

Historical Development of the Sarīgh Uyghurs

By Toru SAGUCHI

Contents

- I. The Sarīgh Uyghurs in Historical Sources
- II. The Yügu as Posterity of the Sarīgh Uyghurs

I. The Sarīgh Uyghurs in Historical Sources

The Yügu as posterity of the mediaeval Sarīgh Uyghurs are now one of the minority peoples of China (PRC), and they live in the region of the Nanshan mountains near Kan-chou as well as in the Su-chou region, Kansu. The original archaic name of Yügu was Sarīgh Uyghur. Their population is now only 10,500 (in 1982), but the historical significance of this minority people lies in the fact that they may have descended from the Orkhon Uyghurs whose nomadic empire collapsed in 840 due to the invasion of the Yenisei-Qīrghīz troops.

Yügu 裕固 is an ethnic name newly created in 1953 by the minority peoples' policy of the PRC government to rename the Turkic and Mongolian speaking ethnic groups in the Nanshan mountains: Yügu means "rich and solid" in the Chinese ideograph. Before the establishment of the PRC, some of the Yügu were called Sarīgh Yughur and some Shira Yughur. Both Sarīgh Yughur and Shira Yughur who were generally called Yögür in the late-nineteenth century remind us of the mediaeval Uyghurs, especially Central Asian Sarīgh Uyghurs. The origin of the modern Yögür (or Yügu) can be traced back to the thirteenth century Sarīgh Uyghurs in the Kansu-Tsaidam frontier under the Mongol-Yüan Empire.¹⁾

It was in 1226 that the Sarīgh Uyghurs appeared for the first time in Chinese historical records. In the *Yüan-shih* 元史, under A.D. 1226, it was reported that "Sübütei 速不臺, a Mongol general, attacked Sa-li Wēi-wu-êr t'i-lé chi-mên 撒里畏兀兒特勒赤閔 as well as the towns of Tê-shun 德順, Ch'êng-hsü 鎮戍 (*alias* Ku-yüan 固原), conquered them, and fought at Lan-chou 蘭州, Hui-chou 會州, T'ao-chou 洮州 and Ho-chou 河州. He captured five hundred female horses and presented them to the Imperial court".²⁾ Sa-li Wēi-wu-êr t'i-lé chi-mên should be read as tägin chimen of the Sari Uyghurs, so it is not difficult to see that the tribesmen of the Sarīgh Uyghurs were distributed at that time around the borderland of the Kansu province. Moreover, it was

reported in the *Yüan-shih* 元史 that "in 1332 the Yüan dynasty recruited thousand soldiers from Kan-chou and five hundred from Sa-li Wêi-wu 撒里畏兀 (Sarigh Uyghur) and stationed them at San-pu-lang 參卜郎 to ward off the invasions of the T'u-fan 土蕃 (Tibetans)",³⁾ and it was also reported in 1335 that "the authorities reported to the Yüan government that gold and silver were mined in the district of the Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr of Kansu".⁴⁾ These records suggest that the Sarigh Uyghurs were closely related to the Kansu province, though their exact location is not clearly mentioned. Friar Plano Carpini, the Pope's envoy to the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, reported that "Chingis Khan, after conquering the Huiur who were Nestorianists, attacked the region of Sarihuiur and conquered it".⁵⁾ The Sarihuiur are identified with Sarigh Uyghurs, and their region may have been the Kansu frontier according to Plano Carpini's context. Both Sarihuiur and Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr are regarded as Turkic Sarī Uyghur or Sarigh Uyghur.

In 1374, five years after the collapse of the Yüan dynasty, the existence of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr was reported in the Ming annals as a tribe of the Tsaidam basin southwest of Sha-chou 沙州. The *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 reported in 1374 (the 7th year of Hung-wu 洪武): "Pu-yen T'ieh-mu-êr 卜煙帖木兒 (Buyan Temür) with the title of An-ting-wang 安定王 (Prince of Anting) reigning over the Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr of Hsi-yü 西域撒里畏兀兒, sent his envoy to the Ming court to pay homage. Seen from the Ming side, the Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr (Sarigh Uyghur) is one part of T'a-t'an 韃靼 (Tatar). Their land is wide and vast extending over thousand *li* 里, It is located one thousand and five hundred *li* away from Kansu 甘肅. In the east, it reaches to Han-tung 罕東, in the west it reaches to T'ien-ko-li 天可里, in the north it is near Kua-chou 瓜州 and Sha-chou 沙州, and borders on T'u-fan 吐蕃 in the south. As for their habitation, there are no towns and walls, but only tent-houses made of felt; they raise camels, horses, cattle and sheep".⁶⁾ According to the *Ming-shih* 明史, Bk. 330 (Hsi-yü-ch'üan 西域傳), "the Yüan dynasty invested Buyan Temür who was a member of the Imperial house with the title of Ning wang 寧王 and ordered him to be stationed in the region of An-ting-wêi 安定衛 which was originally the region of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr. Thus, it is clear that the region where Buyan Temür of the Yüan Imperial house was stationed as Ning wang in the late Yüan time and then invested there with the title of An-ting-wang 安定王 was no other than the region of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr. Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr was not a placename but an ethnic name. The region where Buyan Temür was stationed is regarded to be south of Sha-chou 沙州, ranging from the upper stream of T'ang-ho 薰河 (T'ang River) to the north border of the Tsaidam basin and to the south of Lop-nor in the west. This was the distribution of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr in the late Yüan and the early Ming time.

Here it is important to see what exactly was An-ting-wêi 安定衛, (the Military District of An-ting). The fact is that the Ming dynasty, immediately after its establishment, created four military districts outside the Chia-yü-kuan

嘉峪關, in the southwestern frontier of Kansu, in order to maintain political and military stability of the western frontier of Kansu just after the collapse of the Yüan regime: they were Han-tung-wêi 罕東衛, An-ting-wêi 安定衛, Ch'ü-hsien-wêi 曲先衛 and A-tuan-wêi 阿端衛. Han-tung-wêi was located along the southern frontier of Sha-chou, An-ting-wêi along the south of Han-tung-wêi along the northeastern frontier of the Tsaidam basin, Ch'ü-hsien-wêi along the south of An-ting-wêi and A-tuan-wêi along the south of Ch'ü-hsien-wêi.⁷⁾ In conclusion, Buyan Temür, a post-Yüan Mongolian prince who had been stationed along the Tsaidam basin as far as Kansu, surrendered to the Ming emperor to become a vassal of the Ming with the title of An-ting-wang, and his fief was established in the region of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr along the northern frontier of the Tsaidam basin: the Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr of the early Ming time were none other than the Sarihuiur or the Sarī Uyghurs of the Yüan time.

In the *Ta'rikk-i Rashīdī* compiled in 1547 by a sixteenth century Moghul historian Muḥammad Haidar Dughlat of Kashgar, it is reported that "in the north and east of Tibet, the regions of Yarkand, Khotan, Charchan, Lob-Katak and Sarīgh Uyghurs lie, and the rest of the area is *registan* (desert): this area borders on Kanju (Kan-chou) and Sakju (Su-chou)."⁸⁾ Here Lob-Katak as a placename is identified with the site of ancient Loulan.⁹⁾ In conclusion, the *Ta'rikk-i Rashīdī* pointed out specifically that the Sarīgh Uyghurs were distributed in the region near Kansu of Khitay as far as Charchan and Lob districts around the southern fringes of the Tarim basin. In addition, the *Ta'rikk-i Rashīdī* reports, "Khizr Khwaja Khan of the Moghul Ulus, fleeing away from the pursuit of Amir Qamar al-din of the Dughlat Clan who usurped the Chaghatai khanship, escaped in his childhood to Khotan and to the region of the Sarīgh Uyghurs, where he spent thirteen years (*TR*, p. 52)", and Vais Khan, the Moghul ruler (1418-28), made expeditions from the Ili region to the regions of Lob-Katak and the Sarīgh Uyghurs (*TR*, p. 64); after about 1516 onward Manşūr Khan (possibly Sa'id Khan) continually attempted to make Holy War (*ghazat*) on impious tribes called Sarīgh Uyghurs who were distributed between Khotan and Khitay (*TR*, p. 348).¹⁰⁾ It goes without saying that the Sarīgh Uyghurs who are reported in the *Ta'rikk-i Rashīdī* are identified with Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr mentioned in the *Yüan-shih* and the *Ming shih-lu* in view of their ethnic name and geographic distribution: the existence of the Sarīgh Uyghurs as specific ethnic groups is clearly ascertained.

Concerning the Sarīgh Uyghurs in the mid-sixteenth century, the accounts of the *Erdeni-yin tobchi* (The History of Jewels) compiled by Saghan Sechen are noteworthy: his accounts given in 1573 shows that "Altan Qaghan went to war, in the year of *kuei-yü* 癸酉 (1573) when sixty-seven years old, to the region of Qara Töbed, and conquered the Shira Uyghurs composed of *degedü dooratu qoyar ayimagh* (upper and lower two ayimaghs) and captured three *noyan*, Arig-Sagharskiba, Garbu-Lombum, Serteng Sered Giab of the Lower ayimagh as well as many of their people".¹¹⁾ The *Erdeni-yin tobchi* also

reported in 1596 that "formerly in the year of *ping-shên* 丙申 (1596), when thirty-two years old, Bushuqtu Jinong, a prince of Ordos went to war westward to attack Töbed, conquered Gürü-bSvod-rnam-sGial as well as the Shara Uyghur".¹²⁾ Both Shira Uyghur and Shara Uyghur reported in the above passages mean Yellow Uyghur in the Mongolian language, and it may be presumed that both names are the same as their Turkic equivalent, Sarigh Uyghur. Shara Uyghur (Shira Uyghur) were reported to be distributed in the region of Qara Töbed, which may be identified with the region of western frontier of Kansu including a part of the Ch'ing-hai province. At any rate, the Shira (Shara) Uyghurs are considered to be the same race as the Sa-li Wèi-wu-êr and Sarigh Uyghurs which appeared in the *Ta'rikh-i Rashîdî*.

The Sarigh Uyghurs were one of Turkic-speaking minority peoples along the frontier of Kansu, so records concerning them are very meagre. In the early period of the Manchu dynasty, Lingdan Khan 林丹汗 of Chaqar fled westward from the attack of the Manchu dynasty, and reached to Ta-ts'ao-t'an 大草灘 (*alias* Shira Tala) which is identified with Ta-tsao-t'an of Shira Wèi-wu-êr 錫喇偉古爾.¹³⁾ Here Shira is identical with Shira (Shara) Uyghur in above passages of the *Erdeni-yin tobchi*.

