

Old Uyghur Buddhist Scrolls: A Case Study Based on the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* Scrolls

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ABSTRACT

The main feature of the extant Old Uyghur manuscripts is their fragmentary state of preservation and the predominant lack of dating. Catalogues and editions of the Old Uyghur fragments reveal a great diversity in the size and format of the discovered manuscript folios and the fragments from them. This study aims to promote the reconstruction of the scope of the Old Uyghur book forms from preserved fragments as an important part of the Old Uyghur manuscript culture. Which book forms were utilized, who participated in their production, and where? Studies on the papers and inks employed are obtainable. This study focuses on the Buddhist scrolls of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*.

KEYWORDS

Old Uyghur, Buddhist literature, book forms, scroll, *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*, illuminated manuscripts

0. INTRODUCTION

Roughly 8.000 fragments of Old Uyghur (hereafter OU) manuscripts and block prints are preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) and in the Collection of South, Southeast, and Central Asian Art of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. In addition, OU written artefacts are also present in

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several Central Asian manuscript collections worldwide, mainly in St. Petersburg, London, Paris, Stockholm, Kyoto and in collections of libraries and museums at various places in China. The first volume of the *Catalogue of the Old Uyghur Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, was recently published. This volume mainly includes those that have been previously edited and published. According to the volume, the collection contains a total of 4730 OU fragments (Lundysheva, Turanskaya and Umemura 2021: XXV).

While the written artefacts in the Berlin collections were exclusively excavated in the Tarim region, mainly at various sites in the Turfan basin, or bought from local people, the OU written artefacts in other collections also come, for instance, from the so-called ‘Library Cave’ (Cave 17) in Dunhuang, in Gansu Province, which the German expeditions did not visit. These excavation sites are located on the Silk Roads, a network of Eurasian trade routes, which played an important role in facilitating economic, cultural, political, and religious interactions across Eurasia. Today they are all part of The People’s Republic of China (hereafter PRC). The main features of the OU written artefacts include the fragmentary state of preservation, the predominant lack of dating and a great diversity in content, book form and size.

These texts are the written legacy of the Uyghurs, who migrated into the eastern Tianshan 天山 region and the Hexi corridor after the collapse of their nomadic East Uyghur Kaganate (742–840) in Mongolia. Between the 9th and 13th centuries, they held strong political power in the region (under the West Uyghur Kingdom (847–1270) and the Ganzhou Uyghur Kingdom (880–1035)). The Uyghurs, who had close relations with the Mongols and became their tutors in several fields such as literary culture, were able to maintain their influence after the rise of the Mongol Empire in 1206 and when they came under the strict control of the Mongol Yuan Empire (1279–1368). Fragments of religious works, including those from Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian traditions, comprise the majority of the written artefacts. Additionally, there are official and private documents, as well as a small number of medical, astrological, and calendrical texts.

During the period of the East Uyghur Kaganate, the Uyghur ruler Būgū Kagan converted to Manichaeism (around 761/2), and Manichaeism became the court religion. This remained the case when the Uyghurs migrated south. However, soon after their migration, Buddhism started to play an increasingly significant role. The book culture reflects the cross-cultural influences in the multi-religious Uyghur society. The so-called ‘Manichaean pothi book’ is an outstanding example of this (Clark 1982, Wilkens 2008).¹ It marks the rise of Buddhism in a culture that for a period of time was very much under the influence of Manichaeism.

As they form the majority in the manuscript collections, this study will mainly focus on the OU Buddhist book forms. The above example proves that the multi-religious situation, which included Christian communities,² is reflected clearly in the book culture and certainly must be taken into account when considering the book forms of Buddhist written artefacts. According to

¹ The ‘Manichaeans pothi book’ is a multiple-text manuscript written in Manichaean script using red and black ink. It was discovered by the third German Turfan expedition (1905–1907) in Murtuk (Clark 1982: 145–146). The first of the total of 40 surviving folios of the book (VOHD XIII,16) features a frontispiece illustration in a unique style of Central Asian Manichaean art (Gulácsi 2001: 152–154). The book contains five texts, including the ‘Great Hymn to Mani’ and the bilingual Tocharian B – Old Turkic ‘Hymn to Father Mani’ (Clark 2013: 112–120, 137–177 and 178–186; Clark 2017: 89–95). The texts of the manuscript show further Buddhist elements in terms of concepts and terminology, in addition to the traditional Buddhist book form.

² For further information see, among others, Zieme 2015.



the current state of research, the following main book forms have been proven among the preserved OU manuscripts and block prints: scrolls, pothis of different size and format (landscape, portrait), booklets of different size, concertinas, and single sheets.

In terms of the number of fragments and their physical size, the Berlin Turfan collection is the largest and most diverse worldwide. With the completion of the two German long-term research projects ‘Turfanforschung’ (Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities) and ‘The Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections’ (Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony, KOHD) at the end of 2022, the OU written remains and block prints preserved in the Berlin Turfan collection are almost completely accessible for further studies.³

The state of research achieved makes it possible to take the first step towards a detailed study of OU book culture. Some particularly popular OU Buddhist works have survived not only in a very large number of copies, but also in a wide range of book forms.

I. THE APOCRYPHAL BUDDHIST SUTRA *SÄKİZ YÜKMÄK YARUK*

The many written remains of the apocryphal Buddhist sutra *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* (hereafter SYY) appear to be a suitable basis for the pilot study of OU book forms. The OU translations of the Chinese *Bayangjing* 八陽經 (abbreviated form of *Fo shuo tiandi bayang shenzhoujing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by Buddha) are well studied and edited (Oda 2010, 2015). *Bayangjing* was compiled in Tang China (618–907) between the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century. Manuscripts of the Chinese text were preserved together with manuscripts of Tibetan translations and a scroll of the OU translation in the Library Cave at Dunhuang.

The Japanese scholar Oda Juten (2015: 7), who has done most of the research on the SYY, describes the place of this work within OU Buddhist literature as follows: ‘judging from the quantitative and linguistic abundance of extant fragments and their rich content, there can be little doubt that this scripture circulated widely and over a long period of time among Uighur Buddhists.’

Further on, Oda (2015: 48) considers the SYY to be ‘the earliest Buddhist text in Turkic’. According to his genealogy of the preserved texts of the *Bayangjing* (Oda 2015: 38–42), the oldest version of SYY belongs to the same group as two Chinese texts based on manuscripts preserved in Japan⁴ and a Chinese text in Tibetan script (Pelliot tibétain 1258, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits)⁵. They ‘are older than the Chinese manuscripts of Dunhuang, as a text’ (Oda 2001: 242). No exact dates for the production of the OU translation of the work have survived. Oda assumes the late 9th century to the first half of the 10th century as the most likely period (Oda 1999: 24, Oda 2001: 243). Due to the long period of distribution of the

³ The OU fragments in the Berlin Turfan collections are described in 20 volumes of the Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (VOHD XIII,9–28) and, in addition, in around 1.560 database entries (KOHD Digital). By the help of attached bibliographies, the catalogue volumes offer detailed information about the numerous editions of the written artefacts and block prints.

⁴ The Kanchi-in 觀智院 text preserved in the Tōji 東寺 temple, Kyoto and the Hōshō-in 宝生院 text preserved in the Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 temple, Nagoya, cf. Oda 2001: 235.

⁵ Published in Takata 1988. The manuscript is digitized and available here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83034679> [last access on 28 February 2023]



work and the large number of copies made, the text underwent changes. Oda's intensive studies result in a breakdown of the surviving OU texts of the work into four stages (Ia, Ib, Iic, and IId), which he assigned to two main groups, the 'original translation' (I) and the 'revised translation' (II). Accordingly, two alternative titles in OU are attested. *t(ä)ñri burhan y(a)rlıkamış t(ä)ñrili yerli säkiz yükmäk y(a)ruk bügülig arviş nom bitig bir tägzinč* (short title: *säkiz yükmäk y(a)ruk nom bitig*) 'The treatise of the mystic spell of the eight light aggregates of heaven and earth spoken by the Divine Buddha. One scroll.' is the title of the 'original translation'. The title of the 'revised translation' is: *t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burhan y(a)rlıkamış t(ä)ñrili yerlitä säkiz törlügin yarumış yaltrimış idok darni tana yip atl(ı)g sudur nom bitig bir tägzinč* (short title: *säkiz törlügin yarumış yaltrimış nom bitig*) 'The treatise called the guideline holy spell, bright and shining in eight ways in heaven and earth spoken by the god of gods Buddha. One scroll.'⁶ According to the current state of research (Oda 2015: 24), all fragments of block prints can be assigned to stage IId, most probably printed in China during the Yuan empire. It can therefore be assumed that the surviving remains of the SYY manuscripts and block prints represent a period of 500 years of OU book culture.

1.1 The preserved copies of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*

The copies of the different text versions of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* are preserved in different manuscript collections and libraries worldwide. In his editions of the SYY, Oda (2010: 25–48, 2015: 70–80) presents an overview of the manuscripts and blockprints.⁷ In recent years, further fragments have become known through identification and publication, and can be added to Oda's table (Table 1).

Table 1 Newly identified SYY fragments

Shelf number	Collection	Book form	Publication/catalogue
Ch/U 7014a	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	unpublished ⁸
U 223a,b	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll(?)	Zieme 2020
GT15-12	National Library, Beijing	folded ms.(?)	Mirkamal 2022
U 1895	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	Li Gang 2019
U 1896	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	Li Gang 2019
T2	Turfan Museum, Turfan (Xinjiang, China)	codex/bound book	Li Gang 2019
T3 + T4	Turfan Museum, Turfan (Xinjiang, China)	scroll(?)	Li Gang 2019
U 2450	Turfan collection, Berlin	pothi	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
U 2407	Turfan collection, Berlin	pothi	KOHD Digital/Raschmann

⁶ For further details, also on the content of the text and its history of research, see Oda 2010 and Oda 2015. A review was published by Erdal (2018: 411–415).

⁷ Oda's (2010: Pls. 1–211) publication includes facsimiles of the SYY fragments he edited.

⁸ New identification by Peter Zieme in 2023.



Shelf number	Collection	Book form	Publication/catalogue
80TBI:536	Turfan Museum, Turfan (Xinjiang, China)	scroll(?)	Catalogue of the Non-Chinese Mss excavated from Bezeklik (online database)
80TBI:557	Turfan Museum, Turfan (Xinjiang, China)	unknown	Catalogue of the Non-Chinese Mss excavated from Bezeklik (online database)
U 2226	Turfan collection, Berlin	pothi	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
U 2229	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll(?)	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 6592	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 6692	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 7451b	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 6333	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 4698b4	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
III 4934b	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
U 4875	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
U 4884	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann
U 4903	Turfan collection, Berlin	scroll	KOHD Digital/Raschmann

In the course of the present project, a revision of the affiliation of the individual fragments to the various copies will take place.

Altogether, 424 written artefacts and block prints of 197 different copies are identified. Due to their state of preservation, it has not yet been possible to determine in all cases to which book form they originally belonged. Furthermore, due to their many different current locations, it is also not impossible that a careful examination of the originals would reduce the number of copies currently identified: some might be found to belong together. Table 2 shows the distribution of the fragments among the book forms.

Table 2 Book forms of the SYV copies

Book form	Number of copies	Total number of fragments
scroll	147	262
pothi	15	47
bound book	4	21
handwritten folded book	5	8
still undetermined book form	19	32
blockprinted, mostly folded book ⁹	7	54

⁹ For a description of the SYV block print fragments in the Berlin Turfan collection, see VOHD XIII,20 and VOHD XIII,23.



A nearly complete copy preserving about 80% of the text is the SYY manuscript found in the Dunhuang and now housed in the British Library, London under the inventory number Or.8212(104). This scroll is the earliest and most complete copy of an OU manuscript of the SYY. Therefore, it serves as a reference object in all related studies.

The catalogue VOHD XIII,26, which describes the numerous and diverse SYY fragments of manuscripts preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections, was published in 2012 by the author with an appendix written by the Danish paper historian Anna-Grethe Rischel (2012). The appendix presents Rischel's paper analysis of 62 of the 219 handwritten and blockprinted SYY fragments described in the catalogue. Further fragments of SYY copies are preserved in the manuscript collections in Paris, St. Petersburg and in different collections in China and Japan.

A small number of fragments (U 1046, U 1639) have been identified as the remains of OU commentaries on the SYY (Oda 1998: 231–234, Oda 2015: 240–241). This also applies to the case of colophons. One of the few surviving colophons (U 5033) identifies the SYY as part of a composite manuscript commissioned by two people (Tum[]dük¹⁰ and the lay sister Ašmš Mama). The manuscript comprises altogether three works: *y(a)mlaŋwaŋ ke* (< Chin. *Yanluowangjing* 閻羅王經, Skt. *Yamarāja-sūtra*, 'Sutra spoken by the Buddha on King Yama') in one scroll, *p(a)ryoke* (< Chin. *Bayangjing* 八陽經) in one scroll and *kšanti sutra* in one scroll (Zieme 1983: 146–147, Kasai 2008: 246, Oda 2015: 243–244). Another surviving colophon, in this case a block print (U 4670, U 4761), states that the SYY was part of a commissioned text collection that also included the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, *Amitāyus* and *Sitātapatrā* (Zieme 1983: 147–149, Kasai 2008: 235–239, Oda 2015: 244–245).¹¹

The numerous written remains of the SYY offer the chance for a detailed description of the attested book forms with all relevant details (size, number of lines, line spacing, textual boundaries, size and position of the pothi hole, type and position of an existing pagination, etc.). As a result, the great variety of book forms of the different copies of the SYY will be clearly visible and documented. This will form the basis for further investigation on this important topic. The case study will also attempt to identify possible reasons for the change in book forms.

II. THE OLD UYGHUR SCROLLS OF THE SĀKIZ YŪKMĀK YARUK

II.1 Outline of the research history on the OU scrolls

Many of the first editions of the OU texts made immediately after their discovery by the expeditions contained brief descriptions of the published fragments. The beginnings of the cataloguing of the OU manuscripts and block prints, in contrast to the editing activity that began immediately after the return of the expeditions, lie in the period after the Second World War (Raschmann forthcoming). And this applies not only to the German collection.

¹⁰ The name of the first person is only incompletely preserved.

¹¹ According to Oda (2001: 235) the Buddhist context in which the dissemination of this sutra took place in Japan is attested by a document from the year 764, which reports in detail on the use of 50 pieces of paper for copying sutras. This collection includes the following sutras: *Bayangjing* 八陽經, *Guanshiyinjing* 觀世音經 (*Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*), *Xinjing* 心經 (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*), *Amituojing* 阿彌陀經 (*Amitābha-sūtra*) and *Tongzijing* 童子經 (Protection of Children Dharani Sutra).



The German scholar Annemarie von Gabain, also known as *Maryam apa* in professional circles, was among the first generation of researchers of the OU written artefacts and block prints. She was also the first to publish survey studies on the OU manuscript culture, including printing (von Gabain 1950, 1964, 1967). In addition to the remark that the Uyghurs very often used the blank backs of Chinese scrolls to write their texts—to be discussed later—von Gabain (1964: 174–175) provides the first detailed description of the surviving OU scrolls: ‘Buchrollen bestanden aus handgeschöpften Papierblättern, etwa in der Größe der “großen Pothblätter”, die in der für den Umfang des Textes benötigten Zahl nebeneinander geklebt wurden. Es ist zu bedenken, daß solche Klebungen sich zuweilen lösen, oder daß – umgekehrt – zuweilen ein mittelalterlicher Bibliothekar zwei Fragmente einer beschädigten Handschrift erneut zusammenklebte. Daher muß man aufpassen, ob die Klebungen einer Buchrolle alle den gleichen Abstand von einander haben und ob der Text dicht vor einer Klebung wirklich nach ihr seine Fortsetzung hat.’

Due to von Gabain’s own work on the material, her description also includes practical advice on working with and on the manuscripts. The depictions were largely influenced by Chinese scrolls from Dunhuang and Turfan, since the OU scrolls, with only a handful of exceptions, have only been preserved in fragments rather than complete. The fragmentary nature of the OU written artefacts accompanies and influences all studies. The section of their description of the OU scrolls cited below (von Gabain 1964: 175) also includes comments on written artefacts that can not be found in the original today. Wartime losses in the manuscript collections, which are not fully traceable due to a lack of cataloguing prior to World War II, are the reason for this.

‘Schließlich wurden Buchrollen auch eigens für den Gebrauch der Türken hergestellt. Während die chinesischen Schriftzeilen auf den Rollen senkrecht zur Länge der Rolle stehen und von rechts nach links folgen, beginnen die senkrechten Zeilen der türkischen Handschriften links. So schrieben Buddhisten mit uigurischer Schrift; teils mit Rohrfeder, teils auch mit Pinsel, z.B. Fragmente vom *Kuanši-im puser* einerseits, und TT V andererseits. Die Manichäer aber beschrieben diese Buchrollen in manichäischer Schrift, die ebenfalls senkrecht zur Länge der Rollen standen, aber waagrecht geschrieben waren. Solche Rollen wurden nicht von links nach rechts gerollt, sondern von oben nach unten. Während der älteste, auf 868 datierte chinesische Blockdruck (aus Tun-huang) die Form einer solchen Buchrolle hat, sind atü. Rollen stets Handschriften. Wenn der Text solcher Buchrollen nur auf ihrer inneren Seite steht, wird auf der Außenseite zuweilen eine Notiz über die Papiermanufaktur oder den Schreiber angebracht. Am Anfang und am Ende einer Rolle ist ein Stäbchen angeklebt, um das sich die Rolle windet, bzw. das Ende sichert.¹²

Later, based on A. Fujieda’s proof of the frequent use of the reed pen (*kalam*) for writing the Chinese manuscripts in Dunhuang, she has somewhat revised her opinion on the use of the brush as a writing instrument among the Uyghurs. In the chapter ‘Die Schreibkultur’ in her monograph ‘Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo (850–1250)’ she (von Gabain 1973a: 171) writes: ‘Wenn bisher die uigurische Kursive als “nachlässige Pinselschrift” definiert worden ist, dürfte in Wirklichkeit die Verwendung verbrauchter Rohrfedern vorliegen. Den Bildern nach

¹² *Kuanši-im puser* (Chinese *Guanshiyin pusa* 觀世音菩薩) corresponds to chapter 25 of the OU translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra*, also known as the independent *Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*. In the edition TT V (i.e. Türkische Turfantexte V) W. Bang and A. von Gabain published fragments of the scroll T II Y 21, which are preserved today under the inventory number Mainz 732 (I-IV) in the Berlin Turfan collection. K. Kudara was able to identify the text as ‘commentary’ or ‘wide meaning’ of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra* (法華經 sudur ārdiniñ šuu ken yörügi), the OU translation of the *Miaofa lianhuajing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊 (T. 1723), cf. Kudara 1990: 23–41.



zu urteilen, war der Haarpinsel der Malerei vorbehalten. Auf einem Fragment mit uigurischer Beschriftung ist neben dem Reibstein für die Tusche deutlich eine Rohrfeder zu sehen.¹³

The fragment with Uyghur inscription mentioned by von Gabain could in the meantime be put together with other surviving fragments of the scroll. This composite of three fragments (III 4647b + III 4690a + U 3886) is shown below (Fig. 1). It is a fragment of a manuscript in scroll format of the OU translation of ‘The Scripture on the Ten Kings’ (*Shiwangjing* 十王經). The rubbing stone for the ink and the reed pen are placed on the table of a judge-king. The illustration shows the eighth court. The following text section describes the ninth court. In the OU version, the text precedes the illustration.

