



**BuddhistRoad**

**Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries**

**BuddhistRoad Paper 2.9**

---

**CHAN PRACTICE, SUMMER RETREAT,  
AND WINTER RETREAT OF UYGHUR  
BUDDHISTS AS SEEN FROM OLD  
UYGHUR PRACTITIONER  
INSCRIPTIONS**

MA FU



## BUDDHISTROAD PAPER

Peer reviewed

ISSN: 2628-2356

DOI: [10.46586/rub.br.331](https://doi.org/10.46586/rub.br.331)

BuddhistRoad Papers are licensed under the Creative Commons—Attribution NonCommercial—NoDerivates 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0).

You can find this publication also on the BuddhistRoad project homepage:

<https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/publications/>

Please quote this paper as follows:

**Fu, Ma, “Chan Practice, Summer Retreat, and Winter Retreat of Uyghur Buddhists as Seen from Old Uyghur Practitioner Inscriptions,”**  
*BuddhistRoad Paper 2.9 (2024).*

### CONTACT:

Principal Investigator: Prof. Dr. Carmen Meinert

BuddhistRoad | Ruhr-Universität Bochum | Center for Religious Studies (CERES)

Universitätsstr. 90a | 44789 Bochum | Germany

Phone: +49 (0)234 32-21683 | Fax: +49 (0) 234/32- 14 909

Email: [BuddhistRoad@rub.de](mailto:BuddhistRoad@rub.de) | Email: [carmen.meinert@rub.de](mailto:carmen.meinert@rub.de)

Website: <https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/>

BuddhistRoad is a project of



Centrum für Religionswissenschaftliche Studien  
Center for Religious Studies

RUHR  
UNIVERSITÄT  
BOCHUM

RUB

### SPONSORS:



European Research Council

Established by the European Commission



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

# CHAN PRACTICE, SUMMER RETREAT, AND WINTER RETREAT OF UYGHUR BUDDHISTS AS SEEN FROM OLD UYGHUR PRACTITIONER INSCRIPTIONS\*

MA FU

## *Abstract*

Like pilgrims, Uyghur Buddhist practitioners also left inscriptions at various Buddhist sites during the 10th to the 14th centuries; for the most part, these have been ignored or mistaken for pilgrim inscriptions. Since the practices and general life of Uyghur monks are still not clear, due to a lack of written records, the practitioner inscriptions, though fragmentary and rare, contain highly valuable data. These inscriptions provide evidence of the practice of Chan Buddhism (Chin. *chanzong* 禪宗) and the annual monastic retreat of the Uyghur Buddhists. In addition to a summer retreat, some Uyghur monks also participated in a winter retreat, just like the monks in Dunhuang (敦煌). However, many Uyghur monks did not last for the full three months required by Buddhist teaching.

## 1. Introduction

At the ancient Buddhist sites along the eastern Silk Road, especially in present-day Xinjiang (新疆) and Gansu (甘肅), a relatively large number of inscriptions left by Buddhist Uyghurs dating from the 10th to the 14th centuries have been attested, resulting in a unique and important corpus of Old Uyghur texts. The editions of the inscriptions appeared long ago and new inscriptions have been discovered in recent years.<sup>1</sup> Apart from those left by sponsors, wall-painters and others involved in the construction, decoration or restoration of the sites, most of the inscriptions were left by visitors to the sites, revealing valuable information on the history of

---

\* This research is supported by the MOE (Ministry of Education, China) Project of Key Research Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences in Universities ‘The Edition and Research of the Records on the Silk Road Attested in Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts’ (No. 22JJJ0770008). I express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Peter Zieme and PD Dr. Yukiyo Kasai for their kind reviews on the article.

<sup>1</sup> For an up-to-date survey on the Uyghur Buddhist inscriptions and the editions of them, see: Dai Matsui, “Old Uyghur Graffiti Inscriptions from Central Asia,” in *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed*, ed. O. Škrabal et al. (Berlin, Boston, 2023), 173–214.



Uyghur Buddhism. In 2020, Tibor Porció carried out a comprehensive study on visitor inscriptions attested at various sites, pointing out the significance of the data on Uyghur Buddhist pilgrims and making a first attempt at analysing the elements and structure of pilgrim inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Although the corpus on which his study was based consists of, for the most part, pilgrim inscriptions, he mistakenly included other inscriptions that were not left by pilgrims.<sup>3</sup> In particular, he considered many inscriptions that showed no firm indication of pilgrimage to have been left by pilgrims. On the one hand, his study attracted much attention to the historical and textual value of inscriptions left by visitors. On the other hand, it reinforced the idea that most of the visitor inscriptions belonged to the category of ‘pilgrim inscriptions’.

Somewhat influenced by Porció’s study, other works on Uyghur visitor inscriptions at Buddhist sites have all put great emphasis on the aspect of pilgrimage.<sup>4</sup> Some studies considered all visitor inscriptions to be pilgrim inscriptions, even though not all inscriptions included had indications of pilgrimage.<sup>5</sup> In fact, apart from sacred monuments such as *stupas*, the identification of visitors with pilgrims is far from certain, for Buddhist monasteries, especially cave monasteries, were frequently visited by Buddhist practitioners. As with pilgrims, practitioners would leave inscriptions at the site, whether as a memorial of the visit or just as graffiti.

---

<sup>2</sup> Tibor Porció, “Some Peculiarities of the Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions,” in *Searching for the Dharma, Finding Salvation—Buddhist Pilgrimage in Time and Space: Proceedings of the Workshop ‘Buddhist Pilgrimage in History and Present Times’ at the Lumbini International Research Institute (Lumbini, 11–13 January 2010)*, ed. Christoph Cueppers and Max Deeg (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014), 157–178.

