

A Wooden Fragment with Uighur Inscription Preserved in the Tokyo National Museum

By Hiroshi UMEMURA

As is widely known, the Otani mission which made three trips to Central Asia between 1902 and 1912 brought many materials back to Japan. After changing hands a number of times, a small part of the Otani materials was acquired by the Tokyo National Museum in 1967¹⁾, where they are now safely preserved and a part of them are on public exhibition.

A wooden fragment with two lines of Uighur inscription which the present author will analyze in this paper is included in the collection. The photograph of the whole inscription has already been published in the *Illustrated Catalogues of Tokyo National Museum: Central Asian Objects brought back by the Otani Mission*, and appears under number 177, together with a wooden painted fragment. The same photograph is reproduced in this article Plate 2. Unfortunately however, these fragments have been left unresearched which prompted me to study and write a short article on them in Japanese:²⁾ Ōtani tankentai shōrai Uiguru meibun mokuhen 大谷探検隊將來ウイグル銘文木片 (A Wood Fragment with Uighur Inscription discovered by the Otani Mission) in *Nairiku Ajia, Nishi Ajia no Shakai to Bunka* 内陸アジア・西アジアの社會と文化 (*Society and Culture of Inner Asia and the Muslim World*, edited by Masao Mori 護雅夫, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 133-159), a summary of which was presented at the sectional meeting 6 of 31st CISHAAN (International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa) held at Tokyo and Kyoto in 1983. The present paper is based on my Japanese article.

Unfortunately information given in the reports of the Otani mission is not very precise concerning the details of circumstances of discovery of relics or accurate regarding their exact geographical location. This occasionally makes it difficult to use the objects brought back by the Otani mission for historical studies. But there is rather sufficient data given on the two fragments, especially the fragment with the inscription in the Uighur language studied in this paper, to allow us to make a historical study.

