WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE USE OF MANUSCRIPTS AMONG THE OLD UIGHURS IN THE TURFAN REGION ?

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Abstract: Among the findings of the four German Turfan expeditions sent by the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (today's Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin) to East Turkestan between 1902 and 1904 there were around 8,000 Old Turkic fragments dating from the 10th to the 14th cc. During recent decades, research on the Old Turkic material preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections has advanced considerably. A large number of editions and catalogues have been published. This paper presents some preliminary remarks concerning the codicology of the Old Uighur manuscripts which have been preserved almost without exception only fragmentarily. Despite being only a small part of the written sources for the Old Uighurs, these fragments show a great variety and demonstrate the wide spread of the culture of writing among the Old Uighurs in their different fields of life. Detailed studies are necessary to determine the origin of the written sources and the identity of the scribes and those who sponsored or ordered the manuscripts, copies or documents.

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Our knowledge about the use of manuscripts among the Old Uighurs in the Turfan region and the neighbouring areas on the Northern Silk Road under the rule of the West Uighur Kingdom and the Mongol Empire (9th-14th c.) is largely limited to the data to be found in the mostly fragmentary text remains which are now preserved in the Central Asian manuscript collections worldwide.

The material

The Old Turkic part of the Berlin Turfan collections is a good example of the great variety of the Turfan texts. It consists of about 8,000 fragments of folios of various sizes preserved in the Turfan collections of the Berlin-

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Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften[1] and the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin-Dahlem.

Most of these text remains are written in the so-called Uighur script which was developed from the Sogdian script, while some fragments are in runiform, Manichaean, Nestorian, Sogdian, Brāhmī or Tibetan scripts.

About 2,000 of the 8,000 Old Turkic fragments were written on recycled paper. We find these texts, which show a significant variety of content – religious, literary, legal and private – written on the verso sides or even blank margins of mostly Chinese, but sometimes also Sogdian, Syriac, Tibetan or Mongolian manuscripts.

Dating these texts is a big problem, as most of them bear no date. In addition, if there is a date in the text, as may be the case, for instance, in legal documents, it is indicated according to the Twelve-year animal-cycle calendar, which allows no absolute dating. In several colophons, a combination of the Twelve-year animal-cycle with the ten "stems" is preserved, which allows an approximate dating within a period of sixty years. A great help towards establishing an absolute date is the mention of historical individuals or indication of the personal names of translators, scribes or sponsors attested in other sources. Finally, to a certain extent, particular linguistic and orthographic features of the manuscripts may also contribute to solving the problem of dating.

However, it is possible to state that the remains of the written culture of the Uighur Manicheans, amounting to around 800 fragments, date from the 10th to the 11th century and comprise a broad spectrum of Manichaean literature, that is letters, monastic decrees, and others.[2]

The Uighur Buddhist texts present an entirely different picture. In the whole period extending from the 9th to the 14th century, Buddhist works were read, copied, translated and modified. The number of fragments illustrating all the facets of Buddhism amongst the Uighurs rises to thousands and forms the majority of the Old Turkic fragments. There are manuscripts as well as blockprints in very different formats. The most popular among them are Pothī (or Pustaka)-books of various sizes, but also scrolls, leporellos (folded books) and stitched books.

Most of the Uighur Buddhist texts are translations from Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Tocharian or Sogdian. In addition to this there are quite a number of Chinese - Old Uighur bilingual excerpts from the *Āgama*, Theravāda Buddhist works. But there are also some examples of original

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[1] Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

[2] For an overview cf. Wilkens, Jens, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 8: *Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 16].

Buddhist literature among the Uighur texts, such as fragments of Buddhist alliterative poetry and confession texts of the lay people.

Approximately 50 texts belong to the small collection of Christian Turkic texts, mostly found at three sites in the Turfan oasis, namely Bulayık, Kurutka and Kocho.

Among the non-religious writings there are medical and astronomical texts, as well as a group of *ca.* 780 economic and private documents.[3] While the study of these texts is of great importance for the history and the social life of the Old Uighurs during the time of the West Uighur Kingdom (9th-13th c.) and during the Mongol period (13th-14th c.), the research on this text group poses great difficulties because of the cursive script and the very fragmentary size of these texts.

Data concerning the use of the manuscripts

As already mentioned, most texts or text remains are Buddhist in content. It is common knowledge that Buddhists texts were often written in accordance with the idea of merit (*puṇya*), earned by a person who sponsored the copying of a Sutra or even a single chapter of a Sutra.