<sup>3</sup> For example, he regarded the so-called ‘Sivšidu~Yaqšidu manuscripts’ edited by Matsui Dai as pilgrim inscriptions (Porció, “Some Peculiarities of the Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions,” 161, 165), which were indeed left by resident monks at the site (see below).

<sup>4</sup> *Tonkō sekkutsu ta gengo shiryō shūsei* 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成 [Multilingual source materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes], ed. Matsui Dai 松井太 and Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎 (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2017), 3–7.

<sup>5</sup> Abdurshid Yakup and Li Xiao, “A Philological Investigation of the Old Uighur Pilgrim Inscriptions Recently Discovered in the Cave NK 10 in the Tuyoq Grottoes of Turfan”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.4 (2019): 399–403; especially on 401, they generally referred to all the items as “pilgrim inscriptions”. Simone-Christiane Raschmann, “Pilgrims in Old Uyghur Inscriptions: A Glimpse behind Their Records,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia I: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Carmen Meinert and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden: Brill 2020), 204–229.

These inscriptions contain important information on the practice of Uyghur Buddhists which is absent from the literature. In this article, I would like to first sort out the Uyghur practitioner inscriptions from visitor inscriptions at Buddhist sites and then extract information on Uyghur Buddhist practice from the relevant inscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Practitioner Inscriptions and the Chan Practice

A joint team of archaeologists from the Institute of Archaeology, CASS (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and the Academia Turfanica has been carrying out archaeological excavations in the Tuyuq<sup>7</sup> grottoes in Turfan since 2010. A monastery complex, which was constructed as early as the sixth or seventh centuries and which flourished in the time of the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half 9th c. to 13th c.), was unearthed on the high platform in the middle of the Western Section (see fig. 1) during the course of four excavations between 2013 and 2016. Inside, more than 100 inscriptions from the late Uyghur period have been found on the walls of the side rooms of Cave 26 (see fig. 2), which consists of a main hall and six side rooms.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> However, due to a lack of data, it is currently difficult to clearly define the full set of characteristics of a practitioner inscription, which will remain an important task for future research.

<sup>7</sup> In this paper, I prefer the spelling of Tuyuq, which is clearly transcribed in modern Uyghur with the low round vowel *u* in both syllables. The modern Chinese transcription *tu yu* (吐峪), with *u* in both syllables, can also prove it.

<sup>8</sup> “Xinjiang shanshan tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao 新疆鄯善吐峪溝西區中部高臺窟院發掘報告 [The Excavation of the Middle High Platform Cave Temple of the West Zone of Tuyuq Grottoes in Shanshan, Xinjiang]”, *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 / *Acta Archaeologica Sinica* (2020) 3: 444–447. Cf. Ma Fu and Lidong Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uighur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B of Newly Excavated Cave 26 in Tuyuq Grottoes, Turfan,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 74. 2 (2021): 182–183.



Figure 1. Location of the high platform in the middle of the Western Section in the Tuyuq valley.

Marked by the author on the basis of “Xinjiang shanshan tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao,” pl. 1.1.



Figure 2. 3D map of the high platform in the middle of the Western Section with indication of Cave 26.

Drawing by the author on the basis of “Xinjiang shanshan tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao,” pl. 3.2.

The inscriptions, for the most part in Old Uyghur language and script, have already been edited and published in English.<sup>9</sup> The contents of the inscriptions reveal no indications of pilgrimage, but rather a close

<sup>9</sup> On the 29 inscriptions in Old Uyghur and Chinese in Room B, see: Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uyghur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” 181–206; on the 91 inscriptions in Old Uyghur and Brahmi in Room D, E and F, see: Gang Li and Hailong Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions Newly Discovered in the Cave 26 of the Tuyuq Grottoes of Turfan (II),” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 36 (2021): 23–59.

connection to the Buddhist practice of Chan Buddhism (Chin. *chanzong* 禪宗). Sharing some common features with the so-called pilgrim inscriptions, these inscriptions would have been created by visitors who came to the cave for the practice of Chan. Therefore, I refer to this group of visitor inscriptions as ‘practitioner inscriptions’.

On the right wall of Room B, a relatively complete piece of inscription is preserved as follows:

*it yul bešinč ay ičintä k(ä)lip bir ay mončuk tartip törür m(ä)n*

In the dog year, within the fifth month, [I] came [here]. Having counted the prayer beads [on a Buddhist rosary for] one month, I come into existence.<sup>10</sup>

The visitor stayed in the cave monastery for one month, during which his primary activity was *mončuk tart-* (literally meaning ‘to pull beads’). Counting the 108 prayer beads on a rosary is indeed the main activity during the practice of Chan in Chinese Buddhism, a practice which was also transmitted to Uyghur Buddhism.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the purpose of visiting the cave was not for pilgrimage but rather to practice Chan. A similar expression is also attested on the wall of room D.<sup>12</sup>

On the left wall of Room A one can find the Chinese character *chan* (禪, Skt. *Dhyāna*; translated as ‘meditation,’), written at the same time as the Uyghur inscriptions. Somewhere to the right of this character, one can see a partially preserved Chinese character, which was reconstructed as Chinese *dan* (單) by the archaeological team.<sup>13</sup> However, I propose that it is just the right side of the character *chan*, since the left side of the

---

<sup>10</sup> Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uyghur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” 187. The transcription of Old Uyghur texts quoted in this article is slightly modified according to the system used in the *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, see <https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=UWB&lemid=A00001>, accessed on July 9, 2024.