In connection with the Jungarian ruler Galdan's invasion of Ch'ing-hai 青海 which took place in the 1680s, the *Ch'ing shih-lu* 清實錄 states, "Near Kan-chou there were two tribes, the Hsi-la-ku-êr (Huang) fan-jên 西喇古爾 [黃] 番人 and the Hsi-la-ku-êr Hêi-fan-jên 西喇古爾黑番人 who were subjugated by the Jungars, and then surrendered to the Ch'ing in the 35th year of K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1696)".¹⁴⁾ Hsi-la-ku-êr (<Shiragur) is without doubt transliteration of Shira Uyghur. According to the above source, the Huang-fan-jên 黃番人 who were under the command of a chieftain by name of Ê-lê-chê-êr-hsün 厄勒者爾順 numbered 6,079, and the Hêi-fan-jên led by a chieftain La-tsa-ka-pu-chu 喇咱噶卜楚 numbered 1,169. Shiragur as an ethnic name may be derived from Shira Yugur (<Shira Uyghur), but it is not clear what exactly were the groups who were called Hêi-fan (Black Barbarians): here it is noticed that the names of the chieftains were of Tibetan origin. At any rate, the above Shiragur Yellow Barbarians may be the posterity of the Shira Uyghur of the former era. In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the existence of the Shiragur Huang-fan (Yellow Uyghurs) who must have surrendered to the Ch'ing authorities after the Jungar garrisons retreated from Kansu in 1696 was noticed by the Ch'ing authorities and recorded in the official documents of the Ch'ing dynasty.

In connection with the so-called Shiragur Huang-fans an account of the *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsin-chih* 重修肅州新志 (The Revised New Local Gazetteer of Su-chou) is noteworthy. It states: "Huang-fan 黃番 (Yellow Barbarians) were originally Shih-la-kuo 師喇國 (Shira-gu) and there were seven *tsu* 族 (tribe) along the frontier of Su-chên 肅鎮 (the Su-chou division). They were ruled by the chieftains and vice-chieftains; letters of appointment were granted to their officers. The Huang-fans were distributed at Hung-ya 紅崖, Li-yüan 梨園,

Lung-shou 龍壽, and to the south of Hung-shui 洪水 and were engaged in cattle-breeding. One hundred and thirteen horses were gathered as yearly tribute and offered to the troops stationed at Li-yüan-pao 梨園堡. These horses were raised here and used as supply for the military horses of Kan-chên 甘鎮 (the Kan-chou division) and Su-chên (the Su-chou division)".¹⁵⁾ Shi-la-kuo 師喇國 as the original name for Huang-fan must be identified with Shiragu (or the Shiragur). It is concluded that the Shiragu (or the Shiragur) were called Huang-fan 黃番 by the Ch'ing authorities of Kansu in the early eighteenth century, and the Huang-fan of Kansu were distributed mainly at the southwest of Kan-chou and were engaged in cattle-breeding along the basin of Hêi-ho (Black River) and in the Nanshan mountains.

Other passages of the *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsin-chih* 重修肅州新志 states as follows: "There were two sorts of the Barbarians in the Nanshan mountains: those located at the south of the Nanshan were called Hêi-fan and were a kind of the Tangut 唐古特, who used to live in black tents; those located at the south of K'ao-t'ai 高臺 and Ch'ang-yüeh 張掖 (Kan-chou) were called Huang-fan. They were originally called Shi-la-kuo 失喇國. Afterwards, they lived here being engaged in cattle-breeding. Both tribes had their respective *t'u-mu* 頭目 (chieftain) and the *fu-t'u-mu* 副頭目 (vice-chieftain); they received letters of appointment from the Ch'ing authorities of Kansu. They used to live in white tents. Horses offered as annual tribute to the Ch'ing totaled one hundred and thirteen".¹⁶⁾ This statement coincides fundamentally with the above statement from the same source. Shi-la-kuo 失喇國 is identical with Shi-la-kuo 師喇國 and means Shiragur. The difference is that the Huang-fans were reported to be distributed 85 km northwest of K'ao-t'ai (under Kan-chou),¹⁷⁾ but they were none other than the seven tribes of the Huang-fans, so the above two statements are of the same content. The Huang-fans (the Yellow Barbarians) were specific ethnic groups clearly distinct from the Hêi-fan (the Black Barbarians) of apparently Tibetan origin, and *huang* (yellow) was Chinese rendering of *sarigh*, *shira*. They lived in the Su-chên 肅鎮 area and in the Nanshan mountains near Kan-chou: the Huang-fans (Yellow Barbarians) are regarded to have ethnic relationship with the Shira Uyghurs and Sarigh Uyghurs of the former era.

In the *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsin-chih*, under the item of "Barbarians at Su-chou", it is stated as follows: "There were two sorts of Barbarians, namely Huang-fan 黃番 and Hêi-fan 黑番. The tribe called Huang-fan consisted of eight tribes (*tsu* 族), who dwelt at the embankment in the Su-chou area and were engaged in farming like the Chinese inhabitants, some being recruited as bond laborers and some lived by cattle-breeding". These Huang-fans are regarded to be Hsi-la-ku-êr (Shiragur) of the Su-chou district. The state of distribution of the Huang-fans at Su-chou can be tabulated as follows.¹⁸⁾ (Table 1)

It can be seen from this table that eight (or eleven) chieftains (*t'u-mu*

Table 1. The Huang-fans of the Su-chou district*(Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsün-chih 重修肅州新志)*

Su-chou-ch'êng 肅州城	village	Huang-fan <i>t'u-mu</i> 黃番頭目	household <i>hu</i> 戶	those engaged in farming <i>hu</i> 戶
suburb	San-tun 三墩	An Ch'êng-yin 安成印	52	41
suburb	Hua-chien 鱗尖	An Fu-tê 安福德	86	59
suburb	Ho-pei-pa 河北壩	Wang Ming-an 王命安	65	52
in the east	Pa-t'ou-tun 壩頭墩	Chao Chung-i 趙忠義	39	29
suburb	Ho-pei Yeh- hu-kou 河北野狐溝	Hsieh-tê 薛德	51	42
in the west	Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩	Hsieh-hui 薛輝	78	63
suburb	Shao-ch'üan-êr 小泉兒	four <i>t'u-mu</i>	41	35
in the east	Huang-ni-pao 黃泥堡	Ka-chang 嘎丈	49	41
(total)			461	362

頭目) of the Huang-fans governed 461 households (among them 362 households were farmers) in the eight small villages located in the environs and eastern suburb of the Su-chou town as well as in the eastern area of Su-chou. It is difficult to identify the exact location of these villages, but Huang-ni-pao 黃泥堡 still exists today and it has been one of major villages of the Huang-fans.¹⁹⁾ Besides Huang-ni-pao 黃泥堡, Ming-hai-tzŭ 明海子 and Lien-hua-ssŭ 蓮花寺 were also the pastures of the Su-chou Huang-fans.²⁰⁾ Ch'ing information on the Huang-fans (Yellow Barbarians) of the late-seventeenth to the early-eighteenth centuries is not always abundant in content, but, on the basis of those sources, it can be concluded as follows: In the Nanshan mountains under the administration of Kan-chou authorities, "seven tribes of Huang-fan" who were also called Shiragur were distributed as pasturers and offered horses as annual tax to the Li-yüan garrison at Kan-chou, while 461 household Huang-fans under eleven *t'u-mu* (chieftain) were mostly engaged in farming at the Su-chou town and its environs. The Ch'ing authorities of Kansu must have perceived that the Huang-fans were the descendants of the Shira Uyghur or Sarigh Uyghurs who had been minority peoples outside the Kansu frontier since the former Ming time, and for this reason, may have paid special attention to them.

Ch'ing information on the Huang-fans (Shiragur) who were distributed

in Kan-chou are noteworthy. It is important, therefore, to examine these materials in order to make clear the ethnic history of the Sarigh Uyghurs in general. There are notable accounts in the *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略²¹⁾ in the chapter concerning Kan-chou. The following are excerpts: In the neighboring districts of Kan-chou, Yeh-êr-k'ou 野兒口 near Nan-ku-ch'êng 南古城, Pan-ta-k'ou 板答口 east of Lung-shou-k'ou 龍首口, and P'ing-ting 平頂 south of Pan-ta-k'ou were pastures of the Huang-fans, and some of the Huang-fans here were called Huang-t'a-tzŭ 黃鞏子 (Yellow Tatars); at Po-lo-k'ou 啤囉口 in the Nanshan mountains west of Li-yüan-pao 梨園堡, families of Pa-ko-chia 八箇家 of the Huang-fans had their pastures along the Pa-t'ung-ho 擺通河, south of Po-lo-k'ou; and at the source of Hêi-shui 黑水 (Black River), there were pastures of the Huang-fans; at Niu-mao-shan 牛毛山, west of Ku-mu-chien 古木澗, west of Li-yüan-pao there were pastures of the Pa-ko-chia 八箇家 who were called Niu-mao Huang-fan 牛毛黃番; at Ch'ing-ku-t'a 青挖塔 located in the villages north of Niu-mao-shan with abundant yellow sheep, blue sheep, fox, hare and deer, there were pastures of the Huang-fans. Ch'ing-ku-t'a had traffic connections with Li-yüan in the east, and Hung-ya 紅崖 in the west and K'ao-t'ai in the north. Ch'ing-ku-t'a was located 130 *li* southwest of Li-yüan-pao; Tsê-lêng 仄稜 was located 30 *li* southwest of Ch'ing-ku-t'a, and the Huang-fans of this place were subject to Chin-shan 金山 (namely the Jungar rulers at Mt. Altai). At Tsê-lêng were pastures of the Lo-êr-chia 羅爾家 (the Lo-êr Family) of the Huang-fans. At Yü-mu-shan-k'ou 榆木山口 which was located to the north of Chi-lien 祁連, and west of K'ao-t'ai, there were Huang-fans who were called "seven tribes of Huang-fans". The Huang-fans were also distributed in the regions of Nuan-ch'üan 暖泉, Hsin-tun-tzŭ 新墩子 and Hung-ya-pao 紅崖堡, Ming-hai-tzŭ 明海子 which all belonged to the administration of Su-chou, and were pastures of the "seven tribes of Huang-fans".

