' and *phyā* as 'vital force' or 'life', though noting their close associations and need for future research and then leaving them untranslated throughout the rest of the chapter.

miraculous white deer with crystal antlers he meets there to help him obtain good fortune and well-being for the people and spirits. The deer is reluctant and tries to escape, but the prince catches him with his miraculous lasso and will use certain of its body parts as ritual items—setting the precedent for all such future rituals to summon good fortune and well-being.

A second series of rites likewise lack any concrete references to organised Buddhist—or Bönpo—religion and have a similar antiquity. They ensure positive post-mortem states for miscarried foetuses (and sometimes their deceased mothers) and purify and fortify the well-being of the communities to which they belong—thus complementing other rituals calling new life into the world and protecting it once it has arrived.²⁴ They belong to a common manuscript culture centred around southeast Tibetan areas, including northern Bhutan, expressed both in a perhaps 11th-century document known as the *rNel dri 'dul ba* [Taming the Spirit of Polluting Untimely Death], recovered from the Gatang *stūpa*,²⁵ and in the living traditions of the cult of the primal progenitor and life-giving heavenly spirits (Tib. *srid pa'i lha*) that Toni Huber recently analysed in depth.²⁶ Before his work and those of others mentioned above, such non-Buddhist traditions were often ignored in discussions of Tibetan ritual-myth. The 'antecedent tales' provided for these rites bespeak both a vertical cosmology connecting people and heavenly spirits and a cycle of human existence ensured by those deities. In one,²⁷ a blood-thirsty spirit (Tib. *srin*) demon penetrates the womb of a lord's daughter named 'South Clan Lady, Bell Ringing Alpine Spirit' (Tib. lHo za Dril bu sil sil sman). It causes the socially problematic death of the unnamed female infant within, whose vitality principle (or 'soul') is dragged off to wander as a spirit of untimely death (Tib. *dri*). However, she is successfully ransomed by an alpine spirit ritual(ist) (Tib. *sman bon*) and returns to the heavenly spirits and alpine spirits; and "the benefit [of the rite] was like that in times past." In the process, the girl gains the new name 'Heavenly Spirit Lady, Bell Tinkling Alpine Spirit' (Tib. lHa za Dril bu sil bu sman). This moniker is based on her mother's name, suggesting communal

24 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 39.

25 Pa tshab Pa Sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, *gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che*, 33–59 and 131–178; Dotson, "Complementarity and Opposition," 61–64; Samten G. Karmay, "A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts from a Buddhist Stupa in Southern Tibet," *East and West* 59.1–4 (2009): 55–84; John V. Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet: Archaic Concepts and Practices in a Thousand-Year-Old Illuminated Funerary Manuscript and Old Tibetan Funerary Documents of Gathang Bumpa and Dunhuang* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), 117–211; Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 39–49.

26 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 1, esp. 16–18, 21–22 and 45–102.

27 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 47.

continuity in remembering the dead. However, it also marks the conversion of her divisible/multiple and mobile vitality principle from belonging to a distraught human family (and wandering as a post-death spirit of untimely death) to a new positive state: as daughter of the ancestral heavenly spirits who were/are the ultimate source of that vitality principle.²⁸ This pantheon appears to inhabit a vertical axis above the ground-dwelling humans. The heavenly spirits (Tib. *lha*) reside at the top level of the heavens and what I have loosely called the alpine spirits (Tib. *smān*), generally female, live on the mountainous and lake-filled terrestrial regions where wild animals graze. There is no subterranean element, unlike other cosmologies in Tibet that were favoured by Buddhism and Bön,²⁹ though the latest ethnographic findings point to a great deal of difference geographically in these practices.³⁰

The third set of ritual-myths is found in the Dunhuang document P. T. 1134 and describes the precedents for performing certain funerary rites with a number of variants in its telling.³¹ Its narrative is set at the top of the heavens before the 'age of calamities' had fallen long ago,³² and recounts how a son of the lord of demonic spirits (Tib. *bdud*) provokes other such spirits by instigating competitions of courage with his maternal uncles. They come from the sky and arise from the earth and harm the boy, who 'chases the yak' (i.e., dies) causing the 'breaking of the turquoise' (i.e., social problems due to his inauspicious death). His father is distraught but cannot revive him, nor can he aid his son by means of priests. Yet eventually a priest named Bönshin Shendak (Tib. Bon gshin gshen drag), son of gods and of blood-thirsty spirits, is found in heaven. His first rites are insufficient, but then the funerary constructions are built and the ritual performed in earnest (this is described in copious details that are still largely opaque). A 'favourite paired/peerless horse' is chosen as

28 See also Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 1, 553.

29 On the place of the heavenly spirits and the 'high alpine' spirits in the vertical axis, see Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 47; on the connection of the latter, female spirits not only with mountains but also with lakes and the wild animals that inhabit these spaces, see Brandon Dotson, "Hunting for Fortune: Wild Animals, Goddesses and the Play of Perspectives in Early Tibetan Dice Divination," *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* [online] 50 (2019), last modified March 4, 2019, last accessed January 16, 2023. 10.4000/emscat.3747.

30 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 1, 18–21.

31 The following description is based on Rolf A. Stein, "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang," 491–496; see also Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet*, 221–236; Dotson, "The Dead and their Stories," 80–83.

32 Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 127–130; Nathan W. Hill, "'Come as Lord of the Black-Headed'—an Old Tibetan Mythic Formula," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 213.

the psychopomp for the child, with the sheep as guide, the priests chant, the animals are praised and encouraged, and the son finally reaches a good (but obscure) post-death state.

Berounský, in his chapter in this volume, suggests that the sorts of ritual covered above were practised around the edges of the Tibetan Empire but were perhaps collected together and integrated in some way into court ritual towards the end of the imperial period.³³ I also note below the structural similarities between this third example of ritual-myths and that of the first emperor who died due to hubris, whose funeral marks one ending of the narrative in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and whose tale has found a place in Buddhist historiography from the 11th century on. We will also see that the heavenly spirits and alpine spirits above were mentioned in imperial-period dispatch texts written on wooden slips and that textual evidence suggests the continuation of belief in this pantheon, and its incorporation into Buddhist rituals, up until the very recent past.

This adaptation is one of the effects of interaction between religions that Volkhard Krech discusses in the articles referenced by this volume's editors in their Introduction. He describes the cognitive side of adjusting to the existence of another religious tradition in one's midst as a form of transcendence—a re-appraisal of one's own religion and the 'other' religion according to a new system that transcends one's previous worldview and helps one to cope with the new reality of religious co-existence (or various other options ranging from rejection, through appropriation or integration, to destruction of the other religion or one's own).³⁴ In this chapter, I shall begin to unpack the relations between this type of transcendence and the more common definition of transcendence as crossing the line between mundane and supra-mundane states especially with respect to the Tibetan pantheon.³⁵

33 Other arguments for the connections between these rituals and the imperial heartland are found in Dotson, "Complementarity and Opposition," 64–66 with relation to geographical references, and in Bialek, "'Tibetan'—All-Inclusive?," 36–38 and 42–44, especially by paying attention to the sacrificed animals found in the textual and archaeological sources (some of which presumably were meant to act as psychopomp animals).

34 Volkhard Krech, "Religious Contacts in Past and Present Times: Aspects of a Research Programme," *Religion* 42.2 (2012): 195–196.

35 This is also included in the definition of processes of transcendence outlined by Volkhard Krech, "From Religious Contact to Scientific Comparison and Back: Some Methodological Considerations on Comparative Perspectives in the Science of Religion," in *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Jivanta Schöttli (Cham: Springer, 2015), 47–49. The move from more 'immanentist' to a more 'transcendentalist' worldviews with the advent of Buddhism among Tibetans is discussed in Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer, "Foreword," 1–3 and acts as a

It will be seen that, in early Tibetan Buddhist attempts to explain the relationship between the non-Buddhist pantheon and the Buddhist cosmos newly introduced onto the Plateau, some sought to incorporate Buddhist deities into non-Buddhist rituals, others did the opposite and accommodated non-Buddhist gods into the Buddhist universe, while yet others rejected aspects of non-Buddhist tradition—all while demoting indigenous deities to a lower, mundane realm though retaining their superhuman qualities and status (and thus a belief in their existence, efficacy and value to some extent). In the process, the Tibetan emperors became worshipped more as bodhisattvas/buddhas than as semi-divine rulers, so not just superhuman but also supra-mundane, within an increasingly popular *Heilsgeschichte* that privileges liberation by enlightenment and that has proved formative for Bön just as it has been for Buddhism. This process has also pushed the non-Buddhist and non-Bönpo religious traditions to the margins both of the Tibetan cultural area geographically and also of a shared Tibetan worldview conceptually—leading to their neglect and conflation with Bön by earlier scholars writing on Tibetan religion(s).

3 Imperial-Period Religious Ideas

During the imperial period, the Tibetan emperor was taken as *the* measure of time and space.³⁶ Yet, the emperors relied on alliances with other clans from the start of their empire-building and so symbolised both the pinnacles of society and *primus inter pares* rulers.³⁷ This created a tension that is evident in their myths. On the one hand, late imperial-period Tibetan inscriptions (8th–9th century) describe the emperors as possessing characteristics of divine power and wisdom corresponding to their pre-eminent status,³⁸ and

framework for the chapters that follow it in that volume. I would like to thank the organisers of the workshop (of which that volume is the proceedings) for inviting me to present there and engage in fruitful discussions helping to crystalise some of the arguments made in this present chapter.

36 Brandon Dotson, *The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History, With an Annotated Cartographical Documentation by Guntram Hazod* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 11.

37 Charles Ramble, "Sacral Kings and Divine Sovereigns: Principles of Tibetan Monarchy in Theory and Practice," in *States of Mind: Power, Place and the Subject in Inner Asia, Studies on East Asia*, ed. David Sneath (Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University, 2006), 129–133.

38 Michael L. Walter, *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 18–30; Lewis Doney, "Emperor, Dharmaraja, Bodhisattva?"

some roughly contemporaneous documents relate how the first rulers came down from heaven to rule over their 'black-headed' subjects.³⁹ One inscription states: "The emperor, son of the gods, 'O lde spu rgyal came down from the gods of heaven as lord of men."⁴⁰

In other early documents, the first ruler is instead named Nyatri Tsenpo (Tib. *Nya gri/Nyag khri btsan po*),⁴¹ with both his and Odé Pugyel's (Tib. 'O lde spu rgyal) name containing royal titles within them, and their power of rulership extends not just to 'black-headed' (Tib. *mgo nag po*) people but also to animals vital to a pastoral livelihood on the Tibetan Plateau. Nathan Hill has concluded that the myth "can be paraphrased 'men had no ruler, yaks no owner, N. [(the superhuman being with various names)] came from the gods of heaven to the narrow earth to be the ruler of men and the owner of yaks'" and that 'black-headed' approximates to "a poetic term for mankind as a totality, created by the gods and kept in safe pastures by the kings."⁴² Such myths ground society in the past and a stable world, yet also legitimise the superhuman emperor as the rightful head of that society and indeed the wider world.⁴³

On the other hand, the less exclusive, *primus inter pares* rulership is mythologised in the slightly later ninth-century record, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.⁴⁴ This

Inscriptions from the Reign of Khri Srong lde brtsan," *Journal of Research Institute, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies* 51 (2013): 72–76.

39 Hill, "Come as Lord of the Black-Headed," 203–216.

40 Li Fang-Kuei and W. South Coblin, *A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1987), 246. The inscription is from the tomb of Tri Désongtsen (r. ca. 802–815, Tib. Khri lDe srong brtsan) and according to *ibid.*, 241, ll. 1–2, reads: (1) // *btsan po lha sras / 'o lde spu rgyal // gnam gyi* (2) *lha las myl'i rjer gshegs pa //*.

41 Hill, "Come as Lord of the Black-Headed," 203–207.

42 *Ibid.*, 214.

43 For more recent, political discussions of the connections between the emperors, the heavenly spirits and the heavens, see Bialek, "Tibetan'—All-Inclusive?," 14–16; and Hazod, "The 'Stranger-King' and the Temple," 55–65. Bialek, "Tibetan'—All-Inclusive?," 45 concludes that their inter-relatedness indicates that "the spheres of 'the religious' and 'the political' were not separated, or maybe rather they were deliberately interwoven" in authoritative narratives identifying the emperors with superhuman beings. Hazod, "The 'Stranger-King' and the Temple," 62, further suggests that such identification played a role in "the spontaneous acceptance of the ruling structures which, as it were, were realised within a long-known world of dependency on metahuman (*lha-*) beings." Hazod goes on to identify the continuing influence of such concepts in Tibetan Buddhism (*ibid.*, 65–75), for example in rites surrounding a mundane heavenly spirit guardian of one of Tibetan Buddhism's oldest temples (both of which maintain strong connections with imperial support for the religion) and where the religious continues to be part of the social.

44 Jacques Bacot, Frederick W. Thomas, and Charles Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), 89–171;

work is a compilation of various imperial-period genealogical lists, historical narratives, clan songs and funerary eulogies that dates to the end of the imperial period or just after.⁴⁵ It was discovered among the famous treasure-trove of manuscripts in many languages sealed into Mogao Cave 17 near Dunhuang in Eastern Central Asia, which was ruled over by the Tibetan Empire between the late eighth and mid ninth century.⁴⁶ Manuscripts and art found there date up to the early 11th century;⁴⁷ they will be referred to as Dunhuang documents in this contribution.

The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* begins by situating the Tibetan ‘ancient relatives of the four directions’ (Tib. *gna’ gnyen mtha’ bzhi*) and the past minor kings and their councillors in their territories. As above, it describes Nyatri Tsenpo’s descent to bring fertility to the idealised earth and to begin the genealogy of its rulers who married wives of different Tibetan clans down the generations.⁴⁸ It then relates the story of the mythical emperor, Drigum Tsenpo (r. ca. 200 BCE, Tib. *Dri gum btsan po*, lit. ‘the emperor who dies with violence’), who out of hubris vied with one of his ministers, Longam (Tib. *Lo ngam*) the horse-groom/equerry, and was the first to die *without* returning to the heavens.

Drigum Tsenpo’s sons eventually regain his corpse from downstream (the direction of death)⁴⁹ on the Brahmaputra River (Tib. *rTsang chu*) through a series of journeys, interactions and finally bargaining with superhuman beings (reminiscent of the prince’s actions in Berounský’s narrative above); the younger son buries his father in the first Tibetan royal tomb and the elder son avenges his father’s death and says that in life he was named Pudé gunggyel (Tib. *sPu de gung rgyal*), lord of the black-headed men and owner of maned animals (recalling the first emperor model and Berounský again).⁵⁰

Brandon Dotson “The Victory Banquet: The Old Tibetan Chronicle and the Rise of Tibetan Historical Narrative” (Habilitationsschrift, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2013).

45 Hugh E. Richardson, *High Peaks Pure Earth*, ed. Michael Aris (London: Serindia, 1998), 124–134; Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, ed., *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 36–46.

46 Jacob P. Dalton, and Sam van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), xi–xxi.

47 See Yoshiro Imaeda, “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents,” *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 66 (2008): 98; see also Sam van Schaik and Mélodie Doumy’s chapter in this volume.

48 Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang*, 81 and 86; Dotson, “The Victory Banquet,” 261–263.

49 Dotson, “Complementarity and Opposition in Early Tibetan Ritual,” 57, figure 2.

50 Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang*, 97–100 and 123–128; Dotson, “The Victory Banquet,” 266–270.

Regarding other superhuman beings of the imperial period, evidence of the earliest Tibetan pantheon is slight. One indication comes from Tibetan dispatch texts written in ink on wooden slips found at an outpost on the northern edge of the empire, along the southern Silk Road at what was Miran fort.⁵¹ Two of these sticks (IOI Tib N 255 and 873) record a ritual directed towards local deities designated as ‘heavenly and lord spirits of the region’ (Tib. *yul lha yul bdag*, lit. ‘land-god land-owner’), as well as to ‘alpine spirits’ (Tib. *sman*, a name perhaps related to healing but for spirits who are probably the owners of wild animals); this ritual is presided over by officiants named after their roles as perhaps ‘interlocutors/addressors’ (Tib. *zhal ta pa*), heavenly spirit ritualists (Tib. *lha bon po*) and officiating priest (Tib. *sku gshen*).⁵² The latter two titles contain terms that are central in the ‘other’ Tibetan religion, Bön, and the name of its Buddha-like founder, respectively (see below) and this shows a certain continuity between this imperial-period ritual and that later religion. However, such evidence is not strong enough to prove that an organised religion called ‘Bön’ pre-existed—or even existed contemporaneously with—the entry of Buddhism into Tibetan regions (a claim unfortunately still repeated in many less scholarly accounts of Tibet). Other Dunhuang ritual documents, both Buddhist and seemingly non-Buddhist, contain similar references to these deities and ritual officiants.⁵³ Yet, their manuscripts post-date the Tibetan empire’s collapse and their contents are not so easy to date at all. Thus, they should be approached with caution, to guard against anachronism, and will not be covered in detail here.

4 The Beginnings of Tibetan Buddhism

The Chinese historiographical tradition has retained some remarks about imperial-period ‘Tibetan’ (Chin. *tufan* or *tubo* 吐蕃) cultural history, beliefs, rituals, laws and relations with neighbouring powers (especially the Tang 唐, 618–907). However, this information privileges the eastern Tibetan area and the Tibetan court in its coverage, and so cannot do justice to all societies across the Tibetan Plateau. The Chinese sources are removed by distance and time, and tend to view imperial ‘Tibet’ as a wild, pastoral and raiding community in contrast to civilised Tang China. Nonetheless, scholars of Tibetan studies have made some use out of their information—relying primarily on the *Jiu Tangshu*

51 Sam van Schaik, “The Naming of the Tibetan Religion,” 241–249.

52 Ibid., 246–247.

53 Ibid., 227–257.

舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang Dynasty] compiled in 945 and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book of the Tang Dynasty] of 1060, which is a sort of extended commentary on the former.⁵⁴

The *Old Book of the Tang Dynasty* and the *New Book of the Tang Dynasty* cover some Tibetan beliefs concerning *inter alia* the greatness of their emperors, people's values of bravery and fealty and relations with their gods, seasons and guests. It also mentions some seemingly exotic practices surrounding oath-taking, divination and harsh corporal punishment that are expressive of deeper cultural realities (at least as these Chinese historians viewed them).⁵⁵ One telling passage and its later commentary show the inclusion of Buddhist faith and monasticism among changing Tibetan values. The *Old Book of the Tang Dynasty* states: "They worship the *yuandi* [(羴羴)] god,⁵⁶ and believe in witches and seers," to which the *New Book of the Tang Dynasty* adds: "They are very fond of the doctrine of the Buddha, and no important states of affairs are settled without consulting the Buddhist monks."⁵⁷

Evidence of the incorporation of a Buddhist pantheon into an existing non-Buddhist context comes from references in edicts proclaimed on behalf of *dharma* by Emperor Tri Songdétse (r. 755–ca. 800, Tib. Khri Srong lde brtsan). Buddhism existed at court before this ruler—along with some short-lived influence of other foreign religions like Manichaeism, Islam and Eastern Christianity,⁵⁸ and was probably fed from Indic and Sinitic regions and powers

54 Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 6–24; for other, overlooked sources see also Emanuela Garatti, "When Powers Meet: A Study of the Representation of Official Encounters in Sino-Tibetan Diplomacy between 7th and 9th Centuries" (PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2020).

55 Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 8–10.

56 Based on the translation and notes of Stephen W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet: From Chinese Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12 (1880): 442 and 527, n. 7, Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 10 identify *yuandi* as "a large kind of sheep" and tentatively relate it to the psychopomp sheep of the third set of ritual-myths discussed above. Henrik H. Sørensen (personal communication 16th January 2023) acknowledges that *yuandi* literally means 'yak-sheep' but points out the phonological similarity to the original/first emperor (Chin. Yuandi 元帝) and suggests a more general meaning as 'god/spirit of many things' akin to Mongol concepts of an animistic 'universal spirit', and I would like to thank him for this suggestion. If we take it seriously, we could connect this to the idea of the first emperor as a superhuman ruler of yaks (and sheep?) quoted above from Hill, "Come as Lord of the Black-Headed," 214.

57 Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle, *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*, 10, n. 9.

58 Rolf A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 60; Shen Chen 沈琛, "Zai lun Tubo yu jing jiao, moni jiao de lianxi 再论吐蕃与景教, 摩尼教的联系 [Reappraisal of the Connection between Imperial Tibet, the Church of the East, and Manichaeism]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 3 (2022): 139–147.

neighbouring the expanding Tibetan Empire as well as regions incorporated into it, such as Khotan on the southern Silk Road.⁵⁹ However, the *dharma* was not wide-spread at first and only this eighth-century emperor truly established Buddhism as a 'state religion' (though not the only one).⁶⁰ His proclamation to this effect still survives carved on a stele at Samyé (Tib. bSam yas) Monastery at the heart of the empire, and so is known today as the Samyé Inscription. In it, the emperor oaths that the requisite items for continuing *dharma* practice at Samyé and other Buddhist shrines will continue in perpetuity.

The Samyé Inscription states that, "in order that no violations of the oath shall be perpetrated or caused to come about, the supra-mundane and mundane heavenly spirits (Tib. *lha*; Skt. *deva*) and the non-human ghosts (Tib. *mi ma yin*; Skt. *amanuṣya-bhūta*) are all invoked as witnesses."⁶¹ Yet, as Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has observed, neither the tone here nor the deities invoked are so explicitly Buddhist as to risk causing offense to the non-Buddhist factions at court.⁶² Contrary to later historiography, these factions were not Bönpo because the established religion and thus adjectival (self-)identity did not yet exist. Rather, oathing before autochthonous spirits and the semi-divine emperor appears to have been an established religio-legal and courtly practice before Buddhism arrived in Tibet, but the Buddhist gods are added as a separate class of supra-mundane witnesses to the oaths here in the late eighth century.⁶³ Thus, on top of the non-Buddhist category of superhuman beings arrayed along a vertical axis is added a class of *supernatural* beings above and beyond this group. This addition does not necessarily conflict with the

59 Lewis Doney, "Tibet," in *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. Erik Hermans (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2020), 209–213. See also Diego Loukota's chapter in this volume.

60 See Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Tibet: An Archaeology of the Written," in *Old Tibetan Studies Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS*, 2003, ed. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217–254; Doney, "Emperor, Dharmaraja," 69–72.

61 The Samyé Inscription, ll. 12–18, reads: *de las* (13) *mna' kha dbud pa dag gyang* / (14) *myi bgyi myi bsgyur bar* / *'jlg* (15) *rten las* / *'da's pa' dang* / (16) *'jlg rten gyi lha dang* / *myi ma yin* (17) *ba' / thams cad gyang dphang du* / (18) *gsol te* /. Transliteration and translation following Doney, "Emperor, Dharmaraja," 70.

62 Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "A Perusal of Early Tibetan Inscriptions in Light of the Buddhist World of the 7th to 9th Centuries A.D.," in *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World. Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna, 14–15 Oct. 2011*, ed. Kurt Tropper (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2014), 151.

63 See Walter, *Buddhism and Empire*, 10–13; Michael L. Walter and Christopher I. Beckwith, "The Dating and Interpretation of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions," *Central Asiatic Journal* 54.2 (2010): 295, n. 10, 300 and 303–304 (although caution should be taken with the other arguments in their article).

pre-existing pantheon, and could be seen from one perspective as merely widening the category of superhuman beings to include a new class of deity. Yet in another sense, the new transcendent class of deity also subordinates the indigenous beings in an unequal power dynamic, and this suggests a definite shift in value towards the new pantheon as a result of this inter-religious contact. The Samyé Inscription thus indicates a shift in the hierarchy of superhuman beings and the cosmology that received imperial authorisation—a major event affecting the religious landscape of Tibet. However, there is evidence that there were some groups at court that felt it unnecessary to add oaths to this additional pantheon, or even felt that it was against tradition, and so Scherrer-Schaub's observation likely concerns the emperor's wish not to 'disenfranchise' these courtiers.⁶⁴

In a longer version of this emperor's proclamation than that recorded in the Samyé Inscription, the deities in question are listed in greater detail and within a more obviously Buddhist conceptual and ritual context:

And invoking as witnesses to the oath thus made, in the ten directions: all the buddhas, all of the holy law, all monks who are *bodhisattvas*, all the self-perfected buddhas and disciples, whatever order of heavenly spirits there are in the celestial realm and on earth, the authoritative heavenly spirits (Tib. *sku lha*) of Tibet, all the nine heavenly spirits, and all the chthonic spirits (Tib. *klu*; Skt. *nāga*), harmful/tree spirits (Tib. *gnod sbyin*; Skt. *yakṣa*) and non-human ghosts, let it be made known that this edict is unalterable.⁶⁵

- 64 The evidence is centred around a particular passage in another proclamation, a royal/imperial discourse (Tib. *bka' mchid*) also attributed to Tri Songdétse. The translations of the passage by Richardson, *High Peaks Pure Earth*, 93 and van Schaik, "The Naming of the Tibetan Religion," 238 differ, as do the others discussed by van Schaik, *ibid.*, n. 20; yet the passage nonetheless suggests that Tri Songdétse acknowledged that some tensions existed between older and newer religious traditions (or their proponents) at his court. Here, as in the other proclamation I discuss below, there is no mention of Bön or Bönpos.
- 65 Translation following Richardson, *High Peaks Pure Earth*, 92 with some editions. A mostly faithful 16th-century rendering of the proclamation found in dPa' bo gTsong lag phreng ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* [The Feast for Scholars] (Varanasi: Vajra Vidya, 2002), 371.19–372.1 (with references to the mostly erroneous variants from Richardson, *High Peaks Pure Earth*, 96 in brackets) reads: 'di ltar yi dam bcas pa / phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas thams cad dang / [no shad] dam pa'i chos thams cad dang / byang chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun thams cad dang / rang sangs rgyas dang nyan thos thams cad dang / gnam sa'i rim pa lha'o [lha'o] cog dang / bod yul gyi sku lha dang / lha dgu thams cad dang / klu dang / gnod sbyin [gnods byin] dang mi ma yin pa thams cad (372) dbang du gsol te [ste] / gtsigs 'di [di] las mi 'gyur bar mkhyen par bgyis so / .

Authoritative Tibetan spirits are included in this list, while other terms given here (e.g., *klu*) could be read as referring to either local (chthonic) or foreign (*nāga*) deities. Yet, a Buddhist ‘ten directions’ (Tib. *phyogs bcu*) cosmology of is referred to here instead of the ‘four borders’ (Tib. *mtha’ bzhi*) imagery of the imperial conquerors. As we shall see, this leads to the image of the semi-deified emperor at the centre of time and space being replaced to some extent with the image of the Dharma King (Skt. *dharmarāja*, Tib. *chos kyi rgyal po*), who is still important though with a more limited status in a now Buddhist cosmos and playing a more limited role in a newer, Buddhist historiography.⁶⁶

5 10L Tib J 466.3

In the previous section, we saw evidence of the incorporation of a Buddhist pantheon into an existing non-Buddhist context, namely oath-taking. Evidence of the opposite but complementary dynamic, inclusion of Tibetan non-Buddhist deities in a Buddhist ritual, is seen in a mid to late ninth-century Dunhuang prayer text, 10L Tib J 466.3. It praises *inter alia* the Buddha, deities of generalised South Asian pantheons (including Hindu gods already absorbed into Buddhism), luminaries from Buddhist history and the Indic master, Śāntarakṣita (8th–9th century), who helped spread Buddhism in the land of snows.⁶⁷ This prayer is at once devotional, historical, cosmological and local. Its middle section, set to melody, begins by paying homage to the Buddha and his disciples. It goes on to worship the Buddhist deities, deified heroes of Buddhist historiography and the important human and non-human figures of renown among Buddhist communities. These stanzas describe whom they praise, offer one or two named examples or subgroups and end with a repeated praise formula (see the two examples below). They are written in Tibetan, yet there is nothing in this early part to suggest a Tibetan milieu (or a Chinese one for that matter). Thus, in this prayer—as in many documents from this period—the Indic Buddhist pantheon as a whole (including previously non-Buddhist, South Asian gods) is assimilated into Tibetan tradition.

However, the prayer then includes laudations of the indigenous deities surrounding Tibetan centres of worship such as Rasa (Tib. Ra sa) Monastery in Lhasa, veneration of the imperial preceptors of Tibet, and praise of Emperor

66 See Lewis Doney, “Early Bodhisattva-Kingship in Tibet: The Case of Tri Songdétsen,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 29–47.

67 Lewis Doney, “Imperial Gods: A Ninth-Century Tridaṇḍaka Prayer (rGyud chags gsum) from Dunhuang,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 61.1 (2018): 71–101.

Tri Songdétsen himself (who is modelled after the great Indian Dharma Kings). In addition to Indic references and Buddhist ‘spells’ (Skt. *dhāraṇī*, Tib. *gzungs*) though, the text includes apparently older, ‘non-Buddhist’ Tibetan concepts in the description of the ‘Great King’ (Tib. *rgyal po chen po*). One stanza reads:

Praise to the Spiritual Advisor [(Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*)] of our own Tibet, the great Dharma Kings [(Skt. *dharmarāja*)] such as the great king, Tri Songdétsen. I offer prostration, reverence and praise to all those teachers who have gone to *nirvāṇa*, who propagated the teachings: Magical Lord Tri Songdétsen—who has mastered the royal methods of the royal ancestral spirits and [rules] the kingdom with the weapon of the celestial spirits and Dharmāsoka, Kaniṣkā, Śīlāditya [(Harṣa)] and so on.⁶⁸

This prayer gives Tri Songdétsen the title ‘Magical Lord’ (Tib. *’phrul rje*), which is perhaps similar to the title or epithet ‘Magical Divine Emperor’ (Tib. *’phrul gyi lha btsan po*) used in inscriptions from his reign onwards.⁶⁹ In its unique descriptions of the emperor, this stanza also employs terms like ‘royal ancestral spirits’ (Tib. *phywa*, not to be confused with *phya*, ‘good fortune’, above) and depicts Tri Songdétsen holding the sword of the celestial spirits (Tib. *gnam gyi lde*), a reference perhaps to the early legends of the kings’ ancestral lineage of deities descended from the sky. The text thus singles out Tri Songdétsen as ruling both Tibet and its indigenous deities. Despite the overt attempt in the prayer to place Tri Songdétsen in the line of great Buddhist kings like Aśoka (r. ca. 268–232 BCE), elements of the imperial cult are still worthy of being included.

Such elements are found elsewhere in Old Tibetan literature, for instance in a philosophical critique of non-Buddhist religious traditions in IOL Tib J 1746. The latter contains an attack on non-Buddhist religion, as Sam van Schaik states:

68 IOL Tib J 466, column 11, ll. 1–4, reads: *bdag cag bod khams kyi dge ba’i bshes nyen // rgyal po chen po khri srong lde brtsan lastsogs pa // chos kyi rgyal po chen po rnam la mchod pa // phywa’I rgyal thabs mnga’ brnyes shing // chab srId gnam gyi lde mtshon can // ’phrul rje khrI srong lde brtsan dang // dar ma sho ka / ka ni sk’a / shI la ^a tI da tya lastsogs // ston pa mya ngan ’das {phyI na} [(read: phyIn)] // bstan pa rgyas mdzad thams cad la // phyag ’tshal bsnyen bkur mchod pa dbul //*. The transliteration system used for Old Tibetan orthography in this article may not be familiar to some, but it follows the policy of Old Tibetan Documents Online (see <https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/policy>, last modified 2006, last accessed May 6, 2023).

69 For a recent discussion of these Old Tibetan terms and their relations to the Tibetan emperors and/as superhuman beings—specifically heavenly spirits—in authoritative court documents and inscriptions, see Bialek, “‘Tibetan’—All-Inclusive?,” 8–16.

As an alternative to such rituals, 10L Tib J 1746 promotes the figure of the Buddha as a figure of compassion who treats everyone equally. [...] 10L Tib J 1746 is one of very few early sources that makes explicit reference to Tibetan non-Buddhist practices in general (rather than specific ritual techniques); these are consistently discussed as a form of *chos*: either as ‘the bad religion’ (*chos ngan pa*) or ‘the little religion’ (*chos chu ngu*). Buddhism, on the other hand, is the Buddha’s religion, or buddhadharma (*chos ’b'u dha*), the good religion (*chos bzang po* / *chos legs pa*), the correct religion (*chos yang thag pa*) or the great religion (*chos chen po*).⁷⁰

This text hints at a native taxonomy held by some people at a time when Buddhism was gaining power in Tibet, sometimes at the expense of the older traditions’ claims to truth or efficacy. Here, both ‘religions’ are allowed to share the term ‘law’ (Tib. *chos*) that is also used to translate *dharma*, but distanced from each other and hierarchised in their adjectival qualifications. The ‘bad religion’ or ‘little religion’ is thus othered as a practice of ‘them’, not ‘us’. 10L Tib J 1746 seems to present the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ religions as competing registers of discourse, reflecting the statuses of Buddhists and non-Buddhists with regard to truth and society. In contrast, the extant prayer just described from 10L Tib J 466.3 betrays no sense of inconsistency in using both types of language to describe the *dharma*-protecting emperor, Tri Songdét sen. He is *both* the deified emperor and also the enlightened and transcendent Buddhist teacher, both superhuman and supernatural.

One other noteworthy stanza in the prayer 10L Tib J 466.3 praises the ‘heavenly spirits of Tibet’ (Tib. *bod yul gyi lha*), a phrase resembling ‘heavenly spirit of the region’ (Tib. *yul lha*) from the wooden slips above.⁷¹ and this stanza also includes ‘lord spirits of the region’ and alpine spirits as practising the ‘good law and celestial way’ (Tib. *chos bzang gnam lugs*), Buddhism. It reads:

Praise to the heavenly spirits of Tibet, such as King of the Gandharvas [and] ‘One with Five Top-Knots’, father and son.⁷² To all the awesome

70 van Schaik, “The Naming of the Tibetan Religion,” 233.

71 See Doney, “Imperial Gods,” 89–91; van Schaik, “The Naming of the Tibetan Religion,” 245–248.

72 The *gandharvas* (Tib. *dri za*) are low-ranking flying musician spirits in Indic Buddhism, and their king may also be one of the four heavenly kings (Tib. *rgyal po bzhi*), namely Dhṛtarāṣṭra, perhaps further identified with Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the ‘One with Five Top-Knots’). Yet, there are other indigenous deities that could be being referred to here; see the discussion in Doney, “Imperial Gods,” 90. This part of the text is confusing and, at present, perhaps it is best not to put too much conceptual weight on its consequences for

'lord spirits of the region' [(Tib. *yul bdag gnyan po*)], such as the powerful heavenly spirits and the alpine spirits who [cause to] arise the jewels of men and of treasure in the iron, silver, gold, crystal and snow mountains surrounding [Tibet] and practice the good law and celestial way, I grasp the method of venerating [with] respect, and offer substances of pure auspiciousness, such as good fragrance, incense [(or fragrant incense, Tib. *dri spos*)] and flowers.⁷³

Unlike contemporaneous or later Dunhuang documents that disparage non-Buddhist ritual or seek to replace it with Buddhism,⁷⁴ this prayer here gives local spirits their proper place as superhuman beings in a newly expanded pantheon entering into the Tibetan linguistic zone at the end of the first millennium. However, it reserves an even more privileged place for the emperor within the more exclusive and superior category of transcendent supernatural beings, by noting that he has now gone to *nirvāṇa*.

6 The History of Food Provisioning

Some non-Buddhist religious practices thus apparently co-existed with Buddhism and were absorbed to some extent into it at the end of, or just after the Tibetan imperial period. At a slightly later point in time, similar practices were incorporated to a greater degree into the lower levels of Bönpo practice as the latter emerged as an established religion.⁷⁵ The communal well-being ritual-myths surveyed as the first and second examples in Section two of this contribution were apparently not seen as conflicting with those of the organised religions centred around *karma*-based reincarnation and *dharma*-focused liberation through enlightenment.⁷⁶

the relationship between non-Buddhist and Buddhist pantheons in this prayer and early Tibetan Buddhism at Dunhuang or more centrally.

73 IOL Tib J 466, column 11, ll. 4–8, reads: / *dri za'I rgyal po gtsug pud lnga pa {yab}* (SHAPE: y+b) *sras lastsogs pa / : / bod yul gyI lha rnam la mchod pa / / lcags rI dngul rI gser gyI ri / / shel rI gangs rI khyad kor na / / myI dang nor gyi dbyig 'byung zhIng / / chos bzang gnam lugs spyod pa yI / / mthu chen lha dang sman <ma> lastsogs / / yul bdag gnyan po thams cad la / / rje sa rI mo'i tshul bzung ste / dri spos men tog bzang lastsogs / / bkra shis gtsang ma'I rdzas rnam 'bul /*

74 These are surveyed in van Schaik, "The Naming of the Tibetan Religion," 227–257.

75 Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 12–16; Samuel, *Introducing Tibetan Buddhism*, 225–227.

76 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 1, 13–16; vol. 2, 31–37.

However, Buddhist polemical and historiographical literature was increasingly directed against the indigenous funeral rites of our third example—perhaps because funerary ritual more directly concerns the post-mortem state of a fully-grown adult and so was felt to encroach on ‘Buddhist’ territory. In this way, non-Buddhist religious traditions influenced Tibetan Buddhism ‘negatively’, being reified by some Buddhists into an ‘other’ against which they could define themselves (even if there was more cross-fertilisation in reality than was acknowledged in such rhetoric). Some Buddhists derided this funerary ritual under the Tibetan term ‘Bön’ or the adjective ‘Bönpo’, hence identifying themselves with the organised religious tradition that was growing up in dialogue and tension with the rapidly assimilated Buddhism in especially eastern Tibetan regions. Some of these polemic texts were actually produced quite early in the post-imperial period and even stored away among the Dunhuang documents.⁷⁷

One slightly later 11th-century historiographical account is called *Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus* [History of Food Provisioning].⁷⁸ It narrates that, at the death of the famous Buddhist emperor, Tri Songdétsen, the Bönpos take advantage of his son’s inexperience to re-establish their religion over Buddhism by performing his father’s funerary rituals. However, the son then recounts a dream in which he saw Tri Songdétsen preaching with the Buddha Vairocana and bodhisattvas Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī in the Buddhist Aḍakavatī heaven. He proclaims:

When this prophetic dream is connected with the funeral feast of my father the son of the gods [(Tib. *lha sras*; Skt. *devaputra*)], I find that it is unsuitable for it to be done in accord with Bön because it must be done in accord with the white *dharma* (of Buddhism) [(Tib. *dkar chos*)].⁷⁹

Note here that the *dharma* is white (i.e., virtuous), seemingly implicitly opposed to a ‘black Bön’ (Tib. **nag bon*) akin to the depiction identified by Sam van Schaik, above.

77 Jacob P. Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), 57–59; van Schaik, “The Naming of the Tibetan Religion,” 227–257.

78 Pasang Wangdu, and Hildegard Diemberger, *Dbā’ bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha’s Doctrine to Tibet* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 92–105; Tsering Gonkatsang and Michael Willis, “Text and Translation,” in *Bringing Buddhism to Tibet: History and Narrative in the Dbā’ bzhed Manuscript*, ed. Lewis Doney (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 148–157.

79 Tsering Gonkatsang and Willis, “Text and Translation,” 148–149.

Then the monk-minister, Pagor Vairocana (fl. eighth–ninth c., Tib. Pa gor Bai ro tsa na), makes an appearance from Tsawa(rong) Tsashö (Tib. Tsha ba [rong] tsha shod) with a man who is perhaps his disciple, Gyelmo Yudra Nyingpo (Tib. rGyal mo g.Yu sgra snying po).⁸⁰ Some of the key elements of his depiction, such as his attire (that resembles the ceremonial dress of non-Buddhist priests) and the content of his speech (that borrows terminology from their funerary rites) suggest that Vairocana is portrayed as mirroring and opposing, transcending, superceding and transforming the non-Buddhist (so-called Bönpo) ‘religion’ into a Buddhist tradition that saves the life-force of the emperor.⁸¹ The *History of Food Provisioning* connects Vairocana with Tsawa Tsashö in East Tibet, attire worn by non-Buddhists in the eastern Himalayas and ritual-myths contained within ancient non-Buddhist narratives found in what was once the north-east and south-east of the Tibetan Empire. These links may point to this work’s provenance—despite its ostensive setting in the heartland of the imperial court—in an area where such rituals were slowly becoming seen (from the inside and/or outside of these traditions) as Bön.

Legends such as these apparently cemented the connection between the above rituals and Bön (something that it seems Bönpos were also doing at the time), but then denigrated both of them as wrong-headed. Early Buddhist polemics sought to replace Bönpo rites, such as those for elite funerals, with Buddhist ones in reality—although influences of the former may have impacted the latter and contributed to some of the ‘Tibetan’ aspects of Tibetan Buddhist ritual.⁸² Then, in narrating this process by means of idealised historiography, Buddhists also created new ‘antecedent tales’ surrounding the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. This new, polemically-inspired, Tibetan Buddhist historiography increasingly portrayed the non-Buddhist practices and practitioners of the imperial period as part of a single ‘other’ religion called Bön—anachronistically identified as the enemy of Buddhism and Tibet’s flourishing in past times too.

80 Tsering Gonkatsang and Willis, “Text and Translation,” 150–151.

81 See Lewis Doney, “Master Vairocana’s Journeys in Early Tibetan Buddhist Narratives,” in *Crossing Boundaries: Tibetan Studies Unlimited*, ed. Diana Lange, Jarmila Ptackova, Marion Wettstein, and Mareike Wulff (Prague: Academia, 2021), 68–70.

82 See, most recently, Joanna Bialek, “Body Exposure and Embalming in the Tibetan Empire and Beyond: A Study of the *btol* Rite,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 74.4 (2021): 625–650. This article comprises a discussion of aspects of Old Tibetan funerary practices of embalming and exposing the body of the deceased to the people, followed by connections between these practices and those performed for Buddhist and Bönpo religious masters and some elite families right up to the modern period.

7 Taming Tibet

The second diffusion (Tib. *phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Central Tibet from the tenth century onwards comprised two main strands that began to interweave over time. The first was a continuation and deepening of the traditions that are found in the Dunhuang documents and look to older *tantras* as the basis of liberation, called the Nyingma (Tib. *nying ma*). The second was a new wave of Indic Buddhist traditions from South Asia, led by Tibetan pilgrims to what is now Nepal, Kashmir, Bengal and the Gangetic Plains of India and by the masters they sometimes invited across the Himalayas bringing cutting-edge *tantras* and creating several new schools, called Sarma (Tib. *gsar ma*). The Nyingma and Sarma lineages differed and so too did the masters and deities that they most revered. Yet, their traditions were also quite similar, sharing not only older and more general *strata* of mainstream and Mahāyāna Buddhism but also foundational tantric rituals with their own forms of ‘antecedent tales’.⁸³

Both traditions created similar histories that favoured Buddhist cosmogonies and dharmic explanations for the appearance of the Tibetan people and their society, but they each gave some space to non-Buddhist descriptions of the first emperors (who were called ‘kings’ from this period on). As first recorded in one Sarma school’s 11th-century *bKa’ chems ka khol ma* [Pillar Testament] but then as incorporated into histories in other traditions too, Avalokiteśvara and deities of the lotus family play key roles in the origins of humanity, Tibetans in particular, and the necessary Buddhist rulership destined to guide them towards enlightenment that are evidently based in part on Indic Buddhist literature.⁸⁴ The *Pillar Testament* states that Tibetans’ wildness is the reason that they needed a king and goes on to describe the origin of the first Buddhist rulers, beginning in the formless aeon of Amitābha, moving on to describe the Avalokiteśvara-emanated king modelled on an ‘elected one’ (Skt. *mahāsammata*) type providing for and protecting all sentient beings.⁸⁵ Yet, it ends with the tale of Odé Pugyel/Nyatri Tsenpo covered above and applying to Tibet alone.⁸⁶ This ‘Russian doll’ type of nested narrative unwittingly reveals

83 Robert Mayer, “The Figure of Maheśvara/Rudra in the rÑin-ma-pa Tantric Tradition,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.2 (1998): 281–305.

84 Ronald M. Davidson, “The Kingly Cosmogonic Narrative and Tibetan Histories: Indian Origins, Tibetan Space, and the *bKa’ chems ka khol ma* Synthesis,” *Lungta* 16 (2004): 64–84.

85 For more on the popularity of this Indic Buddhist model of rulership in East Asia, see Dominic Steavu and Fabio Rambelli, “The Vicissitudes of the Mahāsammata in East Asia: The Buddhist Origin Myth of Kingship and Traces of a Republican Imagination,” *The Medieval History Journal* 17 (2014): 207–227.

86 Davidson, “The Kingly Cosmogonic Narrative,” 69–80.

the strata of changing literary traditions in Tibet but also implicitly restricts the applicability of the last account to a mundane sphere, which is contextualised within the broader supra-mundane perspective of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara as the narrative focuses down from the cosmic to the local scale.

When it comes to the historical period and accounts of the imperial period, non-Buddhist elements are rarely even honoured by inclusion in the historiography (though it does happen) and, if so, are often conflated with Bön.⁸⁷ Later ritual-myth narratives, especially of the Nyingma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, increasingly look to the legendary eighth-century Indic tantric master and emanation of Avalokiteśvara, Padmasambhava, as the ‘arch-tamer’ who converted the Bönpo spirits of Tibet to Buddhism. Religious themes common from the earliest to the latest Tibetan sources on Padmasambhava are his role in pacifying local worldly deities, especially in the Himalayas, southern, and central Tibet, his preference for the higher *tantras* and his status as a culture hero of antinomian ritual. As an abiding part of the account of his journey to the court of Tri Songdétšen, he tames Tibet by means of overpowering, suppressing and gaining allegiance from local ‘heavenly and troublesome spirits’ (Tib. *lha ’dre*), as part of a religious conversion narrative familiar from other lands both within and beyond Buddhist Asia. The deities thus converted to Buddhism include the by now familiar alpine spirits and heavenly spirits of the region, the spirits known as ‘lords of the earth’ or lords of positions related to astrological calculations (Tib. *sa bdag*, discussed in Berounský’s chapter in this volume)—who are distinct from the ‘lord spirits of the region’—and some important mountain deities who have the word ‘alpine spirit’ incorporated into their names.⁸⁸ Padmasambhava thus bridges both worlds, but often acts to channel non-Buddhist powers towards Buddhism and to transform them into protectors of Buddhism. Mainstream Tibetan historiography increasingly depicted Buddhism and Buddhists as protecting Tibet and Tibetans, rather than the spirits and emperors who protected them according to non-Buddhist documents dating from the imperial period.

The variations of Tibetan Buddhism increased exponentially in this highly bibliophile land and were only to a limited extent unified under key narratives with the rule of the Dalai Lamas from the seventeenth century onwards.

87 See, for example, the treatment of ‘Bön doctrines’ in the *Pillar Testament*, quoted in Ronald Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 216.

88 See Anne-Marie Blondeau, “Le lHa ’dre bka’ thañ,” in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, ed. Ariane Macdonald (Adrien Maisonneuve: Paris, 1971), 29–126, especially pp. 69–71 and 109–110.

The mythology of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682, Tib. Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho), drew on his status as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara and reincarnation of Emperor Songtsen Gampo (d. 649, Tib. Srong btsan sgam po) to legitimise his rule. He also made connections with past tantric masters such as Padmasambhava, another emanation of Avalokiteśvara who also promoted the worship of this deity. However, among the previous incarnations of the Dalai Lamas was sometimes also the mythical first emperor, Nyatri Tsenpo.⁸⁹ This constitutes a more inclusive perspective on the non-Buddhist accounts than the above ‘Russian doll’ narrative of the *Pillar Testament*. Here, the early emperors share the supra-mundane perspective of transcendent Buddhist saviours to the extent that they are identified with Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and Buddha Amitābha. They thus play a part in the salvific *Heilsgeschichte* of Tibet, rather than representing an afterthought included more out of respect for older traditions. However, not much was made of this emanation as Nyatri Tsenpo, whereas the key accounts of Avalokiteśvara *qua* Songtsen Gampo grew in popularity along with the Dalai Lamas’ power over Central Tibet and then wider over the plateau. These Buddhist rulers, in addition to Padmasambhava, are remembered as converting the non-Buddhist elements of Tibet while the latter are far less often valorised in stories but are more often the ‘other’ to be tamed.

However, this is an incomplete taming. Samuel, describing the Himalayan regions in which the above types of non-Buddhist religion are practised, argues “these are areas that have made a certain choice not to be fully ‘tamed.’”⁹⁰ In that article, Samuel notes in particular the references among the practitioners themselves to the incomplete nature of Padmasambhava’s work.⁹¹ Samuel suggests that, alternatively, this could be an incorporation of negative stereotypes from Tibetan Buddhist lamas as a local self-identification.⁹² Nevertheless, he says of non-Buddhist practices at the village level:

89 Nancy Lin, “Recounting the Fifth Dalai Lama’s Rebirth Lineage,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 38 (2017): 119–156.

90 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity,” 90.

91 Ibid. See also Hildegard Diemberger, “Padmasambhava’s Unfinished Job: The Subjugation of Local Deities as Described in the *dBa’-bzhed* in Light of Contemporary Practices of Spirit Possession,” in *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Birgit Kellner et al., 85–94 (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2007).

92 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity,” 90.

[They] do not however indicate a preference for an alternative process of ‘taming’ [(say, by the legendary eighth-century Tibetan master Drenpa Namkha [Tib. Dran pa nam mkha’] of the established Bön religion)] but, rather, signal that these communities choose to remain in significant part untamed.⁹³

8 Conclusion

Non-Buddhist religious traditions that are also not Bönpo have often been overlooked in previous scholarship, which tended to reify Tibetan Buddhism and Bön as the only alternatives, while offering examples from these traditions as demonstrations of negative traits in Buddhism or Bön. Yet, deities such as heavenly spirits of the region and alpine spirits are found in some of our oldest documents, while funerary rituals are evident from imperial-period tombs and later manuscripts from Dunhuang and the Gatang *stūpa*. The sources do not point to a single religious institution or even an ultimately Central Tibetan provenance, but they influenced Buddhism (and Bön) both positively and negatively over the centuries.

Positive influences include the incorporation of one pantheon into the other in the imperial-period proclamation and late-imperial/early post-imperial prayer from Dunhuang, offering these protecting spirits praise and propitiation and ascribing to them an important (if subservient) place within the later religions of liberation by enlightenment beyond the world of local deities and spirits. Other positive processes include the adaptation of tales of the first emperor and first royal funerary rites into later Buddhist historiography. Negative influence comprises the reification of the above practices into an ‘other’ religion seen in some Buddhist Dunhuang sources, the *History of Food Provisioning* and Padmasambhava narratives. Here, such practices should be tamed and transformed by Buddhism. In Bönpo historiography that lies outside this contribution, they can be viewed as an important but lower ‘vehicle’ (Tib. *theg pa*) of Bön that gives way to its higher, more salvific vehicles of enlightenment-focused mind training and *tantra*.⁹⁴ Bön has increasingly been categorised as a form of Tibetan Buddhism today, and this move risks silencing the unique elements of the Bön tradition or demoting it to a subaltern position. However, in the stance that both Bön and Tibetan Buddhism take to non-salvific elements within and without their own religions, there is

93 Samuel, “Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity.”

94 See Bellezza, *Spirit-Mediums*, 344ff.

some truth in their identification. They are in this sense closer to each other than they are to the even more silenced early religious traditions evidenced in *some parts* of the Tibetan Plateau during the imperial period. These were non-Buddhist and only to some extent absorbed into Tibetan imperial ritual and then Tibetan Buddhism at this time; and not yet incorporated into the Bön religion that did not come into existence until a little later.

Lastly, the *History of Food Provisioning* and *Pillar Testament* may constitute elite Buddhist discourses. However, their 'arguments' (or those in elite society that they reflected) appear to have trickled down to form general perceptions in influential quarters of Tibetan society: notions of a contrast, rhetorically at least, between Buddhist and Bönpo identity. These opposed categories influenced the conceptual lens through which modern non-Tibetan scholars viewed Tibetan religion. The ideology behind narratives recounting Padmasambhava's taming of 'Tibet' were even more influential beyond elite spheres and are now thoroughly entrenched in ritual and social practice across large parts (though not all) of the Tibetan Plateau and in the Tibetan diaspora. The legitimisation of the Dalai Lamas drew on many of the above aspects of Tibetan Buddhist ideology and thereby further cemented them in Tibetan 'national identity' discourses. Until recently, the non-Buddhist aspects adding to the variety of Tibetan religious experience have been marginalised, but may play more of a role in these debates in future. Yet, an easy identification of the practices current today with those of the Tibetan imperial period, and further identification of them with established Bön, should be resisted.

The Fluid Lives of Tibetan Ritual Narrations during the Imperial and Post-Imperial Period

Daniel Berounský

Abstract

Buddhism started to play a significant role in the Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po) from the eighth century onward. On arrival in the Empire, it encountered a ritual tradition lacking universal claim which could be seen as an array of rituals aimed at solving critical situations in the lives of both individual people and society. These rituals were performed by followers of ritualists (Tib. *gshen* or *bon*) who often take on mythic proportions. Up to the present time, Buddhist rituals in Tibet remain the sphere of their descendants' influence.

An important element of ritual performance was voicing (Tib. *gyer*) the ritual narrations (Tib. *smrang*), in order to infuse the ritual with meaning. Surviving origination myth accounts (Tib. *rabs*, related to 'lineage/succession') probably reflect a later tendency to assemble various originally locally based myths within single collections of such narrations spanning larger areas of Tibetan Plateau. Through this process, qualitatively different ritual traditions were crystallised, giving some traditions prominence whilst silencing others. Post-imperial texts of monastic Bön (Tib. *bon*) lineages associate the tradition of orating various origin myths with the terms lore or wisdom (Tib. *gtsug lag*). It is possible to speculate that the great variety of ritual narratives were organised under such umbrella terms. One can observe a certain divide between Central Tibetan ritual traditions and those found across large areas of Western, Northern, and Eastern Tibet. The paper eventually introduces the *'Bum bzhi* [Fourfold Collection] that survive in the *Bon bka' gyur* [Bön Kangyur]. These voluminous texts mostly contain origin myths and tales dealing with four kinds of spirits—(1) chthonic spirits (Tib. *klu*), (2) fierce spirits (Tib. *gnyan*), (3) earth-lords (Tib. *sa bdag*) and (4) rock spirits (Tib. *gtod*)—and are difficult to date in their current forms. They contain traces of stages of development reflecting monastic Bön religion and evidence of absorbing Buddhist elements. However, they also preserve some features characterising eastern non-Buddhist ritual traditions, although an attempt to include local Eastern-Tibetan lore in pan-Tibetan ritual tradition likely lies behind their compilation.

1 Introduction

Buddhism in Tibet is clearly grounded in various Buddhist traditions once native to India. In addition to further influences witnessed by apocryphal texts likely created in China and Central Asia, the valued doctrinal core of Buddhism is embedded in a very flexible cultural matrix. The matrix in which Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions meet accommodates Buddhist doctrinal and ritual traditions with pre-existent and radically different lay practices oriented towards worldly needs.

In case of Tibet, the above-mentioned matrix represents a vast array of mainly ritualised activities characterised by the blending of Indic or Buddhist divinities, spirits, and ideas with similar autochthonous ones. The influences are apparently mutual, although the impact of Buddhist ideas is relatively clearly observable on such a heterogeneous substrate. Also, due to the predominance of monks in the production of texts following the 11th century, their influence is more in evidence than that of autochthonous traditions. There are many reasons for the difficulty of discerning indigenous ideas within Buddhism in Tibet.

One of the main obstacles to recognising them is certainly poor familiarity with what could be called ‘indigenous’ religious ideas. Such an appellation ‘indigenous ideas’ itself could be misleading for non-Buddhist practices, as it is not possible to separate these out from borrowings and other influences from Tibet’s neighbouring countries.

The lack of knowledge of non-Buddhist and possible pre-Buddhist religious practices is primarily caused by the difficulties connected with understanding the surviving textual material related to them. These texts are typically very dense, fragmented, with unusual orthography, little-known expressions, and devoid of information about their context.

Yet, this is far from being the only hindrance awaiting researchers attempting to make sense of such confusing witnesses of the past. The idea that a uniform religious tradition existed in Tibet before encountering Buddhism is certainly naïve and lacks grounding in research.

A down-to-earth picture of the situation must take into consideration the numerous human societies on the Tibetan Plateau prior to the creation of the Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po). This happened suddenly during the mid-seventh century. We have almost no information about the religious traditions and culture of that time. The sudden rise of the Tibetan Empire, resembling somehow the later immediate appearances of Arabs and Mongols, was accompanied by a transformation of social rules and traditions

along with the need for an effective and sophisticated administrative apparatus. The evidence also shows that religious practices were not left intact. It is clear that attempts were made to reorganise existing rites into those fitting the new reality of the Tibetan Empire.

Only slightly later, almost simultaneously, Buddhism entered the scene. It might be the case that Buddhism was already in evidence during the mid-seventh century formation of the Tibetan Empire. The deeper influence of Buddhism on the ruling strata of the society might be supposed to come with Emperor Tri Songdétsen (r. 742–ca. 800, Tib. Khri Srong lde brtsan). By the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, the influence intensified and known records show the foundation of a large number of Buddhist monasteries sponsored by the ruling class.

The historical background of the events only sporadically outlined here suggests a very complex situation in which regional ritual traditions undergo their transformation into pan-Tibetan ones. At the same time, they encounter Buddhism with its progressively stronger impact on society.

In this paper, attention will be paid to distinctive elements of non-Buddhist religions in Tibet. A very characteristic feature of non-Buddhist rites in Tibet is the need for a mythical narrative on origin—be it the origin of the ritual itself, the tools used during the ritual, items of daily use, or the use of animals, etc. The mythical narrative is what makes the ritual meaningful. In addition to that, it seems to provide an elementary mode of understanding the surrounding world.

2 Tibetan Ritual Narrations and Their Wisdom (Tib. *gtsug lag*)

Fine examples of often fragmented narrations of origin events appear among the oldest surviving Tibetan manuscripts found near Dunhuang (敦煌). These documents represent a vast collection of texts that date before the mid-11th century. Four such documents containing myths were presented in an anthology by Frederick W. Thomas as early as 1957.¹ Some of the manuscripts discussed by Thomas were later subjected to further analyses,² and later presentations

¹ Frederick W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

² Namely, Rolf Stein, “Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang,” in *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, ed. Ariane Macdonald (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971), 476–547.

of parts of them benefited from an advancement in understanding their contents. There are many more such texts found among the Dunhuang documents. Some of those related to funeral rituals, which seem to constitute the majority of similar ritual narrations, were rendered in English by John V. Bellezza;³ some were recently analysed by Brandon Dotson.⁴ After the turn of the millennium, non-Buddhist manuscripts containing mostly ritual narrations were found in Southern Tibet in Gatang (Tib. dGa' thang) *stūpa* and published.⁵ Tentatively dated to the 11th century or earlier, these manuscripts substantially enrich knowledge about non-Buddhist rituals.

It is now more than evident that what has been called folk literature by Thomas, represents a specific genre of ritual narration that constitutes an important part of the ritual. The tradition of performing origin myths did not stop at the end of the Tibetan Empire. Fine examples of manuscripts containing origin myths of later provenance were dealt with, besides others, by Samten G. Karmay and Charles Ramble.⁶ These come mainly from the environment of village ritualists and are close to what could be labelled folk religion.

3 John V. Bellezza, *Zhang zhung: Foundations of Civilization in Tibet* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008); John V. Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013).

4 Brandon Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories: Preliminary Remarks on the Place of Narrative in Tibetan Religion," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 77–112; Brandon Dotson, "The Horse and the Grass-Grazing Man: Domestication, Food, and Alterity in Early Tibetan Cosmologies of the Land of the Dead," *History of Religion* 57.3 (2018): 270–287.

5 Pa tshab Pa sangs shang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, ed., *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdam bsgrigs* [Collection of Ancient Bönpo Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2007). For reference in English see Samten G. Karmay, "A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts from a Buddhist Stūpa in Southern Tibet," *East and West* 59.1–4 (2009): 55–83.

6 There are several studies by Karmay on the topic, for example, Samten G. Karmay, "The Appearance of the Little Black-headed Man," in *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, ed. Samten G. Karmay (Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998), 245–281. For interesting Tibetan texts containing ritual origin narrations from the post-imperial period, see Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano, *The Call of Blue Cuckoo* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2002). For a comparative study of one particular myth making use of more textual variants and observation of the performance of the ritual, see Charles Ramble, "The Deer as a Structuring Principle in Certain Bonpo Rituals. A Comparison of Three Texts for the Acquisition of Good Fortune (g.yang)," in *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya*, ed. Patrick McAllister, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, and Helmut Krasser (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 509–540.

Research by Toni Huber reveals the continuing use of such narrations as a crucial part of ritual surviving in eastern Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.⁷

There are many more such ritual narratives scattered among Bön (Tib. *bon*) and Buddhist ritual texts and disappearing traditions of lay ritualists, which are still relatively undocumented by scholars. The variability of their forms and distribution across folk religion, lay ritualist traditions, Bönpo (Tib. *bon po*) and Buddhist monasticism indicates that one is touching here a crucial element of Tibetan culture. Their great variability in terms of form, content and context lead them to be inconsistently referenced in this chapter according to their predominant features. Here, terms like semi-mythical are not intended in any way to be pejorative in the sense of meaning ahistorical or therefore something wrong. Myth is understood here instead as a key and relevant carrier of knowledge and orientation in the world.

These diverse ritual narrations (Tib. *smrang*; cf. *smra*, to speak) can be labelled origin myths, charter myths, tales of origin, expositions, antecedent tales, and others in English. The Tibetan expression *smrang* designates a ritual narration situated in the timeless past (or origin of the world) to be voiced during the ritual. It usually discloses the context of the ritual, which would otherwise remain meaningless. Another name used for such narrations is account (Tib. *rabs*). This could be a synonym for the first. The term *rap* appears frequently in collections of series of myths on related topics and could be understood as 'an account from the series of them'. This is similar to the meaning of account appearing in the 'historical literature' as royal genealogy (Tib. *rgyal rabs*), or family genealogy (Tib. *gdung rabs*): a series of accounts regarding the individuals who form the lineage. In some cases, a long series of such ritual narrations are voiced during the ritual.

Some of these myths are explicit concerning their function. Frequently, the concluding phrase, found both in the oldest documents from Dunhuang (cf. P. T. 1136) and myths of later provenance alike, appears as follows: "As it was beneficial and fortunate in the past, it is also beneficial and fortunate in the present."⁸

Thus, the role of such narratives clearly lays in presenting mythical or semi-mythical events to be re-enacted. Such events typically consist of a

7 Toni Huber, *Source of Life: Revitalisation Rites and Bon Shamans in Bhutan and the Eastern Himalayas*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020).

8 Conclusion of P. T. 1136: *gna' phan da yang phan gna' bsod da yang bsod/ /*.

description of the emerging crisis, followed by a successful ritual method applied to solve it in the timeless past.

Indicating one perspective on their function, some sources label these myths 'example' (Tib. *dpe*) in some sources; they provide an example or model to be followed. In the canon of monastic Bön, where these myths are called examples of good wisdom/custom (Tib. *gtsug lag bzang po*), their function is described as follows: "Applying 'examples' from the good 'wisdom' of the past, the true was exposed by voicing the bon."⁹

This short sentence connects such models/examples with certain lore or wisdom/custom (Tib. *gtsug lag*), as will be discussed after first addressing the specific method of their oral performance.

Such myths are described as being performed orally and orated with the use of a specific voice, voicing (Tib. *gyer*) in some cases. It is significant that the expression never applies to the common recitation of Buddhist texts in Tibet (Tib. *zhal 'don* / *kha 'don*, in Old Tibetan also *nan*, *klad*). In Tibetan, the term voicing is associated with a specific method of oral performance and can also sometimes be used for certain types of singing. Within the post-imperial monastic Bön religion, it is claimed that this is originally a term borrowed from the Zhangzhung language, and that the term is synonymous with *bön*. As such, it appears in many names of early monastic Bön masters (Tib. *gyer mi*, *gyer spungs*, *gyer sgom*) beginning from the 11th century. However, it is found in Dunhuang documents and seems to be utilised in that context as a Tibetan expression characterising ritual performance. The term voicing is simultaneously used to characterise a specific variant of tantric chant in the Buddhist tradition that resembles an overtone or throat singing,¹⁰ while the monastic Bön tradition uses chants (Tib. *gyer mo*) called long chant (Tib. *gyer chen*) and short chant (Tib. *gyer thung*) for the purposes of propitiation rites to protective deities. Monastic Bön seems to retain a possibly older understanding of the chants as imitations of animal and bird's voices.¹¹ There are several Buddhist

9 "Nye lam sde bzhi'i gnyan 'bum bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs legs swo [Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Direct Path]," in *New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*, vol. 253, ed. Sog sde sprul sku bstan pa'i nyi ma (Lhasa: bsTan pa'i nyi ma, 1998), 633: *sngon gyi gtsug lag bzang po la dpe blangs/ bon smras bden pa ni bshad/*.

10 See, for example, Polina Butsyk, "Sounds of Speech and the Tiger's Roar: Two Different Ways of Perceiving Vocal Music in Tibet in the 13th–17th Centuries," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 55 (2020): 15–34.

11 This monastic Bön ritual practice is systematised under the category of four portals of *gyer* and nine ululation voices (Tib. *gyer sgo bzhi skad gcong dgu*), which are understood as (1) portal of purification (Tib. *sel sgo*) with voices of tiger, dog, horse, (2) portal of creation rituals (Tib. *srid sgo*) with voices of *garuda* and parrot, (3) portal of ransom rituals

accounts from the post-imperial period containing polemics concerning Bön ritualists' performance of chants. Yet, a rendering that situates the emergence of a similar style of recitation in India but explains its origins in terms of the vision of the prominent Tibetan Buddhist translator Rinchen Zangpo (ca. 985–1055, Tib. Rin chen bzang po) is suspect, as is the subsequent allusion to its adoption by followers of the Bön.¹² Such accounts suggest rather the opposite: that Buddhist overtone chanting styles in Tibet have been influenced by this tradition of chanting.

There seems to be no clear description of the performance of these myths among the surviving Dunhuang documents. However, scattered among much later texts of the monastic Bön religion, fragments of vivid details connected

(Tib. *glud sgo*) with voices of lion and lark, (4) portal of *to* rituals (Tib. *gto sgo*) with voices of dragon and cuckoo. There are, however, alternative lists of this classification. According to the *Gal mdo* [Essential Sūtra], the categories are divided into (1) portal of offering to heavenly spirits (Tib. *lha gasas mchod pa'i sgo*), (2) portal of purification rituals of elimination and ablution (Tib. *sel dang khrus kyi sgo*), (3) portal of freeing and ransoming rituals (Tib. *thar dang glud kyi sgo*), (4) portal of fierce spirits regarding rituals of summoning well-being (Tib. *phya gyang gnyan gyi sgo*). In some sources, these categories are also considered to be methods of translating from the language of Zhangzhung. This shift in meaning seems to be an attempt to alter the original meaning of the term. Cf. Namgyal Nyima Dagkar, "The Early Spread of Bon," *The Tibet Journal* 23.4 (1998): 7, ns. 13 and 14.

- 12 As an example, the following two cases could be mentioned. First, there is an amazing story about the famous early translator, Rinchen Zangpo, who invented the styles of chanting imitating a tigress and the creaking sound of a tree for invoking protective deities. It is described as having taken place in India. The story goes that he competed with Bönpos, who changed some of his repertoire (i.e., *mantras*) into Bön. This story could be seen as an example of history (Tib. *lo rgyus*) applied by Buddhists in place of origin myths. See Kun dga' bsod nams, "Rig pa'i gnas lnga las bzo rig pa'i bye brag rol mo'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs blo gsal yid 'phrog phril nas yongs khyabs" [Melodious Voice Vibrating Through the Bright Mind of Joyful Master Mañjuśrī: Detailed Elucidation of the Commentary on Music which Belongs to the Art of Crafts Within the Five Kinds of Art], in *Sa skya paṇḍi ta chen pos mdzad pa'i rol mo'i bstan bcos* [Commentary on Music Composed by Sa skya Paṇḍi ta], edited by Kun dga' bsod nams (Dharamsala: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press, 1980). For translation, see Ricardo O. Canzio, "Sakya Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' and its relevance to present-day Tibetan liturgy" (PhD diss., SOAS, 1978), 144. There are also other texts that use the pejorative phrase 'chanting like a Bönpo' (Tib. *bon du gyer ba*). They show that Buddhists were imitating this style of ritual. An example could be the following extract from the *Zangs gling ma* [Copper Island]: "[O]therwise, if one just makes as much a loud or dramatic racket as one can, with no connection to the specific words and music of the rituals of (authentic) sources, this is what is known as 'chanting like a bönpo' (*bon du gyer ba*) and is something to be avoided." See Ben Philip Joffe, "White Robes, Matted Hair: Tibetan Tantric Household, Moral Sexuality, and Ambiguities of Esoteric Buddhist Expertise in Exile" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2019), 55.

with their ritual use appear. One must be cautious regarding such fragments, since several centuries separate them from the time of the Tibetan Empire. Nevertheless, they could provide fragmented information regarding certain characteristics for at least some of the greater variants of such practices.

One of the monastic Bönpo sources is the 14th century compendium *mDo dri med gzi brjid* [Sūtra of Immaculate Splendor], organised in twelve volumes.¹³ While Buddhism-related doctrines and practices appear mostly at the top of their hierarchy, among the lower ones labelled 'black water' (Tib. *chab nag*) are worldly-oriented ritual practices. In the section dealing with purification (Tib. *sel*) rituals, vivid details related to the oral performance of these myths appears. The term ritual narration was rendered only generally as exposition in the following translation by David L. Snellgrove and his collaborators, which somehow obscures that in fact the text does not discuss any exposition, but just the ritually used narrations on origin, or origin myths. In the following, the translation by Snellgrove is used, only exorcism has been changed to 'sel purification' and exposition to 'origin narration':

So for each original lore of origin narration
 there is subdivision into 120 ways of *sel* purification,
 and with these are associated the eight ululations of sound.
 First in the case of the three originals
 for urging the acceptance of purity and rejection of defilement,
 effect the ululation of the growling tigress.
 Then for the incantation of the origin narration of *sel* purification,
 effect the ululation of bird and dog and horse.
 There are various variable sounds of birds.
 The sound of the dog is barking or growling.
 The sound of the horse is neighing and pleasant.
 The utterance of ululations must be done well [...]
 The great speaker of the original bon of purification *sel*,
 Binds the turban on his head.
 In his mouth he receives the draught that is to be drunk.
 In his hand he offers the thing that is to be offered.
 With his voice he intones the origin narration using ululations.

13 There are many editions of this text. Nevertheless, the following version published in a book form could serve as first reference, taken in the comparative context of other versions: Pa sangs tshé ring, ed., *mDo dri med gzi brjid* [Sūtra of Immaculate Splendor], 12 vols. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2000).

Unsuitable ritual items must be avoided.

The origin narration must be done carefully in full.

The potency of the “Black Waters” emerges in origin narration,

[...]

So, for the “Black Waters” origin narration is the most important thing.¹⁴

This extract reveals that the specific voices of animals and birds (Tib. *gcong*) were used to voice origin myths. The verb voicing appears in this extract translated as “intoning the origin narration” (Tib. *smrang du gyer*). It may well point to the features of a practice underlying the throat chant used within the Buddhist traditions and monastic Bön. However, this extract is important in stressing that the voicing style of performance imitating voices of birds and animals was not used for some general propitiation of spirits and deities. It is firmly bound to the performance of origin myths. Furthermore, this practice associated with the origin myths was not intended primarily for human listeners. In using a voice that mimics animals, the content of the myth was obscured. Ritual narrations were probably seen in this case as a means of communication with spirits and deities.

In the two other surviving versions of the myth describing the origin of the purification ritual, a similar phrase appears, indicating that the heavenly deity ritualist (here named Lhabön, Tib. lHa bon) drinks an alcoholic beverage (Tib. *chang*) after binding his turban as a part of the steps undertaken before the proper voicing of the myth:

Lhabön bound a turban around his head,
and spread a precious cushion at his feet.
He poured nectar of *chang* into his neck,
and was given desirable offerings to his hands.¹⁵

14 David L. Snellgrove, *Nine Ways of Bon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967): 46–51: *sel sgo brgya dang nyi shu dbye/ de la skad kyi gcong brgyad sbyar/ dang po srid pa gsum po las/ gtsang sme blang dor bzhen 'debs pa/ stag mon gar ba'i gcong las drang/ de nas sel gyi smrang gyer ba'i/ bya khyi rta yi gcong las drang/ bya skad sna tshogs' gyur ba yin/ rta skad 'tsher dang snyan pa yin/ gcong gi sryan ngag legs par bya [...]* srid pa'i sel bon smra chen gyis/ dbu la 'gying ba'i thod kyang bcing/ zhal na skyem pa'i skyems yang gsol/ phyag na 'bul ba'i yon kyang 'bul/ zhal nas gcong gis smrang kyang gyer/ mi 'gro yas stags spang bar bya/ smrang ni zhib pa rgyas par bya/ chab nag nus pa smrang la 'byung/ [...] de phyr chab nag smrang gis gtsol/.

15 The Tibetan text is available on the BDRC website; Anonymous, “gTsang ma lha ser (= sel) dkar po [White Sel Purification of Pure Heavenly Spirits],” in *Khyung po steng chen khul gyi bon chog dpe rmying bri ma phyogs sdebs* [Collection of Old Bön Ritual Manuscripts from the Area of Khyungpo Tenchen], Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC)

However, it is possible to encounter similar descriptions of the ritual performance of myths. In the following, it is not an alcoholic beverage, but the consumption of gold and turquoise that is mentioned. This is probably meant as a ritual drink with gold and turquoise dust in the alcoholic beverage, resembling in some way the golden drink (Tib. *gser bskyems*)¹⁶ used as a libation also in Buddhist rituals: “The Bönpo bound his head with a turban and swallowed gold and turquoise in his mouth. Placing the powerful protective amulet on the donor, he pronounced [...]”¹⁷

Such repeated details inform us that at least some of the ritual performances of the origin myths were accompanied by consumption of alcoholic beverages and the head was ritually covered by a turban.

Although the term voicing clearly indicates that specific oral performance matters in the ritual, even the Dunhuang manuscripts containing such antecedent myths attest to the fact that they were committed to writing even in the early times of the Tibetan Empire. This raises questions about the motivations for doing so. This tradition of oral performance of ritual narrations is rare nowadays, but some recent examples from Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh show that in some cases the written texts were employed as mere tools for memorising them.¹⁸ As such, the texts are fragmented and serve as abbreviated outlines of oral performance. In such recent examples, the strong emphasis on oral performance—which seems to be naturally associated with them—is retained.¹⁹

no. W3CN4081, vol. 19 (scanned in 2016, <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W3CN4081>, accessed February 24, 2022), fol. 5b: *lha bon dbu la thod cig sol/ zhabs la rine (rin chen) gdan cig bting/ mgur du bdud (bdud rtsi) chang skyems drang/ phyag du 'dod pa'i yon la phul/*.

16 For further examples of the use of gold in beverages, see Dan Martin, “The Gold Drink Rite. Indigenous, But Not Simply Indigenous,” *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* 7.2 (2014): 79–95. A non-Buddhist origin narration, *gSer bskyems rabs* [An Account on Gold Drink], appears also among the Gatang texts, cf. John V. Bellezza, “gShen-rab Myi-bo: His Life and Times According to Tibet’s Earliest Sources,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 19 (2010): 31–118, 45.

17 *Sa bdag 'bum* [Earth-Lord Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las sa bdag dbang chen gyi sgyur bcos te bam po gnyis pa'o* [The Second Volume from the Fourfold Pure Collections, on Restoration of the Earth-Lords’ Power] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6280), in *bKa' gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 140, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999), 57, ll. 6–7: *bon po'i dbul (dbu la) thod bcings/ zhal du gser g.yu gsol/ yon bdag la srung btsan bkad de 'di skad/*.

18 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 227–244.

19 This is also confirmed by some indications given in an almost extinct lay ritual tradition from the north-eastern outskirts of the Tibetan Plateau that is sometimes called *léu* (Tib. *le'u*). According to the information collected during my fieldwork there in 2017 and 2018, some of the texts containing origin myths were written down by Bönpo monks (who

Let us return our attention to the term lore/wisdom (Tib. *gtsug lag*), through discussion of the following post-imperial extract. This passage alludes to the function of ritual narrations as an important means of understanding the surrounding world in general:

It will be exposed in great core treatises of ‘wisdom’ [(Tib. *gtsug lag gzhung chen*)]. The specific manners of their voicing [(Tib. *gyer thabs*)] will be passed on in each tradition of narration on origin [(Tib. *smrang rgyud*)]. Thus, all the created world would be understood.²⁰

This brief extract explicitly stresses the crucial role of such ritual narrations for orientation in the world. By specifying the great treatises (which alludes to written texts) and linking them with specific methods of voicing the origin myths, an aspect of their organisation is implied. This could be an indication of an emerging pan-Tibetan ritual tradition. However, the origin myths themselves are seen to be related to the term that was only provisionally translated as wisdom or custom in both previous extracts.

This term has been discussed in connection with the old religion in Tibet. Ariane Macdonald suggested it as a name for the old religion.²¹ Her conclusions were nevertheless disputed by Rolf Stein in his very detailed analyses of this term based on the Dunhuang documents.²² Stein summarises his detailed observations as follows:

[...] *gtsug lag* is well defined by numerous texts. It comprises a rather broad range of meanings, such that it is impossible to adopt single and same translation in all cases. It designates a wisdom, an art, a science, a *savoir-faire* (and the writings which speak about it). For the king, notably for Srong btsan sgam po, it clearly concerns the art of governance and a

censored them), while one of the few surviving old ritualists from Thewo (Tib. The bo) knows them only from his memory. Such an interesting situation of a tradition based on oral performance living in an environment heavily influenced by written texts could be said to be characteristic of the Tibetan cultural sphere in general.

20 *mDo nam 'grel bar 'ti ka* [Commentary Explaining Sūtras] (Dolanji: Bonpo Monastic Centre, 2012): chap. 30, fol. 108a–108b: *gtsug lag gzhung chen de la bshad/ gyer thabs re zhing* (= *zhig?*) *smrang rgyud dang sprad/ 'on tang srid pa kun gyis go/*.

21 Ariane Macdonald, “Une lecture des Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, et 1290: essai sur la formation et l’emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroñ bean Sgam po,” in *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, ed. Ariane Macdonald (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971), 190–391.

22 Rolf Stein, “A propos du mot gcug-lag et de la religion indigène,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985): 83–133.

political wisdom. There also, the authors could subtly play on an assimilation of the ancient wisdom of the first mythic kings with Buddhism (sometimes called *gtsug lag bzang po*, and not *chen po*). Since 814 (*Mahāvvyutpatti*), *gtsug lag* designates the sacred texts of Buddhism. In the same era, it was also employed by the Indian paṇḍits. It then designates the morality and the good conduct of the laity (synonymous with *mi chos*) being used as preparation for Buddhism (*lha chos*).²³

It is obviously a term that is extremely polysemantic and flexible. Rolf Stein has amply demonstrated that the term is not a designation of a religious tradition, but a very general term that encompasses the various arts, principles and knowledge that are applied to preserve the order of society and the course of the world. This term has been rendered differently by various authors as governance, custom, literature, wisdom, and religion, among others.²⁴ For the sake of clarity, the translation ‘wisdom’ will be used in this text, but with the understanding that this is a considerable simplification.

While Rolf Stein mentions the inclusion of Buddhism under this term from the early ninth century in the form of sacred texts, etc., Michael L. Walter argues in favour of the conscious inclusion of Buddhist concepts as early as the eighth century, during the reign of Emperor Tri Songdétsen (r. 742–ca. 800, Tib. Khri Srong lde brtsan), as evidenced by the text *bKa’ yang dag pa’i tshad ma las*

23 For this English rendering by Arthur P. McKeown, see Rolf Stein, *Rolf Stein’s Tibetica Antiqua* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 189. For the original French text, see Rolf Stein, “A propos du mot gcug-lag et de la religion indigène,” 132–133.

24 One recent and detailed investigation of this term is Joanna Bialek, *Compounds and Compounding in Old Tibetan. Vol. 2: A Corpus-Based Approach* (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2018), 392–402. On the basis of the great variability in possible translations, Bialek suggests ‘principles’ as a fitting general rendering of this term in English. The Tibetan text from the 17th century explains it as “that which has come out of the head (*gtsug*) of the most holy, i.e., the result of his intellect, and has been placed in the hands (*lag*) of the inquirer, hence sciences, sacred literature, etc.” (Tib. *’phags pa’i gtsug nas bton/ zhu byed lag tu bzhaq pas brjod*); text and translation based on Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1902), 1002a. This citation comes from a 17th-century treatise on astrology, the *Vai dū rya dkar po* [White Beryl] authored by Desi Sangye Gyatso (1653–1703/5, Tib. sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho), but such an understanding is the result of its adaptation and widening of its semantic field by Buddhist scholars. Michael Hahn comes up with a tentative etymology as “that which has been (or, is to be) recited in order to be penetrated” (Tib. *gtsug (bk)lag(s)*); see Michael Hahn, “A Propos the Term *gtsug lag*,” in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, vol. 1, ed. Helmut Krasser et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), 353. However, this interpretation seems to have very little support in the textual evidence and the context of the imperial Period.

mdo btus pa [Extract of the Criteria of the Authentic Scriptures] whose authorship is attributed to this Emperor.²⁵ In the post-11th century period, it appears in Buddhist circles as a name not only for sacred Buddhist texts but also for the Buddhist temple (Tib. *gtsug lag khang*) and, surprisingly, is associated with the art of astrology (Tib. *rtsis gtsug lag*). This connection with astrology will be touched upon at the end of this chapter, where a collection of myths about the earth-lord spirits (Tib. *sa bdag*) may provide an explanation.

Whatever the case, the two extracts presented here, along with the frequent appearance of the term in existing collections of origin myths calling their lore by this term, bear witness to the fact that the term lore/wisdom is also understood to cover specific general knowledge/customs/principles mediated by ritual narratives on origin events. The ritual context and the means of mediating it are inseparable from this specific knowledge. An example from the collection of origin narrations surviving in the Bön Kangyur describing the ritual performance accompanying an oath is rather straightforward in this regard:

In between of heavenly and fierce spirits [(Tib. *lha dang gnyan*)],
 a stone and a tree were planted as witnesses,
 in the vast triangular land,
 the white cushion of heavenly spirits was spread,
 on the earth of not seeing, the flag was hoisted,
 on the earth of not hearing, the conch-shell was blown,
 on the earth of not understanding, the ritual narration of 'wisdom' [(Tib. *gtsug lag gi smrang*)] was pronounced.
 To the monkey, to the badger, and to the ox, to the three,
 unspoiled and uncreated offerings [(Tib. *yas*)] were gathered,
 the snout of a greyish ox was pierced (?),
 the back of a greyish cow was split,
 the goat and dog were slaughtered as witnesses,
 the red ox was slaughtered.²⁶

25 Michael L. Walter, *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 228.

26 *gNyan 'bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rin po che gnyan gyi 'bum* [Precious Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collections] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6281), in *bKa' 'gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 141, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999), 141–142, ll. 5–7, 1: *de ni lha dang gnyan gnyis kyi bar du /gzu rdo dang gzu shing btsugs/ yul yang mo gru gsum pa/ lha gdan dkar po btings/ mi mthong dog nas dar phyar/ mi thos dog na dung 'bud/ mi go dog na gtsug lag gi smrang bshad/ spre'u grum glang gsum la/ mi sdigs mi srid pa'i yas bgrangs/ glang bre bo'i sna phol/ ba bre mo'i sgang bkral/ gzu ra gzu khyi bsad/ bse glang dmar po bsad/.*

These verses say that the lore/wisdom was voiced in the origin narration for the ritual, during which animals were slaughtered. Although this text survives among the monastic Bön texts, the animal sacrifice mentioned there goes very much against the essential principles of even early monastic Bön scriptures.

