

Yukiyo Kasai

Central Asian and Iranian Influence in Old Uyghur Buddhist Manuscripts: Book Forms and Donor Colophons

Abstract: Two different Buddhist traditions played an essential role in introducing Buddhism to the Uyghurs – the Tocharian and the Chinese – both of which cultivated their respective Buddhist cultures in the Turfan area. Gradually, the Uyghurs learned increasingly more of Chinese Buddhist culture, due to a close diplomatic relationship the neighbouring oasis state of Dunhuang (敦煌), and the majority of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts were translated from Chinese. However, Old Uyghur book forms and donor colophons show that the Uyghurs did not simply imitate Chinese Buddhist culture. Instead, they developed their own book and manuscript culture from a diverse context, drawing elements from the region's various Buddhist traditions. Moreover, traces even of an Iranian influence can be perceived in the Buddhist colophons – transmitted via Manichaeism.

1 Introduction

The Uyghurs, a Turkic-speaking nomadic tribe, established an empire known as the East Uyghur Kaganate in Mongolia, c. 744–840. Following the empire's demise in 840, the majority of Uyghurs moved into the eastern part of the Tianshan (Chin. 天山) region to found what became the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half of the ninth to the thirteenth century).¹ This kingdom continued to exist even after the rise of Činggiz Khan (1162?–1227), to whom the Uyghur king at that time voluntarily submitted, and the establishment of the Mongolian Empire (1206–1368). In the span of this long period, from the mid-eighth century to the fourteenth, the Uyghurs experienced fundamental religious changes. Originally, they had maintained traditional beliefs shared with other nomadic tribes, in which Heaven played an essential role. However, Manichaeism, a tradition founded in the third century in Babylonia, was introduced during the period of the East

1 The history of the Uyghurs is discussed in many books and articles. See, e.g., Mackerras 1990; Golden 1992, 155–172; Sinor, Geng Shimin, and Kychanov 1998. For a detailed study on the Uyghurs' migration eastward, see, e.g., Moriyasu 2015b.

Uyghur Kaganate.² Scholars suggest that the third Uyghur ruler Būgü Kagan's (759–779) support for that religion was a significant political decision³ that generated strong resentment among Uyghurs who maintained their traditional beliefs. Despite this resentment, from the end of the eighth century onward, the Manichaean religion and its followers received the continuous support of the Uyghur rulers.

Manichaeism remained the dominant religion of the Uyghurs for a while after their migration to the Tianshan area. There, however, through exchanges with the local Buddhist inhabitants, primarily the Chinese and the Tocharians (Indo-European language speakers) the Uyghurs gradually converted to Buddhism. In the second half of the tenth century or at the beginning of the eleventh century, after a short period of co-existence with Manichaeism, the Uyghurs' primary religion became Buddhism.⁴ Buddhism enjoyed a favoured position among the Uyghurs until the end of the Mongolian period (1363). During that time, the Uyghurs produced Buddhist texts in their own language. At first, both Tocharian and Chinese texts served as sources for Old Uyghur translations, but as the Uyghurs mainly absorbed Chinese Buddhism, Chinese texts were increasingly their primary source.⁵ From the tenth century onward, the West Uyghur Kingdom's close relationship to Dunhuang (敦煌) – its neighbouring oasis state and an important Buddhist centre in Northwest China – played an essential role in this transition.⁶ This does not mean, however, that the Tocharian Buddhist tradition was eliminated. It is also possible that some Manichaean elements were retained, even after the Uyghur conversion to Buddhism. The Uyghurs also had connections to the Song-Dynasty (960–1279, 宋) and the Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources known as Liao 遼), but were of a lesser degree than the Dunhuang connections. Thus, it was on the basis of these varied sources that Uyghur Buddhist culture was established.

2 On the introduction of Manichaeism to the Uyghurs, see, e.g., Moriyasu 1991, 31–32; Moriyasu 2004a, 33–35; Moriyasu 2015a; Clark 2000; Clark 2009.

3 See, e.g., Yoshida 2011, 46; Yoshida (forthcoming), [6]. Yoshida notes that several scholars present this point of view.

4 On the introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghurs, see, e.g., Moriyasu 1990; Moriyasu 1991, 147–174; Moriyasu 2004a, 174–209; Moriyasu 2015c; Tremblay 2007.

5 Johan Elverskog gives an overview of the extant Old Uyghur Buddhist texts that have been published up to 1997. See Elverskog 1997.

6 See, e.g., Kudara 1983, 201; Röhrborn 1997, 551; Rong 2001.

2 The book form of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts

The diverse exchanges in which Uyghur Buddhist culture developed are evident in the form of the books containing Buddhist texts. To date, a few extant Old Uyghur Buddhist texts have been identified that share some features with Manichaean texts, including the form of the manuscripts, in which they are found, i.e. the codex. For example, two fragments in Old Uyghur, Pelliot Ouïgour 1 (Fig. 1) and Mainz 131 [T II. Y 37] (Fig. 2), are codices.⁷

The former was found in the so-called library cave at Dunhuang, which was probably closed in the first half of the eleventh century, and thus may be dated prior to the closure.⁸ This fragment is identified as a part of the Araṇemi-Jātaka.⁹ The date of the latter fragment, which contains a biography of Buddha Śākya-muni, remains unknown.¹⁰ However, it shares some linguistic features, such as the use of the converb *-(X)pAn*,¹¹ with Manichaean texts, the production of which predates most of the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. Hence, both texts may be grouped together with the earliest Buddhist texts written in Old Uyghur. Another similarity with Manichaean manuscripts evidenced in Pelliot Ouïgour 1 is the use of horizontal writing that is also used in Manichaean codex books.¹² Conversely, the Uyghur script is usually written vertically. While Buddhism was being introduced, the Buddhists may well have been attempting to attract Manichaean Uyghurs by imitating features of Manichaean written culture, such as codex form and horizontal writing.

Very early on, however, the Uyghur Buddhists seem to have begun adopting manuscript forms that were widespread in many Buddhist cultural regions. In addition to the codex or booklet (Figs 1, 2 and 7), the pothi book (Figs 3 and 4), which was and still is the most common form for Buddhist texts in Tibet, India and so on, the scroll (Fig. 5) and the concertina (Fig. 6) (a form of book folded in accordion-style) were adopted for writing Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. The frag-

⁷ Images of these fragments are available online: <<http://idp.bl.uk>> and <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/images/mainz0131_seite1.jpg> (accessed on 12 July 2022). On the left side of the fragment Mainz 131, the trace of the binding is visible.