<sup>11</sup> The *Chan* Buddhist folk song *Chanmen shier shi* 禪門十二時 [Twelve Hours in the Chan school], which was popular in Dunhuang during the 9th and 11th centuries was transmitted to Uyghur Buddhist society both in Old Uyghur translation and transcription. It contains a verse “the counting beads are always held in the hands” (Chin. *shuzhu heng zai shou* 數珠恆在手), which was rendered as *ürüg uzatı sanmonču[k] eligijizlärtä tutup kämišmänlär upaselar* in the Old Uyghur translation, literally meaning ‘hold the counting beads in your hands constantly and long, and do not throw them, laymen.’ See Peter Zieme, “Notizen zum altuigurischen Chan-Gedicht ‘Zwölf Stunden,’” in *Uigurorum veterum fragmenta minora*, ed. Peter Zieme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 174.

<sup>12</sup> Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 25.

<sup>13</sup> “Xinjiang shanshan tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao,” 446.



character was lost when part of the wall broke off. This character provides more evidence of a practitioner visiting this cave.

The most representative example of a Chan practitioner in this cave monastery is the monk Toyınçog Tutuŋ, who wrote eight inscriptions in different rooms in the course of several visits to the site. Three inscriptions left in room B have the same content, indicating his purpose was not pilgrimage, but rather to practice Chan. The three inscriptions all read: ‘Toyınçog Tutuŋ practiced meditation’ (OU *toyınçog tutuŋ turulmıŝ*).<sup>14</sup> The verb *turul-*, the passive form of *tur-*, literally meaning ‘to stand,’ means ‘to calm down’<sup>15</sup> and by extension, in a spiritual sense, ‘to practice meditation.’ Other inscriptions by Toyınçog Tutuŋ mention various dates, indicating that they must have been written on visits to the sites. I hereby cite one as follows:

*[1]t yıl beŝinç ay bir yaŋıka m(ä)n toyınçog tutuŋ bo v(i)h[arka] kälip kaç kün turup baru tägintim*

The Dog year, the fifth month, on the first day. I, Toyınçog Tutuŋ, came to this monastery, stayed for several days and departed.<sup>16</sup>

As Porció has correctly pointed out, a pilgrim inscription can be seen as both a ‘memory’ of and a postscript (colophon) to the pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, the inscription above can also be regarded as Toyınçog Tutuŋ’s memory of and postscript to his visit in the dog year. Thanks to his other inscriptions, we are now aware that the purpose of his visit was not pilgrimage but to practice Chan. In light of this, the visitor inscriptions at other sites need to be re-examined to determine the purpose of each visit. It would be erroneous to equate them to pilgrimage simply because of a similarity in structure or certain elements.

It is possible that many practitioner inscriptions may have been left as a memory at the end of the practitioner’s time of practicing Chan. If so, those which are partially preserved without a date may well be mementos of a certain visit for the practice of Chan. For example, an inscription written on the right wall of Room D that is preserved without a date reads as follows:

<sup>14</sup> Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uyghur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” 193–194.

<sup>15</sup> Marcel Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 679.

<sup>16</sup> Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 42.

<sup>17</sup> Porció, “Some Peculiarities of the Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions,” 165–174.



*m(ä)n lükčünlög toyınçog tutuŋ bo id[o]k [ ] ky-ä olorup altın enä tägintim*

I, Toyınçog Tutuŋ, from Lükčün, after staying in this sacred [place? for a couple of days?], humbly descended down.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the lack of a date, the context suggests strongly that it is a memorial inscribed by the same Toyınçog Tutuŋ at the end of a certain period of practicing Chan, on a date different from those indicated in his other inscriptions.

When the purpose of a visit is not directly expressed, the use of the verb *erik-*, literally meaning ‘to be bored’ can help in ruling out a visitor inscription as a pilgrim inscription. This verb is not attested very often in Old Uyghur texts, but it appears several times in the inscriptions in Cave 26, which was visited by practitioners but not pilgrims. The following inscription left in Room F in a certain dog year is a good example of the context of *erik-* in the inscriptions:

*it yul altınč ay b[ ] likuy tu tiso [tu(?)] birlä // [ ] oron-ka nom tutgali(?) agitu[nip] erikip turur-ta kenki kö[rgü bolzun tep] ödig qultım*

The Dog year, the sixth month, [on the .... day] Likuy-tu and Tiso-[tu(?)] together [ ] climbed up to (this) place in order to cleave to the *buddha-dharma*, and while staying in boredom, [saying ‘May it be] seen in future!,’ I made (this) record.<sup>19</sup>

The two monks Likuy-tu and Tiso-[tu(?)] visited the cave “in order to cleave to the *buddha-dharma*,”<sup>20</sup> namely to practice Chan meditation. One of them left a record as a memorial of this visit, while taking a break from practicing Chan, which he referred to as “while staying in boredom” (OU *erikip turur-ta*). Expressions with *erik-*, literally meaning ‘to be bored’ are also attested in similar contexts in other inscriptions in Room B (“being bored,” OU *erikip*),<sup>21</sup> Room D (“staying in boredom,” OU *erikip turup*),<sup>22</sup> and Room E (“staying in boredom,” OU *erikip olorup*).<sup>23</sup> However, these type of expressions are not attested in any visitor inscriptions that can be

<sup>18</sup> Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 29.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 50. I quote lines 2–6 here, with slight modifications in the English translation.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>21</sup> Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uyghur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” 191.

<sup>22</sup> Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 30.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.



clearly identified as pilgrim inscriptions found at sacred Buddhist sites such as the caves for worship in and near Dunhuang, the white pagoda in Hohhot and the caves for worship in Bezeklik.

