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(Lecture at the BBAW on the 10 May 1999)

In: Berichte und Abhandlungen / Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
(vormals Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften) ; 8.2000, S. 337-368

Persistent Identifier: urn:nbn:de:kobv:b4-opus4-32260

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It was a great honour for me to have had the opportunity of giving a lecture at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, because Berlin has been one of the greatest centres of Turfan studies for more than a hundred years. I am grateful to Prof. Werner Sundermann and Prof. Peter Zieme for giving me this opportunity.¹

1 The historical background of the subject of this lecture

First of all, I would like to explain the historical background of the subject of my lecture. In the 7th century, the Chinese T'ang 唐 dynasty occupied the eastern part of Central Asia, i.e. Chinese Turkestan including Jungaria. At that time, the main city of the Turfan area was known by the Chinese name Hsi-chou 西州, and the main city of the northern part of the T'ian-shan 天山 mountain range by the name Pei-t'ing 北庭. During the T'ang Dynasty, many soldiers were garrisoned at Hsi-chou and Pei-t'ing. The golden age of the T'ang in the eastern part of Central Asia lasted for more than a century. After the decline of the T'ang Dynasty caused by the big Rebellion of An Lu-shan in the mid-8th century in China proper, two nomadic states began to occupy the eastern part of Central Asia. One was that of the Uighurs, whose base was in Mongolia, and the other that of the Tibetans, whose base was in Tibet. In my opinion², the Uighurs took the T'ian-shan region including the Turfan Depression in the 790s, and the Tibetans took the area along the southern edge of the Tarim Basin. Then, in the mid-9th century, these two large nomadic states

¹ Here I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to Prof. R.E. Emmerick for correcting the English of this paper.

² See Moriyasu 1973, 1979 and 1981.

collapsed. As a result a number of independent states were established in Central Asia and North China along the so-called Silk-Road. Thus there were the following states side by side in the mid-10th century.

西ウイグル王国 The West Uighur Kingdom which had four great cities, i.e. Kao-ch'ang 高昌 = Qocho = Hsi-chou in the Turfan area, Pei-t'ing = Bešbalıq, Ark = Qarašahr, and Kuča. The West Uighurs were also called the Qocho Uighurs, the Hsi-chou Uighurs, the Kuča Uighurs, or the Arslan Uighurs. Arslan means 'lion', and the word was often adopted as part of the West Uighur king's title. The Uighurs belong to the Turkic tribes and originally lived in Mongolia. By the mid-8th century, they became a very important military force, and helped the T'ang Dynasty against the An Lu-shan rebellion. As a result of this, they became powerful, and expanded their influence to the T'ian-shan region. At that time, the Uighur ruling class was converted to Manichaeism from Shamanism (not from Buddhism). In the mid-9th century, they were defeated by the Kirghiz tribe and migrated in large numbers to the T'ian-shan region and to northwest China.³ As I will explain later, the upper class of the West Uighur Kingdom began to be converted to Buddhism mainly from the second half of the 10th century. In this kingdom, the Uighurs ruled over other people such as Chinese, Tocharians, and Sogdians. The majority of these were Buddhist, but among the Sogdians were many Manichaeans and some Christians. In Turfan, there remain several groups of caves with Buddhist or Manichaean wall-paintings. The most famous group is the Bāzāklık Caves. In Pei-t'ing, there remains a large ruin of an Uighur Buddhist temple with important wall-paintings.

コータン王国 The Kingdom of Khotan. The Khotanese were an Indo-Iranian people. They gained independence from the Tibetans. They had been Buddhist for a long time from around the beginning of Christian Era.

沙州歸義軍節度使政權 The independent government of the Imperial Military Commissioner of the Return to Alliance Army of Sha-chou (Tun-huang). Nominally this belonged to Chinese dynasties, but in fact, it was a kingdom, so we can call it the Kingdom of Tun-huang. The royal family was Ts'ao in the 10th century. The main people of this state were Chinese. They gained independence from the Tibetans in the mid-9th century. They were Buddhists. In Sha-chou, i.e. the Tun-huang area, there remain three groups of caves with Buddhist wall-paintings. 1) the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, also known as the Grottos of Surpassing Height; 2) the Western Caves of the Thousand Buddhas; 3) the Yü-lin Caves.

甘州ウイグル王国 Another state established by the Uighurs was in the east of Tun-huang. This was called the Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom. The majority of the people of this state were Uighurs and Chinese. These Uighurs had migrated there

³ See Moriyasu 1973, 1977 and 1979.

not from Turfan but directly from Mongolia.⁴ It is not known when they were converted to Buddhism.

宋朝 The Sung Dynasty was established by the Chinese in 960. Needless to say, it succeeded the foregoing Five Dynasties, three of which were founded by the Turks. The Sung Dynasty brought about unification in China proper after a rather long period of disorder.

遼朝 The Liao Dynasty was established in 916 by the nomadic Ki-tan tribe at the northern edge of China and the modern Inner Mongolia including a part of Manchuria. There were many Chinese people in this dynasty, and it can be called a “mixed state” of nomadic and sedentary people. It is noteworthy that many “mixed states” like three of the Five Dynasties, the Liao Dynasty, the Hsi-hsia (see below), the Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom, the West Uighur Kingdom, the Karakhānids, the Seljuks, and the Kingdom of Khazars, mushroomed along the Central Eurasian belt from east to west in the 10th–11th centuries.

From the end of the 10th century, the Tangut tribe began to become important in the area between the Sung, the Liao, and the Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom, and finally in the early 11th century, the Tangut Kingdom Hsi-hsia 西夏 was founded. The Tangut people were also Buddhists. They ruled over Chinese and other people in this state.