⁸ For a discussion of the general dating of the manuscripts found in the so-called library cave in Dunhuang and other problems to do with Old Uyghur manuscripts found in other caves, see Moriyasu 1985, 3–4, 15–17.

⁹ About the detailed study of this fragment, see Hamilton 1986, 1–20.

¹⁰ About the detailed study of this fragment, see Laut 1983.

¹¹ On this converb, see Eral 2004, 308–310.

¹² Other examples of codices with Buddhist content written horizontally are listed in Moriyasu 2015c, 623.

mentary condition of many of the manuscripts makes it difficult to identify their form. Even when a manuscript form is identifiable, it does not necessarily tell of a relationship between form and chronology, or between form and a particular Buddhist school, for only a few manuscripts can be dated.¹³ As a result, this subject calls for more comprehensive and detailed research. The article here presents the problems in using various book forms among the Old Uyghur manuscripts and poses solutions for them.

Regarding the process of Buddhism's introduction to the Uyghurs discussed above, the Tocharians – whose Buddhist culture was closely connected with Indian book-making traditions – are the most likely to have introduced the pothi book form to the Uyghurs. While the majority of Tocharian Buddhist texts were written on wide pothi leaves (see, e.g., Fig. 8), Uyghur Buddhists used both wide and portrait-oriented pothi leaves for their texts (see, e.g., Figs 3 and 4). Old Uyghur manuscripts share this feature with those of the Sogdian Buddhists. In place of the terms 'wide' and 'portrait', the form Sogdian pothi texts take is defined by the Iranists with the terms 'short-lined' and 'long-lined'. In the short-lined version of the Sogdian pothi form, the lines of text are written parallel to the short side of the leaf, while in the long-lined form, the lines run parallel to the long side of the leaf. Unlike Old Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts in the Uyghur script, which commonly use vertical writing, Sogdian texts in Sogdian script can be written both vertically and horizontally. Thus, if the writing direction of the script in a long-lined form is horizontal, it corresponds to the Old Uyghur wide pothi form. If the script direction is vertical, it corresponds to the Old Uyghur portrait pothi form. Further complicating the matter is that the original form chosen by the scribe could be reinterpreted by the reader. A reader may have chosen to read a text vertically, even though the scribe had written the text horizontally, or vice versa. The writing and reading direction of the script, therefore, affects the scholars' decision in determining the book form, which, in any case, is not always determinable.¹⁴ Despite these difficulties, there exist several manuscripts, in which scholars *can* determine the writing and reading directions. Based on these manuscripts, it may be surmised that the Sogdian Buddhist texts were written

¹³ Many scholars discuss the linguistic and philological features that can be used for dating the manuscripts. While the various criteria and methods for dating civil documents have been established, the dating of Buddhist manuscripts still presents many problems due to their characteristics as translated literature and sacred text. See, e.g., Moriyasu 2004b.

¹⁴ The images of Sogdian fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection are available online: <<http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>> and <<http://idp.bl.uk>> (accessed on 12 July 2022). Because of this accessibility, the images are not presented in this article.

both in wide and portrait pothi form, although it remains unclear how frequently each of these forms were used.¹⁵

The role of the Sogdians in the introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghurs is a significant subject of scholarly discussion. Two major theories circulate on the general introduction of Buddhism to the Turkish-speakers, to which Uyghurs also number. One theory claims that Sogdians had already introduced Buddhism to the Turkish-speakers in the period of the first Turkish Kaganate (552–630) in Mongolia, under whose rule the Uyghurs lived and was the predecessor of the East Uyghur Kaganate. The other theory, posits that most of the Uyghurs converted to Buddhism only after their migration to the Eastern Tianshan area under the influence of the Tocharians and the Chinese. The former theory is dubbed the ‘Sogdian hypothesis’, and the latter the ‘Tocharian hypothesis’.¹⁶ A few reports in Chinese sources indicate contact between the rulers of the first Turkish Kaganate and Buddhism.¹⁷ Up to now, however, no archaeological finds show the spread of Buddhism in the former territory of the Turkish Kaganate in Mongolia. Thus, any interest in Buddhism in that period seems to have been limited to the personal interests of individual Turkish rulers. Furthermore, the Sogdians converted to Buddhism, absorbing Chinese Buddhist culture, most likely after their migration into the regions near China. Furthermore, most Sogdian Buddhist texts were translated from Chinese.¹⁸ The comparative studies of extant Sogdian and Old Uyghur Buddhist texts show that Sogdian texts did not directly serve as models for any Old Uyghur translations.¹⁹ Moreover, when Uyghurs converted to Buddhism, Sogdians did not seem to play a central role as intermediaries.

15 Reck 2009 discusses this problem in detail. At times the foliation is given but appears in a different direction to that of the main text. For example, when the main text is written vertically, the foliation at the top of the manuscript is given horizontally. Keeping the text in the correct direction according to the foliation (with the lines of the main text running vertically), the foliation is legible. If the text is turned and held horizontally, the foliation is in the wrong direction. In the latter instance, the scribe has decided the writing direction and (perhaps unintentionally) showed it to the readers.

16 The theories are represented in the following sources. See, e.g., Laut 1986; Moriyasu 1990; Moriyasu 2015c. Scholars supporting the Sogdian theory also see a strong influence of Tocharian Buddhists on Uyghurs after their migration. See, e.g., Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004a and 2004b.

17 Xavier Tremblay summarizes those sources: Tremblay 2007.

18 On the introduction of Buddhism to the Sogdians and research on Sogdian Buddhist texts, see, e.g., Yoshida 1991; Yoshida 1993; Tremblay 2007, 89–97; Yoshida 2009a.

19 Not many texts that are both in Sogdian and Old Uyghur have been preserved. *Araṇemi-jātaka* and *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* are two such examples of texts both in Sogdian and Old

However, there is evidence of some Sogdian involvement in Uyghur Buddhist material culture. Yutaka Yoshida argues that the Uyghur Buddhists in Turfan probably owned and read Sogdian Buddhist texts as the colophons added to some Sogdian Buddhist texts contain Turkish names.²⁰ Thus, a connection between the Uyghur Buddhists and the Sogdian texts cannot be discounted. As mentioned above, the Sogdians used pothi book forms. It remains unclear whether both forms were already adopted in the period when the Sogdian Buddhist texts were used primarily by the Sogdians themselves or only became widespread when Uyghur Buddhists implemented them. The history of the use of these two pothi forms for Old Uyghur and Sogdian Buddhist texts and their origins remains an interesting future research topic.