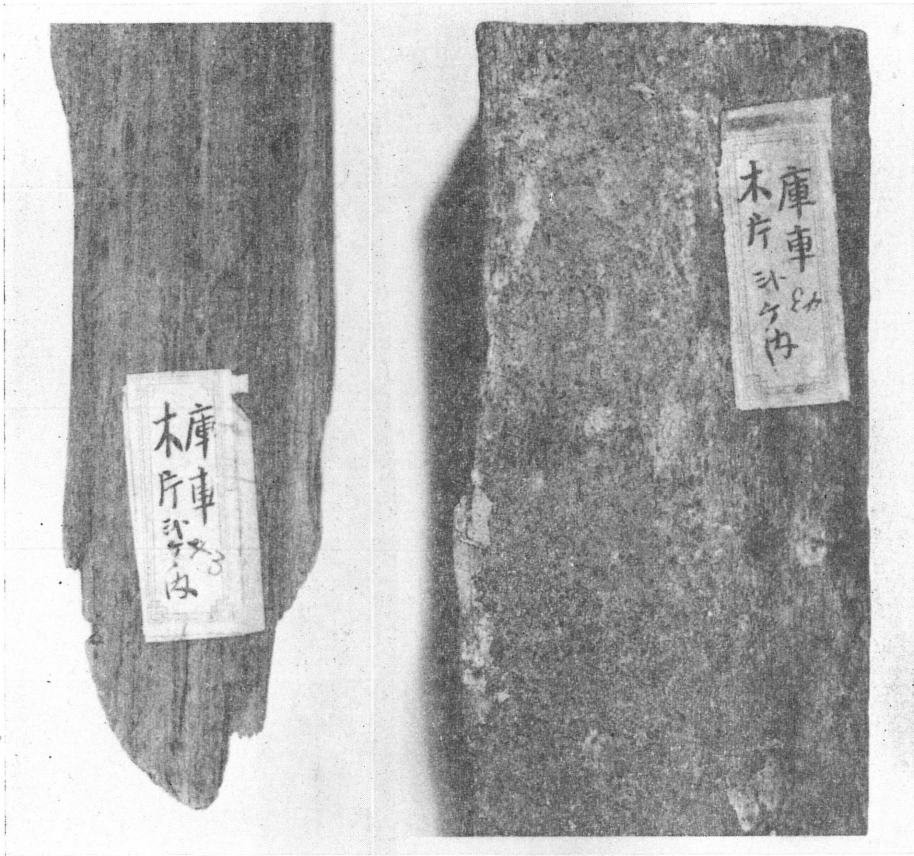
The discovery of the fragments

We have one direct indication and two other instances of circumstantial evidence concerning the place where these fragments were found. The labels attached to one side of the materials, only read “庫車43木片貳ヶノ内 Kucha 43, two pieces of wooden fragments” (Plate 1). The first piece of circumstantial evidence comes from the register which was prepared when a part of the Otani materials was kept at Kyoto National Museum before World War II, and which is now regarded as the list which corresponds to the materials now preserved at Tokyo National Museum. The register was cited by Jirō Sugiyama³⁾, which includes the list of materials unearthed from Kucha, and it says “two wooden fragments: letters are written on one fragment, and an arabesque pattern is painted on the other.” Here an arabesque pattern is mentioned, but if it refers to the continuous round light frames behind each of the small Buddha images on the fragments, the narrative seems refer to one of our fragments in question (Plate 2). Anyhow, though it is not clear whether the record refers to our fragments since there is no conclusive evidence that the “letters” are in Uighur, we are inclined to surmise that the fragments were found in the Kucha region. Regarding this point, we have our second piece of circumstantial evidence, a note recorded in the “Catalogue of Objects unearthed in Central Asia held by Museum of the Korean Government-General⁴⁾” which was prepared in April 1916, when the materials were brought from Nirakusō 二樂莊, the villa of Otani families near Kobe to the Korean Government-General by a man of financial influence Fusanosuke Kuhara: “No. 14 & 15: both are wooden fragments, unearthed from Kumtura, in Kucha”. But since this catalogue provides neither measurements nor photographs of the fragments, we cannot identify either of them with the fragments in question.

There is no other document or record concerning the Otani mission which refers either directly or indirectly to the fragments. Even the diaries written by the members of the expedition do not mention them directly. As a result, the author has tried to search for a hint which will show where these fragments were first found by examining the Uighur inscription itself.

The Uighur inscription

The wooden fragment with Uighur inscription is 51 cm long, the width of the face where the letters are written is 2.2 cm at the right end, 1.8 cm at the left end and 4 cm at the widest part. And the depth from the face with letters is 5.8 cm at the right end, 3.1 cm at the left end and 6.2 cm at the deepest part (Plate 2). It is clear that the inscription has been made incomplete by the break off of this fragment from the original wooden tablet. The



a.

b.

Plate 1.

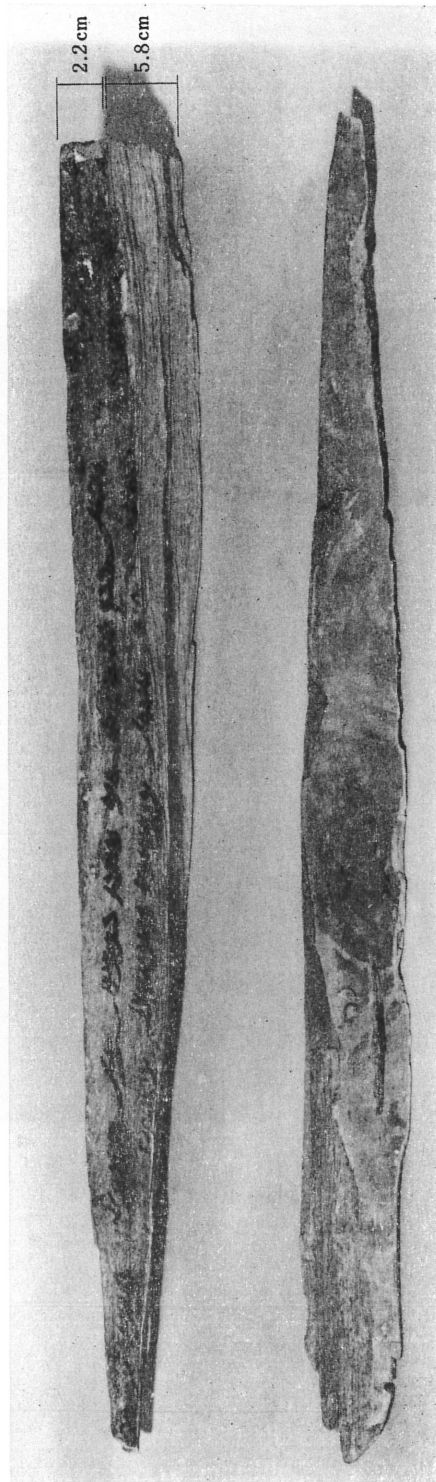


Plate 2.

inscription is written in Indian ink on the surface which is painted a dark red colour.