2 The connection between the West Uighur Kingdom and Tun-huang

Last year, alas, Prof. Akira Fujieda died. For a long time he was one of the leading scholars in the field of Tun-huang and Turfan studies. His famous article entitled “The Circumstances regarding the Imperial Military Commissioner of the Return to Alliance Army of Sha-chou”, published over half a century ago, has deeply influenced almost all scholars studying the history of Tun-huang in the 9th–11th centuries.⁵ This article draws attention to the intimate connection in this period of Tun-huang with the Kingdom of Khotan in the west and the Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom in the east.

In this article, however, the connection of Tun-huang with the West Uighur Kingdom of Hsi-chou and Pei-t'ing in the north and northwest was neglected. Indeed, Fujieda thought that the place name Hsi-chou, which often appears among the Tun-huang manuscripts of this time, does not indicate the Turfan area, but the Khotan area, because Hsi-chou means semantically “the country of the West.” I suspect he thought that the official name Hsi-chou given by the T'ang Dynasty had

⁴ See Moriyasu 1977.

⁵ Fujieda 1941–43.

disappeared in the 9th century because of the discontinuation of Chinese power after the Rebellion of An Lu-shan in Mainland China. In another part of this article, Fujieda clearly disregarded the connection between Tun-huang and the West Uighur Kingdom. So I tried to demonstrate that Hsi-chou which often appears in 9th–10th century Tun-huang manuscripts, must also be the well-known Hsi-chou indicating the West Uighur Kingdom, and that there existed an intimate connection between the Kingdom of Tun-huang and the West Uighur Kingdom.⁶ Nowadays my view is widely accepted, for example, by Prof. James Hamilton and Prof. Rong Xinjiang.

3 Uighur donors in Cave No. 409 of Tun-huang

Portraits of Buddhist donors painted on the wall-painting in Cave No. 409 in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas of Tun-huang are to be seen on plates I–III. Once this cave was thought to belong to the time of the Tangut Kingdom Hsi-hsia, i.e. 11th–12th centuries, from the art historical point of view. It must in any case be later than around 1000 A.D.

Until quite recently, there have been three views concerning these donors: 1) the main figure [plate II, left] is a king of the Tangut Kingdom Hsi-hsia, and the two ladies [plate III] are his Tangut wives; 2) the main figure is a king of the Hsi-hsia, and these ladies are his Uighur wives; 3) the main figure is a king of the Uighurs, and these ladies are his Uighur wives. But, even those scholars who held the second or third views did not say which Uighurs they are, West Uighurs of the T'ian-shan region or Kan-chou Uighurs of the east. Some scholars, influenced, I suspect, by the theory of Fujieda, who denied the existence of the intimate connection between Tun-huang and the West Uighurs, regard them as Kan-chou Uighurs. However, when we look at these portraits without prejudice, it is obvious that the whole appearance of the ladies with respect to their clothes, headgear and postures, is very similar to that of the wall-paintings of the West Uighurs,⁷ which were painted not in the 9th century but later than late 10th century as I will explain below. [See plates IV–V].

⁶ See Moriyasu 1987.

⁷ I first pointed this out in my review of *Tonkō Sekkutsu jūin (The Tun-huang Cave-temples)*, by M. Yanagi and Sh. Kanaoka. See 『季刊東西交渉』 *Kikan Tōzai Kōshō*, 1–3, 1982, p. 28; see also Moriyasu 1991, p. 146 with footnote 63.

4 New chronology of the Bāzāklīk wall-paintings

Several famous Uighur Buddhist wall-paintings at Bāzāklīk can be seen on plates VI–X. In a recent article, I discussed the reason why these donors with typically Caucasoid features appear in the Uighur wall-paintings, seeing that the Uighurs were originally Mongoloid and proved them to be Sogdians by blood, who were inhabitants of the West Uighur country and often worked as ambassadors to other countries.⁸ The following paintings of two groups of Buddhist monks [plates XI–XII] are also well known. In my opinion, these are Chinese and Tocharian Buddhist monks who were respected as teachers of Uighur Buddhism.⁹ Among European Turcologists, for example A. von Gabain, S. Kljaštornyj, L. Bazin, E. Tryjarski, and J. P. Laut, the Sogdian hypothesis, as Laut calls it, has prevailed.¹⁰ According to this hypothesis the origin of the old Turkic Buddhism should be seen in Sogdian Buddhism, or Sogdian Buddhists were forerunners of Turkic/Uighur Buddhists. However, I myself reject the Sogdian hypothesis and propose instead a Tocharian hypothesis. In my view the teachers of Uighur Buddhism were not Sogdians, but Tocharians and Chinese.¹¹ As for the above-mentioned monks on the wall-painting of Bāzāklīk, I have been able to identify one Chinese monk, and Prof. K. Kudara another one.¹²

These Uighur Buddhist wall-paintings at Bāzāklīk were introduced to the scholarly world by Albert von Le Coq. He proposed, without adducing sufficient evidence, that these paintings belong to the 8th–10th centuries, especially to the 9th century. Nevertheless his opinion was accepted for a long time not only by European scholars but also by Japanese and Chinese scholars. However, I have published my reasons for rejecting this widely accepted opinion. In my view, the main parts of the Uighur Buddhist wall-paintings should date to the 10–12th centuries (more exactly the 11–12th centuries including both the late 10th century and the 13th century).¹³

⁸ Moriyasu 1997a, 1997b.