Moreover, another question that remains unanswered is whether the various pothi forms reflect different stages in the historical development of Old Uyghur Buddhist book culture or whether or not they correlate with the particular Buddhist traditions that impacted on the Uyghurs. Scholars are aware of famous Buddhist texts translated from Tocharian to Old Uyghur, *Maitrisimit*, ‘Meeting with Maitreya, the Future Buddha’, and *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, ‘The annulus of legends which refer to the ten kinds of actions’. Up to now, three large manuscripts have been identified as copies of the *Maitrisimit*. They have been referenced according to the place of their discovery – in Sängim, Murtuk, and Hami – and each is written on wide pothi leaves.²¹ The majority of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* manuscripts have been preserved in Berlin and St. Petersburg. They too are all written on wide pothi leaves.²² In all cases, the book form and the origin of the original text appear to reasonably link to each other.

Conversely, the scroll form seems to have been adopted by the Chinese Buddhist community. The Old Uyghur version of the Chinese apocryphal sutra *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur* (Chin. *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhoujing* 佛說天地八陽神咒經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Principles of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the

Uyghur. A comparative study of the texts shows that the Sogdian and Old Uyghur versions share no direct relationship. See, e.g., Sundermann 2001, 340; Sundermann 2006, 718–720.

20 Yoshida 2007, 63–66; Yoshida 2008, 340–344.

21 The Sängim and Murtuk manuscripts have been catalogued. See Laut and Wilkens 2017. The facsimiles of the Hami manuscripts have been partly published in several editions. See, e.g., Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1988. Peter Zieme published two additional fragments preserved in the Otani Collection (Kyoto), see Zieme 2000b. Though also in the wide pothi book form the fragments do not belong to any of the above mentioned manuscripts.

22 The manuscripts preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued and edited. See Ehlers 1987; Wilkens 2010; Wilkens 2016. The fragments preserved in St. Petersburg have been edited in Shōgaito, Tugusheva and Fujishiro 1998.

Buddha], T. 2897), for example, survives in various manuscripts and block prints, and one of the oldest manuscripts found in Dunhuang Or.8212(104) is a scroll of this text.²³ Although the manuscript's place of production remains undecided, a close connection to Chinese Buddhist culture is evident in the manuscript's form. This does not, however, mean that the scroll was always used for texts translated from Chinese, nor that it became dominant among the Old Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts due to the transition to Chinese sources. On the contrary, the pothi book seems to have been used continuously as the main book form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. The manuscripts of texts translated from Chinese – such as the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (T. 665.16) or *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (T. 475.14) – were largely produced as pothi books.²⁴

The use of the book form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts changed slightly when block printing techniques were introduced in the Mongolian period (thirteenth–fourteenth century). The concertina form was often adopted for block-printed texts, although the pothi book continued as the dominant form for manuscripts.²⁵ Also, according to Yūkei Hirai, in Dunhuang the codex or booklet seems to have become accessible from the tenth century onwards.²⁶ Among the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, however, a few manuscripts exist in that form, although it was the standard form for the Manichaeic texts that were the forerunners of Buddhist ones. The codex or booklet seems to have been used continuously at least in small numbers after the Uyghurs' religious transition from Manichaeism to Buddhism.

The above facts show that the Uyghurs developed their manuscript culture based on the variety of Buddhist traditions in the region. The Old Uyghur Buddhist texts were usually translated from Chinese, so it is likely a strong absorption of the Chinese book tradition took place. The Uyghurs, however, did not follow

23 The image will be published online: <<http://idp.bl.uk>> (accessed on 4 August 2022). The fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued. See Raschmann 2012. On the complete edition of this text, see, e.g., Oda 2015.

24 The fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been fully catalogued. On the book format of the different manuscripts, see Raschmann 2000, 13–52. Peter Zieme edited and published the Old Uyghur version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, see Zieme 2000a.

25 The block-printed texts preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued completely with information on book formats, see Yakup and Knüppel 2007; Yakup 2008; Yakup 2009.

26 Hirai 1984, 23. Jean-Pierre Drège discusses the technical development of the codex booklet form, see Drège 2018, 27–28. Sam van Schaik also discusses book forms based on Tibetan materials from Dunhuang, see van Schaik 2006, 62–64. Very recently Imre Galambos discussed various book forms of the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, including codices, see Galambos 2020, 32–36.

the Chinese tradition entirely preferring instead to adhere to the Buddhist traditions widespread in Central Asia, which maintained closer ties to India.

3 The template of Old Uyghur Buddhist colophons

Unlike the book forms, the contents of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts clearly show a strong connection to Chinese Buddhism. This applies not only to the *sūtras* directly translated from Chinese, but also to the colophons Uyghur donors added individually at the end of copied or printed *sūtras*, commentaries or eulogies. In such colophons, the donors give the date of copying or printing, explain the reason for their donation, and wish for the fulfilment of their religious goal through the merit gathered by this donation activity. When writing their colophons the Uyghur Buddhists adopted the Chinese colophon template.²⁷ Most of the donor colophons follow this template. This is evidenced in the colophon appended to the Sängim manuscript of *Maitrisimit*, dating from the tenth century.²⁸ Thus, it seems that a template for the donor colophons was created shortly after the introduction of Buddhism to Uyghurs. Almost all the components of Chinese colophons are to be found in Old Uyghur ones, in precisely the same order:²⁹

- Section 1: beginning formula
- Section 2: date
- Section 3: names of the donors
- Section 4: reasons for copying or printing the text or texts
- Section 5: dedication of religious merit
- Section 6: donor or donors' wishes
- Section 7: ending formula

Section 1 and Section 7 appear only in Old Uyghur colophons. While Section 1 consists of only one word, *yemä* 'now', for Section 7 there are some varieties such as *ädgü ädgü* or *sadu sadu*, all of which mean 'good'. The word *yemä* is generally used as the beginning formula in Old Uyghur and often appears at the beginning of a new sentence. The formula in Section 7 corresponds to the Sanskrit *sādhū*. These sections demonstrate the uniqueness of the Old Uyghur, but are not relevant to the

²⁷ I discussed this in detail in Kasai 2008, 37–44.

²⁸ See, e.g., Kasai 2008, 181–184 (colophon No. 82).