Not only the large number of fragments—i.e. more than 1,000 of the total of *ca.* 8,000 Old Turkic fragments from the Berlin Turfan collections—but also the large number of different copies of the same text, witness to the pre-eminence of the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*, Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, "The Sutra of Golden Light" among the writings read by the Old Uighurs. Although a detailed study on this subject is still to be conducted, I have been already able to identify 69 manuscripts and blockprints during the compilation of the catalogue of this text.[4]

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[3] For an overview of the economic and private documents cf. Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 13: *Dokumente*. Teil 1, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 21]; Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 14: *Dokumente*. Teil 2, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 21]. A catalogue volume of medical, astronomical, magical fragments, calendars and related texts compiled by Michael Knüppel is in preparation.

[4] Cf. Ehlers, Gerhard, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 2: *Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzyklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. Depositum der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. XIII, 10]; Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 5: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 1: *Vorworte und Erstes bis Drittes Buch*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 13]; Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 6: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 2: *Viertes und*

Because of their significance or popularity (as in the case of the *jātaka* stories, for instance), some chapters of the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* were probably chosen more often for copying than others, or they were copied for a specific reason. One example from the Berlin collection shows that single chapters even became independent.

It is thanks to the—at least—partly preserved pagination of the fragment with the shelf-number U 2585 *kšanti säkiz [yegirmi]* (Pl. I.1 [=fig. 1]) that we learn that it belongs to a manuscript consisting of a single chapter from the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*, devoted to the confession of sins (OT: *kšanti kılmak*). Otherwise, if it were part of a complete manuscript, it would be foliated *üčünč ülüš säkiz yigirmi*, because this chapter is located within the 3rd book (*üčünč ülüš*) of the sūtra.

Among the various copies of this chapter present in the collection, another interesting feature can be noticed: at particular places in the text are mentioned the names of people who intend to confess their sins with the help of this text. In the different copies we thus find different names. For example, instead of *m(ä)n* " I " present in the nearly completely preserved St. Petersburg manuscript of the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* (Suv 133,12), the Berlin fragment U 909—unfortunately damaged—mentions the names of two individuals: Taz Tutuŋ and Yürüŋ Tutuŋ (Pl. I.2 [= 2]). Another, only recently identified fragment of this chapter (Mainz 20) contains the personal names Sarıg T(ä)ŋrim and Mısır Qaya.

Probably an original Old Uighur composition was the *Kšanti kılmak (atlıg) nom bitig* "The Scripture [named] 'Performing Confession' " (Pl. I.3 [= 3]). The great number of fragments belonging to different manuscripts of this text, as well as of the text entitled *Kšanti kılguluk nom bitig* "Book for the Redemption of Sins" translated from Chinese,[5] and the great variety of personal names of those performing the confession and of those to whom the resulting merit is dedicated, make it clear that this form of confession was actively used by the Old Uighur Buddhists.[6]

Fünftes Buch, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2002 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 14]; Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 7: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 3: *Sechstes bis Zehntes Buch - Kolophone, Kommentare und Versifizierungen - Gesamtkonkordanzen*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 15].

[5] A catalogue of the Old Uighur confession texts preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections was compiled by Jens Wilkens, cf. Wilkens, Jens, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 9: *Buddhistische Beichttexte*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII,17].

[6] A detailed study on this topic concerning the *Kšanti kılguluk nom bitig* is given in Wilkens, Jens, *Das Buch von der Sündentilgung. Edition des alttürkisch-buddhistischen Kšanti Kılguluk Nom Bitig*, Teil 1-2, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007 [Berliner Turfantexte XXV, 1-2], pp. 7-9.

While writing a separate confession text for a laywoman named Üträt, an accident happened to the scribe and he added the following note at the end of the main text, with regard to the content of the text which he was writing down: *mäkä tökülti yazok bolmazun* "The ink ran. May it be no sin!" The main text is followed by a colophon in a much smaller script (Fig. 1).[7]