As for the south of Kan-chou, Kan-chün-pao 甘峻堡 and Li-yüan-pao 梨園堡 were both adjacent to the pastures of the Huang-fans. The Huang-fans near Kan-chün-pao were originally natives of the Left Military District of Han-tung 罕東左衛 and surrendered to the Ming dynasty. The fact was that the Turfan troops invaded the Left Military District of Han-tung and its tribesmen removed to Kansu to settle there. In the 8th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1529) Governor Wang Ch'ung 王瓊 appealed to the Imperial court to allow them to settle at several places of Kansu, and appointed Chi-tan 枝丹 (or Pan-tan 板丹), commander of the Left Military District of Han-tung, to rule over them. They became the origin of the so-called Huang-fans of the Nanshan and Kan-chou. They were probably called Huang-t'a-tzŭ 黃鞏子 (Yellow Tatars). Li-yüan-pao 梨園堡 was situated west of Kan-chün-pao, along the branch of the Hêi-ho River, and a small number of soldiers were garrisoned here to watch the movements of the Huang-fans who had pastures outside this fort.

From the above accounts of the *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略, it is concluded that Yeh-êr-k'ou 野兒口, Pan-ta-k'ou 板答口, P'ing-ting 平頂, Po-lo-k'ou

啤囉口, Pa-t'ung-k'ou 擺通口, Niu-mao-shan 牛毛山, the Hêi-ho valley, Ku-mu-chien 古木澗, Ch'ing-ku-t'a 青圪塔, Tsê-lêng 仄稜, Yü-mu-shan-k'ou 榆木山口, Hsin-t'ung-tzŭ 新墩子, Ming-hai-tzŭ 明海子 and the Nanshan mountains adjacent to Kan-chün-pao 甘峻堡, Li-yüan-pao 梨園堡 and Hung-ya-pao 紅崖堡 were pastures of the Huang-fans who were nothing else but the Shiragur (or Shira Uyghur).

The *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略 also contains important comments on the history of some of these Huang-fans. For example, it refers to P'ing-ting 平頂 as follows: "P'ing-ting 平頂 is situated to the south of Pan-ta-k'ou. In the past T'u-lu-fan 土魯番 (Turfan) invaded Kua-chou 瓜州 and Sha-chou, and as the natives (Sarigh Uyghurs) of Kua-chou and Sha-chou came to the Chinese territory to surrender, so the Ming authorities treated them tenderly and gave each of them a fief (fêng-ti 分地). Those who settled between Kan-chou and Su-chou were called Huang-t'a-tzŭ (Yellow Tatar), and those who settled at P'ing-ting 平頂 were their relatives. At the present time (the time of K'ang-hsi), t'ien-pa 添巴 (tribute) paid by the Huang-fans are being sent to Chin-shan 金山 (the Altai Mountain, namely the Jungar headquarters)".²²⁾ This statement shows that the Huang-t'a-tzŭ or the Shiragurs who were distributed at Kua-chou and Sha-chou, after being invaded by the Turfan troops (in the Chia-ching 嘉靖 era of the Ming), took refuge in Ming China and emigrated to Su-chou and Kan-chou. The Huang-t'a-tzŭ are regarded to be the Yellow Uyghurs, but it remains to be investigated why and when they really came to be distributed at Sha-chou and Kua-chou far west of Su-chou.

Concerning the origin of the Huang-fans, the *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志 states as follows: "In the 7th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1528), Wang Ch'ung 王瓊, Governor-general (*tsung-tu* 總督) removed the tribes of Chi-tan 枝丹 (to be read as Pan-tan 板丹), who was *Han-tung tu-chih-hui-shih* 罕東都指揮使 (Chief commander of the Military District of Han-tung) to Kan-chou, because Han-tung-wèi 罕東衛 was invaded by the troops of Turfan. The natives of Han-tung were descendants of the late Mongolian dynasty and are now called Huang-fan".²³⁾ As seen from this statement, the inhabitants of the Han-tung-wèi who were invaded by the Moghul dynasty of Turfan in 1528 and then emigrated to Kan-chou were nothing else but the Yellow Uyghurs. The problem that arises here is the relation between the Left Military District of Han-tung and the Sarigh Uyghurs.

Originally, the Left Military District of Han-tung was reported to have close relation with the Sarigh Uyghurs. According to the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 in the 15th year of Ch'êng-hua 成化 (1479), the Left Military District of Han-tung was newly established, and its first chieftain was An-chang 奄章 who removed reportedly from the Military District of Han-tung. After the times of his son Pan-ma-ssŭ-chie 班麻思結, Chi-k'o 只克 (Chik?), the latter's son and commander of this Military District, emigrated into the interior of China in the 11th year of Ch'êng-tê 正德 (1516). Among the tribesmen under Chik there

must have been included some Sarīgh Uyghurs, and An-chang 奄章 seems to have adopted An 安 as his Chinese surname 安²⁴). An 安 which appears in the aforementioned Su-chou Huang-fans can be regarded to have relationship with An-chang mentioned in the *Ming shih-lu*.

We have further evidence as to the origin of the Kansu Huang-fans. A Ch'ing material states: "Five tribes of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fan 西喇古兒黃番 are distributed in the Chi-lien-shan 祁連山 (the Chi-lien mountains), . . . and they were originally under the control of Pan-tan, commander of the Left Military District of Han-tung".²⁵ Concerning Huang-ni-pao 黃泥堡 it was reported: "Its people had been subjects of Han-tung, and when they removed to Su-chou to avoid the invasion of the Turfan Khanate, they massacred the inhabitants of Huang-ni-pao".²⁶ This account indicates that the Huang-fans at Huang-ni-pao had been refugees from the Left Military District of Han-tung. Consequently, it is highly probable that the Huang-fans at Huang-ni-pao were Sarīgh Uyghur groups who had been under the loose jurisdiction of the Left Military District of Han-tung.

As mentioned above, the Huang-fans as natives of the Left Military District of Han-tung surrendered to the Ming in 1529 and were settled down in several places of Kansu. As Manşūr Khan of Turfan invaded from Qomul to Su-chou in 1528, Sarīgh Uyghurs who were distributed at that time in the regions of Kua-chou, Sha-chou as far as the Han-tung district must have taken refuge in Kansu; after settling down in Su-chou and Kan-chou, they have come to be called by the Chinese name Huang-fan 黃番 or Huang-t'a-tzū 黃韃子. In view of historical development of the Sarīgh Uyghurs, the Huang-fans of 1528-29 are identical with the Sarīgh Uyghurs recorded in the *Ta'rikk-i Rashīdī* dated 1547, and also with the Shira Uyghurs reported in the *Erdeni-yin tobchi* in 1573 and 1597: they are regarded to be descendants of the Sarīgh Uyghur refugees of 1528-29. It may be concluded that the Sarīgh Uyghur (Sarihuiur) had pastures around the Han-tung and An-ting districts in the southwest frontier of Sha-chou in the fourteenth century, and they were invaded by the Turfan troops who marched into Kansu in 1528-29, and submitted to the Ming to take refuge in Su-chou and Kan-chou. Since then, they have come to be known as Shirā Uyghur, Hsi-la-ku-êr (Shiragur), and Huang-fan in Mongolian and Chinese sources.

There are some data concerning the group or tribal constitution of the Huang-fans. Among the Nanshan Huang-fans, those groups who had pastures at Yü-mu-shan-k'ou 榆木山口, Pan-ko-shan 半個山, Shui-kuan-k'ou 水關口, Ch'opo-k'ou 綽啤口, Shui-hui-kuan 水會關 and Ming-hai-tzū 明海子 were called the seven tribes of Huang-fans; those at Ch'ing-ku-t'a 青圪塔 were called five tribes of Huang-fans 黃番五族 or Wu-ko pa-yen Huang-fans 五箇擺眼黃番 (five Bayan Huang-fan); those at Niu-mao-shan were called Pa-ko-chia Huang-fan 八箇家黃番 (Eight Families of the Huang-fans); those at Tsê-lêng 灰稜 were called Lo-êr-chia Huang-fan (the Lo-êr Family of Huang-fan) 羅兒家黃番. The Huang-

fans at Po-lo-k'ou 啤囉口 were called Pa-ko-chia Huang-fan 八箇家黃番 and were reportedly removed there by the Ming authorities.²⁷⁾ Concerning the Huang-fan at 仄稜 Tsê-lêng, it is especially reported: "They were all subordinate to Chin-shan 金山. The Family of Lo-êr-chia had pastures at Tsê-lêng, and the wife of the chieftain was a younger-sister of Ka-êr-tan 夏尔旦 (Galdan)".²⁸⁾ Tsê-lêng 仄稜 was situated in the T'o-lai-shan 托來山 (Mt. Tolai), along the northern border of the Ch'ing-hai province, around the upper stream of Hêi-shui (Black River). The fact that a Huang-fan chieftain had married a sister of Galdan Bushuqtu, Jungar ruler, who was based in the Altai mountains (Chin-shan 金山) was probable in view of the Jungar occupation of the Hsi-la-ku-êr (Shiragur) which took place for a while during the 1680s.

The so-called Huang-fan ch'i-tsu 黃番七族 (seven tribes of Huang-fan) is interpreted to be the general designation of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fan (Shiragur Yellow Barbarians) who were distributed in the Su-chou and Kan-chou districts including the Nanshan area. However, we do not have further information on the "seven tribes" in the eighteenth-century Ch'ing source.

Concerning the Huang-fans under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou-fu 甘州府, it is reported that the five tribes of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fan 西喇古兒黃番 were under the administration of Li-yüan-ying 梨園營 (the Li-yüan garrison) which had been created in 1628, and that three groups of the Tangut Hêi-fan (Tangut Black Barbarians) were under the administration of the Kan-chou town garrison. The Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fans under the Li-yüan garrison consisted of five *tsu* 族 (five tribes or families), whose main pastures were at Niu-hsin-t'an 牛心灘, Ssü-man 思曼, Niu-mao-shan 牛毛山, Pên-mu-êr-kan 本木耳干 and Pan-ko-shan 半個山, and each group had a chieftain and a vice-chieftain. Their population totaled 6,137 and they offered 82 horses as annual tribute to the Ch'ing authorities of Li-yüan-ying.²⁹⁾ The names of the five groups are not reported in this source, but some details were recorded by T'ao Pao-lien 陶保廉 in the 1890s, who commented as follows: In the Ch'i-lien-shan 祁連山, 120 *li* to the southwest of Li-yüan-ying 梨園營 were distributed the Huang-fans who consisted of five families, namely Ta-t'u-mu-chia 大頭目家, Yang-ka-chia 羊戛家, Wu-ko-chia 五箇家, Pa-ko-chia 八箇家 and Lo-êr-chia 羅爾家³⁰⁾ This information indicates that the so-called Huang-fan wu-tsu 黃番五族 (five tribes of the Huang-fans) consisted of five *chia* 家, which may mean clan or family, and probably *otok* in the Yögur language. (Table 2)

It can be said that the five tribes of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fans under five *t'u-mu* (chieftain) as descendants of the Sarïgh Uyghurs or Shira Uyghurs had pastures in the Nanshan mountains under the administration of Li-yüan-ying 梨園營, Kan-chou. The five tribes of the Kan-chou Huang-fans were governed by five chieftains in the late-nineteenth century and constituted the so-called Huang-fan ch'i-tsu 黃番七族 together with the other two *otoks* (tribes) at Su-chou. The Kan-chou Huang-fans had ethnic and historical relations with the Su-chou Huang-fans, although both were not original natives there.