²⁹ Peter Zieme identifies, classifies, and discusses these entries, see Zieme 1992.

current discussion. The only essential difference between Chinese and Old Uyghur colophons is Section 5: Dedication of Religious Merit, which is generated through copying or printing Buddhist texts by donors. This section does not appear in Chinese colophons, but the corresponding section is contained in the Chinese prayer text (*yuanwen* 願文) which were written by the Buddhists at various events, such as offerings and creating or repairing the grotto temples.³⁰ In the Chinese prayer text, after Section 5.1.: Dedication of Merit to the Guardians, the people to whom the donors want to dedicate merits (Section 5.2.) are mentioned according to their social rank, and to each of them, Section 6: Donor or Donors' Wishes, are added, as in Old Uyghur colophons:³¹

二月八日逾城文 (Moon which is) over the city wall on the 8th February³²

Section 5.1. followed by Section 6

(前略) 總斯多善，先用奉資梵釋四王、龍天八部：惟願威光盛熾，神力無疆；擁護生靈，艾(乂)安邦國。

... All of those many good things should first be respectfully offered up to Brahmā, Indra, the Four Heavenly Kings and the nāgas and gods of the eight classes. May their glory flourish and their divine power be limitless. (May those gods) support and protect the living beings and stabilize the state!

Section 5.2. followed by Section 6

又持勝福，次用莊嚴我當今天城(成)聖主貴位：伏願聖壽延昌，淳風永播；金轉(輪)與法輪齊持(轉)，佛日將舜日交暉；妖氛蕭清，保寧宗社。又持勝福，次用莊嚴我河西節度使貴位：伏願佐天利物，助聖安人；福將山岳與(以)齊高，受(壽)等海泉如(而)深遠。又持勝福，次用莊嚴：伏惟使臣、僕射福同山岳，萬里無危；奉招(詔)安邦，再歸帝釋(室)。又持勝福，次用莊嚴則我河西都僧統、內僧統和尚等貴位：伏願長垂帝釋(澤)，為灌頂之國師；永鎮臺階，讚明王之利化。又持勝福，次用莊嚴都衛已下諸官吏等：伏願金柯蓋(益)茂，玉葉時芳；盤石增勳，維城作鎮。然後天下定，海內清；無聞征戰之明(名)，有賴威雄之化。

30 The result of the comparative studies between Old Uyghur colophons, Chinese colophons and Chinese prayer texts on those sections is shown as a table with a detailed discussion in my book, see Kasai 2008, 42–43.

31 The structure of the Chinese colophons and prayer texts differs from one another. Thus, the Old Uyghur colophons adopted only the Section 5 from the prayer texts, while the other sections follow the template of Chinese colophons.

32 The text follows Huang Zheng and Wu Wei's edition, see Huang Zheng and Wu Wei 1995, 445–447. Their text is based on P. 2058 and P. 3566 which are copies of the same text. I put the corresponding entry number at the beginning of each entry. The following English translation is my own. Licia Di Giacinto (Bochum), Henrik Hjort Sørensen (Bochum), and Hou Haoran (Bochum) gave me useful advice in making the translation. I appreciate their specialist support. I alone am responsible for any mistakes.

Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn our holy sovereign of noble rank, the present Tiancheng (天成) Emperor. May his holy longevity be prolonged in glory and (his) simple and honest manners spread for all time. The golden-wheel and *dharma*-wheel shall keep turning, the Buddha-sun shall shine together with the Shun (舜)-sun, and the inauspicious *qi* (氛) shall be swept away, and (the emperor) shall keep the ancestors' shrine and shrines for the gods of earth and corn. Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn the honourable position of our military governor of Hexi (河西). May he assist Heaven to make benefit for all beings and help the saints to pacify human beings. (His) merit shall be high like the mountains and peaks, and his longevity shall be deep and far away like the oceans. Also holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn (the following people): May the merit of ambassadors (Chin. 使臣) and supervisors (Chin. 僕射) be like the mountains and peaks; within the realm of 10000 *li* (里), may (they) be free from danger; may (they) be dedicated to the emperor's degrees, stabilize the state, and come back to the emperor's house again. Furthermore, holding this victorious merit, (I) use it to adorn our *dou sengtong* (都僧統) of Hexi (河西), *nei sengtong heshang* (內僧統和尚),³³ and all those other ones. May (they) distribute the imperial blessing at length and become State Preceptors of the coronation. May (they) sit on the stage-seat (臺階)³⁴ and praise the luminous king's edification of others. Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) then use it to adorn all the government officials beginning with *douwei* (都衛).³⁵ Their golden branches shall grow more and more, and their jade leaves flourish according to the seasons. May their increasing accomplishments solidify. (May they) link cities (to each other) for the protection of the state and build forts. After that, the world may be stabilized and the state be purified. (One) will not hear the name of war or rely on a military power's strength.

Generally, the Old Uyghur colophons also follow this template. The number of people mentioned is sometimes higher than in the Chinese prayer texts, and they are identified through kinship terms and individual names rather than social ranks. That is to say, they are not rulers or high ranking officials as those appearing in Chinese prayer texts, but family members and relatives in Old Uyghur colophons. This section makes up the largest part of some colophons, as exemplified here:

33 These are the monk's ranks used in Dunhuang. On these ranks, see, e.g., Chikusa Masa'aki 1982.

34 In the Taishō Tripiṭaka database, this term appears only in texts found in Dunhuang. The term seems to have been of common usage in Dunhuang. It is still unclear as to what it means exactly. As it appears along with the titles of high-ranking monks, it is probably a kind of seat reserved for those of high rank.

35 It should be one of the government officials, but the exact rank and function is not clear. It is not listed, for example, in the table of government officials in the Tang Dynasty compiled by Mamoru Tonami, see Tonami 1998.

SI 2 Kr. 86³⁶

Section 1 and Section 2

missing

Section 3

lines 1–2 [*üč ärdini-kä akıgıslz b(ä)k katg süzök kertg[ünč köñüllüg upase upasanč]*

lines 1–2 ... [the layman] ... [and the laywoman] ... [who have] the insusceptible and immovably pure f[aith in the *triratna*],

Section 4

lines 2–3 [*äd]gü-lärin öp sakınp ”R[]LMYŠ [bititü] tägindim(i)z :*

lines 2–3 have thought₂ the [advantages] of the(?) ... and [had it written off].