⁹ See Moriyasu 1985a. My view has been reinforced by Prof. K. Kudara's study, cf. Kudara 1999, pp. 345–347.

¹⁰ Gabain 1954; Kljaštornyj/Livšic 1972; Kljaštornyj 1975; Bazin 1975; Tryjarski 1981; Gabain 1983; Laut 1986. See also Moriyasu 1989, pp. 7–10, or Moriyasu 1990, pp. 151–153.

¹¹ Moriyasu 1989 and Moriyasu 1990 (in French).

¹² See note 8 above.

¹³ Moriyasu 1985a, pp. 52–54; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 30–34, 150 (n. 73). This view of mine has partly been proved by the radiocarbon test. Prof. M. Yaldiz, the director of the MIK, kindly informed me of the result of the radiocarbon test in her personal letter of January 2000: "I got the first C14 dates of the wall-paintings. You might remember the mural in our museum (MIK III 8453) depicting the Buddhist hells from Bezeklik, Temple 8. Traditionally it had been dated to the 9th century A.D. The radiocarbon-analysis gives us a date A.D. 1140 +/- 30; i.e. three hundred years later. Temple 4 in Bezeklik is also dated much later; i.e. A.D. 1078 +/- 28."

I think there were no Uighur Buddhists in the 9th century, because they were Manichaeans or Shamanists at that time. Even in the 10th century, Manichaeism still prevailed among the West Uighurs.

I collected evidence in support of my theory by searching and comparing the materials provided by: 1) the Islamic sources from the West, 2) the Chinese sources from the East, and 3) the Uighur or Sogdian documents from Turfan and Tun-huang as the indigenous sources. Most of the arguments put forward in my doctoral thesis¹⁴ I will pass over here but I draw attention to the existence of numerous fragments of Sogdian or Sogdo-Uighur Manichaean calendars dated 953, 955, 969–970, 976–977, 988–989, and 1003–1004.¹⁵ At least it is safe to say that Manichaeism was predominant until the mid-10th century among the Uighurs and Sogdians in the West Uighur Kingdom, though Buddhism was predominant among other people such as Chinese or Tocharians who had already been living in that area for many years.

5 Buddhist-Manichaean double-walled caves or temples

When did the West Uighurs begin being converted to Buddhism? To answer this question, the discovery of Buddhist-Manichaean double-walled caves or temples provides a decisive clue. It was A. Grünwedel who discovered the double-walled caves at Bāzāklik.¹⁶ Here I can give an exact account of its structure based on my own fieldwork. A cave was engraved in a cliff, and someone painted the wall simply or drew pictures on it. Some inscriptions were written on the wall-paintings at the same time or later. After using this cave for quite a long time, it was renewed by setting a new wall made of bricks. So the new cave is always smaller than the older one. Then, wall-paintings with Buddhist motifs were drawn and some statues of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas were put into the new cave.

The first suggestion that the older wall-painting of Grünwedel's Cave No. 25 could be regarded as Manichaean was made not by Grünwedel himself but by the Russian

¹⁴ Moriyasu 1991. The thesis will be translated into German by Dr. Christian Steineck and published by Harrassowitz. This plan was organised by the late Prof. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. I am grateful to him. My idea was adopted by Chao 1993 and 1996 without mentioning my work in a scientific manner, so that it is not clear exactly what he owes to my work. Unfortunately he sometimes distorts my ideas and misrepresents the sources.

¹⁵ Rachmati 1936 = TTT, VII, Nos. 8–9; Henning 1945; Bazin 1974, pp. 351–407 (= Bazin 1991, pp. 273–274); Hamilton 1986, p. XVII; Yoshida 1989, pp. 165–168; Hamilton 1992. Cf. Moriyasu 1991, p. 144.

¹⁶ Grünwedel 1912, pp. 279–280.

scholar S.F. Oldenburg in 1914.¹⁷ It was not until 1920 that Grünwedel published his sketch of one of the main paintings of this cave with a caption explaining it as Manichaeian. This is the tree of life with three trunks, which is now very famous in the scholarly world [see plate XIII].¹⁸ Then in 1936, the French scholar J. Hackin supported this opinion from the art-historical point of view, and applied it to another cave, Grünwedel's Cave No. 17.¹⁹ This view has been maintained by later scholars, but nobody has been able to provide a definitive proof, nor explain why some Buddhist motifs like a flaming *cintāmaṇi* with a lotus seat exist together on the same series of wall-paintings. Hence I visited Bāzāklik in 1987 and 1988, and deciphered the Uighur inscriptions on the older wall-paintings of these two caves. There is no doubt that its contents were Manichaeian, because I discovered a typical Manichaeian formula of forgiveness *mnastar hirza* "Forgive my sin(s)!" in each cave. Moreover, my colleague Prof. Y. Yoshida found some inscriptions in Manichaeian script scratched on the walls of these caves.²⁰ The use of the Manichaeian script was restricted to the Manichaeian community.

After having visited Turfan and checked the outstanding publications by Grünwedel, Le Coq, and others, I realised that there existed more Buddhist-Manichaeian double-walled caves or temples in Turfan, and demonstrated in my doctoral thesis (Moriyasu 1991) that the earlier walls have Manichaeian paintings with Manichaeian inscriptions, and the later walls have Buddhist ones. Those double-walled sanctuaries must have been the productions of the transitional time when the Uighur Manichaeians belonging to the upper class of the Kingdom were going to be converted to Buddhism. As for the fact that Ruin α at Qočo could be shown to be one example of these "double-religious temples", Prof. W. Sundermann, mentioning a Stake Inscription unearthed from this very site, has independently reached the same conclusion as myself.²¹ Our views were published in the same year. Concerning the purportedly new finding or identification of more Manichaeian wall-paintings in Turfan by the Chinese archaeologist Chao Huashan and the late Prof. H.-J. Klimkeit, I think they have overestimated their Manichaeanness.²² In fact,

¹⁷ Oldenburg 1914, pp. 44–46.