Table 2. Five *otoks* of the Kan-chou Huang-fans

Source	甘州府志 <i>Kan-chou fu-chih</i> 1779		辛卯侍行記 <i>Hsin-mao hsi-hsing-chi</i> 1892		
Group	Pasture	Pop.	Group (<i>chia</i>)	Pasture	Pop.
	Niu-hsin-t'an 牛心灘	1053	Ta-t'u-mu-chia 大頭目家	Niu-hsin-t'an 牛心灘	160
	Ta-niu-mao-shan 大牛毛山	1689	Yang-ka-chia 羊戛家	Niu-mao-shan 牛毛山	400
	Ssü-man 思曼	1566	Wu-ko-chia 五箇家	Ssü-man 思曼	100
	Pên-mu-êr-kan 本木耳干	992	Pa-ko-chia 八箇家	Po-lo-k'ou 啞囉口	100
	Pan-ko-shan 半個山	837	Lo-êr-chia 羅爾家	Hai-ya-kou 海牙溝	100

There are some other historical evidence on the Kan-chou Huang-fans. The *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志 states, under the 35th year of K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1696): "The ancestors of the chieftains of the Kan-chou Huang-fans were forced to pay t'ien-pa 添巴 (tribute) to Galdan, Jungar Khan, who conquered the subordinate natives, and the Huang-fans were also persecuted and distressed by the Jungars for a long time. Then the Huang-fans surrendered to the Ch'ing, and in the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), they were settled down in the Kan-chou region. Since then, eighty years have elapsed (this happens to be 1779). Their chieftains were granted the hereditary title of the Ch'ing office".³¹⁾ As indicated by this statement, the Kan-chou Hsi-la-ku-êr who had been subjugated by Galdan submitted to the Ch'ing in 1698 after the Jungar troops were expelled from Ch'ing-hai and Kansu frontier in 1696. On the other hand, it was stated in the *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志, Bk. 16, under "Miscellaneous items", as follows: "To the east of the Nanshan mountains and Hêi-shui 黑水 were distributed Hêi-fan 黑番, while to the west the Huang-fans were distributed. The so-called Huang-fans were originated from the former T'a-t'an 韃靼 (Mongolian) lineage, and they were all collateral offsprings of the Yüan 元 dynasty. At the end of the Ming dynasty they were permitted to emigrate to the Nanshan mountains of Kan-chou. Hêi-fan 黑番 were of Ch'iang 羌 (Tibetan) stock of the ancient times and were distributed now between Hsi-liang 西涼 and Liang-chou 涼州. The Huang-fans were commonly called Huang-t'a-tzü (Yellow Tatars) and the Hêi-fans were called Fan-tzü 番子 (Tibetans)".³²⁾ As indicated by this statement, the Huang-fans were regarded to be of Tatar-Mongolian stock and also collateral descendants of the Yüan dynasty. This statement is not necessarily accurate, but it seems to attribute the origin of the Huang-fans (originally Sarigh Uyghurs) to the Mongolian Empire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is especially noteworthy

that they reportedly emigrated to the Nanshan mountains of Kan-chou in the Ming time. They must have been driven from their original habitats around Sha-chou in the mid-sixteenth century, and emigrated to the Kansu province to become the so-called "horse-tax paying" subjects of the Ming dynasty; after that, they became subjects of the Jungar powers, and then became "horse-tax paying" subjects of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1696 under the control of Li-yüan-ying 梨園營 (the Li-yüan garrison) attached to Kan-chou-fu.

As stated above, the Kan-chou Huang-fans were distributed in the valleys of the Nanshan mountains. Hêi-shui 黑水 which flows through the eastern suburb of the Kan-chou town from north to south is no other than the upper stream of Echina River, and it is also called Kan-chou River or Hêi-ho 黑河: this river turns into a tributary which flows from west to east in the Nanshan mountains. According to the *Kan-chou fu-chih*, the Hêi-fans 黑番 were distributed in the east of Hêi-shui and Hung-shui-ying 洪水營 (now Ming-lo 民樂) which was named after Hung-shui-ho 洪水河, while Nan-ku-chêng-ying 南古城營 was situated between Hung-shui-ho and Hêi-shui. The pastures of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fans were located in the north of Hêi-shui and they were under the jurisdiction of Li-yüan-ying. A passage in the *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略 Bk. 4 (under Kan-chou-wêi 甘州衛) states that "Kan-chün-pao 甘峻堡 was located at 60 *li* southwest of Kan-chou and Li-yüan-ying was located in the west of Kan-chün-pao. Li-yüan-ying was located at 90 *li* southwest of the Kan-chou town. The pastures of the five tribes of the Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fans were in the Nanshan mountains at 100 *li* southwest of Li-yüan-ying".

On the basis of the above accounts of the Ming and Ch'ing sources, it can be concluded as follows: A minority people by the name of Hsi-la-ku-êr (Shiragur) Huang-fans had pastures in the Nanshan mountains in the southwest of Kan-chou-fu town in the late-seventeenth century: they consisted of about 6,000 tribesmen controlled by *t'u-mu* 頭目 (chieftain). Their ancestors emigrated from the Han-tung region to Sha-chou in the mid-sixteenth century (the middle era of the Ming), and then emigrated from Sha-chou into the territory of Kansu, some of them settled down in Su-chou, some migrated to the Nanshan area west of Hêi-shui (Black River), where they were finally settled, partly being engaged in farming and partly in cattle-breeding. In the late-seventeenth century they were temporarily placed under the Jungar powers. Then their chieftains finally became the so-called "horse-tax paying" natives of the Ch'ing China after 1696 when they submitted to the Manchu dynasty. The Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fans were regarded by the Ch'ing authorities to be of T'a-t'an (Tatar, Mongolian) origin and were sometimes called Huang-t'a-tzũ (Yellow Tatars). The ethnic name "Shiragur" (>Hsi-la-ku-êr) shows that the Huang-t'a-tzũ or Huang-fans were the descendants of the Shira Uyghurs of the former times which must have originated from the Sarigh Uyghurs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the other hand, several hundred Huang-fans were distributed at the Su-chou town and its neighbor-

hood, but Ch'ing information on them are scarce. Thus, the distribution and history of Sa-li Wêi-wu-êr, Sarihuiur, Sarigh Uyghur, Shira Uyghur, Hsi-la-ku-êr (Shiragur) Huang-fans can be traced in written sources. But Ming and Ch'ing sources were not in a position to record matters concerning such a minority and uninfluential people of the Kansu province, so further detailed information cannot be had so long as Ch'ing official sources are concerned.

II. The Yügu as Posterity of the Sarigh Uyghur

Since the end of the nineteenth century explorers, anthropologists and linguists of Europe and Russia visited the Kansu province to make scientific investigations and found some ethnic groups who were regarded to be of Turkic stock. First of all, G. N. Potanin who made exploration of the Tangut province (Ch'ing-hai and Kansu) in 1884-86, visited the villages and pastures of the so-called Yögurs who consisted of seven *otok* and were distributed in and around the Nanshan mountains and at the Su-chou area.³³⁾ He discovered two groups of the native Yögurs, that is, Mongolian-speaking Shira Yögurs and Turkic-speaking Qara Yögurs, who were all called Huang-fan (Yellow Barbarians) by the Chinese. The Shira Yögurs under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou consisted of five eastern *otoks* (in Chinese *chia* 家). The five *otoks* that were known only in Chinese and Yögurian were the following: Pa-ga-ma-dzha (Naiman gulma), U-ga-ma-dzha (Tabyn gulma), Sy-ga-ma-dzha (Durman gulma), Shi-i-ga-ma-dzha (Kharban-niga gulma) and Shi-u-ga-ma-dzha (Kharbantabyn gulma). *Gulma* (or *kolma*) means "horse" in the Tibetan language. *Naiman* or *pa-ko* (eight) and the other numbers were adopted from the number of horses which the respective *otoks* paid as annual tribute to the Ch'ing authorities.

The Yögurs were distributed on the hillside and in the valleys of the Nanshan mountains: they spoke a dialect of the Mongolian language. On the other hand, the Qara Yögurs (to be read Sarö Yögur) who were under the jurisdiction of the Su-chou authorities consisted of two western *otoks*, namely, Yaglak and Khurungut, and were distributed on the plains of the Su-chou region: they spoke a dialect of the Turkic language. The Qara (or Sarö) Yögurs were also called Huang-fan by the Chinese. All the Yögurs consisted of "bone", that is, "families or clans".

According to G. N. Potanin, all the Yögurs were Lamaists. Each *otok* had a Lamaist temple, and there were seven major temples all over the Yögur country: they were Edzhinei-khit, Rtangu (in Chinese Kanlosy <K'ang-lung-ssü 康龍寺), Kopeke, Peiran (the temple of the Yaglak *otok*). The Yögurs did not have their own letters, but the Lamaist priests read Buddhistic canons. Many of the Yögurs were engaged in cattle-breeding, while some were engaged in farming at the Su-chou area. The Yögurs reportedly emigrated from a place

called Sechzhe-Khachzhin to the Nanshan. The Chinese called this place Shilagu. The Khan of the Yögurs was reportedly Hor-Geser chavu, and the Khan was Batur Qongtaiji (Jungar Kontaisha) of the Ming time.³⁴⁾

C. G. Mannerheim who made explorations in East Turkistan and China proper's northwest frontier in 1906-08 also visited the villages and pastures of the Sarö Yögurs and Shera (= Shira) Yögurs in the Kansu province at the end of 1907.³⁵⁾ The results of C. G. Mannerheim's investigations were as follows: "The Yögurs of Machuangtzü village in the Su-chou district called themselves Sarö Yögur (Yellow Uyghurs), while the Chinese called them Huang-fan-tzū. Their legends say that their ancestors had emigrated from the West a thousand years ago. The town where they originally lived was called Shiche-Hache (*alias* Shidsja-Hadsje) which the Chinese called Chenfu tun".³⁶⁾ This town was located in the west or southwest at a distance of forty-five days' journey, and lay along the bank of a river surrounded by high mountains. At Shiche-Hache, a temple was founded in a cave among the mountains. According to another tradition, the Yögurs emigrated to the present place in the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) to avoid epidemic diseases. Some of the Yögurs settled down at the south of Su-chou and in the mountains to the southwest, while the rest settled down in the plains. Those who settled down nearest to Su-chou were intermingled with the local Chinese, but the rest kept their own language.³⁷⁾

C. G. Mannerheim said furthermore, "In the mountains south of Kan-chou there are Huang-fan-tzū who speak another language which resembles to the Mongolian language, while the language of the Huang-fan-tzū at Su-chou resembles to the Kirgiz language and the Turkic language of the Sarts. The written language of the Yögurs is not known. The Sarö Yögurs have fixed habitats, but do not farm, and cattle-breeding is their only means of living".³⁸⁾

The summary of the above accounts is that Sarö Yögur meant Yellow Uyghur (Yögur) whom the Chinese called Huang-fan (Yellow Barbarians); they were distributed in the Su-chou district as well as in the Nanshan mountains as cattle-breeders and they spoke Sarö Yögurian, a dialect of the Turkic language; they emigrated a thousand years ago from a town called Shiche-Hache situated in the west of Su-chou at distance of forty-five days' journey, and moved to the present habitation in the era of K'ang-hsi of the Ch'ing dynasty.