Section 5

lines 3–4 *bo nom bititmäkdin turmıš buyanıg ävirä ötünü täginür [biz(?)]*

lines 3–4 [We] allocate the merit that has arisen from copying this *sūtra*:

Section 5.1 followed by Section 6

lines 4–7 [*bo buyan ädgü kılınč küčintä al]tın yagız-takı alkančsız tälīm tiši erkäk kut w(a)hšik ayaz-[takı]-L’R-NYNK t(ä)ñridäm ıdok küč-läri küsün-läri asılıp üštälip [] bodunug k(a)rag apamukaṭäki adasızın tudasızın küyü küzäṭü[tutmak-lar bolzun]*

lines 4–7 ... [by power of this religious merit (*puṇya*)], the divine and sacred powers₂ of the infinitely numerous female and male guardian spirits below on the brown earth and [the female and male(?) gods(?) in the] clear sky may increase and grow ..., and [they may] guard and protect the people₂ for eternity without danger and distress!

Section 5.2 followed by Section 6

lines 7–26 *ečim aṭsız-ka ečim yam inal-ka : yäñ(g)äm sumak t(ä)ñrim-kä [tur]mıš buyanıg nomlug dentarım(i)z äsän açarı bağ-kä : ečim ädgü togrıl[] : yäñgäm içkälmış t(ä)ñrim-kä : ečim äsän inal-ka yäñgäm el [ečim]/ inal-ka : yäñgäm basana t(ä)ñrim-kä : ečim bağičük inal-ka [yäñäm -Q’] ečim han kul-ka : yäñgäm aṭay kunčuy-ka : iç kädicük-kä : [] kay-a šäli-kä : sumak t(ä)ñrim-kä : kadın atam kädik totok bağ-kä [kadın anam]-Q’ ečim basana inal-ka : inim kāraksız-kä : kälünim tilik sang [] el almış t(ä)ñrim-kä : adašım bolmış-ka : ečim sang toyın inal-ka[]-K’ : kızım aṭay kızka kızların kiçig k(i)y-ä-kä : takına inal-ka : [közüñür-däki ko]p ädgülig küsüs-läri kamp ’añ kenintä burhan kutın bulmak-ları bolzun [ärt]mıš adın aṭun-ka sanlıg bolmış : ulug aṭam sınkar totok bağkä ulug anam []w totok bağkä : ečim tudan açarı-ka : yäñgäm kutug t(ä)ñrim-kä : tugmış aṭam ’k/z inal-k[a tug]mıš anam ogul yetmiş t(ä)ñrim-kä : ečim tagay inal-ka : yäñgäm sävinč*

36 The fragment is now kept in St. Petersburg. For a transcription of the text, its German translation, and a detailed study, including information on previous studies, see Kasai 2008, 269–272 (colophon No. 152).

t(ä)ñrim-kä anam üšťäk t(ä)ñrim-kä : anam ana hatun t(ä)ñrim-kä : bākūmiš totok-ka : ačam karamuk inal-ka : anam arıg kunčuy t(ä)ñrim-kä : ačam ödüš inal-ka : adak totok mal-ka : anam taz küñ t(ä)ñrim-kä anam buyančog t(ä)ñrim-kä : äkäm tärim kunčuy t(ä)ñrim-kä : yängäm tadarčın t(ä)ñrim-kä : ečim aqsız inal-ka ečim sansız inal-ka ada[š]ım kutlug-ka : karna šäli-kä : ana hačun t(ä)ñrim-kä adašım elig-kä : yıgmış t(ä)ñrim-kä : kä/ig t(ä)ñrim-kä : ölgäšük üd-lärintä ög-lärin köñül-lärin yıgnu umadın ärmäz yaramaz oron-larta tugmış ärsär ol ol oron-larntın ozup kutrulup üstün tužit t(ä)ñri yerintä burhan-lar uluś-ınta tugmak-lan bolzun

lines 7–26 [Further, we allocate the merit]: my elder brother Aqsız, my elder brother Yam Inal, my elder sister-in-law Sumak T(ä)ñrim. [I allocate] the ... [accu]mulated merit: our monk with *dharmā* Āsān Ačari Bäg, my older brother Ädgü Tognl ... my elder sister-in-law İčkälmış T(ä)ñrim, my elder brother Āsān Inal, my elder sister-in-law El ..., [my elder brother] ... Inal, my sister-in-law Basana T(ä)ñrim, my older brother Bägicük Inal, ..., my older brother Han Kul, my older sister-in-law Ačay Kunčuy, İč Kädičük, ... Kay-a Šäli, Sumak T(ä)ñrim, my father-in-law Kädik Totok Bäg, [my mother-in-law] ..., my older brother Basana Inal, my younger brother Käräksiz, my younger sister-in-law Tilik Sarıg ... El Almiš T(ä)ñrim, my friend(?) Bolmiš, my elder brother Sarıg Toyın Inal, ..., my daughter Ačay Kız, my daughters Kičig Kyä, Takına Inal, ... [All] their [present] good wishes may be fulfilled, and after that, they may attain Buddhahood! [Further, we allocate the religious merit], to the deceased and to those who belong to the other existence: my grandfather Sınkar Totok Bäg, my grandmother... Totok Bäg, my older brother Tudan Ačari, my older sister-in-law Kutug T(ä)ñrim, my biological father 'K/Z Inal, my [biological] mother Ogul Yet-miš T(ä)ñrim, my older brother Tagay Inal, my older sister-in-law Sävinč T(ä)ñrim, my mother Üšťäk T(ä)ñrim, my mother Ana Hatun T(ä)ñrim, Bākūmiš Totok, my father Karamuk Inal, my mother Arıg Kunčuy T(ä)ñrim, my father Ödüš Inal, Adak Totok Inal, my mother Taz Küñ T(ä)ñrim, my mother Buyančog T(ä)ñrim, my elder sister Tärim Kunčuy T(ä)ñrim, my elder sister-in-law Tadarčın T(ä)ñrim, my elder brother Aqsız Inal, my elder brother Sansız Inal, my friend(?) Kutlug, Karna Šäli, Ana Hačun T(ä)ñrim, my friend(?) Elig, Yıgmış T(ä)ñrim, Kä/ig T(ä)ñrim. If they cannot gather their hearts and senses in the time at their death and should be reborn in inappropriate₂ places, may they be delivered and liberated from these places and be reborn above in Tuşıta heaven, in the Buddha fields!

Section 7

line 27 *sadu sadu ädgü ädgü*.

line 27 *sādhu, sādhu!* Good, good!

The size of these sections in donor colophons reveals that Section 5, together with Section 6, constitutes the essential component for Uyghur donors. It differs from both Chinese colophons and prayer texts. Of the Buddhist colophons written in Central and Eastern Asian languages, only one Sogdian Buddhist colophon features a long list of people to whom religious merit is dedicated:

Pelliot Sogdien 8³⁷

Section 2

The year of the prince, in Tuen-Huang, year of the tiger, sixth month, the fifteenth elapsed.