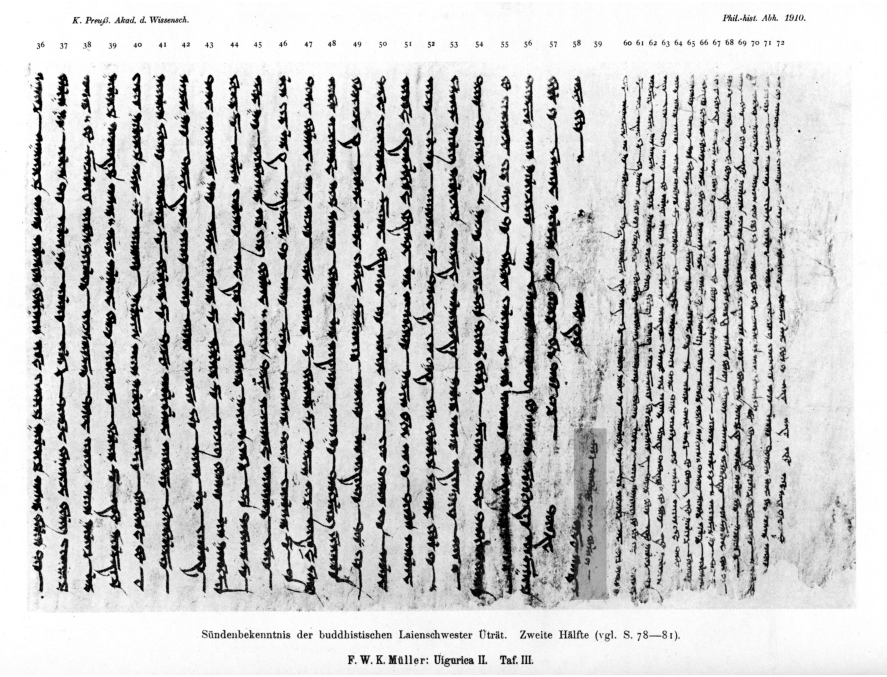


Fig. 1: Preserved fragment of Üträt's confession of sins [Photograph after the facsimile published in Müller, *Uigurica II*, Berlin, 1910, plate III]. **<=orig. fig. 4>**

[7] The original of this text was, amongst others, lost during World War II. A black and white photograph was published by F. W. K. Müller in his edition of the text, see Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl, *Uigurica* II, Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Commission bei G. Reimer, 1910 [Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, no. 3], pp. 76-83 and plates II-III.

Colophons are an important source of information about the readership of these books. Several studies[8] deal with the preserved Old Uighur colophons in order to find answers for questions such as: Who ordered a copy? What were the reasons for choosing a particular text for copying? What can be learned about the period during which a text was copied?

The fragment U 4921 is part of a scroll with text on the recto side only. Preserved is the end of a "Praise of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva", with colophon (Pl. II.1 [=5]). This manuscript may serve as a further example of the arrangement of Buddhist texts with added colophons in the Old Uighur manuscripts. The colophon is easily recognisable, because the script is smaller and the lines of the text in the colophon run much closer to each other than in the main text.

As a result of the study of extant colophons we are able to conclude, that the structure and to a certain extent also the expressions occurring in texts follow a common pattern. The main part is the transfer of merit earned by copying the text to a long list of gods (tutelary deities), the ruler, the family of the sponsor and the sponsor of the copy himself.

Only in rare cases are more specific aims to be achieved by copying the scripture in question mentioned. For instance, in the case of a colophon in an *Avalokiteśvara Sādhana* (U 4124) we learn that the monks (*šilavantilar*) of the Puqing monastery (in Dadu) had ordered the blockprint of this text in the year 1333 A.D. in order to hand it over to those who were going to practise this ritual.[9]

A similar wish is expressed in the colophon to the sūtra with the Old Uighur title *Yimlangwangki* (U 1949 + U 1614, Pl. II.2 [=6]): "May it be recited and preached in Kocho. In order to pass it down to others, I [the

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[8] Cf. Zieme, Peter, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992 [Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88]; Kasai, Yukiyo, *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008 [Berliner Turfantexte, XXVI].

[9] Cf. Kara, Georg, & Peter Zieme, *Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976 [Berliner Turfantexte, VII], p. 66 fn. B 101 and pl. XLVIII; Zieme, Peter, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung uigurischer Blockdrucke," *Journal Asiatique* 269 (1981), pp. 385-399, esp. p. 398 [reprint in *Fragmenta Buddhica Uigurica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Peter Zieme*, S.-Ch. Raschmann & J. Wilkens (eds.), Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2009, pp. 512-527]; Yakup, Abdurishid, & Michael Knüppel, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 11: *Die Uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Teil 1: *Tantrische Texte*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII,19], p. 216 (catalogue No. 277); Kasai, *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*, p. 208 (No. 110).

name of the sponsor is unfortunately missing] have copied it in Lükčüŋ."[10] While Lükčüŋ is the name of a city, probably Kocho marks here the whole *kočo uluš* "kingdom of Kocho, i.e. West Uighur Kingdom" which in the 10th century counted 22 cities.[11]

That the copied manuscripts had been made use of is shown by several scribblings, most of them in a cursive script. The frequent use of the manuscripts can also be demonstrated by the existing examples of old conservation work. This work was done by cutting strips from old folios and gluing them on the damaged part of a manuscript in need of restoration.