Another scroll fragment (III 6327) of a *Shiwangjing* manuscript excavated in Yarkhoto also shows the depiction of an inkpot and a scroll (Fig. 2). The language of the manuscript is unknown, as no remains of the text have survived.

Writing instruments were also among the finds of objects of daily life brought to Berlin by the four German Turfan expeditions (Fig. 3, Fig. 4). These everyday objects are today kept in the Turfan collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Some of them are described in the catalogue entitled *Art of Central Asia (With Special Reference to wooden objects from the Northern Silk Route)* compiled by Chhaya Bhattacharya (1977). The reed pen (III 5965) made of bamboo (Bhattacharya 1977: 108 no. 263), together with the ink-pot (III 8291) and the pen holder (III 5964, Bhattacharya 1977: 108 no. 264) were excavated in 1914 on the second Expedition from Sengim gorge (Sānjim agız), on the terrace of the northern temple of complex 10, in front of room D. Another reed pen (III 7370), also made of bamboo, was found in Kızıl, in the so-called ‘Pfeilerhöhle’ by the third German Turfan expedition in 1906. Bhattacharya suggested approximate dates for the artefacts: for example, 7th century A.D. for reed pen III 7370; and 9th century A.D. for the ink-pot III 8291 and pen III 5965. A more detailed study of the artefacts using modern scientific methods would be highly desirable. Most interestingly, traces of black ink are to be found on the pen III 7370 and in the ink-pot III 8291.

A note mentioning a paper production site can be found on the scroll of Mainz 732 (T II Y 21)¹⁴, which is written on both sides. This note reads *bo šačiu kăgdäsi ol* ‘This is Shazhou paper’. OU *šačiu/šaču* (< Chin. *Shazhou* 沙州, late Middle Chinese: *ga: tšiw*) is the name for Dunhuang. In their edition of Mainz 732, Bang and von Gabain already turned their attention to this note and they wrote that the manufacturing site was located in Gansu, near Dunhuang (Bang and von Gabain 1931: 323 fn. 1). As known from the old finding mark T II Y 21, the scroll was excavated in Yarkhoto. Bang and von Gabain, in their introduction to the edition, mention that Yarkhoto was the find spot of most of the OU scrolls. Interestingly, some details are also added about the state of preservation at the time of the edition and an early restoration in Berlin. They report: ‘Das sehr brüchige Manuskript ist erst durch die Geschicklichkeit von Hrn. Dr. Ibscher der Bearbeitung zugänglich gemacht und vor weiterem Verfall gesichert worden’ (Bang and von Gabain 1931: 323). Additionally, Bang and von Gabain (1931: 323–324) provide a description of the scroll’s paper, noting its coarse fibrous quality and the measurements of each sheet as 29 x 41.5 cm.

¹³ The mentioned fragment is preserved under the shelf number III 4647b in the Turfan collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (SMB-PK), Berlin. In the course of cataloguing the fragments of the OU version of the *Shiwangjing* the fragment was joined with further fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan collection. Further fragments of this scroll were identified in the manuscript collection of the IOM/RAS, Saint Petersburg. For further information see KOHD Digital: III 4647b + III 4690a + U 3886.

¹⁴ For the digital images of the scroll Mainz 732 (I-IV) see the related images at <https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/>





Fig. 1 III 4647b + III 4690a + U 3886 Image montage of three individually preserved fragments



Fig. 2 Fragment III 6327



Fig. 3 Reed pens (III 5965, III 7370)



Fig. 4 Reed pens, pen holder and ink-pot (III 5964, III 5965, III 7370, III 8291)

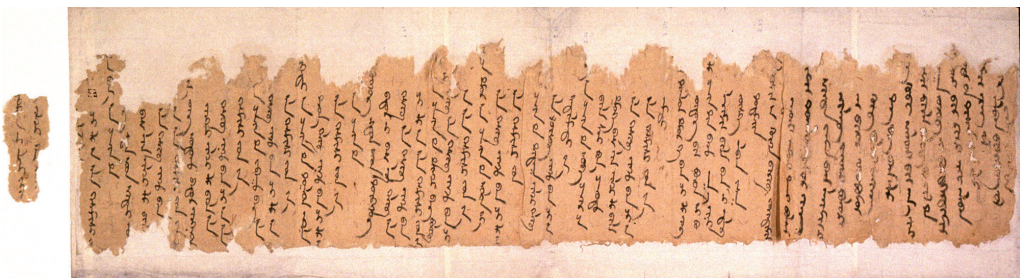


Fig. 5 U 5282a + U 5282b Petition (*ötüg*) to the Cayatai ruler Tuyluy Temür (1346–1363)¹⁵

¹⁵ For further details see the catalogue entry in VOHD XIII,21 # 51. SI 5591, ‘an account book concerning weddings and funerals’ (Umemura 1987), also known as ‘Uyghur archive of Inäçi’s family’, is another well-preserved OU document in scroll form with 200 lines of text (size: 20 x 267 cm), cf. COUMB: no. # 0464.



The authors assumed that the scroll was initially created by glueing the sheets together and the scribe subsequently began to write the text on the recto side. Due to required text corrections, the original scroll was cut and a new section was inserted before it was reassembled. The surviving scroll was 212 cm long at the time of the first edition of the text. The text on the reverse, which appears to be independent, does not show any corrections and is therefore considered to be a secondary text. Such a thorough investigation of the physical condition of the manuscript, accompanied by a consideration of the extent of the damage, is rarely found in text editions. The significance of this information is highlighted by the fact that after the initial edition, the remnants of this scroll underwent more preservation treatment, resulting in different physical state to that described by Bang and von Gabain. The remaining scroll has been divided into four parts, and these four fragments are fully glazed, as is common in the conservation of the Berlin Turfan fragments. There is no documentation of this restoration procedure. However, as will be shown later, it has been applied to other OU scroll fragments.

Tekin's (1993) study published in Turkish in 1993, *Writing, Paper, Books and Watermarks among the Ancient Turks*, does not discuss scrolls. Nevertheless, the author provides evidence of the Manichaean scroll *X'āstvānīft* (Tekin 1993: 44, 64, 102) by inclusion of a photograph.

Many catalogues of OU text fragments contain numerous entries on scroll fragments, with detailed descriptions of each. In addition, a variety of other scroll fragments may be found in several OU text editions, which occasionally include brief descriptions.

II.2 The scope of the Old Uyghur scrolls

Scrolls as a book form are present among OU Manichaean, Buddhist and non-religious manuscripts. These texts are written in Manichaean or Uyghur script.

A prominent example of a Manichaean artefact is the manuscript of the *X'āstvānīft*, a Manichaean confession of sins. It belonged to the OU written artefacts preserved in the Library Cave. It is now housed in the British Library, London under the manuscript number, Or.8212/178 [Ch. 0015].¹⁶ Albert von Le Coq, who first published this manuscript in 1911, gave the following description (von Le Coq 1911: 278–279):

‘The form of the MS. is that of a book-roll composed of a number of leaves of paper, each having a breadth of 4 inches and a length of from 10¼ inches to 13½ inches; these leaves are carefully pasted together, so as to form a sheet of 4 inches broad and 14 ft. 8 in. long, containing a total of 338 lines. The writing in Manichæan letters is beautiful and clear; the punctuation shows the characteristic signs hitherto exclusively observed in Manichæan MSS., namely, one or two black dots surrounded by little circles or ovals executed in red lead or vermilion.’

¹⁶ Digital images of the manuscript are accessible via the IDP database.



Other manuscripts of the *Xvāstvānīft* written in Uyghur script have also survived in the book form scroll.¹⁷

In the OU Buddhist literature scrolls as a book form are present for certain groups of texts, for instance among various sutra texts (i.e. *Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, *Lalitavistara-sūtra*), commentaries (e.g. the OU version of the *Xuanzang*), confession texts, and Buddhist praises, prayers and blessings. Among the most outstanding examples are the illuminated scrolls of the OU version of the Buddhist apocryphal sūtra *Shiwangjing* (von Gabain 1972, 1973b, Zieme 1996, Raschmann 2012a).

Further on, a series of OU medical, magical and calendar texts, as well as amulets and civil documents (Fig. 5) are preserved in the form of scrolls.

There is no evidence of scrolls containing early OU Buddhist texts translated from Tokharian, such as *Maitrisimit* or the famous collection of *avadānas* known as *Daśakarmaṣathāvadānamālā* ('Wreath of Legends Pertaining to the Ten Modes of Action'). In copies of these texts, the pothi form is used almost exclusively.

III. ANALYTIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SĀKIZ YŪKMĀK YARUK SCROLLS¹⁸

The following analysis aims to identify the unique characteristics of scrolls in OU book culture, based on detailed descriptions of selected SYY scrolls in a fair state of preservation. The SYY scroll held in the British Library is among the best preserved written artefacts from the Old Uyghur civilization, making it central to this study. The broad spectrum of the book form is illustrated by the description of other preserved scroll fragments.

The sigla used for the individual manuscripts correspond, in a slightly expanded form, to those in the editions of the SYY (Bang, von Gabain and Rachmati 1934, Oda 2010, Oda 2015), as well as in the published catalogue entries. The sigla starts with an abbreviation for the current location of the manuscript: L – London, K – Kyoto, B – Berlin, S – St. Petersburg. Some of the abbreviations were expanded as a result of further identifications of manuscripts in the individual collections made in the course of editing and cataloguing.

Of the manuscripts in the scroll book form, only the manuscript (L) preserved in London comes from Dunhuang. According to the available find data, the excavation spots of the other fragmentary preserved scrolls are mainly situated in the Turfan Oasis in present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, PRC. In the catalogue of the St. Petersburg collection, there is only a vague mention of Turfan as the place where the SYY fragments in question were excavated. In some cases, the finding marks for fragments of the same manuscript point to different places of excavation.¹⁹ The background can no longer be clearly determined.

¹⁷ Cf. COUMB #0410: the scroll fragment SI 3159 (D/1) of the *Xvāstvānīft* was found in Astana (Turfan). Size: 30.5 x 255 cm, 160 lines. Two separately described fragments belong to a further manuscript of the *Xvāstvānīft* in the book form scroll, excavated in Yarkhoto from the second German Turfan expedition, cf. VOHD XIII, 16 # 399, 404 (wrongly described as 'breitformatiges Buchblatt'). These fragments, long considered wartime losses from the Berlin Turfan collection (**U 9120, **U 9121), are now preserved in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (inventory number: BJI-525), cf. Pchelina and Raschmann 2016, 20–21. Size: 34.0 x 91.3 cm, 52 lines.

¹⁸ The description of the scrolls is based on 'CSMC Scroll Matrix' (Andrist, Bausi, Friedrich & Maniaci 2022).

¹⁹ See, for example, B15, B18 (VOHD XIII, 26: 250).



All scrolls of the SYY are horizontal with regard to their opening orientation. The closing mode, as far as can be reconstructed from the current state of conservation, was always rolled up.

The content, i.e. the text of the respective version of the SYY, is located inside. The language of the sutra text is Old Uyghur. The script used in the manuscripts of the SYY scrolls is always the Uyghur script.²⁰

The axis of the SYY scrolls is vertical and the main reading direction, which is also vertical (downwards), is thus coaxial. The secondary direction is transaxial and goes to the right to the next line.

The SYY manuscripts in the scroll book form consist of one production unit. This information is secured because the exact scope of the text *bir tǝgzinč* ‘one scroll’ is a fixed component in the title of both text versions (I ‘the original translation’, II ‘the revised translation’), as indicated above.

III.1 Scroll L (Or. 8212/104)

III.1/A The artefact as a whole²¹

(1) Basic properties

Size (opened): 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (26.35 cm) x 24' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (755.65 cm) (Oda 2015), 27 x 790.5 (IDP database); 26.7–27.0 x approx. 772.6 cm (M. Doumy²²)

According to Doumy's information it was due to conservation/preservation concerns that several of the panels of that scroll were taken apart in 2006 and encapsulated in Melinex sheets. This may be the reason for the differences in the length data.

Size (closed) and weight: not available.

(2) Protection and handling

Neither an original container nor original protective initial or final elements are preserved. According to the available facsimiles, published in 1986, several notes are present on the backing paper on which the scroll is mounted. The manuscript number Or. 8212/104 is noted at the beginning of the scroll. A line count has been made at the top edge: The numbers 1–130 are noted consecutively, after which the information is only given in steps of ten 140, 150, 160 ff. At the end of the scroll is a note on the total number of lines received: ‘ms. lines 466’.

²⁰ The only exception is a SYY fragment of a pothi (Mainz 641), which is written in Brāhmī script (VOHD XIII,9 #42). According to its finding mark (T III M 152) it was excavated during the third German Turfan expedition (1906–07) in Murtuk.

²¹ The description of the scroll L is mainly based on the data for the manuscript given by Oda in his edition (Oda 2015) and my electronic communication with Mélodie Doumy, Curator of the Chinese Collections in the East Asian section at the British Library, London with a particular focus on the Stein Collection. Doumy sent me a set of up-to-date measurements, further details and some close-up photos of scroll L in response to my enquiry by email on 21 April 2023. I am very much indebted to her for that. In addition, the facsimile edition by James Hamilton (1986: Tome II, 331–350) and the mentioned close-up photos allow a close inspection. Facsimiles are also available in Oda 2010: pls. 1–21. Unfortunately, the manuscript is not yet digitized.

²² Doumy (email 2023) added the following comment to the length measure she had sent: ‘this includes the joints, where traces of adhesive can be seen (those would not have counted when the manuscript was in its original form)’.



(3) Preservation

Incomplete scroll. The beginning of the scroll is missing due to the wear of handling. Approximately 26 lines of text are missing, but can be ascertained from the extant scroll beginnings of other text copies. Where present, the upper and lower margins of the scroll have been damaged by tears of varying extent. The following lines of the total of 466 lines are incomplete due to torn off pieces or to holes: ll. 1–24, 28–32, 34, 39–42, 50–52, 60–62, 70–72, 417, 455–456. There are also tears without any loss of text. The paper shows some soiling in places, and there is minor writing wear.

The manuscript is preserved in the Stein Collection at the British Library. Due to conservation/preservation concerns, several of the panels were taken apart in 2006 and encapsulated in Melinex sheets.²³

III.1/B The production unit

(1) Constitutive material elements

Oda gives the number of elements that make up the rest of the scroll as 20 sheets. He assumes a loss of one sheet at the beginning of the scroll.

The sheets were joined by glue. The areas of adhesion are clearly visible. They run from the top edge to the bottom edge of the sheet between two text lines. The spacing of lines in the area of the overlapping seam varies from the regular spacing of lines in the manuscript. Additionally, the gap between the visible seam and the surrounding lines varies, sometimes being closer to the preceding line and other times closer to the following line.

For the size of the individual sheets, Oda (2015: 26) assumes a standard size of 1.5 *chi* 尺 (45.45 cm) by 1 *chi* 尺 (30.3 cm). According to the current state of preservation, the height of the scroll varies between 26.7 and 27 cm.

No data from a paper or glue analysis are available.

(2) Visual organisation

Layout: The manuscript has a simple layout. Where complete, each line of text runs from the top margin line to the bottom margin line.

Ruling: There are ruled lines on the manuscript, but only on the recto. The ruled lines are in light grey. There are top and bottom margin lines and text lines. They were drawn on the individual sheets. When the sheets were put together, care was taken that the margin lines matched up. Only in a few places have tiny paragraphs been created by the joining of the sheets, cf. the glued borders between lines 27 and 28, 329 and 330, 413 and 414, 460 and 461. The scribe has carefully written on the prepared lines.

(3) Content production

The text is written by one hand. The writing direction is vertical, the reading direction goes from left to right. The text was written in an early square form of the Uyghur script (Moriyasu 2004: 232–233). There is only a single text correction in the entire manuscript. The last word in line 228 is crossed out. To the left of the deletion, the first word of an additional text passage has been

²³ This information is provided by M. Doumy.



written down. The rest of the text was added between lines 228 and 229. The correction is probably due to a mistake made by the scribe when copying the text. After noticing his text omission, he probably made the correction himself. The size of the script of the interlinear text addition is smaller than that of the main text.

The name of the scribe is unknown. There is no colophon at the end of the text of the sutra to give any information about the circumstances under which the manuscript was made. No other related fragments or data are available.

The manuscript is not illuminated.

(4) Structuring devices

In the manuscript, structuring devices are very rarely used. At the end of individual sections of text, after explanations that end with the prophecy of attaining Buddhahood, the resolution of striving for Buddhahood or to learn the inapprehensible dharma, the new section of text begins after a paragraph. A colon has been placed both at the end of the corresponding section of text and before the beginning of the new section of text, cf. lines 55, 118, 123, 140, 157, 183, 224. These paragraphs are also present at the beginning or end of sections with literal speech (cf. lines 235, 238, 295) and at the top of a *dhāraṇī*-spell (cf. line 372).