Section 3 and Section 4

Ordered to translate this *sūtra*, ... Čwr'kk, son of Npt'yr, with sincere faith, of a pure spirit, with a view to..... of protection, of merit and of benefit, so that it may be a [170] protection and safeguard for all beings, so that everyone may obtain deliverance from sickness and misfortune.

Section 5.2

I dedicate this action of merit to my entire family: hand of my grandfather; of my grandmother *rwtpṛṇḍ'yh*; of my father *npt'yr*; of my mother *pwtyḍ'yh*; of *nwšy'n*; of *br't'nh*; of *mrkth*, of *krzβy'rt*; [175] of *'rwtpṛṇč*; of *ywnčwyh*; of *šwt't'kk*; of *'sk'tč*; of *δ'rprn*. I add the

37 The fragment is now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. The following English translation is based on Émile Benveniste's French translation of Sogdian text, see Benveniste 1940, 113–115. Jessie Pons (Bochum) kindly checked and corrected the English translation. The original French translation is: L'année du prince, à Tuen-Huang, année du tigre, sixième mois, le quinze écoulé. A ordonné de traduire ce *sūtra*, Čwr'kk, fils de Npt'yr, avec une sincère foi, d'un esprit pur, en vue de de la protection, du mérite et du bienfait, pour qu'il soit une [170] protection et une sauvegarde pour tous les êtres, que chacun obtienne délivrance de la maladie et du malheur. Je voue cette action de mérite à l'ensemble de ma famille : main de mon grand-père ; de ma grand-mère *'rwtpṛṇḍ'yh* ; de mon père *npt'yr* ; de ma mère *pwtyḍ'yh* ; de *nwšy'n*, de *br't'nh*, de *mrkth*, de *krzβy'rt* ; [175] de *'rwtpṛṇč* ; de *ywnčwyh* ; de *šwt't'kk* ; de *'sk'tč* ; de *δ'rprn*. J'y mêle le mérite de ceux de notre famille qui ont quitté cette existence : main de *βytw'č* ; de *k's* ; de *nym'nḥ* ; de *y'n'kh* ; de *mwš'kk* ; *wṛḍ'n* ; de *ywšm'nčh* ; [180] de *ywt'ywrh* ; de *βywytyšyrh* ; de *r'm'kkh* ; de *s'w'nčh* ; de *stčry* ; de *ywš'kk* ; de *znyprn* ; de *y'nprn* ; de *myḍβ'nčh* ; de *rštḍ'yh* ; de *sypwnh* ; de *my'mnh* ; de *mpy'n* ; de *t't'č* (ou *tytč* ?) ; de *'prtmy'n* ; du deuxième *mpy'n* ; de *ywt'yt* ; de *pwty'n* ; de *nnpkkn* (?) ; [185] de *k'š'k* ; de *ynt'* ; de sa femme *my'ḍ'yh* ; de *'t'nh* ; de *r'w'yš* ; de toute la famille ; des parents ; des vivants et des morts ; des proches et des lointains ; des connaissances et des non-connaissances ; des défunts respectés ; de tous les êtres des cinq existences des trois mondes ; qu'ils aient ce mérite [190] pour la gloire du bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara maître des créatures, le plus haut des dieux. Moi, serviteur, Čwr'kk, puisse ce vœu m'être accordé : que, avec les défunts (?) et avec les vivants, avec l'ensemble de ma race, que je sois sain et sans maladie, bienfaisant, méritant, m'efforçant pour le service du Buddha, du dharma et du saṃgha ; brave dans le don ; que jamais mon esprit ne se dresse contre moi en ennemi, avare et sans don, et qu'il ne lèse pas. [195] Puissé-je être assez fort et puissant pour pouvoir, par mes propres ressources, fonder un viḥāra et saṃghārāma, y établir en respect de nombreux moines, les servir dans les quatre sortes d'indices, dans le don de nourriture (et) boisson, de toutes sortes de vêtements, dans le fait d'étendre le tapis (et) le lit et dans la médecine des remèdes, avec soigneurs et serviteurs. Dans la bonne générosité de ce mérite, puisse-je obtenir [200] comme maître Maitreya Buddha et lui faire respect selon la règle ; dans la bénédiction de l'état de Buddha, écouter la consolation (?) ; fermer la mauvaise voie à tous les êtres des cinq existences et éteindre pour eux le mal ; obtenir moi-même le signe de l'état de Buddha.

merit of those in our family who have left this existence: hand of *βytw'č*; of *k's*; of *nym'nh*; of *y'n'kh*; of *mwš'kk*; of *wrδ'n*; of *ywšm'nčh*; [180] of *ywt'ywrh*; of *βywt'yšyrh*; of *r'm'kkh*; of *s'w'nčh*; of *sttčry*; of *ywš'kk*; of *znyprn*; of *y'nprn*; of *myδβ'nčh*; of *rštδ'yh*; of *sypwnh*; of *my'mnh*; of *rnpy'n*; of *t't'č* (or *tytč* ?); of *'prtmy'n*; of the second *rnpy'n*; of *ywt'yt*; of *pwty'n*; of *nnpkkn* (?); [185] of *k's'k*; of *ynt'*; of his wife *my'δ'yh*; of *'t'nh*; of *r'w'yš*; of the whole family; of parents ...; of the living and the dead; of the near and far; of knowledge and non-knowledge; of the respected dead; of all beings of the five existences of the three worlds;

Section 6

May they have this merit [190] for the glory of the Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara, master of creatures, the highest of the gods. I, servant, Čwr'kk, may this vow be granted to me: that, with the deceased (?) and with the living, with all my race, I may be healthy and disease-free, beneficial, deserving, striving for service to the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṃgha*; brave in the gift; that my spirit may never rise up against me as enemy, greedy and without gift, and that it does not impair. [195] May I be strong and powerful enough to be able, by my own resources, to establish a *vihāra* and *saṃghārāma*, to establish there in respect for many monks, to serve them in the four kinds of clues, in the gift of food (and) drink, of all kinds of clothing, in the spreading of the rug (and) the bed, and in the medicine of remedies, with healers and servants. In the good generosity of this merit, may I obtain [200] as master the Buddha Maitreya and show him respect according to the rule; in the blessing of the state of buddha, listen to consolation (?); close the wrong path to all beings of the five existences and extinguish evil for them; obtain, myself, the sign of the state of Buddha.