¹⁸ Grünwedel 1920, pp. I, 76–77 and Fig. 66. See also Moriyasu 1991, pls. I–VI.

¹⁹ Hackin 1936, pp. 8–9, 18–22.

²⁰ Yoshida 1991, pp. 58–60.

²¹ Sundermann 1991. See also Sundermann 1992, p. 84. On the other hand, Klimkeit assumed concerning the Stake Inscription from Ruin α that "the peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Manichaeism was such that endowments for Buddhist causes in the Manichaeian kingdom were a matter of course", (Klimkeit 1982, p. 25). We could not agree with him in this point.

²² Chao 1993 and 1996; Klimkeit 1996 and 1998.

their viewpoint was disproved at least in the case of Toyuk Cave Nos. 20 and 42 by a recent article of the Japanese Buddhologist N. Yamabe.²³

6 Stake Inscriptions

In the Museum für Indische Kunst there are three Stake Inscriptions. They can be called first, second and third Stake according to the order given in F.W.K. Müller's article entitled "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden".²⁴ In my opinion, these octagonal Stakes covered in inscriptions were driven into the earth by a mallet as a symbol or monument of the foundation of a stūpa or temple at the ceremony of purifying a building site or pacifying underground demons. The content of the inscriptions are the date according to the Chinese sexagenary cycle or the Uighur king's name or both together, the names of the main donors, an account of how and why they decided to make this donation to build a Buddhist temple, a mention of holding a memorial service for their deceased parents or grand-parents, an enumeration of co-donors, a prayer for seeing Maitreya or attaining Buddhahood after rebirth, the names of carpenters or artisans, and so on. The first and the third are written in Uighur, and the second in Chinese. When I retranslated the Chinese one dated to 983 A.D., I had already refuted Müller's idea to identify the Uighur king appearing in the date part of the third Stake Inscription with the famous Uighur Böğü Qayan who ruled in Mongolia from 759–779 A.D. In the meantime Prof. L. Bazin has proposed a new dating: he dates the first Stake Inscription to 948 and the third to 899. Based on Bazin's discovery concerning the Old Turkic calendar system, I argued from the historical point of view that the first should be dated to 1008 and the third to 1019,²⁵ and this dating is now widely accepted.²⁶

As Prof. Sundermann and I noticed simultaneously, the first Stake Inscription unearthed at Ruin α is an extraordinary source, which tells us when the older Manichaean monastery was renewed or rebuilt as the Buddhist temple at the same site of Qoço, which was the winter capital of that kingdom. It happened in 1008.

²³ Yamabe 1997.

²⁴ Müller 1915.

²⁵ Moriyasu 1980, pp. 334–335 and pp. 337–338, n. 55; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 150–152. In my first article, I have already discussed the new dating of these two Stake Inscriptions. See Sundermann 1992, pp. 83–84 as well as Hamilton 1984, p. 428.

²⁶ Cf. Hamilton 1984, p. 428; Hamilton 1986, pp. XVII–XVIII; Sims-Williams/Hamilton 1990, p. 56; Sundermann 1991, pp. 286–287; Bazin 1991, pp. 254–259; Zieme 1992, p. 21; Sundermann 1992, p. 69; Umemura 1996, p. 365; Hamilton 1996, p. 140; Thierry 1998, p. 269.

7 Conflict between the Manichaeans and the Buddhists

On the other hand, there is another vivid account of the drastic change in the religious situation in the West Uighur Kingdom in the Manichaean manuscript M 112 from Turfan now in the BBAW. This was first made known by W.B. Henning, and later, the Sogdian text of the recto side was edited by Sundermann, and the Uighur text of the verso was edited by Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit.²⁷ The Sogdian text consists of letters written in the 9th century according to Sundermann. About the script of the Uighur text, Henning wrote that it is “geradezu schauderhafte uigurische Kursive (truly horrible Uighur cursive)” and dated it to the Mongol period.²⁸ Klimkeit followed his dating.²⁹ But I think they were mistaken. This is a kind of semi-square script like that of the Stake Inscriptions.

Since 1985 I have been proposing to divide the style of Uighur script into four gradations: square (*kaisho*), semi-square (*han-kaisho*), semi-cursive (*han-sōsho*), and cursive (*sōsho*). As a result of my former articles on the Uighur civil documents and religious texts,³⁰ I am convinced that one can classify the old Uighur manuscripts roughly into two large groups based on the style of script: the older group of semi-square script (around the 10th–11th centuries) and the other of cursive script (around the 13th–14th centuries). Here I omit a detailed explanation of my theory because it will be given in the appendix to an exhaustive catalogue of banners from Turfan housed in the Museum für Indische Kunst (Berlin) prepared by Dr. Chhaya Haesner.

If one could understand correctly the content of the text of the verso of M 112, it would be clear which dating is more likely. But it is a very difficult text. When I first saw the text edited by Geng Shimin and Klimkeit, I could not understand the whole context. By a happy chance, when I came to Berlin for the first time in 1990, Prof. Zieme kindly showed me his reedited text, so I cited it with my translation and a historical explanation in my doctoral thesis.³¹ Here I cite only one part. It says:

“In the *Kuu*-element and Sheep year with Saturn, by the order of the fourth Arslan Bilgä Heavenly King, i.e. Süngülüg Qayan, the Buddhist temple named Üč Čanggur-luy, which had been built at the east of old inner city, sponsored by Prince Tärkän was moved, and at the time of Istüd Frazēnd Možak Manichaean monasteries

²⁷ Henning 1936, pp. 16–18; Sundermann 1984, pp. 300–304; Geng/Klimkeit 1985.