The sutra text ends in the lower section of line 464 with the normal punctuation mark, the colon. The remaining part of the line is blank. The text of the manuscript concludes with the mention of the title of the sutra, including the indication of the volume of one scroll, and finally with the threefold formula of refuge (*n(a)mo but n(a)mo d(a)rm n(a)mo s(a)ṃ*) ‘Homage to the Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the Saṅgha.’ The three parts of the refuge formula are separated from each other by short paragraphs.

(5) Writing and decoration

The entire text was written in black ink.

(6) Content

The preserved text on the recto of the scroll comprises 466 lines of the OU version of the apocryphal sutra SYY without colophon. The beginning of the text has not been preserved.

According to Oda (2015: 24), it is the only copy of text version Ia (original translation, first stage) with the title *t(ä)ṃri burhan ḡ(a)rlikamış t(ä)ṃrili yerli säkiz yükmäk bügüliḡ arviş nom bitig bir tägzinç* ‘The mystic spell-sutra Eightfold Light of Heaven and Earth, spoken by the Divine Buddha. One scroll’.

(7) Order of production steps

The text was written after the ruling lines were made. In some instances, certain parts of the letters overlap across the seams of the sheet glue. It is therefore assumed that the text was written after the scroll was made, i.e. after the individual sheets were glued together.

The date and place of production are unknown.



III.1/C Post-production paracontent

There are various scribbles, perhaps writing exercises, on the verso of the scroll.

Beside scribbles in Uyghur script (Oda 2010: pl. 21), there is also a note written in runic script which reads *kör(i)g bitid(i)m* ‘I, Körüg, wrote it.’²⁴ Since Körüg is a personal name, we may assume that he is the writer of this note.

It is unclear whether the scribe(s) of these notes have read the sutra text. The first editors (Bang, von Gabain & Rachmati 1934: 97 fn. 1) assume that these notes are to be regarded as a ‘Federprobe’ (‘pen sample’).

Final remarks concerning the object’s history

This manuscript is the oldest and most complete preserved copy of the SYU.

The date and the circumstances of production are unknown. It is also not known when and how it was moved to the Library Cave for storage. The manuscript (Stein site number: Ch.0013) belongs to the material acquired by Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943) during his second expedition (1906–1908) which took him to sites of the Silk Roads along the southern Tarim as well as further east to Dunhuang. In 1907 he visited the Mogao cave site southeast of Dunhuang and became the first foreigner to investigate the contents of the Library Cave (cave 17). The scroll Or. 8212/104 was part of one of the ‘miscellaneous bundles’ which, according to Stein’s description contained ‘Sanskrit, Khotanese and Tibetan manuscripts in pothi format, Uyghur and Sogdian scrolls, as well as silk paintings, silk fabric, document, scrap paper and woodsticks used for the repair of sutras or paintings’ (Rong 2013: 103).²⁵ The sealing of Cave 17, which took place in the early eleventh century, gives a *terminus ante quem* for the production of this scroll. It must have been produced at least shortly before this event took place, but the manuscript itself is undated.

III.2 Scroll K1 (Ry 0542) + K3 (Ry 0542fr.) preserved in the Otani collection, Kyoto

III.2/A The artefact as a whole²⁶

(1) Basic properties

K3 + K1 Size (opened) at the time of its discovery: 1.00 *chi* x 15.50 *chi* (Oda 2015: 26)²⁷

K3 Size (opened): 29.0 x 22.8 cm (Oda), 29.0 x 23.5 cm (IDP database).

Closing mode: rolled. Weight: not available.

²⁴ A detailed photograph of the note in runic script is published in Bang, von Gabain & Rachmati 1934: 97. There is also a photograph in Oda 2010: pl. 21. The scribbles are edited in Oda 2010: 32 and Oda 2015: 25.

²⁵ For further details regarding the contents of the manuscript bundles in the Dunhuang Library Cave see Terzi and Whitfield in print.

²⁶ The description of K1 + K3 is based on the data presented by Oda in his English edition (Oda 2015) and a personal communication with my colleague Peter Zieme, who, while visiting Japan in May 2023, was able to study the original scroll and to take some additional detail photos with the kind permission of Mazumi Mitani. The information he has provided is a valuable addition to the information given by Oda. Digital images of the scroll K1 and its fragment K3 are available in the IDP database. The running numbers for K3 (fragment of the scroll) and K1 (scroll) in the IDP database are as follows: MS00542(A) and MS00542(B).

²⁷ He gives the size according to the ‘Catalogue of Unearthed Documents’, correcting the erroneous indication of the height of 0.10 *chi* in the catalogue to 1.0 *chi*. At the time of discovery, the scroll was almost complete and the present fragment K3 had not been separated from K1.



- K1 Size (opened): 29.3 x 510 cm (Oda); 29.2 x 510 cm (Zieme), 29.3 x 510 cm (IDP database).
Size (closed): 29.2 x 5.0 cm (Zieme). Closing mode: rolled. Weight: not available.

(2)–(3) Protection, handling and preservation

The excavated, slightly damaged scroll is now preserved in two separate parts (K1 and K3). Neither an original container nor original protective initial or final elements are preserved.

K3 is a fragment of the first sheet of the scroll. It is in a very poor state of preservation, as is not uncommon for the beginning of a scroll. It has been mounted on a white piece of paper for conservation. The lower half of the sheet is almost entirely missing. The damaged upper right half of the sheet is preserved, as are parts of the upper and right margins. No complete line of text has survived. On the verso, the signature 542 A 断片 (Fragment 542 A) is written in pencil on the backing paper.

The scroll K1 has been completely restored. The restoration data and report were not available for this description. A close look at the role leads to the observation that the scroll was mounted on a backing. The paper of this backing is not uniform and is reinforced in places by additional narrow strips of paper. In addition, the heavily damaged and now mounted first sheet of scroll K1, the second sheet of the original scroll, has had a new two-layered scroll beginning added. It is made of shiny gold paper. On the outside, it is reinforced with a layer of woven fabric decorated with embroidered cloud and dragon motifs (Fig. 6). To facilitate opening the scroll, a metal rod is attached to the outer edge. A golden brown textile band is attached to the centre of the rod. This band holds the scroll together when closed. Around 90% of the text lines are preserved completely. A new wooden roller with dark lacquer has been fitted to the end of the scroll, onto which the scroll is rolled for storage.

At the very beginning of the scroll, there are two stickers on the fabric-protected outside. One small white sticker bears the inscription 写字台, framed in red. Most probably this stands for *shajidai bunko* 写字台文库. 'Shajidai Bunko' is the collection of the libraries of the successive chief priests of Honganji and the artefacts collected by the Ōtani expedition sent by Honganji in the early 20th century. On a second, oblong strip of tissue paper below the first label, there are several notes: In the upper half, the first line indicates the language of the manuscript: 'Uyghur' (Uigurubun ウイグル文). Followed by the title of the SYY in Chinese *Tiandi bayang shenzhoujing* 天地八陽神呪經 in the second line. In the lower half the name of the institution holding the manuscript is given: 'Ryūkoku University' (Ryūkoku Daigaku 龍谷大学蔵). Opposite is an imprint of the institution's stamp in red.

The most serious damage is at the beginning of the scroll, due to a tear. The first 13 lines of the text are not complete. Further loss of text due to holes in the manuscript occurs in the area of lines 21–23, 30–33, 40–43, 49–51, 59–62, 69–71 and 80–81. The size of the holes in the scroll decreases from the outside to the inside of the scroll. In addition, it is clearly visible that the overlapping glue between sheets 7 and 8 of scroll K1 had come loose at some point. The sheets have been carelessly glued together again, so that parts of the previously glued area are now visible.

The damaged opening section of the text in K3 is partially supplemented by another SYY manuscript held at Ryūkoku University (KV16: Saiiki Bunka Shiryō, no. 2542). In addition, miss-



ing passages in the manuscript (K1, K3) can be supplemented by preserved textual parallels in fragments of version Ib preserved in other manuscript collections.²⁸

K1 and K3, each individually wrapped in tissue paper, are placed together in a wooden box of suitable size. This wooden box is padded inside with crumpled tissue paper.

Several paper labels are attached to the wooden box (Fig. 7) used to store the scroll. The dominant large white paper label gives the title of the work, including the scope of the *SYI*: 天地八陽神呪經一卷 *Tiandi bayang shenzhoujing yi juan* ‘*Tiandi bayang shenzhoujing*, one scroll.’ Additional information is added as ‘Uyghur text’ (*huihu wen* 回鶻文) and ‘written during the Tang dynasty’ (*Tangdai xie* 唐代寫). The place of discovery is indicated in round brackets: ‘excavated at Yarkhoto’ (*Yaerbao chutu* 雅爾堡出土). There is also a red imprint of the institution’s stamp.

Below the large label are two other small labels. A small white one with a red border corresponds to the one on the scroll: 写字台. The other, probably older, indicates the signature and the form of the manuscript: 卷子本 542 ‘scroll book 542’ as well as the short title of the sutra 八陽神呪經.

The scroll K1 and the related fragment K3 are kept at the Ryūkoku University Academic Information Center (Ōmiya Library) under the object numbers Ry 0542 (Saiiki Bunka Shiryō, no. 542) and Ry 0542 fr. respectively.

III.2/B The production unit

(1) Constitutive material elements

The original scroll most probably consisted of 13 overlapping sheets of paper pasted together. K3 is a remnant of the first sheet, now separated from the rest of the scroll (K1), which consists of 12 sheets of paper.²⁹ The width of the individual sheets of scroll K1 varies. Oda gives the sizes of the individual sheets as measured between the joints as follows: (1) 42.3 cm, (2) 41.6 cm, (3) 42.3 cm, (4) 42.6 cm, (5) 42.1 cm, (6) 42.7 cm, (7) 42.2 cm, (8) 41.6 cm, (9) 42.7 cm, (10) 41.5 cm, (11) 42.3 cm, (12) 42.2 cm. The height of the preserved sheets ranges from 29.2 to 29.3 cm.

The overlap area is clearly visible on each glued joint, even if the glued joint has been neatly executed. The seam of the glueing sheets runs parallel to the lines of text, from the top edge of the sheet to the bottom edge. The line spacing in this area does not differ, or only slightly (1.5 cm), from that in the rest of the manuscript (1.3 cm). An exception to this is the glue, which has disintegrated over time (K1: transition from folio 7 to folio 8). At this point, the seam is no longer vertical due to the careless glueing, and the gap is larger in the upper part of the line (approx. 1.8 cm) and very narrow in the lower part (1.0 cm). The date of this repair is not known. It probably dates from before the scroll was attached to a support.

No data from paper or glue analysis are available.

²⁸ For an overview of the preserved text parallels and additions of text version Ib (Original Tr., Turfan) cf. Oda 2015: 81–109.

²⁹ Oda again assumes a standard sheet size of 1 *chi* x 1.5 *chi* for the individual sheets, cf. Oda 2015: 26.



(2) Visual organization

The manuscript has a simple layout with no pattern. As far as preserved, each text line runs from the horizontal margin ruling line on the top of the page to that one at the bottom of the page. Consistent ruling lines are present from the first page to the last. The distance between the margin lines and the top and bottom edges of the page is 1.8 cm in each case. The ruling is consistent and in red ink. On some sheets, they are extremely faint and hard to see on the digital images.

This manuscript has a special feature. The scribe of the manuscript did not follow the prescribed sheet layout regarding the text lines. The red vertical ruling lines are spaced at 1.5 cm, the text lines of the manuscript at approximately 1.3 cm. For example, there are 27 red ruling lines but 35 text lines on sheet 3 of scroll K1. As a result, the course of the text lines rarely matches that of the ruling lines. This is an indication that the scribe of the manuscript was given the complete ruled roll of paper. Having realised, before the copy of the text was made, that the number of lines made by ruling would not be sufficient for his manuscript, he decided to reduce the spacing between the text lines and to disregard the ruled lines.

In order not to disturb the uniformity of the layout, line fillers are used in cases where the last word of the line ends too far from the horizontal line at the bottom of the page. The line filler is the last letter of the word, now repeated as a single letter.³⁰ These line fillers were inserted at the time of the preparation of the manuscript, but in at least one case they were added at a later stage of the proof-reading process.

(3) Content production

The text is written by one hand. The writing direction is vertical, the reading direction goes from left to right. The text was written after the ruling was made.

There are several indications that the manuscript was prepared by the scribe in two stages. The Buddhist terms or passages highlighted in red script appear to have been added later. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that in line 192 of K1 there was not enough space for the subsequent text *t(ä)ñri burhan* ('the Divine Buddha') in red, and the second word *burhan* ('buddha') had to be inserted slightly to the left (Fig. 8).

Textual corrections appear several times in the manuscript. They concern corrections to words (single letters or additional suffixes) and the omission of words or parts of sentences. The extent to which the corrections were made on the basis of comparison with another version of the text cannot be established with certainty. It is noticeable that the corrections are made in both black and red ink. This suggests that there were probably two rounds of corrections. First, the scribe probably made corrections in black during or immediately after copying. A second round of corrections was made while the red parts of the manuscript were being completed. The corrections in red cannot be explained in any other way, since they also concern parts of the text and line fillers, which would not be expected to be written in red. In many cases, the use of the correction sign + to mark the text passage to be corrected can be observed. The sign marks the passage to the right of the line. The correction is entered to the left of the line. Text can also be corrected by deleting. The size of the script of the subsequent corrections differs considerably from that of the manuscript and is much smaller. It is therefore difficult to say whether they were always made by the scribe of the manuscript. The text is written carefully in an early square type of the Uyghur

³⁰ This feature is more common in the OU manuscripts.



script. The name of the scribe is unknown. There is no colophon attached to the end of the sutra text that could provide information about the circumstances of the making of the manuscript.

(4) Structuring devices

Apart from using red ink for highlighting certain parts of the text, the manuscript shows no structuring devices.

(5) Writing and decorating materials

The main text of the manuscript is written in black ink. In addition, red script is also present in the manuscript. In most cases the red script is heavily faded or almost extinguished in places.

Red ink is used for writing the Buddhist term *burhan* ‘buddha’, also in the extended form *t(ä)ñri burhan* ‘the Divine Buddha’ or in the plural form *burhanlar* ‘buddhas’. If in addition case suffixes are attached to *burhan* or *burhanlar*, they are excluded from being written in red.

Moreover, red script was also used as a structuring device. In the section of the text dealing with the worship of the eight great and powerful bodhisattvas (K1, lines 293–299), divergent parts of the worship formula, which is identical except for the different names of the bodhisattvas, are highlighted in red. The formula is: *yükünürm(ä)n* [name of the Bodhisattva] *atl(ı)g nizvanısız bodis(a)t(a)vka* ‘I bow to the bodhisattva free from passion (Skt. *kleśa*) called [name of bodhisattva]’. In red ink *yükünürm(ä)n* (‘I bow’) appears in lines 293, 294, 295, followed by *nizvanısız* (‘free from passion’) in red ink in lines 296, 297, 298, and finally, the last two bodhisattva names are written in red ink in lines 298, 299.³¹

The *dhāraṇī* in the lines 308–309 of the manuscript is also set off from the rest of the text by writing it in red ink.

As already noted above, some subsequent text corrections have also been made in red for specific reasons.

(6) Content

The preserved text on the recto of the scroll (K3 + K1) comprises altogether 421 text lines of the OU version of the apocryphal sutra *Fo shuo tiandi bayang shenzhoujing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 without colophon. The very beginning of the text has not been preserved.³²

It is one of the copies of text version Ib (original translation, second stage) after Oda (2015: 24) with the title *t(ä)ñri burhan y(a)rlıkamuş t(ä)ñrili yerli säkiz yükmäk bügölüg arviş nom bitig bir tägzinç* ‘The mystic spell-sutra Eightfold Light of Heaven and Earth, spoken by the Divine Buddha. One scroll’. Further fragments of this text version are preserved.

(7) Order of production steps

As shown above, the text was written after the scroll had been made, i.e. after the individual sheets had been glued together and prepared for the text by ruling. The number of lines of text in the manuscript exceeds the number of lines prepared by ruling in the scroll. A narrower line spacing compared to the prepared one is the result. Parts of letters run across the seams of the glued sheets. This is another clue to the writing after the scroll is completed.

The date of its production and the place where it was made are unknown.

³¹ Contrary to Oda’s (2015: 26) account, the term *bodis(a)v(a)t* ‘bodhisattva’ is not written in red in this manuscript.

³² The lines 01–05 in Oda’s compiled text edition are missing in the manuscript on hand, cf. Oda 2015: 82.



III.2/C Post-production paracontent

As far as known, there is no content written at a later stage detectable on the scroll.

In the course of studying the manuscript and preparing the text edition, line numbers in Arabic numerals were added in pencil to the upper margin of the scroll (K3 and K1). This line numbering is not continuous in K1 and is not always easy to read.

Final remarks concerning the object's history

This manuscript is one of the most complete and oldest surviving copies of the SYY unearthed in the Turfan Oasis, according to current research. The date and circumstances of its creation are unknown. The scroll was excavated in the ruins of the ancient city of Jiaohe 交河 (Yarkhoto) in the Turfan basin by the second Ōtani expedition under the leadership of Tachibana Zuichō on November 22nd, 1908. The published diary of one of the members of the expedition, Nomura Eizaburō 野村栄三郎, documents the place where the scroll was found (Nomura 1937: 499). The accompanying *Catalogue of Excavated Documents* also describes the scroll as almost intact and lists further discovered manuscripts (Nomura 1937: 534–535).

The fact that the first part of the beginning of the scroll, a 21-line fragment (Inventory No. Ry 0542 fr.), became completely separated at some point and is now kept separately from the rest of the long scroll (Inventory No. Ry 0542) in the Ōmiya Library is certainly due to the fragile condition of the beginning of the scroll at the time of its excavation.

After being transferred to the Ōtani Collection at Ryūkoku University in Kyōto, the scroll was restored as described above. However, the scroll (K1) was not rejoined with the separated fragment (K3).

The preserved text of the scroll (K3 + K1) is included in the comprehensive study of the SYY published by Oda (2010, 2015).

The current state of separate preservation of K3 and K1 is represented by the digital images available in the IDP database.

III.3 Further scroll fragments of the SYY in the Berlin collections

In what follows, an examination of other copies of the SYY in the form of scrolls will be made. On the one hand, they illustrate the wide range of OU scrolls, and on the other hand, a possible common origin is worked out on the basis of common features in production.