However, such lore/wisdom can also be seen as indicative of a principle that underlies the world itself. In the following example from a post-imperial collection of myths, it relates to the creation of the world and ascribes it cosmogonical significance:

First, when the sky expanded in height,
it was expanded by creating 'wisdom' [(Tib. *gtsug lag srid*)].
When the earth spread below,
it was spread by delegating knowledge of origin [(Tib. *ye mkhyen skos*)].
In the void of original non-existence [between them],
a bit of original existence was created.²⁷

This myth speaks of a specific wisdom connected with the power of creating (Tib. *srid*) the world and the sky. As such, it resembles a driving force from outside the world. The myths related to the origin of the world are participating in it. The knowledge of the primordial is paired with it. It is seen as appointing, delegating (Tib. *skos*) and related to the earth. It established order within the space of world already created by the wisdom.²⁸

These latter examples connecting ritual narrations with specific lore/wisdom or principles come from post-imperial textual sources. However, the imperial background of some of their elements and features cannot be excluded from analysis of them. Despite the doubt that remains given the gap of time, it seems that the driving force behind imperial rituals was the narration on origin or past events. When referring to wisdom or principles it is by no means odd to suppose that it was understood to be mediated through such ritual narrations.

27 *gNyan 'bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection] full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rin po che gnyan gyi 'bum* [Precious Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collections] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6281), in *bKa'gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 141, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999), 198, ll. 5–6: *dang po mtho ru gnam phub kyang / gtsug lag srid kyi (kyis) phub/ dma' ru sa bting yang / ye mkhyen skos kyis bting / ye med stong las ye yod cung tsam srid/*.

28 In monastic Bön religion, the creating and delegating could also be understood as specific kinds of being, along with royal ancestral deities (Tib. *phywa*). Yet, in some myths, the first two are also accompanied by primordiality (Tib. *ye*).

The detailed analysis of this term by both Macdonald and Stein seem to bear witness to its role within the established Tibetan Empire, not just regional and local ritual tradition. By linking such wisdom/principles with ritual narrations, the connection with attempts to organise non-Buddhist rituals of the Tibetan Empire could be assumed. The absence of this term in the ritual narrations from Dunhuang could be well explained by its usage as a cover term. It is used only from a very general perspective, surveying a large variety of ritual narrations and rituals associated with them.

The term lore/wisdom reveals a certain pattern of arrangement, which could also be related to ritual narratives. The crown of the head (Tib. *gtsug*) is evoked by it, certainly indicating something ultimate, higher, and perhaps also related to emperors. The second syllable then refers to branches (Tib. *lag*). The logic of this compound is not very far from the Tibetan term used for *maṇḍala*, which is composed of the terms centre surrounding (Tib. *dkyil 'khor*) and so does not seem to strictly adhere to the Indic term.²⁹ Similar dynamic ideas encompassing the term lore/wisdom certainly unite a variety of knowledge and wisdom. However, it has been shown that ritual narrative on origins or precedents was certainly an important means of formulating wisdom or knowledge. At the level of ritual narrative, such branches could be mirrored by a series of attested ritual narratives; a whole series constituting the branches of the higher narrative. The term lore/wisdom could well refer to the methodology of creating a dynamic, single ritual system out of a large variety of systems.

3 Notes on Tibetan Ritual Traditions during the Empire

The relevant sources available do not indicate that, for the majority of the Tibetan imperial period (ca. 600–850), autochthonous ritual traditions would

29 The explanation of the Tibetan rendering of *maṇḍala* as centre-surrounding is based on combining two popular etymologies in *sGra sbyor ban po gnyis pa* [The Two-Volume Lexicon], an early catalogue of Indic terms prescribing their Tibetan equivalents (see, for example, rTa rdo, ed., *dKar chag 'phang thang ma/ sGra sbyor dbang po gnyis pa* [Pangtangma Catalogue and the Two-Volume Lexicon] (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 172). It says that the expression *maṇḍala*, when divided into *maṇḍa* and *la*, has the meaning of essence, sphere, centre (Tib. *snying*, *dbying*, *dkyil*) for *maṇḍa*, and taking, retaining (Tib. *len pa*, *'dzin pa*) for *la*. Its second meaning is 'something with round edge' (Tib. *kho ra khor yug zlum po*). However, it is further stated that, as it was known earlier as centre surrounding, it is decided to use this term. For the difference in understanding between *maṇḍala* and centre surrounding (though rather a sweeping one, arriving at quantum physics), see Herbert Guenther, "Mandala and/or dkyil 'khor," *International Journal for Transpersonal Studies* 18.2 (1999): 149–161.

have been seen as conflicting with the universal religion of Buddhism. One such rather well-known example can be seen in the recorded inscription on the stele located near the bridge of the valley of Chonggyé (Tib. 'Phyongs rgyas) close to the tomb of the Emperor Tri Songdétsen, which was estimated to have been inscribed following his death in 799.

In the context of the present article, it is perhaps interesting that the tradition of ancestors is described using the term *lore/wisdom*. In the examples given above, it is also referred to as manifested through origin myths. Hugh E. Richardson translated it as “world order” in the following extract. Stein later pointed out that *gtsug lag* is a very general term that can be translated very differently depending on the context, but it never means something like world order.³⁰ In the present context, perhaps a general translation of ‘principles’ would be appropriate. However, since the same text also contains praise for propagating Buddhism, labelling it a ‘supramundane religion/doctrine’ (Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos*), the text clearly implies that the Emperor followed the religious ideas of the past alongside propagating Buddhism:

The divine Btsan-po Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, too, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors did not impair the ‘principles’ of the gods [(Tib. *lha'i gtsug lag*)]; he acted in agreement with the religion [(Tib. *chos*)] of heaven and earth.

When through possessing in his mind the acts of enlightenment in great abundance he had found the excellent supramundane religion [(Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos*)], he bestowed it as a favour on all [...].³¹

It is not entirely clear how to interpret this. While Snellgrove saw similarities between the Tibetan Empire and other the Central Asian empires in relation to their practise of more universal religions, such as the later Mongol Empire (13th/14th c.), and he seems to assume that they simply coexisted side by side,³² Walter argues that “Buddhist values were encapsulated [...] in concepts of *gtsug lag*.”³³

30 Rolf Stein, “A propos du mot *gcug-lag* et de la religion indigène,” 132–133.

31 Hugh E. Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1985), 39. The Tibetan text reads: *lha btsan po khri srong lde brtsan gyi zha snga nas kyang/ yab myes kyi lugs bzhin lha'i gtsug lag ni ma nyams/ gnam sa'i chos dang ni 'thun par mdzad/ [...] thugs la byang chub spyod pa rlabs po che mnga' bas/ 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos bzang po brnyes nas/ kun la bka' drin du byin no/ [...]*.

32 Cf. David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* (Boston: Shambhala, 2002), 426–428.

33 Michael L. Walter, *Buddhism and Empire*, 228.

Despite such indications of certain forms of co-existence during the imperial period, one cannot say it is likely that ritualists performing indigenous rites would have existed in vicinity of an enlarging community of Buddhist monks without any conflict at all. This appears to be a contradiction, but the existing sources actually suggest both co-existence and polemics.

When discussing the relationship between Buddhism and indigenous rites during the imperial Period, a rather well-known Dunhuang document, P. T. 239, immediately comes to mind. It is a manuscript containing a Buddhist critique of non-Buddhist funeral ritual which has attracted the attention of scholars including Stein.³⁴ The text attests to the fact that non-Buddhist rituals were seen as problematic by followers of Buddhism in Tibet during at least some part of the Tibetan Empire, or slightly afterwards. Specifically, slaughtering sheep, horses, and yaks and so forth as psychopomp animals is considered a cruel and deplorable practice. However, the practice of pronouncing origin myths is also mentioned. They are portrayed by Buddhists as ineffective mainly because the value and abilities of animals slaughtered during the funeral ritual are overrated by their non-Buddhist ritual counterparts:

In the main treatises of the ‘black people’, in their black funeral rites, in their origin narrations [(Tib. *smrang*)] of the ritualist’s desire for material offerings, in the series of origin accounts [(Tib. *rabs*)] of the desire of troublesome spirits [(Tib. *’dre*)] for burned offerings, a sheep is wiser than people. And it appears there even that sheep have greater magical power than people. Yet, each of the sentient beings is led solely by its own deeds.³⁵

There are more fragments of texts containing critiques of non-Buddhist funeral rituals, suggesting that conflict over funeral rituals was the general case and not just one entailing an isolated voice.³⁶

34 Rolf Stein, “Un document ancien relatif aux rites funéraires des Bon-po tibétains,” *Journal Asiatique* 258 (1970): 155–185. Further discussion can be found in Brandon Dotson, “The Dead and Their Stories: Preliminary Remarks on the Place of Narrative in Tibetan Religion,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 77–112.

35 P. T. 239, fol. 7–8, ll. 4–5, 1–2: *myl nag po’i gzhung// gshid nag po’i lugs// bon yas ’dod smrang// ’dre gsur ’dod gyI rabs las// myl bas nI lug ’dzangs la// myl bas kyang lug mthu che bar ’byung ba yang// sems can thams gyang sa so’I las kyls khrId pas//*.

36 For more fragments containing critique of non-Buddhist funeral rituals, see Brandon Dotson, “The Dead and Their Stories,” and Sam van Schaik, “The Naming of Tibetan Religion: Bon and Chos in the Tibetan Imperial Period,” *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 227–257.

Interestingly, we learn from P. T. 239 that the Buddhists appropriated the layout of the non-Buddhist funeral ritual. Therefore, the text not only bears witness to conflict, but also documents Buddhist borrowing from indigenous rituals. The elements that clashed with the central ideas of Buddhism were modified. These mainly concerned animal sacrifice, which is also referred to in several other critiques. However, the general structure of the ritual and the need to guide the deceased were retained.

This text clearly represents an early example of the influence of Tibetan non-Buddhist ritual traditions on Buddhism. It contains the main features of the former that repeat on a more general plan according to the latter. The layout of the original non-Buddhist ritual is retained in often very simplified form. Elements contradicting Buddhist conventions and doctrine are suppressed or changed into unproblematic ones. However, in many known such cases, the origin myth is omitted, since to include it would provide unwanted witness to Buddhist appropriation, or fraud. Therefore, through the omission of the crucial components of origin myth narration, the ritual is deprived of its meaning. It becomes an inconsistent sequence of ritual acts that lack any coherence or integration. In an attempt to counter this, in some cases a brief myth (usually related to the Buddha or the eighth-century master Padmasambhava) is inserted. Yet, such a charter myth usually does not provide meaning to the ritual performance. Instead, its focus is often simply to anchor the ritual within a Buddhist context. In other instances, the myth is replaced by a history (Tib. *lo rgyus*), which is frequently situated in Tibet's imperial past. Instead of infusing ritual with coherent meaning, such seemingly historical accounts attempt to empower it with the charisma and authority of past Buddhist heroes.³⁷

37 Relatively well-documented approaches from the side of Buddhist traditions appear in the case of rituals summoning well-being (Tib. *g.yang 'gugs*). The very elaborate myth of miraculous deer from the beginning of the world, whose body gives rise to the ritual tools used in the ritual, survives in several variants (see Ramble, "The Deer as Structuring Principle"). In contrast, brief Buddhist mythical accounts connecting this ritual with Buddha or Padmasambhava are incoherent (see Daniel Berounský, "Tibetan Myths on 'good fortune' (*phya*) and 'well-being' (*g.yang*)," *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* 7.2 (2014): 55–77). For research on early appropriations of mythical narrations in tantric rituals see Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, "Enduring Myths: *smrang*, *rabs* and Ritual in the Dunhuang Texts on Padmasambhava," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 15 (2008): 277–314. An early example of history used as origin myths is documented by Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories." An example of a history employed as origin myth could also be seen in *Zastad kyi lo rgyus* [History of Food Provisioning], likely a later addendum to the chronicle *dBa' bzhed* [Testament of the Ba], discussed in the contribution by Lewis Doney in the present volume.

There are some dozen surviving Dunhuang documents relating to non-Buddhist funeral rituals. This indicates the importance attributed to them during the imperial period. Many of them contain origin tales and this makes them suitable lenses to give insight into factors which could characterise rituals other than funerary rites.³⁸ These texts were recently discussed insightfully by Brandon Dotson with focus on origin myths.³⁹ It is evident that the plot and the narrative structure could be the subject of the rearrangement of tropes, manipulation of the basic outline, and the inclusion or suppression of some motifs, etc. The narrative could be considerably expanded but also concentrated in amazingly brief outlines. Following Stein,⁴⁰ Dotson rightly points out that the samples of what have been called catalogues (be it of principalities or minor kings), represent in some cases contracted lists of redactional outlines of such ritual narrations consisting merely of locations and the names of main characters.⁴¹

Such unstable forms of ritual narratives can also be witnessed in much later examples.⁴² While in later examples such features could be ascribed to the oral component in the process of their formation, this is much more uncertain in the case of those related to the imperial period. The circumstances of their production should be considered first, as it is possible to suppose intentional agents underlie such restructuring and arrangement.

38 Besides the ritual manual containing the steps of a pompous and large-scale funeral ritual (P. T. 1042, see Marcelle Lalou, "Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales," *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952): 339–361), there are several examples of manuscripts containing origin myths related to the funeral rites. A fine, and the probably best-known, example of them could be 10L Tib J 731, a poetic and lengthy myth describing the origin of the wild ass (Tib. *rkyang*) and wild yak from the sky, a conflict between them following their descent to the earth, the separation of horse from the wild ass and its eventual use as a psychopomp animal in the funeral rituals of indigenous people (see Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature*, 1–39; Dotson, "The Horse and the Grass-Grazing Man"). Two other myths related to funeral rituals appear in the same manuscript (10L Tib J 731, see Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet*, 236–346) and in 10L Tib J 732, the last of which is connected with a certain Gyimpo Nyakchik (Tib. Gyim po Nyag cig). More myths related to funeral rituals are contained in P. T. 1194 (dealing with the origin of the bird wing ritual tool), P. T. 1068 (fragmented narration on the funeral ritual (Tib. *gshid*) of female accompanied by sacrifice of female hybrid yak *dzomo*), P. T. 1134 (funeral ritual of a man), P. T. 1136 (two accounts of a funeral for a man killed by a yak, the second referring to Western Tibet—Gugé and Tsang), and *doma* horse (horse used as psychopomp). This is also a central topic for P. T. 1060, which also contains a list of 13 countries, their lords, ministers, servants, etc. (cf. Bellezza, *On Zhang Zhung*, 496–542).

39 Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories."

40 Rolf A. Stein, "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang," 476–547.

41 Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories."

42 See the already mentioned Ramble, "The Deer as a Structuring Principle."

In attempting to place these existing fragments of early ritual narrations in context, one should first draw a general picture. Due to ongoing but still rather limited archaeological excavations, it is known that a variety of burial customs preceded the Tibetan Empire. Such excavations uncover both deep burial pits and coffins placed only slightly below the surface of the earth. In these times, which predate the Tibetan Empire, a variety of animals were sacrificed, and golden masks used to cover the face of the deceased are also in evidence.⁴³

Rapid change in the ways of burying the deceased of higher social standing occurs in the period of the Tibetan Empire. A tradition of erecting large burial mounds is documented from that period, thus marking also its very specific religious and cultural background.⁴⁴ On a general level it is an indication of change in religious ideas corresponding to the sudden rise of the Empire. This is because none of the surviving origin myths among Dunhuang documents could predate the Tibetan Empire, making existing ones likely to be representative of newly emerged religious ideas.

The difficult question connected with surviving ritual narrations is related to the context of their conversion to written texts. In general, these crucial components of non-Buddhist ritual traditions are based on an oral exposition of origin myth and voicing. Writing characterises Buddhism, but also

43 Recent research indicates that although burial places changed from being pits to monumental mounds, the presence of golden masks could also be seen as indicating continuity with rituals predating the Tibetan Empire. Not only that, they also survived in the repertoire of monastic Bön after the Tibetan Empire. See Samten G. Karmay, "The Gold Masks Found in Shang shung and the 'Five Supports of the Soul (rten lnga)' of the Bon Funerary Tradition," in *Ancient Civilization of Tibetan Plateau: Proceedings of the First Beijing International Conference on Shang shung Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, ed. Tsering Thar Tongkor and Tsering Dawa Sharshon (Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2018), 330–344. For a summary of the archaeological evidence for burial customs predating the Tibetan Empire, see Mark Aldenderfer, "Variation in Mortuary Practice on the Early Tibetan Plateau and the High Himalayas," *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 293–318.

44 Until recently only a limited number of exemplars of Tibetan tombs from the imperial period were known, restricted mostly to the region of Chonggyé, south of Lhasa, where Tibetan emperors were buried (for example, Giuseppe Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome: ISMEO, 1950)). These tombs had already been plundered by the end of the Tibetan Empire, circa the ninth century. However, with an ongoing project led by Guntram Hazod, using a combination of satellite images and investigative visits focusing on surface, more than 600 tombs have been documented in Central Tibet (see Guntram Hazod and Karel Kriz, *The Burial Mound Sites of Imperial Central Tibet. Map scale 1:800 000* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020)). We know that the custom of burying the deceased in large tombs spread on a large scale in Tibet during the imperial period. This marks the sudden growth of prominence of leaders at various levels demonstrated outwardly by monumental tombs.

administrative centres of the Empire. It is unlikely that a chant belonging to a local lineage of regional ritualists would be recorded in writing. However, the likeness increases when the newly established ritual tradition connected with the administration of the Tibetan Empire is considered, exemplified by the sudden appearance of the large tombs evidenced in archaeological research. It is much more likely that the manuscripts representing non-Buddhist rituals relate to a tradition reinvented for the whole Tibetan Empire. They could be based on some local tradition but were modified to fit the new context of the Tibetan Empire.

Returning to the critiques of non-Buddhist funeral rituals, a seemingly marginal argument was overshadowed by expressions of earnest disgust over animal sacrifices. The fragment from Dunhuang (S. 12243) discussed by van Schaik, follows a brief description of the funeral ritual by concluding: “If one examines the justifications for this [practice] [...] even the ritual narratives of the bon po of Tibet are not in agreement.”⁴⁵

It clearly views deficiency of non-Buddhist ritual as lying in the incoherence of ritual narrations. It could be the case, as van Schaik notes, that the Buddhist author did not understand the actual role of the origin tales and myths in non-Buddhist rituals. However, I am inclined to take the view that this instead points out inconsistencies in the nature of ritual tradition due to the fact that they drew on a variety of regional ritual methods, incompatible once amalgamised. This argument will be examined in more detail in the following section.

4 Taming the Spirits Causing the Untimely Deaths of Pregnant Women and the Composite Nature of (Post-)Imperial Tibetan Rituals

This section mainly aims to elaborate more on what surviving documents can tell us about the rites performed on the Tibetan Plateau. It can also be taken as an exploration of the critique levied against Bönpo funeral rituals which states that their ritual narratives are not in agreement (Tib. *smrang mi 'thun*). As a point of departure, a document that is in line with the previous examples will be considered. It concerns a very specific and rather sinister case of rituals performed to purify the pollution related to untimely deceased pregnant women or their tragic miscarriages. They reflect the highly specialised subcategory of funeral rituals. Nevertheless, as Huber rightly pointed out, the main purpose

45 van Schaik, “The Naming of Tibetan Religion,” 252: *de nyid bcu ba brtags na:/ bod kyi bon po rnams kyi smrang yang myI 'thun te*.

of these texts is not the funeral ritual, but the purification of and remedy for highly polluting and dangerous situations.⁴⁶

The manuscript we are concerned with here is entitled *rNel dri 'dul ba'i thabs* [A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death].⁴⁷ We do not know what the expression exactly means. 'Spirit of untimely death' (Tib. *dri*) means a specific class of spirit entities connected with untimely death (which seems to be interchangeable with Tib. *gri*). What is meant by pollution/disorder (Tib. *rnel*) here is not exactly clear. One possibility is that it stands for specific pollution (cf. *nal*—pollution from incest, *mnol*), or a very specific accident-bringing disorder, connected with the death of foetuses and pregnant women. Huber also suggests a tentative rendering of it as 'infant'.⁴⁸

The text was found in the Gatang *stūpa* in Southern Tibet and does not contain traces of Buddhist terminology. The script resembles that of the Dunhuang documents, but it is difficult to date it. It has been estimated that it could be from the 11th century or earlier,⁴⁹ but this remains open to question. The details of the discovery of this manuscript and even the rendering of it were published elsewhere,⁵⁰ so I will restrict myself to the rather general task of examining what it could tell us about indigenous rituals on the Tibetan Plateau.

The manuscript can be divided into three parts. The first, incomplete section describes in detail the ritual performed by a mythical ritualist named Yangel (Tib. Ya ngal) on behalf of a pregnant lady whose death was untimely (pp. 1–9). It seems that it is a detailed rendering of a ritual which is connected with events narrated later in the seventh antecedent tale, which names the same female spirit causing the death. This is followed by a separate and less elaborate description giving details of the ritual performed by Rajag Kyigyel

46 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 40.

47 For references to the original text, the publication edited by Pasang Wangdu will be used. See Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshé ring, ed., *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdam bsrigris* [Collection of Ancient Bönpo Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2007). For dealing with the entire collection of texts in Tibetan, see lCag mo mtsho, *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas rnyed pa'i bon gyi gna' dpe'i zhib 'jug* [Research on Ancient Bönpo Texts Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa] (Beijing: Krung go bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2016).

48 Huber, *Source of Life*, vol. 2, 41–42.

49 See. Karmay, "A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts from a Buddhist Stūpa in Southern Tibet," 55–56.

50 Ibid.

(Tib. Ra ljags skyI rgyal) (pp. 9–11), who frequently appears in several narrations occurring later in the text.⁵¹

The second part of the manuscript contains a series of 14 narratives concerning the origin of deaths of pregnant women and their subsequent ritual treatment (pp. 11–37). The third part (pp. 37–47) is incomplete and contains only one full narrative and a fragment of a second.

The following analysis will focus mainly on the second and only complete section of the text. It is unique in the sense that it represents a complete collection of origin tales, which, to my knowledge, is very rare in the case of Dunhuang manuscripts. It is more normative for such collections of texts to be fragmented, making them insufficient to provide us with information concerning the structure of narrative collections as complete units.

Each of the 14 narrations has a similar structure, albeit not identical. As an example, what follows is a brief outline of the content of the third origin tale.

The third origin tale first names the father and mother, stating that a girl and a boy were born from their union. The name of the main character, the girl, was Göza Chamdarma (Tib. Gos 'za Phyam 'dar ma). She was very beautiful, “[h]er face was beautiful as a full moon, her body was elastic as a bamboo sprout.” The spirits and divinities residing in her home valley fell in love with her. They all asked her father to become her husband. Yet, her father refused to give her to them. The text states that “he made a mistake, he broke her heart. He separated her from the blood-thirsty spirit [(Tib. *srin*)].” It implies that she was in love with one of the spirits, which could allude to the fact that it was this spirit who was behind the tragic events.

She became the wife of a certain Lord of Copper Country (Tib. *zangs yul zangs stod*) named Zangkar Seupa (Tib. Zangs 'gar se'u pa). After nine months—apparently pregnant—she travelled back to her father's house to visit him. Riding a horse that resembled a goat, she met two shepherds. One of them threw a stone at her head, she fainted, and was caught in her horse's halter. Stampeded, dragging her behind, the horse jumped into a gorge. Stones covered the young woman, her dress twisted around her neck and strangled her, she fell into the river and drowned. As a result, she and her baby were

51 While John Bellezza considers this part to be the first myth of the next section, Huber (*Source of Life*, vol. 2, 41–47) assumes it to continue describing single ritual with two parts performed by Yangel and Rajag Kyigyel respectively, I am inclined to see it simply as a description of a ritual method employed by Rajag Kyigyel, and not necessarily connected with the first part of the ritual. An argument supporting this is that the seventh tale—naming the same deceased lady and the female spirit—does mention Yangel as a ritualist, but not Rajag Kyigyel. For Bellezza's rendering of this manuscript, see Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet*, 121–176.

killed no less than nine times, the tale of which including explicitly mentioning her body being cut open by her husband, and nine spirits of untimely death (Tib. *dri*) appeared. These represented the untimely death which was consequentially enacted upon her body. The text also explicitly mentions that she was buried inside a tomb (Tib. *bang so*).

The text says that the ritualist Rajag Kyigyel was invited to perform the ritual at the home of Zangkar Seupa. The brief description of the ritual reminds us of embalming corpses and apparently uses a method of draining the body of liquids. However, there is no technical process entailed here, rather the main purpose of the ritual is to remove the nine spirits of untimely death from the body:

He erected nine cairns of spirits of untimely death. He prepared nine 'bird-heads', nine various apertures ['eyes'], and nine skins. Nine [ritual vessels (Tib. *slug gu, skur bu, drod pa*)] were filled with nine kinds of blood. A liquid of medicinal plants was led downward from nine vessels. Nine (ritual tools) [(Tib. *'gal ba*)]⁵² were separating them. Let the distraction regarding the corpse not be great! Let death not be long mourned! Spirits of untimely death were led away through the hollows of the nine pipes and nine apertures ['eyes']. By the golden yellow pipe, turquoise blue pipe, silver white pipe, iron blue pipe, copper red pipe, agate brown pipe, by hollows of the nine pipes were led away. The wild spirits of untimely death of Göza Chamdarma were tamed and pacified. She was washed with many liquids. She was sprinkled with much purifying blood [(Tib. *tshan*)]. She was placed to the right side of the Zangkar Seupa's tomb. The untimely deceased girl was converted into an 'alpine spirit' [(Tib. *smān*)]. So, it was beneficial and lucky in ancient times. Reciting it brings benefits and luck now.⁵³

52 The Tibetan expression could mean a sharpened wooden slip aimed at destroying these spirits (Tib. *'gal ba*).

53 Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, ed., *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar myed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdam bsgrigs* [Collection of Ancient Bönpo Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stüpa], 13–16: *dri tho rgu cIq btsugs/ bya mgo rgu sna dmyIgs rgu/ pags bu rgu/ slug gu rgu/ skur bu rgu/ drod pa rgu// khrag rgus bkang ste/ rtsa rdzIng sna rgu thur du brug/ 'gal pa rgu thur du dgar/ ro phI r yen ma che/ shi phir gchags ma rIng/ sbubs mo dmyig rgu'i sbubs nas 'dren// ro phI r yen ma che/ shi phir gchags ma rIng/ sbubs mo dmyig rgu'i sbubs nas 'dren// gser sbubs ser mo dang/ g.yu sbubs sngon ma dang/ rngul sbubs/ dkar mo dang/ lcags sbubs sngon mo dang/ zangs sbubs dmar mo dang/ mchong sbubs smug mo dang/ sbubs rgu sbubs nas grangs/ 'gos za phyam 'dar ma/ bu gri rgod las g.yung du btul/ chu sna mang po nas bkrus/ tshan sna mang po nas btab/ zangs 'gar se'u pa yis/ bang so g.yas gyI dral do bzhang/ bu gri sman du bskyal/ gna' de ltar phan de bsod do/ da pu la gyer ba la phan de bsod do//.*

One can assume that this is a considerably shortened description of the ritual. However, for present purposes it suffices to compare it with other methods described in other narratives. The result of such a comparison reveals that the ritual methods used are very diverse. For example, the seventh narration alludes to the journey undertaken by a deceased lady. First, a ransom offering (Tib. *glud*) is presented to the female spirit responsible for the death. Then the deceased is led through nine layers of the realm of the spirit, after which she is instructed not to remain in the ritual pit, but to embark on a heart path (Tib. *thugs shul*) to the joyful place of the heavenly spirits (Tib. *gyes lha sa*). A mask (Tib. *zhal*) and a ritual board (Tib. *byang bu*) is utilised for the transfer of the soul principle, as is still the case today for soul retrieval rituals. Finally, a sheep is mentioned, which probably serves as a psychopomp animal.

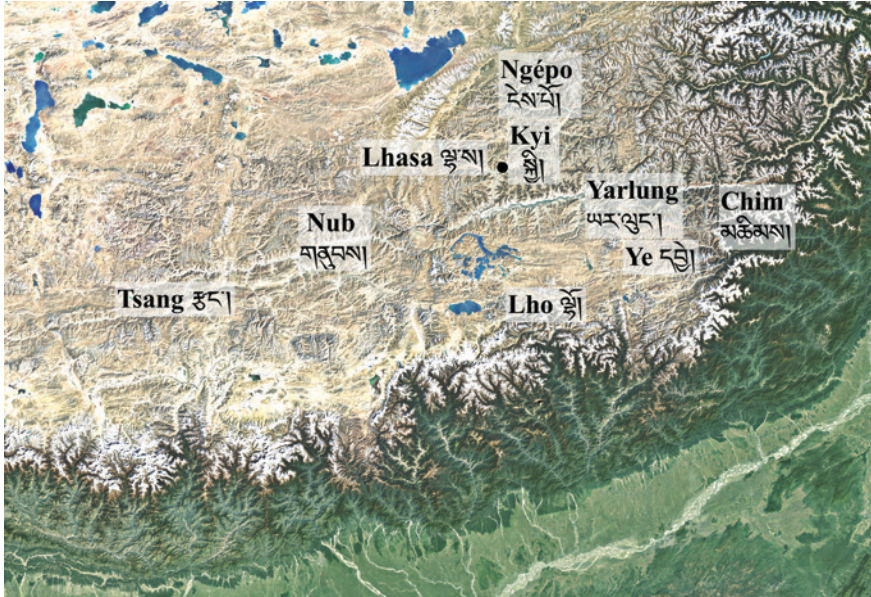
Another story—number 12 in the series—alludes to a ritual during which a golden umbilical cord is tied to a female vulture to open the heavenly window. This method is not mentioned in other ritual texts.

In yet another narrative (number 14), a series of 13 gravid female animals are used along with 13 different yogurts made from various milks. In yet another narrative—number nine—a method using stuffed kites (Tib. *’ol pa*) is mentioned.

As can be seen, the methods described vary considerably. Of particular importance is the fact that the performance of each of the different rituals is ascribed to different types of ritualists. This seems to suggest that different lineages of ritualists used different ritual means. In some cases, several ritualists are invited, presumably meaning that their ritual methods were combined.

These ritual narrations are particular in that their semi-mythical temporal localities are often infused with those of the ritual situation as well as with features outside of time and place. The names of the ritualists are likely representative of mythical founders of ritual lineages rather than of living people contemporary with the narrations.⁵⁴ The narrations don't always mention real localities, but fortunately, in the majority of the cases, these can be identified, and connected with the name of the ritualist. These can be charted as on the below map (map 7.1). It does not say that the events happened in the locations depicted, or the ritualists mentioned were present. However, the ritualists were situated at the localities shown by the compilers of the manuscript.

54 Cf. Toni Huber, "The Iconography of gShen Priests in the Ethnographic Context of the Extended Eastern Himalayas, and Reflections on the Development of Bon Religion," in *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, ed. Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer (Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2013), 263–294.



MAP 7.1 Map of Central Tibet with locations mentioned in *A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death*
 LOCATIONS ADDED BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, GROUND MAP BASED ON
 GOOGLE MAPS

Mapping the textual references reveals that this corpus of narrations is related to Central and Southern Tibet. It stretches from western Tsang to Chim in the east and from northernmost Ngépo to Lho in the south.

When looking into the content of the narrations, it becomes clear that the collection is of a composite nature and that the self-contained collection of myths eight to 13 forms the basis of it. This can be seen from the content. These narrations have a simplified structure and phrases are repeated in almost identical fashion, for example, each time the moment of crisis occurs in which the woman is attacked by a spirit, resulting in miscarriage. These repetitive narrative phrases state that the baby turns its head downward, blood with amniotic fluids leaks from the womb, and the baby becomes twisted in the umbilical cord. The fact that these core narratives stand alone is also borne out by a statement at the end of the 13th tale to the effect that the sixth chapter has concluded. This exactly matches the repetition of phrases in narratives eight to 13.

To the self-contained collection of these six core origin tales, one can add another one. Tales one to six exclusively mention Rajag Kyigyel as a ritualist performing the ritual, calling him the ritualist of the spirits of untimely death (Tib. *dri bon*). Thus, it is highly likely that they originally formed a separate tradition.

TABLE 7.1 List of ritualists and their corresponding locations according to *A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death*

Ritualist	Location
Rajag Kyigyel (Tib. Ra ljags skyI rgyal)	Kyi (Tib. sKyI), Gya (Tib. rGya), Do (Tib. mDo), Mu (Tib. rMu), Chim (Tib. mChims), Len (Tib. Glan)
Lhabön Mönbön Thökar (Tib. lHa bon Mon bon thod dkar)	Lho (Tib. lHo)
Khangza Thidang Payéyé (Tib. Khang za This dang spa ye ye)	Lho
Yangel Gyimkong (Tib. Ya ngal gyim kong)	Lho
Tsangshen Nyénngag (Tib. rTsang gshen snyan ngag)	Tsang (Tib. rTsang/gTsang)
Nubshen Rumpo (Tib. gNubs gshen Rum po)	Nub (Tib. gNubs), Char (Tib. Byar)
Abo Yangel (Tib. A bo Ya ngal)	Ngépo (Tib. Ngas po)
Kyishen Gyenngar (Tib. sKyI gshen rgyan ngar)	Kyi (Tib. sKyI)
Deshen Munbu (Tib. lDe gshen rmun bu)	Yarlung (Tib. Yar lung)
Tshemi Mugyal (Tib. mTshe myI rmu rgyal)	Yarlung
Yeshen Kharbu (Tib. dBye gshen mkhar bu)	Ye (Tib. dBye)
Phanyen Thökar (Tib. Pha gnyen thod dkar)	Len
Lanshen Drilbu (Tib. Glan gshen dril bu)	Len
Durshen Mada (Tib. 'Dur gshen rma da)	Len

TABLE PREPARED BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ

Narratives seven and 14 stand out somehow from the rest as specific single narrations. Both are connected to the name of Yangel Gyimkong (Tib. Ya ngal gyim kong), who appears in them as only one of a whole group of ritualists performing the ritual. The detailed reference to the ritual performed by him in the fragmented opening parts of the manuscript indicates that the method of the ritual was seen as prominent despite rather limited presence in the origin tales.

From the above-mentioned characteristics, it is possible to make some general observations concerning such ritual traditions. First, there was a tendency to move towards unifying ritual traditions into narrative collections. These tales are semi-mythical in nature, but in the case of the narrative collection studied here, the localities mentioned in the texts reveal that they are related to specific regions of central and southern Tibet. The method of amalgamating

them does not seem to be very elaborate. The tales were probably shortened into narratives of roughly corresponding length and similar structure. They usually consist of an introduction that mentions details of the parents of the deceased and locality. A brief story follows, explaining the background of the death of the pregnant lady. Following her death, the ritualist is summoned, and a brief description of the applied ritual method is given. This was probably the method used in assembling once diverse traditions connected with ritualists dealing with a similar problem.

The variety of methods used reveals that, despite features held in common, there was no uniform ritual tradition. This demonstrates that, at least in the case of these narratives, it would be problematic to speak about a single ritual being performed for pregnant women who had suffered untimely death. It may be that the assembling of stories slowly resulted in the ritual method of some prominent ritualist becoming preferred. Such could be the case in respect of this manuscript, whose first section describes in detail the ritual method of the ritualist named Yangel.

Furthermore, while most of the origin tales mention only a single ritualist performing the ritual, some of them describe a ritual performed by a whole group. Quite illustrative is the 14th tale, where four ritualists participate in the ritual. Firstly, Phanyen Thökar purifies heavenly spirits and suppresses troublesome ones. Then Lanshen Drilbu performs a ritual using a series of 13 pregnant female animals, yogurt from their milk, a species of trees, etc. Using a ritual pit (Tib. *gshed khung*), he resorts to a sort of exorcism after first having caught the pigeon who played a role in causing the death. Thirdly, Yangel performs his purification rite, and finally, Durshen Mada leads the deceased lady into an 'alpine spirit' (Tib. *smān*) as a part of a funeral ritual. As can be seen from this 14th tale, we have indication that originally separate ritual traditions associated with different ritualists were combined to form a more complex ritual. Hence, formerly separate rituals become the building blocks of a new structure created by their combination. It follows that recovering or reconstructing any one single ancient Tibetan funeral ritual on the basis of this combination would be a tricky task. The hypothesis that complex rituals were constructed from combining individual traditions explains the critique of one of the Dunhuang documents mentioned above as internally incoherent.

Such collections of origin myths and tales are very flexible in their recorded form. As has been rightly pointed out by Stein and Dotson,⁵⁵ the shortest of them seem to represent mere catalogues listing ritualists, localities, and

55 Stein, "Du recit au rituel dans les manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang"; Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories."

perhaps local lords. The extensive ones, also known from among the Dunhuang documents, can be very poetic, entailing detailed narratives of considerable length. The manuscript titled *A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death*, discussed above, contains relatively short stories that are formally unified, with some narrating the same event yet giving different details—for instance, narrations two and three, then three and 14, share the same story elements. The work to assemble these myths undoubtedly led to their becoming shortened and simplified.

We can posit that similar strategies to those used in the case of the narrative collection discussed above were used more generally to create a unified ritual tradition across the Tibetan Empire. This hypothesis is also supported by other documents. For example, the Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 1285 schematically mentions nine ritualists representing specific regions stretching from Tsang in the west to Kongpo in the east and thus covering the area of Central Tibet. A mythical land, Mayül Takgyé (Tib. sMra yul thag brgyad), is located east of Kongpo and is probably associated with eastern parts of Tibet. Again, the manuscript is written from the perspective of Central Tibet. Another example is provided by IOL Tib J 734, which lists in detail regions of Central Tibet, with Do (Tib. mDo) standing for all eastern parts.⁵⁶

As the above examples reveal, local traditions were amalgamated to allow for geographical unity. It is quite likely that organising the variety of ritual traditions of the Tibetan Empire somehow attempted to follow the lead of the military administration which had divided the Tibetan Empire into clear units. One might assume that on the level of the rituals performed, the diverse ritual methods of local ritualists were combined, some—such as those of Yangel—eventually rising to prominence; others becoming silenced.⁵⁷

56 Another example are the manuscripts found in Gatang *stūpa* in Southern Tibet. The collection is entitled *Byol rabs* [Accounts on the Rite of Averting] (see Karmay, “A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts”; Bellezza, “gShen-rab Myi-bo”) and contains six antecedent myths. The first one takes place between the 13 layers of the sky and nine layers of the earth. The next five stories are from the (1) Miyül Kyiting (Tib. Mi yul rkyi thing), (2) Belpo (Tib. Bal po) (of Tsang), (3) Yar khyim so kha (of Yarlung), (4) Kyiyül (Tib. sKyi yul) (of Central Tibet), and (5) Mayül Tang-gyé (Tib. sMra yul thang brgyad). The last story mentions the mountain deity Machen Pomra (Tib. rMa chen pom ra) of Minyak (Tib. Mi nyag). Despite the mythical nature of the narrative, its location is in the north-east of the Tibetan Plateau. This might indicate that there was also an exception to the more common focus on Central Tibet. This shows that, at least in some cases, ritual traditions outside Central Tibet came to be known there.

57 Divination manuals surviving among the manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang could supplement us with additional insights. It is striking that recognisably Turkic and Chinese deities are listed alongside Tibetan ones—and localities such as Zhangzhung,

In the case of the collections of origin tales given above, the certain divide they reveal is quite significant. The area of Central Tibet between Tsang and Kongpo is the focus here. The vast regions of the Tibetan Plateau covering Ngari (Tib. Zhang chung), the Northern Plains (Tib. Byang thang), and very large areas of contemporary Kham and Amdo (i.e., Do, Sumpa (Tib. Sum pa), Azha (Tib. 'A zha)) are either subject to the attribution of simplified labels (Do or the mythical land Mayül Takgyé is used in association with them), or altogether omitted.

5 The Fourfold Collection of Ritual Narrations (Tib. 'Bum bzhi)

Some ritual narrations and their collections from Dunhuang, as well as those found in the Gatang *stūpa*, show that the eastern, northern, and western regions were only marginally represented in the collections of the imperial ritual tradition. At the same time, there are several Dunhuang ritual narrations, including those related to funeral rituals, which are likely of Eastern Tibetan origin. These probably represent an attempt to make eastern Tibetan ritual narrations—otherwise underrepresented in the number of surviving ritual narrations—compatible with the ritual repertoire of the Tibetan Empire. This concerns namely the collections of ritual narrations appearing in the inter-related documents IOL Tib J 731 and 732.⁵⁸ These documents likely represent

Yarmothang in the north-east, and Kyi in Central Tibet are mentioned. Metaphorical phrases are quite often repeated in various versions of the manuals, indicating that these were circulated. See Ai Nishida, "A Preliminary Analysis of Old Tibetan Dice Divination Texts," in *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination: Past and Present*, ed. Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, and Rolf Scheuermann (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 49–72. The deities and spirits listed in these divination manuals do not represent some regional tradition, but the divination manuals were composed from a perspective reflective of the whole Tibetan Empire. This again points to the methodology previously discussed, that of assembling local traditions and subsequently crystalising their once divergent parts.

58 The first one (IOL Tib J 731) contains a lengthy poetic myth describing the origin of the wild ass and wild yak from the sky, a conflict between them following their descent to the earth, the separation of the horse from the wild ass and its eventual use as a psychopomp animal in the funeral rituals by people in the origin narrative (see Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature*, 1–39; Dotson, "The Horse and the Grass-Grazing Man"). The myth mentions a land called Changka Namgyé (Tib. Byang ka snam brgyad). This is also known in other Dunhuang manuscripts. In P. T. 1060 (ll. 90–91), for example, it is included in the schematic list of countries, or catalogue of principalities, arranged in the direction from west to east. Changka Namgyé is listed after Kongpo (it would be located somewhere behind Kongpo) and the name of its main deity is mentioned as Turkic (Tib. *dru gu'i lha*); the kings are also listed with apparently Turkic names, Hirkin and Darkan (Tib. *rgyal*

an adaptation of the ritual narrations of peoples from the bordering regions of the Tibetan Plateau to the imperial ritual tradition.

Two surviving post-imperial exemplars of ritual narrations on the origin of purification rituals are quite illustrative of the continuing divide between Central (and Southern) Tibet and the vast areas of the rest of the Tibetan Plateau. These myths were discussed elsewhere,⁵⁹ so only their narrative frame will be mentioned here. They associate themselves neither with Bön nor with other non-Buddhist traditions. They present themselves as a pan-Tibetan tradition of all original Tibetan clans, literally four families of little-men (Tib. *mi'u rigs bzhi*). Yet, when these clans are mentioned, they are strikingly presented as only those of the eastern and western regions (i.e., Zhangzhung, Sumpa, Azha, and Minyak), as if these manuscripts wish to claim that authentic Tibetan tradition comes from the bordering regions of the Tibetan Empire.

In what follows, a little-explored, vast collection of ritual narrations included in the Bön Kangyur will be briefly discussed, highlighting its possibly Eastern Tibetan background. This is the *'Bum bzhi* [Fourfold Collection], a large compendium of ritual narrations or origin myths related to four specific types of spirits: (1) chthonic spirits (Tib. *klu*), (2) fierce spirits of the sky and the natural surroundings of people (Tib. *gnyan*), (3) rock spirits associated also with earthquakes (Tib. *gtod*) and (4) earth-lord spirits (i.e., earth-lords or lords of positions related to astrological calculations) (Tib. *sa bdag*).⁶⁰ This Collection was

hir kin dang dar kan). Another two myths related to funeral rituals appear in the same manuscript (IOL Tib J 731) and in IOL Tib J 732 (cf. Bellezza, *On Zhang Zhung*, 236–346; Thomas, *Ancient Folk Literature*, 40–51). References in the language of the Nampa Dong (Tib. Nam pa lDong), a subtribe of the Dong (Tib. lDong) clan, appear there. The Dong are related to various peoples called Qiang (羌) in Chinese. Gyimpo Nyakchik (Tib. Gyim po Nyag cig), a prominent character in a myth present in both IOL Tib J 731 and IOL Tib J 732, also appears in the *Fierce Spirit Collection* surviving in the Bön Kangyur (see footnote 27, above). Most of the content found in this collection seems to represent the tradition related to the Dong clan (corresponding roughly to Qiang in Chinese) and Minyak (Tanguts and proto-Tanguts).

59 Daniel Berounský, "Tibetan Purificatory *Sel* Rituals: Fragments of the Tradition from the Borderlands of the Tibetan Plateau," *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 19.1 (2019): 1–66.

60 See *Klu 'bum* [Chthonic Spirit Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las gtsang ma'i klu 'bum* [Clean Chthonic Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collections] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6279), in *bKa' gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 139, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999), 346 pages; *gNyan 'bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection] full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rin po che gnyan gyi 'bum* [Precious Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collections] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6281), in *bKa' gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 141, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999), 325 pages; *Sa bdag 'bum* [Earth-Lord Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las sa bdag dbang chen gyi sgyur bcos te bam po gnyis pa'o* [The Second Volume from the Fourfold Pure Collections,

introduced elsewhere.⁶¹ For purposes here, the prime information concerning the collection can be summarised in the following way.

Later chronicles and monastic Bön catalogues ascribe their appearance to accidental finds by hunters in Western Tibet not far from Mt. Kailash. They even narrate these events as happening before the discovery of large volumes of texts by Shenchen Luga (996–1035, Tib. gShen chen Klu dga'), which can be dated to 1017.⁶² This would indicate that these chronicles represent the event as taking place roughly at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, as far as I am aware, the earliest datable mention of this discovery by hunters was in the 18th century,⁶³ a very long time after the alleged discovery of the texts. Even if one could simply trust this, another question concerns the surviving copies of manuscripts included in the Bön Kangyur. Their colophons suggest that the individual manuscripts of the four collections come from different places. The texts of the manuscripts were hardly left intact over centuries. It is likely that they were edited, amended, etc. However, no information regarding this process is available.

Some of the contents of the texts corroborate the early date of these manuscripts. There is a version of the *Fourfold Collection*, which was rediscovered in the 12th century by the prolific treasure-revealer Ponsé Khyung Götsel (fl. 1175, Tib. dPon gsas Khyung rgod rtsal), in Tsang. This version, entitled *Nye lam sde bzhi* [Fourfold Direct Path], displays surprisingly heavier influence of Tantric

on Restoration of the Earth-Lord's Power] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6280), in *bKa'gyur* (Bon) [Bön Kangyur], vol. 140, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham mam rgyal, 1999), 451 pages; *gTod 'bum* [Rock Spirit Collection] full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rdo bdag gtod po bcos pa ste bam po bzhi pa'o* [The Fourth Volume from the Fourfold Pure Collections, on Propitiation of the Rock Spirits] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6282), in *bKa'gyur* (Bon) [Bön Kangyur], vol. 142, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham mam rgyal, 1999), 400 pages. For numerous versions of the *Chthonic Spirit Collection*, see Bazhen Zeren, "A Comparative Study of the Klu 'bum: Tibetan Bonpo Sources for an Understanding the Cult of the *klu* (Serpent Spirits)" (PhD diss., EPHE, Université Paris PSL, 2021).

- 61 Daniel Berounský, "The Nyen Collection (Gnyan 'bum) and Shenrab Miwo of Nam," in *Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Change*, ed. Jarmila Ptáčková and Adrian Zenz (Prague: Oriental Institute, 2017), 211–253.
- 62 For a detailed rendering of Shenchen Luga's life, see Dan Martin, *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Bibliography of Bon* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).
- 63 Kundrol Dragpa, "Sangs rgyas bstan pa spyi yi 'byung khungs" [General Origin of the Doctrine of the Buddhas], in *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, ed. Khedup Gyatso (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974).

Buddhist ritual compared to the version that survived in the Bön Kangyur.⁶⁴ This gives some weight to their supposed ancient origin. Yet, one cannot rely on the surviving manuscript being identical to those of allegedly appearing by the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Despite the issues highlighted, these manuscripts seem to bear witness to a process of passage from the Tibetan religious traditions of the imperial period to the emerging monastic Bön religion. One of the most obvious indications of this is that the founding figure of monastic Bön, Shenrab Miwo (Tib. gShen rab mi bo)—with Buddha-like features and given the title teacher/Buddha (Tib. *ston pa*)—appears in these manuscripts both as the teacher/Buddha and as a ritualist resembling those of the more ancient Tibetan tradition. The co-existence of these two portrayals of Shenrab Miwo marks his transformation from indigenous ritualist into Buddha-like figure.

It is also quite significant to note that all the individual volumes of the *Fourfold Collection* contain only ritual narratives or origin myths. In the case of the *Klu 'bum* [Chthonic Spirit Collection], these are in some cases transformed into a narrative that formally resembles the style of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, with Shenrab Miwo narrating the tale, or contains a dialog resembling that of some Indic tantric texts. However, the remainder of the texts in the collection adhere to the usual formal structure of ritual narratives.

The *Chthonic Spirit Collection* is also known outside of the canonical version of the Bön Kangyur. It is typically divided into three volumes of White, Variegated, and Black (Tib. *dkar nag khra gsum*), but also exists as one volume. The *Klu 'bum dkar po* [White Chthonic Spirit Collection] exhibits the strongest Buddhist influence. A recent PhD dissertation written by Bazhen Zeren (a.k.a. Dpal sgron)⁶⁵ focuses on existing versions of it and identifies around a dozen known exemplars. This study also reveals that most of the content presents Shenrab Miwo in his Buddha-like attire. However, in some versions he also appears as an ancient ritualist. The merging of chthonic spirits with Indic *nāgas* is widely attested in these manuscripts, even if their distinctive features are retained. In some cases, the chthonic spirits manifest themselves as ox or deer etc. The existing number of manuscript variants attests to their widespread popularity. However, it is difficult to connect these manuscripts

64 *Nye lam sde bzhi* [Direct Fourthfold Path], full title *Nye lam sde bzhi'i gnyan 'bum bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs legs swo* [Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Direct Path], in *New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*, vol. 253, ed. Sog sde sprul sku bstan pa'i nyi ma (Lhasa: bsTan pa'i nyi ma, 1998), 603–635. For a living ritual tradition based on these texts, see Jonathan E. Verity, “The Tidiness of Chaos: Tradition and Innovation in the Sadak Nyelam Dé Zhi Ritual at Triten Norbutse” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2014).

65 Bazhen Zeren, “A Comparative Study of the Klu 'bum.”

with a specific space and time. If some localities could be identified, this may be possible. There are clearly several mentions of the Mapam Yutso (Tib. Ma pham g.yu mtsho) lake near Mt. Kailash in Western Tibet. A version found in eastern Tibet contains bilingual names. In addition to Tibetan, names are given in the Nam Dong language (Tib. Nam pa ldong) associated with Eastern Tibet and typical for the *Fierce Spirit Collection*.⁶⁶

Another of these volumes, entitled the *gTod 'bum* [Rock Spirit Collection] deals with rock spirits associated with rocks and earthquakes. These are also sometimes identified with the 12 animals of the zodiac. It consists of four hundred pages divided into 23 chapters. Shenrab Miwo often appears as a ritualist, despite his travels to the continents surrounding Mt. Meru, which represents Buddhist cosmology. The colophon states that it spread in Dokham (Tib. mDo khams)⁶⁷ and specifies its locality as Tül-dzagang (Tib. Tul rdza sgang).⁶⁸ While the *Chthonic Spirit Collection* mentions a number of languages in the titles of the individual chapters, in the *Rock Spirit Collection* references to languages appear inside several myths and are there usually connected to some name or term. These languages are commonly Nampa Dong, Shenrab Miwo, Indian, Chinese, Tibetan (Tib. *sPu rgyal bod*), in some cases the Shenbön language (Tib. *gShen bon*), Shenrab Tibetan (Tib. *gShen rab bod kyi skad*), Phenyül language (Tib. *Phan yul skad*) and Grandfather language (Tib. *A bo skad*). In terms of development, I myself tentatively see this phenomenon as influenced by both the *gNyan 'bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection] and *Sa bdag 'bum* [Earth-Lord Collection]. The number of languages mentioned reflects an effort to present the myths as reflecting a universal tradition.

Less blurred and confusing would be the last two collections of the *Fourfold Collection*, that of the *Earth-Lord Collection* and the *Fierce Spirit Collection*. The *Earth-Lord Collection* is divided into 53 chapters containing myths, on a total of 226 folios. It has a colophon which states:

66 The language of *Nam* was the subject of rather dubious research by Frederick W. Thomas. See Frederick W. Thomas, *Nam, An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948).

67 This term seems to be used for what is today Amdo (Tib. mDo smad) in the imperial period, but later it could designate Kham (Tib. mDo stod) as well. See also the chapter by Carmen Meinert who discusses the establishment of dharma colleges in Dégam (Tib. bDe gams/khams) and Dokham (Tib. mDo 'khams).

68 *gTod 'bum* [Rock Spirit Collection] (Bön Kangyur), 400, ll. 5–6: *dbus rtsi chu gnyer mkhan na/ dbal rgyal ba snang nyi 'od kyi bka' bsgom nas/ ston pa dbang chen gyi mnos te/ mdo khams tul rdza sgang du spel ba rdzogs so/*.

The propitiation of *sadak* of the first, middling and last [parts] has concluded. This is a tradition of Tönpa Lhadun [(Tib. sTon pa lha bdun)]. These are rituals [(Tib. *gto*)] composed by eastern Chinese and translated (or ‘transformed’) at the request of Angä Sertön [(Tib. A nga’i gser ston)]. It is beneficial [(Tib. *bon*)] for both teachings for deceased and living, for both relaxed and violent behaviour, for [treating] death and loss, diseases, and disturbances. Virtue!⁶⁹

The identities of the people mentioned in the colophon remain hidden, but it clearly states that it is inspired by a Chinese tradition. This is corroborated by the several occurrences of bilingual names in both Tibetan and Chinese in the texts of the myths.

My reading of the content resulted in a tentative hypothesis of the composite nature of the whole collection, which could be categorised into four loose groupings of myths. That division was based mainly on some similarities regarding language and formal structure. Chapters one to five are certainly inspired by Buddhist notions,⁷⁰ but their flavour is different from most of the *sūtra* texts of monastic Bön. The myths are brief and result in a list of ‘earth-lord’ spirits, offerings, etc. The text typically contains brief myths on world origins, followed by cosmological arrangements. Lists of the earth-lord spirits of years, planets, stars, and days are supplemented by lists of offerings to them. These include skulls, animals, birds, and their feathers, etc.

Chapters six to twelve and 28 to 31 seem to combine non-Buddhist, Buddhist, and Chinese elements in a unique way. Their focus is cosmological, and on the myths. Shenrab Miwo is seen as an organising agent of the universe. Several myths (10, 11, 28 to 31) are dedicated to the Chinese king Kongtse (Chin. Kongzi 孔子), who is inspired by the Chinese figure of Confucius.⁷¹ These mentions seem to bear witness to some evolution of this figure in Tibet and probably predate the known depiction of the miraculous King Kongtse in the biography

69 *Sa bdag ’bum* [Earth-Lord Collection] (Bön Kangyur), 451, ll. 3–6: *sa bdag bsgyur bcos/ rab ’bren* (= ‘bring) *tha gsum rdzogs so/ ston pa lha bdun gyi gto rgyud lags so/ de la a nga’i gser ston gyi (gyis) zhus/ shar phyogs rgya yis mdzad pa’i gto bsgyur lags so/ gson chos gshin chos gnyis/ spyod pa dal drag gnyis/ shi chad na tsa (= tsha) ’khrugs long kun la bon no/ dge’o/.*

70 On locating the chapters of this manuscript, see Dan Martin, Per Kværne, and Yasuhiko Nagano, ed., *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003).

71 Cf. Shen-yu Lin, “The Tibetan Image of Confucius,” *Revue d’Études Tibétaines* 12 (2007): 105–129.

of Shenrab Miwo entitled the *Zermik* (English translation uncertain, Tib. *gZermig*), an early hagiography of Shenrab Miwo.⁷²

Chapters 13 to 27, 32, and 40 to 54 are very close to the repetitive style of monastic Bön *sūtras* and include some tantric elements. They are very ornamental; typically, a *mantra* is mentioned in the text, which is missing in the rest of the chapters. However, some of them reveal through their list of offerings (including bat, badger, head of horse, yak) that their inspiration remains partly autochthonous. Chapter 49 contains a detailed list of polluting acts inspired by indigenous traditions (enmity, defilement of the hearth, incest, killing relatives, pollutions connected with oath and bad omens).

Chapters 33 to 39 contain unique myths about stars. These narratives tell of their malevolent impact on the main character and the ritual that remedies it. The style is often archaic, but Shenrab Miwo is called Buddha here. The main characters in these myths are the sons of the Dong clan (Tib. lDong sras), and a king of Zhangzhung.

This volume contains a straightforward confession that it is inspired by Chinese tradition. The earth-lords are apparently inspired by similar Chinese spirits (probably *tudigong* 土地公). The number of various languages attesting to the need to present the tradition as universal is totally missing here. Instead, several terms and names are given just in transcribed Chinese. However, it is by no means a translation of a Chinese text.

Perhaps the most striking fact is that earth-lord spirits related to astrology are not dealt with in the technical manner of astrological texts here. Formally, the entire text is simply a collection of ritual narratives expounding some timeless origin events. The contents of the myths reveal inspiration from Buddhist texts, including tantric ones, and Buddhist cosmology, as well as Chinese. This is put together using details from and the formal structure of apparently autochthonous inspirations. It is also notable that in a number of cases the narrations use the already mentioned term *lore/wisdom* for the name of the tradition they represent. As has been shown, this term is often understood as related to ritual tradition based on the performance of ritual narrations. However, in latter times up to the present, the term is frequently associated with the art of astrology (Tib. *gtsug lag rtsis kyi rig pa*) and thus with China. The gap between these seemingly unconnected understandings are bridged by the *Earth-Lord*

72 Samten G. Karmay, "The Interview between Phyva Keng-tse lan-med and Confucius," in *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, ed. Samten G. Karmay (Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998), 171.

Collection, in which astrological discipline is presented via an ancient form of ritual narration that introduces itself as originally Chinese lore.⁷³

The last collection of myths, the *Fierce Spirit Collection*, is probably the richest source of information on the fierce spirits available.⁷⁴ These spirits are frequently mentioned in Buddhist ritual texts as representing the vertical sphere between the earth and the sky (Tib. *bar snang*), which could be considered as the upper spheres of human habitat. The sky is represented by heavenly spirits (Tib. *lha*), and the earth by chthonic spirits. Yet, this is not unanimous among these rather schematic texts. In a number of cases, fierce spirits are not mentioned in connection with the intermediate sphere, but ferocious spirits (Tib. *btsan*) are listed instead of them. This could be linked to anthropological data. In many regions of Tibet, the fierce spirits are not worshipped at all. Although I am unable to provide a precise list, through my rather incidental inquiries, it seems that in the areas of Bhutan, Central Tibet, Tibetan-speaking areas in Nepal and Western Tibet, fierce spirits do not appear among the spirits and deities who are worshipped locally. Therefore, practice of the *Fierce Spirit Collection* is clearly bound within Eastern Tibet with high probability that the centre of their worship can be located there.⁷⁵

73 The *Earth-Lord Collection* contains rather early usage and example of the specific understanding of the term lore/wisdom as connected with astrology. Another manuscript mentioning this term in its title and dealing with ‘earth-lord’ spirits, suddenly departs from the form of ritual narration and so could be seen as a further developmental step, in which the term lore/wisdom ceases to relate to ritual narration. See *gTsug lag ’bras bu gyung drung ye dbang sa bdag dpal ’bum dkar po thig pa chen po’i mdo* [Sūtra of the Great Vehicle, Eternal White Collection on the Earth-Lords of Primordial Might, the Fruit of Wisdom] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6283), in *bKa’gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 143, ed. sMon rgyal lha sras (Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham nam rgyal, 1999), 351.

74 For an introduction and translation of one of its myths, see Samten G. Karmay, “Tibetan Indigenous Myths and Rituals with Reference to the Ancient Bön Text: The Nyenbum (*Gnyan ’bum*),” in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 53–68. See also Berounský, “The Nyen Collection (*Gnyan ’bum*) and Shenrab Miwo of Nam.”

75 The Buddhist sources also provide a schematic list of the four lords of *nyen* (cf. René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (Kathmandu, Varanasi: Book Faith India, 1993 [1956]), 212–213). Although Nebesky-Wojkowitz does not localise the number of the mountain deities regarded as *nyen*, except for Nyenchen Tangla (Tib. *gNyan chen thang lha*) of the nomad area of Northern Tibet known as the Changthang, the rest of them all appear in the north-east of Tibet: Nyenpo Yutsé (Tib. *gNyan po g.yu rtse/sNgo la g.yu rtse*), Nyenjé Gongngön (Tib. *gNyan rje gong sngon*), and eventually Machen Pomra (Tib. *rMa chen spom ra*). Machen Pomra is regarded by some versions of the *Fierce Spirit Collection* to be the lord of local spirits (Tib. *yul sa*), who are contrasted with the fierce spirits. Nevertheless, this might well indicate some regional distribution of the cult of the fierce spirits. It has never been

The *Fierce Spirit Collection* also does not corroborate with the assignation of fierce spirits to the middle sphere between sky and earth, as is quite common in Buddhist ritual texts. In some myths, the whole universe is connected with them; in other myths they are related to the sky and only their offspring then manifests among humans in their natural surroundings—as trees, rocks, lakes, soil, etc., but also in the form of animals such as deer or snakes. They are also considered to be the source of certain diseases, manifesting themselves through poxes appearing on the skin or leprosy.

The *Fierce Spirit Collection* consists of 325 pages divided into 26 chapters. However, the total number of narratives in the collection greatly exceeds the number of chapters, since some of the chapters represent self-contained collections of ritual narratives. The structure of this collection reveals its composite nature. Strikingly, Shenrab Miwo frequently figures as a ritualist summoned to solve problems, yet he is totally devoid of the Buddha-like features in the whole of the collection (with the exception of the opening verses which are likely to be a later addition). The core of the text makes references to the Dong clan and some of the myths even specifically to the branch of it named Nampa Dong (Tib. Nam pa lDong). The text gives names bilingually, in this language as well as in Tibetan. Besides that, its longest myth of considerable importance contains references to the language of Minyak (which in the times following the 11th century would mean Tangut as well). The main character of the myths and mythical ancestor of the people is often given as the son of the Nam people (Tib. Mi nam bu Don chen), but also the son of the Dong clan, etc.

So far, the most convincing identification of the Nampa Dong branch was provided by the Chinese scholar Wen Yu.⁷⁶ Based on Chinese chronicles, he demonstrates that the branches of that subclan of the Qiang tribes—as seen from the side of Chinese—frequently migrated. However, by the time of the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐, corresponding to the time of Tibetan Empire), they had established a minor kingdom in the Minshan (Chin. Minshan 岷山) mountains. This area contains a forested region with extremes of altitude that

assumed that, for example, Mt. Kailash or Yarlha Shampo should represent deities of the fierce spirit typology.

76 This appears in his review of Frederick W. Thomas' book on Nam language, which in fact contains a new and more reliable attempt to localise Nam. See Wen Yu, "Review: Nam, An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland by F. W. Thomas," *T'oung Pao* 40 (1950): 199–207. See also the chapter by Carmen Meinert in this volume. The Minshan region is situated in the bottom part of her map 8.2.

stretches between Songpan (Tib. Zung chu) and Coné (Tib. Co ne), and along the borders of the current provinces of Gansu (甘肅) and Sichuan (四川).⁷⁷

The content of the *Fierce Spirit Collection* seems to include various texts differing in terms of the time of composition (or emendation). Although some parts resemble the texts known from Dunhuang, other parts of the texts are less condensed and much closer to the style of writing of the later date. In general, the first myth is quite unique and contains only fragmented narration about the Ma (Tib. *rma*) brothers, including Machen Pomra, pollution from incest, and a subsequent purification ritual. The following chapters, two to nine (pp. 18–56), contain myths dealing with the separation (Tib. *dbye*) of various beings who got themselves mixed up with the fierce spirits (but not exclusively with them). Then the later sections are divided into two chapters (10 and 11) that cover a rather significant part of the text (pp. 56–87). They contain a variety of myths that narrate the origin of the various types of fierce spirits. The following chapters 12 to 22 (pp. 87–271) constitute the largest part of the collection (pp. 87–271). They deal mainly with the origin of conflict between people and the fierce spirits. Such conflicts are for the most part caused by the killing of fierce and/or other spirits. The conflict is then resolved in most cases by paying the compensation for killing (Tib. *stong*, lit. ‘thousand’),

77 This reference to Nam appears in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book of the Tang Dynasty] and *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang Dynasty]; in the section dealing briefly with the history of the Eastern Women's Kingdom. A kingdom called Nanshui (南水) is listed among the eight small kingdoms in the Minshan range in the year 793 as submitting to the Chinese Empire: “[...] [They] lived scattered around the ‘Western Mountain’ (a special term implying the Min 岷 mountains, in present Mou Hsien 茂縣, Sung-p’an 松潘 and their adjacent regions). [...] Since there had been much trouble in the heart of the Empire, they were controlled by the T'u fan (Tibetans). Among those kingdoms the big ones ruled nothing more than two or three thousand (families)”; Wen Yu, “Review: F.W. Thomas,” 203–204 (parenthetical information is Wen Yu's). From the side of Old Tibetan sources, there is only one mention of a place which aspires to be related to the Nam Kingdom. It appears in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (10L Tib J 750, ll. 140–141) and concerns the years 702–703. It says that in a certain Namdong Trom, a winter council was held: “Khu Mangpoje Lhalung and Minister Mangtsen Dongzhi convened a winter council in Namdong Trom of Domay” (Tib. *mdo smad gyi nam ldong prom du khu mang po rje lha lung dang blon mang rtsen ldong zhis bsdu ste*).

Namdong (Tib. Nam ldong) indicates that this was the seat of the Nam branch of the Dong clan. The name Namdong Trom is similar to a contemporary city called Dongtrom (Tib. ldong khrom) in Tibetan and Tanchang (宕昌) in Chinese. There are ruins of several ancient Tibetan fortresses above the city. It is known to have been the centre of a small kingdom of a certain Dong tribe between the fourth and sixth centuries. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, it was conquered by Tibetans. It is a very strategic place near the mountainous region of Minshan, located at its north-eastern edge. The location, in general, matches with the descriptions provided by the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*.

which is prescribed and assisted ritually by summoning ritualists. Chapter 23 (pp. 271–288) is repetitive and mostly comprised of lists of names and events in catalogue form. Chapter 24 (pp. 288–316) is a self-contained collection of brief and formally very similar ritual narratives concerning diseases caused by angry fierce spirits and their ritual antidotes. Chapter 25 (pp. 316–323) contains only brief skeletons of various narratives about the reconciliation of people and fierce spirits, described as meeting of mother fierce spirit with her son (Tib. *gnyan ma bu sprad*). The brief concluding chapter, number 26 (pp. 323–325), praises the fierce spirits and requests them to depart to their respective abodes.

This collection of mythical narrations reveals the recurrent core themes of fear of harm from various spirits and the effort to restore their pure forms. This seems to be linked with the first myth, which is concerned with a similar fear of pollution from incest. Both these fears can be seen as due to the inappropriate mixing of things that should remain separate. By far the most represented topic relates to almost judicial procedure dealing with reparation for causing the death of spirits. This is a long tradition among societies on the Tibetan Plateau, particularly in Amdo. These myths give supernatural examples of frequent cases of extra-tribal killing that have arisen from ancient to present times. This is remedied by an authority respected by both sides (resembling the role of pre-Buddhist ritualists) discerning an appropriate compensation for the killing that can be agreed upon by both parties.

By far the longest myth on the topic (i.e., *Mi dang gnyan bsdum pa'i le'u* [A Chapter on the Reconciliation of People and Fierce Spirits], 18th chapter, 122–201) included in the *Fierce Spirit Collection*⁷⁸ is also notable for its apparent influence up to the present time in the region of the Minshan mountains.⁷⁹ Of interest could be to note that it follows the same plot as the origin tale from Gatang *stūpa* included in the *Accounts on the Rite of Averting*, mentioned above as an example of eastern ritual traditions travelling to Central and Southern Tibet, and wherein the Machen Pomra appears as one of the main characters.⁸⁰ The main difference is that the Gatang *stūpa* does not mention fierce spirits,

78 For detailed information on the eleven known versions including those from among Naxi manuscripts, see Daniel Berounský, “An Old Tibetan Myth on Retribution for Killing the Nyen (*Gnyan stong*): Manuscripts Scattered between Naxi, Tanguts, Eastern and Western Tibet,” in *Bon and Naxi Manuscripts*, ed. Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Charles Ramble (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 169–212.

79 After my lecture given at Chengdu University in 2018 on this topic, some of the students from the area of Zitsa Degu (Tib. Gzi rtsa sde dgu) informed me that this narration is still widely known in the region.

80 For translation, see Karmay, “A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts from a Buddhist *stūpa* in Southern Tibet,” and Bellezza, “gShen-rab Myi-bo: His Life and Times According to Tibet’s Earliest Sources.”

but instead chthonic spirits. It is possible to speculate that one of the reasons for this could be that the fierce spirits were not worshipped in that region.

Perhaps one could tend to see the *Fierce Spirit Collection* as a remnant of an ancient tradition of the Dong tribes, known as Qiang in Chinese. However, the situation is not so straightforward. As in the case of the appropriation of the Chinese tradition by the *Earth-Lord Collection*, it is very likely that in this case we are witnessing an attempt to see the tradition of the Dong people through the Central Tibetan viewpoint. The term lore/wisdom appearing in the narratives of this collection corroborates this. It is clearly not a direct translation of the Dong ritual narratives into Tibetan. Such adaptations could have a long tradition stretching back to the imperial period, as witnessed by Dunhuang documents IOL Tib J 731 and IOL Tib J 732, which also contain references to the Nampa Dong language. Individual instances of bilingual expressions do not always match up, as was once supposed by Thomas.⁸¹ Instead of translating from the language of the Nam branch of the Dong tribe, or Minyak, they seem rather to facilitate understanding from the side of those rooted in the Central Tibetan tradition.⁸² Whether this *Fierce Spirit Collection* stems from an early Tibetan attempt to create a pan-Tibetan ritual tradition of the Tibetan Empire, or if it intentionally imitates it, remains open to debate.

Such collections, despite all their dating problems, provide a very useful insight into the process of the formation of the monastic tradition of Bön. The term Bön, in the sense of religious tradition, appears only in the opening passages of the *Fierce Spirit Collection*. These were probably added to the collection later. The passages stand in stark contrast to the actual content of the large number of myths in the collection itself, which are characterised by the apparent absence of the term Bön in the sense of religious tradition. The individual myths, often highly simplified and abbreviated into a set formal structure, still represent individual, practical ritual models of a local character. Their universality is only brought about by the entirety of the collection, which requires editing of the individual myths and attempts at overall structuring of the collection. This feature is also true for the Gatang *stūpa* myth series discussed above, and for some Dunhuang myth collections. They show

81 Thomas, *Nam*.

82 Only a brief example could be given here. In IOL Tib J 731, v. 67–68, bilingual expression appears. In Nam language, it should be “*bya rma bya'i rma li bye'u rma bye'u gi thing tshun*,” and in Tibetan “*khab yo bya'i 'dab bkra mying dang mtshan spos so*.” In the first case, the text apparently speaks about a certain bird (Tib. *rma bya*), which nowadays means ‘peacock’, but was then apparently a bird associated with the Ma region (i.e., Machen Pomra range). The Tibetan part of it appears to be an explanation and not a literal translation, perhaps: “it is a name for a bird *khab yo* with wings of bright colors.”

signs of a tradition in the making characterised by written text, repetitive formulas, lists of ritual experts and the creation of collections of series of once individual myths.

At this early stage, the individual myths remain largely local in character (as is inadvertently revealed, for example, by the bilingual names in Tibetan and Nampa Dong or Minyak). In a certain transitional state, one can see a tendency to add to the universality of the myths by editing and adding a multitude of real and supernatural languages to the text, as the *Rock Spirit Collection* illustrates. The *Earth-Lord Collection*, in turn, demonstrates the creative inclusion of outside tradition, in this case Chinese. These general tendencies toward greater universality suddenly reach a critical moment of qualitative shift.

This shift consists in the transformation of one of the mythic ritual specialists figuring in the collections of once-local myths into the narrator of these myths, hand in hand with his transformation into a Buddha-type figure (Tib. *sTon pa*). This transfiguration of the former ritual specialist Shenrab Miwo into the universal preacher is well reflected in the *Chthonic Spirit Collection*, where the *White Chthonic Spirit Collection* completes the process. Paradoxically, the older form of the ritual specialist Shenrab Miwo appears prominently in texts associated with Eastern Tibet (*Fierce Spirit Collection* and IOL Tib J 731, 732), but in this new form the Zhangzhung language comes to the fore out of number of real and unreal languages.

With the increasingly universal proponent of myths comes the universal name for this tradition as Bön. The key role of ritual narrations and myths is later superseded by other forms of discourse, although it does not disappear entirely. The earlier *Fierce Spirit Collection*, mostly from Eastern Tibet, contains myths that include Shenrab Miwo alongside other ritual specialists. In contrast, the early 14th-century chronicle of Bön places this ritual specialist far ahead of this collection. The ritualist elevated above the collection is suddenly a universal preacher leaving the knowledge of rituals in the universal sphere of fierce spirits. However, the very collection representing his teachings left there (containing testimony to his previous role) is a witness to this transformation.⁸³

83 See Khod po blo gros thogs med, *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang* [Inventory of the Worldly Lineages] (mTsho sngon: Cang ha'o glog rdul dpe skrun khang, 2011), 11: "Then Tönpa [Shenrab Miwo] arrived in the land of fierce spirits. He presented to Nyanbön Tangtang Trölwa the teachings of the Fierce Spirits Collection, the rituals of releasing the fierce spirits' birds, and others" (Tib. *de nas ston pa gnyan gyi yul du byon/ gnyan bon thang thang khrol ba la/ 'phan yul rgyas pa gnyan 'bum dang/ gnyan gyi bya bkrol las sogs bstan pa bzhag/*).

Although this qualitative leap might seem to be a sudden invention of tradition, from what has been described above it appears instead to represent the culmination of a longer process. This process started with the beginning of the Tibetan Empire and from then on had been moving towards universality.

6 Concluding Remarks

Ritual narratives of various forms continue to exert an impact on Tibetans. Although distorted, abridged, modified, or erased, their traces still permeate Tibetan societies. Most origin myths, or ritual narrations, were probably never recorded, as their practice remained in the sphere of orality. Whilst providing knowledge about the created world, at the same time they served as means of communication with spirits and deities. Fragments containing notes on voicing them through imitating the voices of animals and birds, witness their crucial role in communication. Quite paradoxically, it is exclusively ritual narrations that were written down that are the subject of this paper. They represent just brief glimpses of a far more robust tradition. The term *lore/wisdom* referred to in some collections of such ritual narrations could be taken as a sign of their modification in the process of architecting at least seemingly coherent structures. Although we do not know whether some attempts to collect a large series of such ritual narrations predate the Tibetan Empire, it seems that the basic method of their assembly resembled snowballing. Various collections of these narrations became part of even larger collections, etc. This process was evidently marked not only by the presence of Buddhism, but also by some inner tensions between Central Tibet and peripheral regions of the western, northern, and eastern parts of the Tibetan Plateau. Too often, those ritual narrations that survive in written form are inherently marked by their multiple transformations. The elasticity they exhibit often leads to the loss of meaning and sometimes also to distortion of poetic beauty. However, on the other hand, their elasticity has lent them persistence. The influence of ritual narrations on Tibetan Buddhism is not always straightforwardly clear. They appear as dismantled fragments scattered meaninglessly across a net of Buddhist symbols, notions, and ideas. Nonetheless, the impact of ritual narrations could be deeply buried within the very Buddhist messages meant to supersede them. The surprising popularity of semi-historical genres of Buddhist literature in Tibet could serve as example. These semi-historical narratives may have stepped into the spaces vacated by the demise of pre-Buddhist autochthonous ritual narrations.

PART 2

Doctrines



People, Places, Texts, and Topics: Another Look at the Larger Context of the Spread of Chan Buddhism in Eastern Central Asia during the Tibetan Imperial and Post-Imperial Period (7th–10th C.)

Carmen Meinert

Abstract

The region east of the Blue Lake, which was part of the Tibetan Empire (ca. 8th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po) and later the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏), was an important multicultural area connecting the equally diverse oasis towns of the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zoulang 河西走廊) and the Tarim Basin with Sinitic and Tibetan cultural areas. The present chapter explores the development of the contested space between these cultures in a broader historical context. It also discusses religion, especially Chan in both its Chinese form and as adapted into Tibetan, its links to the famous Samyé Debate, and its use in a power struggle during the ninth and tenth centuries that relates to the well-known Tibetan master Gongpa Rapsel (892–975, Tib. dGongs pa Rab gsal). This expands our picture of how Chan masters, Buddhist works, and religious themes might have interacted on the micro-historical level through local and transregional exchanges in Eastern Central Asia. The chapter thereby brings together information on people, places, texts, and topics related to Chan Buddhism in order to actually locate them in geographical space in the contested region east of the Blue Lake.

1 Introduction to a Contested Space: The Tibetan-Chinese Border Region between the 7th and 10th Centuries¹

Religious trends not only travel with trade and along trade routes,² but also expand into new territories as political powers grow or migrate and thus integrate newly conquered lands into their dominion—regions which often remain also religiously contested spaces for longer periods of time. The Tibetan-Chinese border region around the Blue Lake (Tib. mTsho sngon po, Mong. Köke nayur, in Western literature often referred to as Lake Kokonor, a designation which was introduced under Mongol rule, whereas the modern Chinese designation is Qinghai hu 青海湖) certainly remained such a (religiously) contested space between the seventh and tenth centuries—long after the Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c. to 842, Tib. Bod chen po) had integrated the territory of the former multicultural and multi-ethnic state of the Azha (Tib. 'A zha)/Tuyuhun (吐谷渾) (284–670)³ into the Tibetan realm (map 8.1). A network of local trade routes in this region connected the three cultural units of Tibet, Southern China, and Eastern Central Asia (with the Tarim Basin and Hexi Corridor) and facilitated religious exchange across linguistic and cultural boundaries (fig. 8.1).

The multicultural and multi-ethnic reality which the Tibetan Empire faced at its north-eastern fringes around the Tarim Basin and the Blue Lake is well illustrated in the famous fresco on the northern wall of Mogao Cave (莫高窟) 158,

1 I am indebted to Henrik H. Sørensen, Lewis Doney, Dylan Esler, and an anonymous reviewer for very valuable suggestions on how to improve an earlier draft of this chapter. I would also like to thank Jürgen Schörflinger for kindly preparing the maps for the ERC project *BuddhistRoad*. All remaining mistakes are my own.

2 Peter Wick and Volker Rabens, ed., *Religions and Trade: Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange between East and West* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

3 In a geographically strategically important location, the Azha/Tuyuhun State developed a network of local trade routes, namely a further extension of the so-called Silk Roads, or more appropriate for our context, Buddhist Roads. These connected the region to the north-east through the Tsaidam Basin with the multicultural oasis towns Dunhuang and Khotan, to the north with the Hexi Corridor across the Qilian Mountain Range (Chin. Qilian shan 祁連山), and to the south-east with the Sichuan Basin and thus south-western Sinitic cultures. Mátyás Balogh, “On the Emergence of the Qinghai Sections of the Silk Road,” *Chronica* 18 (2019): 31. The Azha/Tuyuhun administration followed a Chinese model, although certain chiefs started to adopt the title *qaghan* (Chin. *kekan* 可汗) instead of emperor (Chin. *wang* 王), probably as a way of countering Chinese influence, sometime during the early fifth century. Julia Escher, “New Information on the Degree of ‘Sinicization’ of the Tuyuhun Clan during Tang Times through Their Marriage Alliances: A Case Study Based on the Epitaphs of Two Chinese Princesses,” *Journal of Asian History* 53.1 (2019): 56; Yihong Pan, “Locating Advantages. The Survival of the Tuyuhun State on the Edge, 300–ca. 580,” *T'oung Pao* 99.4–5 (2013): 287–288.

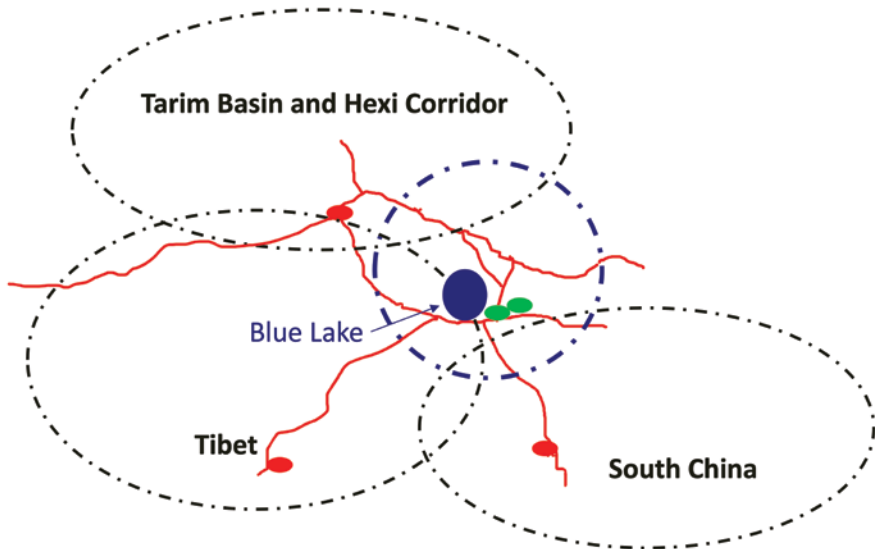


FIGURE 8.1 Exchange routes traversing cultural units in contested Tibetan-Chinese border region

SKETCH BY CARMEN MEINERT

dated to the late eighth to mid-ninth century—a time when the oasis town of Dunhuang (敦煌) was under Tibetan rule (fig. 8.2). The fresco depicts the *parinirvāṇa* scene with a congregation headed by the Tibetan emperor (depicted with a halo between two trees to the left side of the fresco), followed by the Chinese emperor (also depicted with a halo, but smaller in size and placed to the right of the Tibetan emperor), as well as various other princes and local people of Azha/Tuyuhun, Khotanese, Tangut (Tib. *Mi nyag*, Chin. *Dangxiang* 党项), or Uyghur provenance. Thus, this fresco provides us with a window into the eighth-/ninth-century multicultural reality at the northern and north-eastern fringes of the Tibetan Empire, an area referred to as the Pacified Region or *Dégam/Dékham* (Tib. *bDe gams/khams*)⁴ or sometimes simply *Kham* (Tib. *Khams*)—something which does not always make identification easy—and which was governed by a pacification officer (Tib. *bde blon*).⁵

4 I wonder whether the Tibetan term *Dégam* or *Pacified Region* was inspired by the Chinese term ‘Protectorate to Pacify the West’ (640–ca. 790, Chin. *Anxi du hu fu* 安西都護府), which was established by the Tang Dynasty in 640 to control the newly conquered lands in the Tarim Basin. See Michael R. Drompp, *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire: A Documentary History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 103–104, n. 19.