²⁸ Henning 1936, pp. 17–18, n. 4.

²⁹ Klimkeit 1986, p. 45.

³⁰ Moriyasu 1985b, pp. 15–16, 39; 1989b, pp. 1–4; 1990a, section 5; 1990b (French edition of 1989b), pp. 147–150; 1991, pp. 38, 53–54, 147, 186; 1992, pp. 48–50; 1994, section 10; 1997a, pp. 1235–1233; 1998, section 4.

³¹ Moriyasu 1991, pp. 147–150.

were destroyed and Buddhist temples were built, ..., and some ornaments of Manichaeian monasteries were stripped off and carried away to put them on Buddhist temples, and ...”

The use of a date like “*Kuu*-element and Sheep year with Saturn” indicates that the Chinese sexagenary calendar was combined with an Indian calendar system using the Sanskrit concept *abdapa*. According to the result of a calculation by Prof. M. Yano, specialist of Oriental calendars, the date corresponds to 983 A.D.³² I am aware that such a calculation is based on certain presuppositions and is not absolute. I would accordingly not exclude other possible dates such as 863, 923, or 1043 A.D. The fact that M 112 also was unearthed at Ruin α, as Sundermann pointed out,³³ lends support to my suggestion. Anyhow, taking into consideration the discovery of the Stake Inscription dated to 1008, there is no room to doubt that an important Manichaeian monastery was turned into a Buddhist temple in 1008 at the site of Ruin α.

Let me mention here that we have just recently noticed some fragments of a Buddhist-Manichaeian double-painting on a banner in the Turfan collection housed in the MIK. It is MIK III 4606. Contrary to the case of all double-walled caves, this Manichaeian painting was painted on a former Buddhist one on the banner. It will be also published in the catalogue prepared by Haesner.

8 Decline of Manichaeism among the Uighurs

The Muslim Turkish writer Kāshgharī from the Karakhānids, who was active in the mid-11th century, was well acquainted with the affairs of the neighbouring Uighur Kingdom. Nevertheless his great encyclopaedic book³⁴ does not have a single word about Uighur Manichaeism. On the other hand, there is some information about Buddhism. This may indicate that Manichaeism in the West Uighur Kingdom had declined by the mid-11th century. That does not mean that the Uighur or Sogdian Manichaeians had completely disappeared at that time, but there is no doubt that Manichaeism lost its position as a state religion and was replaced by Buddhism. Hitherto no one has been able to explain why the Uighurs ceased to support Manichaeism. The turning point was the 10th century. Until the middle of the 10th century, the Manichaeian church had enjoyed national support in this kingdom, and high priests like Možak, Aftadan, or Maxistak, lived in luxury. They owned land with peasantry, held servants or slaves, used expensive carpets and furniture, wore

³² See Moriyasu 1991, p. 149.

³³ Sundermann 1984, p. 291, n. 7; Sundermann 1991, pp. 285–286.

³⁴ See Dankoff/Kelly 1982–1985.

luxurious clothes, kept a private room, and took a sumptuous meal. These were the facts as were proved by numerous miniatures in the Turfan collections and a long manuscript found by Huang Wenpi and studied by Zieme, Geng Shimin and myself.³⁵ Their lifestyle was far different from what is prescribed in the “Compendium of the Doctrine and Styles of Mani, the Prophet of Light”.³⁶ Moreover, the continuous contact or correspondence with Manichaean church leaders in Western Central Asia or West Asia under Islamic power must have been more and more difficult to maintain. I assume that the Uighur Manichaean church was little by little corrupted, became neglectful, and finally lost its religious vitality. On the other hand, Tocharian and Chinese Buddhists who had entered the Uighur ruling class were eager to convert the Manichaean Uighurs. I think it is not by chance that texts concerning Light, Maitreya, or *cintāmaṇi* are dominant among the earlier Uighur Buddhist documents.³⁷ Needless to say, Light is a central concept of Manichaeism, and Maitreya and *cintāmaṇi* are often equated with Mani himself or his symbol. As for the syncretism between Buddhism and Manichaeism in Central Asia, I agree with the late Prof. Klimkeit’s opinion in principle.

9 Uighur Buddhist temple at Pei-t’ing

Plates XIV–XIX show wall-paintings from the large Uighur Buddhist temple situated in the western suburb of Pei-t’ing (Bešbalıq), the summer capital of the West Uighurs. Of particular interest is the appearance of the figures of the Uighur king or prince and their wives. Of course, these paintings belong to the same period as that of Bāzāklık. They also look very similar to the figures of the above-mentioned Cave No. 409 of Tun-huang.

Therefore, we have enough reason to identify the figures of Tun-huang Cave No. 409 as a West Uighur king and his wives. But there is nothing to do with the Kan-chou Uighurs at least on this painting.

³⁵ Zieme 1975; Geng 1978; Geng 1991; Moriyasu 1991, chap. 2. See also Klimkeit 1993, pp. 351–356, 405. Klimkeit recommends Geng 1991 as a complete new edition, but I think it is full of mistakes or misunderstandings. I hope you to compare it with the text edited in Moriyasu 1991.