Due to the fragmentary nature of this group of scrolls, several of the most prominent examples will be used to describe individual features. The study is limited to the scrolls preserved in the Turfan collections in Berlin because of the advantage of direct access to the collection. In principle, however, the description is based on the matrix used for scrolls L (Or. 8212(104)) and K1 (Ry 0542) + K3 (Ry 0542fr).

In addition, the preserved fragments of the illuminated scrolls of the SYY will be dealt with separately in section III.3.1 below.



III.3/A The artefact as a whole

Unlike the Stein collection in London and the Ōtani collection in Kyōto, which house nearly complete SSY scrolls, only fragments of SY Y scrolls can be found in the Turfan collections in Berlin. The original of the largest fragment (B 25: **U 9232, BΦ-4201) is now in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, where it was moved by the Russian army after World War II along with other objects in the collection. During the inspection in the Hermitage of the Turfan manuscripts and block prints relocated from Berlin, which was facilitated for the author, no detailed examination of the individual artefacts was possible due to the conditions on site.

(1) Basic properties

For the reasons described above, complete measurements of the scrolls of the SY Y preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections are not available. However, it has been possible to demonstrate that multiple fragments have survived from individual scrolls, sometimes even across collections. This expansion of available data facilitates analysis of the former structure of the relevant scroll.³³

All copies of SY Y in scroll form contain only one production unit. The evidence of use clearly indicates that the closing mode was rolled. The text of the SY Y is always located on the inside of the scroll. The secondary use of the outside will be discussed in detail later.

(2) Protection and handling

Containers in which the SY Y scrolls were originally stored have not survived, nor have any form of handling devices for the scrolls. Neither a wooden stave as a support at the beginning of the scroll nor a wooden roll at the end, around which the scroll could be rolled up, have been preserved.

However, since fragments of the first sheets of some scrolls have survived, it is possible to make statements about protective initial elements. In contrast to the scroll from the Ōtani collection described above, the fragments from the Berlin scrolls have not undergone any subsequent restoration and are therefore in the same condition as when they were found during the Turfan expeditions.³⁴ This is especially true of the extant scroll beginnings. These include the manuscripts BVN1 (U 3827), B01 (U 7000), B02 (U 7002), B03 (U 7003), BVN2 (U 4883), B08 (U 7029) and BV66 (U 4988 + U 7035). With regard to the question of the presence of protective initial elements, manuscripts B11 (U 7032) and B13 (U 7160 + U 7039) should also be included.

The majority of these fragments show remains of a backing of protective textile. The location of the fragment U 7039 (B13) in the text provides evidence of a backing that covered at least the first two sheets of the scroll. The fragment of manuscript B11 can be used to confirm this. The material of the textile lining of manuscripts B01, B08 and B13 was examined microscopically and found to comprise silk fibres (Rischel 2012: 284, 289–290, 297–298). The colour of the fibres ranges from golden brown (U 7029) to reddish brown (U 7000) to strong red (U 3827, U 7032).

In the case of U 7029, the lining consists of more than one piece of silk (Figs. 9–10). The first panel is composed of two pieces that have been sewn together. The stitching runs diagonally and is sharply folded over to allow the manuscript to be glued on evenly. The backing is extended by a second panel of the same silk fabric by overlapping glueing.

³³ For a detailed description of the single fragments see also the related entries in VOHD XIII,26.

³⁴ The restored scroll fragments Mainz 739 I-III of manuscript B71 are an exception.





Fig. 6 Scroll K1 rolled with attached labels



Fig. 7 Box for storage of K1 with attached labels

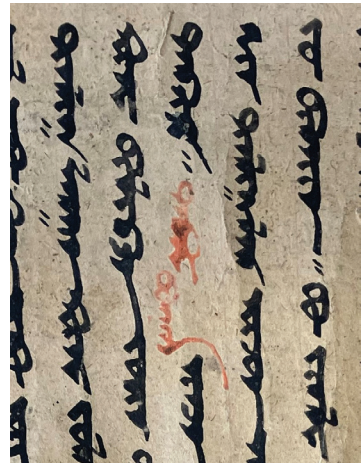


Fig. 8 Scroll K1, lines 189-194 detail

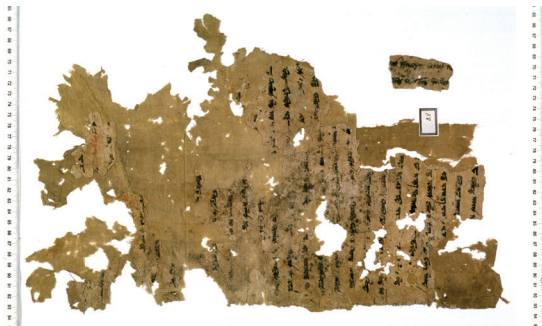


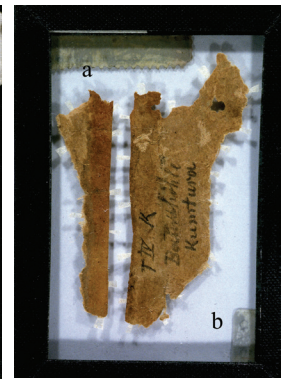
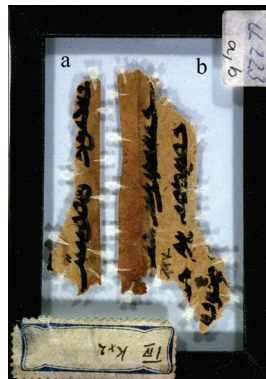
Fig. 9 U 7029 (B8) recto Lines 04(?)–13 (VOHD XIII,26 #006)



Fig. 10 U 7029 verso, silk backing

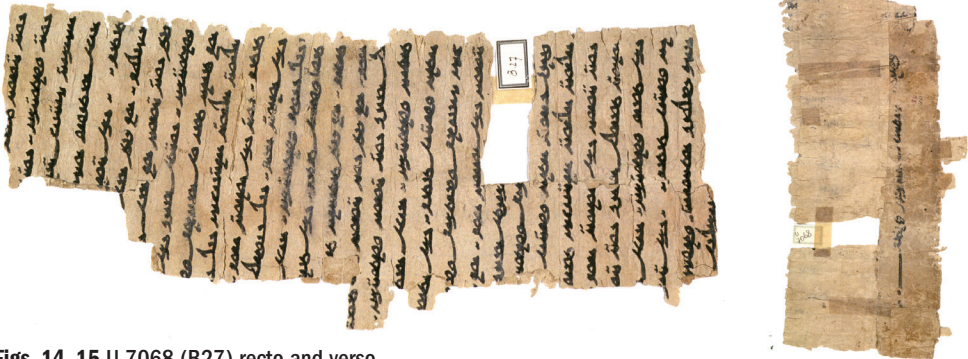


Fig. 11 U 7000 (B1) verso



Figs. 12, 13 U 223a,b recto and verso





Figs. 14, 15 U 7068 (B27) recto and verso



Figs. 16, 17 U 7078 (B31) recto and verso



Figs. 18, 19 U 7071 (B30) recto and verso



Fragment U 7039 also shows the composition of several silk panels glued together in an overlapping manner.

In the case of U 7000 (B01), the first part of the textile backing is also strengthened with a strip of paper (Fig. 11). It is possible that the reinforcement was added later.

(3) Preservation

Only fragments of scrolls have survived. Fragments of individual manuscripts have been identified in various manuscript collections during the course of work on the text. The reason for this is that the excavations of different expeditions, such as the German, Russian and Japanese expeditions, were carried out successively at the same archaeological sites. The digitisation of the manuscripts now makes it possible to reconstruct them virtually. The state of preservation of the individual fragments varies greatly and is described in detail in the catalogue entries in the overview.

Among the scroll fragments there are a number of cases where the break-off edge runs along the overlap. In these cases, the glued overlap itself is still present and the break-off edge runs along the seam above it, see for example fragments U 7096 and U 7112 from manuscript B37. In other cases, the glue has dissolved. Often only the fragment of a single sheet of the scroll remains. In the case of U 7076 (B31) and U 223a,b (no MS-ID, Fig. 12–13), however, fragments of both sheets have survived.

Another common type of damage is deep tears in the paper, which are often covered with strips of glassine or adhesive tape. This stabilisation measure was only applied after the fragments had been brought to Berlin.

However, there is also evidence of various repairs which may have been in place at the time the scrolls were in use. For example, to repair tears, one or more strips of paper were pasted over the damaged area on the blank reverse side. The strips of paper were cut from other manuscripts that had probably been discarded, such as the Chinese manuscripts (Figs. 16, 17) and the OU documents (Fig. 15). The text of the manuscripts used for repair is sometimes legible on the reverse side of the scroll; sometimes, for example, in the case of Chinese texts written on one side, the side with the writing is glued to the reverse side of the scroll. In the case of fragment U 7078 (B31), the Chinese text appears in damaged areas on the *SY* recto (Fig. 16).

Fragments of manuscript B30 (Figs. 18, 19) show an extended form of repair. Here, in addition to the repair using a paper segment from a Chinese block print fragment, a further layer of fabric has been applied to the reverse. The fabric fragment has coloured ornaments.

Other scroll fragments have several layers of glued paper on the back.

In a few cases, such as fragments U 7036 and U 7037 from manuscript B12, the scroll fragments were glued to carrier sheets after they had been transferred to the Berlin collection.

Preserved textual parallels make it possible to reconstruct defective passages, but as Oda's edition shows, textual variants in individual manuscripts must always be expected.



III.3/B The production units

(1) Constitutive material elements

The most intact unit of a SY Y scroll is that excavated by the German Turfan expeditions B25 (**U 9232/ BΦ-4201) and now housed in the State Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg). It still consists of five overlapping glued sheets (Table 3).

Table 3

	**U 9232/BΦ-4201/ recto	Number of lines	SY Y text edition (Oda 2015: 152–188)
sheet 1 (incomplete)	/01/-/20/	20	ll. 149–170
sheet 2	/21/-/48/	28	ll. 170–198
sheet 3	/49/-/76/	28	ll. 199–226
sheet 4	/77/-/103/	27	ll. 226–257
sheet 5	/104/-/131/	28	ll. 257–289

In comparison with almost completely surviving scrolls L and K3 + K1, we can calculate that B25 originally consisted of about 15 sheets. According to this calculation, the preserved sheets formed approximately sheets 7–11 of scroll B25. The sheet overlaps are clearly visible, mainly due to the fact that the red horizontal line at the end of the line usually jumps slightly at the point of overlap. In the case of this scroll, the end of the previous sheet is pasted over the leading edge of the next sheet at the overlap (variant 2).

Another larger unit of a scroll is Mainz 739 (B71[A]). Before the restoration, the surviving scroll still consisted of four overlapping glued sheets (Table 4).

Table 4

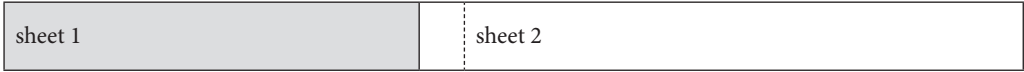
	Mainz 739 I-III recto	Number of lines	SY Y text edition (Oda 2015: 172–207)
sheet 1 (incomplete)	/01/-/22/	22	ll. 230–253
sheet 2	/23/-/54/	32	ll. 253–291
sheet 3	/55/-/85/	31	ll. 292–325
sheet 4 (incomplete)	/86/-/113/	28	ll. 326–352

Again, based on the above calculation, this scroll originally consisted of approximately 14 sheets, of which sheets 9–12 have survived. It was only cut into three segments during a glazing operation carried out in the course of the restoration. These cut edges are always outside the overlaps. Therefore, it is still clearly visible that in Mainz 739 the leading edge of the next sheet was glued over the end of the previous sheet in the overlap (variant 1).



It is thus clear that there are two variants in the production of OU scrolls. In variant 1, the leading edge of the next sheet was glued over the end of the previous sheet at the overlap. In variant 2, the end of the previous sheet is glued over the leading edge of the next sheet at the overlap.

Variant 1



Variant 2



The following table (Table 5) shows how the two variants are distributed in the SYU scrolls where overlapping occurs.

Table 5

MS ID	Shelf number	Width of overlap (cm)	Variant 1	Variant 2	Finding spot	Text version (Oda 2015)
L	Or.8212(104)	not measured	x		Dunhuang	Ia
K1+K3	Ry0542 + Ry0542fr.	0.7 – 0.8	x	x	Yarkhoto	Ib
B12	U 7038	1.4	x		Yarkhoto, Dakianusšahri (Kocho)	Ib
	U 7036	0.8	x			Ib
B27	U 7068	1.0	x		Yarkhoto	Ib
B48	U 7120	1.5	x		Yarkhoto?	Ib
B49	U 7121	0.5	x		Kocho, ruin α	Ib
B69	U 7144	ca. 0.7 ³⁵	x		Yarkhoto	Ib
BVN36	U 5487 ³⁶	0.8	x		Yarkhoto(?)	Ib
BVN26	U 5005	0.4 ³⁷	x		Yarkhoto	Ib
B71[A]	Mainz 739	1.0	x		Yarkhoto	Ib
B01	U 7001	1.0		x	Dakianusšahri (Kocho)	Iic

³⁵ The glue is completely detached. U 7144 shows traces on the verso which clearly indicate that it was glued over the previous sheet.

³⁶ As the expedition stamp is partially covered by the overlap, the glue must have been renewed later.

³⁷ There is a conspicuously large line spacing at the level of the glue (3.5 cm) in comparison with the normal line spacing (1.5 cm) in the text.



MS ID	Shelf number	Width of overlap (cm)	Variant 1	Variant 2	Finding spot	Text version (Oda 2015)
B02	U 7002	1.3		x	unknown	IIC
B05	U 7005	1.5		x	unknown	IIC
B11	U 7032	1.3		x	Sengim	IIC
BV66	U 4988	1.1	x		Yarkhoto	IIC
B13	U 7039	1.0			unknown	IIC
B14	U 7041	1.3 ³⁸	x		unknown	IIC
B15	U 7045	0.9		x	Dakianusšahri (Kocho)	IIC
B23	U 7059	0.5		x	Turfaner Vorberge	IIC
B25	**U 9232/ BΦ-4201	not measured		x	Turfaner Vorberge	IIC
B30	U 7195	0.8		x	Kocho	IIC
	U 7189	0.8		x		IIC
B31	U 7073	1.4	x		Yarkhoto	IIC
	U 7076	0.9	x			IIC
B37	U 7094	0.8		x	Murtuk	IIC
	U 7096	1.0		x		IIC
	U 7112	0.8 – 0.9		x		IIC
B39	U 7106	1.5		x	Kocho, ruin α	IIC
B63	U 7138	0.9 – 1.0		x	Dakianusšahri (Kocho)	IIC
	U 7191	0.6 – 1.1		x	Toyok	IIC
B73	U 7158	0.4 – 0.7	x ³⁹		Toyok	IIC
BV33	U 7192	0.8		x	unknown	IIC
BV63	U 7222	0.8	x		Sengim	IIC
B[new]02	U 5163	1.0		x	unknown	IIC
no MS ID	U 223a,b	0.5 ⁴⁰		x	Kumtura	-

³⁸ The overlap glue has come off completely, but the glue marks on the right-hand edge of the recto side give a clear indication of the width and position of the overlap.

³⁹ Glue has seeped out of the two surviving glue borders. The Sogdo-Uyghur style of the script indicates an early date for the production of the text copy.

⁴⁰ The overlap has completely loosened. However, minor fragments of both sheets remain. Discolouration in the paper indicates the former layout of the overlap.



In many cases it can be observed that after the sheets have been glued together, the upper horizontal line at the beginning of the lines continues at the same height, but the lower horizontal line at the end of the lines jumps, see e.g. B25. In some cases, however, the top margin line also jumps after the overlap, see e.g. B01. The layout of the sheet, and probably the writing of the text, were thus done before the scroll was made. In the area of overlap, there are usually no significant changes in line spacing. There are exceptions, however, such as fragment U 5005 of manuscript BVN 26, where the line spacing in the overlap area increases from the usual 1.5 cm to 3.5 cm, or fragment U 4988 of manuscript BV 66, where the line spacing in the overlap area is 2.1 cm compared to the usual 1.3 cm.

In the case of fragment U 7158 (B73), glue protrudes from the two overlapping seams. It is possible that the glue was not precisely re-applied after dissolving.

Analyses of the glue have not yet been carried out.

The size of the sheets used to make the scrolls can rarely be determined due to their fragmentary nature. The following table (Table 6) gives an overview of the data still to be determined.

Table 6 Certified data for paper sheet size in SYU scrolls⁴¹

MS ID	Height	Length	Number of lines	Line spacing	Ruling	Finding spot	Text version
B12	28.0	41.8	30	1.3 – 1.4	light grey	Yarkhoto/ Dakianusšahri	Ib
B71	29.0 – 29.2 ⁴²	42.2 – 42.3	31–32	1.3 – 1.6	not ruled	Yarkhoto	Ib
B05	28.0	+29.5	+19	1.5	red	unknown	Iic
B25	28.7	ca. 42.0	28	ca. 1.8	red	Turfaner Vorberge	Iic
B31	33.0 (U 7072)	+36.0 (U 7078) ⁴³	+28	1.4 – 1.5	red	Yarkhoto	Iic
B37	28.8 (U 7094)	+38.6 (U 7096)	+29	1.3	red	Murtuk	Iic
B73	incomplete ⁴⁴	40.2 (U 7158) ⁴⁵	23	1.5 – 2.0	not ruled	Toyok	Ib or Iic
B23	incomplete	+33,3 (U 7059)	+24	1.5	red	Turfaner Vorberge	Iic

⁴¹ All measurements are given in cm. In cases where more than one fragment of a scroll has been preserved, the relevant fragment is indicated in brackets after the measurement.

⁴² It is likely that during the restoration process, the scroll fragment was minimally trimmed at the top and bottom of the sheet.

⁴³ No traces of overlapping glueing are visible on either the right or left fragment margin.

⁴⁴ The fragment has cut edges at the top and bottom of the fragment, indicating that the scroll was subsequently cut for further use.

⁴⁵ The script of this manuscript is conspicuously large and bold and shows characteristics of the early Sogdo-Uyghur script.