Such expressions are also frequently attested in a group of Uyghur manuscripts, the so-called Sivšidu~Yakšidu manuscripts discovered by Matsui Dai.<sup>24</sup> The Sivšidu Tutuḡ Kıya, the key figure in these manuscripts, referred to himself as “from Tuyuq valley” (OU *tıyuk kısıllıg*) in one manuscript,<sup>25</sup> thus indicating that he was a resident in the cave monastery in Tuyuq. According to Matsui’s survey, the dates evident in these manuscripts cover almost every month of the year except the eleventh month.<sup>26</sup> This strongly suggests that they were not pilgrims, but residents of the cave monastery or nearby; as a result, they were able to visit the caves often. Therefore, most of the inscriptions and scribbles from the so-called Sivšidu~Yakšidu manuscripts would have been written when these monks felt bored during their residence in the monastery or the break from Chan practice, a boredom which they sometimes expressed openly with the verb *erik-*.

### 3. Summer Retreat in Uyghur Buddhism

When did the practitioners visit Cave 26 to practice Chan meditation? A long inscription of 15 lines left by a visitor named Tolun Tämür in Room B reveals key information:

<sup>24</sup> See Matsui Dai 松井太, “Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo to Toyoku sekkutsu no Bukkyō kyōdan–Peteruburugu shozō uigurugo sezoku monjo sakki–シヴシドゥ ヤクシドゥ関係文書とトヨク石窟の仏教教団–ペテルブルク所蔵ウイグル語世俗文書劄記– / Notes on the Uigur Secular Documents from the St. Petersburg Collection: Buddhist Monastery of the Toyoq Caves as Revealed from the Texts Related to Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu,” in *Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō* 中央アジア出土文物論叢 / *Papers on the Pre-Islamic Documents and Other Materials Unearthed from Central Asia*, ed. Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫 (Kyoto: Hoyu shoten, 2004), 53.

<sup>25</sup> Matsui, “Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo,” 62; Matsui Dai 松井太, “Uigur Manuscripts Related to the Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu at ‘Abita-Cave’ Temple of Toyoq”, in *Tulufanxue yanjiu: di-san jie Tulufanxue ji Ou-Ya youmu minzu de qiyuan yu qianxi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 吐魯番學研究: 第三屆吐魯番學暨歐亞游牧民的起源與遷徙國際學術研討會論文集 [Turfan Studies: Essays on the Third International Conference on Turfan Studies and on the Origins and Migrations of Eurasian Nomadic Peoples], ed. Xinjiang Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 新疆吐魯番學研究院 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 703.

<sup>26</sup> Matsui, “Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo,” 61, table 3.

Who are the people standing (here)? We are 30 people under the leadership of Lüsün Zhanglao, Padmaširi Dyanči, Kuyšidu, Budakirti Šila, Suda Šila, and Piratya Širi. They stayed to practice at the good deeds in this monastery for three months.<sup>27</sup>

This large group of monks, among whose leaders is a master of Chan practice (OU *dyanči*),<sup>28</sup> came to the cave monastery to practice Chan for a period of three months. I have related the mention of three months to the standard duration of Buddhist practice during the summer retreat.<sup>29</sup> In the same way, a monk named Kitay Togrıl states in an inscription that he stayed in the Tuyuq valley for three months.<sup>30</sup>

In Old Uyghur, the summer retreat is expressed by *bakčan*, a loan word from Tocharian (Toch. A *pākāccām* / Toch. B *pakaccām*).<sup>31</sup> Its duration of three months and the gathering at the end (Skt. *pravāraṇa*) of the retreat on the 15th day are recorded in Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. Lines 58–62 of the so-called *Insadisūtra* read:

*yayki üç ay-lar-nıñ ärtmäkindin bakčan üzlünčüsi tolun ay beş ygrmi tünläsintä kamağun birgärü bir oronta yığılmıš terilmišläri kargäk*

After the passing of the three summer months, at the end of *pakaccām*, on the night of the 15th, the full moon, the gathering of all at one place is required.<sup>32</sup>

*Pravāraṇa*, the gathering at the end of the summer retreat, is held on the 15th of the seventh month in the lunar calendar of Chinese Buddhism. In Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, the day is also referred to as *xia zhong* (夏終 literally meaning ‘end of summer’), on which an assembly was held in the Buddhist community.<sup>33</sup> Although no texts recorded the date on which the Uyghurs ended the summer retreat, scholars believe that they used the same date as the Chinese Buddhists, due to the direct influence

---

<sup>27</sup> Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uighur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” 184, lines 2–7.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>30</sup> Matsui Dai, “Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and Abita Qur ‘Abita Cave,’” *Письменные памятники Востока* 18. 3 (2021): 39–40.

<sup>31</sup> Or from Sogdian *pkc'n*; see Jens Wilkens, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien, III: Fremdelemente, Bd.1: eč – bodis(a)v(a)tv* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), 98.

<sup>32</sup> BT III, 27–28.

<sup>33</sup> Zhan Ru, *Disciplinary Rituals in Dunhuang Buddhism*, trans. Matthew Orsborn et al. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2023), 241.



of Chinese Buddhism, especially from Dunhuang.<sup>34</sup> Here I cite an Old Uyghur manuscript, Mainz 354 (T I. 172), which reveals that the Uyghurs also celebrated *pravāraṇa* in the seventh month. According to Zieme's edition of Mainz 354, the *verso* side records that the Uyghur Khan spent *pravāraṇa* during a mouse year in the capital city of Beš Balık. It reads:<sup>35</sup>

He ventured to pass the summer time of the mouse year in Bešbalık, and also [he ventured to pass] the *pošatha* ceremony of the *pravāraṇa* [in] Bešbalık. On the second [day]<sup>36</sup>, after *pravāraṇa* had passed, he ventured to [...]. In making a great resettlement (migration) he ventured [to go to ...]. In the eighth month [he ventured to ...] the [...] belonging to the inner city of the realm [...].