5 The establishment of the *Pacified Region* is mentioned in P. T. 1287, ll. 383–384, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. The passage is found in Jacques Bacot, Frederick W. Thomas, and Charles-



MAP 8.1 Network of Buddhist nodes in Eastern Central Asia
MAP BY JÜRGEN SCHÖRFLINGER

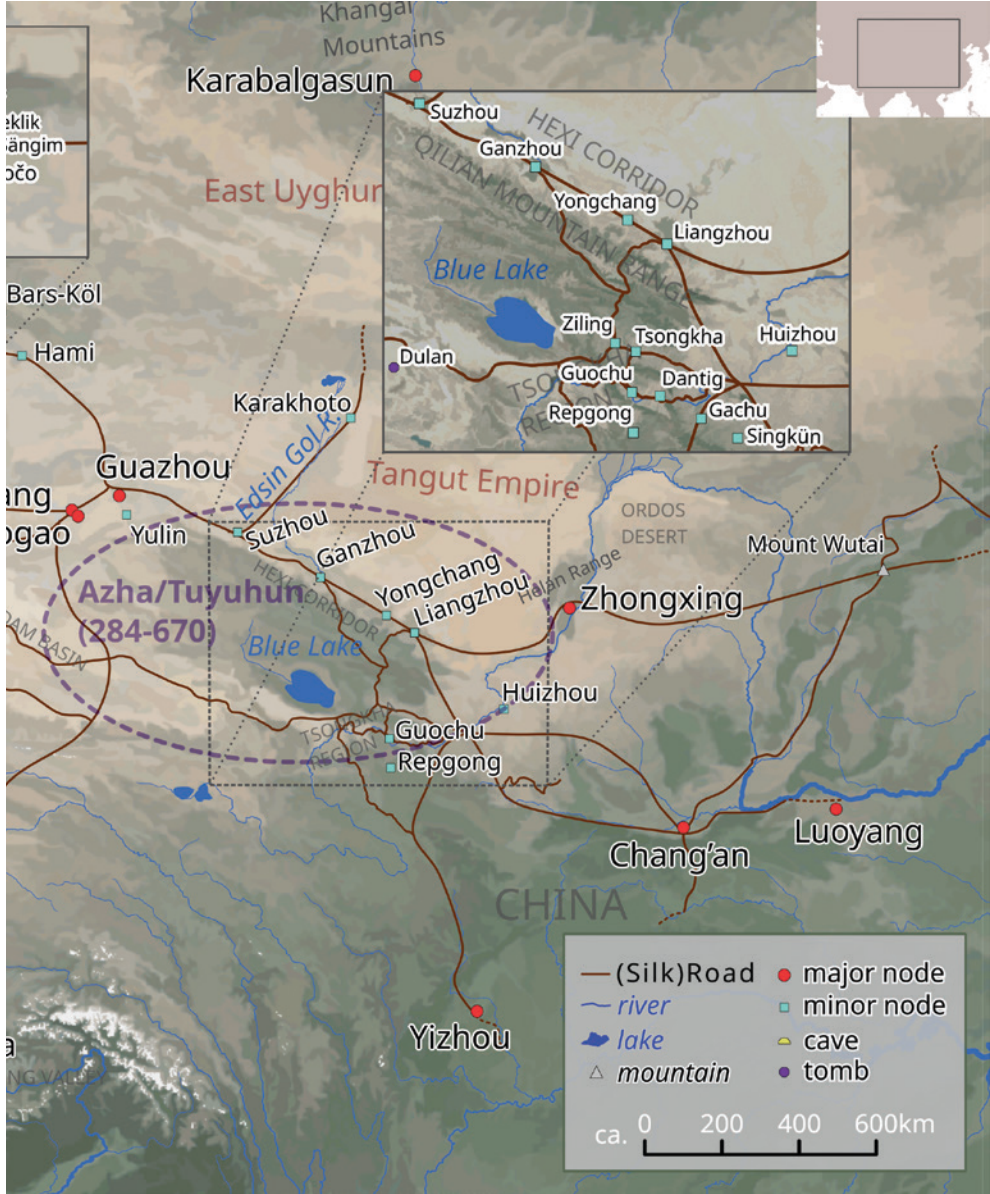




FIGURE 8.2 Mourning scene upon the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, featuring the Tibetan emperor, the Chinese emperor, and other local princes. Dunhuang, end of 8th to mid-9th c. Mogao Cave 158, northern wall. Photograph taken by Paul Pelliot at the beginning of the 20th c.

PELLIOT, *LES GROTTES DE TOUEN-HOUANG: PEINTURES ET SCULPTURES BOUDDHIQUES DES EPOQUES DES WEI, DES T'ANG ET DES SONG. TOME PREMIER, GROTTES 1 A 30, PL. 64*

Along with the multitude of cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the region came a variety of Buddhist orientations, as well as non-Buddhist ones.⁶ One of the prevailing Buddhist trends was Chinese Chan Buddhism.

For a long time after the publication of Paul Demiéville's *Le Concile de Lhasa* in 1952,⁷ the academic study of Chan Buddhism in the Tibetan cultural and religious sphere centered on a single event: The Samyé (Tib. bSam yas) Debate, which presumably took place in the late eighth century between the Dunhuang-based Chan master Moheyan (fl. second half of 8th c., 摩訶衍) and the Indian scholar Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–ca. 795). It was an imperially organised discourse on simultaneist versus gradual approaches towards meditation practice and realisation, allegedly leading to the expulsion of Chinese monks from Tibetan lands. With the recovery of Chan manuscripts from Mogao Cave 17 in Dunhuang, this narrative has been challenged by various scholars over the last decades.⁸ However, there is still a need to re-contextualise the spread of Chan Buddhism within a larger historical and geographical setting, which is the aim of this chapter. To look at the area east of the Blue Lake and adjacent regions from a network approach is helpful to provide new insights into the spread of Chinese Chan Buddhism in the Tibetan sphere. To this end, it is useful to begin the investigation with an overview of important historical events relevant to the contested space, the region east of the Blue Lake, since the Tang (618–907, 唐) and Yarlung dynasties' conquests in the seventh century (fig. 8.3 sketches the relevant events in a timeline).

Following a phase of centralisation of power by the Yarlung Dynasty, a phase of consolidation and one of decentralisation occurred between the seventh and tenth centuries in all parts of Tibetan-conquered lands.⁹ With the

Gustave Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), 154. See also Hugh E. Richardson, "The Province of the Bde-blon of the Tibetan Empire, Eighth to Ninth Centuries," in *High Peaks Pure Earth*, ed. Michael Aris (London: Serindia, 1990), 167–176.

6 An example of non-Buddhist influences is discussed by Daniel Berounský in his chapter in this volume.

7 Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1952).

8 Some of the relevant scholarship is quoted throughout this chapter.

9 In a forthcoming co-authored publication, Dylan Esler and I discuss developments of Buddhism in Tibet during the so-called period of early propagation (7th–9th c., Tib. *snga dar*) and time of fragmentation (9th–10th c., Tib. *sil bu'i dus*). However, we prefer to describe these developments using the terms 'centralisation', 'consolidation', and 'decentralisation', since we feel that this value-neutral terminology might allow at once for a broader perspective and for a more fine-grained analysis of the processes involved. See Carmen Meinert and Dylan Esler, "The History of Buddhism in Tibet (7th–10th C.): Early Contacts, Imperial Period, and Early Post-Imperial Period," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Four: History*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

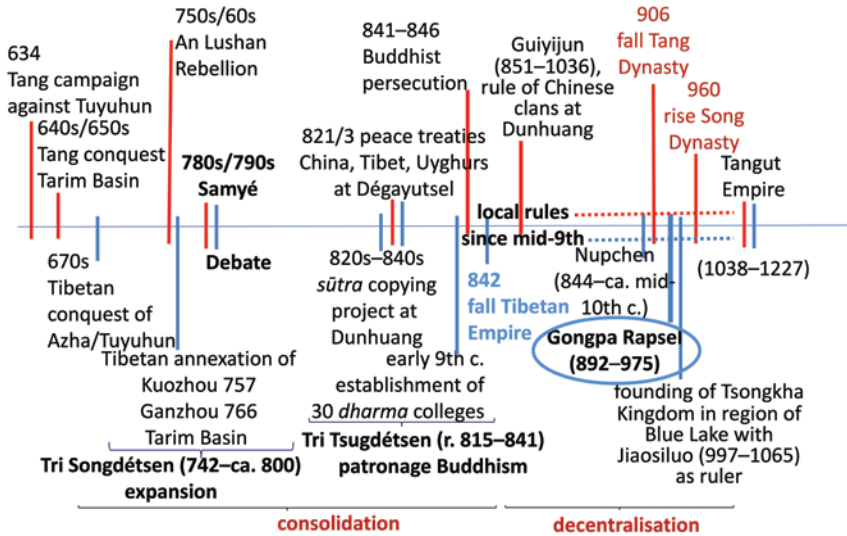


FIGURE 8.3 Timeline relevant to the Tibetan-Chinese border region, 7th–11th c.

SKETCH BY CARMEN MEINERT

Tibetan expansion eastward, the Azha/Tuyuhun state played an important role in the power struggle between Tibet and Tang China, first on a military and then on an ideological level, with the local elites in the region splitting into pro-Tibetan and pro-Tang factions. The Tang needed a buffer zone in the conflict against Tibet in order to secure access to the oasis towns in the Tarim Basin, and so started a military campaign in the region in 634. This resulted in the Azha/Tuyuhun temporarily accepting a tributary status to the Tang.¹⁰

Eventually, the Tibetans took over the region in the 670/680s as the result of the battle at Jima Gol or Dafei River (Chin. Dafei chuan 大非川),¹¹ where Tibetan and local troops apparently defeated 100,000 Tang troops.¹² The Azha

10 Escher, “New Information on the Degree of ‘Sinicization’ of the Tuyuhun Clan during Tang Times,” 67–68.

11 Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 33. In n. 109 Beckwith mentions that the name Jima Gol seems to be an Azha name of Mongolic origin meaning ‘not big river’ which was literally translated into Chinese as ‘Dafei chuan’.

12 David A. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900* (London, New York: Routledge, 2007), 206; Denis Twitchett, “Tibet in Tang’s Grand Strategy,” in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans van de Ven (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 126–130. Denis Twitchett provides some figures from Chinese historical records, in particular from the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang Dynasty] (196A) and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book of the Tang Dynasty]

became a vassal state (Tib. *rgyal phran*) of the Yarlung Dynasty and ritually reinforced their submission to the Tibetan emperor through the regular performance of rites linked to the spiritual counterpart of the emperor (Tib. *sku bla*), despite retaining a certain degree of autonomy.¹³ A second Tibetan campaign started after the Tang Dynasty was weakened by the An Lushan Rebellion (755–763, Chin. An Lushan zhi luan 安祿山之亂). It led to the final Tibetan annexation of Guochu (Tib. Guo cu') / Kuozhou (廓州) and the region in the vicinity of Dantig (Tib. Dan tig shan or lDan tig shel gyi dgon/lha khang, Chin. Dandou si 丹斗寺) in 757—places all relevant for the discussion further below. Then the Tibetans annexed the Tarim Basin, including Dunhuang, and finally Kamchu (Tib. Kam bcu) / Ganzhou (甘州) in the Hexi Corridor on the northern side of the Qilian Mountains in 766 (see maps 8.1).¹⁴

Therefore, it is really only from the second half of the eighth century that we can expect a strong Tibetan presence in the region. One can only assume that after the Tang defeat some Chinese military, who had been stationed in the region before it fell, probably left behind families or offspring or retired military personnel to be then governed by the Tibetans. In fact, even in the dialogues of the mid-eighth-century Chinese Chan master Wuzhu (714–774, 無住) (well known from Tibetan and Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts on Chan Buddhism) from the Baotang (保唐) school in Yizhou (益州, in the Jiannan Circuit 劍南道, south-west China, see maps 8.1), we know that some of his

(216A), and notes (*ibid.*, 128, n. 29): “The figures given for armies and casualties [in Chinese sources] are dubious approximations, and often clearly exaggerated. [...] But in many campaigns the numbers of troops were very large [...] and give some impression of the scale of hostilities.”

13 Nathan W. Hill, “The Sku Bla in Imperial Tibetan Religion,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 58.

14 For a new dating of the Tibetan conquest of Dunhuang/Shazhou between the late 750s and early 760s, see Bianca Horlemann, “A Re-Evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-Century Shazhou/ Dunhuang,” in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I, PIATS 2000*, ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49–66, particularly the conclusion on p. 64. Her re-evaluation of the existing sources refutes the former assumption in scholarship that the Tibetan dominion of Dunhuang started only in 781 or 787 (as suggested in Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa, 172–177*). It argues that when China was troubled internally by the An Lushan Rebellion from 755 onwards, the Tibetans took the opportunity to fill the power vacuum in the Hexi region. They conquered the economically attractive oasis of Dunhuang from the south, from the Tsaidam Basin, eventually conquering the whole Hexi region from west to east. See also the maps in Horlemann, “A Re-Evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-Century Shazhou/Dunhuang,” 66.

disciples acted as military officers and fought in the contested region in the second half of the eighth century.¹⁵

In reality, it is only after the military power struggle in the contested region was settled in favour of the Tibetans that the ideological power struggle began—one in which Chinese Chan Buddhism played an important role. This should come as no surprise given the strong Chinese influence and historical presence in the region. The Samyé Debate, mentioned above, presumably took place in the late eighth century between the Dunhuang-based Chan master Moheyan and the Indian scholar Kamalaśīla. It was an imperially organised discourse on simultaneist versus gradual approaches towards meditation practice and realisation. Allegedly it was held in the hope of solving the problem of competing Buddhist discourses at court level. According to Tibetan sources, it led to the expulsion of Chinese Chan masters from Tibetan lands, including also the frontier region. The historical facticity of this narrative, however, is certainly questionable.

On the local level the ideological battle in the region began under the rule of Tri Tsugdésen (r. 815–841, Tib. Khri gTsug lde brtsan), known as Relpachen (Tib. Ral pa can). During his reign three important ideological activities of negotiation or pacification took place which impacted our contested region—so it is only during the first half of the ninth century that specific measures were taken to enforce Tibetan presence on the religious level (see fig. 8.3). These were: (1) the founding of Dégayutsel (Tib. De ga g.yu 'tsal) Monastery in Gachu (Tib. (')Ga cu) / Hezhou (河州) (close to Dantig) in order to commemorate the Tibetan peace treaty with the Tang, the Uyghurs, and the Nanzhao Kingdom (738–902, 南詔) in 821/823;¹⁶ (2) the *sūtra* copying project at Dunhuang that

15 Wendi L. Adamek, *The Teachings of Master Wuzhu-Zen and Religion of No-Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 57, 112–114, 118, 123; esp. *ibid.*, section 19, p. 112ff: *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 [Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Generations], in T. 51.2075, 187c7–188b21. The most important reference to Wuzhu among the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts is in P. T. 116.6b, fols. 164.1–168.2, where he is mentioned as part of a local (ly perceived and/or constructed?) Chan lineage. I discussed this lineage in Carmen Meinert, “The Legend of *Cig car ba* Criticism in Tibet: A List of Six *Cig car ba* Titles in the *Chos 'byung me tog snying po* of Nyang Nyi ma 'od zer (12th Century),” in *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in Its Formative Period, 900–1400*. PIATS 2003, ed. Ronald Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 31–54.

16 The relevant Dunhuang manuscripts, P. T. 16/101 Tib J 751, have been studied by many scholars, including Matthew T. Kapstein, “The Treaty Temple of the Turquoise Grove,” in *Buddhism between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 21–72; Kapstein revised his former identification of the place Dégayutsel with Yulin Cave 25 (Matthew T. Kapstein, “The Treaty Temple of De Ga g.Yu Tshal: Reconsiderations,” *Journal of Tibetology* 10 (2014): 32–34) on the basis of the correct identification of the place as Hezhou by Xie Jisheng 謝繼勝 and Huang Weizhou 黃

took place from the 820s to 840s;¹⁷ (3) and the establishment of thirty *dharma* colleges (Tib. *chos grwa*) in the early ninth century (more about the latter further below).¹⁸

This consolidation of power ended abruptly with the fall of the Yarlung Dynasty in 842; shortly afterwards the Uyghur Khaganate fell in 840, and Tang China was hit by Buddhist persecution during the Huichang era (840–845, 會昌). The disintegration of large parts of East and Central Asia in the ninth/early tenth century led to the establishment of local rules everywhere in East and Central Asia, not just in Tibet. For Dunhuang, it is interesting that with the local rule of the Chinese Guiyijun regime (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army) began a phase of unprecedented local patronage and a veritable ‘Buddhist golden age.’¹⁹ Something similar also took place to the east of the Blue Lake—if we are to take seriously references to the activities of Gongpa Rapsel (ca. 892–ca. 975, Tib. dGongs pa Rab gsal),²⁰ who was active in the region east of the Blue Lake in the century following the demise of the Tibetan Empire. According to later historical sources, he is said to have countered the activities of local proponents of Chan Buddhism there (see section 3 below).

We may regard the activities of his contemporary Nupchen Sangyé Yéshé (ca. 844 to mid-10th c., Tib. gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes) (fig. 8.3), who was one of the first Tibetan doxographers and was active in Central Tibet, as a first strong voice of counter-reaction to the developments taking place in the Tibetan-Chinese border area. Through differentiating Chinese Chan and Tibetan Dzogchen (Tib. *rdzogs chen*), he was reacting to a perceived

維忠, “Yulin ku di 25 ku bihua zangwen tiji xiedu 榆林窟第 25 窟壁畫藏文題記釈讀 [A Textual Research on the Tibetan Inscription on the Fresco of Yulin Cave 25],” *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Artefacts] 4 (2007): 70.

- 17 Kazushi Iwao, “The Purpose of Sūtra Copying in Dunhuang under the Tibetan Rule,” in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. Irina Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Slavica, 2012), 102–105.
- 18 Helga Uebach, “On Dharma-Colleges and Their Teachers in the Ninth Century Tibetan Empire,” in *Indo-Sinica-Tibetica: Studi in Onore Di Lucian Petech*, ed. Paolo Daffina (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1990), 393–418.
- 19 Henrik H. Sørensen, “Donors and Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang During the Reign of the Guiyijun,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia 1—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 91–122; Henrik H. Sørensen, “Guiyijun and Buddhism at Dunhuang: A Year by Year Chronicle,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 4.2 (2019).
- 20 For the dates of Gongpa Rapsel, Roberto Vitali suggested 832–915, one 60-year cycle earlier. See Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia, 1990), 62, n. 1.

amalgamation of different strands of Buddhist practice that was popular in these regions.²¹

Gongpa Rapsel lived at a time when Sinitic territories did not belong to a unified empire and before the region east of the Blue Lake had come under the local rule of the Tsongkha (Tib. Tsong kha) confederation under the leadership of Jiaosiluo (997–1065, 角厮囉), an apparent descendent of the former Tibetan imperial rulers, enthroned in Guochu (Tib. Guo cu’)/Kuozhou. We can therefore imagine that it was a time allowing for religious creativity and innovation without official censorship in a multicultural environment in which Buddhists of different ethnic backgrounds coexisted harmoniously.²² In fact, a collection of texts by a Chinese pilgrim travelling through the region in the 960s on his way from Mt. Wutai (Chin. Wutai shan 五臺山, Five-Peak-Mountain) to Nālandā in India, the so-called Daozhao (道昭) manuscript (10L Tib J 754) (named as such after the personal name Daozhao mentioned in a colophon), includes five letters of passage which provide evidence that Tibetan and Chinese monks and officials equally assisted the Chinese pilgrim during his travels in the region.²³

The period of decentralisation (see fig. 8.3) only came temporarily to an end once the region around the Blue Lake had been incorporated into the territory of the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏), which stretched from Dunhuang to the Ordos bend. This empire enjoyed an unprecedented royal patronage of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism from the mid-12th century on, a development that attests to the eastward move of Tibetan Buddhism which I discussed elsewhere.²⁴

-
- 21 In a previous study I have argued that we may see the early Tibetan doxographical work, the *bSam gtan mig sgron* [Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation] by Nupchen as a starting point for the creation of a legend about Tibetan criticism of Chinese Chan Buddhists. See Meinert, “The Legend of *Cig car ba* Criticism in Tibet.” I further suggest that Nupchen certainly had developments in the Tibetan-Chinese frontier region in mind, which was, after all, even during his lifetime still a region with a strong Sinitic influence.
- 22 Bianca Horlemann, “The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road,” in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–102; Bianca Horlemann, “On the Origin of Jiaosiluo, the First Ruler of the Tsong kha Tribal Confederation in Eleventh Century A mdo,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005): 127–154.
- 23 The Daozhao manuscript is analysed and contextualised in detail in an exemplary study by Imre Galambos and Sam van Schaik, *Manuscripts and Travellers: The Sino-Tibetan Documents of a Tenth-Century Buddhist Pilgrim* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 150, 161–162. 10L Tib J 754, Tibetan letter 2, l. 8–9 (ibid., 161–162): “Up to this point [in the monk’s journey] both Chinese and Tibetans have [treated him] honourably [...] and conducted him stage by stage.” (Tib. *’di man chad rgya bod byin gyis kyang gar [...] (chad) [...] (s.ching.g) dang/su skyal rimpar ba gyi’s pa lags so/*)
- 24 For the spread of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism eastward to the Tangut Empire, see my following articles: Carmen Meinert, “Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples

With this historical sketch in the background, in the following I shall firstly focus on some Buddhist activities during the Tibetan Empire in the region east of the Blue Lake in order to contextualise the position of Chan Buddhism on a micro-historical level. Secondly, I shall locate people, places, texts, and topics mentioned in some Dunhuang manuscripts in this region, in order to gain a new perspective on the spread of Chan Buddhism along a network of trade routes. Thirdly, I shall situate Gongpa Rapsel, a cultural hero according to later Tibetan historiography, in this multicultural contested space.

2 Negotiating Territory through Religion: Buddhist Activities in the Tibetan-Chinese Border Region

What was the role of Buddhism in the region east of the Blue Lake before the Tibetans conquered this contested realm? According to the *Liangshu* 梁書 [The History of the Liang Dynasty]—the annals of a Chinese state bordering to the south of the Azha/Tuyuhuan and under the rule of Emperor Wudi of the Liang (r. 502–549, 梁武帝), a fervent supporter of Buddhism—the Azha/Tuyuhun elite and travelling merchants had close economic exchanges with the Liang state and were also Buddhists (fig. 8.1). In 514 they even requested permission of the Liang to establish a nine-storeyed Buddhist pagoda in Yizhou (present-day

from the Chinese Karakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227),” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72; Carmen Meinert, “Creation of Tantric Sacred Spaces in Eastern Central Asia,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 244–171; Carmen Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th C.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ϕ 249 ϕ 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhī] in Comparison with Other Tantric Ritual Texts,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484; Carmen Meinert, “Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies: Tantric Rituals in Eastern Central Asia under Tangut Rule, 11th–13th C.,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 313–365. I published a map of the territory of the Tangut Empire, showing that it included the region east of the Blue Lake, in Meinert, “Creation of Tantric Sacred Spaces in Eastern Central Asia,” 253–254. It is also available on the *BuddhistRoad* website here: <https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/visual-aids/>.

The relationship between the kings of the Tangut Empire and the Tanguts living under Azha/Tuyuhun and then Tibetan rule in the region east of the Blue Lake between the third and ninth centuries has not, to the best of my knowledge, been researched so far. Understanding this relationship would certainly shed further light on the process by which Tibetan masters were invited to the Tangut court to spread Tantric Buddhism. I would not be surprised if we were to discover that they were actually connected to the region around the Blue Lake.

Chengdu 成都) (map 8.1).²⁵ Moreover, in the region under discussion Buddhist sites have emerged from as early as the turn of the common era. By the time of the Tibetan-Tang Battle at Dafei River in the 670s, we witness quite a high density of Buddhist sites (map 8.2),²⁶ including sites that developed through exchanges with the Sinitic world. Hence, the contested Tibetan-Chinese border region was a large area that had been subject to Buddhist influence for an extended period of time.

One of the pacification strategies instrumentalising Buddhism under the reign of Tri Tsugdétsen is particularly relevant to the present discussion, namely the above-mentioned founding of *dharma* colleges (fig. 8.3). Helga Uebach, who studied the relevant sources, has shown how monastic education was integrated into the organisation of the Tibetan state in the first half of the ninth century. More importantly for our discussion, these *dharma* colleges were used as institutions of Tibetan civilisation in the contested region on the north-eastern fringes of the Tibetan Empire: twenty out of a total of thirty were established in the east, that is ten in the north-east, in Dégam, and ten in the south-east, in Dokham (mDo 'khams) / Domé (Tib. mDo smad).²⁷

The list of *dharma* colleges from 1283 in Nelpa Paṇḍita Drakpa Mönlam Lodrö's (fl. 13th c., Tib. Nel pa paNDi ta Grags pa sMon lam blo gros) chronicle *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* [Account of the Early [Events] Called the Garland of Flowers] is probably the most complete one; two earlier lists are found in the mid-12th-century *lDe'u chos 'byung* [Déu Religious History] by

25 Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu* 梁書 [The Book of the Liang] 54 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 810. Pan, "Locating Advantages," 297.

26 The toponyms of the Buddhist sites included in map 8.2 were first identified in Bianca Horlemann, "Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou from the 8th to the 13th Century," in *Old Tibetan Studies: Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS*, 2003, ed. Christina Scherrer-Schaub (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119–157. I list here the Tibetan and/or Chinese equivalents of the Buddhist sites mentioned in map 8.2 in alphabetical order: Baojue Monastery (Chin. Baojue si 宝觉寺), Dangpö zima Monastery (Tib. Dang po'i gzi ma dgon, Chin. Dange yima si 当格乙麻寺), Dulan Tombs (Chin. Dulan 都蘭, Tib. Tu'u lan), Dratsang Monastery (Tib. Grwa tshang dgon, Chin. Zhazang si 扎藏寺), Ganglong Caves (Chin. Ganglong shiku 崗龍石窟), Haizang Monastery (Chin. Haizang si 海藏寺), Hongzang Monastery (Chin. Hongzang si 弘宏藏寺), Jampa bumling Cave (Tib. Byams pa 'bum gling, Chin. Longxingsi 龍興寺, better known under its Ming Dynasty name Bingling si 炳靈寺), Longquan Monastery (Chin. Longquan si 龍泉寺), Mt. Haixin (Tib. mTsho snying mahādeva, Chin. Haixin shan 海心山), Shengrong Monastery (Chin. Shengrong si 圣容寺), Tajé Monastery (Tib. rTa rjes dgon, Chin. Mati si 馬蹄寺), Tiantishan Cave (Chin. Tiantishan shiku 天梯山石窟), Tuloushan Caves (Chin. Tuloushan shiku 土樓山石窟), Wanshou Monastery (Chin. Wanshou si 万寿寺), and Xifengwo Monastery (Chin. Xifengwo si 西蜂窩寺).

27 Uebach, "On Dharma-Colleges and their Teachers in the Ninth Century Tibetan Empire."

Déu José (1085–1171, Tib. lDe'u Jo sras) and in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript 10L Tib J 689 (I will return to this below).²⁸ In each of the three regions (Central Tibet (Tib. dBus, which is not mentioned in my chart below), Dégam (NE), and Dokham (SE)) we find four teaching colleges, two *vinaya* colleges, and four meditation colleges (fig. 8.4).²⁹ Thanks to Bianca Horlemann's identification of many of the toponyms in the Tibetan-Chinese border region,³⁰ we are now able to locate five specific sites (in black script in the list below) in Dégam, east of the Blue Lake on the map. Among them are four meditation centres.

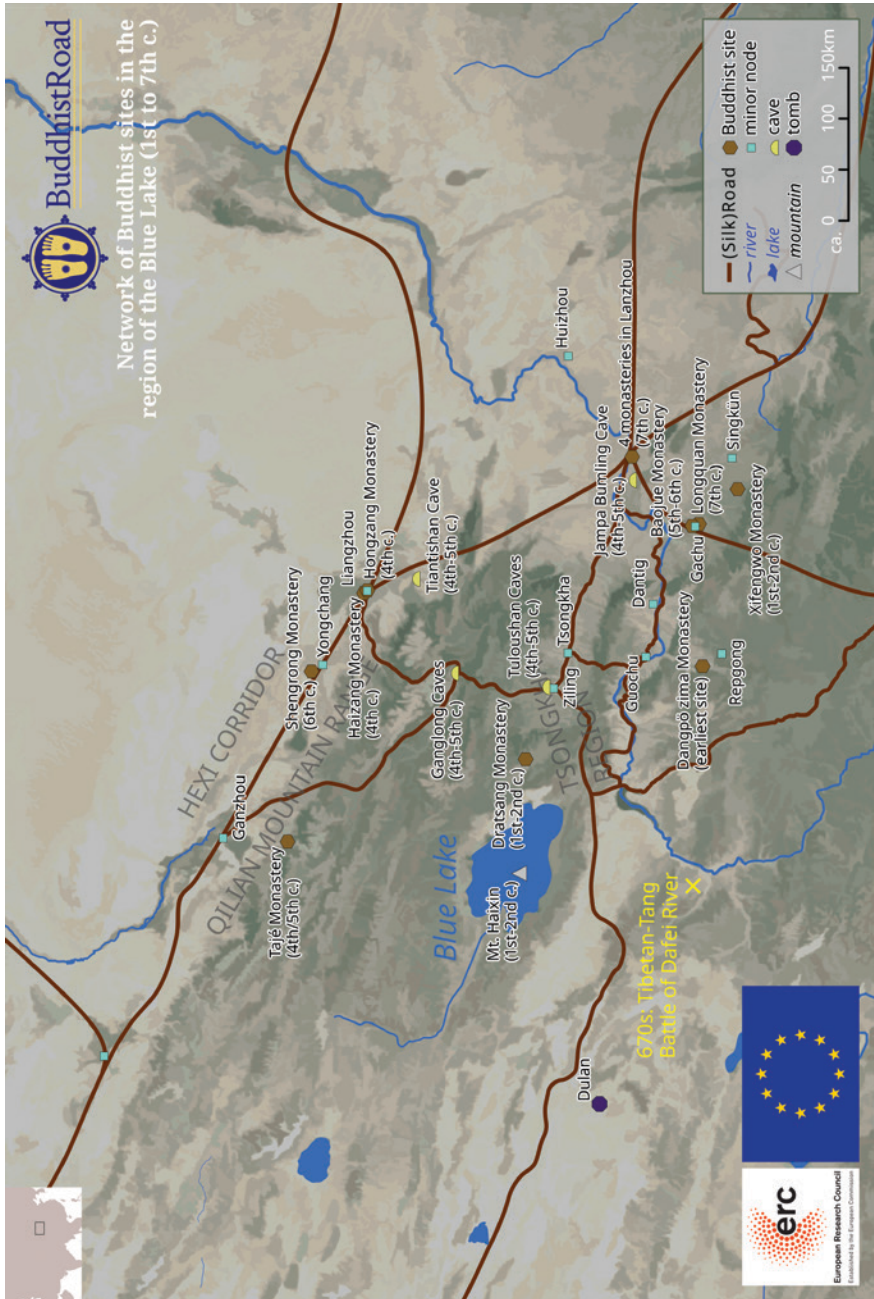
The identifiable *dharma* colleges are a *vinaya* college in Gachu/Hezhou situated on the site where Dégayutse Monastery was founded to commemorate the above-mentioned 821-peace treaty; and four meditation colleges: one at Dantig (where Gongpa Rapsel was active nearly one century later) and three around Trikha (Tib. Khri kha, Chin. Guide 貴德). Moreover, the Dunhuang manuscript 10L Tib J 689 provides further information about various lineages of masters at additional *dharma* colleges: Nem Ganden Jangchup (fl. 9th/10th c., Tib. Nem dGa' ldan byang chub), the tantric master of Gongpa Rapsel, is mentioned for a Dogam (Tib. mDo gams, apparently a spelling mistake for bDe gams) lineage. Moreover, the list of masters at the *dharma* college at Guochu (here: Tib. Gog cu) / Kuozhou mentions masters of multiple ethnic backgrounds, namely two Tibetans from the Nyang (Tib. Myang) and Go (Tib. 'Go) clans, possibly one Azha/Tuyunhun teacher (Tib. za ?), and one Tangut one (Tib. 'grent).³¹ This shows that there was another *dharma* college in Guochu/Kuozhou (fig. 8.5) with a multi-ethnic group of masters. All of these places in the contested region are located downstream of the Ma (Tib. rMa) or Yellow River, not too far from the 670s battle fields at Dafei River (map 8.3).

28 The sources and variations in the lists are discussed in Uebach, "On Dharma-Colleges and their Teachers in the Ninth Century Tibetan Empire," 394–400.

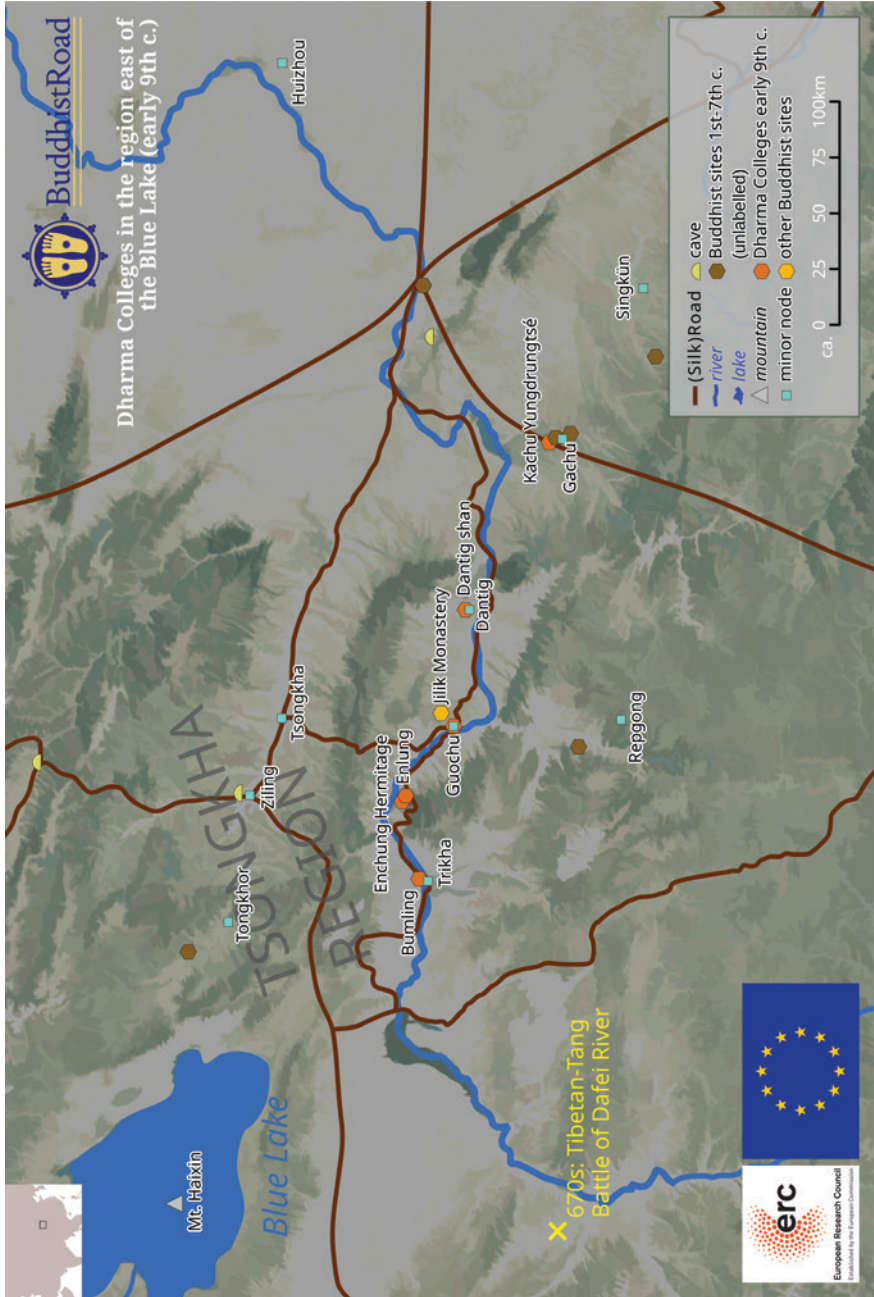
29 Zhé Orjé (Tib. Zha'i 'Or bye), Zhé Bega (Tib. Zha'i Berga), Khyélungshö (Tib. Khya'i rlung shod), Kachu Yungdrungtsé (Tib. Ka chu gYung drung rce), Gagön Tukjélhündrup (Tib. Ga gon Thugs rje lhun grub), Dantig shan (Tib. Dan ti[g] shan), Bumling (Tib. 'Bum gling), Enlung (Tib. An lung), Enchung (Tib. An chung), Jinggi Rago (Tib. 'Jing gi Ra 'go), Tré Kadrak (Tib. Tre'i Ka brag), Kamgyi Ngangmodrin (Tib. sKam gyi Ngang mo 'grin), Chitik Tringka (Tib. Pyi tig Pring ka), Gongtang Jiktendrol (Tib. Gong thang 'Jig rten sgröl), Arum Jamnyom (Tib. 'O rum Byams snyoms), Lingtang Aryélung (Tib. Gling thang Arya'i lung), Mershö Sergingwenné (Tib. Mer shod Ser 'ging dben gnas), Jingi Gyajéwenné (Tib. 'Jin gi rGya bya'i dben gnas), and Lenyülgyi Dra-utok (Tib. Glan yul gyi sGra'u tog).

30 Bianca Horlemann, "Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou."

31 Uebach, "On Dharma-Colleges and their Teachers in the Ninth Century Tibetan Empire," 408–411.



MAP 8.2 Network of Buddhist sites in the region of the Blue Lake before the Chinese and Tibetan conquests (1st–7th c.)
MAP BY JÜRGEN SCHÖRFLINGER



MAP 8.3 Location of *dharma* colleges (orange hexagons) in the region east of the Blue Lake established in the early 9th c. through Tibetan imperial patronage
MAP BY JÜRGEN SCHÖRFLINGER

	Dégam, NE	Dokham/Domé, SE
categories		
(1) teaching colleges	Zhé Orjé Zhé Bega Khyélung shö ---	Jinggi Rago Tré Kadrak Kamgyi Ngangmodrin Chitik Tringka
(2) <i>vinaya</i> colleges	Kachu Yungdrungtsé Gagön Tukjélhündrup	Gongtang Jiktendröl Arum Jamnyom
(3) meditation colleges	Dantig shan Bumling Enlung Enchung	Lingtang Aryélung Mershö Sergingwenné Jingi Gyajéwenné Lenyülgyi Dra'utok

FIGURE 8.4 List of 20 *dharma* colleges established on the eastern fringes of the Tibetan Empire, 9th c., according to Nelpa Paṇḍita
INFORMATION EXTRACTED BY AUTHOR FROM UEBACH, "ON DHARMA-COLLEGES AND THEIR TEACHERS IN THE NINTH CENTURY TIBETAN EMPIRE," 397, TABLE II

3 Interconnection of People, Places, Texts, and Topics

Is it possible to locate people, places, texts, and topics related to Chan Buddhism in this inter-cultural contested space? So far, one significant piece of information has escaped the attention of modern scholars, this author included (when I first worked on the Dunhuang manuscript 10L Tib J 689 many years ago).³² Namely, that the description of lineages of *dharma* colleges in Dégam mentioned in the manuscript is written on the verso side of the second folio of an important short Chan text: a text quoted in Nupchen's tenth-century doxographical work *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation* under the title *Lung chung* [Small Treatise].³³

32 Carmen Meinert, "The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought: Reflections on the Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts 10L Tib J 689-1 and PT 699," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 239–301.

33 Meinert, "The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought," 242, see also *ibid.*, 243, n. 14–16; gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, *gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches mdzad pa'i sgom gyi gnang gsal bar phye ba bSam gtan mig sgron ces bya ba* [Lamp of the Eye of Contemplation Explaining [the Meaning] of Meditation, Composed

The tiny cut at the right side of the folio (fig. 8.5, yellow square to the right) is indeed a proof that it is the verso side and not a random other folio.³⁴ The lineage text is obviously written by a different hand in a more cursive script. The Chan text on the recto side is a short meditation instruction of how to enter into a non-conceptual state, leading to the following experience: “Non-conceptuality is vividly clear, and [even this] lucidness is not conceptualised. This is the primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, which cannot be designated as ‘this’ [existing entity].” (IOL Tib J 689, fol. 116r.3–4). Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos have analysed the so-called Dazhao manuscript (IOL Tib J 754) mentioned above, which is a collection of texts gathered by a pilgrim travelling through our region in the 960s. The authors have shown how different texts of one manuscript are interconnected and how an object we now refer to as one manuscript was gradually built up. I suggest something similar for the present case. It is not coincidental that we find a list of masters at the *dharma* colleges in Dégam on the verso of the important Chan text commonly known as the *Small Treatise*. We may wonder whether it could even be a text that was taught in those institutions as well. After all, the *dharma* colleges along the Ma or Yellow River were far away from the imperial administrative hub in Central Tibet, and knowledge circulating in them might not have been so easily controlled or managed. In my previous publication mentioned above, I also suggested to view the Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 699, which is an apparently locally produced commentary to the short root text IOL Tib J 689, as a hybrid Chan-Dzogchen text.³⁵ In the comment to the section on non-conceptuality it is stated that masters of Atiyoga, that is Dzogchen, are like a *garuḍa*, instantaneously illuminating all Buddhist vehicles without exception, whereas those who teach according to the *sūtras* are like a young goat clumsily climbing the rocks, expounding the teachings in a complicated manner (P. T. 699, fol. 5r6–8).

Ueyama Daishun (上山大峻) suggested in a paper delivered in 1983 a relatively simple stratification to classify Dunhuang Chan manuscripts dating from (1) the period of Chinese cultural influence (750–780), through (2) the period of Tibetan rule and its aftermath (780–ca. 860), to (3) the period of the Chinese local rule of the Guiyijun (since 900) (fig. 8.6 correlates the second and third strata to events discussed in this chapter). Based on Ueyama’s periodisation, Jeffrey L. Broughton in *The Bodhidharma Anthology* compiled lists

by gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes Rinpoche], reproduced from a manuscript made presumably from an Eastern Tibetan print by 'Khor gdon gter sprul 'Chi med rig dzin (Leh: Smantsis shesrig spendzod, vol. 74, 1974), 144.4, 160.1, 172.2–3.

34 Sam van Schaik kindly confirmed this information from having handled the manuscript (personal communication 13 March, 2022).

35 Meinert, “The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought.”

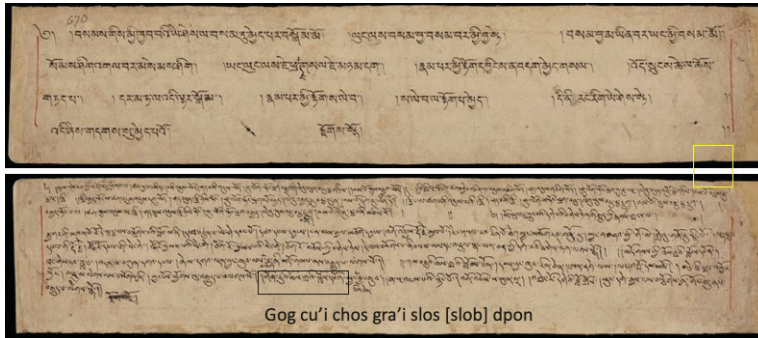


FIGURE 8.5 Chan text Lung chung [Small Treatise] (upper folio) and description of lineages of *dharma* colleges (bottom folio). Dunhuang, 9th c. IOL TIB J 689, FOL. 116V AND R (ADDITIONS BY AUTHOR), BL

of Chinese and Tibetan Chan-related texts found within the Dunhuang manuscript corpus,³⁶ a selection of which is provided below (fig. 8.7). However, he did not include the manuscripts revisited in the present chapter.

I suggest that IOL Tib J 689, containing the lineage of masters at the various *dharma* colleges, was produced during the period of Tibetan rule over Dégam, namely the ninth century; and that the commentary P. T. 699 is a local creation maybe even produced in the surroundings of the *dharma* colleges in the region east of the Blue Lake in the Tibetan post-imperial period, probably in the tenth century, when censorship was a thing of the past (fig. 8.7). The former appears to be a relatively straightforward translation from a Chinese source text, and I would qualify it as a Chinese Chan text in Tibetan language. The

36 I have not had access to the paper delivered by Ueyama Daishun (“A Chronological Stratification of the Tun-huang Ch’an Manuscripts,” paper delivered at the CISHAAN Tun-huang/Turfan Seminar, Kyoto, Japan, 2 September 1983). For the compilation of the lists see Jeffrey L. Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 98–104.

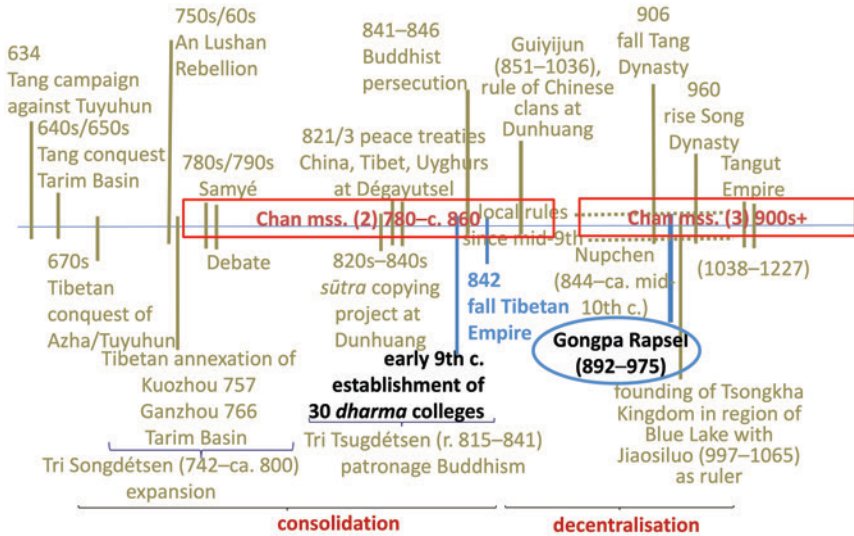


FIGURE 8.6 Phases of production of Dunhuang Chan manuscripts
 SKETCH BY CARMEN MEINERT

latter, however, is a local interpretation and appropriation of Chinese Chan thought.³⁷

I would equally place another manuscript in this third phase of production of Chan manuscripts, namely the well-studied manuscript P. T. 996, which is also of immediate relevance to the topic of the contested Tibetan-Chinese frontier region with its spread of Chan Buddhism. People, places, texts, and topics were, in fact, interconnected and circulated within the larger Buddhist network. Whereas transregional exchanges are clearly evident in the above-mentioned Dazhao manuscript 10L Tib J 754 studied by Imre Galambos and Sam van Schaik, P. T. 996, first studied by Macelle Lalou in 1939,³⁸ on the other hand, is an exceptional example of a regional exchange and the local

37 In his book *Tibetan Zen*, van Schaik did not differentiate between the two categories in the same way but simply refers to all Tibetan language Chan texts as Tibetan Zen: “It might be more accurate to refer to the Chinese traditions as *Chan* and the Korean as *Son*, while the Tibetans used their translation of the Sanskrit, *Samten* (*bsam brtan*). However, *Zen* is used here across these linguistic distinctions for the sake of simplicity. [...] On the other hand, the use of the single term *Zen* should not be taken to imply a single tradition unchanging across time and space.” See Sam van Schaik, *Tibetan Zen—Discovering a Lost Tradition* (Boston, London: Snow Lion, 2015), 193, n. 1.

38 Marcelle Lalou, “Document Tibétain sur l’expansion du Dhyāna Chinois,” *Journal Asiatique* 231 (1939): 505–523.

- (1) 750-780, period of Chinese cultural influence in Dunhuang
- (2) 780-ca. 860, period of Tibetan rule of Dunhuang and aftermath
- P. chin 4646 (account to Debate of Samyé)
 - P. chin 2125 and many other copies of the *Lidai fabao ji* (Wuzhu 714-774, founder of Baotang School), composed shortly after 774
 - P. chin. 2885 and others *Jueguan lun* (Niotou/Oxhead School)
 - PT 116
 - IOL Tib J 689
- (3) 900s+, period of local rule in Dunhuang (Guiyijun) of Chinese families
- PT 699
 - PT 996

FIGURE 8.7 Selected list of Dunhuang Chan manuscripts according to phases of production (fig. 8.6)

LIST BY CARMEN MEINERT ON THE BASIS OF BROUGHTON, *THE BODHIDHARMA ANTHOLOGY*, 98–104

impact exerted by the Tibetan Chan practitioner Tsiktsa Namké Nyingpo (fl. early 9th c., name spelled as Tib. Tshig tsa Nam ka'i snying po in the text).³⁹ According to P. T. 996, he was connected to a Chan lineage that stretched from Kuča in the Turfan oasis, through Shachu (Tib. Sha cu) / Shazhou (沙州) or Dunhuang, Kamchu/Ganzhou, Seuchu (Tib. Se'u cu) / Suzhou (肅州), to the region east of the Blue Lake (see map 8.1). Namké Nyingpo met his own teacher, the Chinese master Man (fl. late 8th / early 9th c., Tib. Man Hva shang), in Tsongkha (spelled Tib. Tsong ka in the text) and passed away a little further to the south in a hermitage in Trikha (Tib. Khri ka)—close to Dantig—probably in the first half of the ninth century (see map 8.3).⁴⁰ According to the manuscript, he is said to have shown many miracles of light at the moment of death. These miracles were said to have been witnessed by the *saṃgha* superior Pelgyi Gyeltsen (fl. 9th c., Tib. dPal gyi rgyal mtshan) of Jilik (Tib. 'Byi lig) or Mile (Chin. Mi le 彌勒, Skt. Maitreya) Monastery at Guochu (Tib. Guo cu) /

39 Tsiktsa Namké Nyingpo is to be distinguished from the famous disciple of Padmasambhava, a namesake with a different clan name: Nup Namké Nyingpo (late 8th c., Tib. gNubs Nam ka'i snying po). The latter is, in fact, mentioned in P. T. 699, fol. 2r7. See the discussion in Meinert, "The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought," 264–265, n. 97.

40 Lalou, "Document Tibétain sur l'expansion du Dhyāna Chinois," 510–513.

Kuozhou, who paid homage to the accomplished Chan master at the site of the miracle (for the location of the places, see above map 8.3).⁴¹ I would read this as a classical Tibetan miracle story and as such would also contextualise it as an early narrative account of the attainment of a rainbow body, the dissolution of the physical body at the moment of death, the highest accomplishment within the Dzogchen teachings.⁴² Thus, with Namké Nyingpo we have a historical personality who is said by tradition to have embodied doctrinal openness in a multicultural and multi-ethnic region, practising meditation according to the Chan teachings passed on to him by his Chinese teacher Master Man.⁴³

41 For the identification of the place and monastic site, see Kazushi Iwao, “Gog Cu as Tibetan Buddhist Site of the North-Eastern Amdo Area during the Post-Imperial Period,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 161–173. I wonder whether Jilik Monastery could be identical with the *dharma* college at Guochu mentioned in 10L Tib J 689, fol. 116r (fig. 8.5 and discussion of the manuscript above).

42 In his intriguing article on the experience of luminosity in Buddhist traditions, Matthew Kapstein came to the same conclusion. See Matthew T. Kapstein, “The Strange Death of Pema the Demon Tamer,” in *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 138–139. Sam van Schaik also tried to put this in the local Chinese context. See Sam van Schaik, *Tibetan Zen*, 166.

After having completed the writing of this paper, I asked myself how we could know whether the light experience during the death of Namké Nyingpo would be a result of Dzogchen practice in the Buddhist Nyingma tradition or the non-Buddhist tradition of Bön (Tib. *bon*). After all, the presence of followers of Bön is even attested for the narrative accounts about Gongpa Rapsel in 1283 by Nelpa Paṇḍita. See my discussion further below. This is certainly a topic deserving further investigation.

43 It is worth mentioning that according to P. T. 996, Chinese Chan Master Man and his Tibetan disciple Namké Nyingpo had a political connection as well. Master Man is said to have met with the Tibetan military leader and pacification officer (Tib. *bde blon*) Zhang Tri Sumjé (fl. 8th/9th c., Tib. Zhang Khri sum rje, Chin. Shang Qilixin'er 尚起律心兒), who was responsible for the Tibetan conquests of Eastern Central Asia. The passage in question (P. T. 996, fols. 1v7–2r3) reads: “Thirty years later [master Man] wished to go to China. The pacification officer Zhang Tri Sumjé Marbu invited him to eat. He gave him presents and asked: ‘After the departure of the master, who will be able to teach the Buddhist path?’ [Master Man] answered: ‘My disciple Tsiktsa Namk[é Nyingpo] knows the Buddhist meaning. He is able to teach the path and the practices of the Buddhist path. Ask him there’. Having instructed him [in this way], he went to China.” (Tib. /*de nas lo sum cu lon te rgya yul du gshegs kar/ bde blon zhang khrI sum rje mar bus hva shang bshos// gsol/ yon phul nas gsol pa/ hva shang gshegs paI slad na/ chos lam ston nus pa su mchIs/ smras dpa’/ bdag gI slob ma tshIg tsa nam ka chos kyi don rig ste/ lam ston nus kyIs chos lam spyod pa namS kyIs der drIs shIg/ ces bstan nas rgya yul du gshegs so/*.) See also Lalou, “Document Tibétain sur l’expansion du Dhyāna Chinois,” 511. Thus, Zhang Tri Sumjé is a good example for the faction at the Tibetan court apparently in support of Chinese Chan Buddhism, a fact that is often denied in scholarship. Another Chinese Dunhuang manuscript, Yu (習) 77, which consists of three prayers recorded on the occasion of three

He is said to have meditated in a hermitage which was situated close to three *dharma* colleges. Even more precisely, these were meditation colleges established during the early ninth century under Tibetan imperial patronage, so maybe even during his lifetime. I have suggested above the idea that a Chan text like the *Small Treatise* (IOL Tib J 689), to which was attached a record of a teaching lineage associated with local *dharma* colleges, could have been propagated in such an institution. I would like to invite the reader to consider the possibility that Namké Nyingpo could also have been (perhaps loosely?) affiliated to such a meditation college in his own area of activity, yet without necessarily following a narrow doctrinal or sectarian outlook. In any event, I would suggest that the sectarian perspective is the result of a later development, one that was first formulated in a systematic manner with Nupchen Sangyé Yéshé in his *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation* in the early tenth century (fig. 8.6). In his doxographical work he deliberately differentiates Chan from Dzogchen meditation practice.

4 The Later Tibetan Historiographical Tradition

The above description of this interesting yet understudied region sheds light on a contemporary of Nupchen Sangyé Yéshé, named Gongpa Rapsel (ca. 892–ca. 975). He was active in the Blue Lake area, particularly around Dantig, and proved to be of great importance to later Tibetan historiography. In fact, his example shows that religious life on the eastern fringes of the former Tibetan Empire continued after its demise and even provided the basis for a religious revival in Central Tibet.

Gongpa Rapsel is said to have been connected to the revival of the *vinaya* tradition in the course of the so-called rekindling of the flame (Tib. *me ro 'bar*) from the late tenth century onwards. In fact, his own ordination was witnessed by six Tibetan monks from Central Tibet and by the two local Chinese monks Kévang (Tib. Ke vang) and Gyimpak (Tib. Gyim phag) from a place called

prayer festivals held in Dunhuang in 818, informs us that Zhang Tri Sumjé wished to resign from office to devote his life to Buddhist service; in fact, he presided over the building of Shengguang Temple (Chin. Shengguang si 聖光寺) in Dunhuang in his later years. See Ma De 馬德, "Tubo guoxiang Hexiner shiji bushu: Yi Dunhuang ben Yu 77 hao wei zhongxin 吐蕃國相尚絃心兒事跡補述—以敦煌本羽 77 號為中心. [Supplemental Narration to Story of Zhang Khri sum rje, a Prime Minister of Tibetan Court: Centered on Dunhuang Text Yu 77]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 4 (2011): 36–44.

Bayen (Tib. Ba yan), close to Dantig.⁴⁴ Moreover, he was equally known as an artist and temple builder.⁴⁵ In the 15th-century Tibetan historiographical work *Deb ther sngon po* [Blue Annals] by Gö Lotsaba Zhönnupel (1392–1481, Tib. Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal), the following narrative episode is attached to him:

Then given [the presence of] many *yogins* of the simultaneist approach [(Tib. *cig char ba 'jug pa'i rnal 'byor pa*)] who held wrong views not the least oriented towards virtue, this great being [i.e., Gongpa Rapsel] built uncountable temples and *stūpas* in order to inhibit their [activities].⁴⁶

The '*yogins* of the simultaneist approach',⁴⁷ the so-called Cigcarbas (Tib. *cig car ba*), usually refer to Chinese Chan Buddhist practitioners and were often

44 Géza Uray, "The Structure and Genesis of the Old Tibetan Chronicle of Dunhuang," in *Turfan and Tun-Huang Studies*, ed. Alfred Cadonna (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1992), 123–141. The earliest mention of Gongpa Rapsel in connection with the monks who brought Buddhism back to Central Tibet is by Nyangrel Nyima Özer (1124–1192, Tib. Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer), *Chos 'byung me tog snying po dbrang rts'i bcud* [Religious History the Essence of Honey, which is the Essence of Flowers] (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 450. Nelpa Paṇḍita continues this mention in his 1283 historical work; see Helga Uebach, *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phren-ba: Handschrift der Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Tibetischer Text in Faksimile, Transkription und Übersetzung* (Munich: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 126–131. Moreover, the two Chinese monks Kévang and Gyimpak participating in Gongpa Rapsel's ordination are mentioned here too; see Uebach, *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phren-ba*, 124–127. It is said that Gongpa Rapsel met them in the marketplace Bayen (Tib. Ba yan chong [= tshong] 'dus), a place probably referring to Bayenkhār (Tib. Ba yan mkhar), a little northwest of Dantig; see Bianca Horlemann, "Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou," 129, no. 16.

45 For Gongpa Rapsel and his artistic activities, see Heather Stoddard, "Early Tibetan Paintings: Sources and Styles (Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries A.D.)," *Archives of Asian Art* 49 (1996): 26–50.

46 'Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po* [Blue Annals] (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984), 92, ll. 3–5: *De nas bdag nyid chen po des cig char ba 'jug pa'i rnal 'byor pa zhes bya ba dge ba'i phyogs ci yang mi byed pa'i log rtog can mang bas/ de dag dgag pa'i ched du lha khang dang mchod rten dpag tu med pa bzhegs//*. See Roberto Vitali, "Khams in the Context of Tibet's Post Imperial Period," in *Tibet after Empire. Culture, Society and Religion between 850–1000*, ed. Christoph Cüppers, Michael Walter, and Robert Mayer (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2013), 405.

47 Brandon Dotson, "'Emperor' Mu-rug-brtsan and the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue," *Journal of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 6, n. 24, argues for "the accuracy of 'simultaneist' as a translation of *cig car ba*, as opposed to 'instantaneist' or 'subitist,'" following Rolf A. Stein, "Sudden Illumination or Simultaneous Comprehension: Remarks on Chinese and Tibetan Terminology," in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), 41–66. See also Sam van Schaik, *Approaching the Great Perfection:*

perceived by Tibetans as following an all-at-once approach towards enlightenment. However, at some point in history, the followers of the Dzogchen tradition of the Nyingma school (Tib. *rnying ma pa*) became polemicised as merely being practitioners of Chan as well.⁴⁸ It is beyond the scope of the current chapter to satisfactorily answer the question as to why it was still worthwhile to polemicise against the Cigarwas/Chan Buddhists in connection with Gongpa Rapsel in a narrative account from the 15th century. After all, this is 700 years after the Samyé Debate, when it is said in the Tibetan sources that Chinese Chan Buddhists had been expelled from Tibet. In any event, we may ask what is actual historical reality and what is mere polemical motivation feeding into the creation of historical narrative in the 15th-century account. Three issues have given me reason to doubt that Gongpa Rapsel's artistic activities were actually targeted against Chinese Buddhists.

(1) Gongpa Rapsel himself is said to have been born into a family of followers of the non-Buddhist tradition of Bön (Tib. *bon*) and to have only encountered Buddhism at the age of 16. According to a Buddhist historical record, in his search for ordination he encountered a follower of Bön from whom he is said to have received a copy of the *Vinayaprabhāvatī* (Tib. *'dul ba 'od ldan*).⁴⁹ There must be some truth to his Bönpo background, otherwise the later Bön tradition would probably not have appropriated him into their narrative account of the transmission of the *vinaya*. In the Bönpo narratives Gongpa Rapsel is said to have ordained followers from Central Tibet into the monastic order. In the transmission lineage given in the 1319 composition *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* [Kingly Chronicle Bön Origins] by Khyungpo Lodrö Gyeltsen (fl. 14th c., Tib. Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan), studied by Dan Martin, the following

Simultaneous and Gradual Methods of Dzogchen Practice in the Longchen Nyingthig (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 11: "The second approach, which I will call simultaneous, is singular in that it includes no method except direct insight, and no progress over time, only the single moment of realization. It is simultaneous in that all of the elements accumulated by the gradual method are present in the singular event of realization."

48 See my article, also for further references on the topic, in Meinert, "The Legend of *Cig car ba* Criticism in Tibet."

49 Uebach, *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phren-ba*, 124–125 (fol. 16a.6): "On the way, when he had stayed with a Bonpo and had asked about them, [the Bonpo said]: 'They are all in the cave of Enchung namjong [Tib. An chung naM sjong]. If you search for the dharma, this is also dharma. Will you take it with you?' and he gave him a volume of the *Vinayaprabhāvatī*. As he read it on his way, he shed many tears by virtue of faith" (Tib. laM du bon po (gcig) gi sar zhag byas nas gtaM dris pas, de kun an chung naM sdzong gi brag phug na yod, khyod chos 'tshol ba yin na 'di yang chosu 'dugi 'khyeraM zer nas, 'dul ba 'od ldan gyi pu ti (gcig) byin, laM na mar blta yi byon pas dad pa'i shugs kyis mchi ma mang po yang byung).

words are put into Gongpa Rapsel's mouth when addressing the arrivals from Central Tibet who wish for ordination: "Generally there is no difference between Bön[po] and Buddhist teachings. My own *vinaya* lineage [(Tib. 'dul brgyud)] is Bön[po]." And a little further down in the text it is said: "Gongpa Rapsel was broadly learned in all the philosophical systems. So in the morning he would teach Buddhism. At midday he taught Bön. Later in the evening he taught tantra."⁵⁰ Since the publication of *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face* by Christine Mollier in 2008 and the theoretical work as a whole by Volkhard Krech, we are in a better position to understand processes of mutual borrowing (of ideas, ritual systems, or narratives, etc.) in religions in contact.⁵¹ Therefore, it is not surprising to find similar narrative accounts related to the figure of Gongpa Rapsel in both traditions, with both accounts informing each other and elaborating on the story told. In any event, what we can learn from this for our purposes is that in both accounts, Buddhist and Bönpo, Gongpa Rapsel appears as a rather open-minded religious figure because he is a cultural hero.

(2) Sometime after Gongpa Rapsel's encounter with the Bönpo follower in his early life mentioned above, he is said to have been ordained at a place called Dashö chelgyirong (Tib. Zla shod chal gyi'i rong), close to Dantig, in the presence of six Tibetan monks from Central Tibet and two Chinese Buddhist masters.⁵² Again, if the presence of Chinese masters had been problematic, it is unlikely that they would have found their way into the 13th-century narrative about Gongpa Rapsel in the *Account of the Early [Events] Called the Garland*

50 Here, I quote the Bönpo source *Royal Chronicle [of] Bön Origins* from Dan Martin. Dan Martin, "Poisoned Dialogue: A Study of Tibetan Sources on the Last Year in the Life of Gshen-chen Klu-dga' (996–1035 C.E.)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 40.2 (1996): 227–228. I follow Martin's translation with a few amendments by myself. The passage from the *rGyal rabs Bon gyi 'byung gnas*, which was not accessible to me, is found in Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan, "rGyal rabs Bon gyi 'byung gnas [Royal Chronicle Bön Origins]," in *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, ed. Lopon Tenzin Namdak and Khedup Gyatso (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974), 174.2–179.2.

51 Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face. Scripture, Ritual and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Volkhard Krech, "Dynamics in the History of Religions—Preliminary Considerations on Aspects of a Research Programme," in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe. Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 15–70; Volkhard Krech, "From Religious Contact to Scientific Comparison and Back: Some Methodological Considerations on Comparative Perspectives in the Science of Religion," in *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Jivanta Schöttli (Cham: Springer, 2015), 39–73.

52 Uebach, *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phren-ba*, 124–125.

of *Flowers*. It is hard to believe that Gongpa Rapsel would have gone against a group later in life with whom he had started his monastic career.

(3) From the above-mentioned Daozhao manuscript, the historical accounts from a Chinese pilgrim travelling through the region in the 960s, that is during Gongpa Rapsel's lifetime, we learn that the pilgrim received support from Chinese as well as Tibetan Buddhists and officials alike (IOL Tib J 754, 2nd letter of passage).⁵³ The description provides some insight into late-tenth-century Buddhism on the ground and points to the (maybe even harmonious?) coexistence of different ethnic groups and religious trends rather than hostile encounters. This is also mirrored in the frescos at Gongpa Rapsel's base, the Dantig Temple of a Hundred Nāgas (Tib. kLu brgya) (fig. 8.8).⁵⁴ Above that temple we still find frescos including a depiction of a thousand Buddhas (fig. 8.9). Most intriguing is the fact that, to the right and left sides of the scene with the Buddhas, we have depictions of Tibetan masters (with captions in Tibetan),⁵⁵ as well as the names of local donors, probably Azha/Tuyuhun people but certainly sinicised, as is clear from the captions above the figures in Chinese identifying their names (fig. 8.10a+b).⁵⁶ The round flaps of the upper garment of the Tibetan masters to the left side of the thousand Buddhas are stylistically similar to the depiction of the garment of the Tibetan emperor in Mogao Cave 159 in Dunhuang, which dates to around the ninth century (fig. 8.11). In fact, it is a well-documented practice in other cave sites around the Tarim Basin to depict donors and/or Buddhist masters from different ethnic backgrounds placed opposite each other, as can be seen for instance in the Turfan region in Bezeklik Cave 20, which contains paintings of Chinese and Tocharian donors (from the 11th/12th c.) (fig. 8.12).⁵⁷

53 Galambos and van Schaik, *Manuscripts and Travellers*, 161–162.

54 I am grateful to Daniel Berounský, Prague, who kindly shared with me (20 July 2021) the photographs which he took during a trip to the region of Dantig Temple in 2011. They are published here with his permission.

55 Only one inscription is clearly readable as Küngawo (Tib. Kun dga' bo, Skt. Ānanda).

56 The Chinese inscriptions are also not easily readable. The one for the first person to the left gives the name of a Buddhist master (Chin. *shangshi* 上師), followed by a layperson (Chin. *jushi* 居士), and a male (Chin. *fu* 父) and female (Chin. *mu* 母) family member. The latter is referred to as grandmother Yang Sheng [...] (Chin. *shangmu* Yang Sheng? 上母陽生?). Below the group of donors is a horizontal Chinese inscription, which reads (from right to left): [...] *shihuang an fuxia ju* 世皇安父下俱, meaning: “the world emperor pacifies the fathers and his family (literally, his children).”

57 Zhou Longqin 周龙勤, *Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua yishu. Di liu juan, Baizikelike shiku* 中国新疆壁画艺术. 第六卷, 柏孜克里克石窟 [The Art of Mural Paintings from Xinjiang

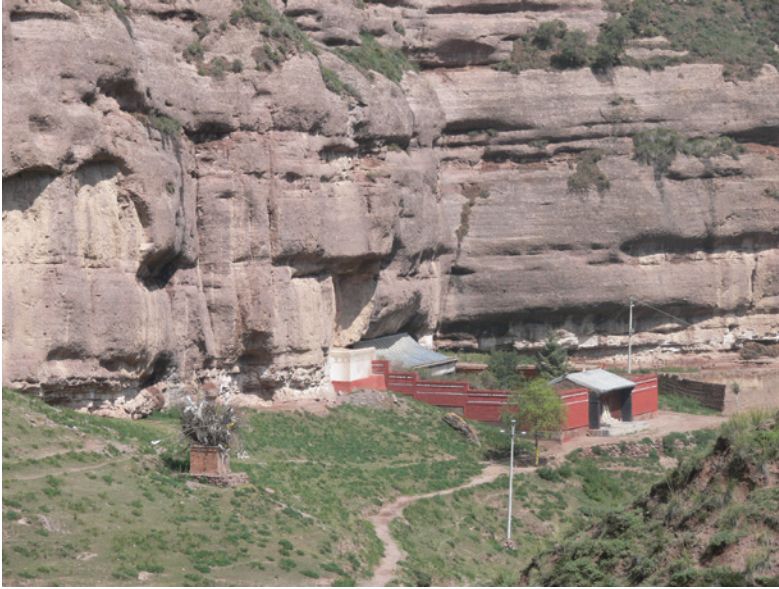


FIGURE 8.8 Temple of a Hundred Nāgas (Tib. Klu brgya). Dantig, 9th c. (?)
PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE



FIGURE 8.9 Fresco of a thousand Buddhas in the Temple of a Hundred Nāgas (Tib. Klu brgya). Dantig, 9th c. (?)
PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE



FIGURE 8.10A+B Section to the right (upper image, 8.10a) and left sides (bottom image, 8.10b) of the fresco of a thousand Buddhas (fig. 8.9) with Tibetan masters (above) and with Azha/Tuyuhun (?) donors (below). Dantig, 9th c. (?)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE



FIGURE 8.11 Tibetan emperor under umbrella. Mogao Cave 159, Dunhuang, end of 8th/mid-9th c.

TAN CHANXUE 譚蟬雪, ED., *DUNHUANG SHIKU QUANJI 24: FUSHI HUAJUAN* 敦煌石窟全集 24: 服飾畫卷 [COMPLETE COLLECTION OF DUNHUANG CAVES 24: SECTION ON PAINTINGS OF DRESS] (HONG KONG: SHANGWU YINSHUGUAN, 2005), 153, FIG. 137



FIGURE 8.12
Chinese and Tocharian donors. Bezeklik
Cave 20, Turfan region, 11th/12th c.
ZHOU LONGQIN, *ZHONGGUO XINJIANG
BIHUA YISHU. DI LIU JUAN, BAIZIKELIKE
SHIKU*, 142–143

In Dantig Temple itself, we find further evidence of multiculturalism: frescos inside the temple depict offering deities dressed in what appear to be local costumes (fig. 8.13a+b). Moreover, if one walks further up the valley in which Dantig Temple is located, there is a *stūpa* (fig. 8.14, see the white dot in the cliff) and further frescos in the cliff at a place nowadays called by Tibetans Lhasenang (Tib. Lha sa'i nang). Here is found another image of a thousand Buddhas with attending figures with probably a local style of hairdress. If these frescos are indeed old, perhaps dating to around the ninth century, we may wonder whether they could even be a local version of an attending bodhisattva (fig. 8.15a+b). I have not yet seen anything like this elsewhere. In any event, Daniel Berounský was told by local informants that the frescos were produced by none other than Gongpa Rapsel himself. Although this piece of information would be in line with the narrative account in the *Blue Annals*, discovering whether we are dealing with a historical fact or merely with another layer of fiction attached to Tibet's cultural hero Gongpa Rapsel would be a research question in itself. Radiocarbon dating and art-historical expertise would help to address this question.

To sum up, I do not doubt the historical credibility of Gongpa Rapsel's activities as builder of temples and *stūpas* in general, yet would consider the framing of a counter-reaction to the Cigcarwas, presumably Chinese Chan Buddhists, found in the *Blue Annals* as mere polemics. It is a trope that was first applied systematically by Nupchen Sangyé Yéshé (see timeline above, fig. 8.3), an early Tibetan doxographer in Central Tibet who was almost contemporary with Gongpa Rapsel. But he lived far away from the region east of the Blue Lake and certainly followed a different agenda. Once the legend of Gongpa Rapsel's

in China. Vol. 6: The Caves of Bezeklik] (Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu chubanshe, 2009), 142–143.



FIGURE 8.13A+B Fresco (and detail) inside the Temple of a Hundred Nāgas (Tib. Klu brgya) with offering deities in local costumes (?), Dantiq, 9th c. (?)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE



FIGURE 8.14 Cliff with *stūpa* (white dot) and frescos (a little further to the left of the *stūpa*). Lhasénang near Dantig Temple, 9th c. (?)

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE

debates with Chan masters had been established, it continued down through history.⁵⁸

5 Concluding Remarks: Towards a Network Approach

There is much more evidence available to prove the density of Buddhist activities along the Ma or Yellow River east of the Blue Lake between the seventh and tenth centuries. It is the region where *dharma* colleges were established under imperial Tibetan patronage and where Gongpa Rapsel was active in the Tibetan post-imperial period. There are also more proofs for the density of Buddhist exchanges between the Sichuan Basin in the south (from which Chan influences like the teachings of master Wuzhu from the Baotang school entered the region) as well as from the north and north-east, from the oasis

⁵⁸ I have analysed a similar process of the continuation of *Cig car ba* criticism in Tibet in Meinert, “The Legend of *Cig car ba* Criticism in Tibet.”



FIGURE 8.15A+B Detail of fig. 8.14: Fresco (and detail) with deities with local hairdress (?), Lhasé nang, 9th c. (?)
 PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, PRAGUE

towns along the Hexi Corridor and around the Tarim Basin (see network of trade routes in map 8.1 above).

Further research needs to be carried out on the connection between Dunhuang and the region east of the Blue Lake. Maybe we could then find out where the bulk of Tibetan manuscripts recovered from the so-called Library Cave in Dunhuang were actually produced. I wonder whether some or maybe even most of them were produced in the region east of the Blue Lake and not in Dunhuang itself.⁵⁹ Within the *BuddhistRoad* project, Henrik H. Sørensen recently searched for evidence in Chinese sources of Tibetan monks, scribes, and so forth, who were said to be attached to a monastery or scriptorium in Dunhuang. However, he could not find any evidence for specific Tibetan names.⁶⁰

Whereas the Chinese Dunhuang Chan manuscripts mirror the variety of attitudes and approaches to meditation practice in the heterogeneous Tang Dynasty Chan movement,⁶¹ the Tibetan-language Dunhuang Chan manuscripts, some of which have here been re-contextualised against the broader historical backdrop, show processes of local appropriation of Buddhist trends for local ends in the course of the transfer of Buddhist knowledge.⁶² Both in the region of the Blue Lake and also in Tang China, it was intellectual openness, doctrinal fluidity, and religious creativity that—at least for a moment in time—were probably the norm rather than the exception.

59 In a recent publication, Gertraud Taenzer meticulously analysed the intensity of the exchanges between Dunhuang and the region east of the Blue Lake in the course of the above-mentioned *sūtra* copying project at Dunhuang in the 820s–840s. She provides the example of a *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* which was copied by specific scribes in a place called Thangkar (Tib. Thang kar) in the region east of the Blue Lake on the basis of an exemplar from Gachu/Hezhou. The copy was then sent to Dunhuang for repair in the first half of the ninth century. See Gertraud Taenzer, “*Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 239–281.

60 See his very detailed study on all Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang: Henrik H. Sørensen, “The Buddhist Temples in Dunhuang: Mid–8th to Early 11th Centuries,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.2 (2021).

61 Mario Poceski provides a great summary of the heterogeneous Chan movement during the Tang Dynasty, convincingly arguing for a high degree of religious creativity. See Mario Poceski, “Conceptions and Attitudes towards Contemplative Practice within the Early Traditions of Chan Buddhism,” *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 28 (2015): 67–116.

62 Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 184. One of the main hypotheses of the *BuddhistRoad* research agenda concerns the emergence of local trends to cater for local needs, thus the localisation of Buddhism. See BuddhistRoad Team, “Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries: A Project Report,” *Medieval Worlds* 8 (2018): 126–134.

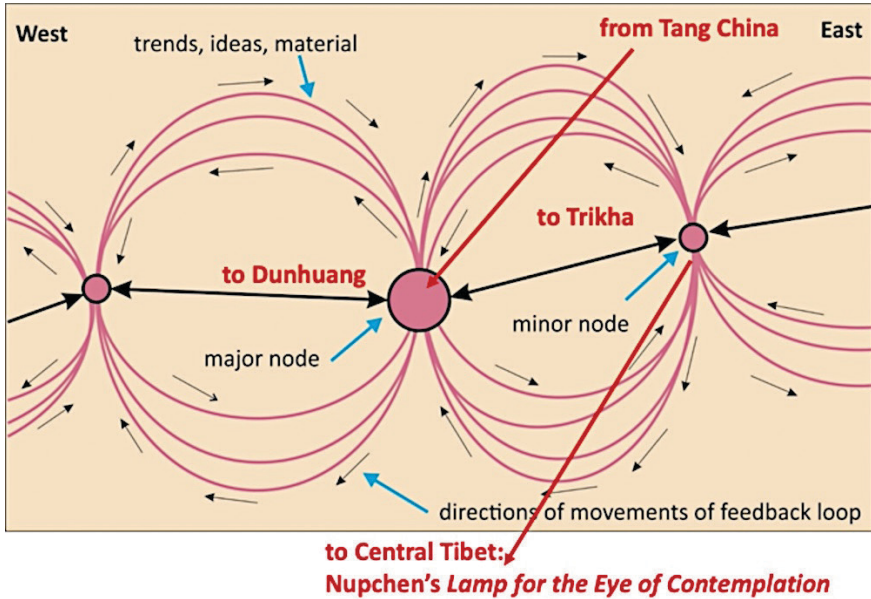


FIGURE 8.16 Buddhist network with model of feedback loop, by *BuddhistRoad* project, red parts are additions by author
 BUDDHISTROAD TEAM, "DYNAMICS IN BUDDHIST TRANSFER IN EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA 6TH–14TH CENTURIES: A PROJECT REPORT," 130, FIG. 3

In the *BuddhistRoad* project, we developed a still relatively simple model of a Buddhist network with major and minor nodes and feedback loops. It describes how knowledge travels through a system in a multicultural setting, across cultural boundaries, sometimes with information added, thus producing reformulations and/or displacement of religious meaning. Applied to our case study, we have knowledge of Chan Buddhism entering a Buddhist network from Tang China and reaching Dunhuang, being reformulated further on its passage to the hermitage of Namké Nyingpo in Trikha, before being critically evaluated in a Central Tibetan composition (fig. 8.16).⁶³

The contested space between Tibetan and Chinese confluences investigated here exemplifies the process outlined above on a micro-section within a Buddhist network of major and minor nodes. As I have pointed out

63 These ideas are described in BuddhistRoad Team, "Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries: A Project Report." I first formulated the gist of the research agenda of the *BuddhistRoad* project and the idea of a network approach in Carmen Meinert, "Introduction—Dynamics of Buddhist Transfer in Central Asia," in *Transfer of Buddhism across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1–16.

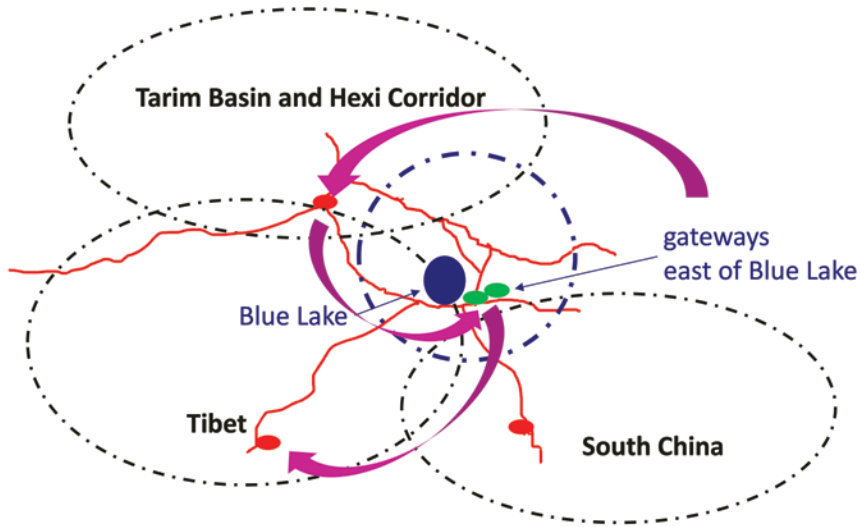


FIGURE 8.17 Exchange routes traversing cultural units, with gateways (green dots) in contested Tibetan-Chinese border region and pink arrows indicating circulation of knowledge
SKETCH BY CARMEN MEINERT

elsewhere with reference to network approaches discussed by Ray Rivers, Carl Knappett, and Tim Evans within the context of archaeology, there is a difference between a central place or a hub, which is comparatively the busiest site within a region, and a gateway relatively conceived, which is qualified by what the authors refer to as a high *betweenness centrality*. Such gateways are often nodes which are in the periphery of larger cultural unites or empires. They function as important bridges between the parts of a network. Thus, if the connection is broken, it results in damage to the network as a whole. Such gateways are often located along important interchanges between central sites.⁶⁴ I suggest that some of the places in the region east of the Blue Lake—probably also those where *dharma* colleges were established (Trikha, Guochu, Dantig, Gacu) (fig. 8.17)—functioned as bridges that enabled the circulation of people, texts, and topics from north to south and east to west. With this chapter I hope to have opened a new perspective to understand the connectivity of the region

64 Carmen Meinert, "Introduction—Dynamics of Buddhist Transfer in Central Asia," 8–10. See Ray Rivers, Carl Knappett, and Tim Evans, "What Makes a Site Important? Centrality, Gateways, and Gravity," in *Network Analysis in Archaeology. New Approaches in Regional Interaction*, ed. Carl Knappett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 125–150; on betweenness centrality, see particularly pp. 128–129.

east of the Blue Lake, which, I suggest, was crucial for the westward spread of Chinese Chan Buddhism in the Tibetan Empire and beyond. A little later in time, it was important for a development in the other direction, namely the eastward move of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism to the Tangut Empire which I discussed elsewhere.⁶⁵

65 See four of my publications about the spread of Tantric Buddhism in the Tangut Empire mentioned in fn. 24 above.

Sino-Tibetan Scholasticism: A Case Study of the *Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* in Dunhuang

Meghan Howard Masang

Abstract

This article approaches the question of how śāstric knowledge was transmitted between linguistic communities through an exploration of the *Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination] and the Tibetan and Chinese commentarial materials associated with it found in Dunhuang (敦煌). I focus on three texts: (1) a Tibetan preface (P. T. 767) that was likely scribed by the famous Sino-Tibetan translator Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), (2) a set of Tibetan annotations to the *Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766), and (3) a Chinese commentary, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of Causation; hereafter *Epitome Notes*] (T. 2816.85), possibly authored by Facheng. I demonstrate that the Tibetan preface was intended to circulate with an 'annotated gloss commentary' (Tib. *mchan tig*), and I argue that sets of annotations such as P. T. 766 should be seen as full-fledged commentarial works. I further point to parallels of structure, content, and phrasing between the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface and annotations, suggestive of a rough synthesis of Chinese commentarial forms with Indo-Tibetan content. In closing, I emphasise the impact of Tibetan scholasticism on ninth-century Sinophone Dunhuang Buddhism, and I highlight the importance of textual formats (materiality) and scholastic practices of translation and oral instruction (the social context) to the history of śāstric texts and traditions.

1 The *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* in the Dunhuang Corpus¹

The *Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination; hereafter *Epitome*] is a short Sanskrit work traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna

1 I would like to thank Lewis Doney and the organisers of the *BuddhistRoad* Final Conference, July 12–14, 2021, for the invitation to present the initial research that grew into this piece.