MS ID	Height	Length	Number of lines	Line spacing	Ruling	Finding spot	Text version
B35	incomplete	+35.9 (U 7082) ⁴⁶	+25	1.5	red	Yarkhoto	IIC
B63	incomplete	+35.8 (U 7138) ⁴⁷	+26	1.3 – 1.5	red	Daki-anusšahri	IIC
B14	ca. 29	+39.0 ⁴⁸	+27	1.5	red	unknown	IIC

Scroll fragment U 7223 from manuscript [BV]64 is a special case. Only the upper half of the scroll has survived. The fragment is multilayered. The upper layer with the writing has a clean lower edge. An approximately 0.5 – 0.8 wide paragraph above this edge is blank. The line breaks off at a uniform height, sometimes in the middle of the word. It is clear that there was an overlap at this height. The horizontally overlapping lower half of the sheet is detached and lost. It is not known whether this was an isolated case within the scroll or whether all the sheets of the scroll were designed in this way, as no other fragments of manuscript [BV]64 have yet been identified.

Paper

Macroscopic and microscopic paper analyses are available for some SYY scrolls, prepared by Anna-Grethe Rischel (2012: 265–311) in parallel with the cataloguing of the SYY fragments. During her studies of the Berlin Turfan fragments, she analysed a total of 62 SYY fragments. There were 21 block print fragments and 41 manuscript fragments, of which 24 were scroll fragments.

As a result of her analyses, Rischel (2012: 268) was able to point out significant differences in the quality of the paper used for manuscripts and block prints: ‘The block print paper is soft and thin with an average of 17 laid lines per 3 cm, whereas the manuscript paper is stiff and thin with an average of 12 laid lines per cm. A more open woven screen has obviously been used in the sheet formation of the writing paper, compared to the screen used for the block print paper.’

Furthermore, among the examined 319 paper samples from the Berlin Turfan collection, she noted ‘a dominance of recycled textile fibres compared to the presence of pure new plant fibres’ (Rischel 2012: 267). With regard to the technology applied, Rischel (2012: 267) only found references to the use of the dipping mould.

The table below (Table 7) is a summary of the main results of Rischel’s paper analysis of the 24 SYY scroll fragments belonging to 17 different manuscripts.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ No traces of overlapping glueing are visible on either the right or left margin of the fragment.

⁴⁷ At the right margin of the fragment there is breakage along an overlapping glueing.

⁴⁸ The fragment U 7041 shows clear traces of overlapping glueing on the right margin, which has dissolved.

⁴⁹ For more detailed information see Rischel 2012: 265–311.



Table 7

MS ID	Shelf number	Laid lines	Screen	Fibres	Paper colour	Find spot	Text version
B12	U 7036	11/3	red/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax with addition of new mulberry	clay-brown	Yarkhoto	Ib
	U 7037	13/3	red/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax, cotton with addition of new mulberry fibres	clay-brown	Yarkhoto	Ib
	U 7038	14/3	red/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax with addition of new mulberry	clay-brown	Daki-anusšahri (= Kocho)	Ib
B18	U 7049	10/3	reed/straw	pure mulberry	clay-brown	Toyok	Ib
B27	U 7068	9/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax and cotton	sand-grey	Yarkhoto	Ib
B01	U 7000	no visible impression		recycled ramie, hemp, flax with addition of new mulberry	clay-brown	Daki-anusšahri? (= Kocho)	IIC
				back paper: mulberry			
	U 7001	no visible impression		pure bamboo fibres	yellowish-white	Daki-anusšahri (= Kocho)	IIC
				label with Chinese character: pure mulberry fibres			
B02	U 7002	16/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	sand-grey	unknown	IIC
B03	U 7003	11/3	reed/straw	pure mulberry	sand-grey	Yarkhoto	IIC
B04	U 7004	9-11/3	reed/straw	pure mulberry	clay-brown	unknown	IIC
B05	U 7005	23/3	bamboo	pure mulberry	sand-grey	unknown	IIC
B08	U 7029	no visible impression		recycled ramie, hemp, flax	yellowish-white	unknown	IIC



MS ID	Shelf number	Laid lines	Screen	Fibres	Paper colour	Find spot	Text version
B09	U 7030	16/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	Daki-anusšahri (= Kocho)	Ic
B10	U 7031	20/3	bamboo	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	-	Sengim	Ic
B11	U 7032	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	Sengim	Ic
	U 7033	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	[Kocho] ruin α	Ic
	U 7034	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax, cotton	clay-brown	Daki-anusšahri (= Kocho)	Ic
BV66	U 7035	11/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax, cotton	clay-brown	Yarkhoto	Ic
B13	U 7039	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	unknown	Ic
B15	U 7044	20/3	bamboo	recycled ramie, hemp	clay-brown	Turfaner Vorberge	Ic
	U 7045	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	Daki-anusšahri (= Kocho)	Ic
	U 7046	15/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp, flax, cotton	clay-brown	unknown	Ic
B16	U 7047	9/3	reed/straw	recycled ramie, hemp	sand-grey	unknown	Ic
B17	U 7048	no visible impression		recycled ramie, hemp, flax	clay-brown	unknown	Ic

From the table above (Table 7) it is possible to distinguish three main groups of paper: type 1) paper made by using a reed or straw screen, characterized by 9 to 16 laid lines in 3 cm, type 2) paper made by using a bamboo screen, characterized by 20 or 23 laid lines in 3 cm, type 3) paper that shows no visible impression of laid lines, but which is sometimes caused by mounting it on fabric.

In the case of paper made with a reed/straw screen, the distribution of the laid lines is always irregular, unlike paper made with a bamboo screen, where the distribution of the laid lines is always uniform.

11 manuscripts belong to type 1, most of them excavated in Yarkhoto and Kocho, 2 manuscripts belong to type 2 and 3 manuscripts belong to type 3.



The paper of two fragments (U 7045, U 7046) of manuscript B15 was analysed as having been made with a reed or straw sieve, but the paper of fragment U 7044 as one with a bamboo sieve. This discrepancy will have to be re-examined in the future, both in terms of manuscript affiliation and paper analysis. The same applies to the fragments of a manuscript that show discrepancies in fibre composition (B01). However, due to limited availability, it cannot be ruled out that sheets of different paper qualities were used in the production of the scrolls. Mixtures of recycled fibres, only in one case (B12) with the addition of new mulberry fibres, dominate the paper of the SYY scrolls. Only four scrolls are made from pure mulberry fibre.

In the paper produced using the bamboo screen the fibre distribution is analysed as even and uniform. Fibre distribution ranges from even and uniform to slightly patchy or patchy when a reed or straw screen is used. There is no evidence for handmade woven paper made by using a textile sieve among the scrolls.⁵⁰

Apart from the preserved beginnings, where the paper is reinforced by the application of additional layers, often of a textile nature, and in cases where damaged areas of the scroll have been repaired by glueing on paper strips, the sheets of the scrolls are mostly made up of single-layered sheets.⁵¹

Brush strokes from the glueing or drying process were observed on the surface of nine fragments during analysis, in the case of U 7005 and U 7031 on the verso side of the scroll.

(2) Visual organization

Apart from the illuminated manuscripts described separately below, the scroll manuscripts do not have any special features in their layout. They have a simple layout with no pattern. The space for writing was delimited by horizontal lines from the top and bottom edges of the sheet. The width (height) of the margins varies from 1.1 to 2.5 cm. Often the width is the same at the top and bottom of the manuscript. Where it differs, the upper margin is wider than the lower. There is minimal variation between the individual sheets of the scroll. The text lines use the full space between the two horizontal lines. In some manuscripts, the scribes used line fillers at the end of lines of text so as not to disturb the uniformity of the layout. The last letter is brought to the lower horizontal borderline by extending the connecting line to the preceding letter in the last word on the line, cf. e.g. BV49 (U 7208/r/03/).

Exceptions in the simple layout, as far as preserved, are present at the beginning and end of the text. The sutra title at the beginning of the text, including the threefold refuge formula in the very first line of text, is written in red, cf. B01, B02⁵², B03, BVN1. The refuge formula in the first line, despite its brevity, fills the entire line from the top to the bottom horizontal borderline by setting the three parts apart. Fragment U 7003 (B03) is the best preserved beginning of the Berlin SYY scrolls (Fig. 20). The first line of the title is preceded by a section of blank paper at least 9 cm

⁵⁰ For details on the fibre and paper analysis of manuscripts from the Silk Road, here with a focus on Chinese manuscripts, see also Helman-Ważny 2016: 1–14.

⁵¹ For this topic see also Helman-Ważny 2016: 12.

⁵² Fragment U 7002 (B02) is a special case. The title, written in red, is preceded by an overlapping paste-up with another red line of text, which, like the first title line, contains the inscription of the threefold formula for refuge. This is immediately preceded by the left tear-off margin. The right margin is folded over and pasted. The font size of the last two lines of text before the right margin is significantly smaller. For further details see the catalogue entry VOHD XIII,26 #003.



wide.⁵³ The red title ends in line 4 with a two-coloured, red-black cluster of dots. After a small paragraph, the sutra text begins in black at the bottom of line 4.

In U 7000 (B01), however, the sutra text starts at the beginning of the next line. A larger group of two-coloured dots, each consisting of two red and two black colons, is attested in the title, probably at the end of each of the three parts of the refuge formula, of manuscript BVN2 (U 4883).

The design at the end of a SYY scroll is only attested in manuscript B37 (U 7133) in the Berlin collection (Fig. 21). The end of the last line of text has not survived. The lower part of the preserved line is blank except for a colon immediately above the lower horizontal margin line. This is where the sutra text ends. Before the colophon begins, there is a blank paragraph about 3 cm wide. The font size of the colophon does not differ from that of the sutra text.⁵⁴

On most scrolls, the sheets were prepared for writing by means of a ruling. Faint lines in light grey or light red were used to guide the writing. The ruling is almost exclusively on the inside of the scroll. This is where the text of the SYY is located.⁵⁵

In manuscript BV66, an additional second ruling line can sometimes be seen close to the ruling line used for writing. It is possible that a correction or adjustment was made here in the prefabricated paper sheets to the number of SYY text lines. The manuscript BV66 has a light grey ruling.

In some manuscripts, only the red margin ruling is visible, cf. B39, B53, B54. It is unclear whether a line ruling has been omitted or has disappeared altogether.

Manuscript BVN36 is an exception. The recto of the scroll with the SYY text has a light grey ruling. The verso of the scroll was used secondarily to write down another OU Buddhist text. It has a red ruling.

This example confirms the observation that the SYY scrolls of the earlier text version Ib have predominantly grey ruling. Many of these scrolls were excavated during the German Turfan expeditions in Yarkhoto, cf. B12, B48, B69, BVN36. The majority of the later copies of text version IIc show red guidelines for writing, but not exclusively.⁵⁶

Some manuscripts also have no guidelines for writing at all, cf. B71[A], B27. Subsequently, the manuscripts show irregular line spacing.

(3) Content production

The various manuscripts were each written by a single scribe. The script of the manuscripts varies greatly. A Sogdo-Uyghur style of the script is characteristic of an early manuscript, while a semi-square/semi-cursive script indicates a later writing. There are also differences in the size of the script. The manuscripts B29 and B[73], for example, have a strikingly large font. In this manuscript, the line spacing of 1.8 - 2.0 cm is larger than usual (1.5 cm). Other manuscripts, such as B30, BV41, BVN4 and B[new]02, are written in very small characters. In these manuscripts, the line spacing is often narrower (1.3 cm). The very small script in BVN4, for example, is character-

⁵³ An illustration (frontispiece) preceding the title of the work has so far only been attested in the SYY block print (Pk) preserved in Beijing (Oda 2010: pl. 192).

⁵⁴ Spelling in red in the text will be dealt with at a later stage.

⁵⁵ In the catalogue entries in VOHD XIII,26 this side is described as recto.

⁵⁶ The manuscripts B21 (Kocho), B28 (Toyok), BV66 (Yarkhoto) and BVN2 (unknown excavation site), which Oda assigned to text version IIc, show grey ruling. Fragment U 7055 is the only fragment of manuscript B21 that also has a grey horizontal line on the verso at the top of the page.





Fig. 20 U 7003 recto



Fig. 22 U 7036 recto, detail showing the correction in the text



Fig. 21 U 7133 (B58) recto

used by fine, thin strokes and long, pointed D-hooks; the small, clean, square script in B[*new*]02 clearly distinguishes the graphemes *y* and *v* from each other. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts, it is not possible to compare the relationship between the size of the characters and the length of the lines.

The names of the scribes and the place where the manuscripts were made are unknown. In fact, almost none of the manuscripts has survived with a colophon that would have provided this information. In many cases, the only information given in the finding marks is where the manuscript was found by the German Turfan expeditions.



Fragment U 7133 of manuscript B37 has a colophon following the sutra text, but its text ends after the introductory formula and therefore provides no further information. The colophon fragment U 5033 gives the names of two sponsors who had three scrolls copied, one scroll each of the *y(a)mīanwanke* (*Yamarāja-sūtra/Shiwangjing?*), the *p(a)ryoke* (*Bayangjing*) and the *kṣanti* (*Kṣanti-sūtra*).⁵⁷ The name of the first sponsor is incompletely preserved: Tum[]dük. The second sponsor is the laywoman Asmiš Mama (*upasanč*⁵⁸ *asmiš mama*). *upasanč* preceding her name identifies her as a lay member of the OU Buddhist community. However, after the introduction of the section on the transmission of merit, this fragment of the scroll also breaks off. The manuscripts of the three Buddhist texts mentioned in the colophon have not yet been identified.

Corrections to the text are often found in the manuscripts. Most of them are omissions. Suffixes, words or even short sections of text are added between lines. These additions are made to the left of the line, e.g. B05: U 7005/r/11/, B12: U 7036/r/17/. Sometimes, but not always⁵⁹, a correction mark, usually in the form of the symbol +, marks the place in the text to the right of the line where the addition is to be made, see for instance U 7036 (Fig. 22). The font size of the interlinear correction is smaller, so it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether it was made by the scribe of the manuscript in the course of proofreading, or by a later user of the manuscript.

(4) Structuring devices

The use of structuring devices in the manuscripts is very rare but manuscript B27 provides evidence of one such device. Here, sections of text explaining various features of Buddhist doctrine are marked by a colon at the end, followed by a short unwritten paragraph and another colon before the next part of the explanation. Red script was also used as a structuring device. The Sanskrit phrases of the *dhāraṇī* (Oda 2015: 210: l. 372) are written in red in manuscripts B20 (U 7053), B47 (U 7119) and BV54 (U 7215). The same applies to the mantra in the colophon of manuscript B37 (U 7133). This manuscript also has the remains of two lines written in red at the end of the sutra. The red ink most likely marks the essence of the text, the entrance into the knowledge and insight of the buddhas, the bliss of *nirvāṇa* (Oda 2015: 236–237, ll. 460–461). The invocations of the eight bodhisattvas (Oda 2015: 206–209, ll. 357–363) are highlighted by the use of red script in manuscripts B40 (U7212), B47 (U 7119) and BVN22 (U 4936).

(5) Writing and decorating materials

Black ink was used by the scribes to write the main text of the SYU manuscripts. As shown above, red ink was used for writing the title, as a structuring device, but also for decoration. A number of manuscripts show red writing whenever the Buddhist terms ‘buddha’ (OU *burhan*) and ‘bodhisattva’ (OU *bodis(a)v(a)t/bodis(a)t(a)v*) are mentioned, for example B13, B17, B51, BV07, BV52, BVN4.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Another sponsor, Buyan Tūmān Bāgi by name, mentioned in the colophon of the block print Bx5 (U 4670) has ordered together with a long list of his family members the monk Ānandaśrī to carve the blocks of the SYU together with ‘Uṣṇiṣavijaya(-dhāraṇī), ... Amitāyus, Sitātapatrā’ (Oda 2015: 244–245). I would like to take this opportunity to thank the anonymous reviewer for the hint to complete the personal name of the sponsor.

⁵⁸ Wilkens 2021a: 801b: *upasanč* < Sogd. *wp’s’nch* < Skt. *upāsikā* (buddh.) Laienanhängerin.

⁵⁹ For corrections without correction mark, see, for example, B43: U 7114/r/11/-/12/, B 69: U 7144/r/5/-/6/, [BV]64: U 7223/r/3/-/4/.

⁶⁰ An advanced form of this decoration is presented in the chapter on illuminated manuscripts.



(6) Content

The Berlin SYY fragments in scroll form present copies of the two text versions Ib and IIc according to Oda's classification. The exact location of the text preserved in the single scroll fragments is given in the entries of the catalogue volume of the SYY fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections (VOHD XIII,26). The text of the fragments are also incorporated in the full text editions of the Old Uyghur text versions of the SYY by Oda (2010 and 2015). These studies clearly show that the manuscripts assigned to a version have textual variants among themselves. The fragmentary nature of the manuscripts thus leads to uncertainties in classification. Expanding the parameters will help evaluate the textual classification and contribute to a more detailed model.

As seen from the colophon Bx4 (U 5033) this fragment is part of a multiple text manuscript consisting of three Buddhist sutras. That the relatively short apocryphal SYY was selected as part of the Buddhist OU multiple texts is also evident from information in the colophon of the block print Bx5 (U 4670). Remains of the beginning of a colophon following the text of the sutra have survived only in a single fragment of a manuscript in scroll form (B37: U 7133).

(7) Order of production steps

The texts of the various SYY manuscripts were each written by a single scribe. The sheets used by the scribes were mostly prepared by ruling lines. However, there is evidence to suggest that the scribes might have used one of two methods to produce the manuscripts in scroll form: writing the text on prepared sheets before making the scroll, or writing the text on the already prepared scroll.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the individual manuscripts and ignorance of any repairs that may have been made to the scrolls at the time of their use, the following commentary is subject to change. The basis for the observation is primarily the two large scroll fragments Mainz 739 I-III of manuscript B71[A] and **U 9232/BΦ-4201 of manuscript B25. However, the observations are also supported by smaller fragments.