C. G. Mannerheim also reported on the Shera (= Shira) Yögurs as follows: "Twenty-three or four km southwest of Kan-chou there is the town Li-yen (Li-yüan), and near it there is a village called Kanchen'pu (Kan-chün-pao) along the upper stream of Hêi-ho. On its west bank, on the hillside of the Nanshan mountains, there is the magnificent temple of the Yögurs, K'anlung-ssü, which is majestic and of the Tibetan style. The Shera Yögurs lived in the mountains along the many tributaries of the Khara Murin (Black River, that is, Hêi-ho). The Shera Yögurs were under the control of five chieftains

(*t'u-mu* 頭目) and five vice-chieftains, who were under the rule of a great chieftain. The public office of the Yögür chieftains was called *nuyun* (<*noyan*) or official which was hereditary and the officials were allowed to wear a buttoned cap of the Ch'ing mandarin. As annual tribute twenty-three horses were sent to the commander of Kan-chou through the officer of Li-yüan-ying.³⁹⁾ According to a legend of the Yögurs, they lived in the former days in a district in the north or northwest outside of the Gate (Chia-yü-kuan 嘉峪關) which was called Tangutá in the Chinese language and Shiche-Hache in their own language; some called it Shilagu. They left this place to emigrate to the present region in a very remote past. They reportedly moved to this region in the reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙, and the K'anglungssü temple was erected in the reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi. The gate of the temple bears a framed tablet with the name of K'ang-hsi. C. G. Mannerheim found at K'anglungssü a *ling-pai* 令牌 (tablet of appointment) which was given to a *t'u-mu* who had newly emigrated to the Li-yüan district, and dated the thirty-fifth year of K'ang-hsi (1696).⁴⁰⁾ C. G. Mannerheim reported: "The Shera Yögurs regarded themselves as of Mongolian origin, though they nevertheless thought that they belonged to the Sarö Yögurs who were different from themselves in terms of language. The Shera Yögurs regarded the Sarö Yögurs to be Tshantu (*chanto*) or Sart (the Turbaned Muslims of modern Sinkiang), and also to be Qara Yögurs. The Shera Yögurs believed that both groups (namely Shera Yögurs and Sarö Yögurs) who had lived in Tangutá in the old days left the original place at the same time. The Shera Yögurs had a number of "bones" which were common with the bones of the Sarö Yögurs. The Shera Yögurs consisted of eight *otoks* (administrative division), while the Sarö Yögurs consisted of two *otoks*". (Table 3)⁴¹⁾ Here we can see that aforementioned "Five tribes of Huang-fans" reported in Chinese source and by G. N. Potanin correspond to these eight *otoks*.

On the basis of the above accounts we can summarize as follows: In the early twentieth century, the Shira (Shera) Yögurs had pastures in the region southwest of Kan-chou in the valleys of the upper stream of Hêi-ho in the Nanshan mountains with their center at K'ang-lung-ssü, and were under the control of the Ch'ing garrison at Li-yüan-ying, Kan-chou. They were generally called Huang-fan (five tribe Huang-fan) who were controlled by five *t'u-mu* (chieftain. Later eight family or *chia* 家), and they spoke a dialect of the Mongolian language; they had a legend concerning their emigration from the West, and their original dwelling place was called Tangutá, Shiche-Hache and Shilagu.

It can be concluded as follows: In the early twentieth century the Yögurs were distributed in the Su-chou and Kan-chou districts, and the Yögür groups at the Su-chou district were called Sarö Yögurs (in G. N. Potanin Qara Yögür) who spoke a dialect of the Turkic language; the Yögurs in the valleys of the Nanshan mountains along the upper stream of Hêi-ho (Kan-chou

Table 3. Groups of the modern Yögurs (Yughurs)

Source	1884-86	1907	1911	-1950
Group	G. N. POTANIN	C. G. MANNERHEIM	S. E. MALOV	PRC data
Sarö Yögur	Yaglak	Yaglakyr	Yaghlakhqar	亞拉格家
	Khurungut	Khurungut	Khurangat	賀郎格家
Shira Yögur	Pa-ga-ma-dzha (Naiman gulma)	Pako-ma-cha [chia] (Neiman golma otok)		八箇馬家
	U-ga-ma-dzha (Tabyn gulma)	Wuko-cha (Päyat tavyn otok)		五箇馬家 (五箇家)
	Sy-ga-ma-dzha (Durman gulma)	Ssuko-ma-cha (Dörven kolma otok) (Durban golma)		四箇馬家
	Shi-i-ga-ma-dzha (Kharban-niga-ma-dzha)	Shi-iko-ma-cha (Yanga otok) (Harban-niga golma)		十一箇馬家 (楊哥家)
	Shi-u-ga-ma-dzha (Kharban-tabyn-golma) (Ta-t'u-mu-dzha)	Shi-wuko-ma-cha (Shkatok otok) (Harban-tabyn golma)		十五箇馬家 (大頭目家)
		Pako-cha (Neiman otok)		八箇家
		Leoko-cha (Loga) (Kurke otok)		羅爾家
	Ment'ai-cha (Nansö otok)		曼臺家	

River) situated to the southwest of Kan-chou were called Shira Yögurs and spoke the Mongolian language. These are the so-called Five Tribe Huang-fans reported in the Ch'ing source. The Sarö Yögurs and Shira Yögurs spoke different language, but both were of the opinion that they had emigrated from a place called Shiche-Hache (or Sechzhe-Khachzhin) in the West. The Ch'ing authorities at Kansu collectively called them Huang-fan (Yellow Barbarian). It goes without saying that the Chinese *huang* (yellow) is nothing else but the Chinese rendering for Turkic *sarö* (*sari*, *sarigh*) and Mongolian *shira* which both mean yellow. The Ch'ing authorities thought it inconvenient to use such Turkic and Mongolian expressions, so they used the Chinese naming *huang* for *sari*, *sarigh* and *shira*. Of these Yögurs, the Sarö Yögurs speak a Turkic dialect, so they may be the core groups descended from the Sarigh Uyghur who appeared in history in the thirteenth century, while the Shira Yögurs may be identical with the Shira Uyghur of the former era. The latter are supposed to be Mongolized portion of the Turkic Sarigh Uyghurs or they may be the ethnic groups of Mongolian origin in the Mongolian Empire who joined the Sarigh Uyghur groups after the collapse of the

Mongolian-Yüan Empire.

New materials concerning the modern Sarigh Uyghurs were published by S. E. Malov, who visited the valleys and pastures of the *Zhëltye ujugury* (Sarigh or Yellow Uyghurs) in Kansu in 1910, 1911 and 1913, to investigate the Turkic dialects and their oral literatures spoken by the Sarigh Uyghurs. The following are substantial accounts of S. E. Malov's investigations on the Yellow Uyghurs in Kansu.⁴²⁾ The Yellow Uyghurs were distributed in the valleys of the Nanshan mountains to the south of Su-chou in the west of Kan-chou and on the northern slopes of Mt. Ch'i-lien-shan; they called themselves Sarigh Yughurs. Among them those who lived in the plains were called *ojligh* (peoples of the plains), while those who lived in the mountains were called *taghligh* (mountaineers). Their population totaled 10,000: they were Buddhists and Shamanists, and were mainly engaged in cattle-breeding (horse, goat, sheep, camel, ass and mule). The modern Yellow Uyghurs consist of four groups, which differ ethnically and linguistically from each other. The Sarigh Yughurs who spoke the Turkic language are distributed at Lien-hua and Ming-hai in the Su-chou district; the Mongolian-speaking Shira Yughurs are distributed at Kanlochu (< K'ang-lung-ssü) and Matisy (< Ma-ti-ssü 馬蹄寺), to south of Kan-chou, in the area of the Nanshan mountains; the other groups of the Shira Yughurs live in the Yügei region of Ch'ing-hai (Köke-nor); the Chinese-speaking Yughurs are distributed at Chentan (前灘), east of Lien-hua-ssü, and at Huang-ni-pao. The Turkic-speaking Yughurs consider themselves to be oldest in origin, and call themselves and the Mongolian-speaking groups Sarigh Yughurs, and regarded these to be of the same stock, while the Mongolian-speaking Yughur called the Turkic-speaking Yughur Qara Yughurs. The Sarigh Yughurs called their own language *Yughur söz* (Yughur language) and the language of the Shira Yughurs *inghar söz* (unknown, stranger's language).⁴³⁾

S. E. Malov reported as follows: "The Yellow Yughurs consist of four groups in view of their ethnic and linguistic characteristics; among them the Turkic-speaking Sarigh Yughurs may have descended from the thirteenth century Sarigh Uyghurs; the Sarigh Yughurs live at Lien-hua-ssü and Ming-hai in the Su-chou district; besides them there were Chinized and Tibetan-speaking Yughurs". In terms of the ethno-linguistic relationship with the mediaeval Uyghurs, the Turkic-speaking Sarigh Yughurs (Sarigh Uyghur, Sarö Yögür) groups are especially noticeable, and all the oral literature selected by S. E. Malov were those of the Turkic-speaking Sarigh Yughurs at Lien-hua-ssü. These materials included a large amount of important information which is necessary for the elucidation of ethnic history of the Sarigh Uyghurs.⁴⁴⁾

According to the latest investigations of the PRC,⁴⁵⁾ the Yügu 裕固 (the newly created name for the former Yögür, Yughur) who speak the western Yügu language consisted of such families (*chia* 家) as Ya-la-ko 亞拉格 (Yalaga,

Yaglak), Ho-lang-ko 賀郎格 (Khurungut) and Hsi-pa-ko 西八箇 (Western Eight), whose main habitats were Lien-hua 蓮花, Ming-hai 明海, Lo-tung 洛東, Hsüeh-ch'üan 雪泉, Shui-kuan 水關 and so forth. The Eastern Yügu (or Mongolian)-speaking Yügu consist of Ta-t'u-mu-chia 大頭目家 (Family of the Great chieftain), Wu-ko-chia 五箇家 (Family of Five), Yang-ko-chia 楊哥家 (Family of Yanga), Tung-pa-ko-chia 東八箇家 (Family of Eastern Eight), Ssü-ko-ma-chia 四箇馬家 (Family of Four horses) and others, who are mainly distributed in the eastern region of the Autonomous Prefecture of the Yügu 裕固族自治縣⁴⁶⁾. These accounts show that the Huang-fans consist of nine *chia* 家 (family) and that the accounts have much in common with the information of G. N. Potanin, C. G. Mannerheim and T'ao Pao-lien 陶保廉. According to other scholars of the PRC⁴⁷⁾, the Yügu consisted of nine families (*chia* 家) or ten families before the PRC was established.