The text mentions the eighth month right after the *pravāraṇa*, indicating that the day itself should be on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Therefore, the period of summer retreat must be from the 16th of the fourth month to the 15th of the seventh month, when *pravāraṇa* is held to celebrate the end of the summer retreat.

Of the 30 dates preserved in the Cave 26 inscriptions, most fall in the period between the 16th of the fourth month and the 15th of the seventh month, with only seven exceptions (see table 1). Considering the history and the nature of the cave monasteries in Turfan, most of the visitors are likely to have come to Cave 26 for summer retreat, as did the aforementioned group of 30 monks and the monk Kitay Togrıl. According to the Tang-era document P. 2009, entitled *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經 [Map of Xizhou (Turfan)], the Tuyuq valley and the Murtuk valley were the most important cave monasteries in Turfan before the Uyghur era. The cave monasteries as well as their names in Chinese were inherited by Uyghur monks after they converted to Buddhism.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Jens Wilkens, "Hatten die alten Uiguren einen buddhistischen Kanon?" In *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der Asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger, and Christoph Kleine (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011), 366.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Zieme, "Ordo uluš, Solmı and Bešbalık," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62.3 (2009), 257–258.

<sup>36</sup> Although Zieme completed this lacuna here with "month" in his translation, he gave "kün (day)" in the transcription (Zieme, "Ordo uluš, Solmı and Bešbalık," 261). I adopt the latter here.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Matsui Dai, "Old Uigur Toponyms of the Turfan Oases", in *Kutadgu Nom Bitig: Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Elisabetta Ragagnin and Jens Wilkens (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 276, 283–288.

Under the Tang (618–907, 唐), monks from the Turfan region held their summer retreat in the cave monasteries at Tuyuq and Murtuk. Manuscript Or. 8212/621 was collected by Aurel Stein at the Tuyuq site, according to its old shelf number Toy.II.II.02(h). It was a discarded register of tenants from Tang times, the blank *verso* of which was used by a monk to write a draft letter.<sup>38</sup> The third line of the fragmentary draft letter reads: “Huijing is settling for [the summer] in Dinggu (Tuyuq) for the time being” (Chin. *Huijing qie zai dinggu zuoxia* 惠靜且在丁谷坐夏).<sup>39</sup> The mention of “in Dinggu for the time being” (Chin. *qie zai dinggu* 且在丁谷) indicates that the monk Huijing (惠靜) was not a regular resident at the cave monastery, but rather a visitor for the summer retreat. The stele unearthed at Bezeklik in the Murtuk valley in 1989 records a donation to open a new cave in Tang times. The remaining text of the third line preserves information that the great masters usually assembled here (at the Bezeklik caves) for the summer retreat,<sup>40</sup> while line 11 states that seven monks were residents in the cave monastery there.<sup>41</sup> Hence, cave monasteries like that at Bezeklik primarily served as retreats for monks from all around the Turfan region in summer, with a much smaller number of monks permanently residing there. In particular, *Map of Xizhou (Turfan)* mentions that there is a monastery intended for Chan practice (Chin. *chan yuan* 禪院) in Tuyuq during Tang times, indicating that the Tuyuq valley might be more important than the Murtuk valley during the Tang era as a retreat for practitioners. Line 22 of the stele mentions the year as *dunzang* (敦牂) of Zhenyuan (貞元), identified as 790, which was the eve of the

<sup>38</sup> Another draft text was written later in smaller ductus between the lines of the draft letter. For the facsimile, see: <https://idp.bl.uk/collection/D60BD24C50D84335BD966636B6E5C95D/?return=%2Fcollection%2F%3Fterm%3Dor.8212%252F621>, last accessed on July 11, 2024.

<sup>39</sup> *Sitanyin di san ci Zhongya kaogu suo huo Hanwen wenxian* 斯坦因第三次中亞探險所獲漢文文獻 / Chinese Manuscripts Gathered by Aurel Stein on his Third Expedition, vol. 1, comp. Sha Zhi 沙知 and Wu Fangsi 吳芳思 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005), 166.

<sup>40</sup> Due to the lacuna in the beginning of this line, the context is not quite clear, but the information can be extracted by the expressions *shuode mei jiexia yu ci* (碩德每結夏于此). For the up-to-date edition of the text, see: Xia Lidong 夏立棟, “‘Zhenyuan liunian zaoku gongdeji’ yu Tang Xizhou Ningrongkusi 《貞元六年造窟功德記》与唐西州宁戎窟寺 [The Zhenyuan Sixth-Year Cave Construction Inscriptions and the Ningrong Cave Temple of Xizhou during the Tang Dynasty],” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 2 (2020), 19.

<sup>41</sup> Xia, “Zhenyuan liunian zaoku gongdeji,” 19.



transition of power in Turfan from the Tang to the Tibetans and then to the Uyghurs.<sup>42</sup> One can thus imagine that the function and institution of the cave monasteries in Tuyuq and Murtuk (Bezeklik) would not change much when the Uyghurs arrived and began converting to Buddhism under the influence of the local people.