It is noticeable that B71[A] has a continuous course of margin lines and that grapheme components of words in lines immediately adjacent to the glue line run across the glue line. These are signs that the scribe wrote the text on the paper of the prepared scroll.⁶¹

In manuscript B25, however, the margin lines jump at the glueing seams. The sheets have been glued together in such a way that the upper horizontal margin line is at a uniform height. The jumps occur at the lower margin line. As a result, the length of the text lines in the scroll is inconsistent. Due to the presence of variant 2 of overlapping glueing (see above), grapheme components of words in lines that are in the first line of text after the seam are covered by the overlap.⁶²

Manuscript BVN26 is exceptional in another respect. The wide spacing of the lines at the seam may also be an indication that the individual sheets were written on before being glued together into a scroll.

The place of production and the date associated with it are not known for any of the SYY scrolls.

⁶¹ This also seems to have been the case with manuscripts B12, B27, B48, B13, B30 and BV63.

⁶² Further examples for this method provide the manuscripts B01, B23, B31, B37 and B[new]2.



III.3/C Post-production paracontent

The various scrolls provide a wide range of examples of the secondary use of the scrolls. A list of the SYF fragments with secondary texts on the reverse is included in the catalogue volume (VOHD XIII,26: 11–12).

Some examples suggest that secondary use took place when the scroll was still preserved in its entirety or as a larger unit. This is indicated by the length of the Buddhist texts written on the verso, which can be traced across several fragments belonging to the same manuscript, see for example manuscript B63, which has the text of the OU translation of the *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓 on the verso.

In other cases, it is possible that secondary use took place when the scroll was already no longer intact and fragments were further used, for example, for drafts of texts, e.g. contracts and writing exercises, such as scroll fragment U 5163 (B[new]02), which has a draft contract in cursive on the verso. In addition to the draft contract, there are various notes, probably writing exercises, which repeat individual words or sections from the draft contract. The written legacies of the Uyghurs show an intensive and very diverse secondary use of manuscripts. Not only were the blank backs of manuscripts, or block prints, in OU used, but also those in other languages, such as Chinese and Syriac. Unwritten margins and even spaces between lines are also used for records by the Old Uyghurs.⁶³ The notes on the verso of U 7094 (B37) are written in two languages, OU and Chinese, and they run upside down to each other. The inks of the Chinese and OU writing look very similar. According to my Japanese colleague, Nishiwaki Tsuneki, who provided the translation and interpretation of the Chinese text lines (VOHD XIII,26 #111 fn. 8), the Chinese lines run from left to right and show an adaptation to the OU writing direction already proven in other cases as well (Shōgaito 2010: 73). From the point of view of content, the OU and Chinese text lines also have a certain relationship to each other and could therefore come from the same scribal hand (VOHD XIII,26 #111 fn.7).

Final remarks concerning the history of the objects

The scroll fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections are from the German Turfan expeditions. There is no precise finding information for the individual fragments. Where they do exist, the finding mark on the fragments or glazing provides an indication of the Turfan expedition and excavation site. The few find lists preserved in the Turfan files ('Turfan Acta')⁶⁴ contain only very general information about the finds. Sometimes, however, correlations can be made between the numbers in the find lists and the finding marks on the fragments. But, even the find lists do not provide detailed information about the exact location of the finds at the excavation site, as the example below will show.

Yarkhoto, as mentioned above, occupies a prominent position among the sites of scroll manuscripts, where not only the scroll K1 + K3 preserved in Kyoto was found, but where the second German Turfan expedition also excavated fragments of manuscripts B12, B27, B48(?), B69, B71[A], BVN36, BVN26, BV66, B22, B31, B35, B60, B72, BV23 and Bx4.

Yarkhoto ('town on the cliff'), the ancient city of Jiaohe 交河, is situated on a 30m high rock plateau between two dry river branches in the Yarnaz valley, about 10 km west of Turfan (Fig. 23).

⁶³ For examples see amongst others VOHD XIII,22 and Raschmann 2014.

⁶⁴ The online access to the files is offered here: <https://iif.crossasia.org/s/turfan> (last access on 9 February 2024).





Fig. 23 Yarkhoto. B 939: 'Panorama der Ruinenstadt entlang der Nord-Süd-Hauptachse (ca. 1902-1905)'⁶⁵

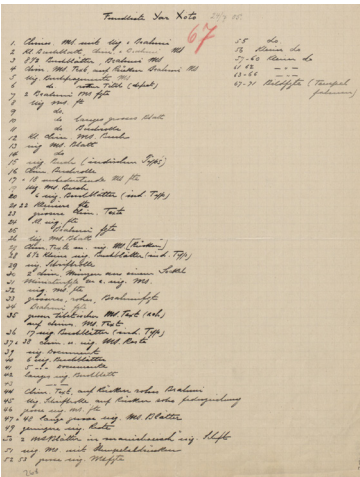


Fig. 24 TA5815: List of manuscripts found during the second Turfan expedition in Yarkhoto (T II Y)

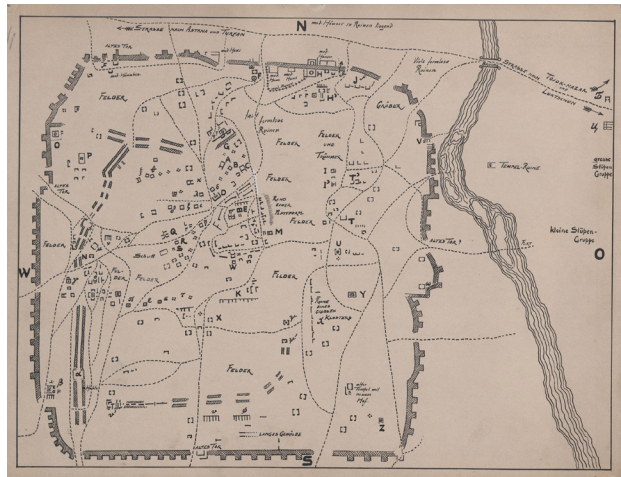


Fig. 25 TA6575: 'Plan von Khocho, Reinzeichnung' by Albert Grünwedel

One of the few lists of finds included in the Turfan files of the expeditions is that of the manuscripts found at Yarkhoto (Yar Xoto), dated 24 July 1905 (Fig. 24). The last component of the finding mark noted on the fragments, which begins with the number of the Turfan expedition and the find location indicated by an abbreviation (T II Y), corresponds to the number of the entry in the list of finds. The packages of fragments, which were assembled on site, were marked

⁶⁵ <https://iiif.crossasia.org/s/turfan/manifests/702/c/4798> (last access on 22 August 2023).



with the initial letter of the site and given an individual number. These were transferred to the find lists.⁶⁶ After unpacking the packages in Berlin, the details were also transferred to the single fragments and often to the glazing after conservation. The entries in the complete overview of the SYY scroll fragments show examples of SYY scrolls, coming from the same packages, i.e. having the same finding context, cf. e.g. T II Y 63 for the fragments U 7068, U 7144, Mainz 739 III.

With reference to the list of finds mentioned above, Albert von Le Coq reported on the manuscript finds in his letter of 24 July 1905 to Geheimrat Pischel in Berlin.⁶⁷ He did not comment on the scrolls, but expressed his regret that there were only a few Brahmi texts among the finds and nothing Manichaean, which was his main interest. He also does not name any exact sites for the manuscripts in Yarkhoto, which is not very surprising, however, since the work on site had been carried out by the excavation technician Bartus, while von Le Coq had accompanied the transport of 60 boxes with finds from Kocho (Karakhodja) to Urumqi in order to have transport papers issued there for onward transport towards Berlin. He did not return until 22 July 1905, when he met up with Bartus, who had finished his excavations at Bulayik and Yarkhoto.

The scrolls found by the first Turfan expedition (1902–1903) came from the ruined city of Gaochang 高昌, which is referred to as Kocho (OU Kočo) in the OU texts and marked D for Dakianusšahr in the German expeditions' finding marks (Fig. 25). However, sometimes the ruin α (T I α) at Kocho is identified as the site by reference to the location in the finding mark (Fig. 26).



Fig. 26 B 2458: Westseite der Ruine α

⁶⁶ For general remarks concerning the denomination of the finding spots and the handling of the excavated fragments by the German expeditions see also Boyce 1960: X–XXVII, Sander 1968: 7–21.

⁶⁷ Title: Aktenstück 66 zu Turfan allgemeines, vol. 1), S.1 (Acta 19, S.266) = TA5813. Reference: <https://iif.crossasia.org/s/turfan/collections/10712/manifests/10730/c/17423> (last access on 9 February 2024).



This ruin, a Buddhist-covered originally Manichaean temple, is part of the long inner wall of Kocho. Both Manichaean and Buddhist artefacts have therefore been recovered from this ruin.

Finding marks from the second German Turfan expedition (1904–1905) also point to Toyok and Sengim as places of discovery. SYY scrolls were also found in Murtuk and in the Turfan foothills ('Turfaner Vorberge', Fig. 27), a general designation for the area north of Turfan which includes the sites of Bulayık and Kurutka, during the third German Turfan expedition (1906–1907).

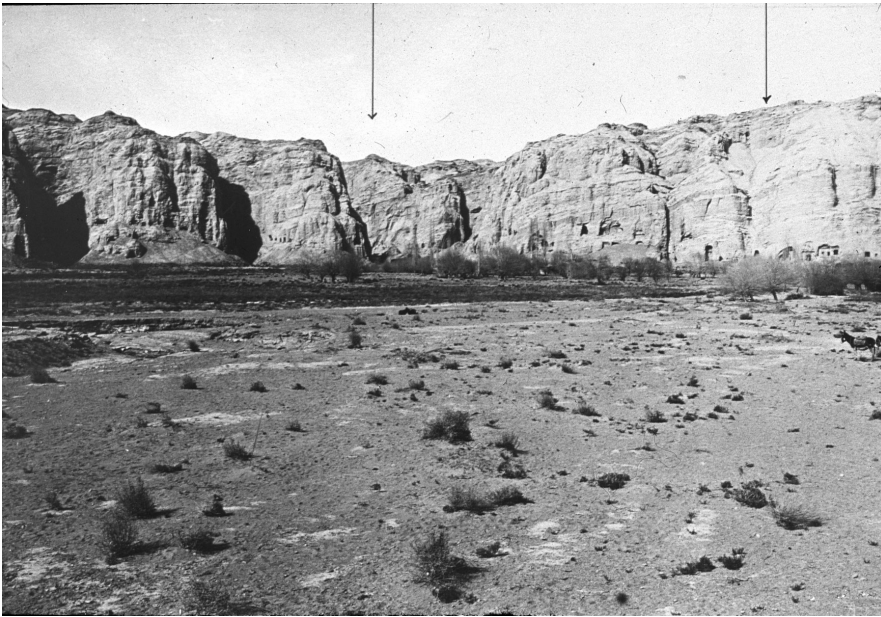


Fig. 27 'Turfaner Vorberge', T 633: 'Gesamtansicht des Höhlenszugs in den Vorbergen: Mittlerer Abschnitt der Höhlenanlage vom Tal aus gesehen (3. Turfan-Expedition 1906-1907)'⁶⁸

Only a single and very small scroll fragment (U 223a,b) comes from the fourth Turfan expedition (1913–1914). It has a rare specific reference to where it was found: T IV K Kumtura Baumhöhle ('tree cave'). However, no mention or even description of this 'tree cave' in Kumtura has yet been found, either in the Turfan records or in von Le Coq's travelogues. Thanks to the efforts of my colleagues Caren Dreyer, Ines Buschmann and Ines Konczak-Nagel, it was possible to identify further artefacts from this finding spot in the collection. One of them is the wooden object with the inventory number III 7719 in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Kunstsammlung Süd-, Südost- und Zentralasien. It is described as 'a cylindrical object having a vertical groove, which is twisted and at the centre of the cylinder corrugations, produced by continuous drilling, suggest its being used as a drilling instrument' by Chhaya Bhattacharya (1977: 111 no. 287) in her monograph titled *Art of Central Asia*. The old inventory card gives the following information concerning the excavation site during the fourth Turfan expedition: 'Kumtura, Höhle mit den Bäumen.' Another artefact from the 'Höhle mit Baum' in Kumtura was lost during World War II.

⁶⁸ <https://iiif.crossasia.org/s/turfan/manifests/3912> (last access on 9 February 2024).



However, it is listed in volume III of the catalogue *Dokumentation der Verluste* (Dreyer, Sander and Weis 2002: 291): ‘IB 8048 Besen aus Hirsestroh (‘broom made from millet straw’). According to the data given, it also belonged to the finds of the fourth German expedition. Both artefacts are everyday objects. They are only mentioned here in order to illustrate the context in which this fragment was found.

In the complete overview of the SY Y scrolls, there are discrepancies in the location of fragments that are attributed to the same manuscript. These discrepancies cannot be clearly explained, but they occur not only here, but also in other editions of reconstructed manuscripts from the Turfan collection. One can imagine various reasons for these discrepancies, but these would be hypothetical considerations at best.

In his report on the work of the first Turfan expedition, Albert Grünwedel (1906: 61) describes, *inter alia*, the handling of the manuscript finds in the field, and it is reasonable to assume that the later expeditions followed a similar approach: ‘Unter dem herabgestürzten Dache bei xx fand ich ganze Lagen von Bildern, Miniaturen und Manuskriptresten, auf welche ich unten noch zurückkommen werde. An Ort und Stelle war kaum Zeit, sie irgendwie zu sortieren, sondern sie wurden sofort in Papier verpackt und weggeschafft, denn auch in unserem erbärmlichen Wohnraum war keine Möglichkeit, sie durchzusehen. Nur muß hier schon erwähnt werden, daß viele der von Türken gekauften Manuskriptfetzen als zugehörig sich ergaben: sie waren also noch vor meinen Arbeiten in den schon geräumten Gängen gefunden worden.’

Not all of the manuscript finds were excavated by the German explorers themselves, but were found by local people and then sold to the expedition members, as mentioned by Grünwedel.⁶⁹ In his discussion of the manuscript remains from ruin α there is unfortunately no specific reference to the SY Y scroll fragments from the first Turfan expedition. However, the details are interesting in that they provide information about the find context of the scroll fragments from the ruin α discussed here (Grünwedel 1906: 72): ‘Wie oben erwähnt, fanden sich bei den Bildern viele Reste von Handschriften durcheinandergeworfen unter dem Schutt des Daches; uigurische Kontrakte u. dgl., Reste uigurischer buddhistischer Bücher, manichäische Schriftreste, ein Blatt in indischer Schrift, chinesische Fetzen mit Abbildungen der tausend Buddhas, Stücke eines Si-fan-Blockdruckes, ein winziges Manuskriptstückchen auf Birkenrinde.’

The majority of the SY Y fragments preserved in the BBAW’s Turfan archive have remained unglazed to date. The method of conservation of this group of texts is thus strikingly different from that of the majority of fragments in the Berlin Turfan collection. With a few other exceptions,⁷⁰ the fragments were glazed after their arrival in Berlin. Until the time of cataloguing, fragments U 7000-7224 were kept in a large-format notebook (‘Kladde’, Fig. 25–27). The individual fragments were loosely inserted between two sheets. Stickers with the name of the manuscript (B 1, B 2ff.) have been affixed to the right margin of the pages at different heights to facilitate turning to the respective manuscript.

In addition, each fragment was given a paper label bearing the manuscript number. If more than one fragment could be attributed to a single manuscript, the manuscript number was supplemented by letters (e.g. B12a, B12b, B12c). It can be concluded that this method of preservation can be traced back to the first editors of the text, who introduced this manuscript classification

⁶⁹ See also Grünwedel 1906: 72 fn. 1. As a result, the provenance of most of these purchased fragments is completely uncertain.

⁷⁰ Among them are a number of large-format OU documents.



for the fragments identified as belonging to the text and published it for the first time in 1934 in *Türkische Turfantexte VI*. Later, the new U signatures were added in pencil on the back of the fragments' stickers. The new signature system for the fragments in the Berlin Turfan collection, i.e. the so-called 'Standortsignaturen' (here U 7000–7224, where U stands for fragments in the Uyghur language), was introduced after the resumption of Turfan research in Berlin after the Second World War.

This earlier method of conservation did not allow the fragile original fragments to be used without risking further damage, especially as the acidic paper of the notebook pages had begun to crack when turned over. In order to enable the necessary autopsy for the scientific cataloguing of the fragments, a new conservation method was developed by the responsible conservation workshop of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz with a great deal of understanding and commitment. The individual fragments were placed in a tableau consisting of a stable cardboard overlay and a protective sheet of paper (Fig. 31). The old labels on the fragment were preserved as far as possible. The current signature, the U-signature, was written in pencil on the outside of the protective sheet. Each of the 50 tableaux is placed on top of each other in a special storage box.⁷¹ The box is made of non-ageing light cardboard and has an opening flap on the side for safe removal of the tableaux. The boxes are labelled 'Kiste I-IV'. The name of the box is written on the lid, as are the numbers of the fragments, e.g. Kiste 1, U 7000-7049. This information is also repeated on a cover plate on the inside.⁷²

Other fragments are loosely preserved between two glass plates without any conservation treatment. The glass plates were sealed with a strip of paper. The fragments were 'squeezed' between the glass plates and therefore under physical stress. Due to the minimal exchange of air, the fragment was unable to respond to changes in temperature and relative humidity. With this type of glazing, a whitish deposit often formed between the fragment and the glass. The method of glazing used to conserve the Turfan fragments can be traced back to the founder of papyrus conservation and curator of the papyrus collection at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Hugo Ibscher (1874–1943), who prepared the equally fragile papyri brought to Berlin around 1902 by placing them between glass plates. Following this example, the method was subsequently used to conserve the majority of Turfan fragments (Fig. 32). Many of the fragments have an inscription concerning the find place, the so-called finding mark ('Fundsigle'). A sticker on the glazing repeats this information, sometimes in extended form. Another sticker bears the shelf number ('Standortsignatur').

The method of glazing was improved during the digitisation of the Turfan fragments and the associated restoration work (1997–2012). A cardboard frame with an air channel is now glued to the first pane of glass during re-glazing. Tiny wedges of Japanese paper are glued directly onto the cleaned and flattened fragments. The second sheet of glass is applied. The edges are sealed with a gummed cloth. Finally, a new signature label was affixed (Fig. 33). Where possible, original labels have been transferred.

An exception among the SYY scrolls regarding conservation is the scroll fragment Mainz 739 I-III (T II Y 54, T II Y 43, T II 63) of manuscript B71[A].