Chinese manuscripts were often used as material for the restoration work on the Old Uighur manuscripts. For example, U 7001 is a fragment of a scroll with a text identified as the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur* (SYY) "The Divine Spell Sūtra of Heaven and Earth and the Eight Yang expounded by the Buddha", the translation of a Chinese apocryphon.[12] Around 300 fragments of different manuscripts and blockprints of the *SYY* are preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections.[13] In addition, a nearly completely preserved scroll is to be found in the British Library Stein

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[10] U 1949 + U 1614/v/9/-/13/, cf. Zieme, Peter, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985, pp. 187-188 (No. 58 and pl. LXXXIX [Berliner Turfantexte, XIII]; Kasai, Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone, pp. 49-52 (No. 3).

[11] Cf. Moriyasu, Takao, "Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan," in *De Dunhuang à Istanbul. Hommage à James Russell Hamilton*, Louis Bazin & Peter Zieme (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, pp. 149-223 [Silk Road Studies, V], esp. p. 192.

[12] Cf. Oda, Juten, *Bussetsu tenchi hachiyō shinjukyō ikkan torukogoyaku no kenkyū. A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra Called* Säkiz yükmäk yaruq or Säkiz törlügin yarumïš yaltrïmïš in Old Turkic, vol. I: Text, vol. II: Facsimile, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2010: II, pp. 63-64 (text 23,2: U 7001 recto) and pl. 57.

[13] For the catalogue of the fragments of handwritten copies of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur* preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections see Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 18: *Buddhica aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Teil 1: Das apokryphe Sutra *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 26]. The blockprint fragments of this text are described by Yakup, Abdurishid, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 12: *Die Uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Teil 2: *Apokryphen, Mahayana-Sutren, Erzählungen, Magische Texte, Kommentare und Kolophone*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 20], pp. 53-75 (catalogue Nos. 29-59). Three fragments in Brāhmī script are described by Maue, Dieter, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 1: *Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996 [Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 9], pp. 174, 216-218 (catalogue Nos. 42, 82).

collection (Or. 8212(104)). The preserved fragments show the existence of different versions of the *SYY*.

The frequent use of the manuscripts of the *SYY* may be induced by the nature of the sūtra itself. It encourages people to read and recite the text on the occasion of building a house, of a funeral or even of a wedding. By doing so people would be free from any misfortune and fear, and also happy in their daily life.

The glued strip of paper on the back of the fragment U 7001 comes from a Chinese blockprint and is a fragment of the front page of chapter 18 of the 隨願往生集 *Sui yuan wang sheng ji*.[14] Unfortunately the five cursive text lines on the backside of the Old Uighur manuscript are very damaged and therefore unclear (Pl. III.1a-b [=7a-b]).

Fragment U 7032 is part of another copy of the same *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur*.[15]

But Old Uighur manuscripts were also used for restoration, for example a strip of paper with the title *borluk satgın almıš bitig* "wine garden sales contract" on fragment U 7068 (Pl. III.2a-b [=8a-b]), a piece of another manuscript of the *SYY* in scroll format.

Let me turn back to the above mentioned scribblings added by individuals other than the scribe. Often they are added by readers of the manuscript in order to testify their study of the text. Other scribblings seem to be writing exercises only. For this latter purpose standard phrases were often used, including various Buddhist phrases (such as praises and dhāraṇīs), date formulas, and fixed expressions used in contracts and letters.

Notes made by Old Uighur readers are also present in Chinese manuscripts and may serve as an indication of the multilingual erudition among the Old Uighurs belonging to the Buddhist milieu.

The following can be quoted as good examples of such reading practices.

On the backside of a blockprint (Ch/U 3910a), identified as a Chinese version of the *Dīrghāgama-sūtra*, we find a short colophon in Uighur script (Pl. IVa-b [=9a-b]).[16] In this colophon, the Chinese title of the sūtra, *Zhang ahan jing*, indicated on the front side in Uighur transcription *čo-agaam,* and the name of the reader Mısır Šabi-k(ı)y-a are mentioned. The second part of his name, Šabi-k(ı)y-a (Chin. 沙彌 *sha mi* = Skt. śrāmaṇera), suggests he was a novice.

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[14] Identification by Tsuneki Nishiwaki (Kyoto).