(fl. ca. 150–250).² It consists of seven verses (Skt. *kārikā*) that circulate both independently and embedded in an auto-commentary known as the *vyākhyāna*. The text organises the twelve links of dependent arising (Skt. *dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda*) under three headings—afflictions (Skt. *kleśa*), karma, and suffering (Skt. *duḥkha*)—and interprets them within a Middle Way (Skt. *madhyamaka*) framework.³ Sanskrit manuscripts of the verses and the auto-commentary have been found in the Gilgit region and Lhasa.⁴ The work's

I would also like to thank Carmen Meinert, Henrik H. Sørensen, and the other conference participants for their generous feedback and for the rich intellectual stimulation provided by their respective contributions. This article has benefitted greatly from the encouragement and suggestions of Amanda Goodman, Jacob Dalton, Robert Sharf, and Trent Walker. Throughout this paper, I transcribe interlinear additions in double curly brackets { { }; white square brackets [] denote text cancelled in the manuscript; square brackets [] contain damaged or illegible text that I have reconstructed on the basis of related manuscripts or texts; text between double angle brackets « » is a tentative reading. Additionally, I use a + sign to transcribe non-standard ligatures in Tibetan manuscripts.

- 2 An English translation of the text, based on the Tibetan, may be found in L. Jamspal and Peter Della Santina, "The Heart of Interdependent Origination of Acarya Nagarjuna with Commentary by the Author; Translated into English from the Tibetan," *Buddhist Studies* 1 (1974): 17–32. The verses, also based on the Tibetan, are translated on their own in Adam Pearcey, trans., "The Heart of Dependent Origination," *Lotsawa House* (2008), last accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.lotsawahouse.org/indian-masters/nagarjuna/heart-dependent-origination>. On Nāgārjuna's dates, I follow Shaoyong Ye, "Nāgārjuna," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 335–336.
- 3 See, for instance, the assessments of Jamspal and Della Santina, "Heart of Interdependent Origination," 18; Christian Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982), 171; Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "D'un manuscrit tibétain des *Pratītyasamutpādayakārikā* de Nāgārjuna," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 103; Dan Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-shih lun* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 68.
- 4 The Gilgit manuscript is held by the National Archives in Delhi. It is no. 61a in the hand-list in Lokesh Chandra, "Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4 (1960): 1–13. An edition and facsimiles are presented in Vasudeo V. Gokhale and Mohan Govind Dhadphale, "Encore: The *Pratītyasamutpādayakārikā* of Nāgārjuna," in *Principal Vaman Sivaram Apte Commemoration Volume*, ed. Mohan Govind Dhadphale (Poona: Deccan Education Society, 1978): 65–68. See also Oskar von Hinüber, "The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research," in *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*, ed. Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 79–135. In 1949, Vasudeo V. Gokhale discovered the text in a 14th-century philosophical anthology held by Kündé Ling (Tib. Kun bde gling) monastery in Lhasa and published a transcription of it as "Der Sanskrit-Text von Nāgārjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādayakārikā*," in *Studia Indologica: Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, ed. Otto Spies (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1955): 101–106.

authorship and complicated textual history have been the subject of some scholarly debate, which is beyond the scope of this paper.⁵

The *Epitome* survives in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Received canons include the Tibetan translation of the verses and auto-commentary in two volumes (Derge Tōhoku nos. 3836/4553 and 3837/4554).⁶ The first instance of the auto-commentary in the Peking edition of the Tengyur (Derge Tōhoku no. 3837 = Peking 5237) includes a colophon crediting the translation to the illustrious early-ninth-century translators Dānaśīla (fl. 814), Śilendrabodhi (fl. 814), and Yěshé Dé (mid-8th c.–early-9th c., Tib. Ye shes sde).⁷ This is contradicted by the catalogue to the Derge edition of the Tengyur, which attributes the translation to the 11th-century Ānanda and Drakjor Shérab (Tib. Grags

-
- 5 The controversies have centred on whether the text may be rightfully attributed to Nāgārjuna, as well as whether the final two verses (in *anuṣṭubh* meter) belong to the original text (otherwise in *āryā*). For a summary of the text's complex stemma and an argument against Nāgārjuna's authorship, see Carmen Dragonetti, "The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 22 (1978): 87–93. Further discussion and a counterargument may be found in Scherrer-Schaub, "D'un manuscrit tibétain."
- 6 *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i tshig le'ur byas pa* and *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i nam par bshad pa*. A collation of six Tibetan canonical versions, with reference to the Chinese of T. 1654.32 and Gokhale's (with Dhadphale) Sanskrit editions, is presented in Yūichi Kajiyama 梶山雄一, "Zōbon Innen shinron shaku 藏梵因縁心論釋 [The Collated Tibetan Text of Nāgārjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* (sic)]," *Nihon bukkyō gak-kai nenpō* 日本佛教學會年報 [Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association] 46 (1981): 1–15.
- 7 In general, attributions to Yeshé Dé, the most prolific translator of Tibetan canonical works, must be treated with circumspection, as Nils Simonsson demonstrated long ago. See Nils Simonsson, "Indo-tibetische Studien: Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie" (PhD diss., University of Uppsala, 1957), 211–212. The question of translator attributions in Chinese canons has received critical attention of late. See, for instance, Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han 東漢 and Three Kingdoms 三國 Periods* (Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University, 2008). Meanwhile, Dan Martin has suggested that many of the names in canonical colophons to imperial-period translations date to the very late eighth or very early ninth centuries, whereas the names of translators working before that time rarely appear (personal communication). This work is unfortunately unpublished but was presented as "The Nine Translators: An Investigation into the Historical Transformation of a List," at the 13th International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, July 21–27, 2013. A critical assessment of received Tibetan translation colophons remains a desideratum. Dānaśīla's and Śilendrabodhi's life dates are unknown. Both are mentioned in the opening of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, as is Yěshé Dé, indicating that they were active in Tibet in the year 814.

'byor shes rab).⁸ Nevertheless, the existence of an earlier translation is supported by the fact that the text is mentioned in the *Lhenkarma* catalogue (Tib. *dKar chag lHan kar ma*),⁹ as well as by the Dunhuang manuscript evidence discussed below.¹⁰ Whether we accept the Peking Tengyur's attribution or not, the Tibetan translation was clearly circulating in Central Tibet and Dunhuang (敦煌) by the early-to-middle ninth century.

-
- 8 Zhu chen Tshul khriṃs rin chen, *sDe dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag* (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1974), v. 2, 335. As I discuss in my dissertation, translator attributions from the Derge catalogs must be treated with similar caution. See Meghan Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads: The Career of Wu Facheng 吳法成 / Go Chödrup འགོ་ཚེས་གླུབ་ Set in Context" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2022), 212, n. 888, and 308–313.
- 9 Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan," *Journal Asiatique* 241.3 (1953): text no. 596. Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), nos. 596A and 596B. The *Lhenkarma* catalogue dates to either 812 or 824, and a version exists in the Derge canon: *Pho brang stod thang ldan dkar gyi chos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag* [Catalogue of all Translated Dharma texts at Palace Tötang Denkar] (Derge Töroku no. 4364). Our text also appears in the *Phangthangma* catalogue (Tib. *dKar chag 'Phang thang ka ma*) compiled no earlier than 842. See Georgios Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalog from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang," *The Eastern Buddhist* 36.1–2 (2004): 46–105, nos. 548–549; rTsa rdo, ed., *dKar chag 'phang thang ma / sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Palace Pangtang Catalog and The Composition of Terms in Two Parts] (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), nos. 39–40. For recent discussions of the dates of both imperial catalogues, see Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 48, 58; and Brandon Dotson, "Emperor Mu rug btsan and the *Phang thang ma Catalogue*," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 3–4. For a different take on the imperial catalogues, see Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma*, xvi–xxvii, where she proposes 806 as a date for the *Phangthangma*.
- 10 Pelliot chinois and Pelliot tibétain manuscripts (hereafter P. and P. T., respectively) are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France and were acquired by Paul Pelliot during his Central Asian expedition that visited Dunhuang from February 12 to June 7, 1908. Manuscript numbers bearing the prefixes 10L Tib J and Or.8210/S. belong to the British Library's Stein Collections, having been acquired by Sir Aurel Stein in Dunhuang on his second (1906–1908) and third (1913–1916) expeditions to Central Asia. 10L Tib J denotes Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang—the 10L indicating that they were held by the India Office Library before being transferred to the British Library—while Or.8210/S. (hereafter S.) identifies manuscripts that were originally deposited in the British Museum. The latter corpus is mostly Chinese but includes Tibetan texts as well. BD manuscripts and those designated by Chinese *qianziwen* (千字文) characters are held by the National Library of China in Beijing. On the history of that collection, see Xinjiang Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. by Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 164–169.

In the Dunhuang corpus, the Tibetan *Epitome* verses are attested in at least two manuscripts, and the auto-commentary in close to a dozen.¹¹ The surviving manuscripts are all incomplete, but there is no extant example of a Tibetan manuscript that presents the verses and the auto-commentary sequentially.¹² In all cases, the translations match the received versions closely. Many of the auto-commentary manuscripts are annotated with interlinear glosses and comments.¹³ We also find several previously unknown Tibetan texts connected to the *Epitome*. These include a preface and one or more sub-commentaries to the auto-commentary.¹⁴

-
- 11 The Dunhuang archive contains a large number of fragments of scholastic texts that have not yet been identified, many of which relate to interdependent origination. It is thus likely that further instances of the *Pratīyasamutpādahrdaya* will come to light. The *kārikās* are found in P. T. 769, on which see Scherrer-Schaub, “D’un manuscrit tibétain.” Additionally, the first text in the fragment P. T. 779 should also be identified as the *kārikās*. The *vyākhyāna* is found in 10L Tib J 621.1, 10L Tib J 623, and 10L Tib J 624; and P. T. 114.1, P. T. 762–766, and P. T. 768. Although I have not been able to examine the original manuscripts, P. T. 765 should most likely be recognised as the first folio of 10L Tib J 621. Similarly, 10L Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 may represent the first and last folios, respectively, of another manuscript; however, this identification is more tentative. Although the hands and formats of both manuscripts are similar, 10L Tib J 623 rubricates citations of the *kārikās* that are embedded in the *vyākhyāna*, while P. T. 768 does not. P. T. 767 is mistaken for a copy of the *vyākhyāna* by Ueyama Daishun 上山大俊, “Tonkō ni okeru innen ron no shōsō: ‘Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji’ o megutte 敦煌における因縁論の諸相—『因縁心釈論開決記』をめぐって / Tun-huang Manuscripts on Causation Theory—On the Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji,” *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 / *Studies in Buddhism* 39–40 (1984): 74; and by Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma*, no. 596B. As discussed in section 2.1, it is actually a preface to the *vyākhyāna*.
- 12 The two Sanskrit manuscripts that have come to light indicate that the text commonly circulated with the *kārikās* followed directly by the *vyākhyāna* (in which they are embedded). This format is shared by Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang (S. 2462, S. 4235, P. 2045) and mirrored in the presentation of the texts in the Tibetan canons (Derge Tōhoku no. 3836/4553 and 3837/4554) and historical catalogues (*Lhenkarma*, *Phangthangma*, and Bu ston, on which see fn. 9 above and Nishioka Soshū 西岡祖秀, “*Putōn bukkyōshi mokurokubu sakuin* 11 『ブトウン仏教史』目録部索引 11 / Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston’s ‘History of Buddhism’ 11,” *Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu Bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 東京大学文学部・文化交流研究施設研究紀要 / *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tōkyō* 5 (March, Shōwa 57 [1981]): 43–94, nos. 571–572). Ueyama reaches a similar conclusion regarding the text’s original format on the basis of his study of the Chinese manuscripts and the Peking Tengyur colophon. See Ueyama, “Tonkō ni okeru innen ron,” 73, 75.
- 13 10L Tib J 623, and P. T. 762, P. T. 763, P. T. 766, and P. T. 768.
- 14 The preface may be found in P. T. 767. The *Tencing ’brelpar ’byungba’isnyingpobshadpa’ibrjed byang* [Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Pratīyasamutpādahrdaya*] follows the *vyākhyāna* in 10L Tib J 621.2 and appears independently in 10L Tib J 622. The same sub-commentary appears with significant variants in P. T. 778. For a detailed study of this text, see Saitō

Since all the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts are unsigned, the dating depends on an assessment of their codicological, palaeographic, and orthographic features. While a firm determination awaits examination of the original manuscripts, we can tentatively say that most share ninth-century features. For instance, the intersyllabic punctuation marks (Tib. *tsheg*) frequently drift downwards to align with the ‘bodies’ or midlines of the letters (rather than with the ‘heads’ or tops of the letters, as is standard for Tibetan writing of most periods; see fig. 9.1).¹⁵ Several of the manuscripts appear on large-format paper that could have been acquired in connection with the ninth-century *sūtra*-copying projects.¹⁶ The orthography of the annotated manuscripts is consistent with an early date, as is their use of scripts. The annotations to P. T. 766, for example, are written in *uchen* (Tib. *dbu can*, ‘headed’) script, which would be exceptional for Tibetan manuscripts of later periods.

Palaeographic evidence also connects at least one Tibetan *Epitome* manuscript to the Sino-Tibetan translator Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成), also known as Go Chödruṅ (Tib. ‘Go Chos grub’).¹⁷ As I discuss in section 2.1,

-
- Akira 齊藤明, “Innen shinron shaku bibōroku 因縁心論釋備忘録 [The Aide-Memoire to the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdaya*],” in *Tonkō kogo bunken 敦煌胡語文獻* [Dunhuang Documents in Non-Chinese Languages], ed. Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1985), 323–335; and Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 202–203.
- 15 I am indebted to Jacob Dalton’s observations regarding the importance of midline *tshegs* for dating manuscripts (personal correspondence). He calls them the most reliable marker of a ninth-century date and discusses the question of dating further in chapter two of *Conjuring the Buddha: Ritual Manuals in Early Tantric Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), 245–246, n. 2.
- 16 IOL Tib J 621 (8 × 48 cm), IOL Tib J 623 (7.4 × 50.4 cm), P. T. 765 (8 × 47.6 cm), and P. T. 768 (7.6 × 51 cm) all measure close to a third of the paper size known as ‘two-thirds of a long sheet’ (Tib. *yug rings kyi sum nyis*, 48–49.5 × 27 cm). Could a ‘two-thirds’ roll panel have been cut into three *pothī* folios? Brandon Dotson and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny discuss the paper sizes for official *sūtra* copies and the dating implications for reuse of such paper, *Codicology, Paleography, and Orthography of Early Tibetan Documents: Methods and a Case Study* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2016), 45–47, 130–135.
- 17 The identification of individual scribal hands is one of the most promising frontiers in the study of Dunhuang manuscripts. There are significant challenges to this work, especially when dealing with learned hands that aim at uniformity, but for Tibetan manuscripts that are rarely signed and almost never dated, palaeography offers one of the only ways forward. This technique has been pioneered by Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton. See Jacob Dalton, Tom Davis, and Sam van Schaik, “Beyond Anonymity: Paleographical Analyses of the Dunhuang Manuscripts,” *Journal of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 1–23; and Sam van Schaik, “The Origin of the Headless Script (*dbu med*) in Tibet,” in *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages IV*, ed. Nathan W. Hill (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 411–446; Sam van Schaik, “Dating Early Tibetan Manuscripts: A Paleographical Method,” in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson,

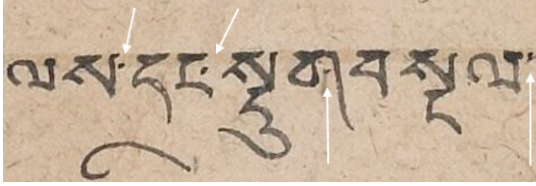


FIGURE 9.1 Detail of four Tibetan syllables (*las dang sdug bsngal*) separated by intersyllabic punctuation. The mark after the fourth syllable (*bsngal*) appears on the guide line next to the letter heads. The mark after the first syllable (*las*) is slightly lowered; that after the second syllable (*dang*) aligns with the body of the *nga*; and the mark for the third syllable (*sdug*) appears within the letter *ga*. Dunhuang, mid-9th century

P. T. 764, FOL. 1V3, BNF

the untitled preface in P. T. 767 is scribed in a hand connected to Facheng's circle—possibly belonging to the translator himself.¹⁸ Additionally, it closely resembles other prefaces in a set of manuscripts tied to Facheng and his translation work.¹⁹ Thus the *Epitome* appears to have been the subject of exegeti-

Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), 119–135; Sam van Schaik, “Towards a Tibetan Palaeography: Developing a Typology of Writing Styles in Early Tibet,” in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 299–337. The most comprehensive approach can be found in Dotson and Helman-Ważny's recent case study, *Codicology, Paleography, and Orthography*.

18 Ueyama first proposed in 1967/1968 that Facheng's Tibetan and Chinese hands are both represented among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, “Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamon Hōjō no kenkyū 大蕃国大徳三蔵法師沙門法成の研究 [Research on Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet, Trepiṭaka Dharma Master, and Śramaṇa],” *Tōhō gakuhō Kyōtō 東方学報京都 / Journal of Oriental Studies (Kyoto)* 38 (1967): 133–198; and 39 (1968): 119–222. This tantalising possibility is finally receiving the attention it deserves in parallel studies by Channa Li and myself. I believe the rigor of a cutting-edge palaeographic approach will be borne out by the complementary results of our independent studies. My discussion here is based on my own findings in the appendix to my dissertation. There, I build a typology of Facheng's Tibetan hand on the basis of the group of manuscripts first signalled by Ueyama. I then return to the archive in search of unsigned works in that hand. See Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 305–345. For Li's work, see Channa Li, “Towards a Typology of Chōdrup's (Tib. Chos Grub, Chin. Facheng 法成) Cursive Handwriting: A Palaeographical Perspective,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.2 (2021).

19 One of the important findings of my palaeographical analysis is the identification of a set of prefaces (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*) that have so far gone unnoticed in the

cal analysis by Facheng, and we can likely credit members of his circle with a number of the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts.

There are two Chinese translations of the *Epitome*. The *Shier yinyuan lun* 十二因緣論 [Treatise on the Twelve Factors of Causation] (T. 1651.32) was translated by Bodhiruci (fl. 6th c., Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流支) sometime between 508 and 537 and is attributed to one Bodhisattva Jingyi (Chin. Jingyi pusa 淨意菩薩, Skt. *Śuddhamati), a name that may or may not refer to Nāgārjuna.²⁰ The second Chinese translation, corresponding very closely to the Tibetan, is the *Yinyuan xin lun* 因緣心論 [Treatise on the Heart of Causation] (T. 1654.32), which names Nāgārjuna (Chin. Longmeng pusa 龍猛菩薩) as its author. Known only from Dunhuang, the verses and auto-commentary of the second translation are attested in at least nine manuscripts, including at least four manuscripts in which the commentary follows directly after the verses.²¹ Several of

Dunhuang corpus, on which see section 2.1 below. Although it is untitled, the preface to the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdaya* contained in P. T. 767 shares many features of the group.

20 The dates of Bodhiruci's work are taken from Dragonetti, "The *Kārikā* and *Vyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," 88, n. 2. On the name *Śuddhamati, first proposed by Bunyiu Nanjio in his catalogue of the Chinese canon, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), see Dragonetti, "The *Kārikā* and *Vyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," and Carmen Dragonetti, "Some Notes on the *Pratīyasamutpādayakārikā* and the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdayavyākhyāna* Attributed to Nāgārjuna," *Buddhist Studies* 6 (1979): 70–73. Lindtner points out that Nāgārjuna is referred to by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla as Blo gros bzang po (*Sumati), and thus, especially given Bodhiruci's loose translation style, Jingyi could refer to Nāgārjuna. See Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, 170.

21 *Yinyuan xin lun song* 因緣心論頌 [Verses of the Treatise on the Heart of Causation] and *Yinyuan xin lun shi* 因緣心論釋 [(Auto-)Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of Causation], respectively. T. 1654.32 is edited based on S. 1358 and S. 2462. The verses and auto-commentary are found sequentially in S. 1358, S. 2462, S. 4235, and P. 2045.6. Note that the title of P. 2045.6 is given as *Yuanqi xin lun bing shi* 緣起心論并釋 [Treatise on the Heart of Conditioned Arising with (Auto-)Commentary]. The verses appear alone in BD 3355 (*yu* 兩 55). The auto-commentary is found alone in S. 1513, but since the manuscript's head is missing, we cannot confirm that the commentary was not originally preceded by the verses. Ueyama reports that BD 4083 (*li* 麗 83) and BD 6239 (*hai* 海 39) are copies of the auto-commentary, while the National Library of China catalogue identifies them as the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji's* sub-commentary (see below). Ueyama also reports that BD 6217 (*hai* 海 17) consists only of the auto-commentary and BD 7468 (*guan* 官 68) only of the verses, but the National Library of China catalogue lists both manuscripts as the verses and auto-commentary in sequence. See Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 [Studies in Dunhuang Buddhism] (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 204; and *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Held in the National Library of China], comp. Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 [National Library of China], ed. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 (Beijing: Beijing

these manuscripts bear reading marks in red ink.²² Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts lists a translator. Nevertheless, Vasudev Gokhale has argued on the basis of textual analysis that T. 1654.32 was likely translated from Tibetan.²³ Similarly, Daishun Ueyama believes it was translated in Dunhuang or nearby and that all extant manuscripts date to the Tibetan period (late 750s/early 760s–848).²⁴ Taken together, the assessments of Gokhale and Ueyama raise the possibility that the text was translated by Facheng, the most prominent Sino-Tibetan translator of the period.

tushuguan chubanshe, 2005), s.v. I have unfortunately been unable to examine images of the manuscripts held in Beijing.

22 See, for instance, S. 1358 and S. 1513.

23 Vasudev Gokhale, “Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra des Ullaṅgha, kritisch behandelt und aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übertragen” (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1930), 4, n. 1. Gokhale’s argument hinges on the order of the similes listed in *kārikā* 5.

24 Ueyama, “Tonkō ni okeru innen ron,” 73, 74. Ueyama notes that all the extant manuscripts share features of the Tibetan period, which he dates elsewhere variously as 781– or 782–848. See, for instance, Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 25. The catalogue of the National Library of China lists ʮD 4083 (*li* 麗 83), ʮD 6217 (*hai* 海 17), and ʮD 6239 (*hai* 海 39) as eighth–ninth century (*Guojia tushuguan*, s.v.). John Jorgensen dates P. 2045 to the Tibetan period, though without any discussion of his appraisal: John Jorgensen, “The Platform Sūtra and the Corpus of Shenhui: Recent Critical Text Editions and Studies,” *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* 20 (2002): 404. Ueyama believes that P. 2045, which contains a passage from Facheng’s *Śālistamba* commentary must postdate that text’s composition, circa 833. See Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, “Tonkō ni okeru zen no shosō 敦煌における禪の諸層 / Many Aspects of the Dun-huang Ch’an Documents,” *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 / *The Journal of Ryukoku University* 421 (1982): 96. However, the colophon to P. 2328 indicates that Facheng’s commentary may have been composed as early as 813. See also the discussion in Wu Chi-yu 吳其昱, “Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōjō denkō 大蕃国大徳三蔵法師法成伝考 [Considering the Life of Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet and Trepiṭaka Dharma Master],” trans. Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 and Higuchi Masaru 樋口勝, in *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism], ed. Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), 383–414. For further discussion of P. 2045, see fn. 67. Regarding the dates of the Tibetan period, I follow Bianca Horlemann, “A Re-evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-century Shazhou/Dunhuang” in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I, Proceedings of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 2000*, ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49–66. While it remains unclear precisely when the walled city of Dunhuang (and the entire prefecture of Shazhou 沙州) fell to the Tibetans, Horlemann argues persuasively against the earlier propositions of 781 and 786, demonstrating that the Tibetans had cut off all of Hexi (河西) from the Tang by 764 and that Dunhuang itself was under Tibetan rule at least by 777. Even if we posit that Dunhuang managed to resist the Tibetans longer than other parts of Hexi, it must have been besieged and thus effectively under Tibetan control starting sometime in the window identified by Horlemann.

The Dunhuang archive also contains at least four manuscripts of an otherwise unknown commentary on the *Epitome* (T. 1654.32) entitled *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the *Treatise on the Heart of Causation*; hereafter *Epitome Notes*] (T. 2816.85).²⁵ While all known copies of the *Epitome Notes* are unsigned, Ueyama has argued that the text should most likely be attributed to Facheng based on its distinctive title, format, and citations.²⁶ Ueyama points to, for instance, the *Dasheng sifa jing lun guangshi kaijue ji* 大乘四法經論廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra*] (T. 2785.85), compiled by Facheng, which has a similar title and structure.²⁷ Parallels of structure and terminology and a shared group of proof texts are seen in Facheng's *Dasheng daoyu jing suiting shu* 大乘稻芋經隨聽疏 [Commentary Compiled in the Course of Listening to the *Great Vehicle Śālistambasūtra*] (T. 2782.85).²⁸

To summarise, among the Dunhuang manuscripts, we find ample attestation of the *Epitome* in both Tibetan and Chinese, including otherwise unknown commentarial materials in both languages. The manuscript remains in both languages indicate that the *Epitome* attracted particular interest in

25 S. 269, S. 541, P. 2211, and P. 2538V. Unfortunately, the editors of the Taishō chose S. 269, which is missing the last portion of the commentary, as the basis for their edition (T. 2816.85). On possible copies held by the National Library of China, see fn. 21.

26 For Ueyama's discussion of this commentary, see Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkūō no kenkyū*, 203–209, as well as Ueyama, “Tonkō ni okeru innen ron,” which is a lengthy exploration of the full historical and doctrinal context in which the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* was produced. His full argument regarding the possibility of Facheng's authorship can be found in Ueyama, “Tonkō ni okeru innen ron,” 59–60.

27 See Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkūō no kenkyū*, 186–195. The *Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra* consists of a five-part introductory section followed by a gloss on *Jñānadatta's (d.u., Chin. Zhiwei 智威) sub-commentary (Skt. *ṭikā*) to Vasubandhu's commentary (Skt. *vyākhyā*) on the *Caturdharmikasūtra*. As will be discussed below, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* similarly opens with a four-part introduction followed by a gloss on Nāgārjuna's auto-commentary.

28 See Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkūō no kenkyū*, 209–215. Another example is the *Liumen tuoluoni jing lun bing guangshi kaijue ji* 六門陀羅經論并廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Commentary and Extensive Gloss on the Śaṅmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra*], which, although not signed by Facheng, bears hallmarks of his work. Incidentally, the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdaya* auto-commentary is followed by the *Śaṅmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra* and Vasubandhu's commentary on it in S. 1513. Regarding this latter text, see Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkūō no kenkyū*, 195–203.

ninth-century Dunhuang (or the wider Hexi (河西) region).²⁹ Moreover, while the evidence is admittedly circumstantial, the text appears to have received significant attention from Facheng who composed commentarial materials on it in both languages and possibly produced the Chinese translation. It would further appear that a sizeable number of the surviving manuscripts connected with the *Epitome*—in both Tibetan and Chinese—were produced by Facheng and his circle of disciples in the course of his scholastic engagements with the text.

In other words, it looks quite likely that a specific group was studying the *Epitome* in both languages at more or less the same time and in the same place (that is, either in Shazhou or Ganzhou). Even if we cannot tie manuscripts to specific individuals, the contemporaneous engagement with the *Epitome* by Sino- and Tibetophone Buddhists makes the Dunhuang commentarial materials to the *Epitome* a promising corpus for a case-study of doctrinal exchange and transmission in ninth-century Dunhuang and the surrounding region. To that end, this paper will focus on three items: (1) the Tibetan preface in ‘the Chödruṅ hand’ (P. T. 767), (2) two sets of Tibetan annotations to the auto-commentary (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766), and (3) the *Epitome Notes*, possibly authored by Facheng (T. 2816.85).

29 We know from colophon evidence, collected comprehensively by Ueyama but first signalled by Paul Pelliot in 1908, that Facheng spent portions of his career in Dunhuang and Ganzhou (甘州). Though all the manuscripts discussed in this article were discovered in Dunhuang (Mogao Cave 17), their links to Facheng open the possibility that they were originally scribed in Ganzhou. This is particularly the case for the Chinese manuscripts and the three Tibetan manuscripts on which I focus below, P. T. 762, P. T. 766, and P. T. 767. We should also not rule out the possibility that Tibetan *Pratītyasamutpādhṛdaya* manuscripts were brought to Dunhuang from Central Tibet or the region of the Blue Lake (Tib. mTsho sngon po, Mong. Kōke nayur, Chin. Qinghai hu 青海湖, in western literature often referred to as Lake Kokonor). For more on the links between the Dunhuang corpus and scriptoria in the Blue Lake region, see fn. 98. It has not been possible to assess the provenance of each manuscript touched on in this article. I merely draw the reader’s attention to possible origins beyond Dunhuang, and I thank Carmen Meinert for stressing the importance of this possibility. For chronologies of Facheng’s career, see Ueyama, “Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamō Hōjō,” 151–155; Wu Chi-yu, “Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōjō”; and Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 210–213, and 215–216. Paul Pelliot’s initial recognition of Facheng’s time in Ganzhou can be found in his letter to Émile Senart, published as “Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 8.3–4 (1908): 513.

2 Tibetan Commentarial Materials

2.1 *The Tibetan Preface (P. T. 767)*

P. T. 767 is a two-folio *pothī* (Tib. *dpe cha*) manuscript that contains an untitled Tibetan preface to the *Epitome* (fig. 9.2). As I have demonstrated elsewhere, P. T. 767 is scribed in a hand that I term ‘the Chödrupe hand’ (i.e., Facheng’s Tibetan hand).³⁰ We cannot definitively prove that this hand is Facheng’s, but the corpus of manuscripts on which it appears is closely linked to Facheng. If it is not his own hand, it must belong to a member of his inner circle.

Furthermore, P. T. 767 closely resembles a set of prefaces tied to Facheng and his translation work.³¹ As I discuss elsewhere, my analysis of the Chödrupe hand has allowed me to recognise a set of manuscripts scribed in the hand that have so far drawn little attention from scholars. The coherence of the list thus yielded argues for the potential rigor of a palaeographic approach. Generally between one and two folios in length, these little texts are styled ‘prefatory aide-memoires’ (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*). All follow a similar structure, identifying the reason that the scripture or treatise in question was taught, locating it within a Buddhist doxographical framework, and identifying major divisions in the text’s outline. All draw on a constellation of shared imagery and expressions—to the extent that they read as variations on a template.³² It is, moreover, possible to identify the text being introduced by each preface, and in all cases it is a text closely related to Facheng’s Tibetan translations.³³ Additionally, two of the prefaces reference ‘annotated gloss

30 I discuss the Chödrupe hand in Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 305–345. See also Li, “Towards a Typology.”

31 P. T. 617/10L Tib J 300, 10L Tib J 301, 10L Tib J 589, and P. T. 771. I would like to thank Channa Li for generously sharing her photographs of P. T. 771, which were the only images of this manuscript available to me. I present a detailed study of these manuscripts, including a discussion of how I came to identify them as a set in Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 192–199.

32 In Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 192–199, especially 193 and 198–199, I show that this template was a Tibetan translation of the preface (Chin. *xu* 序) to the **Mahāvibhāṣa* (T. 1545.27, 2a12–b22), made on the basis of the Chinese translation by Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘). I argue that, of the surviving prefaces, 10L Tib J 301 is closest to what the original template must have looked like.

33 P. T. 617 and 10L Tib J 300 together comprise a single manuscript containing an untitled preface to the *Samādhinirmocanasūtra*. As detailed in Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 196–199, 10L Tib J 301 contains what appears to be an earlier draft of the same preface. Facheng translated Wönch’ük’s (613–696, 圓測) commentary on this *sūtra* into Tibetan (Derge Tōhoku no. 4016). 10L Tib J 589 introduces Āryadeva’s *Akṣaraśataka* (*bsTan bcos yi ge brgya pa bshad pa’i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory

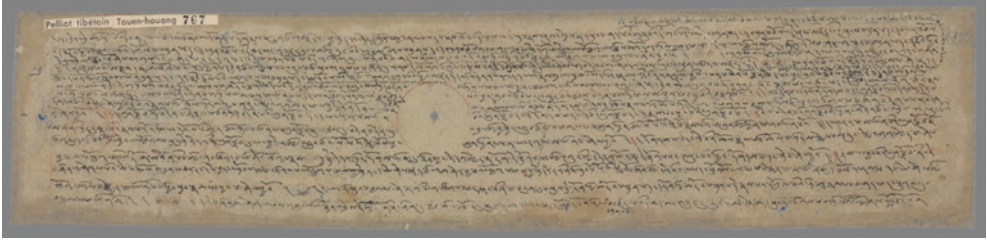


FIGURE 9.2A The Tibetan preface to the *Epitome*, 9.5 × 44 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 767, FOL. 1R, BNF

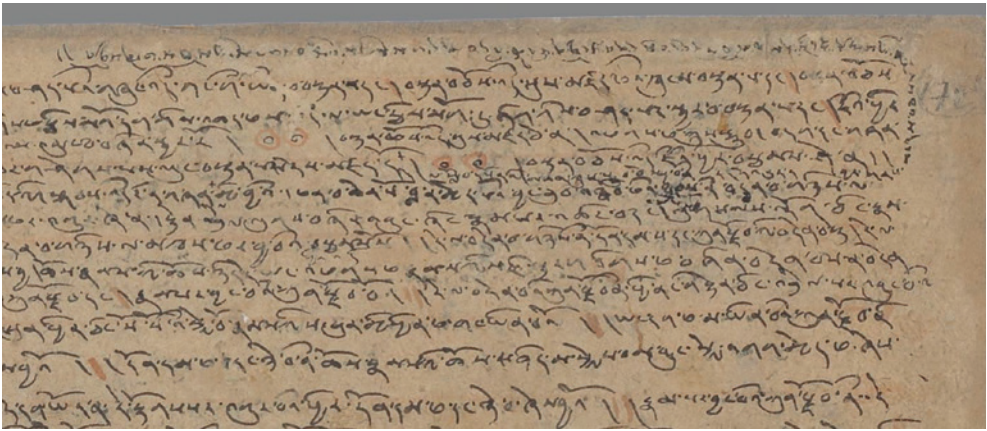


FIGURE 9.2B Detail of ‘the Chödруп hand’ on the Tibetan preface. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 767, FOL. 1R1–12, BNF

commentaries’ (Tib. *mchan tig*, from Sanskrit *ṭikā* for a gloss-style commentary), signalling that they were intended to circulate with annotated manuscripts of the text in question.³⁴

Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Akṣaraśataka* Treatise]), and P. T. 771 introduces *Ullaṅgha’s **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra* (*bsTan bcos rten ’brel sum cu pa bshad pa’i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory Aide-Memoire Explaining the **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra*]). Colophons to 10L Tib J 588 indicate that Facheng translated both of these texts into Tibetan from Chinese. For further details on Facheng’s involvement with these texts, see the respective sections of Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 117–119, 149–150, 150–151; and Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 190–199, esp. 191–192, 198–199, and 211–212.

34 10L Tib J 589 and P. T. 771. In Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 190–193, I explore the significance of these references to annotated commentaries in light of annotated manuscripts of the *Akṣaraśataka* and **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra* in the Dunhuang corpus. We know very little about the origins of this genre. The name references the Sanskrit

Although it does not call itself a ‘prefatory aide-memoire’, P. T. 767—which is untitled—shares several features with this group. The distinctive scribal hand and manuscript format immediately suggest a link with the set. As we will see in a moment, the text in P. T. 767 is presented in a six-part structure (table 9.1) that is considerably more elaborate than that of the other prefaces and departs from their template. This structure nevertheless encompasses the three main topics found in the other prefaces.

The Tibetan preface in P. T. 767 references an annotated gloss commentary. Specifically, it twice tells us that the various divisions of the *Epitome* treatise will be identified in the annotations to the text.³⁵ In one case, it refers simply to annotations (Tib. *mchan*), and in the other instance uses the term ‘annotated gloss commentary’ (Tib. *mchan tig*). Like the other prefaces in the Chödru hand, P. T. 767 was apparently intended to accompany an annotated text.

2.2 *The Tibetan Annotations (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766)*

In Dunhuang, there are at least five Tibetan manuscripts with annotations to the *Epitome*.³⁶ In all cases the auto-commentary is written in *uchen* script.³⁷

commentarial genre *ṭikā*, but comments in smaller script also have a long history in Chinese exegesis. On annotated Sanskrit manuscripts, see Camillo Alessio Formigatti, “Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal” (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2015). See also Bidur Bhattarai, *Dividing Texts: Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020). Also note my comments on the *mchan tig* format in section 5 and the discussion of the *ṭikā* genre in Jonardon Ganeri, “Sanskrit Philosophical Commentary,” *Journal of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research* 27 (2010): 190, 202, n. 12.

35 P. T. 767, fols. 2r4, 2r11.

36 10L Tib J 623, and P. T. 762, P. T. 763, P. T. 766, and P. T. 768. As mentioned above, 10L Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 may belong to the same manuscript, though a determination awaits examination of the physical manuscripts. With the exception of P. T. 762 (on which, see below), these manuscripts are in *pothi* format. In 10L Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 766, lines from the verses are written in red to set them off from the text of the auto-commentary in which they are embedded. In addition, some of the annotations to P. T. 766 are also rubricated.

37 According to the typology first proposed by van Schaik in “Origin of the Headless Script” and van Schaik, “Towards a Tibetan Palaeography,” 309–312, our manuscripts belong to the ‘sūtra style’. There is some variation in the scripts: P. T. 763 shares some features of the ‘square style’ (ibid., 306–309); P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 incorporate various cursive features. While the annotations to some of the manuscripts are clearly cursive, those in P. T. 762 are perhaps better described as the headless official style, while those in P. T. 766 are a mixture of headed and headless official styles. For a description of the so-called official styles, see van Schaik, “Towards a Tibetan Palaeography,” 312–314.

The annotations are written directly below the word or phrase on which they comment,³⁸ though we find certain variations in their visual organisation.³⁹

Upon examining the content of the glosses, it becomes clear that these five manuscripts represent two or three distinct sets of annotations. The annotations to 10L Tib J 623 and P. T. 763 share significant overlaps. P. T. 768 may also belong to this set, but this cannot be confirmed.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 match so closely that they may be considered the same text. I reflect on the significance of the existence of multiple sets of annotations in section 5. For the moment, I want to focus on the set represented by P. T. 762 and P. T. 766.

Both P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are significantly damaged (figs. 9.3 and 9.4). Furthermore, P. T. 762—a relatively rare ‘roll-type’ manuscript—is unfinished.⁴¹

-
- 38 In some manuscripts, the root text has clearly been spaced in anticipation of the annotations for a given section. For example, there is a large space left after P. T. 763, fol. 11, and a single *uchen* letter *pa* appears in between lines 1 and 2 of the root text. The scribe apparently began to write line 2 (which begins with a *pa*) with the same spacing as the other lines but then thought better of it and moved line 2 down to accommodate the relatively lengthy introductory annotations. Although P. T. 114.1 is not annotated, the large and irregular spacing between the lines of text suggests that it was prepared in anticipation of annotations. The boxes surrounding the annotations to P. T. 766 are frequently too big or too small for their contents, indicating that they too were prepared in advance. See the detailed discussion of this manuscript below.
- 39 The annotations to 10L Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 768 are relatively sparse and neatly written. They generally extend from the start of the line on which they comment until they reach the margin or the starting point of another set of annotations, at which point they begin a new line directly below and flush with the first. In cases where two sets of annotations fall close together, we often find them separated by vertical lines or squiggles. For instance, the annotations to ‘time and’ (Tib. *dus dang*) and ‘essence’ (Tib. *ngo bo nyid dang*) towards the end of P. T. 763, fol. 11, have been separated by extending the vertical *shad* punctuation mark between the lines of the root text. 10L Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 both use a vertical squiggle in between sets of annotations (see fig. 9.5b.) By contrast, the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are considerably denser (see figs. 9.3b and 9.4c.) In both cases, these annotations are organised by boxes and bubbles delineated with a combination of red and black ink in both smooth and squiggly lines. The scribe of P. T. 766 also employs the vertical squiggle found on other manuscripts, which appears on its own and as part of a box. Additionally, the scribes of both P. T. 766 and P. T. 762 (like that of the preface in P. T. 767, fig. 9.2b) show a penchant for wrapping text into the margins.
- 40 P. T. 768 is the final folio of the original manuscript, and the corresponding portion of the other manuscripts has been lost (or, as in the case of P. T. 762, never existed).
- 41 In P. T. 762, the auto-commentary text breaks off after citing the fourth (of seven) verses at the top of the roll’s fifth panel. Moreover, annotations are only supplied for a portion of the first panel, petering out before the citation of the first verse. Only two folios survive of P. T. 766, corresponding to the first third of the received text. Although P. T. 766 shows no sign of having been left unfinished, there is no way confirm this. Note that the BnF has incorrectly flipped the recto and verso of P. T. 766’s first folio. My citations of the

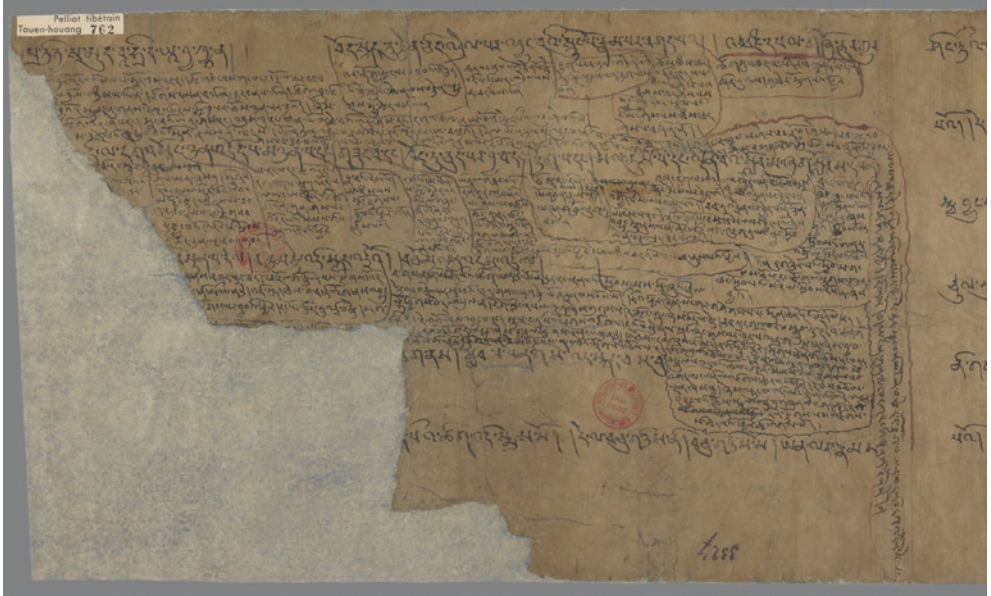


FIGURE 9.3A Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 25.5 cm × 195 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 762, PANEL 1, BNF

Although such an assessment remains tentative, the two manuscripts appear to be the work of different scribes. The annotations to P. T. 766 are tiny but uniquely retain many features of *uchen* script, whereas the annotations to P. T. 762 are in an *umé* (Tib. *dbu med*, ‘headless’) script with some cursive features (figs. 9.3b, 9.4b, and 9.4c).⁴² Scholars of Tibetan manuscripts have yet to assess the effects of writing size on scribal hands, nor has anyone attempted to trace a specific scribe’s hand across different scripts. For these reasons, it is currently impossible to say much on palaeographic grounds about the relationship of the scribal hands on P. T. 762 and P. T. 766.

There are, however, orthographic indications that P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are the work of separate scribes. In P. T. 766, for instance, the word *yang*, ‘also’, is regularly contracted with the letter *nga* written below the *ya* (fig. 9.4b), an uncommon practice not encountered in P. T. 762. The scribes of both manuscripts follow non-standard patterns of aspiration, yet each is idiosyncratic.

manuscript are to its original (corrected) foliation. Thus “fol. 1r” refers to what the BnF labels “1v” and vice versa.

42 The annotations to P. T. 762 could be characterised as an example of headless official style, although in terms of content they obviously depart from the group of manuscripts—administrative documents and correspondence—on which the description of the style is based in van Schaik, “Towards a Tibetan Palaeography,” 312–314.

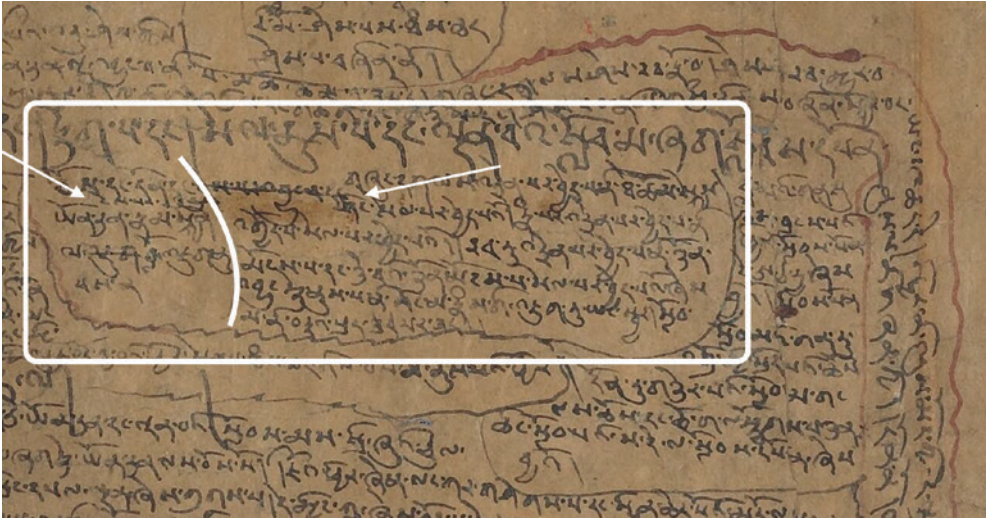


FIGURE 9.3B Detail of the scribal hand and annotation layout. Annotations to two successive phrases in the root text (*rtog pa dang* and *sel nus pa dang ldan ba'I slob ma zhlg*) enclosed in white box with the dividing line between them highlighted in white. The phrase *nges par 'byung ba dang* belongs to the first annotation, but after writing it in line with the first line of the annotation on the left, the scribe decided to restrict that annotation (to *rtog pa dang*) to a narrower box. He accordingly cancelled the words orphaned in the neighbouring annotation box (indicated by arrow on the right) and inserted them between the first two lines of the box to the left (arrow on the left). Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 762, PANEL 1, L. 2, BNF

For example, in P. T. 766 the word *thams cad*, meaning 'all', is written *thams shad*, while in P. T. 762 it alternates between *thams cad* and *thams chad*, with a distinct preference for the latter. Scholars of Old Tibetan are not yet able to explain the significance of the non-standard spellings encountered in Dunhuang manuscripts. Until we understand more about spelling in Old Tibetan manuscripts, it seems reasonable to assume that a given scribe would adhere to a particular orthographic pattern within a particular timeframe. Thus, we can say that P. T. 766 and P. T. 762 are either the work of two different scribes or the work of a single scribe separated by some, likely significant, gap of time.

A further difference between the two manuscripts has to do with the relative neatness of their layout. P. T. 762 has the air of a preliminary draft or, perhaps, notes taken during an oral teaching session. Its annotations appear to have been placed without much forethought, filling whatever available space was closest to the term on which they comment (fig. 9.3b). There are also several instances of false starts, where the scribe started to write an annotation but

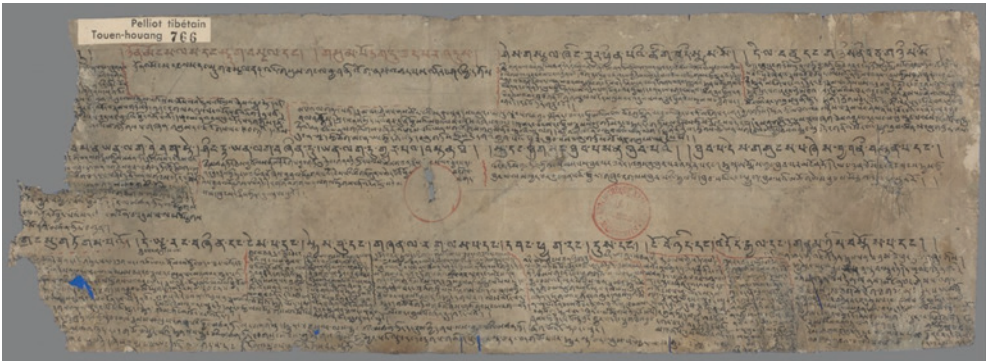
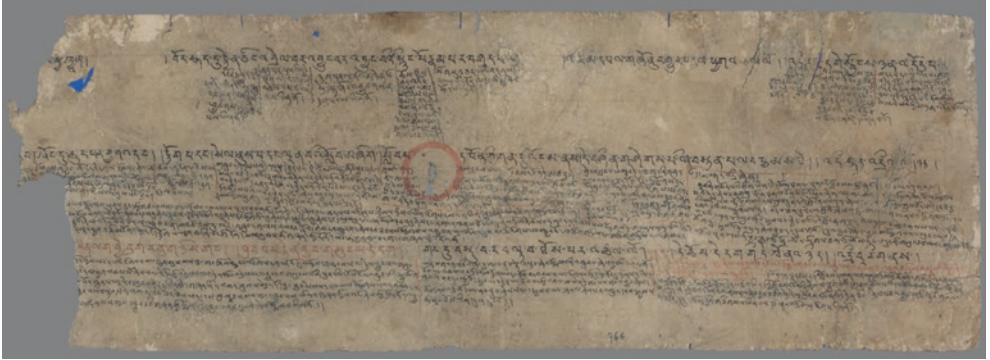


FIGURE 9.4A Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 13 cm × 38? cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
 P. T. 766, FOL. 1R–V, BNF (NOTE THAT THE BNF HAS MISTAKENLY FLIPPED THE RECTO AND VERSO OF FOL. 1)

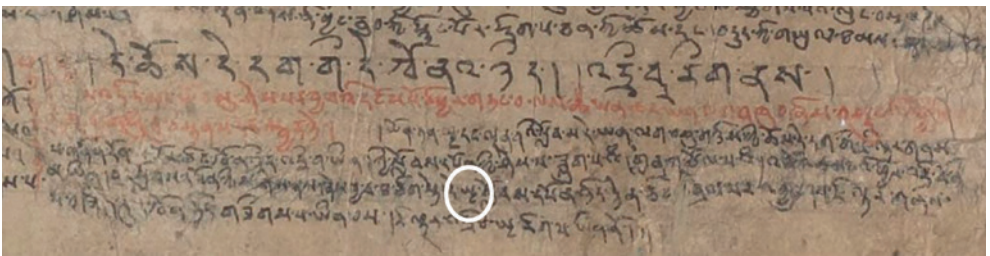


FIGURE 9.4B Detail of annotation, distinctive *ya+ng* ligature marked in white. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
 P. T. 766, FOL. 1R3, BNF

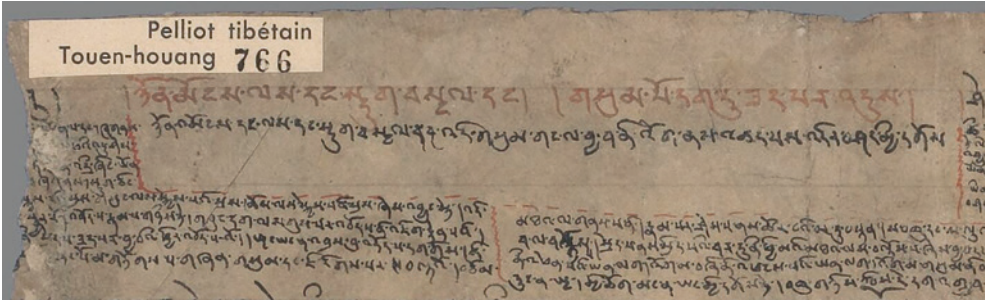


FIGURE 9.4C Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 766, FOL. 1v, BNF

then, deciding to restrict the allotment of horizontal space, crossed it out and rewrote it on a second line. See, for example the annotation to *rtog pa dang* ('[able] to realise and') in figure 9.3b. The box just to the right opens with *nges par 'byung ba dang* ('renunciation and') crossed out, and the same phrase has been inserted between the first two lines of the annotation to which it belongs.

In line with this, we may also note P. T. 762's unusual format as an unfinished roll-type manuscript. Tibetan roll-type manuscripts are one of the main formats that were used for the early ninth-century *sūtra*-copying projects.⁴³ Because of this, they are quite numerous in Dunhuang yet are rarely encountered for texts not produced as part of these projects.⁴⁴ P. T. 762's unfinished state and haphazard presentation preclude its identification as an output of official copying projects, but its unusual format suggests that its scribe may have been associated with those projects. Such a connection could also explain how the scribe came by the paper he used.⁴⁵

The situation with P. T. 766 is less clear. It could be interpreted as either a draft or an informal text. As seen in fig. 9.4a, the scribe of P. T. 766 appears to have reserved space for annotations ahead of time, and yet, as suggested by the mostly empty box at the top of fol. 1v (fig. 9.4c), he did not always judge

43 For two studies of *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* copies in this format, see Kazushi Iwao, "On the Roll-type Tibetan *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* from Dunhuang," in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), 111–118; and Gertraud Taenzer, "*Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation," *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 239–281.

44 One exception may be P. T. 2105, which contains a copy of Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭikā* in roll format.

45 See fn. 16.

the space requirements accurately. Unlike P. T. 762, the annotations to P. T. 766 follow a horizontal line and fill up their allotted space in an orderly manner. However, as in P. T. 762, we find a relatively high frequency of crossed-out text and interlinear additions. If P. T. 766 (currently damaged and incomplete) was originally a finished manuscript, it could only have been intended for the scribe's private use. It was certainly not a polished prestige object, nor even a so-called 'fair copy'.⁴⁶

What might be the relationship between P. T. 762 and P. T. 766? Although P. T. 766 is neater than P. T. 762, the former cannot have been copied from the latter since the latter is unfinished. The reverse is possible, but what would have been the purpose of copying it in a less orderly and incomplete fashion? If P. T. 762 is not derived from P. T. 766, we must posit a common source for both manuscripts. The precise correspondence between the surviving annotations makes it unlikely that they represent parallel translations of the same source text. There must have been a Tibetan source for these annotations, and we must not ignore the possibility that this source was oral. I do not have the space to pursue this possibility here, but I intend to return to it in future studies.⁴⁷

2.3 *An Annotated Gloss Commentary?*

Before examining the content of the Tibetan *Epitome* annotations, I want to draw attention to their potential relationship to the Tibetan preface. We have noted that the preface references an 'annotated gloss commentary', indicating that it was intended to accompany an annotated manuscript of the

46 Here I adopt the terminology used by Sam van Schaik, "Oral Teachings and Written Texts: Transmission and Transformation in Dunhuang," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 183–208. There were multiple stages involved in textual production. For a recent exploration of the process of textual production revealed by Chinese manuscripts from the Tangut Empire, see Carmen Meinert, "Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th C.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript 卐 249 + 卐 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhi] in Comparison with other Tantric Ritual Texts," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484. See also my discussion in section 4.2.2, below, of the asymmetry between the surviving manuscripts of *Pratīyasamutpādahṛdaya* commentaries in Chinese (largely finished works) and Tibetan (representing drafts of different stages).

47 The high frequency of corrections and minor variations in grammatical particles in both manuscripts could suggest that both are the product of dictation. I discuss one example in fn. 50, though a possible counterexample is discussed in fn. 48. I consider the oral features of manuscripts tied to Facheng and the role of preaching and pedagogy in the production of his textual corpus in my current book-in-progress. See also Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 93–95, on lecture-based translation in Chinese Buddhism.

auto-commentary. Could the annotated *Epitome* manuscripts from Dunhuang be the type of text indicated by this term? Moreover, might it be possible to link one or more of the five surviving manuscripts to the Tibetan preface?

The preface indicates that the headings of the topical divisions of the *Epitome* will be identified by the annotations in the annotated gloss commentary:

For ‘various’ (Tib. *sna tshogs*) and so on, the last six terms [of a list of ten], the divisions of the root text (Tib. *dkyus*) and the explanation [of the given term] have been written in the respective annotations in the annotated gloss commentary.⁴⁸

In P. T. 766, we find an annotation in red used to identify a division of the text—precisely the sort of annotation promised in the preface.⁴⁹ Although the red text is hard to make out from available images, the annotation below fol. 1r3 (fig. 9.4b) appears to use the same terminology as the preface.⁵⁰

48 P. T. 767, fol. 2r4: ‘og ma ‘I sna tshogs shes bya ba las stsogs pa’I tshig drug dkyus dang ji ltar [[*gcad*]] sa *gcad cing bshad pa ni so so’i mchan du* [[*mtsha*]] *mchan tig du bris pha yin no/ /*. The *tig* in *mchan tig* resembles the syllable *nyig*. The forms of the letters *ta* and *nya* are quite close in the Chödruṅ hand, particularly with vowel markers attached. Most likely the left-most tick that would form the ‘bowl’ of the *nya* is actually the *tsheg* punctuation mark arcing over into the first stroke of the *ta*. (I adopt the term ‘bowl’ from Li, “Towards a Typology.”) However, it is also possible that the scribe conflated the word *mchan tig* with the visually similar and common Buddhist term *mtshan nyid* (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*). The syllable *mtsha* has been cancelled directly before *mchan*, suggesting that the scribe began to write *mtshan nyid* but caught himself. Perhaps a similar error occurred with the second syllable, producing the seemingly nonsensical syllable *nyig*. I prefer the reading *mchan tig* because it is attested in two other Chödruṅ-hand manuscripts (10L Tib J 589, fol. v5; P. T. 771, fol. v10; also see fn. 33), because it makes good sense in the context, and because the letters in this instance can conceivably be read as *mchan tig*. This statement comes at the end of the preface’s discussion of the first four members of the ten-item list. Its import is confirmed by a statement attached to the initial introduction of the list (tentative reading between top half brackets): P. T. 767, fol. 1v11: “Regarding that [list], the six items starting with ‘various’, are explained at the appropriate point «below».” (Tib. *de la sna tshogs las stsogs pha drug ni* «(o)g nas skabs dang sbyar zhing chad /).

49 There are two other annotations in red on P. T. 766. At fol. 2r1, an annotation in red adds two lines of the root verse that it says were erroneously omitted, although these same lines are cited by the auto-commentary on fol. 1v1. At fol. 2r2 an annotation in red credits Kamalaśīla, though exactly with what is not immediately clear.

50 This awaits examination of the original manuscript. Here I offer a tentative reading of the annotation to P. T. 766, fol. 1r3 with illegible text supplied from parallels in the preface: “At this point—up to *spyir gtang ba las*—the ‘matter to be known’ corresponds to ‘teaching the fourteen [sic] branches [of interdependent origination] in three groups, so as to condense them.” (Tib. *sa ‘di na[’yong]su shes par bya ba’i dngos po sphyir gtang ba las* [[«cha»]] *yan chad* [yan lag] *bchu bzhis bsdu* [ba’i phyir dum bu gsum du] *bstan*

Unfortunately, the next point in the *Epitome* at which we might expect the annotations to announce a textual division falls in the portion of the manuscript that is missing. Nevertheless, the overlap between the surviving annotation and the preface confirms that the author(s) of both texts were working with a similar exegetical outline of the *Epitome* and—importantly—that P. T. 766 conforms to the preface's expectations of an annotated gloss commentary.⁵¹

Turning the question around and looking for hints of a preface in the annotations, we find that, although the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 do not reference a preface explicitly, they may have anticipated circulating with one. Both P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 consist solely of glosses to the *Epitome*, starting with the treatise's title. There is no general introductory statement about the treatise's place in Buddhist literature, its author, the divisions to be encountered in the course of the text, or any other typical framing device for a Buddhist commentary. By contrast, the second set of *Epitome* annotations (P. T. 763

pa [dang] sbyar te/). Similar wording is found in the preface, P. T. 767, fol. 2r6–7: “The ‘matter to be known’ is two-fold—the operation [of the twelve branches of interdependence] in order and in reverse. In this instance, the operation in order is itself divided into four aspects, the operation in reverse making [a total of] five [aspects]. In general, if [the ‘matter to be known’ with regards to the subject matter of the twelve branches of interdependent origination] is condensed, the ‘matter to be known’ is said to have five aspects. Regarding them, [the first of] the four divisions [of the operation in order] is ‘teaching the twelve branches [of interdependent origination] in three groups, so as to condense them’” (Tib. *yongsu shes pa'i dngos po ni lugs su 'byung ba dang lugs las ldog pha gnyis yin te/ skabs 'dIr nI lugs su 'byung ba [...] de yang rnam pa bzhir dbye bas lugs ldog pha dang lnga ste spyir bsdu na yongsu shes pa'I dngos po rnam pha lnga zhes bya'o/ /de la bzhir dbye ba nI yan lag bcu gnyis bsdu ba'I phyir dum bu gsum du bstan pha dang/ /*). The erroneous reference to “fourteen branches of interdependent origination” in the P. T. 766 annotation could be explained by a lecture setting. We may posit a situation in which a teacher says something along the lines of the statement in the preface: “Regarding the ‘matter to be known’, the first of four categories subsumes the twelve branches into three groups.” A student taking notes on these teachings, who happened to be falling behind at that point, could conceivably conflate the numbers in that sentence and produce something along the lines of the annotation in P. T. 766: “The ‘matter to be known’ subsumes the fourteen branches into three groups.” A scenario in which the numbers twelve (Tib. *bcu gnyis*) and fourteen (Tib. *bcu bzhi*) have been conflated with each other would also explain why the P. T. 766 annotation gives ‘fourteen’ with the instrumental particle *-s*: *bcu bzhis*. I explore the role of oral teachings in shaping Facheng's translations and exegetical works in my current book-in-progress.

51 For another example of a text division mentioned in the preface that appears in the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766, see fn. 52. The annotations to 101 Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 768 also announce textual divisions, although they are working with a different outline of the treatise. See for instance, the annotations to ‘how are they subsumed’ (Tib. *gang du bsdu ba [...]*) (101 Tib J 623, fol. r3), ‘types of branches’ (Tib. *yan lag bye brag [...]*) (P. T. 763, fol. r3), and ‘the final also’ (Tib. *mtha' ma'i yang [...]*) (P. T. 768, fol. r2).

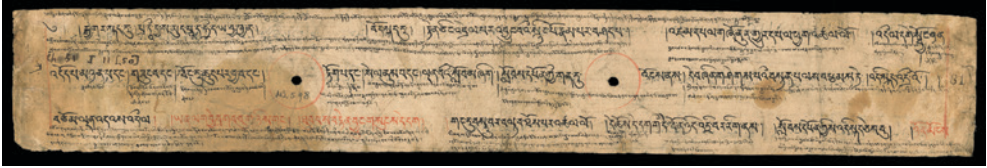


FIGURE 9.5A Variant set of Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 7.4 cm × 50.4 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
IOL TIB J 623, FOL. 1R, BL

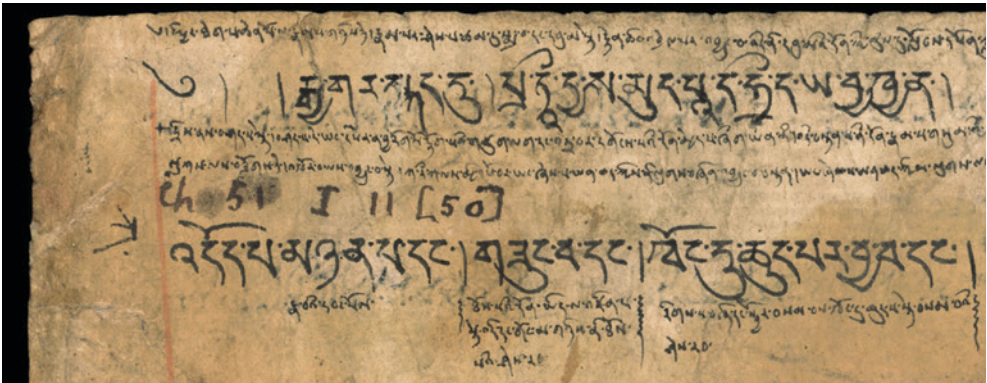


FIGURE 9.5B Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
IOL TIB J 623, FOL. 1R1–2, BL

and IOL Tib J 623, fig. 9.5) opens with just such an introductory paragraph.⁵² Some annotated commentaries, then, did open with introductory remarks, but for annotations that circulated with a preface, such an opening would be redundant—the treatise having already been introduced in the preface. Thus,

52 IOL Tib J 623/P. T. 763's introductory paragraph also mentions that the text has no introduction (Tib. *gleng gzhi*, Skt. *nidāna*) and thus there is no need to comment on it (IOL Tib J 623, fol. 1r; P. T. 763, fol. 1r). The preface in P. T. 767, meanwhile, specifies the *nidāna* as the first of seven major subdivisions (fol. 2r5). A *nidāna* is also mentioned by the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotations to the first line of the treatise. Although these survive in fragmentary form, they appear to match the preface's comments on the *nidāna* almost verbatim, P. T. 767, fol. 2r5: "Of these [seven points], applying the *nidāna* as the cause that gave rise to the preaching of the treatise, [in the case of this treatise,] it is the [doctrine of] interdependent origination spoken by the Sage." (Tib. *de[?]} la gleng gzhi ni bstan bcos bshad pa[?]* 'byung ba'I rgyu yin bar sbyar te / thub pas gsungs pa'I rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'o). By comparison, P. T. 766's annotation to 'now then' (Tib. *di la*), with reconstructed text in square brackets, reads as follows, P. T. 766, fol. 1r1: "Applying the *nidāna*, it is the interdependent origination spoken by the Sage." (Tib. *gleng gzhi [dang] sbyar ste [thub pa]s gsungs pa'I [rte]n cing 'brel bar ['b]yu[ng] ba'o /).*

while not conclusive, it is possible to see the absence of an introductory section in the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotations as evidence that these annotations may have originally been accompanied by separate prefatory material, something akin to the Tibetan preface in P. T. 767.

While these observations suggest some link between the Tibetan preface and the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766, the constellation of Buddhist literature cited by both texts may reveal another aspect of the connection between them. Both include similar passages on Nāgārjuna's qualities as a teacher, in the course of which they cite the same two prophecies from the *Laṅkāvatāra*- (Derge Tōhoku no. 107) and *Mahāmegha*- (Derge Tōhoku no. 232) *sūtras*.⁵³ Both also cite the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4035) and Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (Derge Tōhoku no. 3825). The annotations similarly cite the *Śālistambasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 210), while the preface cites its commentary by Kalamāśīla (*Śālistambaṭikā*, Derge Tōhoku no. 4001).⁵⁴ One would expect authors working in Dunhuang, or the Hexi region, in the same period to draw on a shared pool of Buddhist literature and lore, and this is borne out by these lists of proof texts. Yet, the significant overlaps here may also signal a more direct relationship between the two texts.

In answer to the questions posed at the start of this section, it seems likely that the annotated *Epitome* manuscripts are so-called 'annotated gloss commentaries'. This designation suggests that annotated manuscripts were considered to be full-fledged works of commentary in their own right. Given the ubiquity of annotated manuscripts from the earliest periods of Tibetan literature up until the present day, our understanding of this format carries wide-reaching implications. I return to this point in section 5.

Secondly, though we are not able to definitively link a particular annotated manuscript with the preface in P. T. 767, we are able to map different commentarial traditions within the corpus. Specifically, in terms of both form and content, P. T. 766 (if not the unfinished P. T. 762) represents the very sort of manuscript that the preface of P. T. 767 was intended to accompany. The same cannot be said for IOL Tib J 623/P. T. 763 and P. T. 768, which explicate the

53 On these prophecies, see Max Walleiser, *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* (New Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1979 [1923]), 19–22; and Ye, "Nāgārjuna," 338–339. The *Mahāmeghasūtra* prophecy is discussed by Joseph Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 71–73; and Ian Mabbett, "The Problem of the Historical Nāgārjuna Revisited," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.3 (1998): 336–337.

54 At several points, the annotations erroneously attribute passages to the *Śālistambasūtra* that are actually from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭikā*. See, for instance, passage F in table 9.5 below (P. T. 766, fol. 1v1).

Epitome according to a different outline from that encountered in both the preface and in P. T. 766.

3 Chinese Commentarial Materials: The *Epitome Notes*

As already mentioned, in Dunhuang we find at least four manuscripts of a Chinese commentary on the *Epitome* entitled the *Epitome Notes* (fig. 9.6). The commentary's title, structure, and terminology suggest that it may have been composed by Facheng. The *Epitome Notes* consists of an expository introductory section that is followed by a line-by-line gloss of the *Epitome* auto-commentary. The introductory section of the *Epitome Notes* is divided into four sections: (1) identifying the author (Chin. *yi ming zaolun zhi zhu* 一明造論之主), (2) explaining the reason for the composition (Chin. *er ming zaolun zhi yin* 二明造論之因), (3) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Chin. *san ming suozao zhi lun wei zhengliang fou* 三明所造之論為正量不), and (4) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Chin. *si bian lun suozong* 四辨論所宗).

After these four have been discussed, the commentary proceeds with a gloss in two parts, first of the title and then of the text itself. The glosses follow a regular formula, which cites the word or phrase being glossed and then gives a comment of variable length: *yan* 言 [... citation ...] *zhe* 者, [... comment ...] (*ye* 也). For example, the very first word of the title is glossed as follows:⁵⁵

言因緣者，此遮斷常無因等論諸惡見也。(T. 2816.85, 1178c24–25)

Speaking of 'causes and conditions' [i.e., interdependent origination]: This refutes the pernicious views of such theories as nihilism, permanence, and [origination] without a cause.

4 Comparing the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* Commentaries

We are effectively dealing with two sub-commentaries to the *Epitome* auto-commentary: the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan 'annotated gloss commentary' constituted by the preface in P. T. 767 and the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766. What can we learn from reading them side-by-side?

55 Unless otherwise noted, citations of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are based on T. 2816.85, although the punctuation is my own.

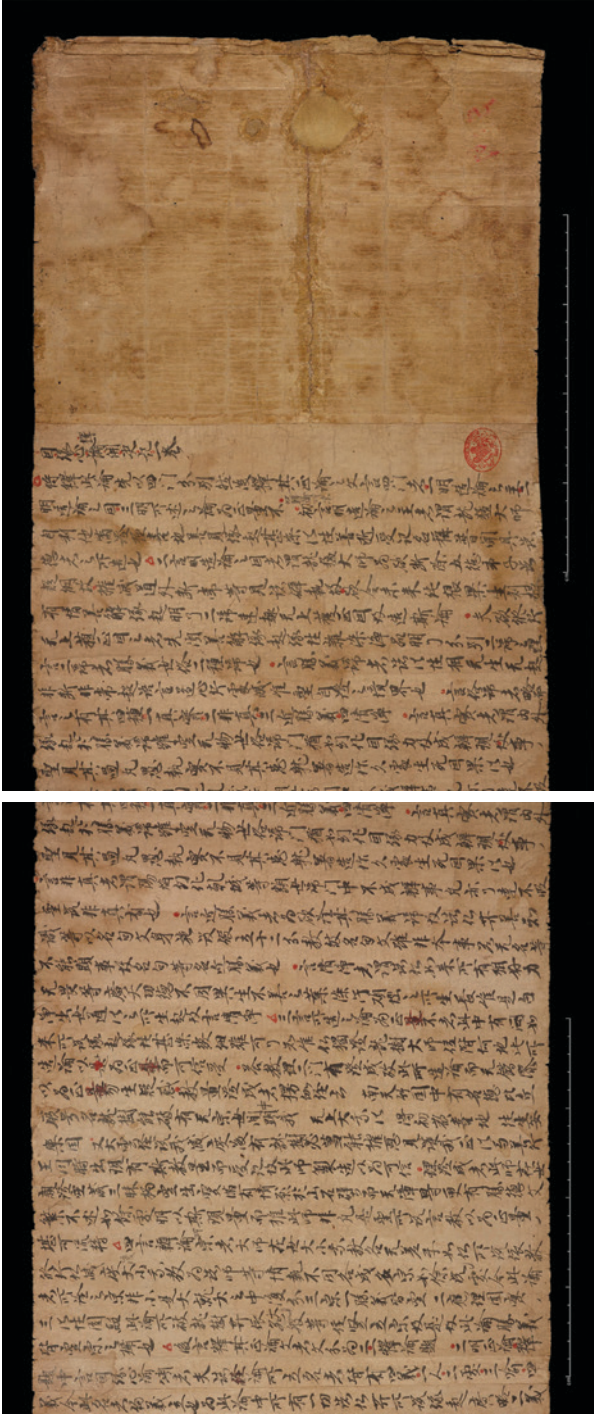


FIGURE 9.6 Chinese Epitome Notes, 29 cm × 444 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century

S.269, COL. 1-34, BL

4.1 *Comparing the Tibetan Preface and the Chinese Introduction*

4.1.1 Parallels of Structure, Syntax, and Content

The Chinese and Tibetan sub-commentaries share a structural resemblance, consisting of an expository introduction followed by a line-by-line gloss of the auto-commentary. When we compare their outlines in table 9.1, the resemblance is striking.⁵⁶

The topics covered in the introductory sections of both sub-commentaries show significant overlap. The four topics of the Chinese text correspond to the first four topics of the Tibetan preface, though in a slightly different order: the doxographical considerations come first in Tibetan (1.1) and last in the Chinese (1.4). The Tibetan topics devoted to naming the topic divisions (1.5) and glossing the title (1.6) do not appear in the Chinese introduction. However, when we ignore the hierarchy of the outline and simply examine the placement of Tibetan topic 1.6—an explanation of the title—we notice that it appears where the Chinese commentary shifts from the expository introductory section to a gloss of the title.

TABLE 9.1 The outlines of the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan annotated gloss commentary (i.e., preface + annotations)

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85)	Tib. annotated gloss commentary (P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766)
(1) introduction by way of four gates (Chin. <i>xian yi simen fenbie</i> 先以四門分別)	(1) introduction by way of six topics (Tib. <i>mgo nan la don rnam pha drug cig brjod par bya ste</i>) (1.1) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Tib. <i>gzhung 'dl gang gl yin ba bstan</i>)
(1.1) identifying the author (Chin. <i>yi ming zaolun zhi zhu</i> 一明造論之主)	(1.2) identifying the author (Tib. <i>bstan bcos 'dl sus mdzad pha'I khungs bstan pa</i>)

56 I have paraphrased the section headings to emphasise the similarities. There are numerous differences in wording. For example, “identifying the author” is more literally rendered as “explaining the master who composed the treatise,” in Chinese (1.1) and “teaching the source [in terms of] who composed this treatise,” in Tibetan (1.2). There is not space in this paper to fully examine the overlaps and divergences in wording between the Chinese and Tibetan section headings, though I do consider the broader question of cultural influences on commentarial forms in section 5.

TABLE 9.1 The outlines of the Chinese *Epitome Notes* ... (cont.)

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85)	Tib. annotated gloss commentary (P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766)
(1.2) explaining the reason for the composition (Chin. <i>er ming zaolun zhi yin</i> 二明造論之因)	(1.3) explaining the reason for the composition (Tib. <i>bstan bcos 'dl jPI phyir brtsams pa'I dgos pha bstan pa</i>) [unnumbered] describing the composition's literary form (Tib. <i>ji ltar brtsams she na</i>)
(1.3) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Chin. <i>san ming suozaolun wei zhengliang fou</i> 三明所造之論為正量不)	(1.4) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Tib. <i>bstan bcos 'dl tshad mar gzung du rung ngam myi rung ba'I gtan tshigs bstan pa</i>)
(1.3.1) authentication through scriptural quotes (Chin. <i>jiaoliang zhengcheng</i> 教量證成)	(1.4.1) authentication through scriptural quotes (Tib. <i>lung</i>)
(1.3.2) authentication through logical reasoning (Chin. <i>li zhengcheng</i> 理證成)	(1.4.2) authentication through logical reasoning (Tib. <i>rIgs pa</i>)
	(1.5) identifying the number of subdivisions that form the framework of the exposition (Tib. <i>'dl la yang rtsis mgo du zhig gis bshad par sbyar ba bstan pa</i>)
(1.4) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Chin. <i>si bian lun suozaolun</i> 四辨論所宗)	
(2) glossing the treatise (Chin. <i>ranhou shi qi zhenglun zhi wen</i> 然後釋其正論之文)	
(2.1) glossing the title (Chin. <i>yi shi lunti</i> 一釋論題)	(1.6) explaining the title (Tib. <i>j'I phyir rten 'brel snying po zhes btags pa'I bshad pha</i>)
(2.2) explaining the text (Chin. <i>er ming zhenglun</i> 二明正論)	(2) annotations (Tib. <i>mchan</i>)
(2.2.1) the extensive meaning (Chin. <i>guangyi</i> 廣義), verses 1–5	
(2.2.2) the brief meaning (Chin. <i>lüeyi</i> 略義), verses 6–7	

The resemblances between the expository introductions of both texts go beyond their organisational structures to the content and wording of the texts themselves. Both texts open with parallel statements:

TABLE 9.2 The opening lines of the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85, 1178a25–26)	Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fol. 1r1)
將釋此論，先以四門分別，然後釋其正論之文。	<i>rten 'brel gyi snying po 'dl bshad pa la thog ma kho nar mgo nan la don rnam pha drug cig brjod par bya ste </i>
Taking up the explanation of this treatise, one first divides it into four gates and (only) after that glosses the text of the treatise itself.	To explain this <i>Epitome of Interdependence</i> , at the start, one first of all should state the six topics.

As the texts continue, the main points are each listed in distinctly similar verbal phrases, respectively ‘illuminating’ (Chin. *ming* 明) and ‘teaching’ or ‘showing’ (Tib. *bstan pa*) the topic at hand. In their discussions of the treatise’s author (Chin. 1.1 and Tib. 1.2), the qualities attributed to Nāgārjuna are virtually identical. He is hailed as one who has “accomplished benefit for self and other,” “fully realised the *bhūmi* of Utter Joy,” “seen well the very profound *dharmatā* of dependent arising,” and “been prophesied by the Sugata.”⁵⁷ In their sections on the reason behind the treatise (Chin. 1.2 and Tib. 1.3), both texts include a lengthy excursus on the two truths, in which four types of relative truth are identified.⁵⁸ In the section that follows (Chin. 1.3 and Tib. 1.4), both texts establish the treatise’s authority through appeals to the same passages of the *Laṅkāvatāra-* (T. 672.16, Derge Tōhoku no. 107) and *Mahāmeḡha-* (T. 387.12,

57 T. 2816.85, 1178a28–b1: 謂龍猛大師自利他滿，證極喜地，善見緣起甚深法性，善逝受記，名稱普聞，具諸德者之所造也。P. T. 767, fol. 1r3–4: *'phags pha klus sgrub / bdag dang gzhan gyi don grub pha'i mtha' / rgya mtsho'I pha rol du byon pa / rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba ji ltar gnas pha bzhin du [[gnas] de kho na gzigs pha[[s] sa rab [[sdu]]] {tu} dgyel ba'i khyad bar brnyes pa / bde bar gshegs pas lung bstan pa[[s] des mdzad do /*

58 T. 2816.85, 1178b2–24, and P. T. 767, fol. 1r4–14. The texts use standard names for the two truths: absolute truth (Chin. *shengyi di* 勝義諦, Tib. *don dam pa'i bden pa*) and relative truth (Chin. *shisu di* 世俗諦, Tib. *kun rdzob kyi bden pa*). The four types of relative truth are the real (Chin. *zhenshi* 真實, Tib. *bden pa'I kun rdzob*), the untrue (Chin. *feizhen* 非真, Tib. *yang dag pa ma yin pa'I kun rdzob*), the close to the absolute (Chin. *jin shengyi* 近勝義, Tib. *don dam pha dang nye ba'I kun rdzob*), and the purified (Chin. *qingjing* 清淨, Tib. *mam par byang ba'I kun rdzob*).

Derge Tōhoku no. 232) *sūtras*, as well as by a similar train of reasoning.⁵⁹ And so on.

It is difficult to say exactly what type of relationship is indicated by these structural and syntactic correspondences. The structure of the *Epitome Notes* is firmly rooted in Chinese Buddhist commentarial genres.⁶⁰ Similarly, the syntax with which the text opens and proceeds is likewise standard scholastic Buddhist Chinese.⁶¹ Thus, an initial appraisal might suggest that the Tibetan preface has been influenced by Chinese commentarial models. However, large holes in our understanding of Buddhist scholasticism make such a claim difficult to assess. Chinese Buddhist commentarial modes, in particular, reflect a complex synthesis of imported and indigenous practices.⁶² As our understanding of culturally embedded commentarial forms grows, we will be better able to assess the degree of Chinese influence on the Tibetan preface and to differentiate that from Indic influences being refracted through Tibetan scholasticism.

59 T. 2816.85, 1178b25–c10, and P. T. 767, fol. 1115–v4. The *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* cites Śikṣānanda's (652–710, Chin. Shichanantuo 實叉難陀) translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (T. 672.16, 627c19–22) and the Tibetan preface cites Derge Tōhoku no. 107 (Derge 107, 165b5–6), with one significant variant. In a bit of irony, this passage is missing from Guṇabhadra's (394–468, Chin. Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅) Chinese translation (T. 670.16), on which Derge Tōhoku no. 108—generally credited to Facheng—is based. For an overview of Facheng's involvement in the Tibetan translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, see Meghan Howard Masang and Amanda Goodman, "The Mise-en-page of a Sino-Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscript: Yuanhui's Commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*," *The Medieval Globe* 8.2 (2022): 139–169; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," xii–xviii, 181–182. See fn. 53 for references to scholarship on these prophecies.

60 Chinese Buddhist exegesis remains critically understudied—as do Buddhist scholastic practices across all traditions. Three useful points of departure, which include descriptions of various commonly employed organisational structures, are Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Wōnhyo: Buddhist Commentator *Par Excellence*," *Journal of Korean Religions* 8.1 (2017): 131–160; Hiroshi Kanno and Rafal Felbur, "Sūtra Commentaries in Chinese until the Tang Period," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One: Literature and Languages*, ed. by Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 450–466; and Alexander L. Mayer, "Commentarial Literature," in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 165–168. These three articles are devoted to *sūtra* commentaries. As a commentary on *śāstra*, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* belongs to a slightly different and almost completely unstudied category.

61 A simple search of the phrase 'taking up the explanation of this treatise' (Chin. *jiang shi ci lun* 將釋此論) on CBETA's digital corpus yields 21 matches; 'taking up the explanation of this *sūtra*' (Chin. *jiang shi ci jing* 將釋此經) yields 82. Search conducted October 11, 2021.

62 See, for instance, Buswell's characterisation of Wōnhyo's exegetical style as "a thoroughgoing fusion of imported Indian commentarial practice and indigenous Sinitic scholarly exegesis, primarily based on Confucian models," in Buswell, "Wōnhyo," 138.