³⁶ See Haloun/Henning 1952.

³⁷ Cf. Moriyasu 1989 and 1990.

10 *Sha-chou Uighurs*

In my article of 1980³⁸ I proposed for the first time the concept of “Sha-chou Uighurs”, and insisted that 1) there existed a powerful group of Uighurs in Sha-chou at the beginning of the 11th century at the latest, 2) the Uighurs were organized by the supervision of the West Uighur Kingdom, and 3) they first controlled the Ts’ao family of Sha-chou, and then replaced it and ruled Sha-chou from the 1020s to the 1050s. To prove this first point, I drew attention to the two above-mentioned Uighur Stake Inscriptions. The first Stake Inscription dated 1008 mentions an Uighur Buddhist donor who bears the title of *Šaču sangun* meaning “the general of Sha-chou”. The third one dated 1019 names a West Uighur king entitled *Kün Ay Tängriḍä Qut Bulmiš Uluy Qut Ornanmiš Alpın Ārdāmin El Tutmiš Alp Arslan Qutluy Köl Bilgä Tängri Xan* “Godlike king, fortunate and wise like the sea, brave as lion, who has enjoyed the favour of the Sun and Moon gods and been installed by great favour, holding the realm by his bravery and manly qualities”. According to this Stake Inscription, he expanded his rule to Šaču in the east.³⁹ To prove the second and third points of my theory, I adduced the following Chinese sources.

「[慶曆元年] (1041) [夏四月甲申]、琮 (= 曹琮) 欲誘吐蕃犄角圖賊、得西州舊賈、使諭意、而沙州鎮國王子遣使奉書曰、『我本唐甥、天子實吾舅也。自党項破甘·涼、遂與漢隔。今願率首領為朝廷擊賊。』上善琮策、故使副執中 (= 陳執中)。』 (『續資治通鑑長編』131、中華書局版、p. 3115)

[In 1041.] Ts’ao Tsung [who was garrisoned in Ch’in-chou 秦州] had been planning to form an alliance with the Tibetans to attack the rebels [= the Tanguts, i.e. the Hsi-hsia Kingdom ruled by Li Yüan-hao]. On meeting some traders from Hsi-chou whom he had long known, he ordered them to transmit what he had in mind [to the Tibetans]. Thence *Chen-kuo Wang-tzu* “Prince holding the realm” of Sha-chou sent an envoy and said in his letter: “Originally, we were nephews of [the emperors of] the T’ang Dynasty. So the Son of Heaven [i.e. Chinese emperor] is virtually our uncle. But since the Tanguts have defeated [and occupied] Kan-chou and Liang-chou, we have been isolated from China proper. Now, I hope to lead our military chieftains to attack the rebels [= the Tanguts] for the Royal court.” The Emperor accepted the Tsung’s tactics and appointed him to be the adviser of 陳執中 Chen Shih-chung. (*Hsü Tzu-chih t’ung-chien ch’ang-pien*, vol. 131, Peking, Chung-hua shu-chü edition, p. 3115)

³⁸ Moriyasu 1980, chap. 5.

³⁹ See Moriyasu 1980, pp. 334–335; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 150–152.

I was struck by the term *Chen-kuo Wang-tzu* “Prince holding the realm”. It seemed to me to be likely that this Chinese expression was a calque on the Uighur word *El Tutmiš* “holding the realm” which appears in the Uighur Stake Inscription just mentioned. This must have been a popular expression used as a constituent element of a title of the Uighurs of the ruling class. We can easily find four more examples.

- 1) Pei-t’ing (= Bešbalıq): *Kün Ay Tängri-lär-tä (Qut) (B)[u]lm[i]š [buya]n Ornanmiš Alpın [Ä](r)dämin El (T)utmiš Üčü(n)č Arslan Bilgä Xan(?)*⁴⁰ [See plate XIX]
- 2) Bāzāklık, Cave 19: *Tängrikän El Tutmiš Alp Arslan Qutluy(?) To[nga] Tegin Ögä Tärkän(?) Tegin El Toyrl Bäg(?)* [See plate XX]
- 3) an Uighur manuscript found in Turfan by Le Coq and housed in BBAW, U 67 (T.M. 301), cf. Le Coq 1922 = Manichaica III, No. 28. [See plate XXI]
- 4) an Uighur manuscript found in Turfan by the Otani mission and housed in Ryukoku University of Kyoto, Ot. Ry. 1984.

From another Chinese source, we know that the king of Sha-chou in 1042 was the Pei-t’ing qayan, that is the qayan of the West Uighurs.

「慶曆二年（1042）二月、沙州北亭可汗王遣大使密、副使張進零・和延進、大使曹都都、大使翟入貢。」（『宋會要輯稿』198、蕃夷五之三、瓜沙二州の条）

In February of the second year of Ch’ing-li [1042], Sha-chou Pei-t’ing qayan king dispatched an ambassador named Mi, and deputy ambassadors named Chang Tsin-ling and Ho Yen-tsin, and an ambassador Ts’ao Tu-tu, and an ambassador Chai to present tribute [to the Sung court]. (*Sung hui-yao tsi-kao*, vol. 198, Fan-i 5-3, Kua Sha erh-chou)

I conclude that it was the West Uighurs who ruled Tun-huang, and the general term “Sha-chou Uighurs” indicated all Uighur groups supervised by the West Uighur Kingdom.