#### 4. Trace of Winter Retreat in Uyghur Buddhism

The aforementioned practitioner Toyinčog Tutuŋ, apart from the summer retreat, also visited the cave to practice Chan meditation in winter time. One of his inscriptions in Room B reads: “In the dragon year, on the 26th day of the first month, I, Toyinčog Tutuŋ, venture to come [to] this Tiyuk (Tuyuk) vall[ey] in order to sta[y] [for] 20 [days?].”<sup>43</sup> Thus, for his Chan practice in the dragon year, Toyinčog Tutuŋ visited the cave in winter. Indeed, according to the dates attested in the inscriptions (see table 1), still other visits happened in winter, but not in summer. This leads us to consider the question: did the Uyghur monks also have a winter retreat?

The earliest record of a winter retreat in literature is Xuanzang’s (600/602–664, 玄奘) observation of the practice in Tocharistan in the seventh century, where the annual retreat took place in winter time, from the 16th of the 12th month to the 15th of the third month.<sup>44</sup> In traditional Chinese Buddhism, a winter retreat is rarely observed. The Dunhuang manuscripts reveal, however, that monks in Dunhuang likely had an annual winter retreat. For example, P. 3541, the eulogy to the Monk Zhang Shancai (張善才), reads “he has not missed any retreat, in winter or in summer”.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, winter retreats are also mentioned in Old Uyghur texts. U5319, an edict issued by the central government of the West Uyghur Kingdom, transferred the ownership of the cave monastery in

---

<sup>42</sup> Turfan (Xizhou (西州) of the Tang) fell to the Tibetans in 792, and was then taken over by the Uyghurs around the beginning of the next century; see: Fu Ma 付馬, *Sichou zhilu shang de Xizhou Huihu wangchao: 9–13 shiji zhongya dongbu lishi yanjiu* 絲綢之路上的西州回鹘王朝: 9–13 世紀中亞東部歷史研究 [The West Uyghur Kingdom on the Silk Road: Study on the History of Eastern Central Asia during Ninth–Thirteenth Century] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2019), 76–77.

<sup>43</sup> Fu and Xia, “Comprehensive Study on Old Uighur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B,” I–5.

<sup>44</sup> *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions], T. 2087.51, 0872a.

<sup>45</sup> Zhan, *Disciplinary Rituals in Dunhuang Buddhism*, 264.

Murtuk (*murutlug aryadan* in the text) to the three monks led by Likuy Tutuṅ.<sup>46</sup> Lines 5–9 record the following:

According to this edict, after the venerated one, the three led by Likuy Tutuṅ should stay in this monastery without moving, settle for summer and winter retreats (*yay kiš bakčan olorup*), perform *chan* meditation and good deeds, and confer merits to us!<sup>47</sup>

As for the mention of ‘summer and winter retreats’ (OU *yay kiš bakčan*) in the edict, Zieme refused to take it as a specific reference to the three-month retreats, but interpreted it as a general expression of constant residence in the monastery.<sup>48</sup> However, another Old Uyghur text gives us new evidence regarding the performance of a winter retreat among the Old Uyghurs: an inscription from Cave 31 in Yulin (榆林), in the vicinity of Dunhuang, left by a pilgrim monk named Adityasen Šilavanti. More than just the typical content of a pilgrim inscription, it also mentions his practice of monastic retreat during his visit. I cite the first three lines according to Matsui’s recent edition as follows.

*kutlug bečin yıl aram ay säkiz otuz-ka män beš balık-lig adityazen šilavanti  
kur aranyatan //// yükünüp bo taulim? kur-ta /YSXY üç ay b(a)kčan? konup?*

On the 28th of the first month, in the blessed monkey year, I, Adityasen Šilavanti from Bešbalık venerated [ ] the cave monastery, settled (?) for the /YSXY three-month retreat in this taulim? cave.<sup>49</sup>

The combination of three months (OU *üç ay*) and retreat (OU *b(a)kčan*) in the text indicates that the purpose of his visit to the cave monastery in Yulin was to participate in a three-month monastic retreat. Key information is the date in the beginning, “on the 28th of the first month” (OU *aram ay säkiz otuz-ka*), which confirms that the monk Adityasen Šilavanti carried out this monastic retreat during winter time. As for the

<sup>46</sup> For the edition of the text, see: Peter Zieme, “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8 (1981): 254–255. The seal on the edict has a legend in Chinese, revealing the chief minister of the West Uyghur Kingdom as the issuer. For the legend on the seal, see: Matsui Dai 松井太, “Nishi uiguru jidai no uiguru bun kyōshutsu meirei bunsho o megutte 西ウイグル時代のウイグル文供出命令文書をめぐって [Concerning Uyghur Administrative Despatch Orders of the West Uyghur Era],” *Jinmun shakai ronsō* 人文社會論叢 / *Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 24 (2010): 35.

<sup>47</sup> Zieme, “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster,” 254–255.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.

<sup>49</sup> *Tonkō sekkutsu ta gengo shiryō shūsei*, 117.



previously illegible word /YSXY in the text, we can now reconstruct it as [q]yšqy, reading [k]iškü “of the winter”<sup>50</sup>. The phrase [k]iškü üč ay b(a)kčän can thus be translated as three-month winter retreat. This in turn suggests that we should interpret the aforementioned phrase from U5319 *yay kiš bakčän* as a summer and a winter retreat. The evidence from these texts points towards a winter retreat in Uyghur Buddhism. We can now suggest that the Cave 26 inscriptions from Tuyuq with winter dates were left by practitioners during their winter retreat.

In theory, as stated in Buddhist scriptures, the monastic retreat requires a three-month long residence when practiced in monasteries; this practice was transmitted to Uyghur Buddhism. Nevertheless, although some practitioners stayed for the whole three-month period of the summer or winter retreat, others did not stay as long. As the aforementioned inscription left by Toyinčog Tutuŋ on the first day of the fifth month in the dog year states, he “came to this monastery, stayed for several days and departed.”<sup>51</sup> Since the date falls in the period of summer retreat and Toyinčog Tutuŋ is proven to be a practitioner, his visit and stay on this occasion would have been a summer retreat. However, he did not fulfil the three-month period, but only stayed for several days. Likewise, when he came to the winter retreat, on the 26th day of the first month in the dragon year, he only stayed for 20 days, as the aforementioned inscription shows.