4.1.2 Differences and Points of Convergence

Given these similarities, it may be more fruitful to ask what the differences between the two texts are. The most significant difference is section 1.5 in the Tibetan preface—on the topical divisions of the treatise—which is absent from the Chinese introduction.⁶³ In this section, the author of the preface references various frameworks used to structure the presentation of interdependent origination in other *sūtras* and *śāstras*. He then demonstrates how the respective lists of subtopics associated with interdependent origination in the *Yogācārabhūmi* and Kamalaśīla's (ca. 740–795) *Śālistambaṭīkā* may be applied to the *Epitome*.⁶⁴

Although this discussion is not present in the *Epitome Notes*, we nevertheless find a point of convergence between the two texts. In discussing the ‘matter to be known’ (Tib. *yongs su shes pa'i dngos po*, Skt. *parijñeyavastu*, third of the *Śālistambaṭīkā*'s seven topics), the author of the Tibetan preface divides the main body of the *Epitome* into five topics. The names of these five topics and—so far as they are specified—the corresponding divisions of the text match the five divisions of the ‘extensive explanation’ specified in the Chinese commentary (Chin. 2.2.1):

TABLE 9.3 The five ‘matters to be known’, as applied to the *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* by the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)	Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)
就廣之中復分爲五。 The extensive presentation is further divided into five:	<i>yong su shes pa'i dngos po ni lugs su 'byung ba dang lugs las ldog pha gnyis yin te/ skabs 'dlr nI lugs su 'byung ba</i> 《[yang]》 <i>de yang rnam pa bzhir dbye bas lugs ldog pha dang lnga ste spyir bsdu na yongsu shes pa'I dngos po rnam pha lnga zhes bya'o/ /de la bzhir dbye ba nI</i>

63 P. T. 767, fols. 1v5–2r11.

64 Kamalaśīla's dates after James Marks and Vincent Eltschinger, “Kamalaśīla,” in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 272, who cite Erich Frauwallner, “Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 5 (1961): 144.

TABLE 9.3 The five ‘matters to be known’ ... (cont.)

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)	Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)
	<p>‘The matter to be known’ is [the twelve branches] arising in order and in reverse order. In this case, arising in order is divided into four aspects with the reverse order making five. When summarised in general, ‘the matter to be known’ is said to have five aspects. Regarding which, the division into the four [of arising in order] are as follows:</p>
<p>一, 三攝十二門, 即初二頌也. (1) the gate onto subsuming the twelve [branches] into three: verses 1–2</p>	<p><i>yan lag bcu gnyis bsdu ba’I phyir dum bu gsum du bstan pha dang//</i> (1) teaching three groups into which the twelve branches may be subsumed</p>
<p>二, 十二支法遞互相生無有始終門, 即第三頌. (2) the gate onto the twelve branches arising one from another without beginning or end: verse 3</p>	<p><i>yan lag rnam «pa» gcig las gcig ’byung ba’I «p»yir thog ma dang tha ma myed par bstan pa dang//</i> (2) teaching that the branches arise one from another and thus there is no beginning or end</p>
<p>三, 十二支法空故無我門, 即頌中半頌也. (3) the gate onto the twelve branches being empty and, thereby, the nonexistence of a self: verse 4ab</p>	<p><i>yan lag stong pa nyid kyi phyir bdag myed par bstan pa dang//</i> (3) teaching that the branches are empty and thus there is no self</p>

TABLE 9.3 The five ‘matters to be known’ ... (cont.)

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)	Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)
四，十二支法離二邊故無轉移門， 即頌中始從唯從於空法至不移。	<i>yan lag mtha' gnyis dang bral ba'I phyir myi 'pho bar bstan pha'o//</i>
(4) the gate onto the twelve branches transcending the two extremes and, thereby, the nonexistence of transmigration: verses 4cd and 5, except for 智應察	(4) teaching that the branches are free from the two extremes and thus there is no [trans]migration
五，還滅門，即頌云智應察也。	<i>de la ldog pa nI dngos su zad de/ tha ma'I yang zhes bya ba dang sbyar ro//</i>
(5) the gate onto reversing and exhausting [the twelve branches]: 智應察 of verse 5d	(5) regarding that, reversal is actual exhaustion, and it applies to the final <i>also</i> (Tib. <i>yang</i> , in 5d)

Thus, the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan commentary divide the main body of the *Epitome* treatise into the same five sections. In the Tibetan commentary, these five core divisions are embedded within a larger exegetical framework drawn from an authoritative Indic source (Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*). The Chinese commentary's presentation is considerably more succinct, and it does not reference any framework external to the *Epitome* itself.

Another discrepancy is found in the commentaries' respective sections on the *Epitome*'s doxographical position (Chin. 1.4, Tib. 1.1).⁶⁵ Here the *Epitome Notes* makes cursory mention of the fragmenting of the Buddha's followers into multiple schools following his *parinirvāṇa* and then references a fuller account 'given elsewhere' (Chin. *ru yuchu shuo* 如餘處說, T. 2816.85, 1178c13). The Chinese text then divides the Mahāyāna into three schools, locating the *Epitome* within the school propounding the 'absolute truth that all is empty' (Chin. *shengyi jie kong zong* 勝義皆空宗). Meanwhile, the Tibetan preface simply identifies the *Epitome* as 'close to the *sūtra*-based Middle Way view' (Tib. *mdo sde pa'I dbu ma pa'i lta ba*, Skt. *sautrāntika madhyamaka*) and directs

65 T. 2816.85, 1178c11–c17, and P. T. 767, fol. 1r3.

readers to the *lTa ba'i khyad par* [The Particularities of (Buddhist) Views, Derge Tōhoku no. 4360].⁶⁶

In other words, the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* commentaries appear to be operating within different doxographical schema. Yet, here too, we find points of convergence. The Dunhuang manuscript P. 2045 offers a hint as to the fuller doxographical account referenced by the *Epitome Notes*.⁶⁷ In P. 2045, the Chinese *Epitome* (T. 1654.32) is followed by an untitled text discussing the division of the Mahāyāna into three sub-schools, which precisely match the divisions listed in the *Epitome Notes*.⁶⁸ This passage turns out to be an excerpt of Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85), a composition that, as documented by Ueyama, draws heavily on *The Particularities of Buddhist Views* by Yéshé Dé.⁶⁹ If this conjecture is correct, the Chinese *Epitome Notes* is

- 66 This identification is made in an interlinear addition in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The note is hard to read in available images, nevertheless the reference to *sautrāntika madhyamaka* is not in doubt: *mdo sde pa'I dbu ma pa'i lta ba dang sbya du nyé bar ni* (P. T. 767, fol. 1r3). *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*, by the famous translator Yéshé Dé—credited with the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdaya* translation and many others—is one of the first Buddhist doxographies composed in Tibetan. It survives in the Tengyur and in the incomplete Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 814. For more on this important text, see David Seyfort Ruegg, “Autour du *lTa ba'i khyad par* de Ye šes sde (version de Touen-houang, Pelliot tibétain 814),” *Journal asiatique* 269.1–2 (1981): 207–229.
- 67 P. 2045 contains seven texts and has attracted attention in particular because of four Chan (禪) texts (three tied to Shenhui [668–760, 神會]) that open the manuscript: the *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 [Treatise Determining the True and the False about Bodhidharma's Southern School], *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 [The Platform Sermon of the Venerable of Nanyang on Directly Comprehending the Nature according to the Chan Approach to Emancipation in the Sudden Teachings], *Nanzong ding xiezheng wugeng zhuan* 南宗定邪正五更轉 [Determining Wrong from Right according to the Southern School over the Course of the Five Watches of the Night], and *Sanzang fashi Putidamo jueguan lun* 三藏法師菩提達摩絕觀論 [Tripiṭaka Dharma Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition]. These are followed by the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* (T. 1621.31), the *Pratīyasamutpādaḥrdaya* (T. 1654.32, verses and auto-commentary), and an untitled excerpt from Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85, 544b3–545a2). Ueyama mistakenly gives a list of eight texts, listing the final item twice, first as “untitled” (no. 7) and a second time as an excerpt of Facheng's commentary (no. 8) (*Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 407, 431). On the dating of P. 2045, see fn. 24.
- 68 The three schools named by the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are (1) the school of the ‘absolute truth is that all is empty’ (Chin. *shengyi jie kong* 勝義皆空), (2) the school of ‘corresponding to reason is perfect reality’ (Chin. *yingli yuanshi* 應理圓實), and (3) the school of ‘the nature of *dharmas* is perfect interfusion’ (Chin. *faxing yuanrong* 法性圓融). See T. 2816.85, 1178c14–16, and compare the list of synonyms at T. 2782.85, 544b3–6.
- 69 The passage corresponds to T. 2782.85, 544b3–545a2. Ueyama seems to have been the first to recognise this as an excerpt of Facheng's commentary. See Ueyama, “Tonkō ni okeru zen,” 95–96.

referencing a doxographical discussion that itself is heavily influenced by the doxographical treatise cited by the Tibetan preface.

The doxographical discussion in Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary also helps bridge the divergent classifications of the *Epitome* found in its Tibetan and Chinese commentaries. The formulation used in the *Epitome Notes* ('school of the absolute truth that all is empty') is listed in Facheng's commentary as a synonym for the 'school of the middle that relies on *sūtras*' (Chin. *yijing zhongzong* 依經中宗). This idiosyncratic formulation is likely a calque of *sautrāntika madhyamaka* ('*sūtra*-based Middle Way', Tib. *mdo sde pa'i dbu ma pa'i lta ba*),⁷⁰ the same term attached to the *Epitome* by the Tibetan preface. In the case of the Tibetan preface, the ultimate source for the term seems to have been the twofold delineation of the Middle Way school in *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*. This does not change the fact that the Chinese text locates the *Epitome* within one of three Mahāyāna schools, while the Tibetan text aligns it with a particular strand of Middle Way thought (of presumably two such strands). Neither should we assume that the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface necessarily intend the same thing with the *sautrāntika madhyamaka* label.⁷¹ As with the treatise's exegetical outline, the Tibetan and Chinese commentaries are working with different doxographical frameworks. Nevertheless, within these variant frameworks, the terminology and content converge in unexpected ways.

4.2 *Comparing the Tibetan Annotations and the Chinese Glosses*

We do not find Chinese manuscripts of the *Epitome* auto-commentary marked up in a fashion similar to the annotated Tibetan manuscripts. However, the second half of the *Epitome Notes* proceeds as a series of glosses. Upon comparison, the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 766/P. T. 762 correspond with remarkable frequency to the Chinese glosses of the *Epitome Notes*:

70 This possibility was first proposed by Ueyama, "Hōjō no kenkyū 2," 193–196. See also his analysis of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*'s doxography in light of Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (which also incorporates large sections of the *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*), Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 57–58.

71 Facheng's synthesis of Chinese Faxiang (法相) *yogācāra* with Indo-Tibetan **yogācāra-madhyamaka* in his *Śālistamba* commentary has attracted significant scholarly attention. See, in particular, Ueyama, "Hōjō no kenkyū 2," 193–196, as well as the broader discussion of influences evident in Facheng's oeuvre in the same work, 177–222.

TABLE 9.4 A comparison of *Epitome Notes* glosses with two sets of Tibetan annotations

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85)	P. T. 766	IOI Tib J 623
<p>言沙門者, 即是梵音. 此云善學, 亦云善寂, 即是諸聖及隨彼聖出家衆也. 此則通於內外學也. (1179a18–21)</p>	<p>gloss on <i>dge sbyong</i> (fol. 1r1): <i>sha ra ma na zhes bya ba sdig pa zhi</i> <i>bar bya ba spyod cing legs pa la sbyong</i> <i>zhing 'phags pa rab tu byung ba mamś</i> <i>dang rjesu rab du byung ba'o/ 'di ni</i> <i>slob ma yon than lnga dang ldan pa'o/</i></p>	<p>gloss on <i>dge sbyong</i> (fol. 1r1): <i>myi dge spong zhing dge</i> <i>ba bsgrub pas na dge</i> <i>slong</i></p>
<p><i>Shamen</i> [Skt. <i>śramaṇa</i>] is the Sanskrit pronunciation. It means 'well learned' and also 'well quieted', referring to the saints [Skt. <i>ārya</i>] and the body of the ordained who follow those saints. This refers to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist learning.</p>	<p><i>Sharamana</i> [Skt. <i>śramaṇa</i>], meaning one who cultivates the pacification of sin and trains in the good, [indicating] the ordained noble ones [Skt. <i>ārya</i>] and those ordained following them. Here it refers to the disciple of five qualities.</p>	<p>One who abandons non-virtue and accomplishes virtue, hence, a fully ordained monk [Skt. <i>bhikṣu</i>].</p>
<p>言樂聞者, 爲遮不信及無欲樂. 欲雖多^a, 此中欲令於緣起義明了聞也. (1179a21–22)</p>	<p>gloss on <i>nyan 'dod pa</i> (fol. 1r1): <i>ma dad pa dang myl 'dod pa dgag pa</i> <i>ste 'dod pa la ya+ng^b mang mod kyI</i> <i>'dlr ni rkyen [[kun]] kyI do⟨n⟩ kun shes</i> <i>pa[[l]] 'dod pa'I [[don gyis]] semse^c</i> <i>[[sa'i]] kyis nyan 'dod pa'I phyir</i></p>	<p>no gloss on <i>nyan 'dod pa</i> (fol. 1r–2)</p>
<p>It says 'enjoyed hearing' in order to refute non-faith and disinclination. Although there are many types of 'wanting', here it means wanting to hear so as to engender a clear understanding of the meaning of conditioned arising.</p>	<p>['Wanting to hear'] refutes non-faith and disinclination (lit. 'non-wanting'). Although there are many types of 'wanting', [it is used] here because [the disciple] wanted to hear, thinking, "I want to know all the meanings of conditions."</p>	

TABLE 9.4 A comparison of *Epitome Notes* glosses with two sets of Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

<i>Epitome Notes</i> (T. 2816.85)	P. T. 766	IOI Tib J 623
<p>言能悟者，調意識憶持所了之義。以惠善觀於聞聲義，無有遺^d餘悉了知也。(1179a25–26)</p> <p>‘Able to realise’ means the mental consciousness retains the meaning that has been understood; [the disciple] uses wisdom to carefully contemplate the meaning that has been heard and understands it all without any remainder.</p>	<p>gloss on <i>khong du chud par bya ba’ dang</i> (fol. 1r2):^e</p> <p>yi[d] la gzung [b]a’i don de dag ma [n]o[r] par shes rab [gyis khong du cud ching yi ge dang sgra’i don ’ga’ tsham yang myi rig pa dang myi r]togs par myI ’gyur bar bya ba’I pyir [sems tham]s shad kyIs bsam nus pa’i phyir</p> <p>[‘To be comprehended’ is used] to indicate that [the disciple is] unmistaken with regard to those meanings that were retained in mind, comprehending them with wisdom and not failing to recognise or understand the meaning of some of the letters or words; and to indicate that he is able to reflect on it with his all of his mind.</p>	<p>gloss on <i>khong du chud par bya ba’ dang</i> (fol. r2a):</p> <p>rigs pa bzhi dang sbyor bsam bas khong du chud pa ste bsam ba’I shes rab</p> <p>That which is comprehended by intending to apply the four principles of reasoning, [namely], the wisdom of contemplation.</p>

a T. 2816.85 reads 無樂。欲欲欲雖多。Emended to 無欲樂。欲雖多 on the basis of S. 269 (l. 51), which reads 無樂{乙}欲乙雖多。The first 乙 appears to the right of the character 樂, as a reverse marker indicating that 欲 should precede 樂。The second 乙 appears in line with the rest of the text, directly below 欲, as a ditto marker indicating that 欲 should be repeated。The Taishō editors were apparently misled by the combination of these notations。P. 2211 reads 無樂欲雖多 (l. 47)。I have not had access to images of S. 541, and P. 2538V starts after this point in the text。On correction marks and other Chinese manuscript conventions, see Imre Galambos, “Correction Marks in the Dunhuang Manuscripts,” in *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, ed. Imre Galambos (Budapest: ELTE University, Department of East Asian Languages, 2013), 191–210, and Imre Galambos, “Punctuation Marks in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts,” in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg Quenzer and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 341–357。Galambos discusses combinations of correction marks in Galambos, “Correction Marks,” 208。

b See n. g to table 9.5.

c Read *sems*.

d T. 2816.85 reads 遺。Emended to 遺 on the basis of S. 269 (correction in red, l. 54) and P. 2211 (ll. 49–50)。Note that P. 2211 gives a slightly different reading for this gloss without significantly changing the meaning: 以惠 [damaged, possibly missing one character] 觀於聞起義，無為遺失餘悉了知也。

e P. T. 766 is damaged at this point。I have supplied missing or illegible text based on P. T. 762, panel 1.2。

As these examples demonstrate, the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 supply definitions rooted in Buddhist śāstric learning, and the two texts display significant parallels in syntax and semantic content.

To the degree that these glosses are stock definitions and standard interpretive schema, a parallel between the Chinese and Tibetan points to a shared body of Buddhist knowledge that was drawn on by both Sinophone and Tibetophone Buddhists in Dunhuang and the Hexi region.⁷² The many overlaps between the *Epitome Notes* and P. T. 762/P. T. 766 suggest that they emerged from a common scholastic environment.

4.2.1 Considering the Possibility of Influence

We can use the other Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts to further assess the degree of connection between the *Epitome Notes* and P. T. 762/P. T. 766 (table 9.4). For example, reading the annotations to IOL Tib J 623 (fig. 9.5) side by side with those to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 gives an indication of the range of overlaps and divergences possible in texts emerging from ninth-century Tibetophone scholiasts in Dunhuang and the Hexi region. Although the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and IOL Tib J 623 contain significant differences—and must be seen as unrelated works—both are rooted in traditional Buddhist scholasticism. IOL Tib J 623's annotation to *dge sbyong* (Skt. *śramaṇa*), for instance, reads as a paraphrase of the same stock definition that forms the basis of P. T. 762/P. T. 766's annotation of the same word.⁷³

72 Such traditional definitions are often based on Sanskrit *nirukti* etymologies, which make use of near homophones to analyse a given term's meaning. For examples, see fn. 73 and 79. The *nirukti* logic loses much of its interpretive force once translated into non-Indic languages. It is therefore worth noting the continued presence of such definitions in Buddhist scholastic traditions far removed from the Indic context. See also Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 150–152.

73 In this case, the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotation appears to be a citation of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Composition of Terms in Two Parts; hereafter *Composition of Terms*, Derge Tōhoku no. 4347]: *dge sbyong dang bram ze dang mu stegs can gyi ming la shra ma ṅa zhes bya shra ma tsā ri shra ma ṅa zhes bya ste/ sdig pa zhi bar byed pa spyod cing legs pa la sbyong bas na dge sbyong zhes bya/ dngos su na 'phags pa rab tu byung ba mams la bya/ de'i rjes su rab tu byung ba gzhan la yang bya/* (Derge 4347, 153b2–3). By shifting from pacification (Tib. *zhi bar bya ba spyod*) to abandoning (Tib. *spong*), IOL Tib J 623's paraphrase modifies the word play by which the underlying Sanskrit etymology was originally established. Seishi Karashima has compiled a list of Indic-language etymologies deriving *śramaṇa* from *śamayati* ('to pacify'), causative of *√sam* ('to be pacified'), Seishi Karashima, "Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations—*brāhmaṇa*, *śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa*," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 19 (2016): 108–110.

Yet, the annotations to IOL Tib J 623 also contain marked differences to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* glosses. While P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* comment exhaustively on almost every word or phrase in the root text, IOL Tib J 623 treats fewer terms and does so with greater concision. There are also differences in the scholastic source material referenced by the annotations. For example, in the gloss on ‘to be comprehended’ (Tib. *khong du chud par bya ba*), IOL Tib J 623 introduces a technical term (‘the four principles of reasoning’, Tib. *rigs pa bzhi*, Skt. *catasro yuktayah*) not found in the other texts’ comments. The degree of consistency between P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* is brought into relief by the contrast with IOL Tib J 623—in other words, the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 share closer parallels with the Chinese *Epitome Notes* than with other Tibetan *Epitome* annotations produced in the same historical moment.

Moreover, there are indications that the *Epitome Notes* may be dependent on the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766. For example, the *Epitome Notes* gives a two-sentence gloss on ‘enjoyed hearing’ (Chin. *le wen* 樂聞, T. 2816.85, 1179a21–22) (see table 9.4). The first sentence discusses ‘disinclination’ (Chin. *wuyule* 無欲樂), while the second sentence switches to a discussion of ‘wanting’ (Chin. *yu* 欲). This shift is facilitated by the fact that ‘wanting’ (Chin. *yu* 欲) is an element of ‘disinclination’ (Chin. *wuyule* 無欲樂), which in turn is picking up on the word ‘enjoyed’ (Chin. *le* 樂) from the root text. However, it is a bit puzzling that the gloss gives so much attention to *yu* (欲) when the actual term in the root text, *le* (樂), effectively goes unglossed. Furthermore, there is a textual problem at this point. P. 2211 reads ‘non-enjoyment’ (Chin. *wule* 無樂, l. 47), while S. 269’s reading (‘disinclination’) is achieved through a combination of two correction marks.⁷⁴ So, the term ‘disinclination’, which serves as the pivot between ‘enjoyed’ and ‘wanting’ is only attested in a single manuscript.⁷⁵ In P. 2211, the transition from ‘enjoyed’ to ‘wanting’ is even more abrupt, with the term ‘wanting’ seemingly unconnected to the root text or the gloss in question.⁷⁶

The reason for the shift from ‘enjoyed’ to ‘wanting’ is clarified by the Tibetan. What is alternately translated as enjoyment (Chin. *le* 樂), (dis)inclination

74 This combination misled the Taishō editors. See n. a to table 9.4.

75 Unfortunately, I have not had access to images of S. 541, and P. 2538V starts after this point in the text, so I am only able to compare the readings of S. 269 and P. 2211.

76 The phrase ‘[I] now wish to hear’ (Chin. *jin yule wen* 今欲樂聞) appears a few lines further down at the end of the disciple’s question (T. 1654.32, 490b22; T. 2816.85, 1179b17). It is possible that the introduction of *yu* (欲) in the gloss under discussion intentionally or inadvertently reflects this line. The gloss on ‘I now wish to hear’ does not comment on *yu* (欲).

(Chin. [wu]yule [無]欲樂), or wanting (Chin. yu 欲), is consistently translated as ‘wanting’ (Tib. ‘dod pa) in the Tibetan. The disciple is ‘wanting to hear’ (Tib. nyan ‘dod pa), and the term is used to refute ‘disinclination’, literally, ‘non-wanting’ (Tib. mi ‘dod pa). Possibly because this term is also an element in negatively charged Buddhist terms like ‘desire’ (Tib. ‘dod chags), the Tibetan commentator felt the need to specify why ‘wanting’ would be a positive quality in a disciple—a situation that was not the case with the unambiguously positive Chinese reading of a disciple who ‘enjoyed hearing [the Dharma]’.

This comment, moreover, seems likely to have originated with the Tibetan. The corresponding word is missing from both extant Sanskrit manuscripts, but the Tibetan *nyan ‘dod pa* most likely reflects the desiderative present participle of the Sanskrit verb for ‘to hear’ (‘wanting to hear’, Skt. *śuśrūṣamāṇah* from *śru*).⁷⁷ If this is indeed the underlying reading, ‘wanting’ would have been indicated by the verbal form itself. It would not be possible to analyse the Sanskrit word into discrete elements of ‘wanting’ and ‘hearing’, nor would the word in any way be related to Sanskrit words for ‘desire’ (Skt. *rāga, kāma*), ‘wishes’ (Skt. *abhilāṣa, chandas*), or the verb ‘to want’ (Skt. *√iṣ*). Thus, the Chinese appears to have imported the topic of ‘wanting’—as an element distinct from ‘hearing’—from the Tibetan.

The possibility of Tibetan influence is also suggested by the adaptation of parallel material to the different circumstances of the Tibetan and Chinese texts. In glossing the title, the Tibetan commentator breaks *rten cing ‘brel par ‘byung ba* (Skt. *pratīyasamutpāda*) into three parts (*rten cing*, ‘dependent’; *‘brel par*, ‘connected’; and *‘byung ba*, ‘arising’) and equates each with the refutation of one of three incorrect views (origination without a cause, nihilism, and permanence, respectively). In the Chinese title, *pratīyasamutpāda* is rendered more freely as *yinyuan* (因緣), ‘causes and conditions’. Though this term cannot be easily split into three, the commentator of the *Epitome Notes* states that the compound term refutes the same three wrong views encountered in the Tibetan.⁷⁸ It is easier to envision the abbreviation of this tripartite gloss than its expansion.

77 Compare Gokhale, “Der Sanskrit-Text,” 105, and Gokhale and Dhadphale, “Encore,” 62–68. *Śuśrūṣamāṇah* is given as an equivalent to *nyan ‘dod pa* in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4346). Alternatively, the underlying Sanskrit could have been *śrotukāmah*, which could also be reflected by the Chinese *lewen* (樂聞), though the Chinese may also reflect the gerundive of the same verb, ‘to be heard’ (Skt. *śravaṇīyah*).

78 T. 2816.85, 1178c24–25: “Speaking of ‘causes and conditions’: This refutes the pernicious views of such theories as nihilism, permanence, and [origination] without a cause” (Chin. 言因緣者, 此遮斷常無因等論諸惡見也).

Even when the Tibetan and Chinese texts differ, it may be possible to detect echoes of Tibetan scholasticism in the Chinese. In glossing the term ‘Blessed One’ (Skt. *bhagavān*, Tib. *bcom ldan ’das*, Chin. *boqiefan/poqiefan* 薄伽梵/婆伽梵), the Tibetan annotations adopt the language of several traditional etymologies to the effect that the Blessed One is so-called because he has conquered Māra’s army and, by extension, is fearless.⁷⁹ The Chinese defines the term more succinctly: “The Bhagavān is called ‘vanquished-endowed’, meaning that he has vanquished the four *māras* and is endowed with six merits.”⁸⁰ This combined paraphrase of two traditional Sanskrit etymologies could simply be another example of stock definitions common across Buddhist traditions.⁸¹

And yet, a search of the Chinese canon reveals that the Chinese phrase, ‘vanquished-endowed’ (Chin. *xiangfu ju* 降伏具) is quite rare. The term is attested only in two works: the *Epitome Notes* and Facheng’s *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85).⁸² It is likewise difficult to find Chinese definitions of

79 P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are both damaged at the point where they start to give an etymology for *bhagavān*. The portion that survives seems to be a citation from the *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4041): “As for ‘*bhagavān*’, on the *bodhimaṇḍa*, he conquered [(Tib. *bcom*)] the entire force of the sinful one’s *dharmas* and the army of *māras*.” (Tib. *bcom ldan ’das ni byang chub kyi snying por sdig pa can gyi chos dang/ bdud kyi g.yul gyi stobs thams cad bcom pa’o* [D4041, 33a6–7]). Compare P. T. 766, fol. 1r2: *bcom ldan ’das ni byang cub kyi snying por sdig pa can kyi chos dang/ bdud kyi g.yul thams sha* [...]. The definition based on fearlessness seems to be a verse adapted from the *Avāṅvartikacakrasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 240), likely via its quotation in Kamalaśīla’s *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇīkā* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4000). P. T. 762, l. 1.3: “Another aspect [of the term *bhagavān*] from the treatises: “Though he explains to sentient beings that *dharmas* are like magical emanations, he has no fear [(read: *jigs*)] of them. Thus, he is called *bhagavān* [(Tib. *bcom ldan*, ‘vanquished-endowed’)]” (Tib. *mam pa gchig tu <gzh>ung dag las sprul pa ’dra ba’i chos dag ni sems chan mams la rab bshad kyang ’di la ’jig pa myed pa’i phyir / de bas bchom ldan zhes bya /*).

80 T. 2816.85, 1179b6–7: 言婆伽梵者，此云降伏具，調降四魔，具六功德也。

81 Both of these etymologies appear in the *Composition of Terms* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4347, Derge 4347, 133a3–4): “*Bhagavān*, in one aspect—*bhagnamāracatuṣṭayatvād bhagavān* [(‘*bhagavān*’ because he has smashed [*bhagna*] the four *māras*)]—is styled ‘vanquished’ because he has vanquished the four *māras*. In another aspect, *bhaga* refers to the six excellences, namely the six of form, reputation, sovereignty, glory, wisdom, and effort. The occurrence of *vān* is explained as ‘endowed with’: *bhago ’syāstīti bhagavān* [(of him there is fortune [*bhaga*], hence *bhagavān*)]” (Tib. *bha ga bā na zhes bya ba gcig tu na/ bha ga na mā ra tsa tuṣṭa pa tva dva bha ga bān/ zhes bya ste bdud bzhi bcom pas na bcom pa la bya/ yang mam pa gcig tu na bhag ni legs pa mam pa drug gi ming ste/ gzugs dang / grags pa dang / dbang phyug dang / dpal dang / shes rab dang / brtson pa ste ’di drug gi spyi la bya / bān zhes ’byung ba ni bhag syā stī ti bha ga bān zhes ldan bar bshad de /*).

82 Search of CBETA’s digital corpus conducted October 11, 2021. The terms *xiangfu* (降伏) and *ju* (具) appear in sequential lines of a verse in a Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (T. 1190.20).

various terms for *bhagavān* that use the same terms as the gloss in the *Epitome Notes*.⁸³ If the author of the *Epitome Notes* was drawing on stock formulations from Chinese scholastic works, we would expect his wording to match that of authoritative sources. The fact that it does not suggests it is his own coinage.

The Tibetan translation of *bhagavān*, *bcom ldan 'das*, is composed of three independent syllables, literally meaning 'vanquished-endowed-transcendent'. Could 'vanquished-endowed' (Chin. *xiangfu ju* 降伏具) have been calqued on the Tibetan? It is perhaps worth noting that P. T. 762 at one point drops the third syllable 'das and refers to the *bhagavān* simply as 'vanquished-endowed' (Tib. *bcom ldan*).⁸⁴ Furthermore, in the absence of a clear Chinese precedent for the phrasing of the two etymologies in the second half of the gloss, it seems significant that the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Composition of Terms in Two Parts; hereafter *Composition of Terms*] (Derge Tōhoku no. 4347) highlights these two particular etymologies in its justification for the Tibetan term.⁸⁵ This text, which was compiled by the Tibetan court in 814 to explain the codified translation choices for various Sanskrit words, appears to be the source for several of the glosses on P. T. 762/P. T. 766.⁸⁶ There are other Chinese glosses that

83 What the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* terms 'vanquishing of the four *māras*' (Chin. *xiang si mo* 降四魔) is more commonly encountered as their 'destruction' (Chin. *po [hua] si mo* 破[壞]四魔); the 'six merits' with which the *bhagavān* is 'endowed' (Chin. *ju liu gongde* 具六功德) in the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are generally expressed as 'six meanings' that he 'has' (Chin. *you liu yi* 有六義) or 'based on which' the Sanskrit term 'proceeds' (Chin. *yi liu yi zhuan* 依六義轉). The closest wording to the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* that we encounter appears in works by Kuiji (632–682, 窺基) and Wōnch'ūk (613–696, 圓測), who refer to the *Bhagavān* as being 'able to destroy the four *māras*' (Chin. *neng po si mo* 能破四魔) and 'being endowed with six virtues' (Chin. *ju liu de* 具六德) (T. 1723.34, 690a29–b1; XZJ 369.21, 184b15–c12). In the latter instance, the two elements of *māras* and virtues are reversed. In a passage based on the **Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* (T. 1530.26, 292a24–b9), Tankuang (ca. 700–ca. 785, 曇曠) refers to the six meanings given in the **Buddhabhūmisūtra* (T. 680.16) as 'six merits of the *Bhagavān*' (Chin. *boqiefan gongde* 薄伽梵功德), and yet he does not mention the four *māras* (T. 2735.85, 72a8–11). In the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T. 1579.30, 499c9–10), we find yet another variation: the *Bhagavān* is "able to destroy the great and powerful armies of all *māras* and is endowed with many merits" (Chin. 能破諸魔大力軍衆, 具多功德, 名薄伽梵).

84 See fn. 79. This could be a simple scribal mistake. Dropping the final syllable 'das violates the meter.

85 See fn. 81.

86 See, for instance, fn. 73. Three fragments of the *Composition of Terms* survive in Dunhuang: P. T. 843, P. T. 845, and IOL Tib J 76.6. On the identification of the latter, see Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and Their Application in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* Tradition," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25.1–2 (2002): 325. Building on Scherrer-Schaub's analysis, Peter Verhagen has recently argued that many, if not most,

contain parallels to the *Composition of Terms*, as well, including the gloss on *shamen* (沙門, Skt. *śramaṇa*, table 9.4).⁸⁷ While such an explanation remains speculative, it is not impossible that these traditional etymologies have been refracted through Tibetan sources.

4.2.2 Considering Points of Distinction

While there are multiple points of convergence between the Tibetan annotations in P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes*, we can also draw several distinctions between them. These are revealed most clearly in some of the longer comments, as in table 9.5, in which we find parallel passages from the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations presented in a slightly different order and with variations in content.⁸⁸

In these comments, as in table 9.5, there are several key differences between the Tibetan annotation and the Chinese gloss—reminiscent of those between the Tibetan preface (P. T. 767) and the introduction to the *Epitome Notes* discussed above (see section 4.1):

- 1) Passage A appears only in the Chinese version.
- 2) Passage E is only in the Tibetan version.
- 3) Passage C appears as the final Tibetan section but third in the Chinese.
- 4) In two cases (see text between superscript and subscript parentheses), a sentence appears in one passage in the Tibetan but in a different passage in the Chinese.
- 5) Both comments quote or paraphrase authoritative texts, but only the Tibetan names the source of this material (or even identifies it as a citation).

These differences result in two rather divergent structures built out of largely parallel material. To see how this works, let us look at each comment in turn.

of the lexicographical entries in the *Composition of Terms* were extant prior to the edict of 814 that is generally used to date the text. See Peter Verhagen, “Tools of the Trade’ of the Tibetan Translators,” in *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*, ed. Jim Rheingans (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 184; and Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 132–162.

87 As demonstrated in table 9.4, the Tibetan annotation to *śramaṇa* in P. T. 766 is largely parallel with the *Yinyuan xin shilun kajue ji*’s gloss except for the final sentence. The parallel portion of the Tibetan annotation shares precise wording with the *Composition of Terms*. See fn. 73.

88 I have marked-up sentences (1, (), ()) that have been grouped with a different passage in the Tibetan and Chinese.

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations

Epitome Notes (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)

P. T. 766

gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs ni bcu gnyIs so /*
(fol. 1v1) “Ten and two means twelve”

A

次下又重釋問辭釋論也。

In what follows, I gloss both the question’s phrasing and the treatise [together].

B

言此中十及二，故曰為十二者，若十及二不別說者，數為二十有增加過，故此言也。

‘Here, they are ten and two, thus they are said to be twelve’: If it did not separately state ‘ten and two’, they could be counted as twenty, which would be an error of excess. Therefore, it says this.

B

~// *bcu pung gnyis lta bu la myi bya ba’i phyir bcu dang gnyIs su smos so/*

In order to avoid indicating ten times two, it states ‘ten and two’.

C

(問，不言十一，不言十三，(定言十二，為何謂耶?)若言十一義不具足，若言十三而^a無所用，有增減過故定十二。

(One [may] ask, ‘He did not say eleven, he did not say thirteen, (he determined them by saying twelve. Why so?’) If he said eleven, it would not be sufficient for the meaning, and if he said thirteen, it would be superfluous. Because that would err in excess or deficit, he determined them to be twelve.

(Tib. passage C appears below F)

a T. 2816.85 reads 義, here emended to 而 on the basis of S. 269 (correction in red, l. 76) and P. 2211 (l. 72).

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)*Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)

P. T. 766

gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so* / (fol. 1v1) “Ten and two means twelve”

D

(又三世因果用十二故,) 謂從於前際至中際因者無明, 行, 識, 果謂名色, 助因為愛。從於中際至後之因從識至受, 果謂生, 老死, 助因取, 有住中際者, 從識至受。故定十二。^b

(Additionally, because the causes and fruits of three lifetimes require twelve,) it is explained that the causes of reaching the present from the past are ignorance, formations, and consciousness; the fruit is name-and-form; and the concomitant cause is craving. The causes of reaching the future from the present are [the branches] from consciousness to sensation, the fruits are birth and old age-and-death, and the concomitant causes are grasping and becoming. Residing in the present [engages the branches] from consciousness to sensation. Thus, they are determined as twelve.

D

bcchu gnyis kho [nar nges] pa jI'i phyir zhe na'
rnal 'byor spyod pa [[T] las^c sngon kyi mtha' nas
dbus kyi mtha[r] [[na pa] 'byung [ba'i] [[nI]
rgyu nI ma rig pa dang 'du byed dang / rnam
par shes pas 'bras bu ni myIng dang gzugs /
grogs by[ed] rgyu ni sred pa' / dbus kyI mtha'
[nas] / phyi ma'I mthar 'byung ba'i rgyu ni
rnam par shes [pa'] nas tshor ba'I bar / 'bras bu
ni skye da[ng] rga shI / grogs byed pa'i rgyu ni
len pa dang srid pa' dbus kyI mtha' la gnas pa ni
/ rnam par shes pa nas tshor ba'i bar tu bstan /

(If one asks, ‘Why [does he specify only] twelve?’,) in the *Yogācārabhūmi* it is taught that the causes of the present arising from the past are ignorance and formations and consciousness; the fruit of such is name-and-form; the concomitant cause is craving. The causes of arising in the future from the present are [the branches from] consciousness to sensation; the fruits are birth and old age-and-death; the concomitant causes are grasping and becoming. Abiding in the present [engages the branches] from consciousness to sensation.

b See n. c to this table and compare with the *Yogācārabhūmi* (including *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*; T. 1579:30, 321a17–322a18; 827c3–829a9).

c This passage is a condensation of two lengthy presentations of this topic in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4035, 101a3–103b5) and the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4039, 246a7–249a2). See n. b to this table. (Note that the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* is cataloged as one of five parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in Chinese canons; in the Tibetan canons, the same five parts are cataloged individually.)

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

Epitome Notes (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)

P. T. 766

gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so /*
(fol. 1v1) “Ten and two means twelve”

E

*sa bchu dang sa lu ljang pa las kyang^d / sngon
dang bar dang phyi ma'i mtha' yongsu smyin
par bya ba'i khyad bar ni ma rig pa dang 'du
byed gnyis / sngon kyi mtha' la«s» bltos pa
rnam par shes nas / tshor ba'i bar ni da ltar
byung ba la bltos {pa} / sred pa nas srid pa'I
bar tu nI phyi ma'i mtha' las bltos pa zhes bya
ba dang^e / snga ma dang bar ma dang phyi ma
rnams su gnyis dang brgyad dang gnyis la rims
kyis rmongs pa de dang / {+bral ba'i phyir}
dum bu gsum du rnam par bzhag ces 'byung ba
dang [...]*

In the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra* [(Derge Tōhoku no. 44-31)] and *Śālistamba* [*sic.*: -*ṭikā*], though, there is a difference in the ripening of the past, present, and future: [In the former,] it says, “The pair of ignorance and formations are dependent on the past; [the branches] from consciousness to sensation are dependent on the present occurrence; [the branches] from craving to becoming are dependent on the future’. And [in the latter], it says, “The past, present, and future are, respectively, two and eight and two. In order to be free from that confusion, [the twelve branches] are presented in three categories’.

d Derge 44-31, v. 36, 222b2–3: *de ltar ma rig pa'i rkyen gyis 'du byed rnams shes bya ba 'di ni sngon gyi mtha' la bltas pa'o' / rnam par shes pa dang ming dang gzugs dang drug gi skye mched dang reg pa dang / tshor ba 'di dag ni da ltar byung ba la bltas pa'o' / sred pa dang nye bar len pa dang srid pa dang / skye ba zhes bya ba 'di ni phyi ma'i mtha' la bltas pa ste/.*

e Derge 4001, 149b 6–7: *gzhan dag ni snga ma dang bar ma dang phyi ma rnams su gnyis dang brgyad dang gnyis go rims bzhin te / de la rmongs pa rnam par bzlog pa'i phyir bstan par dum bu gsum du rnam par jog pas yan lag rnams rnam par brjod do /.*

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)*Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)

P. T. 766

gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs ni bcu gnyIs so /*
(fol. 1v1) “Ten and two means twelve”

F

又十二者，初三即是能引支也。名色，六入，觸，受四法所引支也。愛，取，有三能成支也。生之一法所成支也。老死即是過失支也。『能引支者，顯其遠因。能成支者，即示近因。若無此二，生不成故。』^f

Additionally, as for the twelve, the first three are the casting branches. Name-and-form, the six sensory fields (Skt. *āyatana*), contact, and sensation—these four—are the branches cast. Craving, grasping, and becoming—these three—are the accomplishing branches. The single dharma of birth is the branch accomplished. Old age-and-death is the branch of error. ‘The casting branches explain the distant cause. The accomplishing branches demonstrate the proximate cause. Without these two, birth is not accomplished.’¹

F

[...] *yang sa lu ljang pa las / dang po gsum ni 'phen pa'i yan lag / 'og ma bzhi ni 'phangs pa'i yan lag / 'og ma gsum ni bsgrub a'I ya+n^g lag / skye ba ni [m]ngon bsgrub pa'I yan lag / rga shI ni nyes dmyigs kyi yan lag ces 'byung ste /^h*

The *Śālistamba* [*sic: -ṭikā*] also states: ‘The first three are the casting branches. The next four are the branches cast. The next three are the branches accomplished [*sic: productive branches*]. Birth is the branch produced. Old age-and-death is the branch of misfortune.’

f Compare a similar passage from Facheng’s *Śālistamba* commentary, T. 2782.85, 548a25–29: 答為五義故。一能引支，即無明，行，識。二所引支，即名色，六入，觸，受。三能成支，即愛，取，有。四所成支，即生。五過失支，即老死。能引支者即是遠因。能成支者即是近因。若無此二，生不成故。

g I transcribe *yan* as *ya+n* to indicate that the letters *ya* and *na* are written as a stacked ligature with the *na* attached below the *ya*, which is a particular feature of the scribal hand of P. T. 766. See fig. 9.4b.

h Derge 4001, 149b3–5: *'di la dang po gsum ni 'phen pa'i yan lag go / ming dang gzugs dang skye mched drug dang / reg pa dang tshor ba rnam ni 'phags [(read: 'phangs)] pa'i yan lag go / sred pa dang len pa dang srid pa 'di dag ni mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag go / skye ba ni mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag go / rga shi ni nyes dmigs kyi yan lag go / de la 'phen pa'i yan lag gis ni ring ba'i rgyu bstan to / mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag gis ni nye ba'i rgyu bstan to / de gnyis med na skye ba 'grub par mi 'gyur te / de bas na rnam pa gnyis su bshad do/.*

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)*Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)

P. T. 766

gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs ni bcu gnyIs so* /
(fol. 1v1) “Ten and two means twelve”

C

*(de dag ni 'khor ba'I rgyu 'bras yin la, bchu gnyis
las nyung na ya+ngⁱ / myi chog mang na yang
myi dgos te / bchu gnyis kyis de dag 'grub pa'i
phyir / thub pas bchu gnyis kho nar gsungs par
nges so //*

(Since they are the causes and fruits of *saṃsāra*), they cannot be fewer than twelve, nor is there a need for more [than twelve]. They are established as twelve by the [authoritative texts just cited], and thus it is determined [by the fact] that the Sage taught only twelve.

i See n. g.

The Tibetan annotation opens with a statement to the effect that there are twelve branches of interdependence, not twenty.⁸⁹ It then asks, Why twelve?,⁹⁰ before proceeding to present four excerpts from authoritative sources on the operation of the twelve branches—one each from the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 44-31), and two from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭikā*.⁹¹ These excerpts include three conflicting accounts of how

89 This seemingly obvious statement—which is also made in the Chinese—reflects an analysis of the Sanskrit word for ‘twelve’ (Skt. *dvādaśa*), found in the verses, which the author of the auto-commentary analyses as a compound comprised of two (Skt. *dvi*) and ten (Skt. *daśa*).

90 This question belongs to passage C in the Chinese and passage D in the Tibetan. Since passage C appears at the end of the Tibetan annotation but towards the beginning of the Chinese gloss, the question itself appears in roughly the same place in each comment. The shift in the placement of passage C (in whichever direction it occurred) likely resulted in this question being incorporated into a new paragraph.

91 These excerpts are identified above in n. b–f and h to table 9.5. The *Yogācārabhūmi* excerpt is found in passage D. Passage E—missing from the Chinese—pairs an excerpt from the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* together with one from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭikā*. Passage F

the twelve branches map onto the process of rebirth over the course of three lifetimes. The annotation then concludes with a statement that samsaric existence is maintained by precisely twelve causes and effects (passage C). The Tibetan annotation thus frames a range of doctrinal positions within a specific question.

The Chinese, on the other hand, starts with passage A, promising that the *Epitome Notes* will explain the concept of the twelve branches in terms of the disciple's question and the master's answer in a single gloss.⁹² The main body of the gloss then begins, as in the Tibetan, by stating that there are twelve branches of interdependence, not twenty, and then asking, Why twelve? Parting ways with the Tibetan, the Chinese gloss immediately answers the question by saying that the Buddha taught twelve, no more and no less (passage C). It then states that the process of rebirth over the course of three lifetimes requires precisely twelve causes and effects, using this sentence to introduce the (unidentified) excerpt from the *Yogācārabhūmi* on that topic (passage D). Finally, it closes by presenting a slightly different—though not conflicting—take on the twelve branches from the *Śālistambaṭikā* (passage F). It is intriguing to note that, although the Chinese gloss does not identify Kamalaśīla's commentary as its source for passage F, it quotes a longer portion of the source text than does P. T. 766 (see text between top half brackets in table 9.5 above).⁹³ It thus would appear that the author of the *Epitome Notes* had some sort of access to Kamalaśīla's commentary that was independent from P. T. 766. In summary, while the Tibetan annotation frames a range of doctrinal positions within a specific question, the Chinese adopts a 'topic-comment' framework to present a point backed up by two complementary examples.

There is an inherent asymmetry between the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* commentaries. The surviving Chinese manuscripts of the *Epitome Notes*

presents a second paragraph from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭikā*. While the three excerpts in passages D and E each describe different and conflicting analyses of the operation of the twelve branches over the course of three lifetimes, passage F reflects a different approach to the twelve branches that is largely consonant with the *Yogācārabhūmi* quote in passage D. Although the Tibetan annotation identifies the third and fourth excerpts (in E and F) as belonging to the *Śālistambasūtra*, they are in fact found in Kamalaśīla's commentary to that *sūtra*.

92 Because P. T. 766 gives separate annotations for both the question and the answer, it does not include a note to this effect.

93 This same passage of Kamalaśīla's commentary is also silently cited by Facheng in his *Śālistamba* commentary. However, only the last sentence of that passage is a direct match for the wording of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*.

appear as finished works.⁹⁴ They may have an informal feel—S. 269 and P. 2538V, for instance, are written on unruled paper, with no margins and with a high frequency of corrections and interlinear additions. However, the text's readings are reasonably consistent across manuscripts. There is no indication that we are, say, dealing with drafts from different points in the composition process. The situation with the Tibetan manuscripts is more complicated. Even if it seems—as I have argued above—that the preface on P. T. 767 was meant to accompany annotations of the type presented on P. T. 766, it is difficult to directly link P. T. 767 to P. T. 766. The two manuscripts appear on different size paper, with different formatting, and in different scribal hands. P. T. 762, unfinished and in an anomalous roll-type format, is an even bigger puzzle. Furthermore, all three manuscripts are full of corrections and annotations and do not give the appearance of being 'fair copies'. Unlike the Chinese manuscripts, where we are dealing with a finished composition, the state of the Tibetan materials suggests we are dealing with drafts rather than finished works.

In light of this observation, it becomes difficult to grapple with the differences in structure and content between the two texts, such as in the comments on the twelve branches considered above. The Tibetan text, presenting four accounts of the twelve branches and naming the sources, incorporates more scholastic material than the *Epitome Notes*. In the Chinese text, we find half as many passages, but they can be read in tandem without conflict and are incorporated seamlessly into the gloss—to the point that they are not even identified as scriptural citations. Does this reflect different commentarial approaches within Tibetophone and Sinophone Buddhist traditions? Or is it an artefact of the sources? Does the Tibetan annotation present conflicting passages because the commentator aimed for a comprehensive treatment of a difficult topic? Or is it because, in P. T. 766, we are reading an earlier version of the commentary, one from a stage in which the author was still gathering his source material? These questions point to the heart of issues of scholastic cultures and doctrinal transfer, but they cannot yet be answered.

5 Significance and Working Hypotheses

I hope to have demonstrated that the Dunhuang materials connected to the *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* in both Tibetan and Chinese emerged

94 I have neither been able to examine images of S. 541 nor assess how many *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* manuscripts survive in collections held in China.

from a shared scholastic milieu. I have argued that the Tibetan preface was intended to accompany a set of annotations to the *Epitome*, and that such sets of annotations (whether accompanied by a preface or not) effectively constitute sub-commentaries in their own right. Thus, the Dunhuang corpus contains two sub-commentaries—the Tibetan preface with annotations (represented by P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766) and the Chinese *Epitome Notes*—that share significant overlaps in terms of structure, content, and phrasing.

These observations constitute striking evidence of Buddhist scholastic activities bridging Tibetophone and Sinophone spheres in the ninth-century Hexi region. This paper is a preliminary exploration of this phenomenon, and we must be careful about extrapolating on the basis of a single case study. Nevertheless, my findings reveal that one or more exegetes—likely Facheng and his circle of disciples—were deeply engaged with Tibetan and Chinese scholastic traditions. They were conversant with overlapping sets of authoritative proof texts, and they integrated a range of commentarial strategies and conventions rooted in Chinese and Tibetan models, all of which was in turn imprinted by strands of Indic heritage.

Painting with broad brush strokes, we may characterise the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* sub-commentaries as a synthesis of a Chinese commentarial format with Indo-Tibetan content. The indications of Tibetan influence on the content and wording of the Chinese glosses testify to the impact that Tibetan scholasticism had on Chinese-language Buddhism in the wake of Tibetan political rule. Meanwhile, the structure of the Tibetan sub-commentary suggests that the Tibetan commentator (Facheng?) was working within a Chinese exegetical framework: By adding an expository multipart preface to an annotated gloss commentary, he effectively replicated a Chinese commentarial structure in Tibetan, bridging the cultural gap.

My analysis thus calls attention to two areas particularly worthy of future research. First, while scholars have paid significant attention to the Tibetan military presence in Central Asia and the imperial administrative system,⁹⁵ our understanding of the empire's impact on Buddhism in the region surrounding Dunhuang (and, for that matter, all areas of Eastern Central Asia under Tibetan rule) is much less developed. Our approach to this topic has been

95 Four monographs from this extensive literature are Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan, 1995); Brandon Dotson with Guntram Hazod, *The Old Tibetan Annals* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); and Gertraud Taenzer, *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule (787–848)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).

hampered by overly simplistic narratives regarding imperial Tibet's encounter with Buddhism and a general neglect of the period of Tibetan rule over the Dunhuang region. Although a more nuanced account of imperial-period Buddhism in Tibet is finally starting to emerge,⁹⁶ scholars have yet to fully acknowledge the extent to which Tibetan-period Dunhuang Buddhism mirrors what we know of the Tibetan court's religious interests.⁹⁷ The Tibetan-period manuscripts (in both Tibetan and Chinese) indicate that Dunhuang received a steady flow of texts recently translated or composed in Central Tibet, some of which likely reached Dunhuang via the Blue Lake (Kokonor) region.⁹⁸ As I argue elsewhere, this means that, even as the Tibetan Empire devoted significant resources to gathering and translating Buddhist scriptures—in other words to the reception of Buddhism—it was also actively promoting specific forms of Buddhism by sponsoring religious activities throughout the imperium, including the dissemination of specific texts.⁹⁹ Beyond its potential to dramatically shift our view of the Tibetan Empire's cultural reach, a clearer picture of Tibetan-period Buddhism in Dunhuang will also hold significant ramifications for our contextualisation of Dunhuang materials from the Tibetan and Guiyijun (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army) periods.¹⁰⁰

Secondly, the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts highlight two largely overlooked commentarial genres—the 'prefatory aide-memoire' (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*) and the 'annotated gloss commentary' (Tib. *mchan tig*). I discuss

96 See, for instance, Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Michael Walter, *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). I do not mean to discount the important work of scholars such as Paul Demiéville, Rolf A. Stein, and other pioneers, only to point to recent contributions that signal a shift in overarching narrative.

97 The first scholar to recognise this seems to have been Ueyama in "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 81–82.

98 A growing body of scholarship points to important links between Dunhuang and the Blue Lake (Kokonor) region, highlighted by Carmen Meinert's contribution to this volume. Gertraud Taenzer has recently identified an important Tibetan scriptorium that seems to have been located in the Blue Lake region, and which participated in official *sūtra*-copying activities and sent some of the fruits from these endeavours to Dunhuang—perhaps as exemplars for local copying projects. See Iwao, "On the Roll-type Tibetan sp"; Brandon Dotson, "The Remains of the Dharma: Editing, Rejecting, and Replacing the Buddha's Words in Officially Commissioned *Sūtras* from Dunhuang, 820s to 840s," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36–37 (2013/2014): 5–68; and Taenzer, "sp Discovered at Dunhuang."

99 In my book-in-progress.

100 The Guiyijun received its name from the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) in 851, but the official decree ratified an administration that came to power in 848. On the significance of this name, which is more accurately rendered "Submitting to Righteousness," see Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 14–15, n. 87.

the prefaces at length in section 2.1 and elsewhere.¹⁰¹ Here I want to briefly draw attention to the ‘annotated gloss commentaries’. Manuscripts bearing interlinear glosses and comments in a smaller hand are well attested among the earliest Tibetan manuscripts we have and remain an important textual format up through the present day. Furthermore, there is evidence that sets of annotations circulated well beyond the disciples of their creator.¹⁰² Given how much annotated manuscripts can reveal about textual production and circulation, they are deserving of closer attention from students of Tibetan literature.

While this study has analysed how specific threads of Chinese, Tibetan, and Indic exegetical traditions were brought together in the Dunhuang *Epitome* materials, the question of who was at the loom is still difficult to answer. As discussed above, Facheng seems to have played a key role in this. It is quite possible that he translated the text from Tibetan into Chinese. Furthermore, a preponderance of circumstantial evidence seems to credit him with authorship of the Tibetan preface and the Chinese *Epitome Notes*. If he did author these two texts, it is likely that he was also responsible for the Tibetan annotations in P. T. 762/P. T. 766—given their connections to the Tibetan preface and sustained parallels with the Chinese glosses. If Facheng’s authorship of these texts can be established, it points to a scenario in which a single individual commented on the *Epitome* in two languages, thereby facilitating the treatise’s propagation within two language communities more or less simultaneously.¹⁰³

Even if we resist crediting Facheng with the Tibetan and Chinese sub-commentaries, his exegetical career constitutes an important example of textual production in ninth-century Hexi. The scholastic modes of translation, preaching, and composition were tightly interwoven throughout Facheng’s career.¹⁰⁴ He preached on texts that he translated, and his lectures were compiled into polished commentaries. He incorporated large passages of translation into his compositions, and it seems likely that many of his translations

101 See Howard, “Translation at the Crossroads,” 192–199. On the annotated gloss commentaries, see *ibid.*, 190–193.

102 Kenneth Eastman discovered that annotations to a Dunhuang *Guhyasamājantra* manuscript (10L Tib J 438) have been incorporated into the *rNyīng ma brgyud ’bum*’s [Ancient Tantra Collection] recension of the root text (gTing skyes 242). See Kenneth Eastman, “The Dun-huang Tibetan Manuscript of the Guhyasamājantra” (paper presented to the 27th convention of The Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies, Kyoto, Japan, November 17, 1979), 6.

103 In my book-in-progress, I reflect on how Facheng’s ethnicity and education impacted his scholarship and facilitated his participation in local linguistic communities.

104 I explore this further in my book-in-progress. See also Mayer’s comments on the relationship of preaching and translation to exegetical composition: Mayer, “Commentarial Literature,” 167.

were undertaken in the service of exegetical projects. Although there is not space in this paper to explore the oral features of the *Epitome* manuscripts, it seems likely that they are also products of a complex layering of written and oral events. In developing a mature understanding of the dynamics of doctrinal transfer at Dunhuang and the surrounding region, the role of the lecture hall and processes of Buddhist pedagogy may prove just as formative as those of translation and composition.

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

Yukiyo Kasai

Abstract

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

1 Introduction¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 The details are discussed in section 2 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Visual and Written Materials Connected with Esoteric Buddhism in Turfan

2.1 *Visual Materials*

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 *Written Materials*

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) *Foshuo 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)¹⁷

-
- 15 Johan Elverskog listed the texts which were identified by 1997, all under the category 'tantric texts'. See Johan Elverskog, *Uyghur Buddhist Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 105–125. Two texts with tantric contents in Old Uyghur, *Uṣṇīṣavijayādharmaṇī* and *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*, were, for example, already published in 1910 by Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller. See U II, 27–75.
- 16 See, e.g., Klaus Röhrborn and András Róna-Tas, *Spätformen des zentralasiatischen Buddhismus: Die altuigurische Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005); BT XXIII; BT XXXVI; Anna Turanskaya and Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz, "Old Uyghur Blockprint of Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī in the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2 (2019): 19–38; Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz and Anna Turanskaya, "Old Uyghur Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī Fragments Preserved in the State Hermitage Museum," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 7.1 (2021): 100–117. On this topic, see also, Jens Wilkens, "Practice and Rituals in Uyghur Buddhist Texts: A Preliminary Appraisal," in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 430–464. On Tantric Buddhism and the Uyghurs, see also, e.g., Yang Fuxue and Zhang Haijuan, "Mongol Rulers, Yugur Subjects, and Tibetan Buddhism," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 377–386.
- 17 Peter Zieme published various manuscripts of this text. See BT XXIII, Text E, 81–87. Furthermore, during the conference at which this paper was presented, Jens Wilkens pointed out that two fragments of a scroll, Mainz 727 and Mainz 724, the text of which is identified as the *Cuṇḍidevīdhāraṇī* (T. 1075.20), should also be dated to the pre-Mongolian period. Zieme, who published them, indicates the frequent dental confusions in Mainz 724. See BT XXIII, Text D, esp. 66. The appearance of this linguistic feature itself does not immediately allow us to date the fragment to the Mongolian period, but its frequency could be a feature of that period. See, e.g., Oki Mie 沖美江, "Kyū kara jūisseiki ni okeru uiguru moji no sho tokuchō—Jidai hantei heno tegakari wo motomete 9～11世紀におけるウイグル文字の諸特徴—時代判定への手がかりをもとめて / A Few Characteristic Features of the Uigur Alphabet in the 9th–11th Centuries," *Nairiku aja gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 11 (1996): 39–42, 50–51. Because the dating of those fragments is still under discussion, whether this text can be categorised as an Esoteric Buddhist text translated during the pre-Mongolian period will have to await future research.

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

2) *Nilakanṭhakasūtra* (T. 1057.20/T. 1060.20)¹⁹

Unlike the first case, this second text was translated by Šiṅko Šāli Tutuṅ (fl. second half of 10th c./beginning of 11th c.). An exceptional case for translators of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts during the pre-Mongolian period, Šiṅko Šāli Tutuṅ's life can be established with a fair amount of certainty. This is due to a preface added to the Old Uyghur *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (OU *Altun Yaruk Sudur* [T. 665.16], hereafter *Altun Yaruk* to distinguish this from versions circulating in other languages), another relevant work he translated, which bears the date 1022.²⁰ Regardless of whether this preface was actually composed for Šiṅko Šāli Tutuṅ's original translation or not, his translation would surely have been completed before that date.²¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-
- 22 The last one contains a partial quotation from the Chan Buddhist text *Guanxinlun* 觀心論 [Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind] (T. 2833.85), although the identification of the complete text is still debated. The remaining manuscript is a printed version, so it was very probably made during the Mongolian period. For this text and its edition, see, e.g., BT XXVIII, Text G, 235–249.
- 23 See Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Myōhō renekyō gengan’ no uigurugo dampen 妙法蓮華經玄贊のウイグル語断片 [Uyghur Fragments of the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan*],” in *Nairikuajia, nishiajia no shakai to bunka* 内陸アジア西アジアの社会と文化 / *Society and Culture of Inner Asia and the Muslim World*, ed. Mori Masao 護雅夫 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1983), 201; Klaus Röhrborn, “Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Vita: Biographie oder Hagiographie?” in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākarah: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Swisttal-Odendorf: India et Tibetica Verlag, 1997), 551. For this translator, see also, Peter Zieme, “Singqu Sāli Tutung—Übersetzer buddhistischer Schriften ins Uigurische,” in *Tractata Altaica: Denis Sinor, sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata*, ed. Walther Heissig and Denis Sinor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 767–775; BT XXIX, 14–15, 18–21.
- 24 There are numerous manuscripts of this text, and they are catalogued and edited. See VOHD 13,26; BT XXXIII; *Catalogue of the Old Uyghur Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS*, comp. IOM, RAS, and The Toyo Bunko (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2021), 92–123.
- 25 Juten Oda, who studied this text in detail, points out that the Old Uyghur translation has two different versions, in general terms: the first and the revised versions. The first version is the one that contains some additional sentences using Manichaeism terms. This indicates that the first translation was made when Manichaeism was still influential among the Uyghurs. See, e.g., Juten Oda, “On Manichaeism Expressions in the *Säkiz*

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

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

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

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

26 BT XXXIII, 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

36 For example one of the ritual texts, *Sheng guanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yuga guanxing yigui* [Ritual Manual for the Contemplative Practice of the Yoga of the Holy Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Heart Mantra] (T. 1031, 04c25–28), explains it in following manner: “The person who practises the *yoga* training first sets up the *maṇḍala* at the quiet place. He scatters and sprinkles the fragrant water and disperses various seasonal flowers on the *maṇḍala*. The practitioner should first cleanse his body and wear new clean clothes. Second, [(the practitioner)] enters the place of enlightenment and stays in front of the honourable images. [(The practitioner)] perform five-limbed prostration by touching hands, knees, and forehead to the ground, expresses [(his)] great respectful attitude, and pays homage to all *tathāgatas* and various bodhisattvas.” (Chin. 夫修瑜伽者先於靜處建立曼荼羅以香水散灑以種種時華散於壇上行者先須澡浴著新淨衣次入道場對尊像前五輪投地發殷重心頂禮一切如來及諸菩薩。

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

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

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

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

4 Old Uyghur Expressions for the Highest Reverence

4.1 *Different Variants in Old Uyghur*

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

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

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

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

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

39 BT XXV, 9.

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

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

The *Xuanzang Biography* uses Variant 1. The *Altun Yaruk* uses Variant 1–4.⁴² The *Kšanti* uses Variant 5.⁴³ Variant 1 seems to have been standard in Old Uyghur because it is used in other Buddhist texts, some of which were copied during the Mongolian period.⁴⁴

- 42 See Mehmet Ölmez and Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie III: Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 101, 169; VOHD 13,15, 251–257, nos. 669, 671, 673. The third volume of the *Xuanzang Biography* is in the Old Turkish text database VATEC, which can be accessed here: <https://vatec2.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de>, accessed August 24, 2022. However, the edition quoted here is the more recent version.
- 43 See Ceval Kaya, *Uygurca Altun Yaruk: Giriş, Metin ve Dizin* [Uyghur Altun Yaruk: Introduction, Text and Index] (Ankara: Görsel Sanatlar, 1994), 348, fol. 673, l. 1: 305, fol. 568 ll. 7–8; 119, fol. 132a, ll. 22; 232, fol. 398, l. 15. See also, VOHD 13,14, 164, No. 398; BT XXV, 68, l. 0251; 72, l. 0337; 74, l. 0371; 80, l. 0436; 82, l. 0477; 96, l. 0687; 108, l. 0964; 116, l. 1004; 118, l. 1022; 122, l. 1084; 128, l. 1202–1203, and so on.
- 44 BT XIII, Text 14, 104, Text 56, 185; Şinasi Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yuan-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980), 231; Ch/U 7517, https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00024891, accessed December 11, 2023. For Variant 1 with a slight change, *beş mandalın yinçürü töp[ün yükün-]*, see Peter Zieme, “Merit Transfer and Vow According to an Old Uyghur Buddhist Text from Qoço/Gaochang,” *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenkyū nenpō reiwa ninendo 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報令和二年度 | Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism (ARIRIAB) at Soka University for the Academic Year 2020 24* (2021): 220, 224, l. 029; *beş mandal yinçürü töpün agırla-*, see Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica*, 208. The verb *agırla-* means ‘to venerate’. Furthermore, according to Simone-Christiane Raschmann, in the Old Uyghur translation of the apocryphal *Foshuo yuxiu shi-wang shengqi jing* (佛說預修十王生七經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Ten Kings for Rebirth after Seven (Days)]), the term in question appears a few times, although all attestations are fragmentary. See U 4278, recto, l. 1: https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00030602, accessed December 11, 2023; U 5143, recto, l. 3: https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE2458Book_manuscript_00031517, accessed December 11, 2023; and Ch/U 7291. I sincerely appreciate her specialist support. In the other text which explains the admission of the transgressions, a similar expression is used: *pañcamandalın yükünü-*. The text was first published by Shōgaito Masahiro, who read the first word as *bařcamantaln*. Peter Zieme re-edited it and presented the reading mentioned above. See Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, “Nakamura Fusetsushi kyūzō uigurugo monjo dampen no kenkyū 中村不折氏旧蔵ウイグル語文書断片の研究 / A Study of the Fragments of Uigur Text Found in the Fusetsu Nakamura Collection,” *Tōyō gakuho 東洋学報 | The Toyo Gakuho* 61.1 (1979): 018–019, l. 33; Peter Zieme, *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 215, l. 15b. Whether this text is an original work of Uyghur Buddhists or a translation from another language, is still an open question. The text is written in block script which does not provide any information for dating. As Shōgaito and Zieme point out, the sentences form the alliteration verses which became popular during the Mongolian period.

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

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

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

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

46 See the corresponding variants in the *Sanzang fashi zhuan*: T. 2053, 50, 238a18. For the corresponding variant in the *Altun Yaruk*, see T. 665, 16, 456c18.

47 For the correspondences to Variants 2 and 3, see T. 665, 16, 456c18, 444a08. For the corresponding term to Variant 4, see T. 665, 16, 414a05. For this variant, there is a further correspondence in Chinese, *dingshou* (頂受) ‘to heed’, in T. 665, 16, 426c24. For this term, Variant 4 stands together with *töpülärintä tuta* ‘holding at the tops’. See, Kaya, *Uyğurca Altun Yaruk*, 232.

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

49 In quite a few cases, the term *wuti toudi* or its minor variant *wulun zhudi* are followed directly by the verbs *libai*, *feng* or *dingli*. Thus, the possibility that those cases inspired the Uyghur translators’ translation is not completely excluded. The case of *feng* is interesting because it is attested only in the Chinese version of the *Kšanti*. However, it does not constitute a compound of **wuti/wulun feng* (五體/五輪奉). See, e.g., T. 1909, 45, 923b17–18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

55 See fn. 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 63 For the transformation texts, see, e.g., Victor H. Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 398–404. The relationship between the transformation texts and the paintings is discussed, for example, by Wu Hung. See Wu Hung, "What is *Bianxiang* 變相?—On the Relationship between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.1 (1992): 111–192.
- 64 For this transformation text, see, e.g., Victor H. Mair, "Śāriputra Defeats the Six Heterodox Masters. Oral-Visual Aspects of an Illustrated Transformation Scroll (P 4524)," *Asia Major Third Series* 8.2 (1995): 1–55. The following explanation is also based on Mair's study.
- 65 This text's relationship with other texts is also discussed. See, e.g., Li Wenjie 李文潔 and Lin Shitian 林世田, "‘Foshuo rulai chengdao jing’ yu ‘Jiangmo bianwen’ guanxi zhi yanjiu 《佛说如来成道经》与《降魔变文》关系之研究 [Studies on the Relationship between *Foshuo rulai chengdao jing* and *Jiangmo bianwen*]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2005): 46–53.

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

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

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

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

5 Closing Remarks

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

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

The Funerary Context of Mogao Cave 17

Mélodie Doumy and Sam van Schaik

Abstract

The sealed Cave 17 in the Mogao cave complex (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟) has given us many of the most important primary sources for understanding Buddhist, and to some extent non-Buddhist, doctrines and practices in Eastern Central Asia, China and Tibet. The best-known theories about the original function of the cave have paid little attention to the details of Buddhist ritual practice. In this paper we reorient the approach to Cave 17 at Dunhuang towards the funerary function of the cave and its contents. We argue that we need to look at the role of the Cave 17 as a Buddhist funerary shrine for a better understanding of its contents, and put this in the context of Buddhist funerary practices involving the interment of books and other religious objects as relics in *stūpas* and shrines.

1 Introduction¹

The manuscripts, printed documents, paintings, and other ritual objects discovered by Wang Yuanlu (ca. 1849–1931, 王圆籙) in 1900 in a hidden cave at the Mogao cave complex, near Dunhuang (敦煌), constitute the biggest find of medieval material anywhere in Central and East Asia. Since the early 20th century, the contents of the cave, now known as Cave 17, have had a huge impact on the study of Asian religions, history, art history, linguistics, and other fields. Despite their overwhelming connection to Buddhism, they also include texts from the Daoist tradition, as well as Manichaeism, Christianity, and other religions; also found there were letters, contracts, and diverse secular documents ranging from poetry to medical charts. Much of the material placed in the cave, manuscripts and otherwise, was in a well-used, damaged or fragmentary state. In English-language scholarship, Cave 17 is often referred to as the Library

1 The authors would like to thank Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, Neil Schmid, Carmen Meinert, Lewis Doney, and an anonymous reviewer for their helpful suggestions and contributions to this paper.

Cave.² However, when we look at the contents of the cave as a whole, they are far from what the word ‘library’ usually means.

The cave was a funerary shrine for a monk called Hongbian or Wu Sanzang (d. 862, 洪辯, 吳三藏, Tib. Hong pen), whose statue, originally situated in the cave, had been moved at some point as the cave was filled with other material. What ended up in the cave was an assemblage of items representing the everyday life of Dunhuang and its monasteries.³ As such, they constitute an extraordinary time capsule,⁴ but there is no evidence that preserving this content for future generations was the primary motivation behind their deposit. In fact, we have frustratingly little knowledge as to why this very varied collection ended up in the small cave. Two main suggestions have gained currency over the years. The first, put forward by Aurel Stein (1862–1943) in his account of his second expedition, was that the manuscripts and other objects placed in Cave 17 were ‘sacred waste’. Stein suggested that these items had outlived their use in the Buddhist communities from which they came, but could not be thrown away because of their religious content; hence they were placed in this shrine cave in perpetuity. However, this theory did not draw on precedents in Buddhist textual or archaeological data.⁵

2 The earliest published reference to the cave as a library seems to be Paul Pelliot’s report of 1908, which was titled “Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 8 (1908): 500–529. Similarly, Aurel Stein’s published account of his second expedition refers to Cave 17 as “a walled-up library” or “a walled-up temple library”; see Marc A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1912), vol. 2, 182–185. In Chinese language, Cave 17 is widely referred to as the ‘scripture repository cave’ (Chin. Cangjing dong 藏經洞), which is perhaps more accurate.

3 For a review of the textual contents of Cave 17, see Mélodie Doumy, “Dunhuang Texts,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), accessed July 18, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.771>.

4 Recently, Valerie Hansen has referred to the Dunhuang Caves as the “Time Capsule of Silk Road History.” Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 167–197.

5 The lack of evidence for this kind of waste deposit has been mentioned by Richard Salomon, “Why Did Gandharan Buddhists Bury Their Manuscripts?,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 24. Salomon has stated that he originally considered a similar reason for the deposit of the Gāndhārī scrolls, but later revised it: “This explanation for the rationale of the interment of the British Library scrolls is, however, by no means beyond doubt. For one thing, although taboos on the profanation of discarded scriptures are common in many cultures, I have not been able to locate any explicit textual reference to such a rule in Buddhist literature.” See also for descriptions by Lajos Ligeti of what he considered ‘manuscript cemeteries’ in Northern China: Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos, *Manuscripts and Travellers: The Sino-Tibetan Documents of a Tenth-Century Buddhist Pilgrim*

Another suggestion, explicitly opposed to Stein's, was put forward by Rong Xinjiang. Rong argued that the contents of Cave 17 were actually the library of the Sanjie Temple (Chin. Sanjie si 三界寺, Tib. Pam kye zi), which was moved to the cave and sealed to keep it safe from a feared invasion by non-Buddhists.⁶ Drawing on an idea first put forward by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), Rong suggested that the invasion of Khotan by Turkic armies in 1006 might have frightened the monks of Dunhuang into sealing the cave, though these armies did not actually come near to Dunhuang.⁷ However, neither Pelliot nor Rong offered any supporting evidence that the Buddhists of Dunhuang feared for their manuscript collections at this time or took steps to protect them.

A more prosaic reason seems more plausible, as Yoshiro Imaeda has argued:

Would it not be more natural to assume that during the course of more than one and a half centuries following its excavation old documents were steadily brought into the cave with the result that, even after Hongbian's portrait statue had been moved elsewhere, there was no longer any space for storing further documents, and the cave was sealed when it could no

(Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 20–22. However, it is interesting that Ligeti's account is not supported by textual or archaeological scholarship.

- 6 Rong Xinjiang, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing," tr. Valerie Hansen, *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 247–275. The argument is based on manuscript colophons about the collecting activities of Daozhen (ca. 915–ca. 987, 道真) (on whom, see below) and the fact that a number of the Dunhuang manuscripts bear the seal of Sanjie Temple. Though well received, Rong's theory has also been subject to criticism. The original Chinese article by Rong was criticised in 1996 by Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和, "Tonkō isho fūhei no nazo wo megutte 敦煌遺書封閉の謎をめぐって [On the Mystery of the Sealing of the Dunhuang Manuscripts]," *Rekishi to chiri: Sekaishi no kenkyū* 歴史と地理: 世界史の研究 [History and Geography: A Study of World History] 486 (1996): 32–33. Dohi argued that there are only around 200 manuscripts from the cave that can be linked with Sanjie Temple. In this article, he also showed that the monks of the Bao'en Temple (Chin. Bao'en si 報恩寺) in Dunhuang were auditing and restocking their library at the end of the tenth century; thus, Daozhen's activities were not an isolated case. The other argument in Rong's article is that there were intact objects, especially paintings, found in Cave 17; as he argues, this makes Stein's theory of 'sacred waste' less plausible. However, Rong does not take into account other options based on Buddhist ritual practice, including the creation of sacred objects as a meritorious act in itself, requiring no further use for the object, except for its deposit in an appropriate place. As we will argue here, the funerary context of Cave 17 helps us to understand the ritual context for the deposit of both fragmentary and intact items like this.
- 7 Rong, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave," 272–273. Pelliot had previously suggested that an invasion by the Tangut Kingdom (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) in 1035 might have been the trigger for the sealing of the cave. Pelliot, "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou," 506.

longer function even as a storage room, which occurred in the first half of the eleventh century?⁸

It is also possible that the cave remained open for much longer. After the cave was sealed, a mural was painted across both sides of the entrance to Cave 16. This renovation project, which probably dates from the period of Tangut influence in Dunhuang in the 12th and 13th centuries, is perhaps the most convincing reason for the sealing of the opening into Cave 17. Thus, a firm dating of this painting would be the best way of reaching a *terminus ad quem* for the cave as a potential repository.⁹

In 2011, Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos put forward another reason for the presence of manuscripts in Cave 17, based on its role as a funerary shrine for the Buddhist monk Hongbian:

It is likely that manuscripts belonging to the monk were interred at the time of the cave's consecration. Later, as a continuation of this practice, manuscripts belonging to, or connected with, other revered monks might also have been deposited in the cave.¹⁰

In the present chapter, we follow up van Schaik and Galambos' suggestion by further exploring the Buddhist ritual context for the interment of manuscripts and other religious objects in *stūpas* and shrines in funerary practices. We start with the local ritual context of the Mogao Caves themselves and the function of Cave 17 as a Buddhist funerary shrine. We then explore whether the contents of the cave are contact relics, or 'relics of use', as well as the precedents for an initial deposit of relics being followed by secondary deposits over time. We argue that the funerary context of Cave 17 has to inform any of our theories about how the materials found in the cave came to be there in the first place. Even more, a theory that fits within this funerary context should be considered more plausible than those that do not.

8 Yoshio Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 66 (2008): 98.

9 This argument was made by John Huntington who suggested that Cave 17 may have been sealed up as late as the mid-13th century, based on the dating of the murals in the entrance corridor to Cave 16. John Huntington, "A Note on Dunhuang Cave 17, 'The Library' or Hong Bian's Reliquary Chamber," *Ars Orientalis* 16 (1986): 93–101.

10 van Schaik and Galambos, *Manuscripts and Travellers*, 25.

2 The Funerary Context of the Mogao Caves and Function of Cave 17 as a Stūpa Shrine

Rather than looking at Cave 17 in isolation, let us first turn to the funerary context of the Mogao Cave complex as a whole. In “Art in the Dark,” Robert Sharf has argued convincingly for seeing it as a site for funerary rituals:

I would suggest that we approach Mogao, Kizil and other larger sites in Xinjiang and Gansu as we do Yungang and Longmen: rather than regard the grottoes as intended for monastic practice such as meditation, we would do better to treat them as mortuary shrines donated by well-heeled patrons to produce merit for their deceased parents and ancestors. The caves were not there to serve the clerics; rather, the clerics were there to serve the caves.¹¹

Sharf argues that there is no reason to think the caves were used frequently after they were created: “Insofar as the caves were built to generate merit, the task was largely complete at the time the shrine was finished and the icons consecrated.”¹² He suggests that there were probably regular ceremonies, but these would have been the usual annual festivals such as those celebrating the Buddha’s birth and enlightenment, and these probably did not take place inside the caves, which were too small and dark.¹³ While we agree with Sharf’s general argument against the idea that the caves were in continuous use by Buddhist monks for activities such as meditation, it is also clear that ritual practices for the community of Dunhuang did take place at the Mogao site, and at least occasionally in the caves themselves, as Sørensen and Meinert have argued.¹⁴

11 Robert Sharf, “Art in the Dark: The Ritual Context of Buddhist Caves in Western China,” in *Art of Merit: Studies in Buddhist Art and its Conservation*, ed. David Park, Kuenga Wangmo, and Sharon Cather (London: Archetype Publications, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013), 49.

12 Sharf, “Art in the Dark,” 49.

13 *Ibid.*, 49–50. For a counter-argument, though not primarily concerned with the Dunhuang caves, see Angela Howard, “On ‘Art in the Dark’ and Meditation in Central Asian Buddhist Caves,” *The Eastern Buddhist* 46.2 (2015): 19–40.

14 Henrik H. Sørensen, “Light on ‘Art in the Dark’: On Buddhist Practice and Worship in the Mogao Caves,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.6 (2021). On the specific tantric ritual function of the later Cave 465, see Carmen Meinert, “Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies: Tantric Rituals in Eastern Central Asia under Tangut Rule, 11th–13th C.,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 313–365. See also Michelle Wang, “Dunhuang Art,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), accessed August 26, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.173>.

Moreover, funerary feasts were a major feature of this ritual programme. A few texts containing monastic accounts in the Dunhuang manuscripts shed some light on the Buddhist festivals held at the local monasteries and at the caves themselves. Jacques Gernet discussed this, mainly based on the scroll P. 2049, which contains monastic accounts for the purchase of oil for lighting ritual lamps, and food for funerary feasts.

The feasts for the benefit of the deceased could be held at any time, but there was also a regular calendar of festivals. From the accounts of the Jingtū Temple (Chin. Jingtū sī 淨土寺) discussed by Gernet, which are for the years 924 and 930, there are four main festivals, including two that were held at the caves: a lamp festival in the first month of the year, and the festival of the dead in the seventh month of the year.¹⁵ The festival for the dead was a major annual event across medieval East and Central Asia, and remains so to the present day. Funerary feasts were held at the Mogao complex as a matter of course. In the context of the festival of the dead, Gernet shows that the Jingtū Temple allocated funds for flour to make Buddha bowls (Chin. *fopen* 佛盆) and invited local officials to a banquet at the caves.¹⁶ There is also plentiful evidence in manuscript copies of society bylaws interred in Cave 17 that lay Buddhists were active at the Mogao caves. These lay Buddhist associations (Chin. *she* 社) were often involved with fundraising to support donations to the Buddhist community, the performance of rituals, or the construction of new cave shrines. In a recent study, Stephen Teiser has argued that the most important role of these associations was a funerary one: "Providing mutual assistance for funerals and memorial rites was likely the most important function of Buddhist lay associations."¹⁷

The many small *stūpas* constructed in front of the cliffs and along the road leading to the site from the town of Dunhuang further hint at the funerary context of the Mogao site as a whole. The fragmentary illustration on P. T. 993, which depicts a monastery near the caves, along with several *stūpas*, shows that these were already a feature of the site in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁸ Cave 17, as we have already mentioned, was set up as a funerary shrine for the monk Hongbian, and blends seamlessly within this wider funerary context.

15 Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 201–202.

16 Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 202.

17 Stephen Teiser, "Terms of Friendship: Bylaws for Associations of Buddhist Laywomen in Medieval China," in *At the Shores of the Sky: Asian Studies for Albert Hoffstädt*, ed. Paul Kroll and Jonathan A. Silk (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 164.

18 We would like to thank Neil Schmid for discussing with us the relevance of the *stūpas* at the Mogao site, and their connection with P. T. 993.

A member of the wealthy Wu (吳) family, and also known as the Tripiṭaka Master Wu (Chin. Wu Sanzang), Hongbian who was active in the ninth century, during the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang and the beginning of the Guiyijun period (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army).¹⁹ During his lifetime, he became the highest-ranking monk in the Dunhuang monastic community, as well as a politically influential figure. A painted stucco statue, depicting a male figure seated with his legs crossed and dressed in monastic robes, was placed in Cave 17, facing the entrance. It was intended as a life-sized portrait of Hongbian and contained his ashes, which were held in a silk bag placed in an opening at the back.²⁰ The bag has since been removed and is now kept in the local Dunhuang Museum.²¹ As Hung Wu pointed out, the ashes themselves are sacred relics, making this statue the earliest surviving example of an eminent monk's 'ash icon'. Combining Buddhist and Confucian concepts, this elevates the statue as an embodiment of Hongbian to serve as the focus for continuing ritual practices.²²

The statue is set against the background of a mural painted on the north wall of the small cave. The mural represents two trees, whose foliage forms an arched canopy around the figure of Hongbian. A satchel and a flask of water, both iconographical attributes of the monk, hang from the branches of both trees, flanking him. Further to the side, under each of the trees, are two female

19 Several dates have been suggested for the beginning of the period of Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, with 786 often used, though Bianca Horlemann's suggestion of the late 750s or early 760s now widely accepted; see Bianca Horlemann, "A Re-evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-century Shazhou/Dunhuang," in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies 1. Proceedings of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 2000*, ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49–66. The transition from the end of Tibetan rule of Dunhuang to the Guiyijun period was between 848 and 851; see Henrik Sørensen, "Guiyijun and Buddhism at Dunhuang: a Year by Year Chronicle," *Buddhist Road Paper* 4.2 (2019).

20 The bag, 14 cm high by 8.5 cm wide, was discovered in October 1965 when the statue of Hongbian was transferred from Cave 362 to Cave 17. Tied with white silk thread, it is made of two layers of silk: purple silk inside and white silk outside. Within the bag, the remains were wrapped in white silk wadding and a piece of white hemp paper. The bag itself was enclosed in a hemp paper manuscript containing a writing exercise. See Ma Shichang 马世长, "Guanyu Dunhuang Cangjingdong de ji ge wenti 关于敦煌藏经洞的几个问题 [Several Questions Regarding Dunhuang Cave 17]," *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Artefacts] 12 (1978): 27.

21 Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, "Tonkō monjo fūnyū kō 敦煌文書封入考 [A Study of the Sealing of the Dunhuang Documents]," *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 佛教学研究 [Studies in Buddhism] 56 (2002): 26. Also Mogao Cave 17 (Later Tang Dynasty (923–935, 後唐)), <http://public.dha.ac.cn/content.aspx?id=898738212291>; and Sharf, "Art in the Dark," 57.