11 Paintings of Uighur kings found at Tun-huang

I was informed by Dr. Sun Hsiu-shen, senior researcher of the Tun-huang Institute, that my article of 1980 had made something of a sensation among the Chinese

⁴⁰ This reading follows Umemura 1996, p. 364.

scholars of the Tun-huang Institute. They were deeply interested in the fact that there was a period ruled by the Uighurs in Tun-huang, and began to discuss the re-evaluation of the chronology of all Tun-huang wall-paintings. Finally they accepted my idea and inserted a Sha-chou Uighur period between the period of the government of Imperial Military Commissioner of the Ts'ao family (10th century) and the Hsi-hsia period (1067–1227 A.D.). When I visited Tun-huang in 1987 Sun Hsiu-shen led me into four or five caves not open to the public. In each of them, he showed me portraits of Uighur kings or princes and their wives which were painted as donors on the walls near the entrance door. I was very astonished because I had never seen them before. Unfortunately they remain unpublished. My impression is that they are very similar to the male and female donors of Cave No. 409. In the Chinese inscription written in the cartouche of a wall-painting in Cave No. 16 of the Western Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, we can clearly read the term 回鶻可汗 “qayan of the Uighurs” [See plate XXII]. But about the donors of Yü-lin Cave No. 39 who were described as Uighurs by the Chinese scholars of the Tun-huang Institute, I cannot decide whether they are really Uighurs or not [See plates XXIII–XXIV].

Anyhow, there is reason enough to insert the Sha-chou Uighur period into the old chronology. But another unexpected problem has arisen. Some Chinese scholars have begun to insist that there was an independent Uighur Kingdom in Tun-huang of this period and that therefore the Uighur wall-paintings like in Cave No. 409 belonged to the independent Sha-chou Uighurs. There are differences of opinion even among the Chinese scholars themselves. So I introduce here a theory of Yang Fuxue, who wrote an English article entitled “On the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom” (*Central Asiatic Journal* 38, 1994, pp. 80–107).

According to Yang the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom existed from 1036 to around 1071. He cites a Tun-huang manuscript in Uighur (Pelliot chinois 3049), in which there is the title of an Uighur king: *Kün Tängriä Qut Bulmīš Ärdämin El Tutmīš Alp Qutluγ Uluy Bilgä Uyyur – Tängri Uyyur Xan*. He thinks this Uighur king must have lived in Sha-chou because this is a Tun-huang manuscript. Then, using my idea concerning the term *El Tutmīš*, he identifies this Uighur king with *Chen-kuo Wang-tzu* “Prince holding the realm” of Sha-chou in the Chinese source of 1041 cited above. So he concludes that this *Chen-kuo Wang-tzu* “Prince holding the realm” was the founder of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. But, his way of thinking is too simplistic. Moreover, to support his idea, the widely accepted date of sealing the hidden cave of Tun-huang, i.e. at the beginning of the 11th century, must be overthrown. He criticizes Hamilton’s dating of the Uighur manuscripts from Tun-huang as between 9th and 10th centuries, and says: “From the details such as handwriting, grammar, ink, paper etc. we can broadly determine the age of these

manuscripts as between 9th to 12th centuries.”⁴¹ This cannot be correct. He himself is neither a philologist nor a specialist on paper. He is influenced by the ideas of German Turcologists like G. Doerfer and M. Erdal.⁴² This argument, however, was clearly refuted by Hamilton himself three years ago.⁴³ I agree with Hamilton.

Yang Fuxue continues in his article: “Many scholars have mentioned that the cave was sealed after the Huang-yu era (1049–1053).”⁴⁴ But this is not true either. Unfortunately such opinions appear one after another. Rong Xinjiang has thoroughly refuted it in his new article on the reason why the famous sutra cave was sealed.⁴⁵ His discussion is trustworthy, and I think there is no need to repeat it here. As Hamilton and I made known earlier, more than fifty Uighur manuscripts found in the hidden cave were brought or made by the Uighur ambassadors, Manichaeans or Buddhist monks, and merchants from the West Uighur Kingdom. There is no room for doubt about this.

In the last paragraph of his article, Yang concludes that “this paper aims to attest to the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom recorded in Chinese and Uighur sources”.⁴⁶ But I insist once more that such sources never existed in Chinese books nor in Uighur documents, and the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom is simply an illusion made by some Chinese scholars who enlarged or deformed my basic hypothesis. The West Uighur kings or princes who had ordered to paint their figures on the walls of three cave groups of Tun-huang area must have been Buddhists or at least have been very sympathetic to Buddhism. Otherwise, one cannot explain the existence of their figures painted on these Buddhist caves far from the centre of their kingdom. I can agree with the dating of the “Sha-chou Uighur period” to the first half of the 11th century in the Tun-huang wall-painting chronology.

12 Conclusion

The fruits of my researches will be useful for dating undated materials like documents, banners, statues, wall-paintings, and so on. Every Manichaean object can be regarded as older than the early 11th century with high probability. No Uighur (not Turkic!) Buddhist object may be regarded as older than the early 10th century. Judging from the dates of the three Stake Inscriptions, a colophon of *Altun Yaruq*

⁴¹ Yang 1994, p. 81.

⁴² See Doerfer 1991 and 1993; Erdal 1988.

⁴³ Hamilton 1996.

⁴⁴ Yang 1994, p. 81.

⁴⁵ Rong 1996.

⁴⁶ Yang 1994, p. 104.

sūtra,⁴⁷ a colophon of *Maitrisimit Nom Bitig*,⁴⁸ and the existence of Uighur wall-paintings among the caves of Tun-huang area, the first golden age of Uighur Buddhism was around the first half of the 11th century. In this period, all Uighur manuscripts or inscriptions were written in square script or semi-square script. I know there is a short mention of Manichaeism in the Buddhist Maitreya hymn⁴⁹ written in cursive script in Mongol times. But there is not a single fragment in cursive script concerning Manichaean society or daily life.