[15] Oda, *A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra*, II, p. 68 (text 31,1) and pl. 63.

[16] Cf. Kudara, Kōgi, & Peter Zieme, "Uigurische *Āgama*-Fragmente (1)," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10 (1983), pp. 269-318, pp. 272, 312 fig. 4; Kasai, *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*, p. 47 (No. 1); Raschmann, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 14: *Dokumente*. Teil 2, p. 167 (catalogue No. 476).

The backside of another Chinese blockprint fragment (Ch 5546) of the *Zhang ahan jing* (*Dīrghāgama-sūtra*) bears different Old Uighur texts (Pl. IV [= 10]). 46 lines in Uighur semi-cursive script belong to an Old Uighur *avādana* text.[17] The Old Uighurs often re-used the blank sides of Chinese manuscripts (which were normally only written on one side) for writing their texts or even for the production of new manuscripts or documents in their own language. But the final part of the text written on the reverse side of Ch 5546 contains some additional notes in Uighur script left by at least three different individuals who had studied the Chinese text copied on the front side, as can be seen from the title indicated in Old Uighur transcription (2b 2) *čo a-gam*, as well as in Chinese characters (2d 1) 長阿含 *Zhang ahan*. It is quite interesting that two of these readers acknowledge their age:

> In the year of the Pig, in the first day of the third month, I, [ ]MYŠ Tu[tuŋ]-k(ı)y-a {the name is only partly preserved} endeavoured to recite this at the age of seventeen.

and:

> Year of the Ox, at the 24th day of the third month, I, Yıgmıš K(a)y-a, endeavoured to recite this *Zhang ahan* at the age of nine. May I become Buddha![18]

The young age mentioned in the last note is quite surprising.

Most of the individuals have the element *tutuŋ* in their name, from which we suppose that they were active members of the Buddhist community. The element *tutuŋ*, derived from < Chin. 都統, later phonetic 都通 *du tong*, is a Buddhist title which was later commonly used as a name element only.[19]

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[17] Cf. Zieme, Peter, "Der Wettkampf Śāriputras mit den Häretikern nach einer alttürkischen Version," in *Bahşı Ögdisi. Festschrift für Klaus Röhrborn anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstags. 60. doğum yılı dolayısıyla Klaus Röhrborn Armağanı*, Jens Peter Laut & Mehmet Ölmez (eds.), Freiburg-Istanbul: Simurg, 1998, [Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi, 21], pp. 429-447 and pl. XIX-XXI.

[18] Cf. Kasai, *Die uighurischen buddhistischen Kolophone*, p. 48 (No. 2a-d).

[19] Cf. Hamilton, James, "Les titres *šäli* et *tutung* en ouïgour," *Journal Asiatique* 272/3-4 (1984), pp. 425-437; Oda, Juten, "Uiguru no shōgō 'tutung' to sono shūhen [Concerning the Uighur Appelation 'Tutung']," *Tōyōshi kenkyū. The Journal of Oriental Researches* 46-1 (1987), pp. 57-86; Zieme, Peter, "Sur quelques titres et noms des bouddhistes turcs," in *L'Asie centrale et ses voisins. Influences réciproques*, Rémy Dor (ed.), Paris: Publications Langues'O, 1990, pp. 131-139, esp. p. 136ff [Reprint in *Fragmenta Buddhica Uigurica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Peter Zieme*, S.-Ch. Raschmann & J. Wilkens (eds.), Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2009, pp. 574-582].

The re-use of Chinese manuscripts

a) Re-use for making Old Uighur Buddhist books

Let me turn to the production of new manuscripts or documents in Old Uighur by the secondary use of Chinese manuscripts. Several preserved or partly preserved books of Old Uighur texts or at least scriptures in Uighur writing were produced by folding or cutting folios or scrolls of Chinese manuscripts. In the following some examples from the Berlin Turfan collections will illustrate this re-use.