22 Hung Wu, *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 142–143.

attendants: on his right-hand side, an *upāsikā* is carrying a staff and a towel; on his left, a *bhikṣuṇī* is standing with a large silk fan.²³ According to Sharf, these could equally “constitute *mingqi*–surrogates and grave goods meant to serve Hongbian in the afterlife.”²⁴ A stele was placed on the west wall and can still be found *in situ*.²⁵ It records Hongbian’s accession to the role of district *saṃgha* overseer of the Hexi region (Chin. *Hexi du sengtong* 河西都僧統) in 851 and also lists the gifts that he received on that occasion: silks, *sūtra* wrappers, and a purple robe, the latter representing the highest honour a Buddhist monk could receive from the emperor.²⁶ As we will see, these are the same sort of objects that were also placed in Cave 17. Hongbian’s stele is an important mortuary object and key to understanding the making of the cave. The link between steles and public memory in Chinese funerary culture was highlighted by Ken E. Brashier:

The stele represents yet another mortuary object that preserves a relationship net around the ancestor both in terms of what it says about its dedicatee and the process by which it came to be erected. It prevents his knot from unraveling.²⁷

It is not clear exactly when Cave 17 was built as a niche in the corridor of the much larger Cave 16. Scholars have generally assumed that it was part of the original plan of Cave 16, and therefore had another use before it was excavated; suggestions have included a space for storing food, or a meditation cave for Hongbian himself.²⁸ However, it is unlikely that the Mogao caves were in use frequently enough to require food storage, and the idea that they were built as meditation caves has been criticised.²⁹ It is also possible that Cave 17 was carved out later and for the specific purpose of serving as a shrine for Hongbian

23 Digital Mogao Cave 17. <https://www.e-dunhuang.com/cave/10.0001/0001.0001.0017>, accessed November 29, 2023. A sketch on paper from the cave depicting a seated monk with a similar iconography is in the British Museum manuscript 1919,0101,0.163 (Ch.00145).

24 Sharf, “Art in the Dark,” 58–59.

25 According to Stein’s original account, the stele was removed by Wang Yuanlu after he opened Cave 17; see Marc A. Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), vol. 2, 808–809. It was subsequently replaced on the west wall of the cave.

26 Sarah Fraser, *Performing the Visual* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 4.

27 Ken E. Brashier, *Public Memory in Early China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 303.

28 Imaeda, “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents,” 86.

29 See the critique of the idea that small caves were used for meditation at Mogao in Sharf, “Art in the Dark.”

around the time of his death in 862.³⁰ In an article published in 2006, Zhang Jingfeng explained that Cave 17 was not the only one of its kind at Mogao. In fact, it shares similar characteristics with seven other small caves that he refers to as ‘shadow caves’ or ‘image caves’ (Chin. *yingku* 影窟): Cave 137, Cave 139, Cave 174, Cave 357, Cave 364, Cave 443 and Cave 476. Three of these are located near Cave 17; Cave 476, for instance, was carved right above Cave 17, leading Zhang to consider whether they were perhaps linked, if not to Hongbian, at least to the Wu clan. Shadow caves were established as funerary shrines during the Guiyijun period for Hexi’s district *saṃgha* overseers or other eminent monks, whose images were contained inside the caves in the form of paintings or statues. These caves are the Dunhuang equivalent of ancestral temples or shrines. They symbolised the status of specific individuals as venerated masters, and performed the function of commemorating them.³¹ As such, they are a “striking case of the conflation of cave and tomb.”³²

All this raises the question of how to understand the original purpose of Cave 17, as well as that of these other similar small caves at Dunhuang. Buddhist funerary structures can be *stūpas*, which house relics and tend to be sealed, and shrines, which house remains and/or representations of the dead, and tend to be open.³³ However, if we look at accounts in medieval Chinese sources, these two concepts may have been somewhat interchangeable. Robert Sharf’s study of the funerary practices for Chan (禪) teachers in the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) cites several texts in which a mummy or statue representing the teacher was placed in a *stūpa*; yet it is clear that what is referred to as a *stūpa* is not a fully-enclosed dome structure, but a room with doors.³⁴ Sharf describes these

30 Ma, “Guanyu Dunhuang Cangjingdong de ji ge wenti,” 25; 27–28.

31 Zhang Jingfeng 張景峰, “Dunhuang Mogao ku de yingku ji yingxiang—you xin faxian de di 476 ku tan qi 敦煌莫高窟的影窟及影像—由新發現的第476窟談起 [Dunhuang Mogao Caves Shadow’ Caves and Shadow Images—Discussion on the Newly Discovered Cave 476],” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 3 (2006): 107–115.

32 Sharf, “Art in the Dark,” 57.

33 As Gregory Schopen has pointed out, in India a *stūpa* could take different forms, with only the most prestigious being large architectural structures; most *stūpas* were a ‘humble little structure’ built to house pots containing bones and other relics; see Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 293.

34 In some cases, the texts also mention a stele placed in the *stūpa*, as seen in Cave 17. Robert Sharf “The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch’an Masters in Medieval China,” *History of Religions* 32.1 (1992): 9.

structures as “*stūpa*-mausoleums.” These could be constructed outside of the city, in locations including cemeteries and mountain shrines.³⁵

We find, then, that the *stūpa*-mausoleums that housed the embalmed remains of a saint or marked the site of his interment were frequently outfitted with a portrait or effigy. It would appear that these modest mausoleums were the precursors of the substantial buildings known in later times as ‘memorial halls’ (*ch’ung-t’ang*), ‘portrait halls’ (*chen-t’ang*), or ‘image halls’ (*ying-t’ang*).³⁶

Sharf also highlights the economic role of *stūpa*-mausoleums, namely that the representation of a highly-regarded deceased master allowed for a continuation of regular offerings to him.³⁷ The form of Cave 17, as a small shrine containing an image of Hongbian with his ashes and a stele recounting his meritorious activities, matches the *stūpa*-mausoleums as described in these texts of the Tang Dynasty.³⁸ Thus, we can say with some confidence that such structures, encompassing the funerary roles of both *stūpa* and shrine, were known in China at the time of the consecration of Cave 17 as Hongbian’s shrine.³⁹

In East Asia from the seventh century onward, the form of *stūpas* evolved into tall, multi-tiered, pagodas.⁴⁰ In Eastern Central Asia, Mogao Caves 16 and 17 are actually both part of a larger cave temple carved over three storeys that was commissioned by Hongbian over several decades in the ninth century.⁴¹ The caves were excavated from top to bottom, starting with Cave 366 and

35 Sharf, “The Idolization of Enlightenment,” 20.

36 *Ibid.*, 21.

37 *Ibid.*, 25.

38 Huntington has pointed out the similarity between the interior spaces of *stūpas* to the east of the Dunhuang cave site and the interior of Cave 17 itself, all of which feature a statue of a monk against the rear wall along with flanking paintings. See Huntington, “A Note on Dunhuang Cave 17,” 101.

39 Although we argue for the funerary dimension of the cave, we here steer away from referring to it as a grave owing to the more restrictive definition of that term, which usually signifies a place dug in the ground where the body is buried. The term can be better applied to other structures in the Dunhuang landscape; see Hung Wu, “What is Dunhuang Art,” in *Nomads, Traders and Holy Men Along China’s Silk Road*, ed. Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 8–9. For a wider study of Chinese mortuary culture, see James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

40 Elizabeth Errington et al., “Stupa,” *Grove Art Online*, accessed October 28, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T082073>.

41 Zhang, “Dunhuang Mogao ku de yingku ji yingxiang,” 111; Imaeda, “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents,” 81–102.

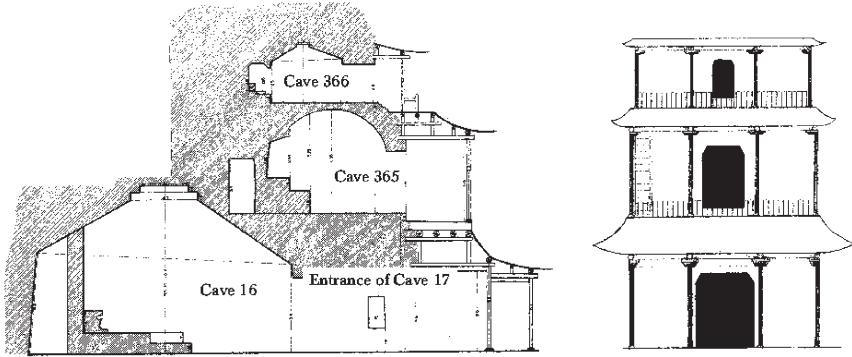


FIGURE 11.1 Sketch of the three-storey complex of Mogao Caves 16, 17, 365, and 366
 DIAGRAM BY SHI ZHANGROU 石璋如, *MOGAO KU XING 莫高窟形*
 [SECTION AND PLAN MEASUREMENTS OF THE MOGAO GROTTOS],
 VOL. 2. TAIPEI: ZHONGYANG YANJIUYUAN LISHI YUYAN YANJIUSUO, 1996,
 PLS. 126–127. REPRODUCED FROM YOSHIRO IMAEDA, “THE PROVENANCE
 AND CHARACTER OF THE DUNHUANG DOCUMENTS,” 87

ending at ground level with Cave 16.⁴² Cave 365, on the middle floor, contains an inscription in Tibetan indicating that its construction was sponsored by Hongbian in the years 832 to 834, when the region was still under Tibetan rule.⁴³ Cave 16, the largest of the three caves, is said to have been created around 851, at the time when Hongbian became the district *samgha* overseer of Hexi. This network of caves, which are vertically aligned to form a tall pagoda, is further complemented by an earth *stūpa* erected at the top of the cliff-face, possibly the ‘Pagoda of the Immaculate Dharma Flower’ (Chin. Fahua wugou zhi ta 法華無垢之塔) mentioned in the manuscript P. 4640.⁴⁴ The whole structure, referred to by Sha Wutian as a ‘vertically combined cave pagoda’ (Chin. *taku chuzhi zuhexing shi* 塔窟垂直組合形式) follows a model that emerged at Dunhuang from the late eight to the early tenth century and replicated multi-tiered pagodas.⁴⁵ In addition to Caves 16, 365 and 366, there are at least

42 Imaeda, “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents,” 86.

43 Ibid.

44 Sha Wutian 沙武田, “Dunhuang Tubo yijing sanzang fashi Facheng gongde ku kao 敦煌吐蕃譯經三藏法師法成功德窟考 [Study of the Merit Cave of Master Facheng, the Tripiṭaka and Sūtra-translator of Tibetan Ruled Dunhuang],” *Zhongguo zangxue 中國藏學* / *China Tibetology* 3 (2008): 45.

45 Sha, “Dunhuang Tubo yi jing sanzang fashi Facheng gongde ku kao,” 40–47.

two other such instances at Mogao: Caves 234 and 237; and Caves 161 and 156.⁴⁶ Another feature that reinforces their similarity with pagodas when they are viewed from the outside is that the caves decrease in size from the bottom to the top.⁴⁷ According to Zhang Xiantang, this suggests that the cave complex connected to Hongbian embraced both the appearance and the function of a *stūpa*, thus confirming the nature of Cave 17 as a *stūpa* shrine.⁴⁸

We know from the Dunhuang manuscripts that the kind of rituals mentioned above actually took place in the system of caves connected to Hongbian, if not directly in Cave 17. A document held at the Dunhuang Academy (Dunhuang 322) records how, in 951, a group of lay Buddhists led by the monk Daozhen (ca. 915–987, 道真) made lamp offerings at eleven or more major caves on the occasion of the Laba or lantern festival (Chin. *laba jie* 臘八節). This notably included the Seven Buddhas Cave (Chin. Qifo ku 七佛窟) and the Cave of Wu Heshang (Chin. Wu heshang ku 吳和尚窟). The former can be identified with Cave 365, which was excavated by the monk Hongbian and dedicated to seven Buddhas; the latter could correspond to Cave 16. As Imaeda points out, “[t]his means that even in the middle of the tenth century, about one century after their excavation, the caves associated with Hongbian were still being maintained by devotees.”⁴⁹ These ritual activities may also have resulted in the deposit of further materials into Cave 17, a possibility to which we will return later.

46 Interestingly, Caves 161 and 156 are both possibly linked to the eminent monk Wu Facheng (fl. first half of 9th c., 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), contemporary of Hongbian. See *ibid.*, 40–47.

47 Zhao Xiaoxing 趙曉星, “Mogao ku Tubo shiqi ta, ku chui zhi zu huxing shitan xi 莫高窟吐蕃時期塔、窟垂直組合形式探析 [An Analysis of the Vertically Combined Pagoda-caves at the Mogao Caves during the Tibetan Era],” *Zhongguo zangxue 中國藏學 / China Tibetology* 3 (2012): 95. In her article, Zhao also suggests that this type of structure, of which Cave 143 and its associated earth *stūpa* may be another instance, were influenced by Tantric Buddhism.

48 Zhang Xiantang 張先堂, “Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang yujing xiangyi mai—jiantan Dunhuang Mogao ku cangjing dong de fengbi yuanyin 中國古代佛教三寶供養與經像瘞埋—兼談敦煌莫高窟藏經洞的封閉原因 [Offerings to the Three Jewels in Ancient Chinese Buddhism and the Burial of Scriptures and Images—Also on the Reasons for the Sealing of Cave 17],” *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Research Annual Report]* 10.2 (2016): 263–264.

49 Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 148–149; Henrik H. Sørensen, “The Life and Times of Daozhen—a Samgha Leader and Monk Official in Dunhuang during the 10th Century,” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.3 (2020): 20; Imaeda, “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents,” 92.

3 The Contents of Cave 17 as Relics of Use

In a 2016 article, Zhang Xiantang pointed out that Cave 17 had long been regarded by scholars as an isolated phenomenon, despite the growing number of Chinese sites attesting to the depositing of Buddhist items in a wide range of places such as crypts, graves, caves, and *stūpas*. Taking a macroscopic view, he surveyed the archaeological discoveries made across the country in the previous decades and established a list of the sites where scriptures, images or other artefacts had been buried, thus demonstrating that this was a widespread Buddhist practice in ancient China.⁵⁰ Zhang distinguished two intrinsically connected types of burials: burials of Buddha images; and burials of mixed materials, including Buddha images and scriptures. The latter, which are particularly relevant to our analysis of Cave 17 and its contents, are linked to *stūpas*. In addition to hosting relics of the Buddha and of then becoming a way to consecrate and bury the relics of eminent monastic figures, *stūpas* were used to inter and consecrate Buddhist images and Buddhist scriptures. Due to their limited space, most of the *stūpas* that were found to host composite deposits contained a relatively small number of images and manuscripts. There are three notable exceptions: the Shende Temple *stūpa* (Chin. Shende si ta 神得寺塔) in present-day Shaanxi Province; the Hongfo *stūpa* (Chin. Hongfo ta 宏佛塔) close to the former Tangut capital Zhongxing (中興); and the large *stūpa* in Karakhoto.⁵¹

The most immediate comparison to Cave 17 is the large *stūpa* discovered at the beginning of the 20th century in the city of Karakhoto (Chin. Heishuicheng 黑水城), at the northern periphery of the former Tangut Empire.⁵² Commonly referred to as the *suburban*, which is the Mongolian term for *stūpa*, it is located only a few hundred meters away from the northwest corner of the city wall. When the Russian explorer Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov (1863–1935) and his team started excavating the structure, they unearthed a large trove of Buddhist scriptures, prints, *thangkas*, and other artefacts, such as miniature *stūpas*, bronze and wooden statues.⁵³ Around the central pole of the *stūpa* were arranged

50 Zhang, “Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang,” 253–273. For a list of archaeological discoveries in the same article, see his Annex, 264.

51 Ibid., 253–273. For the location of Hongfo *stūpa* and Karakhoto see the following map: Carmen Meinert, “Creation of Tantric Sacred Spaces in Eastern Central Asia,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia 1—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 252–253, map 10.1.

52 Zhang, “Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang,” 262–264.

53 The collections are now divided between the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts and the Hermitage Museum.

about twenty life-size clay statues “resembling lamas, conducting a religious ceremony in front of hundreds of manuscripts in Tangut script, stacked one upon the other.”⁵⁴ The collection, which encapsulated “the essence of the culture of the Tanguts,”⁵⁵ also contained a small group of non-Buddhist artefacts, both manuscripts and paintings.

According to Kozlov, a wide range of items were jumbled up together in the upper part of the *stūpa*, while some of the books found on the bottom level were neatly stacked and possessed cloth wrappers. In the words of Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk:

The disorder gave reason to suppose that after the burial of some member of the priesthood, further items were added to those originally in the tomb. While such a possibility cannot be excluded, given that the town was faced with imminent enemy assault, it is difficult to accept it without question. The sheer quantity, quality and diversity of the books and scrolls in the tomb point to the treasure's having belonged either to some person of high station, or to a wealthy monastery. We have no clues as to who precisely was buried there.⁵⁶

The base of the *stūpa* further revealed the remains of a body. The skull was taken to St. Petersburg, where it was studied by the anthropologist F. Volkov and identified as that of a female of over fifty years of age.⁵⁷ Professor Lev N. Menshikov (1926–2005) proposed that the body was that of a member of the ruling family, possibly none other than the Empress Lo herself, buried with her personal collection. However, this theory has been criticised and other scholars have suggested that the deceased was most likely an eminent nun.⁵⁸

54 Pyotr K. Kozlov, *Mongolia i Amdo i myortvy gorod Khara-Khoto: Ekspeditsiya Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva v nagornoy Azii P.K. Kozlova, potchotnogo chlena Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva. 1907–1909 gg* [Mongolia and Amdo and the Dead Town of Karakhoto: The Russian Geographical Society's Expedition to the Mountains of Asia, led by Pyotr K. Kozlov, Honorary Member of the Russian Geographical Society, 1907–1909] (Moscow, St. Petersburg: n.p. 1923), 556.

55 Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk, “Preface,” in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (x–xIIth Century)*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky (Milano: Electa, 1993), 18.

56 Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk, “The Discovery of Khara Khoto,” in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (x–xIIth Century)*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky (Milano: Electa, 1993), 45–46.

57 Samosyuk, “The Discovery of Khara Khoto,” 44–45.

58 We would like to thank Maria Menshikova, Hermitage Museum, for discussing this with us.

Based on the colophons on the manuscripts, it has generally been accepted that the *stūpa* was constructed in the 13th century, before the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) was conquered by the Mongol army in 1227. However, the sealing of the *suburgan* was probably not related to the fear of a Mongol invasion. The *stūpa* was filled with texts, paintings and sculptures out of respect for the deceased, and its closure was part of the funerary rituals associated with this.⁵⁹ Carmen Meinert has argued that the filling of the Karakhoto *stūpa* with religious objects also enhanced its status as a sacred site:

Just as a consecrated *stūpa* is regarded as a representation of the body of the Buddha on the level of absolute truth, its being filled with Buddhist scriptures represents the Buddha's teachings and the scriptures may be seen as the bases for the realization of Buddhist ideas and accumulation of merit on the level of relative truth. They serve as an inspiration for the practitioner and lend an aura to the site, charging it with religious meaning.⁶⁰

Quoting the Tangut scholar Shu Xihong, who suggested that both the contents of the Karakhoto *stūpa* and Cave 17 were offerings, Zhang Xiantang drew the conclusion that the origin, construction and sealing of Cave 17 were not only closely linked to but also the result of offerings to the three jewels (Skt. *triratna*; Chin. *sanbao* 三寶).⁶¹ Making offerings to the three jewels is a fundamental Buddhist practice, which includes gifts made to relics housed in *stūpas*.⁶² Zhang also explained that, given the original nature of *stūpas* as repositories for Buddha relics, it was natural that Buddhist followers would deposit images and texts that were for the most part fragmentary, old fashioned and out-of-use, although he does not exclude the possibility that they could in addition have chosen to donate completely intact items.⁶³

59 Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk, "Preface." In *Ecang Heishuicheng yi shupin* 俄藏黑水城藝術品 [Karakhoto Art Works in Russian Collections] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2011).

60 Carmen Meinert, "Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Kharakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227)," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 61–62.

61 Zhang, "Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang," 262–264.

62 Michael Willis, "Offerings to the Triple Gem: Texts Inscriptions and Ritual Practice," in *Relics and Relic Worship in Early Buddhism: India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Burma*, ed. Janice Stargardt and Michael Willis (London: British Museum Press, 2018), 66–73.

63 Zhang, "Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang," 264.

Traditionally, offerings to the three jewels were made at shrines and *stūpas*. Since the relics contained therein were equivalent to the living bodies of eminent monks, the same kinds of things were offered to them. As Michael Willis has shown, traditional lists include a robe, begging bowl, seat and bed, but also food, scented ointments and lamps. The bulk of the material found in Cave 17 is of a different nature, and may be better understood as relics.⁶⁴ As we mentioned earlier, other materials were deposited in Cave 17 alongside the manuscripts and printed documents. Textiles, now for the most part kept at the National Museum of India in New Delhi and at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, include banners, rugs, altar coverings, and possibly monks' robes. These textiles all appear worn, and thus seem to have been in use before they were placed in the cave. Like the manuscripts, most of these objects have the character of ritual ephemera or personal possessions rather than luxury goods. For example, there is a large and very worn patchwork textile (ca. 1 × 1.5m) that may have been a monk's robe or a bed cover, which has been dated to the eighth to ninth century, and therefore may have belonged to Hongbian or another monk.⁶⁵

The majority of the textiles in the cave are banners, most of which are damaged. Banners also maintain a strong association with funerary practices in Dunhuang; for example, the rules of a local lay association state that "when a member dies, his family should report the death and all members should lend their support by contributing one piece of cotton or hemp cloth towards the funeral."⁶⁶ When considering material like this we might need to make a distinction in the funerary nature of the contents of the cave between the personal possessions of the dead on the one hand, and objects that were used in their funerary rituals on the other. However, both types may be described as relics due to their close association with the deceased.⁶⁷

64 Willis, "Offerings to the Triple Gem," 69.

65 MAS.856 (Ch.IV.0028). Other examples include canopies (e.g., 1919,0101,0.202) and rugs (e.g., LOAN:STEIN,378, Ch.00337).

66 Mingxin Bao and Shen Yan, "The Use of Textiles as Recorded in the Documents Found at Dunhuang," in *Textiles from Dunhuang in UK Collections*, ed. Feng Zhao et al. (Shanghai: Donghua University Press, 2007), 29.

67 The entry on "Contact Relics" in the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* suggests the following distinctions in the category of contact relics: "The rather vague term 'contact relic' can be used to describe two entirely different classes of relic. Secondary relics are items that came into contact with a saint during his or her lifetime, such as the tunic of Francis of Assisi. Tertiary relics are items that have come into contact with relics and thereby absorbed some of their power, becoming another form of contact relic, such as the strips of cloth (*brandea*) that were touched to the tombs of saints." Scott Montgomery,

According to Zhang, there is no evidence that objects such as these were interred as relics, and characterising them as such is an abuse of language.⁶⁸ However, we believe the concept of relics actually fits well with the contents of Cave 17. Buddhist traditions have offered various classifications of types of relics, which have included both physical remains, and objects associated with the Buddha, or other holy persons. The Buddha's begging bowl, robe, and other belongings were classified as 'objects of veneration by association' (Skt. *paribhogacetiya*). A range of objects therefore came to be treated as relics in that they were given status and ritual attention equivalent to bodily remains. Scholars have also referred to this kind of object as a 'contact relic' or 'relic of use', though some have criticised this wider use of the word 'relic'.⁶⁹

In this chapter, we are using a broader definition of 'relic' to refer to objects interred in *stūpas* and equivalent structures and treated for ritual purposes as equivalent to bodily remains. In the study of the Chinese Buddhist tradition, this has been explored mainly through the examples of the robes of deceased monks.⁷⁰ Based on the Chinese and Tibetan traditions, Yael Bentor has offered the following threefold classification of Buddhist relics:

- (1) The bodily remains of the Buddha and other important (even if subsequently anonymous) saintly persons.
- (2) Various objects that came into contact or were otherwise associated with them.
- (3) Relics of the dharma, including entire scriptures.⁷¹

While these classifications are useful, we should also keep in mind that, in practice, the different categories of Buddhist relics overlap to some extent and should be seen as, in the words of Michael Willis, "points on a sliding scale

"Contact Relics," *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, accessed September 28, 2021. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_00235.

68 Zhang, "Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang," 259.

69 Skilling argues that these 'objects of veneration' or shrines (Skt. *cetiya*) should not be called 'relics' but in this context Skilling's definition of relics is restricted to the physical remains left behind by the Buddha himself. Peter Skilling, "Relics: The Heart of Veneration," in *Relics and Relic Worship in Early Buddhism: India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Burma*, ed. Janice Stargardt and Michael Willis (London: The British Museum, 2018), 5.

70 See the discussion and references in David Quinter, "Relics," *Oxford Bibliographies, Buddhism* (2014), accessed September 15, 2021. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393521/obo-9780195393521-0196.xml>.

71 Yael Bentor, "Tibetan Relic Classifications," in *Tibetan Studies (Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992)*, ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 16.

which to some extent allowed one type of relic to be substituted and transformed into another.”⁷²

In the case of Cave 17, we can see this overlap in the combination of ‘relics of use’ with ‘relics of the *dharma*’. The *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra*, over 2,000 copies of which were placed in the cave, states that wherever it is copied will become equivalent to a *stūpa*: “Wherever this *sūtra* is written or caused to be written, that place will be a *stūpa* and worthy of veneration.”⁷³ Other *sūtras* heavily represented in the collections from Cave 17, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, also contain passages encouraging the copying of the text of the *sūtra*, with the reward of vast amounts of merit for doing so, resulting in better rebirths in future lives. This theme was pointed out by Gregory Schopen in an influential article on ‘the Cult of the Book.’⁷⁴ Schopen’s specific argument that Mahāyāna Buddhists challenged the existing cults of *stūpas* and relics with a cult of the book has been criticised, however, and the number of texts found in Cave 17 with funerary colophons and contents suggest that the cult of the book at Dunhuang was closely tied to the rituals around *stūpas*.⁷⁵

Some of the earliest examples of relics of the *dharma* are the Gāndhārī manuscripts from the second or third century CE, the earliest surviving Buddhist manuscripts. They were found in modern Afghanistan in the ruins of a Buddhist monastic *stūpa* complex. On these, Richard Salomon has written:

It can be safely assumed that the manuscripts in question, regardless of their specific character or condition, were understood and treated as relics. The status of written representations of the words of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) as dharma-relics (*dharma-śarīra*), functionally equivalent to bodily relics (*śarīra*) of the Buddha or other Buddhist venerables, is widely acknowledged in Buddhist tradition.⁷⁶

72 Michael Willis, *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 13.

73 On the number of these scrolls originally placed in the cave, see Sam van Schaik, “The Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts in China,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65.1 (2002): 135–136. Translation from *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra* (Toh 675, 219a), trans. Peter Allan Roberts and Emily Bower, accessed January 24, 2022. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh675.html>.

74 The article was originally published in 1975; it is reprinted in Gregory Schopen, *Fragments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), 25–62.

75 See for example David Drewes, “Revisiting the Phrase ‘sa pṛthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet’ and the Mahāyāna Cult of the Book,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 50.2 (2007): 101–143.

76 Salomon, “Why Did Gandharan Buddhists Bury Their Manuscripts?,” 30.

The first group of Gāndhārī manuscripts that was discovered, now kept at the British Library, was originally inside a pot interred in a *stūpa*. As Salomon has written, the pot contained a disparate and apparently well-used set of manuscripts:

As for the manuscripts contained in the British Library pot, they are a very mixed lot indeed. The twenty-nine fragmentary scrolls contain at least two dozen distinct texts of very diverse contents and genres, written by twenty-one different scribes. Thus they seem to constitute a miscellaneous, unplanned, and more or less random collection.⁷⁷

Though Salomon does not consider this, the category of ‘relics of use’ may also apply to these manuscripts, which could well have been the former possessions of a deceased eminent monk. Thus, the combined factors of a deposit of these Gāndhārī manuscripts in a *stūpa*, and the miscellaneous and used nature of those manuscripts, might offer an early precedent for manuscripts being both relics of use and relics of the *dharmā*.

4 Different Collections as Secondary Deposits

We will now explore the possible processes by which manuscripts and other material associated with Hongbian were placed in Cave 17 as relics, followed by deposits of further manuscripts, paintings, and artefacts over the course of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries. To begin with the initial deposit, several manuscripts found in the cave are associated with Hongbian directly, including letters addressed to him.⁷⁸ Others are associated with his period in office, such as the copies of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna* and *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* in Tibetan and Chinese, which were copied at the behest of the Tibetan emperor.⁷⁹ The *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra* promises purification and rebirth in a pure land when it is copied, and these scrolls may have been commissioned either towards the end of the emperor’s life, or upon his death.⁸⁰

77 Salomon, “Why Did Gandharan Buddhists Bury Their Manuscripts?,” 24.

78 The Hongbian letters include P. T. 999, 1079, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202 and 1203.

79 P. T. 999, connects Hongbian to the scrolls of the *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra* copied at the behest of the Tibetan emperor.

80 Texts like this offered the assurance of both *premortem* and *postmortem* protection, a feature that Neil Schmid has discussed in terms of the Mogao cave murals, lectures, and rituals. See Neil Schmid, “The Material Culture of Exegesis and Liturgy and a Change in the Artistic Representations in Dunhuang Caves, ca. 700–1000,” *Asia Major, Third Series* 19.1–2

The number and bulk of these scrolls and large *pothī* manuscripts, means that they constitute a significant proportion of the cave's contents; there were approximately 3,500 scrolls containing these two texts copied for the emperor, and eleven *pothī* volumes comprising over 1,000 large format folios each.⁸¹ These materials may have been deposited in Cave 17 as a part of its consecration as a funerary shrine for Hongbian, or not long afterwards; here we agree with Imaeda's assessment:

Various items, documents, and so on in the former possession of or pertaining to Hongbian would have been kept in this memorial chapel. In view of the cave's position, its origins, and the fact that Hongbian's name or seal is found in a considerable number of documents from the cave, both Chinese and Tibetan, there is nothing unnatural about this assumption.⁸²

By means of this process, the material associated with the life of Hongbian gained the status of relics after being placed in Cave 17 when it was consecrated as a funerary *stūpa*. However, this only accounts for a portion of the contents of the cave. Many of the manuscripts, paintings and other artefacts bear no direct relation with Hongbian, and were placed there long after his death, through to the early 11th century. This suggests a gradual process of further deposits into the cave. As we have seen, the nature of these artefacts is also in keeping with the possibility that they were placed there as a form of relic deposit, through personal association with the deceased, as a 'dharma relic' due to the texts or images they contained, or simply as the ritual ephemera of a funerary ceremony. In some cases, we have evidence of specific monk residents of Dunhuang whose collections of manuscripts (and perhaps certain other belongings) ended up in Cave 17.

For example, another important resident of Dunhuang, and a relative of Hongbian, Wu Facheng (fl. first half of 9th c., 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), was a translator responsible for several translations of *sūtras* from Chinese into

(2006): 171–210. See also Neil Schmid, "Giving While Keeping: Inexhaustible Treasuries and Inalienable Wealth in Medieval China," *Studies in Chinese Religion* 5.2 (2019): 151–164.

81 See Sam van Schaik, "The Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts in China," and Kazushi Iwao, "The Purpose of Sutra Copying Under Tibetan Rule," in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. Irina Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Slavia Publishers, 2012), 102–105. In the famous photograph of Paul Pelliot examining manuscripts inside the cave, the large *pothī* pages immediately behind him are probably some of the Tibetan *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*.

82 Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," 89.

Tibetan that are still preserved in the Tibetan canon.⁸³ The Dunhuang collections have revealed more of his translation work, as well as his own original compositions of Buddhist texts. Scholars have argued that a batch of manuscripts associated with Facheng were actually written by the translator in his own hand. It is therefore likely that they were put in the cave after the death of Facheng in the late ninth century. Thus, we can see that a similar process by which manuscripts associated with Hongbian were placed in the cave may apply to other figures who died in the following decades. As Imaeda has shown, there may have been a family connection between Facheng and Hongbian that would help to explain the use of Hongbian's shrine cave to house Facheng's relic deposits.⁸⁴ Imaeda suggests that the contents of Cave 17 could thus have been considered 'family documents', which helps to understand the nature of the collection:

Rather than having value as treasures in their own right, these documents would have been prized as 'family documents' connected with ancestors of the Wu family. It would be precisely for this reason that there have been discovered many secular documents such as contracts, rather than Buddhist texts, that bear Hongbian's signature or seal.⁸⁵

The cave contained other similarly personal collections of manuscripts as well. Another significant figure whose collection may have been placed in the cave after his death is a monk from the Sanjie Temple called Daozhen. In the words of Henrik Sørensen, he is "one of the best-documented figures in the history of Buddhism in Dunhuang," and, "given the extent of his activities, it is clear that, in his own time, he was perhaps as important and significant a figure as the exegete and Buddhist master Hongbian."⁸⁶ Daozhen's name is connected to several documents from the cave. Some of these are *sūtra* scrolls recorded as belonging to him, while the majority are certificates of people who have received the Buddhist precepts given to lay people, in which Daozhen is recorded as the preceptor. Daozhen was also involved for many years in a

83 Ueyama has argued that several manuscripts from Cave 17 are written in Chödrup's own hand. Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, *Tonkō bukkō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 [A Study of Dunhuang Buddhism] (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 84–219; see esp. 93, 154. For recent work strengthening this argument, see Channa Li, "Toward A Typology of Chödrup's (Tib. Chos Grub, Chin. Facheng 法成) Cursive Handwriting: A Palaeographical Perspective," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.2 (2021).

84 Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," 91.

85 *Ibid.*, 91.

86 Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen," 3 and 6.

project of collecting manuscripts to supplement and repair the collections of the Sanjie Temple.⁸⁷

Was Daozhen's own collection of manuscripts, including these records of his collecting and donation activities, deposited in Cave 17 after his death? We have no clear evidence that this happened, but we can see an association between Daozhen and the cave. Daozhen is also associated with the restoration of a Buddhist cave at Mogao.⁸⁸ And as we have already mentioned, Daozhen held a lamp offering ritual on the occasion of the Laba festival in the Dunhuang caves in 951, including 'the cave of Monk Wu'.⁸⁹ Thus, he seems to have had some association with the three-storey cave complex originally created by Hongbian. The last of Daozhen's precept certificates is dated to 987, and if he died a few years after this, his manuscripts (and perhaps other items) would have been placed in the cave just before the end of the tenth century. Thus, Daozhen's collection could have been one of the last major funerary deposits into Cave 17, towards the end of the tenth century.⁹⁰

The site numbers given by Aurel Stein to the manuscripts from Cave 17 may help us to identify further deposits, even where the individual who owned the manuscripts is anonymous. Though Stein did not say much about how he assigned these numbers to the manuscripts, they seem to have been associated with the various manuscript 'bundles' that he writes of in his account of removing the contents of the cave. Thus, Stein's site numbers are the best indication we have of the arrangement of the manuscripts deposited in the cave. In 2007, Jacob Dalton, Sam van Schaik and Tom Davis published the results of carrying out forensic handwriting analysis on the Tibetan manuscripts from the cave. One striking result of this analysis was that a group of manuscripts written in the same hand also shared the same Stein site number. This indicated that

87 Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen," 3 and 6.

88 Text of the verso of P. 2641.

89 Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," 92. See also Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 124, and Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen," 20.

90 This is somewhat different from the explanation proposed by Rong, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave." Rong argues that the entirety of the contents of Cave 17 are manuscripts from the Sanjie Temple, including those collected by Daozhen. However, the idea that Cave 17 contains a monastic library is not well supported by the nature of the manuscripts as a whole, of which so many are damaged and incomplete. Furthermore, there are only around 200 manuscripts that can be directly linked to the Sanjie Temple among the many thousands that were deposited in Cave 17 (see Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents"). However, our suggestion does overlap with Rong's, allowing us to understand the importance of Daozhen and his manuscript preservation project on the contents of Cave 17.



FIGURE 11.2A+B Front and side view of the three-storey complex of Mogao Caves 16, 17, 365, and 366
PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEIL SCHMID, DUNHUANG

they had been placed in the cave in a single bundle.⁹¹ More work needs to be done on this, but the association of Stein's site numbers with bundles of manuscripts, and the possibility that some of the bundles belonged to single individuals, would fit the theory that Cave 17 was mainly filled with a succession of funerary deposits.

At some point, the statue of Hongbian was moved from Cave 17. It was relocated to another small shrine, numbered Cave 362, which adjoins Cave 365 in the middle part of the three-storey complex that Hongbian had commissioned.⁹² The similarity in the size and position of Caves 17 and 362 in relation to the larger caves provides continuity to the statue's setting. If we consider the three-storey complex as a whole, then moving Hongbian's icon would

91 Jacob Dalton, Tom Davis, and Sam van Schaik, "Beyond Anonymity: Paleographic Analyses of the Dunhuang Manuscripts," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 17. See also the forthcoming work by Susan Whitfield and Paschalia Terzi.

92 Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," 94–95 suggests that the statue was moved out of respect for Hongbian at some point before Cave 17 was sealed, due to a change in the usage of the cave. It is possible that the statue was moved as the cave became full; however this would not necessarily entail a significantly different change in the use of the cave.

not necessarily entail a radical change in the function of Cave 17, which could have continued to serve as a funerary repository. In this case, would the gradual deposit of relics of use into Cave 17 over many decades exclude it from being understood as a Buddhist *stūpa* or reliquary? We can compare this process to the development of mortuary shrines in India, where the gradual deposit of relics, or objects that were equivalent to relics over a period of time was commonly practised in Indian Buddhism.

Gregory Schopen has discussed the archaeological evidence showing that the deposit of relics in and around the area of *stūpas* in India was a gradual process: “These mortuary deposits have been purposely brought and placed here at different times. They do not form a part of an original or ordered plan.”⁹³ The remains of the dead person might be among the first deposits, but subsequently anything associated with the dead could function as a relic, and any relic was as precious as the body of the Buddha himself. Schopen quotes the following from the *Ratnarāśīsūtra*: “Whatever belongs to a *stūpa*, even if it is only a single fringe that is given [...] that itself is a sacred object for the world together with its gods.”⁹⁴ Schopen argues that, “it was this presence that drew to it the secondary mortuary deposits and a host of subsidiary structures.”⁹⁵ The concept of ‘secondary mortuary deposits’ is a significant one for understanding the gradual accumulation of materials in Cave 17.

Schopen’s analysis shows that a single *stūpa* or deposit sanctified an area and acted as a ‘seed’ for further deposits. These secondary deposits did not need to be remains of the dead, but anything bearing an association with them. We also have examples from Indian Buddhist sites of the relics of monks from several successive generations being placed in the same *stūpa*. In an article on the ‘cult of the monastic dead’, Schopen gathered archaeological and epigraphical evidence from Indian sites for the practice of monks and nuns interring the relics of their eminent colleagues in *stūpas*. The *stūpas* built to house such relics are found in cave complexes, where they are relatively small shrines, and can also be small brick structures in the grounds of monasteries.⁹⁶ The date

93 Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 114–147. Elsewhere, Schopen has also discussed the fact that Buddhist *stūpa* complexes and monasteries were often built on top of previous funerary ritual sites; see Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 360–381.

94 *Ibid.*, 130.

95 *Ibid.*, 135.

96 “There is also—although, again, not yet systematically studied—an important body of independent evidence for the monastic preoccupation with permanently housing their dead from well preserved cave sites like Bhājā, Bedsā, and Kānheri.” Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, 166.

range for these small *stūpas* and shrines for the monastic dead is roughly from the second to the eighth century. Citing the archaeological report of Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893) from the Sāñcī site, Schopen noted that:

Cunningham discovered that the remains of ten individual monks—representing at least three generations—had been deposited in *Stūpa* no. 2 at Sāñcī. The remains of some of these same monks also had been deposited in Sonārī *Stūpa* no. 2, which contained the relics of five individuals, and in *Stūpas* nos. 2 and 3 at Andher.⁹⁷

The sources discussed by Schopen show that the interment of relics associated with deceased monks and nuns in *stūpas* and shrines was a common practice, and that it was also an acceptable practice to place later deposits of relics into the same *stūpa* or shrine, a process that could extend over generations of monks. Thus, our suggestion that the contents of Cave 17 are the result of a series of successive deposits of the relics of local monks has a precedent in Indian Buddhism as well.

While Schopen's discussions are exclusively based on archaeological sites in India, the Buddhist context, and scriptural sources, overlap with our investigation into Cave 17. Deposits of manuscripts, banners, paintings and other material in the century and more after the cave was consecrated to Hongbian may have been linked to ongoing funerary ritual activities at the caves. Such acts of deposit could have taken place during the funerary ceremonies in the weeks after the death of Hongbian and later significant figures, and then in the following decades upon the death of other monks whose relics were placed in Cave 17 alongside the earlier deposits. Given their incomplete and worn state, and the inclusion of non-Buddhist material, they are more likely to have been deposited as relics than as offerings, although these categories may sometimes have overlapped.

5 Conclusion

The funerary context of Cave 17 is apparent in its role as a funerary shrine, functionally equivalent to a *stūpa*, and in the funerary role of the Dunhuang cave complex as a whole. With the widespread use of books as 'dharma relics' seen elsewhere in Buddhist cultures, and the construction of similar mortuary shrines both locally at the Mogao caves and elsewhere in China, this is the

97 Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, 178.

most convincing explanation for the contents of Cave 17. While we should not exclude other reasons for depositing things in the cave, we argue that these would be supplementary to their role as funerary deposits. We have discussed how the consecration of Cave 17 as a shrine to Hongbian in the late eighth century could have included the interment of manuscripts and other items that belonged to the monk in the first place. Then, other collections of deceased monks, perhaps with a family or other relationship to Hongbian, may have joined that original deposit over the following decades, through the process of secondary mortuary deposit.

When we approach the cave in this way, the idea that the contents were deliberately deposited and then sealed up in an act of protection or preservation is less convincing. The idea of burying, hiding or sealing away Buddhist texts for the purpose of preservation is also not borne out by a close analysis of the contents of the cave itself. As we have seen, the majority of the manuscripts placed in the cave were damaged or incomplete, or both. Furthermore, the cave contains things that are unlikely to have been chosen to be preserved for future generations. As mentioned earlier, the cave contained not just manuscripts and paintings, but also worn textiles and other objects that seem to have been in heavy use previously, either as monastic property or personal effects. Manuscripts placed in the cave include ephemera such as doodles depicting people and animals, some of which are quite risqué.⁹⁸ Tsuguhito Takeuchi studied the waste paper that scribes used for their own purposes, which is found in the caves' collections; as well as pen tests and practice letters, these include satirical verses, and complaints.⁹⁹ It is easier to see how these might have found their way into Cave 17 among the personal effects of deceased monks rather than through a deliberate act of gathering and depositing sacred texts. Again, these may well have been used by Buddhist monks and lay people in their daily lives, yet are unlikely to have been selected to be preserved in perpetuity in a Buddhist archive. Thus, the presence of non-Buddhist texts in the cave is also, we believe, best explained by understanding the funerary context which we have outlined here.

98 For example, the sheet of paper S. 1360 at the British Library features a sketch of a man with a comically large penis, with satirical commentary in Sogdian. See also the verso of P. 2702 and on P. T. 1149 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with sex scenes.

99 For example, in P. T. 1155 it is written that a scribe named Bung Dzéweng (d.u., Tib. Bung Dze weng) assaulted his colleague's wife. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, "Glegs tshas: Writing Boards of Chinese Scribes in Tibetan-Ruled Dunhuang," in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013), 104, n. 13.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is a tendency when dealing with a rediscovered trove of manuscripts to think of it as an archive. Yet, we should distinguish between what the manuscripts mean to us and what they meant to those who deposited them in the first place. Undoubtedly, they are an archive for us but it is, in the words of Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, an “accidental archive.”¹⁰⁰ There is no evidence in the materials from Cave 17, or the context around it, that the manuscripts, paintings and other materials were placed there with the intention of forming a coherent collection of *dharma* for future generations. Nor were they gathered and sealed away as a kind of time capsule. Of course, the contents of the cave did become a time capsule because they remained there so long before their eventual discovery, but again, there is no sign of this being the intention at the time.¹⁰¹ We can contrast this with other sites containing buried scriptural texts in which there is a clear context of preserving the Buddhist canon; for example, complete collections of scriptures printed and carved into stone, such as those found at the Yunju Temple (Chin. Yunju si 雲居寺) to the southwest of Beijing. The nature of these textual objects is quite different: they are complete, inscribed in stone, and form a coherent set.

The funerary context of Cave 17, its contents, and the Dunhuang complex as a whole would have been even more apparent at the time when the manuscripts were being deposited than it is now. As we have seen, Cave 17 is far from an individual case, but is part of a pattern of funerary interment along with scriptures and other objects, seen in numerous archaeological sites across China. So, it would have been nearly inconceivable for a deposit to be made into Cave 17 independently of this funerary context. We do not consider the

100 Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, “Towards Reconstructing a Medieval Library of Eurasian Medical Knowledge: Two Accidental (?) Case-Studies,” paper presented at the conference: “Establishing of Buddhist Nodes in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th c.—Part III: Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences and Doctrines,” Ruhr University Bochum, July 12th–14th, 2021.

101 The closest thing we have in the manuscripts is the expression of the aspiration to preserve the *dharma* for future generations, which is found in some colophons. Daozhen, whose preservation activities have already been mentioned, expresses this in the colophons of some of his manuscripts; for example, in Dunhuang 0345 he writes of the scrolls he has collected and repaired that “thereby he has assured that they would be transmitted in the world, their light embellishing the abstruse gate for ten thousand generations and a thousand autumns, and forever serve as an offering” (from Dunhuang 0345, quoted in Sørensen, “The Life and Times of Daozhen,” 11). It was these colophons that provided the inspiration for Rong Xinjiang’s theory that Daozhen’s activities were responsible for the manuscript store that was found in Cave 17. However, we need to distinguish between the aspiration expressed here, to repair the manuscripts so they may be transmitted through future generations, and the act of sealing them away.

funerary context of Cave 17 as a theory that replaces Stein's theory of 'waste deposit' or Rong's theory of a monastic library storehouse. This funerary context is not a theory at all, but a series of facts that need to be taken into account whenever we consider the contents of the cave—whether Buddhist, non-Buddhist or secular—the reasons for their deposit, and the circumstances that have led to them being available to us today.

An effect of fully establishing the funerary context of Cave 17, as well as the multi-storeyed cave structure of which it was a part, modelled on the *stūpa*, and the mortuary function of the Mogao site as a whole, is that theories that come from outside of this context seem less compelling. We do not need to speculate about radical changes in the function of Cave 17—such as turning into a sacred waste repository or a monastic storehouse—to explain the items deposited there. What we currently know about practices of relic deposit and offerings to *stūpas* can account for the nature of what was placed inside the cave, leaving a higher burden of proof on theories that stand outside of this context. Whether objects were placed in the cave as relics, or as offerings to relics, they were interred in the cave as part of funerary ritual practice. Why does this matter? Because almost any conclusion we draw from any individual item from the cave will depend on the wider context, and perhaps the most important part of that context is how and why this particular collection came together at this particular place and time.

Bibliography

Resources

- A Grammar of Old Turkic*, compiled by Marcel Erdal. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Bailey, Harold W. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Bartholomæ, Christian. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner, 1904.
- Bukkyōgo daijiten* 仏教語大辞典 [The Large Dictionary of Buddhist Terminologies], compiled by Nakamura Hajime 中村元. Tokyo: Tokyo shoseki, 1981.
- Catalogue of the Old Uyghur Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS*, compiled by IOM, RAS, and The Toyo Bunko. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2021.
- CBETA Online Reader. <https://www.cbetaonline.cn>.
- Dainihon zōkuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Extension to the *tripitaka* [Compiled] in Japan], 90 vols. Edited by Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et al. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyōkai, 1980–1988.
- Das, Sarat Chandra. *Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1902.
- Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (DDB). <https://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>.
- Dunhuang bianwenji* 敦煌變文集 [Collection of the Transformation Texts from Dunhuang], compiled by Wang Chongmin 王重民 et al., 2 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1959.
- Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yershater, 16 vols. 1985–. Online edition, iranicaonline.org/.
- Gallica, www.gallica.bnf.fr.
- Gharib, Badrozaman. *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhang Publications, 2004.
- Giles, Lionel. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum, 1957.
- Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Held in the National Library of China], compiled by Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 [National Library of China], edited by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005.
- International Dunhuang Project (IDP). <http://idp.bl.uk>.
- Komjathy, Louis. *Title Index to Daoist Collections*. Cambridge: Three Pines Press, 2002.
- Lessing, Ferdinand D., ed. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society, 1982.

- Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (rKTs). <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/>.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien—Neubearbeitung—II. Nomina—Pronomina—Partikeln. Band 2: aš—äzük*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2017.
- Shi, Zhangrou 石璋如. *Mogao ku xing 莫高窟形* [Section and Plan Measurements of the Mogao Grottoes], vol. 2. Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, 1996.
- Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō 大正新脩大藏經* [Taishō *tripitaka*]. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高順次郎 et al. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
- Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, ed., *Dunhuang shiku quanji 24: Fushi huajuan 敦煌石窟全集 24: 服飾畫卷* [Complete Collection of Dunhuang Caves 24: Section on Paintings of Dress]. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005.
- The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vols. 1–3. Edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen. Chicago, London: Chicago University Press.
- The Tibetan & Himalayan Library (THL) online catalogues to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. <https://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/ngb/>.
- Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae (TLB). <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=library&bid=2>.
- Wilkens, Jens. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen: Altuigurisch—Deutsch—Türkisch*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2021.
- Wilkens, Jens. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. III. Fremdelemente. Band 2: bodivan—čigžin* (forthcoming).
- Zangwai fojiao wenxian 藏外佛教文獻*, Old Series, vols. 1–10. Edited by Fang Guangchang 方廣鎔. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1996–1999 (CBETA: W); New Series, vols. 11–. Edited by Fang Guangchang 方廣鎔. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008.
- Zhengtong daoang 正統道藏*, 36 vols. Wenwu edition. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988 (numbering according to Komjathy).
- Zhou Longqin 周龙勤. *Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua yishu. Di liu juan, Baizikelike shiku 中国新疆壁画艺术. 第六卷, 柏孜克里克石窟* [The Art of Mural Paintings from Xinjiang in China. Vol. 6: The Caves of Bezeklik]. Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu chubanshe, 2009.

Primary Sources

- Akṣaraśataka*. 10L Tib J 588.
- Amoghapāśaśkalparājasūtra*. T. 1092.20.
- Ātözüg Köñülüg Körmäk Atl(ı)g Nom Bitig* [Teaching about the Contemplation of Body and Mind].
- Avaiartikacakrasūtra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 240.

- Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇīkā*. Derge Tōhoku no. 4000.
- Azhapoju yuanshuai daijiang shang fo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上
佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 [Cultivation of the Ritual Proceedings of the *Āṭavakasūtra*].
T. 1239.21.
- Bencao ji zhu xu lu* 本草集注序錄 [Annotated Preface and Record of the *Bencao ji*]. P.
3714R^o.
- **Buddhabhūmisūtra*. T. 680.16.
- **Buddhabhūmyupadeśa*. T. 1530.26.
- Candragarbhasūtra* (Narendrayaśas's Chinese translation). T. 397.13.
Ch/U 7291.
Ch/U 7517.
- Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法 [The Dharma of the Ritual of Repentance at the
Bodhiṃaṇḍa of the Compassionate One]. T. 1909.45.
- Da piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing lüeshi qizhi niansong suixingfa* 大毘盧遮那成
佛神變加持經略示七支念誦隨行法 [Short Liturgy of the Invocation for the Seven
Branches of the Outline of the Mahāvairocanaṅghisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavai-
pulyasūtraindrarājanāmadharmaparyāya]. T. 856.18.
- Da piluzhenajing guangda yigui* 大毘盧遮那經廣大儀軌 [Extensive Ritual Manual for
Mahāvairocana Sūtra]. T. 851.18.
- Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 [The Stele Inscription of the
Radiant Teaching of Daqin Transmitted to the Middle Kingdom].
- Darijing lüeshe niansong suixingfa* 大日經略攝念誦隨行法 [Short Liturgy of the
Invocation for the Summarised Mahāvairocanaṅghisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavai-
pulyasūtra]. T. 857.18.
- Daśabhūmikasūtra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 44 (Derge 44).
- Dasheng daoyu jing suiting shu* 大乘稻苧經隨聽疏 [Commentary Compiled in the
Course of Listening to the *Śālistambasūtra*]. T. 2782.85.
- Dasheng sifa jing lun guangshi kaijue ji* 大乘四法經論廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open
and Resolve the Meaning of the *Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great
Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra*]. T. 2785.85.
- Datang Daci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [The Biography
of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty].
T. 2053.50.
- Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty].
T. 2087.51.
- Datang zhenyuan xu kaiyuan shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 [Catalogue of the
Teaching of the Śākya[muni] from the Kaiyuan [Era], Continued from the Zhenyuan
[Era] of the Great Tang]. T. 2156.55.
- Daweinu wuchusemo yigui jing* 大威怒烏芻濇麼儀軌經 [Sūtra on the Ritual Manual for
Ucchuṣma]. T. 1225.21.

- mDo rnam 'grel bar ti ka* [Commentary Explaining Sūtras]. Dolanji: Bonpo Monastic Centre, 2012.
- Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 [Collection of Translated Meanings]. T. 2131.54.
- Fochui banniepan lüeshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教戒經 [Sūtra of the Abridged Explanation of the Precepts [at the Time] of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha]. T. 389.12.
- Foshuo anzhai shenzhou jing* 佛說安宅神咒經 [Buddha Utters the Divine Spell Scripture on Calming Dwellings]. T. 1394.21.
- Foshuo dawei de jinlun foding Chishengguang Rulai xiaochu yiqie zai nan 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.
- Foshuo jiuji jing* 佛說救疾經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Salvation from Disease]. T. 2878.85.
- Foshuo qiqian fo shenfu jing* 佛說七千佛神符經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Talismans on the Seven Thousand Buddhas]. T. 2904.85.
- Foshuo sanchu jing* 佛三廚經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Three Kitchens]. T. 2894.85.
- Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha]. T. 2897.85.
- Foshuo yanshou ming jing* 佛說延壽命經 [Scripture on the Extension of Lifespan Spoken by the Buddha]. T. 2888.85.
- Foshuo zhou tu tuoluoni* 佛說咒土陀羅尼 [Buddha Speaks the Dhāraṇī for Putting Spells on the Land]. T. 1336.21, 609c–610a.
- Ge Xiangong li Beidou fa* 葛仙公禮北斗法 [Ge Xiangong's Method for Worshipping of the Great Dipper]. P. 2675.
- 'Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po* [Blue Annals]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.
- sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Composition of Terms in Two Parts]. Derge Tōhoku no. 4347 (Derge 4347).
- Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明記 [Great Collection of the Elucidation of the Dharma]. T. 2103. 52.
- Guanshiyin pusa fuyin* 觀世音菩薩符印 [Talismans and Seals of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara]. S. 2498.
- Guanyin pusa zuisheng miao xiangjiu fa* 觀音菩薩最勝妙香丸法 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Highly Victorious and Majestic Method of Fragrant Pills]. P. 2637R^o (2), P. 3912R^o (4), P. 2703R^o.
- Guhyasamājatantra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 442, NGB 542 (gTing skyes 242).
- Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, T. 1621.31.

- Haydar Dughlat, Mirzā. *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*. Edited and translated by Wheeler M. Thackston. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, 1996.
- Herodotus, *Histories*, edited by Alfred D. Godley. 4 vols. London: William Heinemann, 1920–1925.
- Ishinpō* 醫心方 [The Heart of Medicinal Prescriptions]. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=156143>. Accessed December 30, 2021.
- Jie Shenmi jing shu* 解深密經疏 [Commentary to the *Samādhinirmocanasūtra*]. xzj 369.21, Derge Tōhoku no. 4016.
- Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經 [Sūtra [Called] Victorious King of Golden Light] (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*). T. 665.16.
- Jingang bore jing zhizan* 金剛般若經旨贊 [Extolling the Purport of the *Vajracchedikā*]. T. 2735.85.
- Juvaini, Ata-Malik [sic]. *Genghis Khan: The History of World Conqueror*. Translated by John A. Boyle. Rpt. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Jūzjānī, Minhāj al-Dīn Abū 'Umar ibn Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī* [The Nāṣerean Tables], edited by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī. Kabul: Duniyā-yi kitab, 1963–1964.
- al-Kāshgharī, Maḥmūd. *Dīwān lughāt at-Turk* [Compendium of the Turkic Dialects]. Translated by Robert Dankoff and James Kelly. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, 1982–1985.
- Khod po blo gros thogs med. *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang* [Inventory of the Worldly Lineages]. mTsho sngon: Cang ha'o glog rdul dpe skrun khang, 2011.
- Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan. “rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas [Royal Chronicle Bön Origins].” In *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, edited by Lopon Tenzin Namdak and Khedup Gyatso, fols. 1–196. Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974.
- King James Bible. *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Klu 'bum* [Chthonic Spirit Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las gtsang ma'i klu 'bum* [Clean Chthonic Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collection] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6279). In *bKa' 'gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 139, edited by sMon rgyal lha sras, 346 pages. Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999.
- Kun dga' bsod nams. “*Rig pa'i gnas lnga las bzo rig pa'i bye brag rol mo'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs blo gsal yid 'phrog phril nas yongs khyabs* [Melodious Voice Vibrating Through the Bright Mind of Joyful Master Mañjuśrī: Detailed Elucidation of the Commentary on Music which Belongs to the Art of Crafts Within the Five Kinds of Art].” In *Sa skya paṇḍi-ta chen pos mdzad pa'i rol mo'i bstan bcos* [Commentary on Music Composed by Sa skya Paṇḍi ta], edited by Kun dga' bsod nams. Dharamsala: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press, 1980.

- Kundrol Dragpa (Kun sgrol grags pa). "Sangs rgyas bstan pa spyi yi 'byung khungs [General Origin of the Doctrine of the Buddhas]." In *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, edited by Khedup Gyatso. Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974.
- Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. T. 672.16, T. 670.16, Derge Tōhoku no. 107 (Derge 107), Derge Tōhoku no. 108.
- Lidai Fabao Ji* 歷代法寶記 [Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Generations]. In T. 51.2075.
- Liu boluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經 [Sūtra of the Six Perfections]. T. 2156.55.
- Liumen tuoluoni jing lun bing guangshi kajue ji* 六門陀羅尼經論并廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Commentary and Extensive Gloss on the Śaṅmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra*].
- Mahābhārata*, edited by Muneo Tokunaga and John Smith. Electronic Text of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1999.
- Mahāmeghasūtra*. T. 387.12, Derge Tōhoku no. 232.
- Mahāvagga*, edited by Hermann Oldenberg. London: The Pāli Text Society, 1879.
- Mahāvairocanasūtra*. T. 848.18.
- Mahāvibhāṣa*. T. 1545.27.
- Mahāvīyūtpatti*. Derge Tōhoku no. 4346.
- Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. T. 1190.20.
- Manusmṛti*, edited by Patrick Olivelle. *Manu's Code of Law—A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊 [Extolling the Mysteries of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*]. T. 1723.34.
- Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 [Chinese Manichaeism Compendium]. T. 2141a.54.
- Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 [The Platform Sermon of the Venerable of Nanyang on Directly Comprehending the Nature according to the Chan Approach to Emancipation in the Sudden Teachings]. P. 2045.
- Nanzong ding xiezheng wugeng zhuan* 南宗定邪正五更轉 [Determining Wrong from Right according to the Southern School over the Course of the Five Watches of the Night] P. 2045.
- Narshakhī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far. *The History of Bukhara*. Translated by Richard Nelson Frye. Cambridge MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1954.
- Nilakanṭhakasūtra*. T. 1057.20/T. 1060.20.
- gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. *gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches mdzad pa'i sgom gyi gnang gsal bar phyed ba bsam gtan mig sgron ces bya ba* [Lamp of the Eye of Contemplation Explaining [the Meaning] of Meditation, composed by gNubs chen Sangs rgyas Ye Shes Rinpoche], reproduced from a manuscript made presumably

- from an Eastern Tibetan print by 'Khor gdon gter sprul 'Chi med rig dzin. Leh: Smarntsis shesrig spendzod, vol. 74, 1974.
- gNyan 'bum* [Fierce Spirit Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rin po che gnyan gyi 'bum* [Precious Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Pure Collection] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6281). In *bKa' 'gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 141, edited by sMon rgyal lha sras, 325 pages. Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham mam rgyal, 1999.
- Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer. *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* [Religious History the Essence of Honey, Which Is the Essence of Flowers]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988.
- Nye lam sde bzhi* [Fourfold Direct Path]. In *New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*, vol. 253, edited by Sog sde sprul sku bstan pa'i nyi ma, 1–1067. Lhasa: bsTan pa'i nyi ma, 1998.
- Nye lam sde bzhi'i gnyan 'bum bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs legs swo* [Fierce Spirit Collection from the Fourfold Direct Path]. In *New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*, vol. 253 (text no 25), edited by Sog sde sprul sku bstan pa'i nyi ma, 603–635. Lhasa: bsTan pa'i nyi ma, 1998.
- Old Tibetan Chronicle*. P. T. 1287.
- Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī*. T. 1579.30, Derge Tōhoku no. 4041 (Derge 4041).
- Pa sangs tshe ring, ed. *mDo dri med gzi brjid* [Sūtra of Immaculate Splendor], 12 vols. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2000.
- Pa tshab Pa sangs sbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, ed. *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdam bsgrigs* [Collection of Ancient Bönpo Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- Pho brang stod thang ldan dkar gyi chos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag* [Catalogue of all translated Dharma texts at Palace Tötang Denkar]. Derge Tōhoku no. 4364.
- Pishamen tianwang feng Xuan heshang shenmiao buxin wan fang* 毗沙門天王奉宣和尚神妙補心丸方 [The Divine and Wondrous Prescription for Pills with which to Restore the Mind Bestowed by the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa on Venerable Xuan]. S. 5598.
- Pratīyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* [Verses on the Epitome of Interdependent Origination]. *Shier yinyuan lun* 十二因緣論 [Treatise on the Twelve Factors of Causation], translated by Bodhiruci (Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流) T. 1651.32, *Yinyuan xin lun song* 因緣心論頌 [Verses of the Treatise on the Heart of Causation] T. 1654.32, *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i tshig le'ur byas pa* Derge Tōhoku no. 3836/4553.
- Pratīyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* [Auto-commentary to the Epitome of Interdependent Origination]. *Shier yinyuan lun* 十二因緣論 [Treatise on the Twelve Factors of Causation], translated by Bodhiruci (Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流) T. 1651.32, *Yinyuan xin lun shi* 因緣心論釋 [Auto-Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of

- Causation] T. 1654.32 (S. 1358, S. 2462), *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i rnam par bshad pa* Derge Tōhoku no. 3837/4554, Peking 5237.
- **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra*. 10L Tib J 588.
- Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 [Treatise Determining the True and the False about Bodhidharma's Southern School]. P. 2045.
- Qarshī, Jamāl. *al-Mulkhakāt bi-l-ṣurāḥ* [Appendix of *al-Ṣurāḥ Dictionary*]. In *Istorija Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* [sic], vol. 1, edited by A. K. Muminov. Almaty: Daik press, 2005.
- Qi xiaoxingchen bie xing fa* 七曜星辰別行法 [Alternative Method of Practice Worship of the Seven Luminaries and Asterisms]. T. 1309.21.
- Qian jin yifang* 千金翼方 [Prescriptions for Aid Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces]. <https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0065/>. Accessed December 30, 2021.
- al-Rabghūzī, Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn. *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā': An Eastern Turkish Version*. Edited and translated by Hendrik E. Boeschoten and John O'Kane. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Rashid al-Dīn, Faḍlallāh. *Jam'ū't-tawarikh* [sic] / *Compendium of Chronicles*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998–1999.
- Rubruck, William of. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*. Translated by Peter Jackson with David O. Morgan. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990.
- Ruyilun wang monizhu batuo biexing fa yin* 如意輪王摩尼珠拔陀別行法印 [Seal Method of the Variant Practice of Cintāmaṇicakrarāja Mañibhadra]. P. 3835V°, P. 2153.
- Sa bdag 'bum* [Earth-Lord Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las sa bdag dbang chen gyi sgyur bcos te bam po gnyis pa'o* [The Second Volume from the Fourfold Pure Collection, on Restoration of the Earth-Lords' Power] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6280). In *bKa' 'gyur (Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 140, edited by sMon rgyal lha sras, 451 pages. Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999.
- Sanwan fo tong genben shenmi zhi yin bing fa Longzhong shangzunwang fo fa* 三萬佛同根本神秘之印並法龍種上尊王佛法 [The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty Thousand Buddhas of the Same Origin, and the Method of the Highest Venerable and Royal Buddha of the Dragon Class]. T. 2906.85.
- Śālistambasūtra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 210.
- Śālistambaṭikā*. Derge Tōhoku no. 4001 (Derge 4001).
- Samdhinirmocanasūtra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 106.
- Ṣaṇmukhūdhāraṇīsūtra*. S. 1513.
- Sanzang fashi Putidamo jueguan lun* 三藏法師菩提達摩絕觀論 [Trepiṭaka Dharma Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition]. P. 2045.
- Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Derge Tōhoku no. 8.

- Sheng Guanzizai pusa xinzhenyan yuga guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽
觀行儀軌 [Ritual Manual for the Contemplative Practice of the Yogā of the Holy
Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Heart Mantra]. T. 1031.20.
- Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 [Essential Display of the [Teaching] of the Buddha]. T. 2127-54.
- Shiwang jing* 十王經 [Scripture on the Ten Kings]. ZZ 20.1.
- Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 [Scripture on the Four Heavenly Kings]. T. 590.15.
- Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*. T. 665.16.
- bsTan bcos rten 'brel sum cu pa bshad pa'i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory
Aide-Memoire Explaining the **Pratīyasamutpādaśāstra*]. P. T. 771.
- bsTan bcos yi ge brgya pa bshad pa'i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory
Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Akṣaraśataka* Treatise]. IOL Tib J 589.
- lTa ba'i khyad par* [The Particularities of (Buddhist) Views]. Derge Tōhoku no. 4360.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 [Scripture on
the Karmic Causes of the Highest Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure]. DZ 336.
- rTa rdo, ed. *dKar chag 'phang thang ma/ sGra sbyor dbang po gnyis pa* [Pangtangma
Catalogue and the Two-Volume Lexicon]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003.
- rTen cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i snying po bshad pa'i brjed byang* [Aide-Memoire
Explaining the *Pratīyasamutpādahrdaya*]. IOL Tib J 621.2, IOL Tib J 622, P. T. 778.
- gTod 'bum* [Rock Spirit Collection], full title *rNam par dag pa'i 'bum bzhi las rdo bdag
gtod po bcos pa ste bam po bzhi pa'o* [The Fourth Volume from the Fourfold Pure
Collection, on Propitiation of the Rock Spirits] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6282). In
bKa' gyur (Bon) [Bön Kangyur], vol. 142, edited by sMon rgyal lha sras, 400 pages.
Chengdu: Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999.
- "gTsang ma lha ser (= sel) dkar po [White *Sel* Purification of Pure Heavenly Spirits]."
In *Khyung po steng chen khul gyi bon chog dpe rnying bri ma phyogs sdebs*
[Collection of Old Bön Ritual Manuscripts from the Area of Khyungpo Tengchen],
Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC) no. W3CN4081, vol. 19 (scanned in 2016,
<https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W3CN4081>, accessed February 24, 2022).
- gTsug lag 'bras bu g.yung drung ye dbang sa bdag dpal 'bum dkar po thig pa chen po'I
mdo* [Sūtra of the Great Vehicle, Eternal White Collection on the Earth-Lords of
Primordial Might, the Fruit of Wisdom] (Bön Kangyur, text no. 6283). In *bKa' gyur
(Bon)* [Bön Kangyur], vol. 143, edited by sMon rgyal lha sras, 351 pages. Chengdu:
Kun grol lha sras mi pham rnam rgyal, 1999.
- Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Miscellaneous Collection of Spells]. T. 1336.21.
- U 4278.
- U 5143.
- Untitled Tibetan preface to the *Pratīyasamutpādahrdayavyākhyāna*. P. T. 767.
- Untitled Tibetan preface to the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*. P. T. 617 + IOL Tib J 300, IOL
Tib J 301.
- Vastusamgrahanī*. T. 1579.30, Derge Tōhoku no. 4039.

- Weiji jingang jin bai bian fa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods of the Prevention of the One Hundred Transformations]. T. 1229.21.
- Weiji jingang shuo shentong da man tuoluoni fashu lingyao men* 穢跡金剛說神通大滿陀羅尼法術靈要門 [Scripture of the Vajrapāla Guhyapada's One Hundred Preventive and Transformative Methods]. T. 1228.21.
- Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 [Essential Collection Displaying the Secret of Complete Penetration for Accomplishing the Buddha Mind]. T. 1955.46.
- Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 [Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish]. T. 202.04.
- Xu ming jing* 續命經 [Scripture on the Extension of the Span of Life]. T. 2889.85.
- Xuting mishi suo jing* 序聽迷詩所經 [Jesus Messiah Sūtra].
- Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu* 梁書 [The Book of the Liang] 54. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
- Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb. *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ Al-Ya'qūbī: An English Translation*. Translated and edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, and Michael Fishbein. Leiden: Brill, 2018. Vol. 3.
- Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the *Treatise on the Heart of Causation*, (*Epitome Notes*)]. T. 2816.85 (S. 269).
- Yogācārabhūmi*. T. 1579.30, Derge Tōhoku no. 4035.
- Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*. Derge Tōhoku no. 3825.
- Yunji qi qian* 雲笈七籤 [The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel], 5 vols. Annotated by Li Yongsheng 李永晟. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003.
- Yūsuf Khāṣṣ-hājib. *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*. Translated by Robert Dankoff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Zhuanlun shengwang xiuxing jing* 轉輪聖王修行經 [Sūtra of the Practice of the Wheel-Turning King]. In *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 [Long Collection (of Sūtras)]. T. 1.1.
- Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen. *sDe dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag* [Derge Tengyur Catalogue]. 2 vols. New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1974.

Dunhuang Manuscripts

- BD 3355 = *yu* (雨) 55, 4083 = *li* (麗) 83, 6217 = *hai* (海) 17, 6239 = *hai* (海) 39, 7468 = *guan* (官) 68.
- IOL Tib J 76, 300, 301, 438, 466, 489, 562, 588, 589, 621, 622, 623, 624, 689, 731, 732, 734, 750, 751, 754, 1764.

- P. 2045, 2049, 2153, 2211, 2328, 2538, 2602, 2637, 2641, 2675, 2702, 2703, 3043, 3047, 3181, 3714, 3835, 3912, 4071, 4640.
- P. T. 16, 114, 116, 239, 617, 699, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 771, 778, 779, 814, 843, 845, 993, 996, 999, 1042, 1060, 1068, 1079, 1134, 1136, 1149, 1155, 1194, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1285, 1287, 2105.
- S. 269, 541, 1358, 1360, 1513, 2438, 2462, 2498, 2615, 4235, 5598, 12243.
- Yu (俞) 77.

Secondary Sources

- Abaev, Vasily I. *The Pre-Christian Religion of the Alans*. Moscow: Oriental Literature Publishing House, 1960.
- Adamek, Wendi L. *The Teachings of Master Wuzhu-Zen and Religion of No-Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Agha, Saleh Said. *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads. Neither Arab nor Abbāsīd*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Akasoy, Anna. "The Buddha and the Straight Path. Rashīd al-Dīn's *Life of the Buddha*: Islamic Perspectives." In *Rashīd al-Dīn as an Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, and Charles Burnett, 173–196. London: Warburg Institute, 2013.
- Akin, Alexander. "The *Jing Xing Ji* of Du Huan: Notes on the West by a Chinese Prisoner of War." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999): 77–102.
- Aldenderfer, Mark. "Bringing Down the Mountain: Standing Stones on the Northern and Central Tibetan Plateau, 500 BCE—CE 500." In *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, edited by David A. Barraclough and Caroline Malone, 242–248. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007.
- Aldenderfer, Mark. "Variation in Mortuary Practice on the Early Tibetan Plateau and the High Himalayas." *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 293–318.
- Allon, Mark. "A Unique Gāndhārī Monastic Ledger Recording Gifts by Vima Kadphises." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 42 (2019): 1–46.
- Allsen, Thomas T. "Eurasia after the Mongols." In *The Cambridge World History. vol. 6: The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE, Part 1, Foundations*, edited by Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Sanjay Subrahmainam, 159–181. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Amir, Or. "Islamic Learning on the Silk Roads: The Career of Jalal al-Din al-Akhawi." In *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Z. Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, 290–314. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.

- Amitai, Reuven. "Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on the Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42 (1999): 27–46.
- Amitai, Reuven. "The Mamluk Institution, or: One Thousand Years of Military Slavery in the Islamic World." In *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, edited by Christopher L. Brown and Philip D. Morgan, 40–78. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Anooshahr, Ali. *Turkestan and the Rise of Eurasian Empires: A Study of Politics and Invented Traditions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史. "Tonkō no minkan shinkō to bukkyō, dōkyō—bukkyō bunken ni mirareru fuin o chūshin toshite 敦煌の民間信仰と佛教, 道教—佛教文献に見られる符印を中心として [Dunhuang's Folk Religious Beliefs and Buddhism, Daoism—Focusing on the Talismanic Seals as Found in the Buddhist Literature]." *Tonkō sahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Yearbook of Dunhuang Manuscript Studies] 14 (2020): 51–67.
- Arat, Reşid Rahmeti. *Eski Türk şiiri* [Old Turkic Poetry]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Arthur, Shawn. "Life without Grains: *Bigu* and the Daoist Body." In *Daoist Body Cultivation*, edited by Livia Kohn, 91–122. Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006.
- Aydın, Erhan. "S. Gerard Clauson'un etimolojik sözlüğünde Yenisey yazıtlarıyla ilgili veriler [Data related to the Yenisei Inscriptions in the Etymological Dictionary by Sir Gerard Clauson]." *Turkish Studies* 4.4 (2009): 93–118.
- Aydın, Erhan. "Yenisey yazıtlarındaki tek örnekler [Hapax legomena in Yenisei Inscriptions]." *Türk Bilig* [Turkic Wisdom] 26 (2013): 37–49.
- Aydın, Erhan. "Moğolistan'daki runik harfli eski Türk yazıtlarının envanter sorunları ve bir numaralandırma denemesi [Problems of an Inventory of the Old Turkic Inscriptions in Runic Writing System in Mongolia and an Attempt of Numbering them]." In *Eski Türçeden çağdaş Uygurcaya: Mirsultan Osman'ın doğumunun 85. yıluna armağan / Festschrift in Honor of Mirsultan Osman on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday*, edited by Aysima Mirsultan, Mihriban Aydın, and Erhan Aydın, 53–73. Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2014.
- Azad, Arezou, and Hugh Kennedy. "The Coming of Islam to Balkh." In *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (6th–10th Century)*, edited by Alain Delattre, Marie Legendre, and Petra M. Sijpesteijn, 284–310. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Bacot, Jacques, Frederick W. Thomas, and Charles Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940.
- Bailey, Harold W. "The Rāma Story in Khotanese." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59.4 (1939): 460–468.

- Bailey, Harold W. "Languages of the Saka." In *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten*, edited by Bertold Spuler, vol. 4, 131–154. Leiden: Brill, 1958.
- Bailey, Harold W. "Balysa-." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1988.
- Balogh, Mátyás. "On the Emergence of the Qinghai Sections of the Silk Road." *Chronica* 18 (2019): 30–42.
- Bang, Willi, and Annemarie von Gabain. *Türkische Turfantexte. v.* Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1931.
- Bang, Willi, Annemarie von Gabain, and Gabdul Rašid Rachmati. *Türkische Turfantexte. VI: Das buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yükmäk.* Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934.
- Bao, Mingxin and Yan Shen. "The Use of Textiles as Recorded in the Documents Found at Dunhuang." In *Textiles from Dunhuang in UK Collections*, edited by Feng Zhao, Helen Wang, Helen Persson, Frances Wood, Wang Le, Xu Zheng, 28–33. Shanghai: Donghua University Press, 2007.
- Barat, Kahar. "Šingqo Šäli Tutung, traducteur du Säkiz yükmäk yaruq nom?" *Journal Asiatique* 278.1–2 (1990): 155–166.
- Barthold, Wilhelm V. *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion.* London: Luzac, 1968.
- Baumann, Brian. "Buddhism in the Mongol Empire." In *The Mongol World*, edited by Timothy May and Michael Hope, 681–696. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Bazhen Zeren (a.k.a. Dpal sgron). "A Comparative Study of the Klu 'bum: Tibetan Bonpo Sources for an Understanding the Cult of the *klu* (Serpent Spirits)." PhD diss., EPHE, Université Paris PSL, 2021.
- Bazin, Louis. "La déesse-mère chez les Turcs pré-islamiques." *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 2 (1953): 124–126.
- Bazin, Louis. *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.
- Beckwith, Christopher. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Bellezza, John V. *Spirit-Mediums, Sacred Mountains and Related Bon Textual Traditions in Upper Tibet: Calling Down the Gods.* Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Bellezza, John V. *Zhang zhung: Foundations of Civilization in Tibet.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.
- Bellezza, John V. "gShen-rab Myi-bo: His life and Times According to Tibet's Earliest Sources." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 19 (2010): 31–118.
- Bellezza, John V. *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet: Archaic Concepts and Practices in a Thousand-Year-Old Illuminated Funerary Manuscript and Old Tibetan Funerary Documents of Gathang Bumpa and Dunhuang.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013.

- Bentor, Yael. "Tibetan Relic Classifications." In *Tibetan Studies (Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992)*, edited by Per Kvaerne, vol. 1, 16–30. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994.
- Berounský, Daniel. "Tibetan Myths on 'Good Fortune' (*phy*) and 'Well-Being' (*g.yang*)." *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* 7.2 (2014): 55–77.
- Berounský, Daniel. "The Nyen Collection (Gnyan 'bum) and Shenrab Miwo of Nam." In *Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Change*, edited by Jarmila Ptáčková and Adrian Zenz, 211–253. Prague: Oriental Institute, 2017.
- Berounský, Daniel. "Tibetan Purificatory *Sel* Rituals: Fragments of the Tradition from the Borderlands of the Tibetan Plateau" *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 19.1 (2019): 1–66.
- Berounský, Daniel. "An Old Tibetan Myth on Retribution for Killing the Nyen (*Gnyan stong*): Manuscripts Scattered between Naxi, Tanguts, Eastern and Western Tibet." In *Naxi and Bon and Naxi Manuscripts*, edited by Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Charles Ramble, 169–212. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023.
- Bhattacharai, Bidur. *Dividing Texts: Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Bialek, Joanna. *Compounds and Compounding in Old Tibetan. Volume 2: A Corpus-Based Approach*. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2018.
- Bialek, Joanna. "Body Exposure and Embalming in the Tibetan Empire and Beyond: A Study of the *btol* Rite." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 74.4 (2021): 625–650.
- Bialek, Joanna. "'Tibetan'—All-Inclusive? Rethinking the 'Tibetan-ity' of the 'Tibetan Empire.'" In *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, edited by Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer, 7–53. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022.
- Bialek, Joanna. "Filtered Through Multiple Lenses: What We Think Buddhists Thought Ritual Specialists Did. Preliminary Remarks on the Character of Old Tibetan Funerary Texts Exemplified with IOL Tib J 489 and IOL Tib J 562." In *Guruparamparā: Studies on Buddhism, India, Tibet and More in Honour of Professor Marek Mejer*, edited by Katarzyna Marciniak, Stanisław Jan Kania, Małgorzata Wielińska-Soltwedel, and Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, 65–79. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2022.
- Bielenstein, Hans. *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Biran, Michal. "The Chaghadaids and Islam: The Conversion of Tarmashirin Khan (1331–1334)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 (2002): 742–752.
- Biran, Michal. "Ilak-khanids (or Qarakhanids)." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater, vol. 12, 621–628. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

- Biran, Michal. *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History. Between China and the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Biran, Michal. "True to Their Ways: Why the Qara Khitai did not Convert to Islam." In *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, edited by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran, 175–169. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Biran, Michal. *Chinggis Khan*. Oxford: OneWorld Publications, 2007.
- Biran, Michal. "Central Asia from the Conquest of Chinggis Khan to the Rise of Tamerlane: The Ögödeid and Chaghadaid Realms." In *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia Vol. 2: The Chinggisid Age*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Nicola Di Cosmo, and Allan Frank, 46–66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Biran, Michal. "Rulers and City Life in Mongol Central Asia (1220–1370)." In *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City-life in Iran and the Neighboring Countries*, edited by David Durand-Guedy, 257–284. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Biran, Michal. "Tang Foreign Relations." In *All Under Heaven: A History of Imperial China*, edited by Yuri Pines, Gideon Shelach, and Yitchak Shichor, 411–441. Ra'anana: Open University Press, 2013.
- Biran, Michal. "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 221–251.
- Biran, Michal. "The Mongol Empire and the Inter-Civilizational Exchange." In *The Cambridge World History, Vol. 5: Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict, 500 CE–1500 CE*, edited by Benjamin Kedar and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, 534–558. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Biran, Michal. "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange. Preliminary Notes on the Silk Roads in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE*, edited by Jan Bemmman and Michael Schmauder, 575–595. Bonn: University of Bonn Press, 2015.
- Biran, Michal. "Scholarship and Science under the Qara Khitai (1124–1218)." In *The Coming of the Mongols*, edited by David O. Morgan and Sarah Edwards, 58–72. London: Tauris, 2018.
- Biran, Michal. "The Mamluks and Mongol Central Asia: Political, Economic and Cultural Aspects." In *The Mamluks in Global History*, edited by Reuven Amitai and Stephan Connermann, 367–390. Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2019.
- Biran, Michal. "Mongol Imperial Space: From Universalism to Glocalization." In *The Limits of Universal Rule: Eurasian Empires Compared*, edited by Yuri Pines, Michal Biran, and Jörg Rüpke, 221–256. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Biran, Michal. "Mongol Central Asia: The Chaghadaids and the Ögödeids, 1260–1370." In *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*, edited by Michal Biran and Kim Hodong. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming 2023).

- Biran, Michal, Michael Shenkar, Kubatbek Tabaldiev Kunbolot Akmatov, and Valery Kolchenko. "The K k-Tash Underground Mausoleum in North-Eastern Kyrgyzstan: The First-ever Identified Qara Khitai Elite Tomb." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (forthcoming 2023).
- van Bladel, Kevin. "The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids." In *Islam and Tibet: Interactions Along the Musk Routes*, edited by Charles Burnett, Anna Akasoy, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 45–87. Farnham: Routledge, 2010.
- van Bladel, Kevin. "Arabicization, Islamization, and the Colonies of the Conquerors." In *Late Antique Responses to the Arab Conquests*, edited by Josephine van den Bent, Floris van den Eijnde, and Johan Weststeijn, 89–119. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- van Bladel, Kevin. "Barmakids." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Kr mer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stuart. Accessed June 11, 2021. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/barmakids-COM_24302.
- Blair, Sheila. "Muslim-style Mausolea across Mongol Eurasia: Religious Syncretism, Architectural Mobility and Cultural Transformation." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 62.3 (2019): 318–355.
- Bloom, Jonathan. *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Blondeau, Anne-Marie. "Le lHa 'dre bka' tha ." In * tudes tib taines d di es   la m moire de Marcelle Lalou*, edited by Ariane Macdonald, 29–126. Adrien Maisonneuve: Paris, 1971.
- Bokenkamp, Stephen R. *Early Daoist Scriptures*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Boyce, Mary. "Ahura Mazda." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1984.
- Boyce, Mary. "Armaiti." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1986.
- Boyer, Auguste M., Edward J. Rapson, Emile Senart, and Peter S. Noble. *Kharo th  Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920–1929.
- Brack, Jonathan Z. "Theologies of Auspicious Kingship: The Islamization of Chinggisid Sacral Kingship in the Islamic World." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60 (2018): 1143–1171.
- Brack, Jonathan Z. "Rashid al-D n: Buddhism in Iran and the Mongol Silk Roads." In *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Z. Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, 215–237. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.
- Brack, Jonathan Z. "Chinggisid Pluralism and Religious Competition: Buddhists, Muslims, and the Question of Violence and Sovereignty in Ilkhanid Iran." *Modern Asian Studies* 56.3 (2022): 815–839.