Abbreviations

AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin.</i>
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte.
MIK	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

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⁴⁷ Zieme 1989.

⁴⁸ Moriyasu 1989, pp. 26–27, n. 89.

⁴⁹ Tezcan 1974, p. 72.

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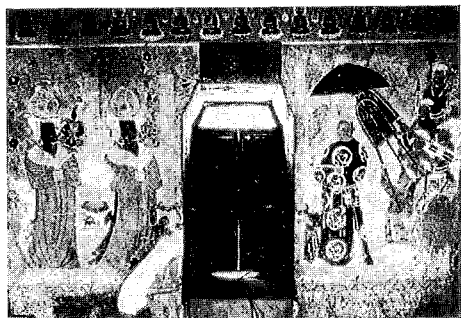


Plate I
Cave No. 409 in the Caves of the Thousand
Buddhas of Tun-huang. After *Chūgoku
sekkutsu, Tonkō Bakkōkutsu*, 5, Tokyo,
Heibonsha, 1982.



Plate II
Detail of I. See also *La route de la soie*, Paris 1985, p. 164.



Plate III
Detail of I.



Plate IV
Bäzäklik, Grünwedel Cave No. 9. After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 30. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. MIK III 6876 b.



Plate V
Bäzäklik, Grünwedel Cave No. 17. After Le Coq, *Spätantike III*, pl. 16a. The original is lost.

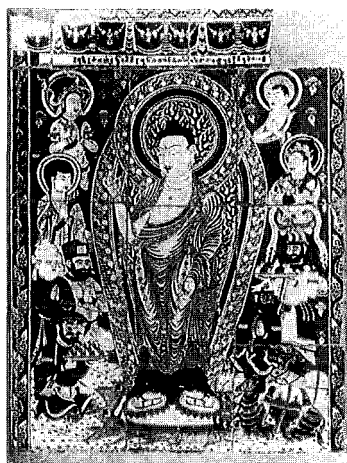


Plate VI
Bāzāklik, Grünwedel Cave No. 9.
After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 28.
The original is lost.



Plate IX
Bāzāklik, Grünwedel Cave No. 9. Af-
ter Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 22. The
original is lost.



Plate VII
Detail of VI.



Plate VIII
Detail of VI.



Plate X
Detail of IX.



Plate XI
Bāzāklīk, Grünwedel Cave No. 9. After Le Coq,
Chotscho, pl. 16a. The original is lost.



Plate XII
Bāzāklīk, Grünwedel Cave No. 9. After Le Coq,
Chotscho, pl. 16b. The original is lost.

Plate XIII
 Sketch drawn by
 Grünwedel, Bāzāklīk,
 Grünwedel Cave No. 25.
 After Grünwedel,
Alt-Kutscha, fig. 66.



Plate XIV
 Uighur Buddhist Temple
 situated at the western
 suburb of Pei-t'ing
 (Bešbaliq). Author's
 photo.



Plate XV
 View from the top of the
 ruin site XIV. Author's
 photo.





Plate XVI
Wall-painting in XIV. Author's photo.



Plate XVII
Detail of XVI. Author's photo.



Plate XVIII
Detail of XVI. Author's photo.



Plate XIX
Wall-painting in XIV. After Umemura 1996.

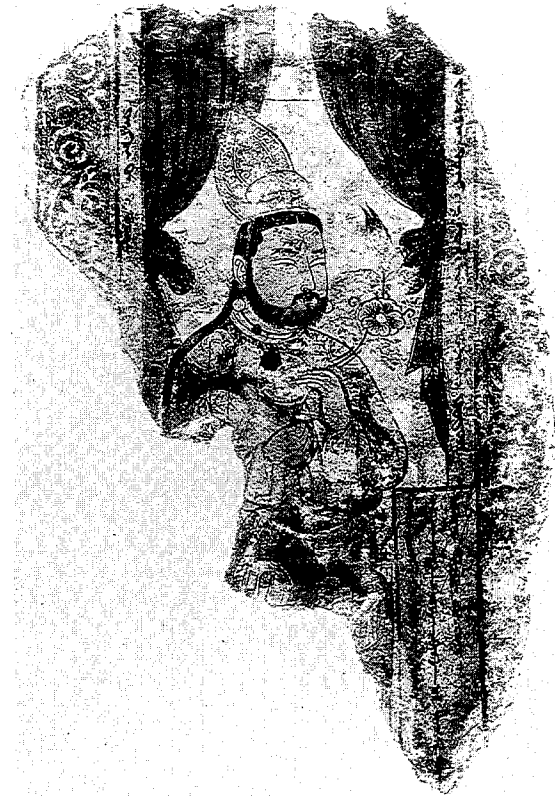


Plate XX
Bāzāklik, Grünwedel Cave No. 19. After Le Coq,
Spätantike III, pl. 18. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.



Plate XXI
U 67 (TM 301), BBAW.



Plate XXII
Cave No. 16 of the Western Caves of the Thousand
Buddhas near Tunhuang. After Tonkō kenkyūin
(ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Ansei Yurinkutsu*, Tokyo,
Heibonsha, 1990.



Plate XXIII

Yü-lin Cave No. 39. After Tonkō kenkyūin (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu*, Ansei Yurinkutsu, Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1990.



Plate XXIV

Yü-lin Cave No. 39. After Tonkō kenkyūin (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu*, Ansei Yurinkutsu, Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1990.