The first is a small stitched booklet (Pl. V.2 [=11a-b]). It is preserved in the Berlin Turfan collection under the shelf number Ch/U 7729. Unfortunately the booklet is severely damaged. As far as we can observe today, it was used for recording a Chinese text transcribed in Uighur script. This text was published by the late Masahiro Shōgaito in 2009.[20] It is mentioned here because it demonstrates a very special way that Chinese manuscripts were re-used by the Old Uighurs. The small booklet contains two types of texts: (a) pages in Chinese script which have been identified as belonging to two different Chinese Buddhist texts, the *Da ban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*) and the *Jingang banruo boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (*Vajracchedikā Sūtra*), and (b) pages in Uighur script (mentioned above). For the writing of the Chinese text in Uighur script, the original Chinese scrolls were first cut in half horizontally and then, vertically. Finally, the pages produced this way, were bound according to the so-called "butterfly binding" type. Opening this book, the reader is faced either with two pages in Chinese or with two in Uighur script. The fact that the two pages in Chinese script are arranged upside down to each other makes it clear that they were merely being used as writing material here. The remains of the Chinese text in Uighur script have been identified in large part as belonging to the *Fanwanjing* 梵網經 (the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*).

Another sample is much better preserved. I refer here to a long Old Turkic text in Uighur script known under the title **Insadi* Sutra, first published in 1974 by Semih Tezcan.[21] This title remains obscure. The main topic of this text is the *pravāraṇā* ceremony. Like the *Fanwanjing*, the text was written on the reverse sides of Chinese manuscripts. The manuscript in question, which is preserved under the shelf number

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[20] Shōgaito, Masahiro, "The Fanwangjing 梵網經 (Brahmajāla-sūtra): A Chinese text transcribed in the Uighur script," in *Tujue yuwenxue yanyiu: Geng Shimin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian wenji* [*Studies in Turkic philology. Festschrift in honour of the 80th birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*], Zhang Dingjing & Abdurishid Yakup (eds.), Beijing: Minzu University Press, 2009, pp. 426-434.

[21] Tezcan, Semih, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974 [Berliner Turfantexte, III].

Ch/U 7570 in the Turfan collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, forms a booklet of 72 pages of a type called stitched gathering book (Fig. 2 [=13]). In the case of the *Insadi* booklet, 18 large Chinese folios were used for the production (Pl. VI.1 [=12a-b]). They were prepared for this purpose by folding each of them horizontally. Several of them, in our case five or seven, were brought together into gatherings, folded again and joined together with thread at the fold. The *Insadi* booklet consists of three gatherings. The first two gatherings were wrapped by another folded Chinese folio. All threads from the sewing are lost. As a final result, each page of the *Insadi* booklet consists of two layers with Chinese text inside, which is now almost invisible. The two exterior sides of the book and page 5 have no text.

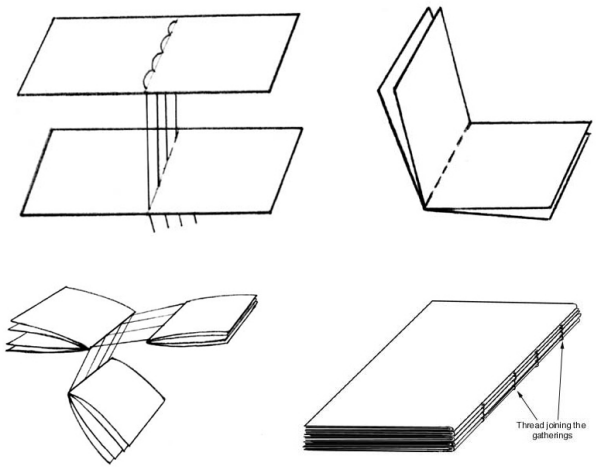


Fig. 2: Stitched gathering **<orig. fig. 13>**
[source: http://idp.bl.uk/education/bookbinding/bookbinding.a4d]

The writer of the *Insadi* Sutra is Čisim or Čisim Tu according to the colophon. As we learn from the text, this person is also the owner of the manuscript, which he called *tikäši čagsı* "stitched book". When he was writing down or probably copying the *Insadi* Sutra, he initially kept the first 5 pages and the last pages blank. After finishing his work he added some additional notes on the first two pages, i.e. the title of the Sutra, his name as the owner of the book, and the instruction that the book could be used for recitation by everybody, but nobody was allowed to take it away.

Some time later, another person must have used the booklet for writing down another text, probably the two poems praising Maitreya which figure

on the originally blank pages. This must have been the reason why the owner added still another note on page 3, lamenting that his valuable scripture had been misused by a person, Saŋga Tu by name, as a result of which it had become worthless.

The dating of this manuscript, which was excavated during the 3rd German Turfan expedition on the 15th of November 1906 in Murtuq, is still under discussion. The main editor dated it to the 17th century. But it must have been, at least, composed during the Yuan period (13th-14th c.). A mantra of Tārā included here makes it clear that the text is influenced by Tantric Buddhism. Some hints, such as the mentioning of Muḥammad (*maxamat*), imply a certain influence by Islam.

b) Re-use for making Old Uighur documents

Finally, some samples should illustrate the secondary use of manuscripts for drawing up contracts or other private documents, such as letters.