- Brack, Jonathan Z. *An Afterlife for the Khan: Muslim Buddhists and Sacred Kingship in Mongol Iran and Eurasia*. Berkeley: California University Press, 2023.
- Brashier, Ken E. *Public Memory in Early China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Broughton, Jeffrey L. *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- BuddhistRoad Team. "Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries: A Project Report." *Medieval Worlds* 8 (2018): 126–134.
- Bumbacher, Stephan Peter. *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China*. St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2012.
- Burrow, Thomas. "Tocharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4 (1935): 667–675.
- Burrow, Thomas. "Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan 11." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7.4 (1935): 779–790.
- Bushell, Stephen W. "The Early History of Tibet: From Chinese Sources." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12 (1880): 435–541.
- Buswell, Robert E., Jr. "Introduction: Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures." In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by R. E. Buswell, 1–30. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990.
- Buswell, Robert E., Jr. "Wōnhyo: Buddhist Commentator *Par Excellence*." *Journal of Korean Religions* 8.1 (2017): 131–160.
- Butsyk, Polina. "Sounds of Speech and the Tiger's Roar: Two Different Ways of Perceiving Vocal Music in Tibet in the 13th–17th Centuries." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 55 (2020): 15–34.
- lCag mo mtsho. *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas rnyed pa'i bon gyi gna' dpe'i zhib jug* [Research on Ancient Bönpo Texts Discovered in Tamshul Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa]. Beijing: Krung go bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2016.
- Cao Ling 曹凌. "Damo taixi lun zhuben de cheng li—yi Dunhuang ben wei zhongxin 《達磨胎息論》諸本的成立—以敦煌本為中心 [Accounting for All the Versions of the *Damo taixi lun*: From the Perspective of the Dunhuang Versions]." *Fagu foxue xuebao* 法鼓佛學學報 [Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies] 23 (2018): 25–67.
- Callieri, Pierfrancesco. "Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swāt, Second Century BCE to Fourth Century CE." In *Gandhāran Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*, edited by Kurt Behrendt and Pia Brancaccio, 60–82. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.
- Calzolaio, Francesco and Francesca Fiaschetti. "Prophets of the East: The Ilkhanid Historian Rashīd al-Dīn on the Buddha, Laozi and Confucius and the Question of his Chinese Sources (Part 1)." *Iran and the Caucasus* 23.1 (2019): 17–34.

- Calzolaio, Francesco and Francesca Fiaschetti. "Prophets of the East: The Ilkhanid Historian Rashīd al-Dīn on the Buddha, Laozi and Confucius and the Question of his Chinese Sources (Part 2)." *Iran and the Caucasus* 23.2 (2019): 145–166.
- Canevascini, Giotto. *The Khotanese Saṅghāṣūtra: A Critical Edition*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1993.
- Cantwell, Cathy, and Robert Mayer. "Enduring Myths: *smrang*, *rabs* and Ritual in the Dunhuang Texts on Padmasambhava." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 15 (2008): 289–312.
- Canzio, Ricardo O. "Sakya Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' and its Relevance to Present-day Tibetan Liturgy." PhD diss., SOAS, 1978.
- Capitano, Joshua. "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43.2 (2015): 119–160.
- Carpenter, J. Estlin. *The Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III*. London: The Pali Text Society, 1976.
- Cengiz, Ayşe Kılıç and Anna Turanskaya. "Old Uyghur Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī Fragments Preserved in the State Hermitage Museum." *Written Monuments of the Orient* 7.1 (2021): 100–117.
- Chalassery, Joseph. *The Holy Spirit and Christian Initiation in the East Syrian Tradition*. Rome: Mar Thomas Yogam, 1995.
- Chavannes, Édouard and Paul Pelliot. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine." *Journal Asiatique* 18 (1911): 499–617.
- Chavannes, Édouard and Paul Pelliot. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine (deuxième partie)." *Journal Asiatique* onzième série 1 (1913): 99–199, 261–392.
- Chen, Huaiyu. "The Connection between Jingjiao and Buddhist Texts in Late Tang China." In *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, edited by Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter, 93–113. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2006.
- Chen Ming 陈明. "Fang jia, liandan yu Xitu yao—Zhong gu daojiang yixue yu wailai wenhua chutan 方家, 炼丹与西土药—中古道教医学与外来文化初探 [Doctors, Refining the Potions of Immortality, and Western Medicine: A Discussion of Medicinal Study in Ancient Chinese Daoism and Foreign Culture]." *Shilin* 史林 [Forrest of History] 2 (2013): 48–60.
- Chen Sanping. "Yuan Hong: A Case of Premature Death by Historians?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123.4 (2003): 841–846.
- Chen Xiulan 陈秀兰. "Wulun toude' laiyuan kao '五轮投地' 来源考 [Study on the Origin of the *wulun toude*]." *Xinan minzu xueyuan xuebao, zhexue shehui kexue ban* 西南民族学院学报 哲学社会科学版 / *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities. Philosophy and Social Sciences* 23.12 (2002): 72.
- Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Lüelun gudai Qiuci wenshu zhizuo chuantong zhi mengnie 略論古代龜茲文書製作傳統之萌蘗 [Brief Discussion on the Origins of the Tradition of Record Production in Ancient Kuča]." *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies of Inner Asian Languages* 33 (2018): 45–69.

- Christian, David. *A History of Russia, Central Asia, and Mongolia*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.
- Clark, Larry. "The Conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism." In *Studia Manichaica. iv. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme, 83–123. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000.
- Clark, Larry. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary. Volume 11: Liturgical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Clark, Larry. *Uyghur Manichaean Texts. Texts, Translations, Commentary. Vol. 111: Ecclesiastical Texts*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Clauson, Sir Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Compareti, Matteo. "The 'Eight Divinities' in Khotanese Paintings: Local Deities or Sogdian Importation?" In *Proceedings of the Eight European Conference of Iranian Studies*, edited by Pavel B. Lurje, 117–141. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2019.
- Compareti, Matteo. "The Representation of Non-Buddhist Deities in Khotanese Paintings and Some Related Problems." In *Studies on the History and Culture Along the Continental Silk Road*, edited by Xiao Li, 88–120. Singapore: Springer, 2020.
- Copp, Paul F. "Voice, Dust, Shadow, Stone: The Making of Spells in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005.
- Copp, Paul F. "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang: Buddhist Talisman-Seals and their Manuals." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 193–226.
- Copp, Paul F. "Seals as Conceptual and Ritual Tools in Chinese Buddhism, ca.600–1000 CE." *The Medieval Globe* 4.1 (2018). Accessed December 30, 2021. <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/tmg/vol4/iss1/3>.
- Crone, Patricia. *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Curtin, Timothy A. "The Baptismal Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia." PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, 1971.
- Dallos, Edina. "Shamanism or Monotheism? Religious Elements in the Orkhon Inscriptions." *Shaman* 12.1–2 (2004): 63–84.
- Dalton, Jacob P. *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. London: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Dalton, Jacob P. *Conjuring the Buddha: Ritual Manuals in Early Tantric Buddhism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2023.
- Dalton, Jacob P. and Sam van Schaik. *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

- Dalton, Jacob P., Tom Davis, and Sam van Schaik. "Beyond Anonymity: Paleographic Analyses of the Dunhuang Manuscripts." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 1–23.
- Davidson, Ronald M. "The Kingly Cosmogonic Narrative and Tibetan Histories: Indian Origins, Tibetan Space, and the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* Synthesis." *Lungta* 16 (2004): 64–84.
- De Cordier, Bruno. "The Original Islamization of Central Asia: From the Arab Frontier Colonies to the 'Governate Dynasties' (650–1000)." In *The European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies*, edited by Jeroen J. J. Van Den Bosch, Adrien Fauve, and Bruno De Cordier, 73–113. Stuttgart: ibidem Verlag, 2021.
- Deeg, Max. "Umgestaltung buddhistischer Kosmologie auf dem Weg von Indien nach China." In *Religion im Wandel der Kosmologien*, edited by Dieter Zeller, 241–254. Frankfurt a.M., Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Deeg, Max. "Bhagavat in Chinese Buddhist Translation: An Indirect Example in Oral Nirvacana in Buddhist Text Translations?" In *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers. Prof. Musashi Tachikawa's Felicitation Volume*, edited by Shoun Hino and Toshihiro Wada, 153–167. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004.
- Deeg, Max. "The 'Brilliant Teaching'. The Rise and Fall of 'Nestorianism' (Jingjiao) in Tang China." *Japanese Religions* 31 (2006): 91–110.
- Deeg, Max. "The Rhetoric of Antiquity: Politico-religious Propaganda in the Nestorian Stele of Chang'an." *Journal of Late Antique Religion and Antiquity* 1 (2007): 17–30.
- Deeg, Max. "Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualisation of the Jingjiao-Documents of the Tang Period." In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia, Proceedings of the Second Jingjiao Conference, University of Salzburg (orientalia—patristica—oecumenica, vol. 1)*, edited by Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, 135–152. Berlin, Vienna: LIT, 2009.
- Deeg, Max. "La littérature chrétienne orientale sous les Tang: un bref aperçu." In *Le christianisme syriaque en Asie centrale et en Chine*, edited by Pier Giorgio Borbone and Pierre Marsone, 199–214. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2015.
- Deeg, Max. *Die Strahlende Lehre—Die Stele von Xi'an (Übersetzung und Kommentar)*. Vienna, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2018.
- Deeg, Max. "Messiah Rediscovered: Some Philological Notes on the so-called 'Jesus the Messiah Sutra.'" In *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu and Glen L. Thompson, 111–119. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
- Deeg, Max. "The 'Brilliant Teaching': Iranian Christians in Tang China and Their Identity." *Entangled Religions* 11.6 (2020). Accessed December 18, 2021.
- Demiéville, Paul. *Le concile de Lhasa*. Vol. VII. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1952.

- Despeux, Catherine. "Buddhist Healing Practices at Dunhuang in the Medieval Period." In *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, edited by C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber, 118–159. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020.
- DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994.
- DeWeese, Devin. "Islamization in the Mongol Empire." In *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, edited by Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden, 120–134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- DeWeese, Devin. "Ala' ad-Dawla as-Simnani's Religious Encounters at the Mongol Court Near Tabriz." In *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, edited by Judith Pfeiffer, 35–76. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- DeWeese, Devin. "Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi as an Islamizing Saint: Rethinking the Role of Sufis in the Islamization of the Turks of Central Asia." In *Islamization: Comparative Perspectives from History*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock, 336–352. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Diemberger, Hildegard. "Die beseelte Landschaft: Natur, Kosmologie und Gesellschaft im tibetischen Kulturraum am Beispiel der Khumbo Ostnepals." In *Metamorphosen der Natur*, edited by Andre Gingrich and Elke Mader, 103–125. Vienna: Bohlau, 2002.
- Diemberger, Hildegard. "Padmasambhava's Unfinished Job: The Subjugation of Local Deities as Described in the *dBa'-bzhed* in Light of Contemporary Practices of Spirit Possession." In *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael Torsten Much, and Helmut Tauscher, 85–94. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2007.
- Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和. "Tonkō isho fūhei no nazo wo megutte 敦煌遺書封閉の謎をめぐって" [On the Mystery of the Sealing of the Dunhuang Manuscripts]. *Rekishi to chiri: Sekaishi no kenkyū 歴史と地理: 世界史の研究* [History and Geography: A Study of World History] 486 (1996): 32–33.
- Doney, Lewis. "Emperor, Dharmaraja, Bodhisattva? Inscriptions from the Reign of Khri Srong lde brtsan." *Journal of Research Institute, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies* 51 (2013): 63–84.
- Doney, Lewis. "Early Bodhisattva-Kingship in Tibet: The Case of Tri Songdétse." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 29–47.
- Doney, Lewis. "Imperial Gods: A Ninth-Century *Tridaṇḍaka* Prayer (*rGyud chags gsum*) from Dunhuang." *Central Asiatic Journal* 61.1 (2018): 71–101.
- Doney, Lewis. "Tibet." In *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, edited by Erik Hermans, 191–223. Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2020.

- Doney, Lewis. "Master Vairocana's Journeys in Early Tibetan Buddhist Narratives." In *Crossing Boundaries: Tibetan Studies Unlimited*, edited by Diana Lange, Jarmila Ptackova, Marion Wettstein, and Mareike Wulff, 59–77. Prague: Academia, 2021.
- Dotson, Brandon. "'Emperor' Mu rug btsan and the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue.'" *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 1–25.
- Dotson, Brandon. "Complementarity and Opposition in Early Tibetan Ritual." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128.1 (2008): 41–67.
- Dotson, Brandon. *The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History, With an Annotated Cartographical Documentation by Guntram Hazod*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009.
- Dotson, Brandon. "The Remains of the Dharma: Editing, Rejecting, and Replacing the Buddha's Words in Officially Commissioned *Sūtras* from Dunhuang, 820s to 840s." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36–37 (2013/2014): 5–68.
- Dotson, Brandon. "The Dead and Their Stories: Preliminary Remarks on the Place of Narrative in Tibetan Religion." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 77–112.
- Dotson, Brandon. "The Horse and the Grass-Grazing Man: Domestication, Food, and Alterity in Early Tibetan Cosmologies of the Land of the Dead." *History of Religion* 57.3 (2018): 270–287.
- Dotson, Brandon. "Hunting for Fortune: Wild Animals, Goddesses and the Play of Perspectives in Early Tibetan Dice Divination." *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* [Online] 50 (2019). Last modified March 04, 2019, accessed January 16, 2023. 10.4000/emscat.3747.
- Dotson, Brandon. "Three Dice, Four Faces, and Sixty-Four Combinations: Early Tibetan Dice Divination by the Numbers." In *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination—Past and Present*, edited by Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, and Rolf Scheuermann, 11–48. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Dotson, Brandon, and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny. *Codicology, Paleography, and Orthography of Early Tibetan Documents: Methods and a Case Study*. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2016.
- Doumy, Mélodie. "Dunhuang Texts." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021. Accessed July 18, 2021. <https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-771>.
- Dragonetti, Carmen. "The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 22 (1978): 87–93.
- Dragonetti, Carmen. "Some Notes on the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* Attributed to Nāgārjuna." *Buddhist Studies* 6 (1979): 70–73.
- Drewes, David. "Revisiting the Phrase 'sa pṛthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet' and the Mahāyāna Cult of the Book." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 50.2 (2007): 101–143.

- Drexler, Monika. *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten Fu im Daozang*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994.
- Drompp, Michael R. *Tang China and the Collapse of the Uighur Empire: A Documentary History*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Dunnell, Ruth W. "The Anxi Principality: [Un]Making a Muslim Mongol Prince in Northwest China during the Yuan Dynasty." *Central Asiatic Journal* 57 (2014): 185–200.
- Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "Between the Silk and Fur Roads: The Qarakhanid Diplomacy and Trade." *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 28 (2016): 173–212.
- Duturaeva, Dilnoza. "Qarakhanid Envoys to Song China." *Journal of Asian History* 52.2 (2018): 179–208.
- Duturaeva, Dilnoza. *Qarakhanid Roads to China*. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Eastman, Kenneth W. "The Dun-huang Tibetan Manuscript of the Guhyasamājatantra." Paper presented to the 27th convention of The Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies, Kyoto, Japan, November 17, 1979.
- Eden, Jeff. *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Elverskog, Johan. *Uyghur Buddhist Literature*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Elverskog, Johan. *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Elverskog, Johan. "Buddhist and Muslim Interactions in Asian History." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*. Last modified September 30, 2019. Accessed July 31, 2022. <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-418>.
- Emmerick, Ronald E. *Tibetan. Texts Concerning Khotan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Emmerick, Ronald E. "Some Remarks on Translation Techniques of the Khotanese." In *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, edited by Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, 17–26. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983.
- Emmerick, Ronald E. and Prods Oktor Skjærvø. *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese*, 3 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983–1997.
- Errington, Elizabeth, Howard A. Wilson, John Villiers, Henrik H. Sørensen, Erberto F. Lo Bue, Young-Ho Chung, and Ken Brown. "Stupa." *Grove Art Online*, accessed October 28, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T082073>.
- Escher, Julia. "New Information on the Degree of 'Sinicization' of the Tuyuhun Clan during Tang Times through Their Marriage Alliances: A Case Study Based on the Epitaphs of Two Chinese Princesses." *Journal of Asian History* 53.1 (2019): 55–96.
- Esin, Emel. "Baliq and Ordu (The Early Turkish Circumvallations, in Architectural Aspects)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 27.3–4 (1983): 168–208.

- Eskildsen, Stephen. "Bodhidharma Outside Chan Literature: Immortal, Inner Alchemist, and Emissary from the Eternal Realm." *Journal of Chinese Religion* 45.2 (2017): 119–150.
- Fang Guangchang 方廣昌, ed. *Fojiao wenxian yanjiu* 佛教文獻研究 [Studies in Buddhist Texts]. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016.
- Ferreira, Johan. *Early Chinese Christianity: The Tang Christian Monument and Other Documents*. Strathfield: St. Pauls Publications, 2014.
- Fletcher, Joseph. "The Naqshbandiyya in Northwest China." In *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, edited by Beatrice F. Manz, vol. XI, 1–46. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Formigatti, Camillo Alessio. "Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal." PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2015.
- Franke, Herbert. "Chinesische Quellen über den uigurischen Stifter Dhyanasena." In *Memoriae Munusculum: Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain*, edited by Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, 63–64. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994.
- Fraser, Sarah. *Performing the Visual*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Frauwallner, Eric. "Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 5 (1961): 125–148.
- Friedmann, Yohanan. *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Frye, Richard N. *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*. Princeton: Marcus Weiner, 1996.
- Funayama, Tōru. "Buddhist Theories of Bodhisattva Practice as Adopted by Daoists." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 15–33.
- Fussman, Gérard. *Surkh Kotal en Bactriane, I Architecture*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1983.
- von Gabain, Annemarie. *Maitrisimit: Faksimile der alttürkischen Version eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule II [Beiheft]*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961.
- Galambos, Imre. "Correction Marks in the Dunhuang Manuscripts." In *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, edited by Imre Galambos, 191–210. Budapest: ELTE University, Department of East Asian Languages, 2013.
- Galambos, Imre. "Punctuation Marks in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts." In *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, edited by Jörg Quenzer and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, 341–357. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.
- Gallo, Riccarda. "The Image of Maheśvara: An Early Example of the Integration of Hindu Deities in the Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Pantheon." MA thesis, SOAS, 2013.
- Ganeri, Jonardon. "Sanskrit Philosophical Commentary." *Journal of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research* 27 (2010): 187–207.

- Gao Guofan 高國藩. *Zhongguo minsu tanwei: Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian* 中國民俗探微: 敦煌古俗與民俗流變 [An Investigation into Chinese Folklore: Dunhuang's Ancient Lore and the Transformation of Folklore]. Nanjing: Hehai daxue chubanshe, 1990.
- Gao Guofan 高國藩. *Zhongguo wushu shi* 中国巫术史 [The History of Chinese Witchcraft]. Shanghai san shuju, 1999.
- Gao Guofan 高國藩. *Dunhuang fu zhou fengsu* 敦煌符咒風俗 [The Folklore of Talismans and Spells in Dunhuang]. Hong Kong: Dong'a wenhua chubanshe, 2005.
- Garatti, Emanuela. "When Powers Meet: A Study of the Representation of Official Encounters in Sino-Tibetan Diplomacy between 7th and 9th Centuries." PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2020.
- Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. "Das 16. Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985): 71–132.
- Georg, Stefan. "Türkisch/mongolisch tengri 'Himmel, Gott' und seine Herkunft." *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 6 (2001): 83–100.
- Gernet, Jacques. *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*. Translated by Franciscus Verellen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995 [original: 1957].
- Giebel, Rolf W. "Taishō Volumes 18–21." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 27–36. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Gimaret, Daniel. *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsf selon la version arabe ismaélienne*. Geneva-Paris: Droz, 1971.
- Goble, Geoffrey C. "Three Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang: *The Scripture on Healing Diseases, the Scripture Urging Goodness, and the New Bodhisattva Scripture*." *Asian Medicine* 12 (2017): 265–278.
- Goble, Geoffrey C. *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of a Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Godwin, R. Todd. *Persians at the Christian Court: The Xi'an Stele and the Early Medieval Church of the East*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2018.
- Gokhale, Vasudeo V. "Pratīyasamutpādaśāstra des Ullaṅgha, kritisch behandelt und aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übertragen." PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1930.
- Gokhale, Vasudeo V. "Der Sanskrit-Text von Nāgārjuna's Pratīyasamutpādaḥṛdayakārikā." In *Studia Indologica: Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, edited by Otto Spies, 101–106. Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1955.
- Gokhale, Vasudeo V. and Mohan Govind Dhadphale. "Encore: The Pratīyasamutpāda-ḥṛdayakārikā of Nāgārjuna." In *Principal Vaman Sivaram Apte Commemoration*

- Volume*, edited by Mohan Govind Dhadphale, 62–68. Poona: Deccan Education Society, 1978.
- Golden, Peter B. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992.
- Golden, Peter. "Religion Among the Qipčaq of Medieval Eurasia." *Central Asiatic Journal* 42.2 (1998): 180–237.
- Golden, Peter B. "The Karakhanids and Early Islam." In *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor, 343–370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Golden, Peter B. *Central Asia in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Gömeç, Sadettin. "Umay meselesi [The Problem of Umay]." *Tarih Incelemeleri Dergisi* [Journal of Historical Investigations] 5.1 (1990): 277–281.
- Graff, David A. *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900*. London, New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Gruber, Christine J. *The Timurid Book of Ascension (Miʿrajnāma): A Study of Text and Image in a Pan-Asian Context*. Valencia, Spain: Patrimonio Ediciones in collaboration with the Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008.
- Guenther, Herbert. "Mandala and/or dkyil 'khor." *International Journal for Transpersonal Studies* 18.2 (1999): 149–161.
- Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna and Jason BeDuhn. "Picturing Mani's Cosmology: Analysis of Doctrinal Iconography on a Manichaean Hanging Scroll from 13th/14th-Century Southern China." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute New Series* 25 (2011): 55–105, plates 4–16.
- Hahn, Michael. "Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti Nr. 1. Die Vorzuglichkeit Des Buddha." *Zentral-Asiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprache- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasien der Universität Bern* 16 (1982): 309–337.
- Hahn, Michael. "A Propos the Term *gtsug lag*." In *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, vol. 1, edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael T. Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher, 347–354. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995.
- Halkias, Georgios. "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalog from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang." *The Eastern Buddhist New Series* 36.1–2 (2004): 46–105.
- Hamilton, James Russell. "Le colophon de l'Īrḳ Bitig." *Turcica* 7 (1975): 7–19.
- Hamilton, James Russell. "Les titres Šāli et Tutung en ouïgour." *Journal Asiatique* 272 (1984): 425–437.
- Hamilton, James Russel. *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-Houang*. 2 vols. Paris: Peeters, 1986.
- Hansen, Valerie. "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" In *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Ebrey, 80–82. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.

- Hansen, Valerie. *The Silk Road: A New History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Hazod, Guntram. "The 'Stranger-King' and the Temple: The Tibetan Ruler Image Retained in Post-Imperial Environments—the Example of the *lha* of Khra 'brug." In *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, edited by Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer, 55–86. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022.
- Hazod, Guntram, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer. "Foreword." In *The Social and the Religious in the Making of Tibetan Societies: New Perspectives on Imperial Tibet*, edited by Guntram Hazod, Christian Jahoda, and Mathias Fermer, 1–6. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2022.
- Hazod, Guntram and Karel Kriz. *The Burial Mound Sites of Imperial Central Tibet. Map scale 1:800 000*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020.
- Heller, Amy. "Observations on Painted Coffin Panels of the Tibetan Empire." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 147–202.
- Henning, Walter. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid. *Die Lhan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.
- Hill, J. Hamlyn. *The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, Being the Diatessaron of Tatian (Literally Translated from the Arabic Version and Containing the Four Gospels Woven into One Story)*. New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2001 (reprint of the original edition Edinburgh, 1910).
- Hill, Nathan W. "The Sku bla in Imperial Tibetan Religion." Edited by Brandon Dotson. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 49–58.
- Hill, Nathan. "'Come as Lord of the Black-Headed'—an Old Tibetan Mythic Formula." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 45 (2016): 203–216.
- von Hinüber, Oskar. "The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research." In *From Birch Bark to Digital. Data Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*, edited by Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, 79–135. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014.
- Hoernle, Rudolf. *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan: Facsimiles with Transcripts, Translations and Notes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918.
- Holmberg, David. "Ritual Paradoxes in Nepal: Comparative Perspectives on Tamang Religion." *Journal of Asian Studies* 43.4 (1984): 697–722.
- Hopkins, Washburn. *Epic Mythology*. Strassburg: Karl Trübner Verlag, 1915.
- Horlemann, Bianca. "A Re-evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-century Shazhou/Dunhuang." In *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies 1, Proceedings of*

- the International Association of Tibetan Studies 2000*, edited by Henk Blezer, 49–66. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Horlemann, Bianca. “On the Origin of Jiaosiluo, the First Ruler of the Tsong Kha Tribal Confederation in Eleventh Century A Mdo.” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005): 127–154.
- Horlemann, Bianca. “The Relations of the Eleventh-Century Tsong kha Tribal Confederation to Its Neighbour States on the Silk Road.” In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 79–102. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Horlemann, Bianca. “Buddhist Sites in Amdo and Former Longyou from the 8th to the 13th Century.” In *Old Tibetan Studies: Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003*, edited by Christina Scherrer-Schaub, 119–157. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Howard, Angela. “On ‘Art in the Dark’ and Meditation in Central Asian Buddhist Caves.” *The Eastern Buddhist* 46.2 (2015): 19–40.
- Howard (Masang), Meghan. “Translation at the Crossroads: The Career of Wu Facheng 吳法成 / Go Chödrup རོ་ཚོང་ལུང་ Set in Context.” PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2023.
- Howard Masang, Meghan, and Amanda Goodman. “The Mise-en-page of a Sino-Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscript: Yuanhui’s Commentary on the *Lañkāvatārasūtra*.” *The Medieval Globe* 8.2 (2022): 139–169.
- Hoyland, Robert G. *In God’s Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Huber, Toni. “The Iconography of gShen Priests in the Ethnographic Context of the Extended Eastern Himalayas, and Reflections on the Development of Bon Religion.” In *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, edited by Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer, 263–294. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2013.
- Huber, Toni. *Source of Life: Revitalisation Rites and Bon Shamans in Bhutan and the Eastern Himalayas*, 2 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Hui, Shen, Xinhua Wu, Zihua Tang, Xinying Zhou, Nan Sun, and Xiaoqiang Li. “Wood Usage and Fire Veneration in the Pamir, Xinjiang, 2500 Yr BP.” *PLOS ONE* 10.8 (2015).
- Hung, Wu. “What is *Bianxiang* 變相?—On the Relationship between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.1 (1992): 111–192.
- Hunter, Erica. “The Persian Contribution to Christianity in China: Reflections in the Xi’an Fu Syriac Inscriptions.” In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia, Proceedings of the*

- second Jingjiao Conference, University of Salzburg*, edited by Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, 71–85. Berlin, Vienna: LIT, 2009.
- Huntington, John. “A Note on Dunhuang Cave 17, ‘The Library’ or Hong Bian’s Reliquary Chamber.” *Ars Orientalis* 16 (1986): 93–101.
- Imaeda, Yoshiro. “The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents.” *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 66 (2008): 81–102.
- Inaba, Minoru. “The Narratives on the Bāmiyān Buddhist Remains in the Islamic Period.” In *Encountering Buddhism and Islam in Premodern Central and South Asia*, edited by Blain Auer and Ingo Strauch, 75–96. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.
- Isahaya Yoichi, and Jyuh Fuh Lin. “Entangled Representation of Heaven: A Chinese Divination Text from a Tenth-Century Dunhuang Fragment (P. 4071).” *Historia Scientiarum* 26.3 (2017): 153–171.
- Ivanchik, Askold. “Scythians.” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2018.
- Iwao, Kazushi. “The Purpose of Sutra Copying Under Tibetan Rule.” In *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, edited by Irina Popova and Liu Yi, 102–105. St. Petersburg: Slavia Publishers, 2012.
- Iwao, Kazushi. “On the Roll-type Tibetan *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* from Dunhuang.” In *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, edited by Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, 111–118. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013.
- Iwao, Kazushi. “Gog cu as Tibetan Buddhist Site of the North-Eastern Amdo Area during the Post-Imperial Period.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 161–173.
- Jackowicz, Stephen. “Ingestion, Digestion, and Regestation: The Complexities of *Qi* Absorption.” In *Daoist Body Cultivation*, edited by Livia Kohn, 68–90. Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006.
- Jackson, Peter. “The Mongols and Religion: Precocious Tolerance or Cynical Manipulation?” Keynote Lecture at the workshop “The Mongols and Religions,” Austrian Academy of Science, Vienna, May 16–18, 2019.
- Jamison, Stephanie. *The Rig Veda between Two Worlds—Le R̥gveda entre deux mondes*. Paris: Collège de France, 2007.
- Jamspal, Lozang, and Peter Della Santina. “The Heart of Interdependent Origination of Acarya Nagarjuna with Commentary by the Author, Translated into English from the Tibetan.” *Buddhist Studies* 1 (1974): 17–32.
- Jedin, Hubert, ed. *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. Berlin: Digitale Bibliothek, 2000.
- Joffe, Ben Philip. “White Robes, Matted Hair: Tibetan Tantric Household, Moral Sexuality, and Ambiguities of Esoteric Buddhist Expertise in Exile.” PhD diss., University of Colorado, 2019.
- Johnson, Maxwell E. *Images of Baptism*. Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2001.
- Jorgensen, John. “The Platform Sūtra and the Corpus of Shenhui: Recent Critical Text Editions and Studies.” *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* 20 (2002): 399–438.

- Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一. "Zōbon Innen shinron shaku 藏梵因縁心論釋 [The Collated Tibetan Text of Nāgārjuna's Pratīyasamutpādaḥṛdayavyākhyāna (*sic*).]" *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本佛教學會年報 [Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association] 46 (1981): 1–15.
- Kamola, Stefan T. *Making Mongol History: Rashid Al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
- Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光 et al., eds., *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō* 敦煌と中国道教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism]. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1986.
- Kanno, Hiroshi and Rafal Felbur. "Sūtra Commentaries in Chinese until the Tang Period." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One: Literature and Languages*, edited by Jonathan A. Silk, Oskar von Hinüber, and Vincent Eltschinger, 450–466. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Kapstein, Matthew T. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Kapstein, Matthew T. "The Strange Death of Pema the Demon Tamer." In *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein, 119–156. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Kapstein, Matthew T. "The Treaty Temple of the Turquoise Grove." In *Buddhism between Tibet and China*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein, 21–72. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009.
- Kapstein, Matthew. "The Treaty Temple of De Ga g.Yu Tshal: Reconsiderations." *Journal of Tibetology* 10 (2014): 32–34.
- Karashima, Seishi. "Indian Folk Etymologies and Their Reflections in Chinese Translations—*brāhmaṇa*, *śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa*." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 19 (2016): 101–123.
- Karev, Yury. "Qarakhanid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarqand. First Report and Preliminary Observations." *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 45–84.
- Karev, Yury. "From Tents to City: The Royal Court of the Western Qarakhanids between Bukhara and Samarqand." In *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City-life*, edited by David Durand-Guédy, 99–147. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Karev, Yury. *Samarqand et le Sughd à l'époque 'abbāsside: histoire politique et sociale*. Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2015.
- Karmay, Heather. "Tibetan Costume, Seventh to Eleventh Century." In *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, edited by Ariane Macdonald and Yoshiro Imaeda, 64–81. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1977.
- Karmay, Samten G. "The Appearance of the Little Black-Headed Man." In *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, edited by Samten G. Karmay, 245–281. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998.

- Karmay, Samten G. "The Interview between Phyva Keng-tse lan-med and Confucius." In *The Arrow and the Spindle, Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, edited by Samten G. Karmay, 169–189. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998.
- Karmay, Samten G. "A New Discovery of Ancient Bon Manuscripts from a Buddhist stūpa in Southern Tibet." *East and West* 59.1–4 (2009): 55–84.
- Karmay, Samten G. "Tibetan Indigenous Myths and Rituals with Reference to the Ancient Bön Text: the Nyenbum (*Gnyan 'bum*)." In *Tibetan Ritual*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, 53–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Karmay, Samten G. "The Gold Masks Found in Shang shung and the 'Five Supports of the Soul (*rten lnga*)' of the Bon Funerary Tradition." In *Ancient Civilization of Tibetan Plateau: Proceedings of the First Beijing International Conference on Shang shung Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, edited by Tsering Thar Tongkor and Tsering Dawa Sharshon, 330–344. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2018.
- Karmay, Samten G. and Yasuhiko Nagano. *The Call of Blue Cuckoo*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2002.
- Kasai, Yukiyo. "Ein Kolophon um die Legende von Bokug Kagan." *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 19 (2004): 1–27.
- Kasai, Yukiyo. "The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Mt. Wutai, and Uyghur Pilgrims." *Buddhist-Road Paper* 5.4 (2020): 1–39.
- Kasai, Yukiyo. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism." In *Buddhism in Central Asia 1: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 61–90. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Kasai, Yukiyo. "Talismans Used by the Uyghur Buddhists and Their Relationship with the Chinese Tradition." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 527–556.
- Kasai, Yukiyo. "The Avalokiteśvara Cult in Turfan and Dunhuang in the Pre-Mongolian Period." In *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, edited by Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen, 244–269. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Kaya, Ceval. *Uygurca Altun Yaruk. Giriş, Metin ve Dizin* [Uyghur Altun Yaruk: Introduction, Text and Index]. Ankara: Görsel Sanatlar, 1994.
- Kedar, Benjamin Z. "The Multilateral Disputation at the Court of the Grand Qan Möngke, 1254." In *The Majlis. Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, edited by Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Mark R. Cohen, Sasson Somekh, and Sidney H. Griffith, 162–183. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999.
- Kellner, Birgit. "Vernacular Literacy in Tibet: Present Debates and Historical Beginnings." In *Anfangsgeschichten / Origin Stories: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive / The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a*

- Comparative Perspective*, edited by Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller, and Pavlina Rychterová, 381–402. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007.
- Kennedy, Hugh. “The Coming of Islam to Bukhara.” In *Living Islamic History: Studies in Honour of Professor Carole Hillenbrand*, edited by Yasir Suleiman, 77–91. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. London: Routledge, 2022.
- King, Daniel. “Syriac Christianity in Central Asia.” In *The Syriac World*, edited by Mark Dickens, 583–625. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Kleine, Christoph. “Religion als begriffliches Konzept und soziales System im vormodernen Japan: polythetische Klassen, semantische und funktionale Äquivalente und strukturelle Analogien.” In *Religion in Asien? Studien zur Anwendbarkeit des Religionsbegriffs*, edited by Peter Schalk, 225–292. Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 2013.
- Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim. “Christians, Buddhists and Manichaeans in Medieval Central Asia.” *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 1 (1981): 46–50.
- Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim. “The Sun and the Moon as Gods in Central Asia.” *South Asian Religious Art Bulletin* 2 (1983): 11–23.
- Knüppel, Michael. “Zur alttürkischen Mantik.” *Anthropos* 106 (2011): 21–29.
- Kohn, Livia. “*Kōshin*: Expelling Daoist Demons through Buddhist Means.” In *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and Their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*, edited by Jeffrey L. Richey, 148–176. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Kósa, Gábor. “Ships and Ferries in the Manichaean Cosmology Painting.” In *Danfeng canggui—Zhang Xun bainian danchen jinian wenji* 丹枫苍桧—章巽百岁诞辰纪念集 [Collection of Papers for the 100th Anniversary of Zhang Xun’s Birthday], edited by Rui Chuanming 芮传明 and Zhang Jiaping 章嘉平, 41–67. Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 2015.
- Kósa, Gábor. “The Manichaean Attitude to Natural Phenomena as Reflected in the Berlin Kephalaia.” *Open Theology* 1 (2015): 255–268.
- Kotyk, Jeffrey. “Research Note on Brahmanical Deities in Mikkyō Astrological Art.” *Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University* 4 (2019): 101–108.
- Kotyk, Jeffrey. “Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing: A Misunderstood Astronomer-Monk.” *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 31 (2018): 1–37.
- Kotyk, Jeffrey. “Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism: Timing of Rituals According to Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing.” *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13 (2018): 1–29.
- Kotyk, Jeffrey. “The Sinicization of Indo-Iranian Astrology in Medieval China.” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 282 (2018): 1–95.

- Kotyk, Jeffrey. "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017.
- Kozlov, Pyotr K. *Mongolia i Amdo i myortvy gorod Khra-Khoto: Ekspeditsiya Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva v nagornoy Azii P.K. Kozlova, potchotnogo chlena Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva. 1907–1909 gg* [Mongolia and Amdo and the Dead Town of Karakhoto: The Russian Geographical Society's Expedition to the Mountains of Asia, led by Pyotr K. Kozlov, Honorary Member of the Russian Geographical Society, 1907–1909]. Moscow, St. Petersburg: 1923.
- Krech, Volkhard. "Dynamics in the History of Religions—Preliminary Considerations on Aspects of a Research Programme." In *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe. Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke, 15–70. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Krech, Volkhard. "Religious Contacts in Past and Present Times: Aspects of a Research Programme." *Religion* 42.2 (2012): 191–213.
- Krech, Volkhard. "From Religious Contact to Scientific Comparison and Back: Some Methodological Considerations on Comparative Perspectives in the Science of Religion." In *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, edited by Antje Flüchter and Jivanta Schöttli, 39–73. Cham: Springer, 2015.
- Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義. "Myōhō rengkyō gansen' no uigurugo dampen 妙法蓮華經玄贊のウイグル語断片 [Uyghur Fragments of the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanzan*]." In *Nairikuajia, nishiajia no shakai to bunka 内陸アジア西アジアの社会と文化 / Society and Culture of Inner Asia and the Muslim World*, edited by Mori Masao 護雅夫, 185–207. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1983.
- Kudara, Kōgi and Peter Zieme. "Fragmente zweier unbekannter Handschriften der uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11.1 (1984): 136–148.
- Kumamoto, Hiroshi. "Khotanese Official Documents in the Tenth Century A.D. (Middle Iranian; Chinese Turkestan)." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982.
- Kurzyniec, Jeremy. "Buddha: The Story of a Christian-Muslim Saint," report of the AGYA Workshop in Meteora, Greece, July 21–22, 2017. Accessed March 2, 2022. https://www.academia.edu/34649394/Buddha_The_Story_of_a_Christian_Muslim_Saint--_conference_report.
- Lalou, Marcelle. "Document Tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna Chinois." *Journal Asiatique* 231 (1939): 505–523.
- Lalou, Marcelle. "Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales." *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952): 339–361.
- Lalou, Marcelle. "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan." *Journal Asiatique* 241.3 (1953): 313–353.
- Lalou, Marcelle. "Catalogues des principautés du Tibet ancien." *Journal Asiatique* 253 (1965): 189–215.

- Le Coq, Albert von. "Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)." *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 48 (1909): 1202–1218, plate 14.
- Le Coq, Albert von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. II*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919.
- Le Coq, Albert von. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho. III nebst einem christlichen Bruchstück aus Bulayiq*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922.
- Lehnert, Martin. "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen, 351–359. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Lesbre, Emmanuelle. "La conversion de Hārītī au Buddha: origine du thème iconographique et interprétations picturales chinoises." *Arts Asiatiques* 55 (2000): 98–119.
- Lewis, Mark Edward. *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty*. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2021.
- Li, Channa. "Toward A Typology of Chödrupe's (Tib. Chos Grub, Chin. Facheng 法成) Cursive Handwriting: A Palaeographical Perspective." *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.2 (2021).
- Li Fang-Kuei, and W. South Coblin, *A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions*. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1987.
- Li, Rongxi. *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great C'ien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty. Translated from the Chinese of Śramaṇa Huili and Shi Yancong (Taishō, Volume 50, Number 2053)*. Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995.
- Li Wenjie 李文潔 and Lin Shitian 林世田. "Foshuo rulai chengdao jing' yu 'Jiangmo bianwen' guanxi zhi yanjiu 《佛说如来成道经》与《降魔变文》关系之研究 [Studies on the Relationship between *Foshuo rulai chengdao jing* and *Jiangmo bianwen*]." *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2005): 46–53.
- Li Yingcun 李應存. *Dunhuang foshu yu chuantong yixue* 敦煌佛書與傳統醫學 [Buddhist Books from Dunhuang and the Study of Traditional Medicine]. Taipei: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2013.
- Li Yingxu 李应存 and Shi Zhenggang 史正刚. "Cong Dunhuang foshu zhong de yixue neirong tan fojiao de shisu hua 从敦煌佛书中的医学内容谈佛教的世俗化 [On the Secularisation of Buddhism in Dunhuang Based on Medicinal Contents in Buddhist Books]." *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2007): 111–116.
- Lin Meicun 林梅村. *Sichou zhi lu kaogu shiwu jiang* 丝绸之路考古十五讲 [Fifteen Lectures on the Archaeology of the Silk Road]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2006.

- Lin, Nancy. "Recounting the Fifth Dalai Lama's Rebirth Lineage." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 38 (2017): 119–56.
- Lin Shenghai 林生海. "Tonkō shahon 'Gōma henbun' to saiiki shūkyō 敦煌寫本『降魔變文』と西域宗教 [Dunhuang Manuscript *Jiangmo bianwen* and Religions in the Western Regions]." *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Research Annual of the Dunhuang Manuscripts] 12 (2018): 67–84.
- Lin, Shen-yu. "The Tibetan Image of Confucius." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 12 (2007): 105–129.
- Lindtner, Christian. *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.
- Liu Yi 刘屹. *Dunhuang daojing yu daojiao* 敦煌道经与中古道教 [The Daoist Scriptures from Dunhuang and Chinese Ancient Daoism]. Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010.
- Liu Yongming 刘永明. "Lun Dunhuang fojiao xinyang zhong de fo dao ronghe 论敦煌佛教信仰中的佛道融合 [A Discussion of the Harmonisation between Buddhism and Daoism in Buddhist Belief in Dunhuang]." *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 1 (2005): 45–55.
- Lo, Vivienne and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim. "Travelling Light: Sino-Tibetan Moxa-Cautery from Dunhuang." In *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, edited by Vivienne Lo, Penelope Barrett, David Dear, Lu Di, Lois Reynolds, and Dolly Yang, 271–290. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Lokesh Chandra. "Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4 (1960): 1–13.
- Loukota, Diego. "Made in China? Sourcing the Old Khotanese Bhaiṣajyaguruvaīḍūrya-prabhasūtra." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139.1 (2019): 67–90.
- Lusthaus, Dan. *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-shih lun*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2002.
- Ma De 馬德. "Tubo guoxiang Hexiner shiji bushu: yi Dunhuang ben Yu 77 hao wei zhongxin 吐蕃國相尚絃心兒事跡補述一以敦煌本羽 77 號為中心 [Supplemental Narration to Story of Zhang Khri Sum Rje, a Prime Minister of Tibetan Court: Centered on Dunhuang Text Yu 77]." *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 4 (2011): 36–44.
- Ma Shichang 马世长. "Guanyu Dunhuang Cangjingdong de ji ge wenti 关于敦煌藏经洞的几个问题 [Several Questions Regarding Dunhuang Cave 17]." *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Artefacts] 12 (1978): 21–33.
- Ma Yong and Wang Binghua. "The Culture of the Xinjiang Region." In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, edited by János Harmatta, 209–225. Paris: UNESCO, 1994.

- Mabbett, Ian. "The Problem of the Historical Nāgārjuna Revisited." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.3 (1998): 332–346.
- Macdonald, Ariane. "Une lecture des Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, et 1290: essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroñ bcän Sgam po." In *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, edited by Ariane Macdonald, 190–391. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971.
- Maclean, Derryl N. *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*. Leiden: Brill, 1989.
- Mair, Victor H. *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Mair, Victor H. "Śāriputra Defeats the Six Heterodox Masters. Oral-Visual Aspects of an Illustrated Transformation Scroll (P 4524)." *Asia Major Third Series* 8.2 (1995): 1–55.
- Mak, Bill M. "Astral Science of the East Syriac Christians in China during the Late First Millennium AD." *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16 (2016): 87–92.
- Mak, Bill M. "The Transmission of Buddhist Astral Science from India to East Asia: The Central Asian Connection." *Historia Scientiarum* 24.2 (2015): 59–75.
- Mallory, James P. "Bronze Age Languages of the Tarim Basin." *Expedition* 52.3 (2010): 44–54.
- Manz, Beatrice F. *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Manz, Beatrice F. "Tamerlane and the Timurids." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*. Last modified April 26, 2018. Accessed August 3, 2022. <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-10?rskey=hPkWHl&result=11>.
- Marks, James, and Vincent Eltschinger. "Kamalaśīla." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, edited by Jonathan A. Silk, Vincent Eltschinger, Richard Bowring, and Michael Radich, 272–278. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Martin, Dan. "Poisoned Dialogue: A Study of Tibetan Sources on the Last Year in the Life of Gshen-chen Klu-dga' (996–1035 CE)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 40.2 (1996): 221–233.
- Martin, Dan. *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Bibliography of Bon*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Martin, Dan. "The Nine Translators: An Investigation into the Historical Transformation of a List." Paper presented to the 13th International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar, Mongolian Academy of Sciences and National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, July 21–27, 2013.
- Martin, Dan. "The Gold Drink Rite. Indigenous, But Not Simply Indigenous." *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* 7.2 (2014): 79–95.

- Martin, Dan, Per Kværne, and Yasuhiko Nagano, ed. *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003.
- Maspero, Henri. *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1953.
- Maue, Dieter. *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996.
- Maue, Dieter. "Three Languages on one Leaf: On IOL Toch 81 with Special Regard to the Turkic Part." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 71.1 (2008): 59–73.
- Maue, Dieter. "Uigurisch <m'ytry>: Zu einem vernachlässigten Problem." In *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrimit: Symposium anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Entzifferung des Tocharischen Berlin, 3. und 4. April 2008*, edited by Yukiyo Kasai, Abdurishid Yakup, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, 139–159. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Maue, Dieter, and Mehmet Ölmez, with the cooperation of Étienne de la Vaissière and Alexander Vovin. "The Khüis Tolgoi Inscription." *Studia Uralo-Altaiica* 52 (2019): 73–89.
- Maue, Dieter and Klaus Röhrborn. "Ein 'buddhistischer Katechismus' in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil I)." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134.2 (1984): 286–313.
- Maue, Dieter and Klaus Röhrborn. "Ein 'buddhistischer Katechismus' in alttürkischer Sprache und tibetischer Schrift (Teil II)." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 135.1 (1985): 68–91.
- Mayer, Alexander L. "Commentarial Literature." In *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 165–168. New York: Macmillan, 2004.
- Mayer, Robert. "The Figure of Maheśvara/Rudra in the rÑiñ-ma-pa Tantric Tradition." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.2 (1998): 271–310.
- Meinert, Carmen. "The Legend of Cig car ba Criticism in Tibet: A List of Six Cig car ba Titles in the Chos 'byung me tog snying po of Nyang Nyi ma 'od zer (12th Century)." In *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in Its Formative Period, 900–1400*. PIATS 2003, edited by Ronald Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer, 31–54. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Meinert, Carmen. "The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought: Reflections on the Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts IOL Tib J 689-1 and PT 699." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 239–301. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Meinert, Carmen. "Introduction—Dynamics of Buddhist Transfer in Central Asia." In *Transfer of Buddhism across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, edited by Carmen Meinert, 1–16. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

- Meinert, Carmen. "Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Kharakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227)." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72.
- Meinert, Carmen. "Creation of Tantric Sacred Spaces in Eastern Central Asia." In *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 244–271. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Meinert, Carmen. "Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th C.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ϕ 249 + ϕ 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhi] in Comparison with other Tantric Ritual Texts." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484.
- Meinert, Carmen. "Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies: Tantric Rituals in Eastern Central Asia under Tangut Rule, 11th–13th C." In *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, edited by Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen, 313–365. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Meinert, Carmen, and Dylan Esler. "The History of Buddhism in Tibet (7th–10th C.): Early Contacts, Imperial Period, and Early Post-Imperial Period." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Four: History*, edited by Jonathan Silk, Richard Bowring, and Vincent Eltschinger. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.
- Melville, Charles. "Pādshāh-i Islām: The Conversion of Sultan Mahmūd Ghāzān Khan." *Pembroke Papers* 1 (1990): 159–177.
- Millward, James. "Eastern Central Asia (Xinjiang): 1300–1800." In *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age*, edited by Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden, 260–277. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Mollier, Christine. *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Mollier, Christine. "Astrological Talismans and Paper Amulets from Dunhuang: Typology and Function." *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Studies in Dunhuang and Turfan] 2 (2015): 505–519.
- Montell, Gösta. "Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collections from Khotan: Terra-cottas from Yotkan and Dandan-Uiliq." *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 7 (1936): 145–221.
- Montgomery, Scott. "Contact Relics." *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*. Accessed September 28, 2021. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_00235.
- Moretti, Costantino. "Scenes of Hell and Damnation in Dunhuang Murals." *Arts Asiatiques* 74 (2019): 5–30.
- Morgan, Carole. "Mayhem on the Northwest Frontier." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 183–215.
- Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫. "Chibetto moji de kakareta Uiguru-bun bukkyō kyōri mondō (P. t. 1292) no kenkyū チベット文字で書かれたウイグル文仏教教理問答 (P. t.

- 1292)の研究 / Études sur un catéchisme bouddhique ouïgour en écriture tibétane (P. t. 1292).” *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 / *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Osaka University* 25 (1985): 1–85.
- Moriyasu, Takao. “L’origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l’apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien.” In *Documents et archives provenant de l’Asie Centrale : Actes du Colloque Franco-Japonais organisé par l’Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales*, edited by Akira Haneda, 147–165. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1990.
- Moriyasu, Takao. “Introduction à l’histoire des Ouïghours et de leurs relations avec le Manichéisme et le Bouddhisme.” In *World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road*, edited by Takao Moriyasu, 24–38. Osaka: Osaka University, 2003.
- Moriyasu, Takao. “Manichaeism under the East Uighur Khaganate with Special References to the Fragment Mainz 345 and the Kara-Balgasun Inscription.” In *World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road*, edited by Takao Moriyasu, 49–62. Osaka: Osaka University, 2003.
- Moriyasu, Takao. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße: Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.
- Moriyasu, Takao. “New Developments in the History of East Uighur Manichaeism.” *Open Theology* 1 (2015): 316–333.
- Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl. *Uigurica II*. Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911.
- Musawi, Muhsin J. *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2015.
- Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長沢和俊. “Shiruku Rōdo-shi kenkyū シルク・ロード史研究 [Research on the History of the Silk Road].” PhD diss., Waseda University, 1979.
- Nakata Mie 中田美絵. “Hasseiki ni okeru chūō-yūrashia no dōkō to Chōan-bukkyō-kai: Tokusō-ki-‘Daijō-rishu-roku-haramitta-kyō’-hon’yaku-sankasha-no-bunseki yori” 八世紀における中央ユーラシアの動向と長安仏教界—徳宗期『大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經』翻訳参加者の分析より [Trends in Eighth-Century Eurasia and the Buddhist Environment of Chang’an—The Period of Dezong: From an Analysis of the Members of the Translation [team] of the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing*]. *Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 [Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University] 44 (2011): 153–189.
- Namgyal Nyima Dagkar. “The Early Spread of Bon.” *The Tibet Journal* 23.4 (1998): 4–27.
- Nanjio Bunyiu. *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883.
- Nattier, Jan. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.

- Nattier, Jan. *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han 東漢 and Three Kingdoms 三國 Periods*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008.
- de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. Kathmandu-Varanasi: Book Faith India, 1993 [1956].
- Németh, Julius. “Über alttürkische Sternnamen.” *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18.1–2 (1968): 1–6.
- Newman, John. “Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.2 (1998): 311–372.
- Nicolini-Zani, Matteo. *The Luminous Way to the East: Text and History of the First Encounter of Christianity with China*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Nishida, Ai. “A Preliminary Analysis of Old Tibetan Dice Divination Texts.” In *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination: Past and Present*, edited by Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, and Rolf Scheuermann, 49–72. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Nishioka Soshū 西岡祖秀. “Putōn bukkyōshi mokurokubu sakuin 11 『ブトウン仏教史』目録部索引11 / Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* 11.” *Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu Bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 東京大学文学部・文化交流研究施設研究紀要 / *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tōkyō* 5 (1981): 43–94.
- Nobel, Johannes. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-Tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung. Erster Band: I-Tsing's chinesische Version übersetzt, eingeleitet, erläutert und mit einem photomechanischen Nachdruck des chinesischen Textes versehen*. Leiden: Brill, 1958.
- Oda, Juten. “On Manichaeic Expressions in the Sākiz yükmäk yaruq Sūtra.” In *Splinter aus der Gegend von Turfan: Festschrift für Peter Zieme, anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags*, edited by Mehmet Ölmez and Simone-Christiane Raschmann, 179–198, Istanbul, Berlin: Şafak Matbaacılık, 2002.
- Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾. *Dōkyō to sono kyōten* 道教とその經典 [Daoism and Its Scriptures]. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1997.
- Oki Mie 沖美江. “Kyū kara jūisseiki ni okeru uiguru moji no sho tokuchō—Jidai hantei heno tegakari wo motomete 9～11世紀におけるウイグル文字の諸特徴-時代判定への手がかりをもとめて / A Few Characteristic Features of the Uigur Alphabet in the 9th–11th Centuries.” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 11 (1996): 15–60.
- Ölmez, Mehmet. “Türkçede dinî tabirler üzerine [On Religious Terms in Turkic].” *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* [Researches in Turkic Languages] 15 (2005): 213–218.

- Ölmez, Mehmet and Klaus Röhrborn. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie III: Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.
- Orkun, Hüseyin Namık. *Eski Türk Yazıtları* [Old Turkic Inscriptions]. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994.
- Orzech, Charles D. "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651–780)." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 263–285. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Orzech, Charles D., Richard K. Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen. "Introduction: Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: Some Methodological Considerations." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 3–18. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Ōsawa, Takashi. "The Significance of the Ötüken yer to the Ancient Turks." In *Ötüken'den İstanbul'a Türkçenin 1290 Yılı (720–2010) 3–5 Aralık 2010, İstanbul. From Ötüken to Istanbul, 1290 Years of Turkish (720–2010) 3rd–5th December 2010*, Istanbul, edited by Mehmet Ölmez, 405–423. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011.
- Otsuka, Osamu. "Qāshānī, the First World Historian: Research on His Uninvestigated Persian General History, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*." *Studia Iranica*, 47.1 (2018): 119–149.
- Özertural, Zekine. *Der uigurische Manichäismus: Neubearbeitung von Texten aus Manichaica I und III von Albert von Le Coq*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- dPa' bo gTsong lag phreng ba. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* [The Feast for Scholars]. Varanasi: Vajra Vidya, 2002.
- Padwa, Mariner E. "An Archaic Fabric: Culture and Landscape in an Early Inner Asian Oasis (3rd–4th Century CE Niya)." PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007.
- Pan, Yihong. "Locating Advantages. The Survival of the Tuyuhun State on the Edge, 300–ca. 580." *T'oung Pao* 99.4–5 (2013): 268–300.
- Papas, Alexander. "Khojas of Kashgar." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*. Modified November 20, 2017. Accessed August 2, 2022. <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-12>.
- Pasang Wangdu, and Hildegard Diemberger, *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshe ring, ed. *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar du rnyed pa'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs* [Collection of Ancient Bön Manuscripts Newly Discovered in Tamshül Gatang Bumpaché Stūpa]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2007.

- Paul, Jürgen. "Islamizing Sufis in Pre-Mongol Central Asia." In *Islamisation de l'Asie Centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VII^e au XI^e siècle* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39), edited by Étienne de la Vaissière, 297–317. Paris, Louvain: Peeters, 2008.
- Pearcey, Adam, trans. "The Heart of Dependent Origination." *Lotsawa House* (2008). Accessed May 28, 2021. <https://www.lotsawahouse.org/indian-masters/nagarjuna/heart-dependent-origination>.
- Pelliot, Paul. "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 8 (1908): 500–529.
- Pelliot, Paul. *Les grottes de Touen-Houang : peintures et sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song. Tome Premier, grottes 1 à 30*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920.
- Poceski, Mario. "Conceptions and Attitudes towards Contemplative Practice within the Early Traditions of Chan Buddhism." *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 28 (2015): 67–116.
- Prazniak, Roxann. "Ilkhanid Buddhism: Traces of a Passage in Eurasian History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56 (2014): 650–680.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991.
- Qiu, Yihao. "Ja 'fār Khwāja: Sayyid, Spy, Merchant and Military Commander of Chinggis Khan." In *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants and Intellectuals*, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Z. Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, 143–159. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.
- Quinter, David. "Relics." *Oxford Bibliographies, Buddhism*. 2014. Accessed September 15, 2021. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195393521/obo-9780195393521-0196.xml>.
- Rachmati, Gabdul Rašid. *Türkische Turfan-Texte. VII (mit sinologischen Anmerkungen von Dr. W. Eberhard)*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.
- Radlov, Vasilij V., and Sergej E. Malov. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (sutra zolotogo bleska): Tekst ujujurskoj redakcii*. Petrograd: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, 1913–1917.
- Ramble, Charles. "Sacral Kings and Divine Sovereigns: Principles of Tibetan Monarchy in Theory and Practice." In *States of Mind: Power, Place and the Subject in Inner Asia, Studies on East Asia*, edited by David Sneath, 129–149. Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University, 2006.
- Ramble, Charles. *The Navel of the Demoness: Tibetan Buddhism and Civil Religion in Highland Nepal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Ramble, Charles. "The Deer as a Structuring Principle in Certain Bonpo Rituals. A Comparison of Three Texts for the Acquisition of Good Fortune (*g.yang*)." In *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya*, edited by Patrick McAllister, Cristina

- Scherrer-Schaub, and Helmut Krasser, 509–540. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015.
- Richardson, Hugh E. *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1985.
- Richardson, Hugh E. “The Province of the Bde-blon of the Tibetan Empire, Eighth to Ninth Centuries.” In *High Peaks Pure Earth*, edited by Michael Aris, 167–176. London: Serindia, 1990.
- Rivers, Ray, Carl Knappett, and Tim Evans. “What Makes a Site Important? Centrality, Gateways, and Gravity.” In *Network Analysis in Archaeology. New Approaches in Regional Interaction*, edited by Carl Knappett, 125–150. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Robson, James. “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism.” *History of Religions* 48.2 (2008): 130–69.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. “Zum Wanderweg des alttürkischen Lehngutes im Alttürkischen.” In *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients: Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by Hans R. Roemer and Albrecht Noth, 337–343. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII, nach der Handschrift von Leningrad, Paris und Peking sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie von Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII: Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. “Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Vita: Biographie oder Hagiographie?” In *Bauddhavidyāsudhākarāḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, 551–557. Swisttal-Odendorf: India et Tibetica Verlag, 1997.
- Röhrborn, Klaus. “Zum manichäischen Einfluß im alttürkischen Buddhismus.” In *Studia Manichaica IV: Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme, 494–499. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000.
- Röhrborn, Klaus and András Róna-Tas. *Spätformen des zentralasiatischen Buddhismus: Die altuigurische Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2005.
- Rong, Xinjiang. “The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing.” Translated by Valerie Hansen. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (2000): 247–275.
- Rong, Xinjiang. *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*. Translated by Imre Galambos. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Rong Xinjiang and Lishuang Zhu. “The Eight Great Protectors of Khotan Re-Considered: From Khotan to Dunhuang.” *BuddhistRoad Paper* 6.1, Special Issue: *Ancient Central*

- Asian Networks, Rethinking the Interplay of Religions, Art and Politics across the Tarim Basin (5th–10th C.)*, edited by Erika Forte (2019): 47–85.
- Rossabi, Morris. *From Yuan to Modern China and Mongolia: The Writings of Morris Rossabi*. Leiden: Brill, 2014 [1972].
- Roux, Jean-Paul. “Tängri : Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 149.1–2 (1956): 49–82, 197–230; 150.1–2 (1957): 27–54, 175–212.
- Roux, Jean-Paul. “La religion des Turcs de l’Orkhon des VII^e et VIII^e siècles.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 161.1 (1962): 1–24.
- Roux, Jean-Paul. “Die alttürkische Mythologie.” In *Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und Nordasien*, edited by Egidius Schmalzriedt and Hans Wilhelm Haussig, 173–277. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1999.
- Russell, James R. *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1987.
- Russell-Smith, Lilla. *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Russell-Smith, Lilla and Ines Konczak-Nagel. *The Ruins of Khocho: Traces of Wooden Architecture on the Ancient Silk Road*. Berlin: Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2016.
- Rybatzki, Volker, and Hu Hong. “The Īrq Bitig, the Book of Divination: New Discoveries Concerning its Structure and Content.” In *Interpreting the Turkic Runiform Sources and the Position of the Altai Corpus*, edited by Irina Nevskaya and Marcel Erdal, 149–173. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2015.
- Saeki, Peter Yoshirō. *The Nestorian Monument in China*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916.
- Saeki, Peter Yoshirō. *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*. Tokyo: The Toho Bunkwa Gakuin, The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 1951.
- Saitō Akira 齊藤明. “Innen shinron shaku bibōroku 因縁心論釋備忘錄 [The Aide-Memoire to the Pratīyasamutpādahṛdaya].” In *Tonkō kogo bunken 敦煌胡語文獻 [Dunhuang documents in non-Chinese languages]*, edited by Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, 323–335. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1985.
- Salguero, C. Pierce. “Research Note—A Missing Link in the History of Chinese Medicine: Research Note on the Medical Contents of the *Taishō Tripitaka*.” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 47 (2018): 93–119.
- Salomon, Richard. “The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29.4 (1986): 261–293.
- Salomon, Richard. “Why Did Gandharan Buddhists Bury Their Manuscripts?” In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual and Art*, edited by Stephen C. Berwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown, 19–34. London, New York: Routledge, 2009.

- Samosyuk, Kira Fyodorovna. "The Discovery of Khara Khoto." In *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (x-xIIIIth Century)*, edited by Mikhail Piotrovsky, 31–48. Milano: Electa, 1993.
- Samosyuk, Kira Fyodorovna. "Preface." In *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (x-xIIIIth Century)*, edited by Mikhail Piotrovsky, 18–19. Milano: Electa, 1993.
- Samosyuk, Kira Fyodorovna. "Preface." In *Ecang Heishuicheng yi shupin* 俄藏黑水城藝術品 [Karakhoto Art Works in Russian Collections]. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2011.
- Samuel, Geoffrey. *Introducing Tibetan Buddhism*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Samuel, Geoffrey. "Revisiting the Problem of Bon Identity: Bon Priests and Ritual Practitioners in the Himalayas." *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 77–97.
- Sandwell, Isabella. *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R., Matthew T. Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, ed. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- van Schaik, Sam. "The Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts in China." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65.1 (2002): 129–139.
- van Schaik, Sam. "Oral Teachings and Written Texts: Transmission and Transformation in Dunhuang." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 183–208. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- van Schaik, Sam and Imre Galambos. *Manuscripts and Travellers: The Sino-Tibetan Documents of a Tenth-Century Buddhist Pilgrim*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- van Schaik, Sam. "The Origin of the Headless Script (dbu med) in Tibet." In *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages IV*, edited by Nathan W. Hill, 411–446. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- van Schaik, Sam. "The Naming of Tibetan Religion: Bon and Chos in the Tibetan Imperial Period." *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1 (2013): 227–257.
- van Schaik, Sam. "Dating Early Tibetan Manuscripts: A Paleographical Method." In *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, edited by Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, 119–135. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013.
- van Schaik. "Towards a Tibetan Palaeography: Developing a Typology of Writing Styles in Early Tibet." In *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, edited by Jörg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014, 299–337.
- van Schaik, Sam. *Tibetan Zen-Discovering a Lost Tradition*. Boston, London: Snow Lion, 2015.

- Scharlipp, Wolfgang-Ekkehard. "Die alttürkische Religion und ihre Darstellung bei einigen türkischen Historikern." *Die Welt des Islams* 31.2 (1991): 168–192.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina. "D'un manuscrit tibétain des *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* de Nāgārjuna." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 103–111.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina. "Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and Their Application in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* Tradition." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25.1–2 (2002): 263–340.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina. "Tibet: An Archaeology of the Written." In *Old Tibetan Studies Dedicated to the Memory of R.E. Emmerick: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003*, edited by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, 217–254. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina. "A Perusal of Early Tibetan Inscriptions in Light of the Buddhist World of the 7th to 9th Centuries A.D." In *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World. Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna, 14–15 Oct. 2011*, edited by Kurt Tropper, 117–165. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2014.
- Schmid, Neil. "The Material Culture of Exegesis and Liturgy and a Change in the Artistic Representations in Dunhuang Caves, ca. 700–1000." *Asia Major, Third Series* 19.1–2 (2006): 171–210.
- Schmid, Neil. "Revisioning the Buddhist Cosmos: Shifting Paths of Rebirth in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Art." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 293–326.
- Schmid, Neil. "Giving While Keeping: Inexhaustible Treasuries and Inalienable Wealth in Medieval China." *Studies in Chinese Religion* 5.2 (2019): 151–164.
- Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig. "Das buddhistische Gewand des Manichäismus. Zur buddhistischen Terminologie in den chinesischen Manichaica." In *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*, edited by Walter Heissig and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 76–90. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987.
- Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig. *Chinesische Manichaica, mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.
- Schopen, Gregory. *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- Schopen, Gregory. *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Schopen, Gregory. *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
- Schopen, Gregory. *Buddhist Nuns, Monks, and Other Worldly Matters: Recent Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.
- Schuessler, Axel. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

- Scott, David A. "Manichaeism Views of Buddhism." *History of Religions* 25.2 (1985): 99–115.
- Scott, David A. "Buddhism and Islam: Past to Present Encounters and Interfaith Lessons." *Numen* 42.2 (1995): 141–155.
- Seinfeld, Joshua. "Macaca Mulatta (Rhesus Monkey)." *Animal Diversity Web*. Last accessed May 28, 2021. https://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Macaca_mulatta/.
- Sertkaya, Osman F. "Köl Tigin'in ölümünün 1250. yıl dönümü dolayısı ile Moğolistan Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki Köktürk harfli metinler üzerinde yapılan arkeolojik ve filolojik çalışmalara toplu bir bakış [An Overview of the Archaeological and Philological Studies on Texts in the Köktürk Alphabet in the Mongolian People's Republic on the Occasion of the 1250th Anniversary of Köl Tegin's Death]." *Belleter* 47.185 (1983–1984): 67–85.
- Seyfourt Ruegg, David. "Autour du *lTa ba'i khyad par de Ye šes sde* (version de Touen-houang, Pelliot tibétain 814)." *Journal Asiatique* 269.1–2 (1981): 207–229.
- Sha Wutian 沙武田. "Dunhuang Tubo yijing sanzang fashi Facheng gongde ku kao 敦煌吐蕃譯經三藏法師法成功德窟考 [Study of the Merit Cave of Master Facheng, the Tripiṭaka and Sūtra-translator of Tibetan Ruled Dunhuang]." *Zhongguo zangxue 中國藏學 / China Tibetology* 3 (2008): 40–47.
- Sharf, Robert. "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China." *History of Religions* 32.1 (1992): 1–31.
- Sharf, Robert H. *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Sharf, Robert. "Art in the Dark: The Ritual Context of Buddhist Caves in Western China." In *Art of Merit: Studies in Buddhist Art and Its Conservation*, edited by David Park, Kuenga Wangmo, and Sharon Cather, 38–65. London: Archetype Publications, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013.
- Shen Chen 沈琛. "Zai lun tubo yu jing jiao, moni jiao de lianxi 再论吐蕃与景教, 摩尼教的联系 [Reappraisal of the Connection between Imperial Tibet, the Church of the East, and Manichaeism]." *Dunhuang yanjiu 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research]* 3 (2022): 139–147.
- Shenkar, Michael. "The Arab Conquest and the Collapse of the Sogdian Civilization." In *The History and Culture of Iran and Central Asia in the First Millennium CE: From the Pre-Islamic to the Islamic Era*, edited by Deborah G. Tor and Minoru Inaba, 95–124. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2022.
- Shinohara Koichi. *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘. "Nakamura Fusetsushi kyūzō uigurugo monjo dampen no kenkyū 中村不折氏旧藏ウイグル語文書断片の研究 / A Study of the Fragments of Uigur Text Found in the Fusetsu Nakamura Collection." *Tōyō gakuho 東洋学報. The Toyo Gakuho* 61.1 (1979): 01–029.

- Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘. "Uiguru bunken ni dōnyū sareta kango ni kansuru kenkyū ウイグル文献に導入された漢語に関する研究 / Chinese Loan Words in Uighur." *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 2 (1986): 17–156.
- Shurany, Vered. "Prince Manggala—The Forgotten Prince of Anxi." *Asiatische Studien—Études Asiatiques* 71.4 (2017): 1169–1188.
- Simonsson, Nils. "Indo-tibetische Studien: Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie." PhD diss., University of Uppsala, 1957.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M 1224)." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 244–268 (plates x–x1). Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst. *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.
- Sinor, Denis. "Umay', a Mongol Spirit Honored by the Türks." In *Guo ji Zhongguo bian jiang xue shu hui yi lun wen ji* 國際中國邊疆學術會議論文集 / *Proceedings of the International Conference on China Border Area Studies, National Chengchi University, April 22–23, 1984*, edited by Lin Enxian 林恩顯, 1–7. Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue, 1985.
- Şirin User, Hatice. "Çolpan 'The Planet Venus' in Turkic." *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 19 (2014): 169–178.
- Skilling, Peter. "Relics: The Heart of Veneration." In *Relics and Relic Worship in Early Buddhism: India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Burma*, edited by Janice Stargardt and Michael Willis, 4–17. London: The British Museum, 2018.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor. "Eastern Iranian Epic Traditions I. Siyavas and Kunala." In *Mir Curad—Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, edited by Jay Jasanoff and Craig Melchert, 645–668. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1998.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor. *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*. London: The British Library, 2003.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor. *The Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras. The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. "Religion, Religions, Religious." In *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor, 269–284. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Snellgrove, David L. *Nine Ways of Bon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Snellgrove, David L. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*. Boston: Shambhala, 2002.

- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Divine Scrutiny of Human Morals in an Early Chinese Buddhist Sūtra: A Study of the *Si tianwang jing* (T. 590)." *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995): 44–83.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Esoteric Buddhism and Magic in China." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 197–207. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 155–175. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Textual Material Relating to Esoteric Buddhism in China Outside the *Taishō*." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, 37–70. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Buddho-Daoism in Medieval and Early Pre-modern China: A Report on Recent Findings Concerning Influences and Shared Religious Practices." *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 109–138.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Looting the Pantheon: On the Daoist Appropriation of Buddhist Divinities and Saints." *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 57–79.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Concerning the Role and Iconography of the Astral Deity Sudṛṣṭi (Miaojian 妙見) in Esoteric Buddhism." In *China and Beyond in the Medieval Period: Cultural Crossings and Inter-Regional Connections*, edited by Dorothy Wong and Gustav Heldt, 403–420. New Delhi, Singapore: Manohar, 2014.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in the Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c. 300–600 CE) and their Implications for the Rise and Development of Esoteric Buddhism." In *Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*, edited by Meir Shahar and Yael Bentor, 41–71. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "The Meeting of Daoist and Buddhist Spatial Imagination: The Construction of the Netherworld in Medieval China." In *Locating Religions: Contact, Diversity and Translocality*, edited by Reinhold F. Gleis and Nicholas Jaspers, 234–292. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Donors and Image at Dunhuang: A Case Study of OA 1919,0101,0.54." *Buddhist Road Paper* 4.1 (2019).
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Guiyijun and Buddhism at Dunhuang: a Year by Year Chronicle." *Buddhist Road Paper* 4.2 (2019).
- Sørensen, Henrik. "The Life and Times of Daozhen—a Saṃgha Leader and Monk Official in Dunhuang during the 10th Century." *Buddhist Road Paper* 5.3 (2020).
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Donors and Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang during the Reign of the Guiyijun." In *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 91–122. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

- Sørensen, Henrik H. "The Buddhist Temples in Dunhuang: Mid-8th to Early 11th Centuries." *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.2 (2021).
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Light on 'Art in the Dark': On Buddhist Practice and Worship in the Mogao Caves." *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.6 (2021).
- Sørensen, Henrik H. "Bodhidharma, Meditation, and Medicine: On the Message of a Fragmented Buddhist Medical Text from Dunhuang." *BuddhistRoad Paper* 3.1 (2023).
- Spiro, Melford. "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation." In *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, edited by Michael Banton, 85–126. London: Tavistock Publications, 1966.
- Stark, Sören. "The Arab Conquest of Bukhārā: Reconsidering Qutayba b. Muslim's Campaigns 87–90 H/706–709 C.E." *Der Islam* 95.2 (2018): 367–400.
- Stavsky, Boris J. "Buddha-Mazda from Kara-Tepe in Old Termez (Uzbekistan)." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 2.3 (1980): 89–94.
- Steavu, Dominic and Fabio Rambelli. "The Vicissitudes of the Mahāsammata in East Asia: The Buddhist Origin Myth of Kingship and Traces of a Republican Imagination." *The Medieval History Journal* 17 (2014): 207–227.
- Stein, Mark A. *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Stein, Marc A. *Ruins of Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1912.
- Stein, Marc A. *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.
- Stein, Rolf A. "Un document ancien relatif aux rites funéraires des Bon-po tibétains." *Journal Asiatique* 258 (1970): 155–185.
- Stein, Rolf A. "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang." In *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, edited by Ariane Macdonald, 476–547. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971.
- Stein, Rolf A. *Tibetan Civilization*. Translated by J. E. Stapleton Driver. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.
- Stein, Rolf. "A propos du mot gcug-lag et de la religion indigène." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985): 83–133.
- Stein, Rolf A. "Sudden Illumination or Simultaneous Comprehension: Remarks on Chinese and Tibetan Terminology." In *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, edited by Peter N. Gregory, 41–66. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987.
- Stein, Rolf. *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua with Additional Materials*, translated and edited by Arthur P. McKeown. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Stern, Samuel M. and Sofie Walzer, trans. *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories in an Arabic Version*. Oxford: Cassirer, 1971.

- Stevenson, Daniel B. "Buddhist Ritual in the Song." In *Modern Chinese Religion 1. Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960–1368 AD)*, edited by John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, 328–451. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Stoddard, Heather. "Early Tibetan Paintings: Sources and Styles (Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries AD)." *Archives of Asian Art* 49 (1996): 26–50.
- Storch, Tanya. *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography: Censorship and the Transformation of the Tripitaka*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2014.
- Strickmann, Michel. "The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origin of Printing." *Asia Major Third Series* 4.2 (1993): 1–83.
- Strickmann, Michel. *Histoire des syncrétismes religieux taoïstes et bouddhistes en Chine et au Japon*. Vol. III. *Chinese Magical Medicine: Therapeutic Rituals*. Thèse d'Ethnologie. Université Paris X. Nanterre, 1991 (unpublished ms.).
- Strickmann, Michel. *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.
- Strickmann, Michel and Bernard Faure. *Chinese Magical Medicine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Suchan, Tom and Henrik H. Sørensen. "The Talismanic Seal Incorporated: An Iconographic Note on Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan and the Significance of Seals within the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition." *Artibus Asiae* 73.2 (2013): 403–43.
- Sundermann, Werner. "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6 (1979): 95–133.
- Taenzer, Gertraud. *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule (787–848): A Study of the Secular Manuscripts Discovered in the Mogao Caves*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.
- Taenzer, Gertraud. "Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation." *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 239–281.
- Taishan, Yu. "A Study of Saka History." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 80 (1998): 179–184.
- Takahashi, Hidemi. "On Some Transcriptions of Syriac Names in Chinese-Language Jingjiao Documents." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, 13–34. Vienna, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013.
- Takahashi, Hidemi. "Transcriptions of Syriac in Chinese and Chinese in Syriac Script in the Tang Period." In *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, edited by Johannes den Heijer, 329–249. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

- Takahashi, Hidemi. "Representation of the Syriac Language in Jingjiao and Yelikewen Documents." In *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu and Glen L. Thompson, 23–92. Turnhout: Brepols Publisher, 2020.
- Takakusu, Junjirō. "The Name 'Messiah' Found in a Buddhist Book; the Nestorian Missionary Adam, Presbyter, Papas of China, Translating a Buddhist Sutra." *T'oung-Pao* 7 (1896): 589–591.
- Takeda kagaku shinkōzaidan 武田科学振興財, ed. *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 [Dunhuang Treasure Box], vol. 6. Osaka: Kyōu shoten 杏雨書店, 2009–2013.
- Takeuchi Tsuguhito. *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia*. Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan, 1995.
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito. "Glegs tshas: Writing Boards of Chinese Scribes in Tibetan-Ruled Dunhuang." In *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, edited by Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi, 101–110. Weisbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2013.
- Tanabe Tadashi. "The Dionysiac Imagery from the Mediterranean to Gandhāra." *Ancient Punjab* 8 (2020): 1–16.
- Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄. "Chūgoku ni okeru 'wuti toude' no henshen 中国における〈五体投地〉の変遷 [Transition of the 'wuti toude' in China]." *Buzan kyōgaku taikai kiyō* 豊山教学大会紀要 / *Memoirs of the Society for the Buzan Study* 24 (1996): 97–109.
- Tanaka Fumio 田中文雄. "'Wuti toude, ru taishanbeng' kō—Hairei no chūgokuteki tenkai 〈五體投地 如太山崩〉考—拜禮の中国的展開 [Study on 'Wuti toude, ru taishanbeng'—Chinese Evolvement of the Worshipping." *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 / *Journal of Eastern Religions* 89 (1997): 55–72.
- Tang, Li. *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and Its Literature in Chinese*. Frankfurt a.M., New York: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Tang, Li. "A History of Uighur Religious Conversions (5th–16th Centuries)." *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series* 44 (2005).
- Teiser, Stephen. *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Teiser, Stephen. "Terms of Friendship: Bylaws for Associations of Buddhist Laywomen in Medieval China." In *At the Shores of the Sky: Asian Studies for Albert Hoffstädt*, edited by Paul Kroll and Jonathan A. Silk, 154–172. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Tekin, Şinasi. *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980.
- Tekin, Talat. *Irk Bitig: The Book of Omens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Tekin, Talât. *Orhon Yazıtları* [Orkhon Inscriptions]. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2010.
- Tezcan, Semih, and Peter Zieme. "Alttürkische Reimsprüche. Ein neuer Text." *Journal of Turkology* 2.2 (1994): 259–271.
- Thieme, Paul. "Brāhman." In *Kleine Schriften*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1971.
- Thomas, Frederick W. *Nam, An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.

- Thomas, Frederick W. *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Thomsen, Vilhelm. "Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish 'Runic' Script from Miran and Tun-huang." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1912: 181–227.
- Thum, Rian. *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Tor, Deborah G. "The Islamization of Central Asia in the Sāmānid Era and the Reshaping of the Muslim World." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72.2 (2009): 279–299.
- Torgoev, Asan I. "Remennyye ukrasheniya Semirech'ya v–nachalo XIII vv. (voprosy khronologii)." PhD diss., University of Saint-Petersburg, 2011.
- Torgoev, Asan I., Alexey V. Kulish, Evgeny A. Kiy, and Valery A. Kolchenko. "The Buddhist Monastery of Krasnaya Rechka Settlement: The Main Findings 2010–2015." In *Urban Cultures of Central Asia from the Bronze Age to the Karakhanids: Learnings and Conclusions from New Archaeological Investigations and Discoveries. Proceedings of the First International Congress on Central Asian Archaeology Held at the University of Bern, 4–6 February 2016*, edited by Christoph Baumer and Mirko Novák, 349–364. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.
- Treadwell, Luke. "The Samanids: The First Islamic Dynasty of Central Asia." In *Early Islamic Iran*, edited by Edmund Herzig and Sarah Stewart, 3–15. London: Tauris, 2012.
- Tremblay, Xavier. "The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia—Buddhism Among Iranians, Tocharians and Turks before the 13th Century." In *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher, 75–129. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Tsering Gonkatsang, and Michael Willis. "Text and Translation." In *Bringing Buddhism to Tibet: History and Narrative in the Dba' bzhed Manuscript*, edited by Lewis Doney, 102–157. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*. Rome: IsMEO, 1950.
- Turanskaya, Anna and Ayşe Kılıç Cengiz. "Old Uyghur Blockprint of Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī in the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS." *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2 (2019): 19–38.
- Twitcheit, Denis. "Tibet in Tang's Grand Strategy." In *Warfare in Chinese History*, edited by Hans van de Ven, 106–179. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Uebach, Helga. *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phreñ-ba: Handschrift der Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Tibetischer Text in Faksimile, Transkription und Übersetzung*. Munich: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987.

- Uebach, Helga. "On Dharma-Colleges and Their Teachers in the Ninth Century Tibetan Empire." In *Indo-Sinica-Tibetica: Studi in Onore Di Lucian Petech*, edited by Paolo Daffina, 393–418. Rome: Bardi Editore, 1990.
- Uebach, Helga. "Khams in the Context of Tibet's Post Imperial Period." In *Tibet after Empire. Culture, Society and Religion between 850–1000*, edited by Christoph Cüppers, Michael Walter, and Robert Mayer, 393–415. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2013.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻. "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamō Hōjō no kenkyū 大蕃国大徳三蔵法師沙門法成の研究 [Research on Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet, Trepitaka Dharma Master, and Śramaṇa]." *Tōhō gaku hō Kyōtō* 東方学報 京都 / *Journal of Oriental Studies* (Kyoto) 38 (1967): 133–198; and 39 (1968): 119–222.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻. "Tonkō ni okeru zen no shosō 敦煌における禪の諸層 / Many Aspects of the Dun-huang Ch'an Documents." *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 / *The Journal of Ryukoku University* 421 (1982): 88–121.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻. "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron no shosō: 'Yinyuan xin shilun kaijie ji' o megutte 敦煌における因縁論の諸相—『因縁心釈論開決記』をめぐって / Tun-huang Manuscripts on Causation Theory 1." *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 / *Studies in Buddhism* 39–40 (1984): 50–86.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻. *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 [A Study of Dunhuang Buddhism]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻. "Tonkō monjo fūnyū kō 敦煌文書封入考 [A Study of the Sealing of the Dunhuang Documents]." *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 佛教学研究 / *Studies in Buddhism* 56 (2002): 19–31.
- Unterländer, Martina, et al. "Ancestry and Demography and Descendants of Iron Age Nomads of the Eurasian Steppe." *Nature Communications* 8 (2017).
- Utas, Bo. "The Jewish-Persian fragment from Dandān-Uiliq." *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968): 123–136.
- de la Vaissière, Étienne. *Sogdian Traders: A History*. Translated by James Ward. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Čakar." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2006. Accessed August 12, 2022. <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/cakar>.
- de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Central Asia and the Silk Road." In *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, edited by Scott F. Johnson, 142–169. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- de la Vaissière, Étienne. "Inherited Landscapes in Muslim Bactra." *Eurasian Studies* 16.1–2 (2018): 124–141.
- Vér, Márton. "Interregional Mobility in Eastern Central Asia as Seen in the Old Uyghur and Middle Mongolian Sources and the Mid-Fourteenth Century Crisis." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (forthcoming).