From the 9th to 11th centuries in Dunhuang, the Notice for [the organization of] the summer retreat (Chin. *xia anju tie* 夏安居帖, an example of which can be seen in P. 6005) was issued annually to monasteries to prohibit monks from being absent from monasteries during the summer retreat. The top seat (Chin. *shangzuo* 上座) and the monastery chief (Chin. *sizhu* 寺主) were obliged to sign, to confirm, and to organise the monks to stay in the monastery during the summer retreat<sup>52</sup>. The issue of such an order suggests that it must have been common for monks to be absent from the summer retreat. Despite a lack of data, the situation in the neighbouring Uyghur Buddhist community, which had a close

---

<sup>50</sup> Reading suggested by Dr. Jens Wilkens.

<sup>51</sup> Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 42.

<sup>52</sup> Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo* 唐後期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社會生活 [The Social Life of Dunhuang’s Monks and Nuns in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Early Song] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), 201–203.



relationship with the Buddhist community in Dunhuang, might not have been so different.

### 5. Closing Remarks

Like pilgrims, Chan practitioners also left a number of inscriptions at Buddhist sites during the West Uyghur times, revealing valuable information, which would otherwise not be known, on Uyghur Buddhist monastic practices. Having already been a major focus for the practice of Chan long before the Uyghur times, the cave monasteries in Tuyuq valley received numerous Uyghur Buddhist practitioners, as can be seen from the inscriptions left on the walls of Cave 26, created either at the end of a visit as a memorial, or during a break from the practice when the practitioners felt bored (as they sometimes stated in the cave inscriptions). Most of the visits occurred between the 16th of the fourth month and the 15th of the seventh month, the period of the annual summer retreat for Buddhist communities. Since cave monasteries, like that at Tuyuq, had hosted summer retreats for monks in the Turfan region as early in the Tang era, they likely played the same role in the Uyghur era. However, in many cases, the Uyghur monks failed to stay the full three months of the summer retreat. Moreover, just as we see monks in Dunhuang holding a winter retreat at this time, so too some Uyghur monks took part in a winter retreat. Thanks to the data revealed by the practitioner inscriptions, scenes of monastic life during the Uyghur era can be reconstructed to a certain extent.

	Room/Code	Period		
		16.04–15.07	16.12–15.03	Other
1	B/I-3	5th month		
2	B/I-5		1st month, 26th	
3	B/I-8	5th month, 8th		
4	B/II-6	7th month		
5	B/II-8	5th month, 14th		
6	B/III-2	5th month		
7	B/III-4	7th month		
8	B/III-6	5th month		
9	D/1	5th month, 16th		



10	D/2			4th month, 14th
11	D/3			3rd month, 27th
12	D/6		2nd month	
13	D/8	6th month, 15th		
14	D/10		3rd month, 3rd	
15	E/18	5th month, 11th		
16	E/20	7th month, 5th		
17	E/32			3rd month, 18th
18	E/42	3rd month		
19	E/43	7th month		
20	E/51	5th month, 1st		
21	E/56	5th month		
22	F/58	6th month		
23	F/65	5th month		
24	F/66	5th month, 17th		
25	F/68	5th month <sup>53</sup>		
26	F/73	4th month		
27	F/76	6th month		
28	F/87	6th month, 5th		
29	F/89		2nd month	
30	F/91	6th month, 20th		

Table 1. All legible dates with month in the inscriptions from Cave 26 in Tuyu

<sup>53</sup> Li and Zhang read the month as “the 11th” (OU *bir yg[rminč]*), see Li and Zhang, “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions (II),” 48. I hereby correct it as “the 5th” (OU *beši[nč]*), after an examination at the site.

### Abbreviations

BT III	Tezcan, Semih. <i>Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra</i> . Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974.
Mainz	Manuscripts in various languages preserved at the Turfan Collection in Berlin (formerly preserved in Mainz).
Or.	Stein Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London (the old inventory nos. are referred to as Or. (Oriental) whereas they later changed to S.; identical to Or. xxx/S).
P.	Pelliot Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.
T.	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經 [Taishō tripitaka], ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et. al. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
U	Uyghur Manuscripts preserved at the Turfan Collection in Berlin.

### Bibliography

#### Resources

- Sitanyin di san ci Zhongya kaogu suo huo Hanwen wenxian* 斯坦因第三次中亞探險所獲漢文文獻 [Chinese Manuscripts Gathered by Aurel Stein on his Third Expedition], vol. 1, comp. Sha Zhi 沙知 and Wu Fangsi 吳芳思. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005.
- Tonkō sekkutsu ta gengo shiryō shūsei* 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成 [Multilingual Source Materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes], comp. Matsui Dai 松井太 and Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2017.
- “Xinjiang shanshan tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao 新疆鄯善吐峪溝西區中部高臺窟院發掘報告 [The Excavation of the Middle High Platform Cave Temple of the West Zone of Tuyuq Grottoes in Shanshan, Xinjiang].” *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古學報 / *Acta Archaeologica Sinica* 3 (2020): 429–460 + 24 plates.



### Primary Sources

- Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions].  
T. 2087. 51.  
Mainz 354 (T I. 172).  
Or. 8212/612.  
P. 3541.  
P. 6005.  
U 5319.  
*Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經 [Map of Xizhou (Turfan)]. P. 2009.