Compared with Old Uyghur colophons, this Sogdian colophon does not have Section 1: Beginning Formula and Section 7: Ending Formula. Nor does Section 5.1: Dedication of the Merit to the Guardians appear either. Hence, this colophon adheres more to a Chinese colophon model than the template of Uyghur colophons. However, no close connections to typical Chinese prayer texts appear in any of its sections. As with Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, the Sogdian Buddhist texts were also produced largely by absorbing Chinese Buddhism. Such faithful adoption of the Chinese colophon template is therefore reasonable. The fact that the Sogdian and Old Uyghur colophons share a section consisting of the dedication of the merit to the numerous family members supports the argument forwarded in Section 5.2 based on the Central Asian or Iranian tradition rather than the absorption of Chinese Buddhist culture.³⁸

To illustrate this point, a colophon added to the Middle Iranian Manichaean hymn book *Maḥrnāmag* is pertinent. The colophon states that production of the

³⁸ Nicholas Sims-Williams (Cambridge) informed me that a Bactrian colophon also has a long list of family members in the dedication of merit, see Sims-Williams 2000. I appreciate his specialist support. That particular colophon only mentions kinship terms not identified by individual names.

hymn book *Maḥrnāmag* began around 762 in Ark, and after a brief interruption, was completed at the beginning of the ninth century, during the period of a Uyghur ruler who strongly supported the Manichaean community. In the colophon, there is a kind of dedication part listing numerous members of the audience, primarily Manichaean laypeople.³⁹

M I, lines 1–44

[They may send] health and integrity the two ‘glories’ and the two blisses to these our rulers, the lords, first and foremost most fortunate of the born, the shining ‘member’ of the Messenger of Light, the pious ‘hearer’ Ai tängridä chut bulmīs alp bilgä Uigur changān, the *protector of the apostles, the caregiver (patron saint) of the truthful, innocent (Electi), as well as his descendants and his ruling dynasty, the princes and princesses, first of all the Yultuzbai Tegin, the Ügä Pērōz Tegin, the Chasār Tegin, the Vazurgān Tegin, the Tatar Apa Tekin, the Žirēft Tekin (and) the Nēv Tekin, these princes, in addition the lords, the powerful Savaḡ Tutuḡ, Tschīq Tutuḡ, furthermore the Tschigschis, the Tiräks, and further the Il-Ügäsi Kadosch Niyōšāgbēd (master of the auditor), the member, the shining, the Messenger of Light, in addition the Il-Ügäsis: Ötür Ügä, Sawtschi Muḡa (= Buḡa? Maḡā?) Tarkan Ügä, Bilig Köngül Sangun Ügä Batur Sangun Ügä, Tai Muḡa Tarchan Ügä, Nižük Sangun Ügä, these loads, the powerful ones. And further they whose name is not mentioned by me, may they live and prosper in eternity, Amen!

The list begins with the Uyghur ruler, his male and female family members, and high-ranking vassals. While the above-quoted lines mention them in capitals, from line 45 on, the colophon lists vassals in other cities under Uyghur rule at the time of its production. The list contains female audience members, including princesses. The long list of names continues to line 159.

³⁹ The following English translation is based on Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller’s German translation. See Müller 1913, 9–10. The original German translation is: [Sie mögen senden] Gesundheit und Unversehrtheit die beiden ‘Glorien’ und die beiden Glückseligkeiten diesen unseren Herrschern, den Herren, zuvörderst dem glücklichsten der Geborenen den glänzenden ‘Glieder’ des Lichtgesandten, den frommen ‘Zuhörer’ Ai tängridä chut bulmīs alp bilgä Uigur changān, dem *Beschützer der Apostel, dem Pfleger (Schutzpatron) der Wahrhaften, Lauteren (Electi), dazu seiner Nachkommenschaft und seinem Herrschergeschlecht, den Prinzen und Prinzessinnen, zuvörderst dem Yultuzbai Tegin, dem Ügä Pērōz Tegin, dem Chasār Tegin, dem Vazurgān Tegin, dem Tatar Apa Tekin, dem Žirēft Tekin (und) dem Nēv Tekin, diesen Prinzen, dazu den Herren, den mächtigen Savaḡ Tutuḡ, Tschīq Tutuḡ, ferner den Tschigschis, den Tiräks, und weiter dem Il-Ügäsi Kadosch Niyōšāgbēd (Herrn d. Auditores), dem Gliede, dem glänzenden, des Lichtgesandten, dazu den Il-Ügäsis: Ötür Ügä, Sawtschi Muḡa (= Buḡa? Maḡā?) Tarkan Ügä, Bilig Köngül Sangun Ügä Batur Sangun Ügä, Tai MuḡaTarchan Ügä, Nižük Sangun Ügä, diesen Herren, den mächtigen. Und weiter diejenigen, deren Name von mir nicht erwähnt ist, mögen sie leben und gedeihen in Ewigkeit, Amen! On this colophon, see also Sundermann 1992, 71–72; Yoshida 2009b, 352, n. 10; Moriyasu 2015d, 241–244.

Only a few Manichaean colophons have been preserved most of which are in a fragmentary condition. For which reason it remains unknown whether or not it was usual for Manichaean colophons to contain such long lists of individual names. It is possible such a large number of people listed in the dedication was a widespread feature of colophons in Iranian culture and had been adopted by the Uyghurs via Manichaeism.

4 Closing remarks

The discussion above argues that Uyghur Buddhists established their manuscript culture through various exchanges with different religious communities and Buddhist cultures in Central and Eastern Asia. Those exchanges are reflected in the different forms of the manuscripts containing Old Uyghur Buddhist texts and the structure colophons featured in the texts. Some aspects of the texts and colophons show Buddhists were aware of Manichaeism and its literature, which were forerunners of Uyghur Buddhist texts. Buddhists experimented, imitating Manichaean text styles. This is exemplified by the use of the codex and the long list of audience and family members are examples of this. The codex book was not adopted as the standard form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, although the list of people survived and became a characteristic feature of Old Uyghur Buddhist donor colophons.

However, the most essential contribution to the production of Old Uyghur Buddhist literature was the diverse Buddhist traditions in the regions surrounding the Uyghurs. Although the Chinese influence was considerable, Uyghur Buddhists did not follow the Chinese model passively. As they developed styles of writing texts in the Old Uyghur language and script, the Uyghurs also absorbed features from Central Asia.