- Verardi, Giovanni. "Buddhism in North-Western India and Eastern Afghanistan, Sixth to Ninth Century AD." *ZINBUN: Annals of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University* 43 (2011): 147–183.
- Verhagen, Peter. "'Tools of the Trade' of the Tibetan Translators." In *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*, edited by Jim Rheingans, 182–196. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Verity, Jonathan E. "The Tidiness of Chaos: Tradition and Innovation in the Sadak Nyelam Dé Zhi Ritual at Triten Norbutsé." PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2014.
- Vitali, Roberto. *Early Temples of Central Tibet*. London: Serindia, 1990.
- Vovin, Alexander. "A Sketch of the Earliest Mongolic Language: the Brāhmī Bugut and Khüis Tolgoi Inscriptions." *International Journal of Eurasian Linguistics* 1 (2019): 162–197.
- Vovin, Alexander. "Groping in the Dark: The First Attempt to Interpret the Bugut Brāhmī Inscription." *Journal Asiatique* 307.1 (2019): 121–134.
- Walleser, M. *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources*. New Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1979 [1923]. Reprint of article from *Asia Major*, Hirth anniversary volume.
- Walser, Joseph. *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Walshe, Maurice. *Thus Have I Heard. The Long Discourses of the Buddha: Dīgha Nikāya*. London: Wisdom Publications, 1987.
- Walter, Michael L. *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Walter Michael L., and Christopher I. Beckwith. "The Dating and Interpretation of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions." *Central Asiatic Journal* 54.2 (2010): 291–319.
- Wan Fang 万方. "Guanyu Longmen shiku Yaofang dong yaofang de jige wenti 关于龙门石窟药方洞药方的几个问题 [A Number of Issues Regarding Medical Prescriptions in the Cave of Medical Prescriptions in the Longmen Caves]." *Hunan keji daxue xuebao* 湖南科技大学学报 [Journal of Hunan Technical University] 6 (1989): 74–78.
- Wang Chengwen 王承文. *Dunhuang gu Lingbao jing yu Jin Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 [The Old Lingbao Scriptures from Dunhuang and Daoism from the Jin to the Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002.
- Wang Jinyu 王進玉 (translated with Lu Di 蘆笛). "Images of Healing, Hygiene and the Cultivation of the Body in the Dunhuang 251 Cave Murals." In *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, edited by Vivienne Lo, Luo Weiqian, Penelope Barrett, David Dear, Lu Di, Lois Reynolds, and Dolly Yang, 251–270. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Wang Ka 王卡. *Dunhuang daojiao wenxian yanjiu* 敦煌道教文獻研究 [Studies in the Daoist Texts from Dunhuang]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004.
- Wang, Michelle. "Dunhuang Art." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-173>.

- Wang Se 王瑟. "Pami'er gaoyuan baihuojiao yizhi xin faxian 帕米尔高原拜火教遗址 [New Discovery of Zoroastrian Ruins in the Pamir Plateau]." *Zhongguo kaogu wang* 中国考古网 [Chinese Archaeology Network]. Accessed April 18, 2021. <http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/xccz/20161221/56556.html>.
- Watkins, Calvert. *How to Kill a Dragon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Watson, James L., and Evelyn S. Rawski. *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Weinstein, Stanley. *Buddhism under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Wen, Xin. "Two Khotanese Account Tablets and Local Society in Pre-Islamic Khotan." *Central Asiatic Journal* 63.1–2 (2020): 191–238.
- Wendtland, Antje. "Zum manichäischen Ursprung sogdischer Lehnwörter in buddhistischen uigurischen Texten: Gab es ein manichäisches religiöses Vokabular im Sogdischen?" In *Der östliche Manichäismus im Spiegel seiner Buch- und Schriftkultur: Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 11./12. März 2015*, edited by Zekine Özertural and Gökhan Şilfeler, 141–150. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.
- Wick, Peter, and Volker Rabens, ed., *Religions and Trade: Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange between East and West*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Wilkens, Jens. *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 8: Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000.
- Wilkens, Jens. "Ein manichäischer Alptraum?" In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 319–348. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009.
- Wilkens, Jens. "Zwischen Historiografie und Ideologie: Der literarische Charakter der alttürkischen Runeninschriften." In *Geschichten und Geschichte: Historiographie und Hagiographie in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, edited by Peter Schalk, 280–325. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2010.
- Wilkens, Jens. "Sacred Space in Uyghur Buddhism." In *Buddhism in Central Asia I—Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 189–203. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Wilkens, Jens. "Magic, Sorcery and Related Terms in Early Turkic." In *Historical Linguistics and Philology of Central Asia: Essays in Turkic and Mongolic Studies*, edited by Bayarma Khabtagaeva, 201–226. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Wilkens, Jens. "Practice and Rituals in Uyghur Buddhist Texts: A Preliminary Appraisal." In *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practices and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, edited by Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen, 430–464. Leiden: Brill, 2022.
- Willis, Michael. *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*. London: British Museum Press, 2000.

- Willis, Michael. "Offerings to the Triple Gem: Texts Inscriptions and Ritual Practice." In *Relics and Relic Worship in Early Buddhism: India, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Burma*, edited by Janice Stargardt and Michael Willis, 66–73. London: British Museum Press, 2018.
- Winter, Werner. "Tocharian B ñakte, A ñkät 'God': two Nouns, their Derivatives, their Etymology." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 15 (1987): 297–328.
- Wu Chi-yu 吳其昱. "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōjō denkō 大蕃国大德 三藏法師 法成伝考 [Considering the Life of Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet and Trepiṭaka Dharma Master]." Translated by Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 and Higuchi Masaru 樋口勝. In *Tonkō to Chūgoku bukkyō 敦煌と中国仏教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism]*, edited by Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅, 383–414. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984.
- Wu, Hung. *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Cong 'Dazang jing' suoshou fojing zhong kan daojiao xing-dou chongbai dui fojiao zhi yingxiang 從大正藏所收佛經中看道教星斗崇拜對佛教之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Astral Lore on Buddhism to be Found in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Taishō Tripitaka]." *Taizhong shangzhuān xuebao 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Journal of Taizhong Business School]* 23 (1991): 105–156.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Daojiao fulu zhuyin dui fojiao mizong zhi yingxiang 道教符籙咒印對佛教密宗之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Talismanic Documents and Spell Seals on Esoteric Buddhism]." *Taizhong shangzhuān xuebao 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School]* 24 (1992): 51–87.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. *Daojiao yu mizong 道教與密宗 [Daoism and Esoteric Buddhism]*. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1993.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dian ji 道教術儀與密教典籍 [Daoist Ritual Lore and Its Influence on Esoteric Buddhist Books]*. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1994.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Dunhuang xiejuan Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing suojian de daojiao xixiang 敦煌寫卷 佛說淨度三昧經 所見的道教思想 [The Dunhuang Manuscripts of the *Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing* wherein One may See Daoist Concepts]." In *Quanguo Dunhuang xue yantao hui lunwen ji 全國敦煌學研討會論文集 [Collected Essays of the National Seminar for Dunhuang Studies]* (no editor given), 181–200. Jiayixian, Taiwan: Zhongzheng daxue, 1995.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Dunhuang xiejuan suojian shou daojiao bigu shiqi sixiang yingxiang de fojing 敦煌寫卷所見受道教避穀食氣思想影響的佛經 [On the Influence of the Daoist Ideas of Grain-Avoidance and Ingesting Qi in Buddhist Scriptures as Seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts]." *Zongjiao xue yanjiu 宗教學研究 [Research in Religious Studies]* 2 (2002): 1–13.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. *Laozi sixiang yanjiu 老子思想研究 [A Study of Laozi's Thought]*. Taipei: Qingsong chubanshe, 2013.

- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Laozi sixiang dui Dong Han fojiao yijingshi An Shigao yijing zhi yingxiang 老子思想對東漢佛教譯經師安世高譯經之影響 [On the Impact of Laozi's Thought on An Shigao's Translations of Buddhist Scriptures]." *Zongjiao zhexue* 宗教哲學 [Studies in Religion and Philosophy] 63 (2013): 55–66.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Daojiao Siming Silu xitong dui fojiao jian zhai ji Shan E' tongzi shuo zhi yingxiang 道教司命司錄系統對佛教檢齋及善惡童子說之影響 [On the Influence of the System of Siming and Silu in Daoism on the Buddhist Repast for Inspection and the Discourse on the Lads of Good and Evil]." Accessed June 5, 2021. <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-AN/119595.pdf>.
- Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福. "Daojiao shou gengshen dui fojiao jingji zhi yingxiang 道教守庚申對佛經籍之影響 [The Influence of the Daoist *shou gengshen* on Buddhist Scriptures]." Accessed June 5, 2021. <http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MAG/119594.pdf>.
- Xie Jisheng 謝繼勝, and Huang Weizhou 黃維忠. "Yulin ku di 25 ku bihua zangwen tiji xiedu 榆林窟第 25 窟壁畫藏文題記稟讀 [A Textual Research on the Tibetan Inscription on the Fresco of Yulin Cave 25]." *Wenwu* 文物 [Cultural Artefacts] 4 (2007): 70–78.
- Xie, Shiwei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoist Tradition." PhD diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 2005.
- Xie Shiwei 謝世維. "Lidou fa de lishi yu jin xiandai de douke 禮斗法的歷史與近現代的斗科 [The History of the Method for Worshipping the Great Dipper and Contemporary Dipper Customs]." Special Project Report, National Chengchi University, 2015. Accessed June 20, 2021. <https://ah.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/15426/1/104-2410-H-004-185.pdf>.
- Xuanzang. *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*. Translated by Li Rongxi. California: BDK America, Inc., 2006.
- Yakup, Abdurishid. *Altürkische Handschriften Teil 15: Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung Teil 3: Stabreimdichtungen, Kalendarisches, Bilder, unbestimmte Fragmente und Nachträge*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009.
- Yamada, Toshiaki. "Longevity in the *Lingbao wufuxu*." In *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, edited by Livia Kohn, 97–122. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1989.
- Yang Fuxue and Zhang Haijuan. "Mongol Rulers, Yugur Subjects, and Tibetan Buddhism." In *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar, 377–386. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Yang Zhaohua. "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchusma in Tang China." PhD diss., Stanford University, 2013.
- Yatsenko, Sergei A. "Yuezhi on Bactrian Embroidery from Textiles Found at Noyon Uul, Mongolia." *The Silk Road* 10 (2012): 39–48.

- Ye, Shaoyong. "Nāgārjuna." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, edited by Jonathan A. Silk, Vincent Eltschinger, Richard Bowring, and Michael Radich, 335–347. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit. "Towards Reconstructing a Medieval Library of Eurasian Medical Knowledge: Two Accidental (?) Case-Studies." Paper presented at the conference: "Establishing of Buddhist Nodes in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th c.—Part III: Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences and Doctrines," Ruhr University Bochum, July 12th–14th, 2021.
- Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit. *ReOrienting Histories of Medicine: Encounters on the Silk Roads*. London: Bloomsbury, 2021.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "Further Remarks on the Sino-Uighur Problem." *Gaikokugaku kenkyū* 外国学研究 / *Annals of Foreign Studies* 45 (2000): 1–11.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "On the Sogdian Prātihārya-Sūtra and the Related Problems." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.2 (2019): 141–163.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "Sogdian Version of the Bugut Inscription Revisited." *Journal Asiatique* 307.1 (2019): 97–108.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "Studies of the Karabalgasun Inscription: Edition of the Sogdian Version." *Modern Asian Studies Review* 11 (2020): 1–140.
- Yoshida, Yutaka. "Some Problems Surrounding Sogdian Esoteric Texts and the Buddhism of Semirech'e." *Teikyō daigaku bunkazai kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* 帝京大学文化財研究所研究報告 / *Bulletin of Research Institute of Cultural Properties, Teikyo University* 19 (2020): 193–203.
- Yu, Wen. "Review: Nam, An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland by F.W. Thomas." *T'oung Pao* 40 (1950): 199–207.
- Yu, Xin. "Personal Fate and the Planets: A Documentary and Iconographical Study of Astrological Divination at Dunhuang, Focusing on the 'Dhāraṇī Talisman for Offerings to Ketu and Mercury, Planetary Deity of the North.'" *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 163–190.
- Zarcone, Thierry "Between Legend and History: About the 'Conversion' to Islam of Two Prominent Lamaists in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries." In *Islam and Tibet—Interactions along the Musk Routes*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 281–292. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.
- Zhang, He. "Figurative and Inscribed Carpets from Shanpula-Khotan: Unexpected Representations of the Hindu God Krishna: A Preliminary Study." *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 5 (2010): 59–73.
- Zhang, He. Zhang "Krishna Iconography in Khotan Carpets—Spread of Hindu Religious Ideas in Xinjiang, China, Fourth-Seventh Century CE." *Indian Journal of History of Science* 51.4 (2016): 659–668.
- Zhang Jingfeng 張景峰. "Dunhuang Mogao ku de yingku ji yingxiang—you xin faxian de di 476 ku tanqi 敦煌莫高窟的影窟及影像—由新發現的第 476 窟談起

- [Dunhuang Mogao Caves' Shadow Caves and Shadow Images—Discussion on the Newly Discovered Cave 476].” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 3 (2006): 107–115.
- Zhang Ruixian 張瑞賢, Wang Jiakui 王家葵, and Michael Stanley-Baker. “Clinical Medicine Texts: The Earliest Stone Medical Inscription.” In *Imagining Chinese Medicine*. Edited by Vivienne Lo, Penelope Barrett, David Dear, Lu Di, Lois Reynolds, and Dolly Yang, 373–389. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Zhang Tieshan, and Peter Zieme. “A Memorandum about the King of the On Uygur and his Realm.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64.2 (2011): 129–159.
- Zhang Tieshan, and Peter Zieme. “An Old Uigur Version of the Kasibhāradvāja Sutta Extended by a Poem.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.2 (2019): 179–206.
- Zhang Xiantang 張先堂. “Zhongguo gudai fojiao sanbao gongyang—jiantan Dunhuang Mogao ku cangjing dong de fengbi yuanyin 中國古代佛教三寶供養與經像瘞埋—兼談敦煌莫高窟藏經洞的封閉原因 [Offerings to the Three Jewels in Ancient Chinese Buddhism and the Burial of Scriptures and Images—Also on the Reasons for the Sealing of Cave 17].” *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Research Annual Report] 10.2 (2016): 253–273.
- Zhang Zhan 張湛 and Shi Guang 時光. “Yijian xinfaxian Youtai-Bosiyu xinzhā de duandai yu shidu 一件新發現猶太波斯語信笥的斷代與釋讀 [A Newly-Discovered Judeo-Persian Letter]” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 [Research on Dunhuang and Turfan] 11 (2008): 71–99.
- Zhang Zong. “Comment le bodhisattva Dizang est parvenu à gouverner les Dix Rois des Enfers.” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 265–292.
- Zhao, Feng, Helen Wang, Helen Persson, Frances Wood, Wang Le, Xu Zheng eds. *Textiles from Dunhuang in UK Collections*. Shanghai: Donghua University Press, 2007.
- Zhao Xiaoxing 趙曉星. “Mogao ku Tubo shiqi ta, ku chuizhi zuhexing shitan xi 莫高窟吐蕃時期塔, 窟垂直組合形式探析 [An Analysis of the Vertically Combined Pagoda-caves at the Mogao Caves during the Tibetan Era].” *Zhongguo zangxue* 中國藏學 / *China Tibetology* 3 (2012): 94–98.
- Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林 and Dang Xinling 黨新玲. “Tang dai Dunhuang seng yi kao 唐代敦煌僧醫考 [Concerning Monks and Medicine in Dunhuang during the Tang Dynasty].” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 20 (1995): 31–46.
- Zhou Xipo 周西波. “Dunhuang daojiao zhaiwen de neirong yu yiyi 敦煌道教齋文的內容與意義 [The Content and Meaning of Daoist Meagre Feast Texts in Dunhuang].” *Wenxue xinyao* 文學新鑰 [New Keys to Textual Studies] 13 (2011): 61–86.
- Zieme, Peter. “Singqu Säli Tutung—Übersetzer buddhistischer Schriften ins Uigurische.” In *Tractata Altaica: Denis Sinor, sexagenario optime de rebus Altaicis merito dedicata*, edited by Walther Heissig and Denis Sinor, 767–775. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976.

- Zieme, Peter. "Die Vorrede zum altuigurischen Goldglanz-Sūtra von 1022." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (1989): 237–243.
- Zieme, Peter. "Zur alttürkischen *Bhaişajyagurusūtra*-Übersetzung." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16 (1989): 198–200.
- Zieme, Peter. *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.
- Zieme, Peter. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qoço: Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992.
- Zieme, Peter. "Die alttürkischen Planetennamen." In *Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen: Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums Berlin, 7. bis 10. Juli 1992*, edited by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Marek Stachowski, 199–204. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995.
- Zieme, Peter. "Runik harfli birkaç pasaj üzerine kimi yorum önerileri [Some Proposals for a Solution Concerning Some Passages in Runic Script]." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı—Belleten* 2000 [Yearbook of Researches on the Turkic Language—Bulletin 2000] (2001): 377–382.
- Zieme, Peter. "Some Bilingual Manuscripts of the Xuanzang Biography." In *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism: In Memoriam Kōgi Kudara*, edited by Peter Zieme, 475–483. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Zieme, Peter. "Notes on the Religions in the Mongol Empire." In *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, edited by Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, 177–188. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.
- Zieme, Peter. "Baizikelike chutude 'Xuanzang zhuan' huihuyu yiben xincanpian 柏孜克里克出土的《玄奘传》回鹘语译本新残片 / A New Manuscript of the Old Uigur Translation of the Xuanzang Biography among the Bezeklik Fragments." Translated by Wang Ding, *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐鲁番学研究 / *Turfanological Research* 2 (2011): 142–144.
- Zieme, Peter. "Mānistān 'Kloster' und manichäische Kolophone." In *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, edited by Team "Turfanforschung," 737–754. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.
- Zieme, Peter (Cimo 茨默, trans. Wang Ding). "Youguan Monijiao kaijiao Huihu de yijian xin shiliao 有关摩尼教回鹘的一件新史料 [On a New Uighur Source on the Propagation of Manichaeism]." *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 2009.3: 1–7, incl. 1 pl.
- Zieme, Peter. "Fragmente von Erzählungen, Sprichwörtern und Reimsprüchen aus der altuigurischen Zeit." *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü dergisi / Journal of Social Sciences* 13 (2013): 473–496.

- Zieme, Peter. "Die Lehre des Buddha und das Königshaus des Westuigurischen Reichs: Die vier Begegnungen." *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 4.2 (2020).
- Zieme, Peter. "Nachträge zu 'Die Lehre des Buddha und das Königshaus des Westuigurischen Reichs: Die vier Begegnungen.'" *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 5.1 (2021): 195–204.
- Zieme, Peter. "Merit Transfer and Vow According to an Old Uyghur Buddhist Text from Qočo/Gaochang." *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenyūjo nenpō reiwa ninendo* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報令和二年度 / *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology (ARIBAB) at Soka University for the Academic Year 2020 24* (2021): 217–229.

Index of Deities and Buddhas

- Ahura Mazda 70–71
Amitābha 207–209
Aparājita 66
Ärklig Han, a.k.a. the Righteous Official
(OU *köni buryuk*) 108–110, 122
Avalokiteśvara 160, 166, 207–209, 353
Thousand-armed and Thousand-eyed
Avalokiteśvara 353
- Bhaiṣajyaguru 356
Bounteous Devotion (Av. Spəntā
Ärmaiti) 71
Brahmā 81, 107, 157
- Dark Lady (Chin. Xuannü 玄女) of
Daoism 152
- eight protector gods (Kh. *hastā parvālā*) 66,
82, 85
- four heavenly kings (Chin. *Si tian wang*
四天王, Tib. *rgyal po bzhi*) 157, 203
- Gaganasvara 66, 86, 87
gandharvas (Tib. *dri za*) 203
ghost (Skt. *bhūta*) 71
non-human ghosts (Tib. *mi ma yin*, Skt.
amanuṣya-bhūta) 199
Gṛhāvatapta 66
God of the Hearth (Chin. Zaoshen
竈神) 151
God of the Pole Star (Chin. Taiyi 太一) 157
God of the Soil (Chin. Tushen 土神) 151
Gods of the Great Dipper 151
- Hārītī 71, 82, 85, 98
Heavenly Spirit Lady, Bell Tinkling
Alpine Spirit (Tib. lHa za Dril bu sil bu
sman) 191
Heavenly Worthies (Chin. *tianzun*
天尊) 151
Holy Tāņrikān (OU *bir idok t(ä)ņrikān*) 120
- Jingyi Bodhisattva (Chin. Jingyi pusa 淨意
菩薩, Skt. *Śuddhamati) 303
- Kṣitigarbha 153–155
- Lads of Good and Evil (Chin. Shan E'tongzi
善惡童子) 152–154, 157
Light Nous (OU *nom kuti*) 120
Lord Mani (OU *m(a)rmani*) 120
Lord of Taishan (Chin. Taishan jun
泰山君) 151
Lord Wenchang (Chin. Wenchang jun
文昌君) 153
- Maitreya 44, 59, 79, 102, 113, 278
Mañjuśrī 203, 205, 351
- Nana 77
- Padmasambhava. *See under List of Personal
Names*
- Red Peacock (Phoenix) 159
- Śakra 107
Śākyamuni 79, 370
Saṃjñin (LMC *Sanchi 散脂) 66, 82, 85
Sarasvatī 81
Śilāditya 202
Silu (司錄) 153–154
Siming (司命) 154, 350
Śiva/Maheśvara 79–81
Sky God Tāņri 95–96, 102, 122
South Clan Lady, Bell Ringing Alpine Spirit
(Tib. lHo za Dril bu sil sil sman) 191
spirit/imperishable factor in a human being
(OU *üzit*) 101
alpine spirits (Tib. *sman*) 191–193, 197,
203–204, 208, 210
blood-thirsty spirit (Tib. *srin*) (also a
translation of Skt. *rākṣasa*) 191–192,
234
celestial spirits (Tib. *gnam gyl lde*) 202
chthonic spirit (Tib. *klu*) (also a
translation for Skt. *nāga*) 200, 212,
242, 244, 248, 252
demonic spirit (Tib. *bdud*) 192
directional spirits 159

- spirit/imperishable factor (*cont.*)
- earth-lord spirit (Tib. *sa bdag*) 224, 242, 246–248
 - ferocious spirit (Tib. *btsan*) 248
 - fierce spirit (Tib. *gnyan*) 8, 212, 218, 224, 242, 248–253
 - heavenly spirit (Tib. *lha*) (also a general term for deity corresponding to Skt. *deva*) 191–193, 195, 197, 199–200, 202–204, 208, 210, 218, 236, 239, 248
 - heavenly spirit of the region (Tib. *yul lha*) 203
 - heavenly and lord spirits of the region (Tib. *yul lha yul bdag*, lit. ‘land-god land-owner’) 197
 - life-giving heavenly spirits (Tib. *srid pa'i lha*) 191
 - local spirit (Tib. *yul sa*) 187, 204, 248
 - lord spirit of the region (Tib. *yul bdag*) 203–204, 208
 - protective spirit (OU *kut wahšik*) 99
 - rock spirit (Tib. *gtod*) 212, 242, 245
 - spirits and demons (OU *üzüt yäklär*) 101
 - spirit of untimely death (Tib. *dri*) 191–192, 233
 - spirit of untimely death ritual(ist) (Tib. *dri bon*) 237
 - troublesome spirit (Tib. *lha 'dre*) 208, 228
 - Sūrya, the Sun God 70
 - Taishang Laojun (Chin. Taishang Laojun 太上老君) 151
 - Three Pure Ones (Chin. Sanqing 三清) 165
 - Umay 96–98, 102, 122
 - Vairocana 205–206
 - Vaiśravaṇa 66, 71, 81–85, 152, 171–172
 - Vajrapāṇi 205
 - Virgin of the Light, Maiden of Light or Light Maiden (Chin. Dianguangming 電光明, Dianming 電明, OU *yašin t(ä)ṅri k(a)ni rošn t(ä)ṅri*) 120
 - Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva 78–81
 - Yama 107–110, 134, 153
 - Yellow Emperor (Chin. Huangdi 黃帝) 152
 - Zhen Wu (真武) 151

Index of Dynasties, Kingdoms, and Empires

- Abbasid Dynasty (750–1258) 19–28, 32–34, 42, 63
- Azha (Tib. A zha)/Tuyuhun (吐谷渾)
Kingdom (284–670) 258–259, 264, 269, 271, 284–286
- Byzantium (331–1453) 16, 28–29, 59
- East Uyghur Kaganate (ca. 744–840) 91–96, 106, 115–116, 121
- Ghaznavid Dynasty (977–1186) 30, 33–34
- Golden Horde (1260–1502) 40, 42, 49, 51–55
- Guiyijun (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army) 267, 275, 347, 379, 381
- Huichang era (840–845, 會昌) 267
- Jurchen Dynasty (1115–1234, in Chinese sources known as Jin 金) 36
- Kara Khitai (ca. 1124–1216, in Chinese sources known as Xiliao 西遼) 36–41
- Karakhanid Kaganate (999–1211) 28–39, 55, 58, 63–64
- Kingdom of Khotan (ca. 1st c.?–1006) 30, 65
- Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources known as Liao 遼) 27, 29, 32, 39
- Kuṣāṇa Dynasty (ca. 1st–mid-3rd c.) 78
- Later Tang Dynasty (923–935, 後唐) 379
- Ming Dynasty (1368–1644, 明) 57–58, 270
- Mongol Empire (13th/14th c.) 15, 41–42, 60, 63, 227
See also Yuan Dynasty
- Mongolian period (13th–14th c.) of Uyghurs in the Turfan area 350–357, 363–368, 371–372
- Mughal Dynasty (1526–1858) 58
- Nanzhao Kingdom (738–902, 南詔) 266
- Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) 145, 148, 159, 180
- Northern Song (960–1126, 北宋) 32
- Qing Dynasty (1644–1912, 清) 15
- Samanid Dynasty (888–999) 28–30
- Sasanian Empire (224–651) 16–18
- Second Türk Kaganate (ca. 682–744) 94–96, 115
- Seljuk Empire (1037–1194) 28
- Song Dynasty (960–1279, 宋) 27, 31
- Southern Song (1127–1279, 南宋) 40, 161
- Sui Dynasty (581–618, 隋) 16
- Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) 9, 16–17, 141, 145, 161, 249–250, 259, 265, 292, 347, 350–351, 381–382
- Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) 8, 27–31, 38, 177, 257, 268–269, 295, 315, 385–387
- Tibetan Empire (ca. 7th c.–842, Tib. Bod chen po) 7–8, 16, 27, 186–188, 193, 196–199, 206, 212–215, 219–221, 226–228, 231–232, 240–242, 249–254, 257–259, 267–274, 280, 295, 347
- Timurid period (1370–1501) 46, 51
- Tsongkha Kingdom (ca. 1015?–early 12th c.) 32
- Tuyuhun (吐谷渾) Kingdom (284–670). *See* Azha
- Umayyad Dynasty (661–750) 18–21, 25, 36
- West Uyghur Kingdom (second half 9th c.–13th c.) 6, 90–96, 105–106, 113–116, 351, 368
- Western Turk (583–659, 西突厥) 16–19, 58, 95
- Xiliao 西遼. *See* Kara Khitai
- Xixia 西夏. *See* Tangut Empire
- Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) 40–42, 49, 91, 94, 177, 336

Index of Personal Names

- Abo Yangel (Tib. A bo ya ngal) 238
Abū Muslim (d. 755) 20–23
Agathocles (r. 190–180 BCE) 79
Aḥmad Kāsānī (1461–1542) 61
Aḥmad Yasawī (d. ca. 1166) 52
‘Alā’ al-Dīn Simnānī (d. 1336) 44–45
al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (r. 694–714) 18
al-Māmūn (r. 813–833) 26–28
al-Marghinānī (d. 1196) 51–52
al-Muqanna’ (‘the Veiled One’, d. ca. 783) 34
al-Mu’taṣim (r. 833–842) 26
al-Sakkākī (d. 1229) 52
al-Shahristānī (d. 1153) 26
Altan Khan (r. 1571–1582) 61
Aluoben (fl. middle of 7th c., 阿羅本) 129
al-Walīd (r. 705–715) 18–19
Amoghavajra (705–774, Chin. Bukong 不空) 161, 350–351, 360, 369
Ānanda 284, 298, 370
An Lushan (703–757, 安祿山) 23–24, 265, 350
Ashina clan 33
Aśoka (r. ca. 268–232 BCE) 83, 202

Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 1273) 52
Bābūr (1483–1530) 58
Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389) 60
Bahram Chobin (r. 590–591) 28
Bal’amī (d. 997) 29
Bayan Quli (r. 1347–1357), a.k.a. ‘Puppet Khan’ 56
Berke (r. 1257–1267) 51
Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530) 174–175
Bodhiruci (d. 727, Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流支) 303, 360, 369
Bönshin shendak (Tib. Bon gshin gshen drag) 192
Bügü Kagan (759–779, Chin. Mouyu 牟羽) 91, 93
Bung Dzéweng (d.u., Tib. Bung Dze weng) 398

Chaghadai (d. 1242) 42
Changshi (r. 1335–1337) 50

Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–1227) 38, 42–44, 48, 50, 53, 57

Dānaśīla (fl. early 9th c.) 298
Daozhen (ca. 915–ca. 987, 道真) 375, 384, 393–394, 399
Dezong (r. 779–805, 德宗) 137, 144
Dharmaśrī (d.u., lit. ‘venerable in the *dharma*’) 50
Drakjor Shérab (Tib. Grags ’byor shes rab) 298
Drigum Tsenpo (r. ca. 200 BCE, Tib. Dri gum btsan po) 196
Du Huan (fl. 751–762, 杜環) 24
Du’a (r. 1282–1307) 50
Dughlat tribe 57

Eljigidei (r. 1327–1330) 50
Esen Khan (d. 1455) 61

Firdawsī (d. 1019 or 1025) 29, 33

Gao Xianzhi (d. 756, Kor. Ko Sönji, 高仙芝) 21, 23
Gaozong (r. 649–683, 高宗) 129
Gaozu (r. 618–626, 高祖) 143
Go Chödrup (Tib. ’Go Chos grub). *See* Wu Facheng
Gö Lotsaba Zhönnupel (1392–1481, Tib. Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal) 281
Gongpa Rapsel (892–975, Tib. dGongs pa Rab gsal) 257, 267–271, 279–284, 288, 290
Great Khan Güyük (r. 1246–1248) 43
Great Khan Möngke (r. 1251–1259) 44, 50–52
Guṇabhadra (394–468, Chin. Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅) 325
Gyelmo Yudra Nyingpo (fl. 8th c., Tib. rGyal mo g.Yu sgra snying po) 206

Ḥāfiz al-Dīn al-Kabīr (d. 1294) 51
Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–909) 25–26
Herodotus (fl. 5th c. BCE) 68–75
Hishām (r. 724–743) 25

- Hongbian or Wu Sanzang (d. 862, 洪辯, 吳三藏, Tib. Hong pen) 9, 374–384, 388–398
- Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 998) 26
- Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) 29
- Ilkhan Arghun (r. 1284–1291) 45
- Ilkhan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) 45
- Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316) 45
- Jiaosiluo (997–1065, 角厮囉) 268
- Jñānadatta (d.u., Chin. Zhiwei 智威) 305
- Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–ca. 795) 263, 266, 303, 314–319, 326–328, 336, 343–344
- Khālid ibn Barmak 25
- Khiḍr Khan (r. 1389–1399) 57–58
- Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294) 61
- Khwāja Aḥrār (1404–1490) 60–61
- Khyungpo Lodrö Gyeltsen (fl. 14th c., Tib. Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan) 282
- King Prasenajit 370
- Kuiji (632–682, 窥基) 337
- Kumāralāta (fl. 3rd c.) 78
- Kūngawo (Tib. Kun dga' bo, Skt. Ānanda) 284
- Liang Wudi (r. 502–549, 梁武帝) 269
- Longam (Tib. Lo ngam) 196
- Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī (ca. 1020–1070) 98
- Mani (ca. 216–276/277) 91, 98, 113
- Manšūr (1485–1543) 58
- Mas'ūd Beg (d. 1289) 52
- Mīrzā Ḥaydar (fl. 16th c.) 58–59
- Moheyan (fl. second half of 8th c., 摩訶衍) 263, 266
- Muḥammad ibn Qāsim (695–715) 19
- Muḥammad Khan (r. 1408–1416) 59
- Nāgārjuna (fl. ca. 150–250) 152, 296–298, 303–305, 319, 324
- Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1220) 52
- Namké Nyingpo (fl. early 9th c., Tib. Nam ka'i snying po) 278–280, 293
- Narendrayaśas (517–589, Chin. Naliantiyeshē 那連提耶舍) 65
- Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī 54
- Naṣr ibn Sayyār (r. 738–748) 19
- Nelpa Paṅḍita Drakpa Mönlam Lodrö (fl. 13th c., Nel pa paNDi ta, Grags pa sMon lam blo gros) 270
- Nem Ganden Jangchup (fl. 9th/10th c., Tib. Nem dGa' ldan byang chub) 271
- Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682, Tib. Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho) 209
- Nupchen Sangyé Yéshé (ca. 844 to mid-10th c., Tib. gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes) 267, 280, 288
- Nyangrel Nyima Özer (1124–1192, Tib. Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer) 281
- Nyatri Tsenpo (Tib. Nya gri/Nyag khri btsan po) 195–196, 207, 209
- Odé Pugyel (Tib. 'O lde spu rgyal) 195, 207
- Padmasambhava 208, 209, 210, 211, 229, 278
- Pelgyi Gyeltsen (fl. 9th c., Tib. dPal gyi rgyal mtshan) 278
- Phakpa (1235–1280, Tib. 'Gro mgon Chos rgyal 'Phags pa) 61
- Ponsé Khyung Götsel (fl. 1175, Tib. dPon gsas Khyung rgod rtsal) 243
- Prajñā (744–ca. 810, Chin. Banruo 般若) 125
- Prince Ananda (d. 1307) 46
- Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) 18, 45–46, 54
- Pudé Gunggyel (Tib. sPu lde gung rgyal) 196
- Qutayba ibn Muslim (r. 705–715) 18
- Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) 44–46, 64
- Relpachen (Tib. Ral pa can). *See* Tri Tsugdétse
- Rinchen Zangpo (ca. 985–1055, Tib. Rin chen bzang po) 218
- Rudakī (d. 941) 29
- Şāhib al-Hidāya al-Marghinānī (d. 1197) 51
- Sa'īd Khan (1486–1533) 58
- Śāntaraḡṣita (8th–9th century) 201, 303
- Śāriputra 370
- Satuq Bughra Khan (d. 955) 30–32
- Sayf al-Dīn Bākhari (d. 1261) 51–52

- Senavarman (fl. 1st c.) 79
 Shams al-A'imā al-Kardārī (d. 1244) 51
 Shenchen Luga (996–1035, Tib. gShen chen
 Klu dga') 243
 Shenhui (670–760, 神會) 329
 Shenrab Miwo (Tib. gShen rab mi bo) 244–
 249, 253
 Shenzong (1048–1085, 神宗) 32
 Shi Siming (703–761, 史思明) 350
 Śikṣānanda (652–710, Chin. Shichanantuo
 實叉難陀) 325
 Śilendrabodhi (fl. early 9th c.) 298
 Šiṅko Šāli Tutuṅ (fl. second half of 10th c./
 beginning of 11th c.) 356–358, 363,
 366–372
 Song Yūn (fl. 6th c., 宋雲) 67
 Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735, Chin. Shanwuwei
 善無畏) 153, 360
 Sulaymān al-Khutānī (fl. ca. 1119) 36

 Taizong (r. 626–649, 太宗) 129, 142–143
 Tang Wuzong (r. 840–846, 唐武宗) 142,
 144
 Tankuang (ca. 700–ca. 785, 曇曠) 337
 Tarmashirin Khan (r. 1331–1334) 55
 Timūr-i lang (r. 1370–1405), a.k.a. Temūr the
 Lame 56
 Tri Désongtsen (r. ca. 802–815, Tib. Khri lDe
 srong brtsan) 195
 Tri Songdetsen (742–ca. 800, Tib. Khri Srong
 lde brtsan) 198–208, 214, 223, 227

 Tri Tsugdetsen (r. 815–841, Tib. Khri gTsug
 lde brtsan), a.k.a. Relpachen (Tib. Ral pa
 can) 266, 270
 Tughluq Temūr Khan (r. 1347–1353) 51–52,
 55
 Vasubandhu 305

 Wang Yuanlu (ca. 1849–1931, 王圓籙) 373,
 380
 Wöñch'ük (613–696, 圓測) 307, 337
 Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成, Tib. 'Go
 Chos grub) 9, 296, 299, 301, 384, 392
 Wuzhu (714–774, 無住) 265–266, 290

 Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘) 82, 103, 114,
 129, 141, 307, 359, 368

 Yahyā ibn Khālid (733/737–805) 26
 Yangel Gyimkong (d.u., Tib. Ya ngal gyim
 kong) 238
 Yéshé Dé (mid-8th c.–early 9th c., Tib. Ye shes
 sde) 298, 329
 Yisün Temūr (r. 1337–1339/40) 50
 Yixing (673–727, 一行) 179
 Yuanzhao (fl. second half of 8th c.,
 圓照) 125

 Zhai Fengda (ca. 881–961?, 翟奉達) 178
 Zhang Tri Sumjé (fl. 8th/9th c., Tib. Zhang
 Khri Sum rje, Chin. Shang Qilüxin'er
 尚起律心兒) 279–280

Index of Places

- Afghanistan 14, 17, 28, 54, 79, 390
Ak Beshim 39
Almaliq 40–41, 49, 51, 55–56
Altai 36, 49, 63, 96
Amdo (Tib. mDo smad) 241, 245, 251
- Bactria 79, 124
Baghdad 14, 25, 40, 59
Balāsāghūn 14, 36, 38–39, 49
Balkh oasis 17, 19, 24–25, 29, 49, 124
Bāmiyān 14
Bao'en Temple (Chin. Bao'en si 報恩寺) 375
Baojue Monastery (Chin. Baojue si 宝觉寺) 270
Bārchkand 51
Bayen (Tib. Ba yan) 281
Baykand 19
Beijing (北京) 38, 399
 See also Dadu
Bengal 40, 207
Beš Balk (Chin. Beiting 北庭) 43, 368
Bezeklik 91
 Bezeklik Cave 20 284, 288
Bingling Temple (Chin. Bingling si 炳靈寺) 270
 See also Jampa bumling Cave
Blue Lake (Tib. mTsho sngon po, Mong. Kōke nayur, Chin. Qinghai hu 青海湖) xxii, 8, 38, 258, 263, 267–269, 271–272, 276, 278, 280, 288, 290, 292, 294–295, 306, 347
Brahmaputra River (Tib. rTsang chu) 40, 196
Bugut 95, 114–115, 121
Bukhara 17, 19, 20–21, 28, 36, 47, 49, 51–53, 56, 60
- Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安) xxiv, 7, 23, 123, 125, 129, 137, 150, 171
Chu Valley 39
- Dadu (大都, modern Beijing 北京) 40, 46, 50
- Dangpö zima Monastery (Tib. Dang po'i gzi ma dgon, Chin. Dangege yima si 当格乙麻寺) 270
Dantig 265–266, 271, 278, 280–281, 283, 285–286, 289–290, 294
 Dantig Temple (Tib. Dan tig shan or lDan tig shel gyi dgon/lha khang, Chin. Dandou si 丹斗寺) 266, 271, 284–286, 288–290
Dazu (大足) 154
Dégam (Tib. bDe gams/khams) 245, 259, 270–271, 274–276
Dégayutse (Tib. De ga g.yu 'tsal) Monastery 266, 271
Dokham (Tib. mDo khams) 245, 270–271
Dratsang Monastery (Tib. Grwa tshang dgon, Chin. Zhazang si 扎藏寺) 270
Dulan (Chin. Dulan 都蘭, Tib. Tu'u lan) 270
Dunhuang (敦煌) xiii, xxi, 2, 6–9, 15, 29, 31, 34–35, 81, 90, 96, 98, 101, 111, 114, 116–118, 123, 145–148, 151–181, 188, 190, 192, 196–197, 201, 204–205, 207, 210, 214–218, 222, 226, 228, 230, 234, 239–241, 250, 252, 258–259, 262–263, 265–269, 271, 274–280, 284, 287, 292–293, 296, 299–321, 329, 333, 337, 345–351, 356–357, 368–384, 388, 390–399
 See also Shazhou
- Eastern Central Asia xiii, xiv, 1, 3–5, 8, 10, 14, 16, 60–62, 64, 114, 170, 196, 257–258, 260, 269, 279, 346, 373, 382
- Famen Temple (Chin. Famen si 法門寺) 150–151
Farghāna 19, 23, 28, 41, 49, 51
Fengdu (丰都) 154
- Gachu (Tib. (*)Ga cu) / Hezhou (河州) 266, 271, 292
Gandhāra 68, 78–80, 82–83, 85–87
Ganglong Caves (Chin. Ganglong shiku 崗龍石窟) 270

- Gansu (甘肃) 13-14, 27, 46, 50, 62, 377
- Ganzhou (甘州)/Kamchu (Tib. Kam bcu) xiii, 265, 278, 306
- Gatang (Tib. dGa' thang) *stūpa* 190-191, 210, 215, 221, 233, 235, 240-241, 251-252
- Ghazna 54
- Gilgit region 297
- Guochu (Tib. Guo cu')/Kuo Zhou (廓州) 265, 268, 271, 278-279, 294
- Haizang Monastery (Chin. Haizang si 海藏寺) 270
- Hami 58-59
- Hangzhou (杭州) 40, 50
- Heaven of Great Purity (Chin. Taiqing tian 太清天) 165
- Hexi (河西) 169, 265, 304, 306, 319, 333, 346, 348, 380-381, 383
- Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zoulang 河西走廊) 8, 32, 88, 106, 155, 257-258, 292
- Hongfo *stūpa* (Chin. Hongfo ta 宏佛塔) 385
- Hongzang Monastery (Chin. Hongzang si 弘宏藏寺) 270
- Imil 51
- India 6, 14, 23-26, 29-31, 33-35, 42-45, 52-53, 58, 63, 67, 70, 75, 78, 81, 98, 118, 125, 141, 146-148, 151, 156, 158, 163, 168, 170-171, 174-179, 202, 207, 213, 218, 223, 245, 263, 266, 268, 325, 352, 381, 388, 396-397
- Inhul river 69
- Jampa bumling Cave (Tib. Byams pa 'bum gling, Chin. Longxingsi 龍興寺) 270
See also Bingling Temple
- Jaxartes river 16, 19, 29, 49, 51-52
- Jetavana Monastery 370
- Jiannan Circuit (劍南道) 265
- Jilik (Tib. 'Byi lig) Monastery 278-279
See also Mile Monastery
- Jima Gol or Dafei River (Chin. Dafei chuan 大非川) 264
- Jingtu Temple (Chin. Jingtu si 淨土寺, Tib. Je tu zi) 378
- Kaifeng 40
- Karakhoto (Chin. Heishuicheng 黑水城) 96, 269, 315, 385, 387
- Karakorum 44
- Karluk 41
- Kašgar xx, 19, 30-31, 33, 38, 50, 58
- Kashmir 41, 45, 52-53, 207
- Kham (Tib. Khams, alt. mDo stod) 241, 245, 259
- Khotan xiii, 2, 6, 30-32, 35-36, 38, 49-50, 59, 63-89, 199, 258-259, 375
- Khurāsān 18-21, 24-26, 28, 30, 34, 49, 56
- Khwārazm 19, 28, 49, 55, 60-62
- Kızıl 98, 377
- Kočo (Chin. Gaochang 高昌) 36, 38, 111, 353
- Kopal 41
- Krasnaya Rechka 39
- Kuča xiii, 33, 278
- Kumtura 113
- Kündé Ling (Tib. Kun bde gling) Monastery 297
- Lhasa 201, 231, 297
- Lhasenang (Tib. Lha sa'l nang) 288, 290-291
- Longmen 377
- Longmen Caves (Chin. Longmen ku 龍門窟) 170
- Longquan Monastery (Chin. Longquan si 龍泉寺) 270
- Luoyang (洛陽) 67, 124
- Marw (Merv) 18, 24
- Mathurā 78
- Mayül Takgyé (Tib. sMra yul thag brygad) 240-241
- Mazār Tāgh 116, 118
- Mile (Chin. Mi le 彌勒, Skt. Maitreya) Monastery 278
See also Jilik
- Minyak (Tib. Mi nyag) 240, 242, 249, 252-253
- Miran 117, 197
- Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟) 117, 154, 169
- Mogao Cave 16 xxii, 376, 380, 383-384, 395

Mogao Caves (*cont.*)

- Mogao Cave 17, a.k.a. the Library Cave
or 'scripture repository cave' (Chin.
Cangjing dong 藏經洞) xxii, 9–10,
196, 263, 292, 306, 350, 357, 373–400,
395
- Mogao Cave 98 xxi, 86–87
- Mogao Cave 137 381
- Mogao Cave 139 381
- Mogao Cave 156 384
- Mogao Cave 158 258, 262
- Mogao Cave 159 284, 287
- Mogao Cave 161 384
- Mogao Cave 174 381
- Mogao Cave 234 384
- Mogao Cave 237 384
- Mogao Cave 357 381
- Mogao Cave 364 381
- Mogao Cave 365 xxii, 383–384, 395
- Mogao Cave 366 xxii, 382–383, 395
- Mogao Cave 443 381
- Mogao Cave 476 381
- Mt. Govardhana xxi, 80–81
- Mt. Haixin (Tib. mTsho snying mahādeva,
Chin. Haixin shan 海心山) 270
- Mt. Kailash 243, 245, 249
- Mt. Meru 245
- Mt. Nan (Chin. Nan shan 南山) 171
- Mt. Noyon Uul 73–74
- Mt. Sumeru 103
- Mt. Wutai (Chin. Wutai shan 五臺山,
Five-Peak-Mountain) 268
- Mt. Yarlha Shampo 249
- Nālandā 268
- Namdong (Tib. Nam ldong) 250
- Nawbahār Monastery 25, 29
- Nepal 186, 188, 207, 248
- Ngari (Tib. Zhang zhung) 241
- Northern Plains (Tib. Byang thang) 241
- Oḍḍiyāna 65
- Orkhon river 114
- Ötükän 94
- Oxus river 16, 18, 36, 42, 49

Pagoda of the Immaculate Dharma Flower
(Chin. Fahua wugou zhi ta 法華無垢
之塔) 383

Pamir Plateau 70, 78, 80

Qatwān 36

Qayaliq 41, 49–51

Qilian Mountain Range (Chin. Qilian shan
祁連山) 258, 265

Samarqand 17, 19, 24, 33, 36, 49, 51, 57,
60–61

Sāñcī 397

Sanjie Temple (Chin. Sanjie si 三界寺, Tib.
Pam kye zi) 375, 393–394

Semirechye 39, 49, 51

Seven Buddhas Cave (Chin. Qifo ku
七佛窟) 384

Shāsh (Tashkent) 19, 23, 49

Shazhou (沙洲)/Shachu (Tib. Sha chu) 278,
304, 306, 265

See also Dunhuang

Shende Temple *stūpa* (Chin. Shende si ta
神得寺塔) 385

Shengguang (勝光) 368

Shengguang Temple (Chin. Shengguang si
聖光寺) 280

Shengrong Monastery (Chin. Shengrong si
聖容寺) 270

Sichuan (四川) 154, 186, 250

Sichuan Basin 258, 290

Sighnāq 51

Sind (modern Pakistan) 19

Sumpa 241–242

Surkh Kotal 79

Tabriz 14, 40

Tajā Monastery (Tib. rTa rjes dgon, Chin.
Mati si 馬蹄寺) 270

Tajikistan 17, 79

Taklamakan Desert xiii

Tarim Basin 8, 15, 23, 26, 30, 49, 57–58, 62,
66–70, 73, 78, 80, 83, 85, 87–89, 91, 106,
113–114, 121, 257–259, 264–265, 284, 292

Temple of a Hundred Nāgas (Tib. kLu
brgya) xxi, 284–285, 289

- Thangkar (Tib. Thang kar) 292
- Tianshan (天山) 91, 94, 106
- Tiantishan Cave (Chin. Tiantishan shiku
天梯山石窟) 270
- Tibet
- Eastern/North-eastern Tibet 197, 205,
212, 241, 242, 245, 248, 253, 275
 - Southern Tibet 215, 233, 237–238, 240,
242, 251
 - Tibetan Plateau 8, 184–186, 190, 195,
197, 211–213, 221, 232–233, 240–242,
251, 254
 - Western Tibet 230, 243, 245, 248
- Tirmidh 49, 51
- Toyok 59
- Transoxania 5, 16–19, 21, 23, 26, 28–30, 35,
41, 51–52, 54–57, 63
- Trikha (Tib. Khri kha, Chin. Guide 貴德)
271, 278, 293–294
- Tsaidam Basin 258, 265
- Tsawa(rong) Tsashö (Tib. Tsha ba [rong] tsha
shod) 206
- Tsongkha (Tib. Tsong kha) 32, 38, 268,
278
- Tukharistan 17, 19, 25, 79, 85
- Tuloushan Caves (Chin. Tuloushan shiku
土樓山石窟) 270
- Turfan xiii, 2, 6, 9, 15, 31, 50–51, 56, 58–59,
63, 88, 98, 114, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 166,
278, 284, 288, 350–354, 358, 368, 372
- Tuul river 114
- Uzbekistan 17, 79
- Wanshou Monastery (Chin. Wanshou si
万寿寺) 270
- Wu Heshang Cave (Chin. Wu heshang ku
吳和尚窟) 384
- Xifengwo Monastery (Chin. Xifengwo si 西蜂
窩寺) 270
- Xinjiang (新疆) 14, 16, 19, 27, 32, 41, 51, 62,
73, 81, 89, 91, 377
- Yarmothang 241
- Yining (伊宁) xxi, 41, 55
- Yizhou (益州) 265, 269
- Yötkan xxi, 82–85
- Yulin Caves
Yulin Cave 25 266
- Yungang (雲崗) 377
- Yunju Temple (Chin. Yunju si 雲居寺) 399
- Yunnan (雲南) 188
- Zhangzhung 240, 242, 247
See also under Index of Technical Terms
- Zhongdu (中都, a.k.a. Yanjing 燕京) 38
- Zhongxing (中興) 385

Index of Technical Terms

- 32 marks of the Buddha (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*, Tib. *mtshan nyid*) 316
- Abbasid translation movement (8th–10th c.) 25
- abhidharma* 176
- abode of Islam (Arab. *dār al-islām*) 17, 20, 63
- abode of war (Arab. *dār al-ḥarb*) 17
- absolute truth (Chin. *shengyi di* 勝義諦, Tib. *don dam pa'i bden pa*) 324, 328–330, 387
- Academy of Scholars (Chin. Shudian 書殿) 129
- Academy of the Learned Worthies (Chin. Jixian dian shuyuan 集賢殿書院) 129
- accomplishment (Skt. *siddhi*) 174, 279
- accounts (Tib. *rabs*, related to lineage/succession) 189, 212, 216, 228
- alcoholic beverage (Tib. *chang*) 220–221
- alms, offering (Chin. *bu shi* 布施, LMC *puš`ṣi*, Uyghur *buṣi*) 115
- alpine spirit ritual (ist) (Tib. *smān bon* (*po*)) 191
- An Lushan Rebellion (755–763, Chin. An Lushan zhi luan 安祿山之亂) 24, 265
- annotated gloss commentary (Tib. *mchan tig*) 296, 309, 315–317, 320, 322–323, 346–347
- apocryphal texts (Chin. *weijing* 偽經) 156, 213
- apostles (OU *freṣṭi*) 120
- apostles of light 113
- astrology (Tib. *rtsis gtsug lag*) 7, 88, 110, 145–146, 148, 176–178, 180, 223–224, 247–248
- attendants of Yama (OU *Ārklig Han*) 110
- auditors 103
- auspicious deity (Skt. *bhadra devatā*, Shanshan Gand. *bhatro devata*) 77, 83
- auto-commentary 297–298, 300, 303, 305–306, 309, 316, 320, 322, 329–330, 343
- Avestan 69, 71, 76
- Bactrian 127
- banner 41, 353, 388, 397
- Baotang (保唐) school 265, 290
- baptism 138–140
- Barmakid 24–26
- beating of the semantron (Chin. *ji mu* 擊木, Grk. σήμαντρον, Pers. *nāqūs*) 138, 140
- belonging to the gods (OU *t(ā)ḡrilig*) 100
- bhūmi* 324
- Blessed One (Skt. *bhagavān*, Tib. *bcom ldan 'das*, Chin. *boqiefan/poqiefan* 薄伽梵/婆伽梵) 336
- block print 107
- blue heaven (OU *kök t(ā)ḡri*) 103
- Bön (Tib. *bon*) 183–184, 187–188, 192, 194, 197, 200, 205–206, 208, 210–212, 216–218, 220–221, 224–225, 231, 242–244, 246–247, 252–253, 279, 282–283
- Bönpo (Tib. *bon po*) 7, 8, 190–191, 194, 199–200, 204–206, 208, 210–211, 216, 218–219, 221, 232, 282–283
- border forts (Arab. *ribāṭ*) system 30
- Buddha bowls (Chin. *fopen* 佛盆) 378
- buddha hall (Chin. *fodian* 佛殿, LMC *fñijyt thian`*, Uyghur *firten*) 114
- Buddhist canon (Skt. *tripitaka*) 130–132, 160, 176, 399
- Taishō *tripitaka* 360–361, 365, 359
- Buddhist lay associations 378
- Buddhist scriptures 125–126, 153, 156, 158, 166, 173, 347, 370, 385, 387
- Buddhist spells (Skt. *dhāraṇī*, Chin. *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼, Tib. *gzungs*) 158, 202, 352, 362
- cave (Chin. *shiku/ku* 石窟/窟 or *dong* 洞) 9–10, 35, 59, 282, 284, 353, 374–400
- Chaghatay Turkic 15
- Chan Buddhism (Chin. *chanzong* 禪宗) 8, 174–175, 257, 263, 265–267, 269, 274, 277, 279, 293, 295
- chant (Tib. *gyer mo*) 160, 165, 173, 188, 193, 217–218, 232
- long chant (Tib. *gyer chen*) 217
- short chant (Tib. *gyer thung*) 217
- throat chant 220
- Chinggisid 40–42, 54, 56–57, 60–63

- Christianity (Chin. Jingjiao 景教) 3, 6, 17, 41, 68, 95, 123–125, 127–128, 133, 150, 198, 173
- Cigcarbas (Tib. *cig car ba*) 281
- circle of rebirth (Skt. *saṃsāra*) 134
- circle of the noble ones (Skt. *āryavarta*) 78
- civic elite (Sogd. *nāf*, lit. 'people') 20–21
- colleges (Arab. *madrasas*) 34, 52, 54, 271
- colophon 94, 117, 243, 245–246, 268, 298, 300, 304, 306, 308, 354, 368, 375, 387, 390, 399
- commentary 9, 76, 198, 275–276, 296–298, 300, 303–307, 309–310, 315–317, 319–320, 322–323, 325–326, 328–330, 336, 342–347, 398
- sub-commentary (Skt. *ṭīkā*) 300, 303, 305, 308, 346
- community of monks (Skt. *saṃgha*) 113
- cow 83, 224
- cult of the *vajrapāla* Ucchuṣma (a.k.a. Mahābala) 166
- Daoism 7, 123–124, 127–128, 138, 145–151, 153–154, 156–158, 161–163, 165, 167, 169, 170–171, 173–175, 177, 179–180
- deities (Av. *yazata*, Gand. *devata*, Skt. *devatā*) xxi, 3, 6, 65–66, 69, 71–72, 77, 79, 81, 85, 100, 104, 106–107, 132, 151, 184, 187–189, 191, 194, 197, 199–203, 207–208, 210, 217–218, 220, 240–241, 248–249, 254, 288–289, 291, 353–354
- deity (Skt. *deva*, Chin. *zhutian* 諸天) 71, 77, 82, 86, 96, 97, 105, 108–110, 120, 200, 209, 241
- delegating (Tib. *skos*) 225
- demons (Av. *daēuua*, Kh. *dyūva-*) 71, 101, 120, 151
- descendants of the Khagan (Arab. *al-Khāqāniyya*) 33
- dharma* 14, 34, 35, 44–45, 101–102, 111–112, 126, 131, 136, 198–199, 203–205, 282, 329, 335–336, 342, 383, 389–391, 397, 399
- dharma* college 245, 267, 270–271, 273–276, 279–280, 290, 294
- Dharma King (Skt. *dharmarāja*, Tib. *chos kyi rgyal po*) 201–202
- dharmatā* 324
- direction of prayer (Arab. *qibla*) 58
- discerning knowledge (Skt. *prajñā*) 134
- dwelling or residence (Iran. **dmāna*, cf. Av. *dāmāna*, Sogd. **dmān*) 72
- Dzogchen (Tib. *rdzogs chen*) 267, 275, 279–280, 282
- early propagation of Buddhism (7th–9th c., Tib. *snga dar*) in Tibet 263
- elect (OU *dentar*, Sogd. *dyndr*; Middle Pers. *dyndr*) 99, 116–117, 142
- eminent person (Arab. *ṣadr*, lit. 'chest') 51
- emperor (Chin. *huangdi* 皇帝, *chaodi* 朝帝) 129, 137, 143–144, 184, 193–196, 198–210, 224, 226, 258, 265, 284, 351, 380, 391–392
- Chinese emperor 136, 259, 262
- Magical Divine Emperor (Tib. *phrul gyi lha btsan po*) 202
- Original/first emperor (Chin. Yuandi 元帝) 198
- Tang emperor 7, 23, 137, 142, 144, 351
- Tibetan emperor 194, 202, 231, 259, 262, 265, 284, 287, 391–392
- endowment (Arab. *waqf*) 52
- enjoyed hearing (Chin. *le wen* 樂聞) 331, 334–335
- enlightenment 184, 187, 194, 204, 207, 210, 227, 282, 361, 377
- Esoteric Buddhism (Chin. *mijiao* 密教) 9, 145, 149, 160–163, 165, 167, 174, 177, 179, 350–354, 356–359, 361–362, 367, 369, 371–371
- Exalted One (Skt. *bhagavat*, Chin. *tianzun* 天尊) 131
- example (Tib. *dpe*) 217
- family genealogy (Tib. *gdung rabs*) 216
- fire (Skt. *agni*, Av. *Ātarš*, Kh. *dāa-*) 6, 29, 65, 70, 72–74, 139
- five elements (Chin. *wuxing* 五行) 161, 176
- five precepts (Skt. *śīla*) 136
- folklore or folk religion (Chin. *minsù* 民俗) 150
- four borders (Tib. *mtha' bzhi*) 201
- funeral unicorn (Chin. *xiezhi* 解豸) 88
- God's party (Arab. *ḥizb allāh*) 53
- goddess (OU *t(ā)jriči*) 66, 71, 82, 97–98, 100, 102, 120, 122, 152

- godlike, heavenly (OU *t(ä)ḡridäm*) 100
golden drink (Tib. *gser bskyems*) 221
good fortune/royal fortune (Tib. *phya*, OU *kuṭ*) 95, 99–100, 119, 189–191, 202
base of good fortune (Tib. *phya gzhi*) 190
Great King (Skt. *Mahārāja*, Tib. *rgyal po chen po*) 202, 366
great monks (Chin. *daseng* 大僧) 32
greatest master (Pers. *makhdūm-i aʿzam*) 61
hagiographies or *tadhkira* (Pers. *tazkirah*, lit. ‘memorandum’ or ‘admonition’) 15, 54
heart path (Tib. *thugs shul*) 236
heaven (Chin. *tian* 天, OT *täḡri*, Arab. *mīʿrāj*) 46, 96, 100, 108, 131–136, 161, 165, 171, 177, 187, 192, 195–196, 205, 227
heavenly deity/spirit ritual (ist) (Tib. *lha bon (po)*) 197, 220
Hepthalite 17
hermitage 278, 280, 293
high official (Kh. *ṣau*) 81
history (Tib. *lo rgyus*, lit. ‘collection of tidings/reports’) 189, 218, 229
holder of the earth (Skt. *gāṇdhāra*) 78
holy, sacred (OU *idok*) 99, 102
House of Afrasiyab (Arab. *Āl-i Āfrāsīyāb*) 33
ignorance (Skt. *avidyā*) 134, 340–341
illuminating (Chin. *míng* 明) 275, 324
immortals (Chin. *xianshen* 仙神) 165, 174
imperial preceptor 201
incantation, jinx (OU *saviš*) 100, 120–122, 159, 219
independent buddha (Skt. *pratyekabuddha*) 67
Indic dice divination 119
Inner Alchemy (Chin. *neixue* 內學) 174–175
Outer Alchemy (Chin. *waidan* 外丹) 152
inscription 6, 75, 78–79, 87, 93–97, 101, 102, 109, 110, 113, 115, 121, 137, 194–195, 202, 227, 284, 354, 383
Altun Köl I Inscription 110
Brāhmī inscriptions 95
Bugut Inscription 114–115, 121
Karabalgasun Inscription 93, 100
Keregentas Inscription 114
Khüis Tölgöi Inscription 95, 101, 114–115
Kül Tegin Inscription 97
Nalayh Inscription 97
Orkhon Inscriptions 95–97, 101–103
Samyé Inscription 199–200
stele inscription 7, 123–125, 129, 137, 140–141
Yenissei Inscriptions 109–111
interlocutors/addressors (Tib. *shal ta pa*) 48, 197
introduction (Tib. *gleng gzhi*, Skt. *nidāna*) 318
Jambudvīpa (Chin. Zhanbu zhou 瞻部洲) 141
jataka 25, 54
judge (Arab. *qāḍī*) 54
Jurchen 36, 38
Karluk 23, 41
karma 135, 154, 204, 297
karmic bond (Skt. *nidāna*) 135
karmic retribution (Skt. *vipāka*, Chin. *bao* 報) 135
Khan of China (OT *tavgač kagan*) 33
King of the East and China (Arab. *malik al-mashriq wa-l-šim*) 33
Kipchaks 60, 95
Kirghiz 27, 33, 58, 97, 106, 109
knowledge (alt. spell) (Skt. *vidyā*) xiii, 2, 24, 35, 45, 99, 114–115, 134, 157, 168, 188, 213, 215–216, 223–226, 234, 253–254, 269, 275, 292–294, 296, 333, 357, 366, 368–369, 372, 374
Kuṣāṇa 78–79, 106
Laba festival 394
lakṣaṇa 316
lama (Tib. *bla ma*, lit. ‘high master’) 50, 61–62, 188, 209, 386
law (Tib. *chos*) 50, 67, 100–101, 131, 138, 197, 200, 203–204
command of the law (Chin. *ji zhou lu ling* 急咒如律令) 159–160
Hanafi law 51
law code (Mong. *jasaq*, Turk. *yasa*) 43, 55
lawyer (Arab. *fuqahāʾ*) 30
Muslim law (Arab. *sharīʿa*) 43, 45, 60

- longevity (Tib. *tshe*) 7, 146, 148, 165, 173–174, 180, 189
- lord of auspicious conjunction (Arab. *ṣāhib qirān*) 48
- lore or wisdom/custom (Tib. *gtsug lag*) 212, 217
good wisdom/custom (Tib. *gtsug lag bzang po*) 217, 223
- magic, magic formula (OU *arvīṣ*) 99, 158, 162–163, 165, 167, 171–173, 177, 228, 336, 352, 371
black magic 76
magician, wizard (OU *arvīṣṭi*) 99
to bewitch, cast spells (OU *arva-*) 99
- Mahāyāna 244, 328, 329, 330
Mahāyāna Buddhism/Buddhists 207, 390
- mamlūk* or *ghilmān* system 26–30, 52, 55
- maṇḍala* 226, 352, 361, 363
- Manichaeism 6, 17, 31, 90–93, 95, 96, 98–99, 101, 104–109, 111–112, 116–117, 120–121, 133, 198, 357, 373
- mantra* (Chin. *zhenyan* 真言, *ming* 明) 72, 158, 182, 218, 247
- Māra 107, 159, 336, 337
- mask (Tib. *zhal*) 236
golden mask 231
- mātrkā* 72
- meditation cave (Chin. *chanku* 禪窟) 380
- merit (OU *buyan*, Skt. *puṇya*) 100, 126, 135, 337, 375, 377, 382, 387, 390
six merits 336–337
- Middle Way (Skt. *madhyakama*) 297, 328, 330
- monastery, temple (Chin. *si* 寺, Mong. *buxar*, Skt. *vihāra*, Sog. *βryʾr*, OU *vrhar* [Buddhist term], Kh. *saṃkharma*, Gand. *saṃgh[ā] r[ā]ma*, also *manistan* [Manichaeian term]) 24–25, 29, 32, 34, 58–59, 66, 72, 79, 81–83, 116, 126, 137, 284, 288, 292, 370, 378, 386, 381–382
temple/a place to worship ‘pagan’ gods (OU *t(ä)ṅrilik*) 100
- monastic Bön masters (Tib. *gyer mi*, *gyer spungs*, *gyer sgom*) 217
- Mongol 13–15, 40–46, 48–58, 61, 63–64, 97, 107, 111, 198, 213, 387
- Mongol rule 13, 16, 42, 45, 49–51, 60, 94, 258
- monk (Skt. *bhikṣu*) xxiv, 3, 9, 31–32, 39, 45, 65, 112–113, 116, 125, 138, 141–144, 157–158, 161, 169, 171, 173, 181, 198, 200, 206, 213, 221, 228, 263, 268, 280–281, 283, 292, 331, 360, 366–367, 371, 374–382, 384, 388–389, 391–394, 396–398
- moon (OT *ay*)
moon-toad 88
sun and moon 102–105, 122
- mudra* 352
- mundane (Skt. *laukika*, Tib. *ʼjig rten pa*) 132, 187–188, 193–195, 199, 208
See also supra-mundane
- Muslim
Muslim nation (Arab. *umma*) 28, 63
Muslim scholars (Arab. *ʼulamāʼ*) 35, 51, 53, 57
- nāga* xxi, 200–201, 244, 284–285, 289
- new converts (Arab. *mawālī*, lit. ‘clients [of an Arab tribe]’) 21, 54
- nirvāṇa*
parinirvāṇa 259, 262, 328
- non-conceptuality 275
- nun (Skt. *bhikṣuṇī*) 143, 157–158, 169, 380, 386, 396, 397
- Nyingma school/tradition (Tib. *mying ma pa*) 207–208, 279, 282
- object
mortuary object 380
object of investigation 187
objects of veneration by association (Skt. *paribhogacetīya*) 389
objects of veneration or shrines (Skt. *cetīya*) 389
religious object 10, 373, 376, 387
ritual object 373
sacred object 375, 396
textual object 399
transcendent object 3
- offering cake 188
- Old Uyghur xvi, xviii, xxv, xxviii, 9, 102, 112–113, 115, 118, 350–359, 362–369, 372
- oracle/omen (OU *urk*), can also mean lot or die 99

- oral instructions 297
- Orkhon Turks 94
- Ötükän ground (OU *ötükän yer*) or the
Ötükän mountain meadow (OU *ötükän
yış*) 94
- pacification officer (Tib. *bde blon*) 259, 279
- Parthian 109
- People of the Book (Arab. *ahl al-kitāb*) 20
- periphery 15, 294, 385
- personal soldiers-retainers of the nobility
(Sogd. *chakar*, guard) 27
- physical world (Skt. *dharmadhātu*) 176
- poll tax (Arab. *jizya*) 20–21
- pollution/disorder (Tib. *rnel*) 233
- possessing supernatural knowledge (OU *bügü
biliglig*) 99
- pothi* (Tib. *dpe cha*) 301, 307, 309, 392
- power of creating (Tib. *srid*) 225
- powerful ones below the earth (OU *yer altunki
ärkliglär*) 101
- prayer texts 201, 354
- precept (Skt. *śīla*) 100, 111–112, 122, 136,
142–143, 152, 393–394
- precious scrolls (Chin. *baojuan* 寶卷) 123
- presbyter (OU *m(a)histak*) 94
- priest (Tib. *gshen*)
officiating priest (Tib. *sku gshen*) 197
priest of the gods (Skt. *devapālaka*) 72
professional priests (Grk. *mánties*) 75
temple priests (Skt. *devalaka*) 79
- principle of truth (Old Pers. *aṛta*,
Av. *aša*) 73
- propitiation 210, 217, 220, 243, 246
- protected people (Arab. *dhimmī*) 20
- protector
'protector' or 'cultor' (Skt. *pālaka*) 72
protectors of Buddhism 208
- Protectorate to Pacify the West (640–ca. 790,
Chin. Anxi du hu fu 安西都護府) 259
- Pure Land 391
Pure Land Buddhism 45
- purificatory (Tib. *sel*) rituals 242
- ransom offering (Tib. *glud*) 236
- reading marks 304
- recitation of Buddhist texts (Tib. *zhal 'don/
kha 'don*) 217
- refuge formula 112
- refugee 42
- regular days of observances (Skt.
poṣatha) 143
- reification 210
- rejuvenation of well-being (Tib. *g.yang*) 119,
189
- rekindling of the flame (Tib. *me ro 'bar*) 280
- relative truth (Chin. *shisu di* 世俗諦, Tib. *kun
rdzob kyi bden pa*)
close to the absolute (Chin. *jin shengyi* 近
勝義, Tib. *don dam pha dang nye ba'i
kun rdzob*) 324
purified (Chin. *qingjing* 清淨, Tib. *nam
par byang ba'i kun rdzob*) 324
real (Chin. *zhenshi* 真實, Tib. *bden pa'i
kun rdzob*) 324
untrue (Chin. *feizhen* 非真, Tib. *yang dag
pa ma yin pa'i kun rdzob*) 324
- religious specialist (OU *töröçi*, Shanshan
Gand. *śramaṇnabramāṇa*, Skt.
śramaṇabrāhmaṇa) 74, 82, 96, 99–101,
124
- religious teacher (Chin. *bo shi* 博士, LMC *pak
shr*, U *bahśi*) 115
- religious war 38, 58, 63
- ritual/rite
Bönpo rite 206
funerary rite 192, 206, 210, 230
indigenous rite 228
memorial rite 378
non-Buddhist rite 214
propitiation rite 217
purification rite 239
post-mortem rite 191
ritual board (Tib. *byang bu*) 236
ritual manual (Chin. *yigui*) 230, 361, 372
ritual narrations (Tib. *smrang*, cf. *smra*,
to speak) 189, 213–216, 219–222,
224–226, 230–232, 236, 241–242,
247–248, 253–254
ritual pit (Tib. *gshed khung*) 236, 239
rituals summoning well-being (Tib.
g.yang 'gugs) 229
See also baptism
- ritualist 187, 197, 212, 215, 216, 218, 220, 222,
228, 232–240, 244–245, 249, 251, 253

- royal ancestral deities/spirits (Tib. *phywa*) 202, 225
- royal/imperial discourse (Tib. *bka' mchid*) 200
- royal genealogy (Tib. *rgyal rabs*) 216
- ruler of the West Uyghur Kingdom (OT *idok kut*) 94
- sacred space 3, 63, 94
- sacrifice (OU *yagiš*)
to sacrifice (OU *yagišla-*) 101
sacrificial altar/offering site (OU *yagišluk (oron)*) 101
- sacrifice (Av. *yasna*, Skt. *yajña*) 71–72
- saṃgha* overseer (Chin. *sengtong* 僧統)
district *saṃgha* overseer of Hexi (Chin. *Hexi du sentong* 河西都僧統) 380–381, 383
- Sarma school (Tib. *gsar ma pa*) 207
- śāstra* 325–326
- scent-eater (Skt. *gandharva*) 85
- scripture (Chin. *jīng* 經) xxv, 8, 112, 122, 124–126, 129, 131, 147–148, 153, 155–161, 163, 165–167, 173, 225, 307, 347, 358, 370, 374, 385, 387, 389, 399
- Scythian/Śaka 69
- second diffusion of Buddhism (Tib. *phyi dar*) in Tibet 207
- secular 9, 400
secular documents 81, 87–88, 373, 393
- self-annihilation in the divine (Arab. *fanā*) 45
- Seljuks 28, 33, 36
- sensation 340–342
- shrine (Skt. *caitya*)
Buddhist shrine 199
funerary shrine 9, 373–374, 376, 378, 381, 392, 397
stūpa shrine 377, 384
mortuary shrine 377, 396–397
cave shrine 378
mountain shrine 382
Muslim shrine 35
royal shrine 67, 79
fire shrine 79
- Sinophone Dunhuang Buddhism 296
- six sensory fields (Skt. *āyatana*) 342
- slave 28, 33, 138, 142, 144
military slave 26
slave market 26
- Sogdian xvi, 6, 17, 19–24, 26, 29, 69, 77, 90, 93, 99, 105–107, 109, 111–115, 119, 121, 124, 127, 356, 398
- son-in-law (Mong. *güregen*) 57
- song
clan song 196
wedding song 188
- sorcerer/wizard (OU *bügü*) 99
- soul 45, 99–101, 108, 109, 139, 191, 236
- spell 7, 76, 99, 146, 150, 152, 158–161, 165, 167, 173, 202, 352, 358
- spiritual advisor (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*) 202
- śramaṇa* 116, 126, 331, 333, 338
- staff 380
- stanza 201–203
- state/nation (Mong. *ulus*) 41
- stories of the prophets (Arab. *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) 54
- stūpa* (Kh. *balsa*) xxi, 10, 66, 72, 79, 190–191, 210, 215, 233, 240–241, 251–252, 281, 288, 290, 373, 376–378, 381–392, 396–397, 400
- stupid individual (Skt. *mūrkhā*) 134
- Sufi order or path (Arab. *ṭarīqas*) 60
- supra-mundane (Skt. *lokottara*, Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa*) 187–188, 193–194, 199, 208–209
supramundane doctrine/religion (Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos*) 227
- sūtra* xviii, xx, xxv, xxvi, 31, 59, 86, 98, 108, 112, 125–126, 130–131, 133, 156, 244, 246, 247, 266, 275, 292, 301, 307, 309, 314, 319, 325–326, 328, 330, 344, 347, 357, 380, 390, 392–393
- talismanic seals 145, 161–163, 166–167
- Tangut (Tib. *Mi nyag*, Chin. *Dangxiang* 党项) 3, 14, 31, 38, 59–60, 242, 249, 251, 259, 386
- tantra* 207–208, 210, 283
Tantric Buddhism xxvii, 26, 268, 269, 295, 352, 355, 363, 384
- tathāgata* 361
- teacher/Buddha-type figure (Tib. *ston pa*) 244, 253

- teaching 3, 7, 9, 51, 78, 123–126, 131,
133–134, 136, 202, 246, 253, 271, 275,
279–280, 283, 290, 312, 316–317, 322,
324, 327–328, 351–354, 359–360, 369,
371–372, 387
teaching of the golden elixir (Chin.
Jindan jiao 金丹教) 123
- ten directions (Tib. *phyogs bcu*) 200–201
- thangka* 292, 385
- three jewels (Skt. *triratna*, Chin. *sanbao*
三寶) 125, 387, 388
- Tibetan *mo*-divination 119
- time of fragmentation (9th–10th c., Tib. *sil*
bu'i dus) 263
- Tocharian xvi, xxi, 6, 75, 90, 102, 105–107,
112–115, 284, 288, 351, 362
- tomb (Tib. *bang so*) 15, 39, 41, 51, 195–196,
210, 227, 231–232, 235, 270, 381, 386, 388
- transcendence
 realm of transcendence 143
 transcendence and immanence 4
- transformation texts (Chin. *bianwen*
變文) 370–371
- trees 159, 239, 249, 259, 379
- Tumšūqese 68–71, 73
- Türgesh Confederation (716–738) 19
- Tuyuhun (吐谷渾) 258, 264
- twelve links of dependent arising (Skt.
dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda) 297
- Uyghur x–xi, xxv, xxviii, 6, 9, 14, 16–17,
23–24, 27, 29, 31–32, 38–39, 41–43,
45, 50–51, 56, 59, 89–122, 166, 259,
266–267, 350–372
- vaiṣṇava* 81
- vajra* (Tib. *rdo rje*, Mong. *ochir*, lit.
'jewel') 50
- vassal state (Tib. *rgyal phran*) 265
- verse (Skt. *kārikā*) 32, 82, 225, 249, 297–298,
300, 303, 309–310, 316, 323, 327–329,
336, 343, 364, 398
- vihāra* (OU *vrhar*, Sogd. *βry'r*, Manichaen
manistan) 116
 See also monastery/temple
- vinaya* 67, 171, 271, 280, 282, 283
- vital energy (Chin. *qi* 氣) 132, 152, 173–174
- vital spot/seat of the soul (OU *öz konok*, Skt.
marmān) 100
- voicing (Tib. *gyer*) 212, 217, 220–222, 231,
254
- Wheel-Turning King (Skt. *cakravartin*, Chin.
zhuanlun wang 轉輪王) 48
- without fortune/unlucky (OU *kutsuz*) 100
- world (OU *yertincü* or *yer suw*) 101
- worship (Kh. *pajsama-*) 72
- Xiongnu (匈奴) 106
- yakṣa* xxi, 66, 81–82, 85–87, 132, 200
- Zhangzhung 217–218, 253
 See also under Index of Place Names

Index of Text Names

- al-Hidāya* [The Guidance] 51–52
Altun Yaruk Sudur [Sūtra of the Golden Light] xviii, 98, 102, 356
Amoghapaśakalparājasūtra (T. 1093.20, T. 1094.20, T. 1095.20, T. 1096.20, T. 1092.20, etc.) 360
Aranemijātaka 114
Ätözüg Köñülüg Körmäk Atl(ı)g Nom Bitig [Teaching about the Contemplation of Body and Mind] 357

dBa' bzhed [Testament of the Ba] 229
Bālakaṇḍa 84
Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra (T.450.14) 356
**Buddhabhūmisūtra* (T. 680.16) 337
'Bum bzhi [Fourfold Collections] 212, 242

Candragarbhasūtra (Chin. *Yuezang jing* 月藏經) 65–66
Caturdharmikasūtra 305
Chang ahan jing 長阿含經 [Long Collection [of Sūtras]] (Skt. *Dirghāgama*, T. 11, 41a) 136
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) 363
Cuṇḍidevidhāraṇī (T. 1075.20) 355

Da Tang Daci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [The Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Cī'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty] (T. 2053.50) 356
Dacheng ruding zhenyan 大乘入定真言 [Mantra of the Mahāyāna for Entering Samādhi] 175
Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā xviii, xxviii
Dasheng sifa jing lun ji guangshi kaijue ji 大乘四法經論廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra*] (T. 2785.85) 305
Dasheng yaoguan Nantian zhuguo Damo chanshi jiyi 大乘藥關南天竺國達摩禪師急譯 [Medicinal Gate of Mahāyāna Quickly Translated by the Chan Master Bodhidharma from Southern India] (P. 3181) 175
Dirghāgama 131
See also *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經
Dizang pusa shi zhai ri 地藏菩薩十齋日 [The Ten Fast Days of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha] 153
mDo dri med gzi brjid [Sūtra of Immaculate Splendor] 219

Fatāwā Qāḍī Khān [The Legal Opinions of Qāḍī Khān] 52
Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing 佛說預修十王生七經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Ten Kings for Rebirth After Seven [Days]] 364

rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas [Kingly Chronicle Bön Origins] 282

Hou Hanshu 後漢書 [Book of the Later Han] 69

Insadisūtra 59

Jiangmo bianwen 降魔變文 [Transformative Text on the Subjugation of Demons] 369, 371
Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan 景教三威蒙度讚 [Gloria in Excelsis Deo] 129
Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書 [Old Book of the Tang Dynasty] 197, 250, 264

bKa' chems ka khol ma [Pillar Testament] 207
bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa [Extract of the Criteria of the Authentic Scriptures] 223
Kālacakrantra [The Wheel of Time Tantra] 34–35, 64
Kitāb al-Fihrist [The Book Catalogue] 26
Kitāb al-milal wa-l-ṅiḥal [The Book of Sects and Creeds] 26
Kṣanti kulguluk nom bitig [The Book on How One Should Practice Confessions] xviii

- Lhenkarma* catalogue (Tib. *dKar chag lHan kar ma*) 299
- Li yul lung bstan pa* [Prophecy of the Li Country] 81
- Liumen tuoluoni jing lun bing guangshi kaijueji* 六門陀羅尼經論并廣釋開決記 [The Dhāraṇī of the Six Entrances] (Skt. *Ṣaṣṣmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra*) 305
- Longshu pusa juitian Xuannu zhou* 龍樹菩薩九天玄女咒 [Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Spells for the Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens] (P. 3835V^o (4)) 152
- Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 [Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang] (T. 2092.51, 1019a) 67
- Maitreyasamitinātaka* 102
- Maitrisimit* [Meeting with Maitreya] xviii, xxviii, 100, 102, 108
- Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* [The Key of Sciences] 52
- rNel dri 'dul ba'i thabs* [A Method of Taming Spirits of Polluting Untimely Death] xxii, 233, 237–238, 240
- sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* [Account of the Early [Event] Called Flower Garland] 270
- Pāśakakevalī* 118
- Phangthangma* (Tib. *dKar chag 'Phang thang ka ma*) 299–300
- Poyang zhou* 破傷咒 [Spell Against Tetanus] 152
- Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* 292, 391–392
- Pratītyasamutpādaḥṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination] xi, 8–9, 296–297, 300, 303, 305–306, 315, 329
- Qur'an 20
- Qutadgu bilig* [Wisdom of Royal Glory] 14, 34
- Rāmāyaṇa* 82–84
- Ratnarāsīsūtra* 396
- Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* 119, 390
- Sākiz Yügmäk Yaruk Sudur* [Brilliance of the Eight Accumulations] 101–102, 110
- bSam gtan mig sgron* [Lamp for the Eye of Meditation] 268, 274
- Sanghātasūtra* 71–72
- Shāhnāmāh* [Book of Kings] 29
- Shanhai jing* 山海經 [Classics of Mountains and Seas] 140
- Shier yinyuan lun* 十二因緣論 [Treatise on the Twelve Factors of Causation] (T. 1651.32) 303
- Shilu* 實錄 [Veritable Records] 58
- Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* 355
- Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Song Dynasty] (T. 2061.50) 360
- Songshi* 宋史 32
- Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, a.k.a. *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* (T. 665.16) xviii, 71, 102
- bsTan bcos rten 'brel sum cu pa bshad pa'i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra] 308
- Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* [History of the Messengers and the Kings] 29
- Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* [History for Rashīd (Khan)] 14
- Uṣṇīṣavijāyadhāraṇī* 108, 355
- Vinayaprabhāvatī* (Tib. *Dul ba 'od ldan*) 282
- Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book of the Tang Dynasty] 198, 250, 264
- Xuannu zhou* 玄女咒 [Spell of the Dark Lady] 152
- Yinyuan xin lun* 因緣心論 [Treatise on the Heart of Causation] (T. 1654.32) 303
- Yuanqi xin lun bing shi* 緣起心論并釋 [Treatise on the Heart of Conditioned Arising with (Auto-)Commentary] 303
- Zangs gling ma* [Copper Island] xxiv, 218
- Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus* [History of Food Provisioning] 205, 229