### Secondary Sources

- Erdal, Marcel. *Old Turkic Word Formation*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.
- Fu Ma 付馬. *Sichou zhilu shang de Xizhou Huihu wangchao: 9–13 shiji zhongya dongbu lishi yanjiu* 絲綢之路上的西州回鶻王朝: 9–13 世紀中亞東部歷史研究 [The West Uighur Kingdom on the Silk Road: Study on the History of Eastern Central Asia during Ninth–Thirteenth Century]. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2019.
- Fu Ma and Xia Lidong. “Comprehensive Study on Old Uighur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B of Newly Excavated Cave 26 in Tuyuq Grottoes, Turfan.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 74.2 (2021): 181–206.
- Hao Chunwen 郝春文. *Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo* 唐後期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社會生活 / *The Social Life of Dunhuang’s Monks and Nuns in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Early Song*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998.
- Li, Gang and Hailong Zhang. “Uyghur Wall Inscriptions Newly Discovered in the Cave 26 of the Tuyuq Grottoes of Turfan (II).” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 內陸アジア言語の研究 / *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 36 (2021): 23–59.
- Matsui Dai 松井太. “Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo to Toyoku sekkutsu no Bukkyō kyōdan–Peteruburugu shozō uigurugo sezoku monjo sakkī–シヴシドゥヤクシドゥ關係文書とトヨク石窟の仏教教団–ペテルブルク所蔵ウイグル語世俗文書割記– / Notes on the Uigur Secular Documents from the St. Petersburg Collection: Buddhist Monastery of the Toyoq Caves as Revealed from the Texts Related to Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu.” In *Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō* 中央アジア出土文物論叢 / *Papers on the Pre-Islamic Documents and Other Materials Unearthed from Central Asia*, edited by Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, 41–70. Kyoto: Hoyu shoten, 2004.
- Matsui, Dai. “Uigur Manuscripts Related to the Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu at ‘Abita-Cave’ Temple of Toyoq”. In *Tulufanxue yanjiu: di-san jie Tulufanxue ji Ou-Ya youmu minzu de qi yuan yu qianxi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 吐魯番學研究: 第三屆吐魯番學暨歐亞游牧民的起源與遷徙國際學術研討會論文集 [Turfan Studies: Essays on the Third International Conference on Turfan Studies and on the Origins and Migrations of Eurasian Nomadic Peoples], edited by

- Xinjiang Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 新疆吐魯番學研究院, 697–714. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010.
- Matsui Dai 松井太. “Nishi uiguru jidai no uiguru bun kyōshutsu meirei bunsho o megutte 西ウイグル時代のウイグル文供出命令文書をめぐって [Concerning Uyghur Administrative Despatch Orders of the West Uyghur Era].” *Jinmun shakai ronsō* 人文社會論叢 / *Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 24 (2010): 25–53.
- Matsui, Dai. “Old Uigur Toponyms of the Turfan Oases.” In *Kutadgu Nom Bitig: Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Elisabetta Ragagnin and Jens Wilkens, 275–303. Wiesbaden, 2015.
- Matsui, Dai. “Old Uyghur Graffiti Inscriptions from Central Asia.” In *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed*, edited by Ondřej Škrabal, Leah Mascia, Ann Lauren Osthof, and Malena Ratzke, 173–214. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2023.
- Matsui, Dai. “Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and Abita Qur ‘Abita Cave’.” *Письменные памятники Востока* 18. 3 (2021): 37–50.
- Porció, Tibor. “Some Peculiarities of the Uyghur Buddhist Pilgrim Inscriptions.” In *Searching for the Dharma, Finding Salvation - Buddhist Pilgrimage in Time and Space: Proceedings of the Workshop ‘Buddhist Pilgrimage in History and Present Times’ at the Lumbini International Research Institute (Lumbini, 11–13 January 2010)*, edited by Christoph Cueppers and Max Deeg, 157–178. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2014.
- Raschmann, Simone-Christiane. “Pilgrims in Old Uyghur Inscriptions: A Glimpse behind Their Records.” In *Buddhism in Central Asia I: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 204–229. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020.
- Wilkens, Jens. “Hatten die alten Uiguren einen buddhistischen Kanon?” In *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, edited by Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger and Christoph Kleine, 245–278. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.
- Wilkens, Jens. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien, III: Fremdelemente, Bd.1: eč – bodis(a)v(a)tv*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021.
- Xia Lidong 夏立棟. “‘Zhenyuan liunian zaoku gongdeji’ yu Tang Xizhou Ningrongkusi 《貞元六年造窟功德記》与唐西州宁戎窟寺 [The Zhenyuan Sixth-Year Cave Construction Inscriptions and the Ningrong Cave Temple of Xizhou during the Tang Dynasty].” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 2 (2020): 18–25.
- Yakup, Abdurishid and Li Xiao. “A Philological Investigation of the Old Uighur Pilgrim Inscriptions Recently Discovered in the Cave NK 10 in the Tuyuq Grottoes of Turfan.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72.4 (2019): 399–417.
- Zhan, Ru. *Disciplinary Rituals in Dunhuang Buddhism*. Translated by Matthew Orsborn, Robban Toleno, Weiyu Lin, and Michael Cavayero. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2023.
- Zieme, Peter. “Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster.” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8 (1981): 237–263.



Zieme, Peter. “Ordo uluš, Solmi and Bešbalık.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62.3 (2009): 255–266.

Zieme, Peter. “Notizen zum altuigurischen Chan-Gedicht ‘Zwölf Stunden’.” In *Uigurorum veterum fragmenta minora*, edited by Peter Zieme, 167–176. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.