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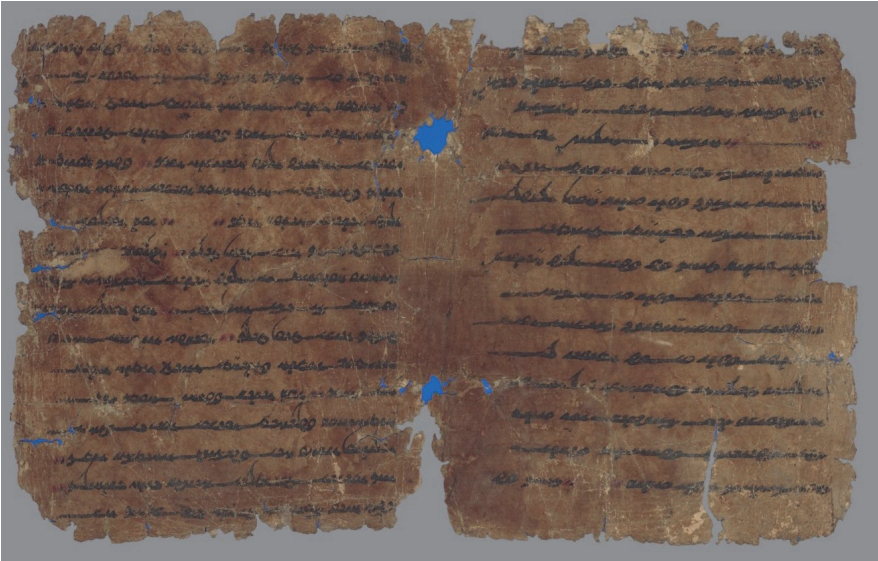


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot Ouïgour 1a. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 2: Mainz 131 [T II. Y 37], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



Fig. 3: Mainz 920 [T II [S] 24], recto, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

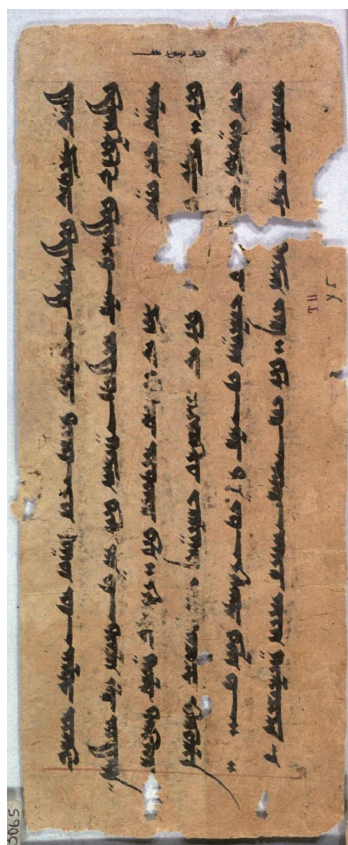


Fig. 4: U 3065 [T II y 5], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

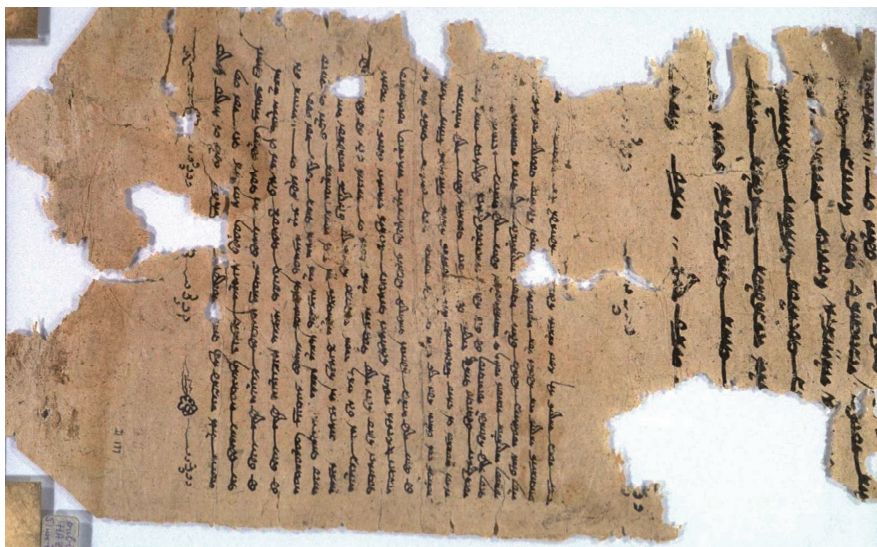


Fig. 5: U 4921 [T II D 199], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

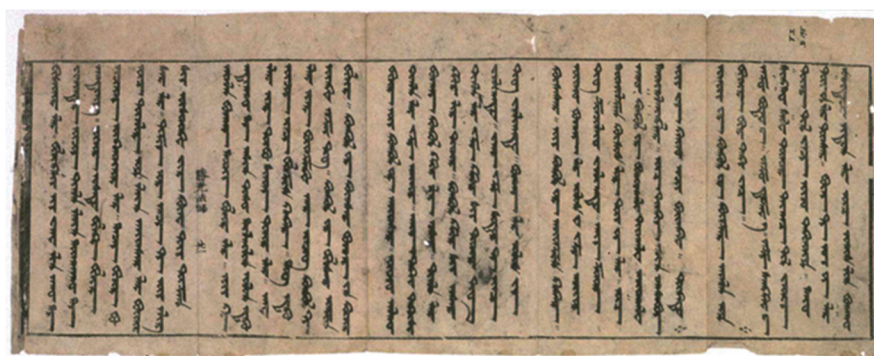


Fig. 6: U 4627 [T I D 195], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



Fig. 7: U 3365 [T III TV. 68. 509], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

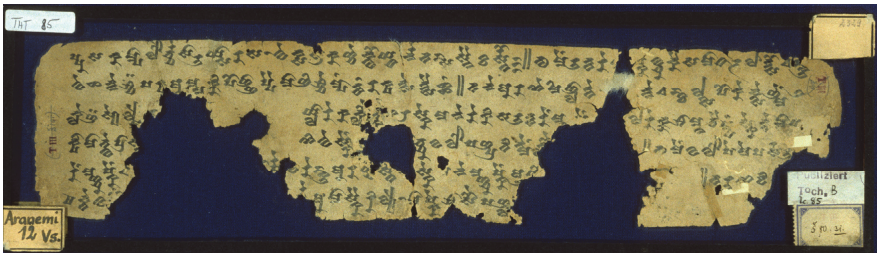


Fig. 8: THT 85 [T III Š 80.31], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