⁷¹ These boxes are also known as NOMI boxes. This name of the age-resistant, custom-made cardboard boxes for archival and library materials comes from the name of the company owners NORbert Schramm and MIchael Kühner.

⁷² I would like to take this opportunity to thank Katharina Wewerke in particular for her professional expertise.



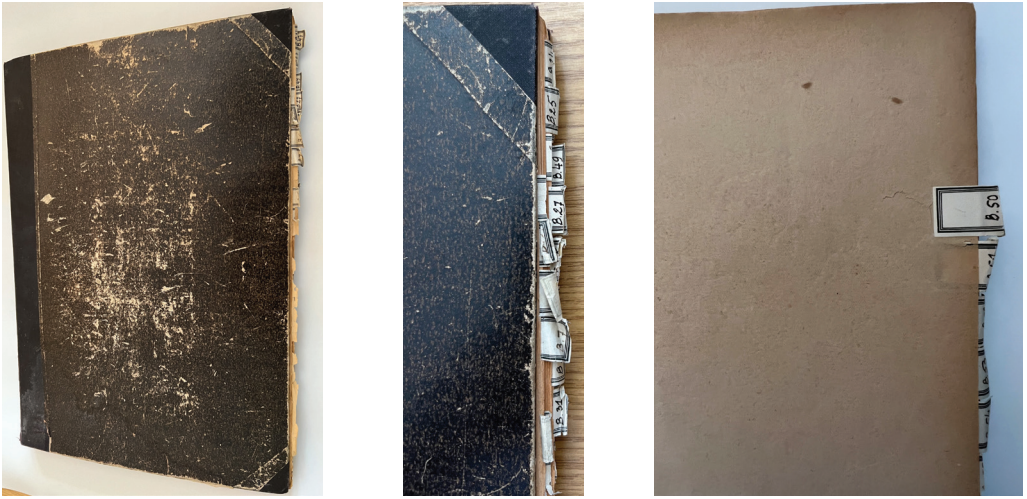


Fig. 28, 29, 30 The large-format notebook ('Kladde') with stickers attached to the sheets



Fig. 31 Left: Kiste II opened, right: Tableau U 7072 in Kiste IV opened



Fig. 32 Scroll fragment U 5005 (BVN26) showing the old glazing method

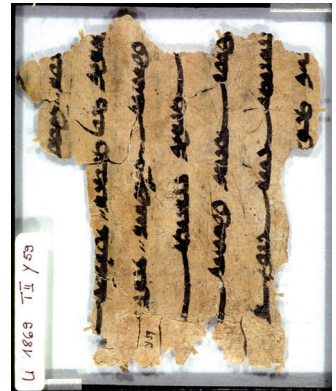
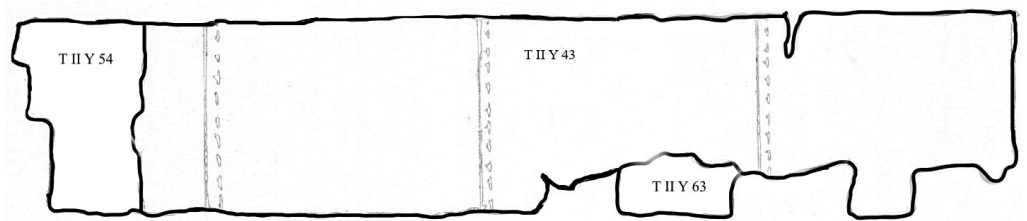


Fig. 33 Scroll fragment U 1869 (BVN36) showing the new glazing method



Mainz 739 I-III Sketch showing the three scroll fragments and the overlapping bonds in the scroll



Firstly, the three different finding marks indicate that the part of the scroll that survives today was made up of three fragments. These were found separately by the expeditions, but were recognised as belonging to one scroll and reassembled (see sketch above). It is not known whether this reassembly took place during the conservation process described below or at an earlier stage. During the conservation process, missing sections of the reassembled scroll were filled in with Japanese paper. This paper was applied from the back. Silk gauze was then applied to both sides of the scroll fragment to stabilise it. In order to create a manageable glazing, the restored scroll section was then cut into three segments (Mainz 739 I, Mainz 739 II, Mainz 739 III) and each glazed individually (Figs. 34, 35, 36).

There is no record of when this conservation took place. However, other scroll fragments in the Mainz sub-collection show this type of conservation.⁷³

III.3.1 Illuminated SY Y scroll fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections

The illuminated fragments of the SY Y preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections (Table 8) are unique in that no illuminated manuscripts of the text have been found in any collection to date. This statement applies not only to the OU translation of the text, but also to text versions in other languages including Chinese. However, there is evidence of two illustrated OU block prints (Oda 2010: pls. 192, 196).

The illuminated SY Y scroll fragments have received little attention. Some of them are published here for the first time in the context of the SY Y.⁷⁴ Only the textual affiliation of fragments U 7123 and U 7124 to the SY Y has been known for some time, and they have been included in Oda's (2010, 2015) text editions and in the catalogue of OU SY Y manuscript fragments in the Berlin collection (VOHD XIII,26). However, it was not until further manuscript fragments were identified in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin that a more accurate picture of the illumination of manuscript B51 emerged and, above all, the evidence of textual parallels between the illuminated fragments led to the conclusion that there was more than one illuminated SY Y manuscript in the form of a scroll (New1 – New5).

Table 8 Illuminated SY Y scroll fragments

MS ID	Shelf number	Finding mark	Finding spot	Height (in cm)	Length (in cm)	Number of lines	Line spacing	Location in text
B51b	III 4698b2	T I	Kocho	8.8	16.0	11	1.5	ll. 137–146
B51b	III 4698b3	T I	Kocho	9.5	9.3	3	1.5	ll. 146–151
B51a	U 7123	T I D	Kocho	10.5	19.3	15	1.3 – 1.5	ll. 414–425

⁷³ These include the fragment Mainz 732 I–IV mentioned above and Mainz 735. Other preserved scroll units were also cut for glazing, such as Mainz 734 I–III. Mainz 733 has undergone the same conservation procedure as Mainz 739 and Mainz 732, but the preserved scroll fragment is still rolled, rather than cut into segments, in a suitable cardboard container.

⁷⁴ Some of the fragments in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst were described in the inventory as a scroll with 1000 buddhas, i.e. as belonging to the *Buddhanāma-sūtra* (*Fo shuo fo ming jing* 佛說佛名經).



MS ID	Shelf number	Finding mark	Finding spot	Height (in cm)	Length (in cm)	Number of lines	Line spacing	Location in text
B51a	III 550	T II 1047	–	8.9	6.0	5	1.5	ll. 417–420
B51a	III 6323	T I D	Kocho	18.5	17.9	13	1.5	ll. 420–431
B51a	U 7124	T I D	Kocho	14.4	27.1	19	1.5	ll. 428–443
B51c	III 4698b1	T I	Kocho	3.7	3.0	–	–	unknown
B51d	III 6474	T II D 97	Kocho, Ruin α	3.7	3.4	1	–	unknown
New1	III 6592	T II T	Toyuk, Manuscript Room	10.4	13.7	10	1.5	ll. 27–33
New2a	III 6692	T II D	Kocho, Ruin K	5.8	4.6	4	1.8	l. 221
New2b	III 7451b	T I D	Kocho	5.8	6.9	5	1.8	ll. 235–238
New3	III 6333	T II D 196,	Kocho, Ruin north of v ¹	11.4	4.5	4	1.4	ll. 418–419
New4	III 4698b4	T I	Kocho	6.6	9.4	7	1.5	ll. 452–456
New5	III 4934b	T I α	Kocho, Ruin α	2.7	2.4	2	1.5	l. 454

III.3.1.1 The manuscript B51

At present, eight fragments have been identified as belonging to the illuminated manuscript B51. As far as is known from the preserved finding marks, they were recovered during the first and second German Turfan Expeditions in Kocho. Only for fragment III 6474 is the more precise finding information ruin α in Kocho preserved.

The beginning and end of this scroll have not been preserved. Fragments from the middle of the scroll have survived, and their position in the manuscript can be determined from the information in the table above. Two larger scroll segments of the manuscript can be reconstructed by virtually assembling several individual fragments, cf. B51a: U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124 (Fig. 37) and B51b: III 4698b2 + III 4698b3 (Fig. 38).

The fragments III 4698b1 (Fig. 39) and III 6474 (Fig. 40) can be clearly assigned to manuscript B51 on the basis of the painting style of the illustrations, but the poor preservation of the text (only grapheme remnants survive) does not allow for an exact localisation in the scroll.

Size of the two larger reconstructed scroll sections: U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124: ca. 20.5 x 49.4 cm, and III 4698b 2 + III 4698b 3: 9.5 x 25.0 cm.

Size of the two small fragments: III 6323: 16.5 x 17.7 cm, and III 6474: 3.7 x 3.4 cm

The fragments are kept in the Turfan Archive at the BBAW (U 7123 and U 7124) and in the storage of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB-PK in Berlin-Dahlem (III 550, III 4698b1-3, III 6323, III 6474).





Figs. 34, 35, 36 Mainz 739 I, II and III individually glazed



Fig. 37 B51a: U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124
(Image manipulation by Tim Raschmann)



Fig. 38 B 51b: III 4698b2 + III 4698b3
(Image manipulation by Tim Raschmann)



Fig. 39 B51c:
III 4698b1



Fig. 40 B51d:
III 6474



Fig. 41 U 7123
detail



Figs. 42, 43 III 6323 detail 1 and detail 2

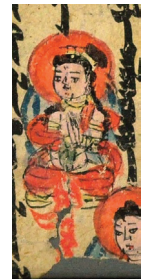


Fig. 44 BΦ-4723
(former inventory no. IB 6308)



Fig. 45 BΦ-4725 (former inventory no. IB 6288)



The number of sheets of paper that originally made up scroll B51 cannot be reconstructed. Only an overlapping glueing of two sheets on the reconstructed scroll segment U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124 has been preserved. During the production of the scroll, variant 2 was used for the glueing of the sheets. The width of the overlap is 1.0–1.2 cm. The segments of the two sheets are distributed as follows: (1) U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124/r/01/–/07/, size: approx. 19.0 x 10.0 cm and (2) U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124/r/08/–/36/, size: approx. 20.5 x 40.5 cm. The measurement of the second segment can be used as a statement on the size of the individual sheets, which were thus > 20.5 x > 40.5 cm, since even at the level of the preserved remains of the last line /36/ on the verso there are still no traces of overlapping glueing. The width of the upper margin, bordered by a red line, is 2.2 cm in the first segment and only 1.7 cm in the second.

Fragment U 7123 was glazed after being included in a study of colour pigments (Nöller and Hahn 2015: 53–55). An old paper label is still attached to the upper edge of the fragment, with the editor's mark B 51 on the recto and the shelf mark U 7123 on the verso. Fragment U 7124 is enclosed in a tableau as described above and is kept in Box III (U 7101 – U 7156). On the left edge of the fragment there is a white sticker with an editor's note 429-443 (16)2 on the front, to which the shelf mark U 7124 was later added in pencil on the verso. III 550 is also completely glazed. The new inventory number III 550 is written in white on the black adhesive tape used to glue the glass plates. An old original label on the glazing bears the finding mark T III 1047. Fragment III 6323 is under a partial glazing with a cardboard back. The old inventory number of the museum (IB 6323) is still written in pencil on the cardboard. A sticker on the glazing indicates that it belongs to fragment III 550. The new inventory number is noted in white writing on the black adhesive tape. The four fragments III 4698b1–4 have all been individually reinforced by glueing a cardboard backing to the back, which was subsequently cut out in the shape of the fragment. They are kept together in a partial glazing with cardboard backing. The inventory number III 4698b is written in white on the black tape. III 6474 is also kept under partial glazing with the inventory number written on the black tape.

All fragments show varying degrees of damage due to tears, cracks and worm infestation. In the case of fragment III 550, deep tears have been secured by attaching glassine strips to the back. The same applies to fragment U 7124.

The paper of the scroll has vertical laid lines (12/3 cm). Anna-Grethe Rischel's paper analyses did not include any of the fragments from manuscript B51. The scroll B51, as far as it survives, is written on one side. The manuscript has red ruling. As the line in the upper margin, and thus the beginning of the line, jumps at the seam of the sheets, this is a clear indication that the individual sheets were laid out before the scroll was produced. The inconsistent start of lines in the manuscript disturbs the overall impression of the manuscript. However, a subsequent repair to the seam can be ruled out, as the buddha drawing is undamaged at the level of the seam.

The line spacing in the manuscript is 1.3–1.5 cm. No line of text has been preserved in its entirety. The maximum preserved line length is 19.5 cm. The text is written in semi-block script. The scribe used two colours for the text. The Buddhist terms *burhan* 'buddha' and *bodis(a)t(a)v* 'bodhisattva' are regularly set off in red script from the main text written in black ink. A special feature of this manuscript are the small buddha or bodhisattva drawings, which are inserted into the text line by line. In addition to highlighting the terms by writing them in red, the scribe left a section of the line above each term blank. The drawing was added later, probably by another person (illustrator?). It is clear that the illustrator did not always have enough space and had to place parts of the drawing (e.g. the lotus throne) around the beginning of the word, as seen in



the drawings of the two bodhisattvas in fragment III 6323 (Figs. 42, 43). Note also that due to the line of text in the detail of figure U 7123, the right outer part of the mandorla is missing (Fig. 41).

Each drawing in the manuscript shows individual characteristics in its design and was added to the manuscript freehand, without the use of stencils. This applies to the design of the faces, but also to the colouring of individual pictorial components (nimbus, mandorla, lotus throne). The size of the buddha drawings is considerably smaller (approx. 3.5 x 2.5 cm) than that of the bodhisattvas (approx. 4.5 x 2.5 cm). In the course of colour pigment studies on written artefacts from the Berlin Turfan Collection, the colours used in a buddha drawing on one of the fragments of manuscript B51 were also analysed: 'U 7123, shows yellow orpiment partly applied under red lead and black' (Nöller and Hahn 2015: 53).

The buddha drawings were certainly decisive for the preliminary identification of individual fragments as fragments of a copy of an OU *Buddhanāma-sūtra* (*Fo shuo fo ming jing* 佛說佛名經). For example, the old inventory for III 6474 says: 'Miniatur aus einer Buchrolle mit 1000 Buddhas (ein Buddha erhalten!).'⁶

A large number of illuminated manuscripts of the *Buddhanāma-sūtra* with small drawings of the Buddha are known. In most of these manuscripts, however, the buddha images are arranged side by side in a row, and thus differ from the one found here. Usually the row is placed at the beginning of the line, and sometimes again in the middle of the line, as in the Chinese scroll fragments BΦ-4723 (Fig. 44) and BΦ-4725 (Fig. 45), both excavated by the second German Turfan Expedition (1904–1905) at Toyok, Manuscript Room.⁷⁵

But even in the pictorial form of this sutra, there are exceptions like in the Chinese scroll MS 2153 from the Library Cave at Dunhuang, preserved in the Schøyen collection.⁷⁶

Based on fragments U 7123 and U 7124, Oda (2010: 286) assigned manuscript B51 to recension IIc of the OU translation of the Chinese text.

The individual fragments of scroll B51 were found in the course of two excavation campaigns (see table). For all fragments, the place of discovery is given as Kocho (Dakianusšahri/Idiqut Shahri) either on the fragment or as a note in the inventory. Only for two fragments is a more precise excavation site within the ruined city of Kocho indicated: III 6323 was found in the 'Schutt der Südgebäude K' and III 6474 in the ruin α (see fig. 25).

III.3.1.2 Further remains of illuminated SYY scrolls in the Berlin Turfan collection

Further fragments prove that the illuminated scroll B51 is not an exception, but that other copies of OU illuminated SYY scrolls existed. So far, six more fragments have been identified in the Turfan collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB-PK. They have been tentatively assigned to five other illuminated SYY scrolls (New1 – New5).⁷⁷ Due to the state of preservation, very little can be said about these individual SYY scrolls.

⁷⁵ For further information concerning the Chinese manuscripts see Pchelin and Raschmann 2016: 3–43.

⁷⁶ Digital database of the Schøyen collection, cf. <https://www.schoyencollection.com/20-china/ms-2153> (last access on 9 February 2024).

⁷⁷ My thanks to Lilla Russell-Smith, Curator, Central Asian Art, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, SMB-PK, for her expert guidance.



New1

III 6592 (Fig. 46) is a fragment from the beginning of a scroll. Size: 10,4 x 13,7 cm.

In the manuscript there is no visible ruling. The text is written in black ink in square script. The line spacing is 1.5 cm. Parts of 10 lines of text have survived. Due to the damage, it is not possible to determine the length of the lines in the manuscript. The fragment shows a damaged illustration in the upper half. These are black line drawings that have been coloured. The illustration shows three buddhas sitting side by side. The individual buddha images are damaged to varying degrees. Only the third surviving buddha drawing is almost complete. The colours of the buddha's robe (yellow) and lotus throne (green) in the second drawing differ from those in the first and third drawings (red buddha robe and purple lotus throne). The overall size of the surviving drawing is 4.1 cm x 8.2 cm. Although the surviving fragment is the central part of a sheet without surviving margins, it is safe to assume that the lines of text in this illuminated section of the scroll begin below this drawing. It cannot be ruled out that the border of the buddha images continues to the left, possibly serving to illustrate the beginning of the text. In any case, the placement of the buddha drawing in the present text differs from that in the preserved sections of scroll B51. As no parallel section from the beginning of the text in B51 has survived, it is not possible to make a direct comparison between these scrolls.

The fragment is preserved partially glazed and has a cardboard backing. It is therefore not possible to make any reliable statements about the back of the fragment.

According to the information in the museum's inventory and the preserved finding mark T II T, the fragment was found during the second German Turfan Expedition (1904–1905) in Toyok, in the so-called 'Manuscript room'. This circumstance leads to the assumption that this fragment does not belong to the scroll New2. The style of painting and writing is very similar to that of the fragments III 6692 and III 7451b (both New2).

New2a-b

Size of the two fragments: 5.8 x 4.6 cm (III 6692), 5.5 x 6.9 cm (III 7451b).