In conclusion, the Yügu before the establishment of the PRC consisted of ten *chia* 家 (family) including the Ya-la-ko-chia (Yaghlaqar family) and Ho-lang-ko-chia 賀郎格家 (Khurungut family). *Chia* 家 may be identical with former *tsu* 族 (or *otok*), so the Huang-fan *ch'i-tsu* 黃番七族 (Seven Tribe Huang-fan or *djiti otok*)⁴⁸⁾ seem to have increased to nine or ten families. The fact that the present-day Yügu have a ten-family system coincides with the results of investigations by G. N. Potanin and C. G. Mannerheim in broad outline.

We do not have enough information for elucidating the ethnic history of the Yügu (Sarö Yögur, Shira Yögur, Hsi-la-ku-êr and Sarigh Uyghur), but investigations and reports of G. N. Potanin and C. G. Mannerheim contain some valuable suggestions for this problem. Firstly, G. N. Potanin stated: Besides consisting of *otoks*, the Yögurs consisted of "bones", namely clans, which were not an administrative, but the social and conventional institution. The Yögurs did not marry women of the same "bone". G. N. Potanin enumerated about fourteen "bone" names. The bones of the Yögurs were Khurungut, Yaglak, Pegeshi, Patan, Chunsà, Rkomdzhyuk, Glan, Kyrkys (Qırqız), Temurchin, Mnyag, Chanban, Uirat, Tuman and Andzhan.⁴⁹⁾ According to C. G. Mannerheim, the bones of the Shira Yögurs were Tokshu (there were 5 households), Örgé (20), Sultus (8-9), Turgush (2), Kargos (10-15), Arlat (2), Kong (2-3), Lantshak (30-35), Sockä (1), Khongrott (3), Temyrt (2), Yaglakyr (4), Tshungsa (6), Tshangban (20-25), Rkomdjuk (4), Glan (2), Kyrgys (7-8), Andzhan (the bone from which *t'u-mu* was elected), Tuman and Uirat which were common in the Shira and Sarö Yögurs, but Tuman among the Shira Yögurs had only two households.⁵⁰⁾ The Sarö Yögurs had, besides Tuman and Uirat, Minack (Mnyag), Patan and Pegeshi. Those who belonged to the same bone were not permitted to be married.⁵¹⁾ The materials gathered by C. G. Mannerheim were more detailed than those of G. N. Potanin. For convenience' sake the materials will be shown in the following table together with the latest materials collected by S. E. Malov and

Table 4. "Bone" names of the modern Yögurs

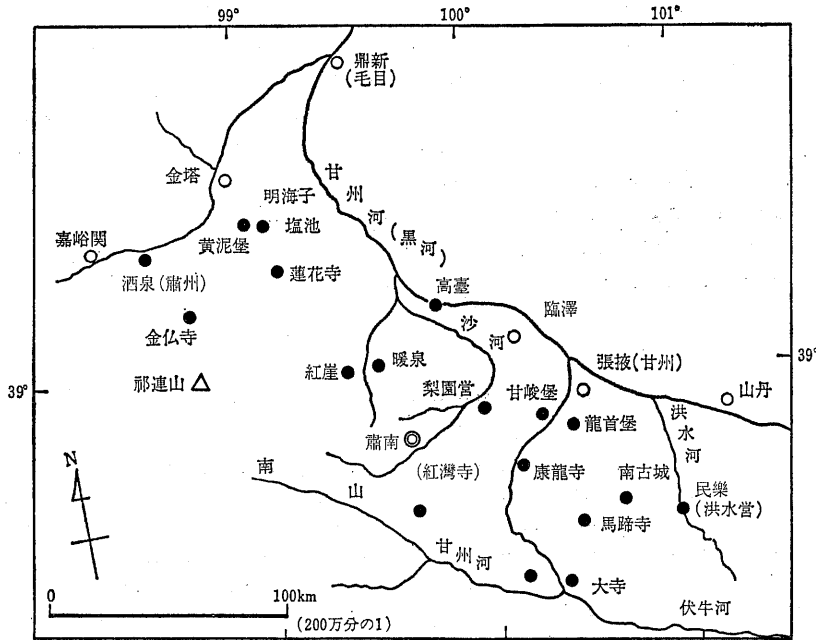
G. N. POTANIN 1893	C. G. MANNERHEIM 1907		E. R. TENISHEV 1965
Yögür	Yögür		Yughur~Yuigu
	Shira Yögür	Sarö Yögür	
	Tokshu Örgé Sultus Turgush Kargos Arlat Kong Lantshak Sockä		Toghshi Örge Soltus Kargos Arlat Kong
Khurungut	Khongrott		Khurangat
Temurchin	Temÿrt		Kongyrat
Yaglak	Yaglakyр		Temürchin
Chungsa	Thsungsa		Yaghlakhqar
Changban	Tshangban		Chunsa
Rkomzhyuk	Rkomdjuk		Changban
Glan	Glan		
Kyrkys	Kyrgyz		Kyrqyz
Andzhan	Andjan		Andzhan
Tuman	Tuman	Tuman	Tuman
Uirat	Uirot	Uirot	Oirat
Mnyag		Minack	
Patan		Patan	Patan
Pegeshi		Pegeshi	Pegeshi
			Paghana
			Pei
			Pashu
			Paghlyq
			Zhun
			Kadzhan
			Kamer
			Chunghyl
			Kulin
			Erker
			Kalka
			Shartyn
			Syna
			Sokalygh
			Vai

E. R. Tenishev.⁵²⁾ (Table 4)

According to C. G. Mannerheim, the bones of the Shira Yögurs totaled twenty, and those of the Sarö Yögurs numbered five. Among the bones of the Yögurs, Sultus (Suldus), Turgush (Türgish), Khongrott (Kongyrat), Temÿrt (Temurchim), Kong, Yaghlaqar, Kyrgyz, Uiro (Oirat) were as same as tribal names of the Turkic and Mongolian tribes that originated in the period from the Orkhon Uyghurs down to the Mongolian Empire. Especially noteworthy is Yaghlaqar (Yaglakyr, Yaglak) which may be identical with 藥羅葛 (iak-lakat) or 夜落隔 (ia-lagh-kegh), the royal clan name of the Chiu-hsing hui-ho k'o-han 九姓回紇可汗 (Nine Surname Uyghur Qaghan): the Qaghan of the so-called Kan-chou Uyghur 甘州回紇 was called Yalaqa (Yaghlaqar), though relationship between the Sarigh Uyghurs and the Kan-chou Uyghurs remains to be investigated. Then, Mnyag (Mi-nyag, Minack) means Tangut (Hsi-hsia), and Glan, Lantshak (Lan-chaq), Rkomdzhuk (<rgom-rgyuq) are ethnic names of Tibetan stock. The fact that clan-names, such as Yaghlaqar, Bashmil, Türgish, Qirqiz etc. have been preserved among the Kansu Yögurs seems to show that the ethnic origin of the Yögurs may date back to the thirteenth century Uyghurs whose core group may be Sarigh Uyghurs (Yellow Uyghurs) under the Mongolian Empire. They must have been the ancestors of the Sarö Yögurs of the Ming and Ch'ing times. After the collapse of the Mongolian-Yüan dynasty Mongolian tribal troops stationed in the Kansu-Tsaidam frontier must have joined the native Sarigh Uyghur tribes to form an ethnic federation, while the Mongolian tribes of the Yüan time must be origin of the Mongolian-speaking Shira Uyghur group. It is natural that both Sarigh Uyghurs and Shira Uyghurs afterwards mingled and intermarried with the native Tangut-Tibetan tribes in the Nanshan mountains. That was why some Tibetan clans joined the Yögur society.

In connection with the Sarigh Uyghurs (Yellow Uyghurs) historical existence of the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho 黃頭回紇 (Yellow Head Uyghurs) mentioned in the Sung source of the eleventh century is especially noteworthy. The Huang-t'ou Uyghurs have been regarded as antecedents of the thirteenth century Sarigh Uyghurs, if not yet precisely examined. So far as Sung source are concerned, the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs were probably distributed along the northern frontier of the Tsaidam basin and in the deserts from the Lop-nor region to outside Sha-chou. But we do not have enough information on the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs, especially on their ethnographical features. The meaning of Huang-t'ou 黃頭 (Yellow Head) is not clear: we can only suppose that it may mean "light, yellowish hair" or "yellow-turbaned", while we also suppose that "yellow" may be some symbol of their ethnic origin. Though we do not have direct evidence to identify the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs with the Sarigh Uyghurs of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, but, in view of their geographical distribution and ethnic name (yellow, sarigh), the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs may well be regarded as antecedents of the Sarigh Uyghurs of

Villages and pastures of the Yögurs



- Pastures of the Sarö and Shira Yögurs (Yügu)
- ◎ The Autonomous Prefecture of the Su-nan Yü-ku-tsu

the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. At the same time, the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs are regarded as possible posterity of the dispersed Uyghur nomads after the collapse of the Orkhon Uyghur Empire.⁵³⁾

Conclusion

On the basis of Chinese sources of the Ming and Ch'ing times and the investigations by modern explorers, such as G. N. Potanin and C. G. Mannerheim, it is concluded that the origin of the Yügu of Kansu, China can be traced back to the Sa-li Wéi-wu-êr (Sarigh Uyghurs) who were distributed along the Tsaidam-Kansu frontier as far as Sha-chou in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. In the mid-sixteenth century the Sarigh Uyghurs removed from their homeland, due to the invasion of the Turfan Khanate, to Su-chou and Kan-chou under the Ming dynasty. In the eighteenth century, under the Ch'ing dynasty, they were called Shira Uyghur, Shiragur or Huang-fan (Yellow Barbarians), and sometimes Huang-t'a-tzü (Yellow Tatars). In the early twentieth century, the Turkic-speaking groups of them were called Sarö Yögur (or Yughur), and the Mongolian-speaking groups Shira

Yögür. They were distributed as cattle-breeders in the valleys of the Nanshan mountains as well as in the plains of the Su-chou district. They consisted of seven *otoks* (in Chinese *tsu* 族, *chia* 家), which totaled ten *chia* before the establishment of the PRC. The Yögürs also consisted of about thirty "bones" (clans or families). The bone names included a number of ethnic names which originated from the Turkic and Mongolian tribal names, of which Yaglak (Yaghlaqar) and Andzhan (the clan of the Great chieftain of the Yögürs) are especially noticeable. The Turkic Sarö Yögürs considered themselves to be superior to the Mongolian Shira Yögürs who may have descended from the Mongolian tribes of the Mongol Empire. The Sarö and Shira Yögürs were all renamed Yügu in 1953 by the policy of the PRC government.