In the case of fragment Ch/U 7362 from the Berlin Turfan collection, we can clearly demonstrate that the Chinese blockprint was cut into pieces and in this way prepared for a secondary use (Pl. VI.2 [=14a-b]).[22] The top margin and up to eight Chinese characters—approximately half of the line—are preserved on the recto side of the fragment, while the Uighur script on the verso runs upside-down. In some cases the Uighur line is fully preserved from top to bottom. The content of this Old Uighur document is a delivery register of different quantities (*küri*) of something from different individuals, named Kašmir Tu, Kutlug Tämir, Sävinč Kay-a etc., probably as a kind of levy or tax. The kind of product delivered is not mentioned, but the unit of measurement used in the list (*küri*) makes it clear that it is some sort of grain. *Küri* is a measure of capacity used for different types of corn in the known Old Uighur documents.[23]

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[22] Cf. Raschmann, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 14: *Dokumente*. Teil 2, p. 135 (catalogue No. 426).

[23] Cf. Yamada, Nobuo, "Four Notes on Several Names for Weights and Measures in Uighur Documents," in *Studia Turcica*, Louis Ligeti (ed.), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1971, pp. 491-498 [Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, 17]. [Reprint: Yamada, Nobuo, *Uigurubun keiyaku monjo shūsei. Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*, ed. Oda Juten, Peter Zieme, Umemura Hiroshi & Moriyasu Takao, vol. I: *Gesammelte Arbeiten über die uigurischen Dokumente von N. Yamada*, Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1993, pp. 457-467]; Matsui, Dai, "Unification of Weight and Measures by the Mongol Empire as Seen in the Uigur and Mongol Documents," in *Turfan Revisited – The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Jens Wilkens, Marianne Yaldiz & Peter Zieme (eds.), Berlin: Reimer, 2004, pp. 228-239 [Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 17].

The multicultural re-use of Chinese manuscripts is shown by another register or list which clearly was drawn up in a region with a Christian community, as it can be seen from the personal names mentioned in the text (Ch/U 7535; Pl. VII.1 [=15a-b]).[24] The entries in the register run upside-down between the lines of the Chinese manuscript on the recto side and the same way on the originally blank verso side of the Chinese text. The Chinese manuscript was identified as a copy of the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (T. 220 大般若波羅蜜多經 *Da bo re bo luo mi duo jing*). As in the previous example, the Old Uighur document lists personal names and certain quantities of an unknown product. Again from the units of measurement mentioned in the text—*küri* and *šıg*, the next larger unit of capacity (10 *küri* is equal to 1 *šıg*)—we may assume that it is a delivery register for corn. The preserved personal names, i.e. Savma Ärkägün, "the Christian Sauma" and […]Pʾ N Yohnan, "[...]Pʾ N John", clearly identify them as members of a Christian community. Unfortunately we do not know where the document was found.

Two fragments of the Syriac subdivision in the Berlin Turfan collection (SyrHT 83 + SyrHT 84) could be easily joined because of the draft of an Old Uighur letter present on them (Pl. VIII [=16a-b]).[25] The lines in Uighur script are written on the top of a Syriac text. The Old Uighur text is very short and contains, besides the names of the addressee, the sender and the scribe, only a standard phrase used in letters: *bitigdä nä üküš sav ıḍalım* "Let us send as many words (as there are) in this letter". It ends with the final formula *mäŋü ol* "It is eternal."[26]

But, in some cases, writing down Old Uighur texts on the blank verso sides or blank margins of the recto sides of manuscripts is not the final use of the original (Chinese, Syriac etc.) texts, as we see from the fragment with the shelf number Ch/U 7353 (Pl. VII.2 [=17a-b]).[27] As clearly visible from the shape, it was finally used as a kind of sole for a shoe. The content of the text in semi-cursive style on the left side is still unclear. A number

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[24] Cf. Raschmann, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 14: *Dokumente*. Teil 2, pp. 136-137 (catalogue No. 428).

[25] Cf. Raschmann, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 14: *Dokumente*. Teil 2, pp. 101-102 (catalogue No. 376).

[26] For the edition of this text see Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, "Traces of Christian communities in the Old Turkish documents," in *Tujue yuwenxue yanyiu: Geng Shimin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian wenji* [*Studies in Turkic philology*. *Festschrift in honour of the 80th birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*], Zhang Dingjing & Abdurishid Yakup (eds.), Beijing: Minzu University Press, 2009, pp. 408-425, esp. pp. 417-418.