The manuscript is written in black and red ink in the semi-square type of the Uyghur script (Figs. 47 and 48). The line spacing is 1.8 cm. Remains of four lines of text have been preserved, each with a buddha drawing integrated into the text. The size of the almost completely preserved drawing in III 6692 is 2.2 x 1.9 cm. The illustrations are thus smaller than those integrated into the lines of text in manuscript B51. Their placement in the manuscript, as well as the red writing of the word 'buddha' immediately following the drawing, corresponds to the characteristics of the illuminated scroll B51. The colouring of the buddha drawings seems to match in both fragments, although only a few remnants of the red colouring of the buddha's robe have survived in III 7451b.

III 6692 was found during the second German Turfan Expedition in ruin K in Kocho, according to the museum's inventory. Fragment III 7451b was found by the first German Turfan Expedition in Kocho (Dakianusšahri). A more detailed record of the find has not survived.

III 6692 is kept in the museum's depot under partial glazing. The back of the fragment is covered by the cardboard back of the partial glazing. III 7451b is under full glazing.



New3

Size: 11.4 x 4.5 cm.

The manuscript III 6333 is written in black and red ink in a square type of the Uyghur script (Fig. 49). There is a red ruling. Remains of the upper margin of the sheet with a preserved width of 2.0 cm are present. The line spacing is 1.4 cm.

The remains of three lines of text have survived on the recto of the scroll. As in B51, the first and second lines of text each contain a buddha drawing followed by the word ‘buddha’ in red letters. There are only a few remains of a third drawing of the buddha at the beginning of a fourth line of text. The size of the buddha drawing which is almost completely preserved in III 6333/r/02/ is 3.9 x 2.5 cm. The colouring of the drawings varies as in B51. The preserved scroll segment has a parallel text in lines /r/05/-/07/ of the scroll segment B51a: U 7123 + III 550 + III 6323 + U 7124.

The fragment was found during the second German Turfan expedition in the ‘Ruine nördl. v. v^p’ of Kocho, as noted in the museum’s inventory. An incomplete finding mark inscription in pencil, D 196 (add to T II D 196), is noted on the upper margin and, once more, in the lower part of the fragment. III 6333 is now kept in the Museum’s storage under a partial glazing with a cardboard backing. The cardboard bears the old inventory number I.B. 6333, which has now been crossed out. Due to the covering, it is not possible to say anything about the presumably unscripted back of the fragment.

New4

Size: 6.6 x 9.4 cm

III 4698b4 (Fig. 50) is a fragment of a sheet’s lower half. A red ruling of the manuscript is indicated by the surviving remnants of a line in the lower margin. The line spacing measures 1.5 cm and the manuscript is written using black ink. We cannot determine if red ink was used for writing the terms ‘buddha’ and ‘bodhisattva’ due to the text’s preservation. As the preserved buddha image (measuring 4.0 x 2.0 cm) is positioned at the end of a line, the term *burhan* ‘buddha’ appears at the start of the consequent line and is lost. The painting style and design of the individual components in the buddha drawing fragment differ from those observed in previously described scrolls. As such, it is believed, albeit with reservations, that this fragment belongs to another illuminated scroll to which no other fragments have been attributed.

The fragment was discovered by the first German Turfan Expedition in Kocho, although the exact location of the find is unknown. It is presently stored in the museum alongside fragments III 4698b1-3 (see B51), which are partly glazed with a cardboard backing. The reverse side of the fragment remains hidden from view.

New5

Size: 2.7 x 2.4 cm

III 4934b (Fig. 51) is a small central section of a scroll with writing on one side. It contains remnants of two lines of black ink text and a coloured buddha image inserted in the text line. The line spacing is 1.5 cm and the fragment has a text parallel in III 4698b4 (see Table 8). Unfortunately, no remnants of the subsequent text survive here, so it is not known whether the word *burhan* ‘buddha’ was highlighted in red in the manuscript. The fragment was discovered within ruin a by the first German Turfan Expedition in Kocho and is presently preserved under collective full



New1



Fig. 46 III 6592

New2a



Fig. 47 III 6692

New2b



Fig 48 III 7451b

New3



Fig. 49 III 6333

New4



Fig. 50 III 4698b4

New5



Fig. 51 III4934b



glazing along with a manuscript fragment of contrasting content, III 4934a⁷⁸. As a result of its state of preservation, securely assigning the fragment to one of the above-described illuminated scrolls is not possible.

The fragments from scrolls New1 – New5 have not yet been subject to scientific analysis regarding colour pigments, ink, and paper. Consequently, there are no available results that can aid in the assignment of these fragments to individual manuscripts. Furthermore, given their lacking textual content, it is not feasible to assign them reliably to text versions Ib or IIc.

CONCLUSION

Most SYY manuscripts have survived in the form of scrolls. Due to the fragmentary nature of the tradition, the information on the various scrolls is usually incomplete. Only a few scrolls have been illuminated. Two main distinguishing features were identified: the colour of the ruling (grey or red) and the way the sheets were glued together during scroll production. Interestingly, there is an overlap here. The majority of scrolls glued in variant 1 (see above) have a grey ruling. The majority of scrolls with red ruling are glued in variant 2. Upon incorporating Oda's philological studies on these manuscripts, it has become apparent that the first group corresponds to text version Ib and the second group corresponds to text version IIc. We can therefore conclude that the scrolls in the first group belong to a more ancient textual level and can therefore be dated earlier than the scrolls in the second group. For a relative chronology of the OU manuscripts in scroll form, it should be regarded as an important criterion.

Yarkhoto is a significant discovery site for Old Uyghur (OU) scrolls, particularly SYY scrolls. The majority of scrolls uncovered at Yarkhoto belong to group 1, characterised by grey lines, overlapping glueing of variant I, and text version Ib. Additional OU texts found in scroll form at this site suggest an early origin for these written monuments. In the recently published edition of the Avalokiteśvara sutras, the authors describe U 5028 (T II y 60) as a 'Fragment einer offensichtlich recht alten Buchrolle aus Yarkhoto ... Man kann annehmen, daß es sich um eine Handschrift aus dem 11. Jahrhundert handelt' (Zieme, Kara and Tugusheva 2022: 245).

The scroll K1 + K3, also discovered in Yarkhoto, shows both types of overlapping glue. As it has been completely restored, the original composition cannot be reliably reconstructed without access to the restoration reports. It additionally shows a red ruling, as do some of the scrolls unearthed in Yarkhoto in the Berlin collection. Furthermore, a number of scrolls excavated at Yarkhoto have Chinese text on the recto and OU text on the verso. These are evidence for the reuse of Chinese scrolls by the Uyghurs, see for example Mainz 724 (T II Y 15) and Mainz 735 (T II Y 11). Most interestingly, Mainz scroll 735 has grey rules on the Chinese side (recto) and red rules on the OU side (verso). This example also clearly supports the assumption that the grey ruling is from an earlier period, as the Chinese text is the primary text on the scroll.

Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary condition of the scrolls, the exact size of the individual sheets from which they were made remains undetermined in most cases. On average, the verifia-

⁷⁸ III 4934a is a fragment of an illuminated scroll of the apocryphal sutra *t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burhan y(a)rlikamiš ärklig [...]/ burhan [/] tört kuvrag-ka utru yeti k(a)ntik bač[a]k kılğalı aymak burhan-lar uluşınta tugmak beš törliüg t(ä)ñri yalavačın ukıtmak atl(t)g nom bitig bir tägzinč*, the OU translation of the *Fo shuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* 佛說預修十王生七經 (Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on Preparing the [Ritual of the] Ten Kings [for] Rebirth after Seven Days). See also the entry for fragment III 4934a in KOHD Digital.



ble dimensions range between 28.0–33.0 cm (height) x approximately 42.0 cm (length). For scroll L from Dunhuang, the sheets are reported to be 26.5 cm high. The width of each sheet, however, remains unpublished. Completely preserved scroll sheets, other than the SYY scrolls, have similar dimensions such as 29.7 x 42.5 cm (Mainz 732) and 29.8 x 42.0 cm (Mainz 734). In the few instances where upper and lower margins are preserved, the dimensions are either identical (B12: 1.1/1.1 cm and B05: 2.5/2.5 cm) or the upper margin is slightly wider than the lower margin (B30: 2.0–2.2/1.5 cm and B31: 1.9–2.3/1.6 cm). The scrolls containing text copies of the older version Ib, have been verified to have narrower margins (B12: 1.1 cm, B69: 1.3 cm, B71[A]: 1.0 cm) than those of text version IIc. The line spacing in this case ranges from 1.3 to 1.8 cm.

However, there are also differing examples. The OU scroll Mainz 731 I–III (T II Y 14, T II D 296, T II Y 18) + Or. 8212(b), which contains commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and was also buried at Yarkhoto, differs from the above in its dimensions. Specifically, the size of the sheets in this scroll measures 35.8 x 58.0 cm, with each sheet containing 28 lines of text. The line length is 29 cm and the line spacing is 2.0 cm. The ruling is grey, and the top margin measures 3.5–3.6 cm wide.

For the majority of scroll manuscripts, it can be assumed that the number of sheets required for the manuscript were first glued together and then the scribe began to write the text. However, clear cracks at the seam of some copies of the text may indicate that the individual sheets were glued together after the text had been written. It cannot be ruled out, however, that in some cases this was caused by later repairs to the scrolls.

Based on the available paper analysis results, the paper fibre compositions of the scroll fragments vary significantly. Nevertheless, there is no correlation between fibre composition grouping and the previously compiled data. For example, the papers of the examined scroll fragments of text version Ib show the whole range of fibre compositions proven for OU manuscripts so far (B 12: recycled ramie, hemp, flax, cotton with added new mulberry, B 18: pure mulberry, B 27: recycled ramie, hemp, flax and cotton). Paper production occasionally involved using a bamboo screen, but the majority of the analyzed papers show a screen made of reed or straw.

Some of the SYY scrolls (B1, B8, B13, B37) have evidence of a textile lining at the beginning of the scroll.⁷⁹ In the cases examined, the material used was silk. No remains or evidence of the use of rolling aids have survived. The end of scroll K1 + K3 has been restored. The outermost end of Dunhuang scroll L has not been reproduced in the available facsimiles.

Few clues are provided by scroll fragments outside the SYY corpus. The right outer corners at the end of OU scroll U 4921 in the Berlin Turfan collection, found at Kocho and inscribed on one side, are cut at an angle. The corresponding blank sheet section shows adhesions and a darker discoloration, which may indicate the original attachment of a scroll aid. The surviving text is the end of a praise to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with an accompanying colophon. The preserved sheet height of this scroll fragment is only 16.8 cm. The width of the sheets cannot be determined. The existing joining of two sheets can be assigned to variant 2. The already mentioned scroll of the OU Manichaean text *Xvāstvānīft* in the British Library (Or.8212/178) has the same cut at the end of the scroll. As can be seen in the old facsimiles published by von Le Coq (1911: pl. 4), a rolling aid was attached to the end, and von Le Coq (1911: 277) writes as follows: ‘It is rolled on

⁷⁹ Textile lining of scroll beginnings is also common in OU manuscripts of other Buddhist works. An example is the preserved scroll beginning III 1 + III 8735a + U 3143 (IB 8735b) of a Dhāraṇī work with red textile lining. Catalogue entries for this can be found in KOHD Digital.



a stick of hard close-grained wood, about 4 5/8 inches long and ¼ inch thick, with broader knobs at the end.’ Whether this is an authentic rolling device has not been definitively established.

Highlighting Buddhist terms such as ‘buddha’ and ‘bodhisattva’, as well as selected sections of the text, in red writing is a frequently encountered style element in the SYY text copies. Only a few structuring devices have been attested among the different manuscripts. In the case of the illuminated scrolls, the red writing is extended by the addition of the drawings of the buddha and the bodhisattva as a new decorative element. In contrast to the illuminated OU scrolls of other OU Buddhist texts translated from Chinese, such as the *Shiwangjing* or the *Guanjing* 觀經, no illuminated Chinese template has yet been identified for the surviving OU illuminated scrolls of the SYY. Therefore, it cannot be completely ruled out that this is a unique feature of some manuscripts of the OU version of the *Bayangjing*, i.e. an innovative design element of the OU version.

APPENDIX: OLD UYGHUR TERMS FOR BOOK SCROLLS

The most recently published ‘Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen’ (Wilkins 2021a) lists three OU terms with the meaning of scroll: *čuktse*, *küin* ~ *küen* and *tägzinč*. The first two lexemes are among the many foreign elements in the OU lexicon, i.e. borrowings from a donor language, here Chinese.

The term *tägzinč*, however, is an OU *-(X)nč* derivative of the verb *tägzin-* ‘revolve, rotate, travel about’. Marcel Erdal (1991: 285) gives the following explanation: ‘Anything which whirls around or rolls up (*tägzin-*), from liquids and paper to *saṃsāra*, can (in principle) be referred to by this lexeme.’ With regard to book culture two meanings of *tägzinč* are important: ‘a manuscript scroll’ and ‘a section of the book’.

The two titles of the SYY versions (Ia, Ib, IIc, IID) include the term *tägzinč*: (Ia, Ib) *t(ä)ŋri burhan y(a)rlikamiš t(ä)ŋrili yerli säkiz yükmäk bügülig arviš nom bitig bir tägzinč* ‘The mystic spell-sutra Eightfold Light of Heaven and Earth, spoken by the Divine Buddha. One scroll’ and (IIc, IID) *t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan y(a)rlikamiš t(ä)ŋrili yerli-tä säkiz törlügin yarumuš yaltrumuš idok darni tana yip atl(ı)g sudur nom bitig bir tägzinč* ‘The guideline holy spell, bright and shining in eight ways in heaven and earth spoken by the God of Gods, Buddha. One scroll’ (Oda 2015: 24).

The *Altun yaruk sudur*, i.e. the OU version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (‘The Sutra of Golden Light’), is a translation of the Chinese version *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 translated by Yijing 義淨, which consists of 10 *juan* 卷. Accordingly we read in an introduction (*süü*) of the OU translation the following statement by a sponsor: *on tägzinčlig bo kopda kötrülmüş nom eligi atl(ı)g nom ärdini tükäl bütürü bititip* ‘I want to write off the sutra jewel consisting of ten scrolls called “Above All, Supreme King of Law” completely ...’ (Zieme 1996: 92–93). The scribe who made the copy of the fifth scroll, however, used *küin* in the colophon for the term ‘scroll’: *Suv 404:31 istavire toyın bešinč küin nomug bitiyü tolu kultım* ‘I, İstavire Toyın, have finished copying the text of the fifth scroll.’ The colophon is affixed to a pothi manuscript rather than a scroll.

The preserved remnant of a composite manuscript in the form of a scroll, fragment U 5033, which also includes the SYY in a scroll, employs *tägzinč* and *küin* interchangeably, as seen in the following quotations:

U 5033/r/04-05/ *kšanti kılmak nom bitig bir tägzinč tükädi* ‘The sutra of repenting all evil deeds (and) forgiving (them), one scroll, is finished’ (Oda 2015: 243).



U 5033/r/08-10/ (colophon) *bo idok bir küün y(a)mlangwang ki bir küün p(a)ryoki bir küün kšanti birlä üč küün nom ärdini bititdim(i)z* ‘we have had these three holy scrolls of sūtra-jewels written: the *Yamarāja sūtra* in one scroll, the *Bayangjing* in one scroll, (and) the *Kšanti sūtra* in one scroll’ (Oda 2015: 243).⁸⁰

küün ~ *küen* ‘scroll’, here in the variant spelling KWWN (*kuün*), is a borrowing from the Chinese *juan* 卷 (Late Middle Chinese *kyan*)⁸¹. Evidence of the use of *küün* continues to be found in Uyghur readers’ colophons on the verso of studied Chinese Buddhist text copies (Zieme 2020: 326).

In the OU translation of the ‘Xuanzang Biography’ (Tugusheva 1991) another term is present: *čuktse* < Chinese *zhouzi* 軸子 (Late Middle Chinese *trhiwk tsz*)⁸². Recent research has clarified that the term refers to a ‘roller of calligraphy or painting’, after it was initially interpreted as another term for ‘scroll.’⁸³ Nevertheless, one can perhaps assume that the reference *čuktse bitigi* in the ‘Xuanzang Biography’ is to be interpreted as a ‘scroll book’.

The related term *čir* ‘book cover, wrapper, bundle (for a work)’ is again a loanword from Chinese, specifically *zhi* 帙 (Late Middle Chinese *thrit*)⁸⁴. The term is attested for instance in the OU Buddhist text *Kšanti klguluk nom bitig text* (‘The book with which the confession of sin is to be carried out’), a translation from Chinese. In lines 3–4 on the verso of fragment U 2712 it reads: *kalmušn bo nom [ä]ñäyü on küün bir čir kilturup bütürtädi* ‘what remained he had specially made as this (present) work (in) ten scrolls and (in addition to each) a book cover and had it completed’ (Wilkens 2007: 62–63).

ABBREVIATIONS

BBAW	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
BT	Berliner Turfantexte
COUMB	LUNDYSHEVA, TURANSKAYA & UMEMURA 2021
IOM/RAS	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts/Russian Academy of Sciences
OU	Old Uyghur
SYU	<i>Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk</i>
TT V	BANG & VON GABAIN 1931
TT VI	BANG, VON GABAIN & RACHMATI 1934
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
VOHD XIII,9	MAUE 1996
VOHD XIII,16	WILKENS 2000
VOHD XIII,20	YAKUP 2008
VOHD XIII,21	RASCHMANN 2007
VOHD XIII,23	YAKUP 2009
VOHD XIII,26	RASCHMANN 2012

⁸⁰ The author has made minor corrections in translating the OU text compared to that published by Oda.

⁸¹ See Wilkens 2021a: 438a.

⁸² See Wilkens 2021a: 240a. For the attestation of the term in the text of the Xuanzang biography see Tugusheva 1991: 124 (VI 33:11, here in the reading *čoytsi*), also quoted in Wilkens 2021b: 133 (entry *bmtse*).

⁸³ I would like to take this opportunity to thank the anonymous reviewer for this insight.

⁸⁴ See Wilkens 2021a: 234b.



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ONLINE RESSOURCES

DTA I	https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/
IDP	http://idp.bbaw.de/
KOHD Digital	https://orient-kohd.dl.uni-leipzig.de/
Qalamos	https://mymssportal.dl.uni-leipzig.de/

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