NOTES

- 1) Concerning the Sarīgh Uyghurs under the Mongol Empire, short comments are found in the following: E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Asiatic sources*, 2 vols., London, 1910; Wang Kuo-wēi 王國維, *Měng-t'a pei-lu and Hēi-t'a shih-lüeh chien-chêng* 蒙韃備錄黑韃事略箋證; Rokuro KUWATA 桑田六郎, "Uiguru suibōkō" 回紇衰亡考 On the dispersion of the Orkhon Uyghurs, *Toyo-gakuho* 東洋學報, 17-1 (1928), p. 130.
- 2) "Ta-yüan kuang-lu tai-fu p'ing-chang chêng-shih Wu-liang-chi hsien-miao pi-ming" 大元光祿大夫平章政事兀良氏先廟碑銘 in: *Chiu-chien hsien-shêng ta-chuan-wên-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集, Bk. 5: *Yüan-shih* 元史, Bk. 121, 速不臺列傳, under ping-shou 丙戌 (1226).
- 3) *Yüan-shih* 元史, Bk. 35, under 至順 2年 8月 丁酉.
- 4) *Yüan-shih* 元史, Bk. 38, 順帝本紀, under 至元元年 6月 辛酉.
- 5) *Istoria Mongolorum*. Edition: Jean de Plan Carpini, *Histoire des Mongols*. Traduit et annoté par Dom Jean Becquet et par Louis Hambis, Paris, 1965, p. 56.
- 6) *Ming shih-lu* (MSL), Hung-wu 洪武, Bk. 90, 洪武 7年 6月 壬戌. This is the earliest, official Ming record ever found concerning Sa-li Wēi-wu-ēr 撒里畏吾兒. MSL, Hung-wu, Bk. 96, under 洪武 8年 1月 癸亥, stated as follows: "The envoy of Buyan Temür 卜煙帖木兒 with the title of An-ting-wang 安定王 of Sa-li-Wēi-wu-ēr (Prince of Anting of Sa-li Wēi-wu-ēr), presented to the Ming emperor gold and silver tablets 金銀牌 (*pai*, *paiza*) with inscriptions that had been bestowed on them by the late Yüan dynasty". According to MSL, Hung-wu, Bk. 110, 洪武 9年 10月 丁巳, Buyan Temür 卜煙帖木兒 was called Ning-wang 寧王 of the Yüan Imperial house, and, MSL, Bk. 111, under 洪武 10年 4月 stated that "Buyan Temür, An-ting-wang 安定王 of the late Yüan, was killed". It can be concluded that Buyan Temür was a Mongolian prince with the title of Ning-wang and was again invested with the title of An-ting-wang by the newly-established Ming dynasty.
- 7) As to the location of the four military districts of Sa-li Wēi-wu-ēr, there are various views, but, owing to the vagueness of Ming records, their accurate location is not yet made perfectly clear. For this problem, see Ts'ên Chung-mien 岑仲勉, 明初曲先阿端安定罕東四衛攷 "On the four military districts Ch'ü-hsien, A-tuan, An-ting and Han-tung in the early Ming time", *Chin-ling hsüeh-pao* 金陵學報, 6-2 (1936), pp. 151-172; W. Franke, "Zur Lage der vier Sari-Uigurischen Militärdistrict An-ting, A-tuan, Ch'ü-hsien, und Han-tung in der frühen Mingzeit", *Silver Jubilee Volume of Zinbun Kagaku-Kenkyuzyo, Kyoto University, Kyoto, 1954*, pp. 121-128. As for the latest studies in the PRC, see *Yü-ku-tsu chien-shih* 裕固族簡史 (A short history of the Yügu), Peking, 1982. Concerning the descendants of Buyan Temür, it was reported in MSL, Yung-lo, Bk. 88, under the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413), that the son of Buyan Temür was Sa-ēr-

chih-shih chia 撒兒只失加 (*Saljshka), and that his son 亦攀丹 I-p'an-tan (Ibandan) was invested with the title of An-ting-wang 安定王 of Sa-li Wèi-wu-êr. In connection with the fact that "troops of An-ting attacked the Ch'ü-hsien district and ravaged it" (*MSL*, Hsüan-tê 宣德, Bk. 94, under 1432), the An-ting-wang Ibandan and his lieutenant (tu-chi-hui-chien-shih 都指揮僉事) were mentioned. Afterwards, it was reported that "in 1447 the Ming authorities invested Ling-chan Wo-chi-êr 領占帖些兒 (Rinchen Ozer), son of the late An-ting-wang Ibandan (*MSL*, Chêng-t'ung 正統, Bk. 150, 正統12年2月壬午)" with the title of An-ting-wang. In 1490, "Ling-chan Wo-chi-êr, An-ting-wang died and Ch'ien-mang 千奔 succeeded the rank of wang" (*MSL*, Hung-chih 弘治, Bk. 38 (弘治3年5月丙辰)). Here it must be noticed that the Royal house of An-ting was not of Sarīgh Uyghur stock, but ruled over the pastures inhabited by the Uyghurs as the native vassal of the Ming dynasty.

- 8) N. Elias and E. D. Ross, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia. Being the Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī of Mirza Haidar, Dughlat*. London, 1898, pp. 348-9, 406. The motivation of Vais Khan and successive Moghul Khans' expedition to the Sarīgh Uyghurs was *ghazat* (the Holy war) against infidels, that is, idolaters and Buddhist Uyghurs. Though the Sarīgh Uyghurs were not such a strong power, they must have been regarded as non-Muslim people along the frontier of Khitay.
- 9) For Lob-Katak, see Masami HAMADA, "Islamic saints and their mausoleum", *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 34 (1978), p. 81.
- 10) The *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 64, 348.
- 11) I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, St. Petersburg, 1829, p. 211. This book is not the best edition of *Erdeni-yin tobchi*, but, it is cited here for the convenience' sake. In the *A-la-t'an han-ch'üan* 阿拉坦汗傳, under 1558, the names of uigut and shiraigur are mentioned in connection with Altan Khan's expedition to Kansu. See Tetsuo MORIKAWA 森川哲雄, "Chü Jung-ka, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur orosiba* (阿拉坦汗傳)", *Toyo-gakuho*, vol. 67-1.2, p. 136. "Shiraigur" may be an other form of Shira Uyghur, and it corresponds to Shira (or Shara) Uyghur reported in the *Erdeni-yin tobchi*.
- 12) I. J. Schmidt, *Id.*, p. 262.
- 13) *Hsi-yü shui-tao-chi* 西域水道記, Bk. 3, under Sa-êr-pa-k'o-t'u 薩爾巴克圖.
- 14) *Ch'ing shih-lu* (*CSL*) 清實錄, K'ang-hsi 康熙, Bk. 176; *P'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lüeh* 平定朔漢方略, Bk. 30, under 康熙35年9月戊辰, report of T'u-na 圖納. See also *P'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lüeh*, Bk. 28, under 康熙35年8月甲申朔. Toru SAGUCHI 佐口透, 18-19世紀東トルキスタン社會史研究 (*Studies on social history of Eastern Turkistan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*), Tokyo, 1963, pp. 17-18, has already made this clear.
- 15) *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsien-chi* (The Revised New Local Gazetteer of Su-chou) 重修肅州新志, under 拾遺補錄 (Supplement). This source was a revised edition published in 1737, so it is a valuable material which contains circumstances of the late-seventeenth century.
- 16) *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsien-chi* 重修肅州新志, under "Hsi-chui chuan-tê" 西陲全冊 (A complete book on the Western frontier).
- 17) *Huang-Ch'ing chi-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 (Pictures of the Ch'ing vassal peoples), Bk. 5 stated: "Huang-fan under the command of Cha-shih-tun 扎勢敦, a native chieftain of K'ao-t'ai-hsien 高臺縣, and other chieftains paid homage to the Ch'ing dynasty in the 35th year of K'ang-hsi 康熙". In T'ao Pao-lien's *Hsin-mao hsi-hsing-chi* 陶保廉, 辛卯侍行記, Bk. 5, under "K'ao-t'ai-hsien 高臺縣, it is stated: "Hsin-tung-tzū-k'ao 新墩子口 was located 85 li south of Hsien 縣. This place which had traffic connection with Ch'ing-hai 青海 was occupied by two tribes of Hsi-la-ku-êr Huang-fan 西喇古爾黃番, the population of which totaled about 600, men and women, and a tribe of T'ang-wu-tê Hêi-fan 唐古特黑番 that totaled 46 men". Two tribes of Hsi-la-ku-êr 西喇古爾 who were distributed at Hsin-tung-tzū-k'ou (located to the south of Nuan-ch'üan-pao 暖泉堡) must be two groups of Huang-fans in the broad sense.