[27] Cf. Raschmann, *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 13: *Dokumente*. Teil 1, pp. 237-238 (catalogue No. 246).

of individuals with the title *tümän bägi* "Lord of Ten-Thousands" are mentioned at the preserved end of the text (left hand side). On the right side we have scribbling from in a different hand. The original text on the recto side is a Chinese Buddhist blockprint of the 大方等陀羅尼經 *Da fang deng tuo luo ni jing* (Taishō 1339, vol. XXI, Skt. *Pratyutpannabuddha-saṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra*).[28]

Thanks to this kind of re-use, many Chinese documents have been preserved, including some unearthed in burial sites of the Tang period.[29]

The loan of books

Still unique among the excavated Old Uighur documents is a contract concerning the loan of a book. This document (SI 4b Kr 235) is kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg and was published by Lilija Ju. Tuguševa in 1996.[30] The text of the document runs as follows:

> On the 10th day of the 8th month (in the) year of the Rabbit, I, Bilingdu(?) Tutuŋ, have received from Lord (*bäg*) Burhan kulı Tutuŋ {Burhan kulı = slave of Buddha} the *dravya* (?) of the first bundle of the *Sapagam*. Whenever he claims it back, I will truly hand it back. This seal is mine, that of Bilingdu Tutuŋ. I wrote it down with my own hand.

The reading and interpretation of the last word in line 3 (*diravi*) of the fragment is still a problem.[31] The reading proposed here, *diravi*, implies a loan from Sanskrit, *dravya* 'a substance, thing, object; the ingredients or materials of anything; object of possession'. Loans from Sanskrit are fairly usual, even though we have two Chinese loans in the same sentence: *sap-agam*, the Uighur transcription of Chinese *Za ahan jing* (Taishō No. 99, the *Saṃyuktāgama-Sūtra*) and *čir* derived from Chin. 帙 *zhi* 'book-box, bundle' of five or ten scrolls. The Old Uighur texts mention bundles consisting of ten scrolls: *bo nom [ä]ŋäyü on küin bir čir kılturup* "ließ er speziell als dieses (vorliegende) Werk (in) zehn Rollen und (dazu je) eine

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[28] Cf. Kudara, Kōgi, *A General Catalogue of the Chinese Texts from East Turkestan in the Berlin Collection* (provisional trial edition), Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 2000, p. 311.

[29] Cf. Scheil, Jörg-Michael, *Die chinesischen Vertragsurkunden aus Turfan*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1995 [Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Bd. 72], p. 17.

[30] Tuguševa, Lilija Jusufdžanovna, "Neskol'ko ujgurskix dokumentov iz rukopisnogo sobranija Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala IV RAN," *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie. St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies* 8 (1996), pp. 215-238, esp. pp. 220-221, 231 (facsimile).

[31] There are six text lines preserved on the fragment. The text of the document in question starts on line 2 and goes up to line 6, the last text line on the fragment in question.

Buchumhüllung herstellen."[32] From the document SI 4b Kr 235 we learn about a specific loan of books that took place.

The main part of the lender's name—Burhan kulı Tutuŋ "Slave of Buddha"—makes it clear that he belongs to the Buddhist community. The high value of these scriptures is shown by the fact that written contracts were established for book loans, although without fixing a fee or an end for the loan, which was instead limited to when the lender claimed it back. The personal name of the borrower is of Chinese origin. He is also a member of the Buddhist community. The last element of his name is also Tutuŋ, so probably he has the same social status within the community as the lender. At the end of the last line we can see two Chinese characters which probably should be interpreted as the seal mentioned in the text. Usually, a black seal or (in case of an official document) a red seal, generally with a Chinese inscription, was stamped at the end of a document. Here, the meaning of these two Chinese characters is "(That is) Ling's document" [靈牒 *ling die*].

Concluding remarks

Currently, we are aware of probably only a very small portion of the Old Uighur literature of religious and non-religious content and of other writings like the quoted documents. A huge part has undoubtedly been lost, but some more findings can be expected from the ongoing Chinese excavations in the Xinjiang region.

However, the great variety of the preserved Old Turkic fragments demonstrates the wide spread of the culture of writing among the Old Uighurs in the period of the West Uighur Kingdom and in the Mongol period.



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[32] Cf. Wilkens, *Das Buch von der Sündentilgung*, I, pp. 62-63 (lines 0138-0139).

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