- 18) *Chung-hsiu Su-chou hsin-chih*, "Su-chou", Bk. 15. Here "Eight tribes" seem to mean eight chieftains at the Su-chou district, and have nothing to do with the so-called "Huang-fan ch'i-tsu" 黃番七族. See below.
- 19) For present-day circumstances, cf. *Chun-kuo shao-shu min-tsu* 中國少數民族, Peking, 1981; *Su-nan Yü-ku-tsu tzü-chih-hsien kai-k'uang* 肅南裕固族自治縣概況, Lan-chou, 1984.
- 20) Ming-hai-tzū 明海子 is a swampland between Su-chou and Héi-ch'üan-pao 黑泉堡 to the east, which had stagnant water in summer and autumn but dried up in winter and spring: it is nowadays called Ming-hai-hu 明海湖 (Ming-hai Lake). In this place seven tribes of Huang-fans had pastures (*Hsin-mao hsi-hsing-chih* 辛卯侍行記, Bk. 5). The Huang-fans at the Su-chou district including Huang-ni-pao and those of Ming-hai-tzū were nothing else but the Huang-fan groups of the Su-chou district, namely the Sarö Yögurs.
- 21) *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略, 8 books by an anonymous author. A photocopied text of this book was published in Taiwan by Kuang-wên shu-chü 廣文書局 in 1974. The date of compilation is not clear. Judging from its contents, this source seems to be a work of the late years of K'ang-hsi, that is, the early years of the eighteenth century: the book contains place names of Ho-chou 河州, Hsi-ning 西寧, Liang-chou 涼州, Kan-chou 甘州 and Su-chou 肅州. It contains unique accounts of the China proper's northwest frontier.
- 22) *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略, Bk. 4.
- 23) *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志, Bk. 2 (Annal 世紀). *Hsin-mao shih-hsing-chi* 辛卯侍行記 Bk. 5, stated as follows: "In the 7th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖, Wang Ch'üang 王瓊 Governor-general, removed the Huang-fans to the Nanshan mountains at Kan-chou. They were commonly called Huang-t'a-tzū 黃鞮子. In the *Ming-shih* 明史, Bk. 330, under Han-tung-wèi 罕東衛, it is stated that the Ming authorities removed the tribes of Chih-tan (in reality Pan-tan 板丹) to Kansu.
- 24) As a clan name of the modern Shira Yögur (< Shira Uyghur), we have Andzhan (Anjan), which was, according to Mr. Wu Yung-ming 吳永明, derived from An-chang 奄章, the first commander of the Left Military District of Han-tung. See *MSL; Ming-shih*, Hsi-yü-chüan 明史西域傳. Cf. Wu Yung-ming 吳永明, "Yü-ku-tsu tsu-yüan ch'u-t'an" 裕固族族源初探 (A preliminary study on the origin of the Yügu), *Chun-nan min-tsu hsüeh-yüan hsüeh-pao* 中南民族學院學報, Philosophy-Social Science Series, No. 1 (1984), Wu-chang 武昌, pp. 34-41. The following are some comments on An-chang 奄章. The surname Andzhan is regarded to have originated from An-chang 奄章, a commander of the Han-tung-wèi 罕東衛 (Military District of Han-tung). Chi-k'o 只克 (Chik?), grand-son of An-chang and commander of the Left Military District of Han-tung, removed to Sha-chou in the Ch'êng-hua era, and then emigrated into the Su-chou region in 1516: this shows that he was a chieftain of the Yögur groups. C. G. Mannerheim reported: "the division or clan which was the origin of the chieftains was Andzhan in case of the Shira Yögurs, and Pegeshi in case of the Sarö Yögurs. As is mentioned earlier, it was reported that two chieftains of the Su-chou Huang-fans were of the An 安 surname (see Table 1), which must have been derived from An-chang of the Ming time. In 1915 it was reported that Kan-su t'i-tu 甘肅提督 (General of Kansu) granted *chih-chao* 執照 (certificate) to Kuan-pu-shih-chia 貫布什加 who was Huang-fan tsung-t'u-mu 黃番總頭目 (General chieftain of the seven tribe Huang-fans)". *Yü-ku-tsu chien-shih* 裕固族簡史, p. 75 states that all the t'u-mus of the Yügu have the An 安 surname, so Kuan-pu-shih-chia must be of the An 安 surname.
- 25) *Kan-su hsin-t'ung-chih* 甘肅新通志, Bk. 41 (cited from *Yü-ku-tsu chien-shih*, p. 44).
- 26) *Hsin-mao chi-hsing-chih*, Bk. 5. The commandant of the Han-tung-wèi was Pan-tan 板丹 who was also called Chi-tan 枝丹 in other source.
- 27) *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略, Bk. 4. Huang-fan pa-ko-chia 黃番八箇家 mentioned in the sentence may be identical with the aforementioned Pa-ko-chia 八箇家 (Family of Eight).
- 28) *Chin-pien chi-lüeh* 秦邊紀略, Bk. 4.

- 29) *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志, Bk. 8.
- 30) *Hsin-mao shih-hsing-chi* 辛卯侍行記, Bk. 5.
- 31) *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志, Bk. 8.
- 32) *Kan-chou fu-chih* 甘州府志, Bk. 16, *tsa-tsuan* 雜纂 ("Miscellaneous").
- 33) G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya: puteshestviya G. N. Potanina 1884-1886*, tom I, St. Petersburg, 1893, p. 345, p. 340.
- 34) G. N. Potanin, pp. 441, 443.
- 35) C. G. Mannerheim, *A visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs. From the Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXVII, Helsingfors, 1911, pp. 5-7, 11, 19, 29-32, 33-34; C. G. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908*, I, Helsinki, 1940 (reprint: Oosterhout, 1969) contains his itinerary and observations on the Yögur country.
- 36) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, p. 5. Chenfu tun may be identical with Chien-fu-tung 千佛洞 (Thousand Buddhas Caves) and Shiche-Hache (or Shidsja-Hadsje) can be identified with Hsi-chou Ho-chou, that is, mediaeval Hsi-chou 西州 and Huo-chou 火州 in the Turfan basin, but this identification may not be a decisive one.
- 37) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, pp. 5-6.
- 38) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, p. 11.
- 39) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, pp. 29-31, 32.
- 40) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, pp. 32-34. This *ling-p'ai* had been bestowed on Nan-su 囊素, a Huang-fan chieftain. C. G. Mannerheim published its photo and an English translation in his book (C. G. Mannerheim 1911). Huang-fan's name is not given in this *ling-p'ai*, but it is clear that Nang-su was a Huang-fan chieftain. By the way, Nang-su 囊素 was a Yögur name for Méng-t'ai-chia 曼臺家.
- 41) This table is based on the accounts of G. N. Potanin (1884-86), C. G. Mannerheim (1907) and S. E. Malov (1911. See note 42), and shows *otok* (or *chia* 家) names in Chinese, Shira Yögur (Mongolian) and Tibetan.
- 42) S. E. Malov, *Yazyk zhëltykh ujugurov. Slovar' i grammatika*, Alma-Ata, 1957; Id., *Yazyk zhëltykh ujugurov. Teksty i perevody*, Moskva, 1967. S. E. Malov's transcription is сариг югур which the present author (T. Saguchi) rendered as Sarıgh Yughur. "Zhëltye ujugury" in Russian means "Yellow Uyghurs". Other books are E. R. Tenishev, *Yazyk zhëltykh ujugurov*, Moskva, 1966; Id., "Yuigu", *Narody vostochnoj Azii*, Moskva, 1965, pp. 647-651.
- 43) E. R. Tenishev 1965, p. 648.
- 44) After S. E. Malov visited the Yögur country, M. Hermanns investigated the Yögur (Yughur) and published his reports, "Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen", *Anthropos*, vol. XXXV-XXXVI (1940-41), Heft 1-3, pp. 79-99. M. Hermanns reported: "The Yughurs were generally called Huang-fan, and the Tibetans in Kansu were called Hêi-fan. The Huang-fans (= Sarö Yögur) called themselves Qara Yughur, but were called Yughur by the other group, and consisted of two parts. The eastern Huang-fans called themselves Shara Yughur and spoke Mongolian. Their language was not Turkic, so they were called *anghar* (*inghar*): they consisted of six parts. The western Yughurs have maintained the linguistic tradition of the ancient and mediaeval Uyghurs, and, according to their legend, they reportedly emigrated from East Turkistan to Kansu six hundred years ago. Their religion was Lamaism. The accounts of M. Hermanns coincide with those of C. G. Mannerheim and S. E. Malov, and clearly point out that the Yughurs consisted of two groups, western and eastern.
- 45) As for the latest studies on the Yögur in the PRC, there are, besides *Yü-ku-tsu chien-shih* 裕固族簡史, the following: Chao-na-ssü-t'u 照那斯圖, *東部裕固語簡志* (A manual of the East Yügu language), Peking, 1981; Chéng Tsung-chen 陳宗振 and Lei Ta-chung 雷達春, *西部裕固語簡志* (A manual of the West Yügu language), Peking, 1985. Both works contain a very simple introduction of the present situation of the Yügu people. The newest guidebook on the Yügu in general is Fan Yü-mei 范玉梅, *Yü-ku-tsu 裕固族*, Peking, 1986.
- 46) *Yü-ku-tsu chien-shih*, pp. 6-7.

- 47) Wu Yung-ming 吳永明, *Ibid.*
- 48) E. R. Tenishev 1965, "Yuigu", pp. 647-651.
- 49) G. N. Potanin, p. 441.
- 50) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, p. 43.
- 51) C. G. Mannerheim 1911, p. 33.
- 52) In this table, names of "bones" are arranged according to the order reported by C. G. Mannerheim, and corresponding names of bones investigated by G. N. Potanin and S. E. Malov are contrasted with them. Bone names are cited in accordance with the original forms adopted by each author. It can be seen that many names of bones cited in the three sources coincide, but that the material of S. E. Malov contain bones (fifteen bones) that are not found in other sources. Mr. Wu Yung-ming says that clan (bone) names of the present-day Yügu totaled thirty or forty, and many of them were rendered into Chinese surnames: Yang 楊 for Yaghlaqar, Ho 賀 for Huluogat, T'u 杜 for Tuman, Pai 白 for Aq-Tatar, So 索 for Sohuara, Kuo 郭 for Kongrat, T'o 妥 for Türgish, Lang 郎 for Olan, Hung 洪 for Gedsin (this means hung 紅), Chung 鍾 for Dzonger, Pa 巴 for Saks (this means eight), Mêng 孟 for Mongol, K'ung 孔 for Chunsa, Huang 黃 for Kong, Lan 藍 for Lan-chak, Ch'ang 常 for Tsanban, K'ao 高 for Erker, Kêng 耿 for Kyrqyz, P'an 潘 for Patan, Su 蘇 for Soltus, K'o 柯 for Karga, An 安 for Andzhan, and some other Chinese names. (Wu Yung-ming 1984). Concerning the bone names of Tibetan origin, see A. Róna-Tas, "Tibetan loan-words in the Shera Yögur language", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XV (1962), pp. 259-271. By the way, the neighboring Tibetan tribes called the Turkic-Yögurs (namely Sarö or Qara Yögurs) Hor (gur)-nag, "Hor of the Black tent", while the Tibetan name of the Mongolian-Yögurs was Hor (gur)-ser, "Hor of the Yellow tent". Cf. A. Róna-Tash 1962, *ibid.*, p. 260 and note (8).
- 53) On this issue, the present author will not enter into detail in this article.