Text:

1. qoyn yil toquz-un(č) ay säkiz ygrmikä m(ä)n qutadmış
bäglär o(ö ?) // // // //
2. totoq (bäg ?) birlä KYMS'SY sngrämkä kir(tg)ünč // // // //

Translation:

On the eighteenth day of the ninth lunar month of the sheep year, I, *qutadmış*, together with *bägs* ... (and ?) *totoq* (*bäg* ?), (pay) pious homage to the *KYMS'SY* monastery.....

Notes on the text:

qutadmış: The meaning of this word suggests that it is being used in an honorific sense like *qutadmış bars* (TIID)⁵⁾ or *qutadmış ök silavanti*⁶⁾ which seems to be a title. But examples of it being employed as a personal name appear in Uighur documents: for example, ... (*qu*)*tinga* · *oꝛul tapmış* · *oꝛul qutadmış* (TIIM/U5632).⁷⁾ In this case, the honorific sense seems to strongly remain. Examples of a man called *qutadmış* who bought land (TIIM 205/U3908)⁸⁾ or a man called *qutadmış qara* who was a witness of a contract of a hostage⁹⁾, show that this word was used purely as a personal name even if it did carry eulogistical connotations. The name *qutadmış* was probably common among Uighurs in Central Asia. Therefore in the fragmented text above I understand this term as being used a personal name, *qutadmış*, which is the subject of this inscription.

bäg-lär: It goes without saying that the title *bäg* appears from the time when Turkic societies were established in Mongolia, but the meaning has broadened to refer to influential persons in Turkic society in Central Asia.¹⁰⁾

totoq: It derives from the Chinese term *tou-tu* < *tuok* 都督, See G. Doerfer.¹¹⁾ It is notable that one dot has been written above the letter *q*. Few examples of *q* with one dot appear in the Uighur texts as far as I know: *qop*, *qamar* and so on seen in TM161(U297), U241a-c, TI(U5362), TM107(U5281) etc.¹²⁾ No *q* with two dots appears in those texts. A fragment of the *T'ien-ti pa-yang shên-chou ching* 天地八陽神呪經 also uses *q* with only one dot.¹³⁾ In our inscription, *q* with two dots appears in *qoyn* together with the one dot *q* in the same manner as texts studied by Klaus Röhrborn.¹⁴⁾ The reason why a *q* with one and two dots appears in the same text could possibly be connected with the development of the writing system of Uighur (new Sogdian) letters. It should be noted that in Sogdian one dot was attached beneath the letter *q* which is opposite to the Uighuric practice of writing it above the letter *q*.

KYMS'SY: It must be the proper name of a monastery like *nalandrm sangram* 那爛陀寺¹⁵⁾ or *cedavan sāngrām*.¹⁶⁾ As will be shown below, this word is the principal key to understanding this inscription. In passing it may be pointed out that the Sanskrit word *saṅghārāma* was introduced and pronounced as *sāngrām* by people who spoke the Uighur language, because some examples of the suffixes +kā, +ig, +gärü, +däki appear in the texts.¹⁷⁾

kirtgünč: *kirtgünč köngül* is a very popular phrase in religious Uighur texts, meaning "a believing mind".

Judging from the limited evidence available and from the reports concerning the discovery of the fragments mentioned above, the KYMS'SY monastery must be located in the region on which Uighur culture had influence, possibly somewhere near the Kucha region.

Location of the KYMS'SY monastery

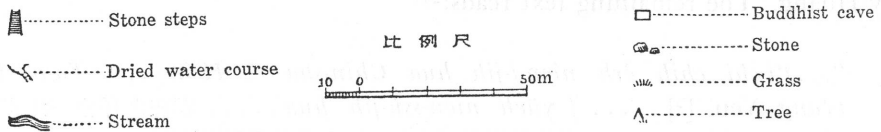
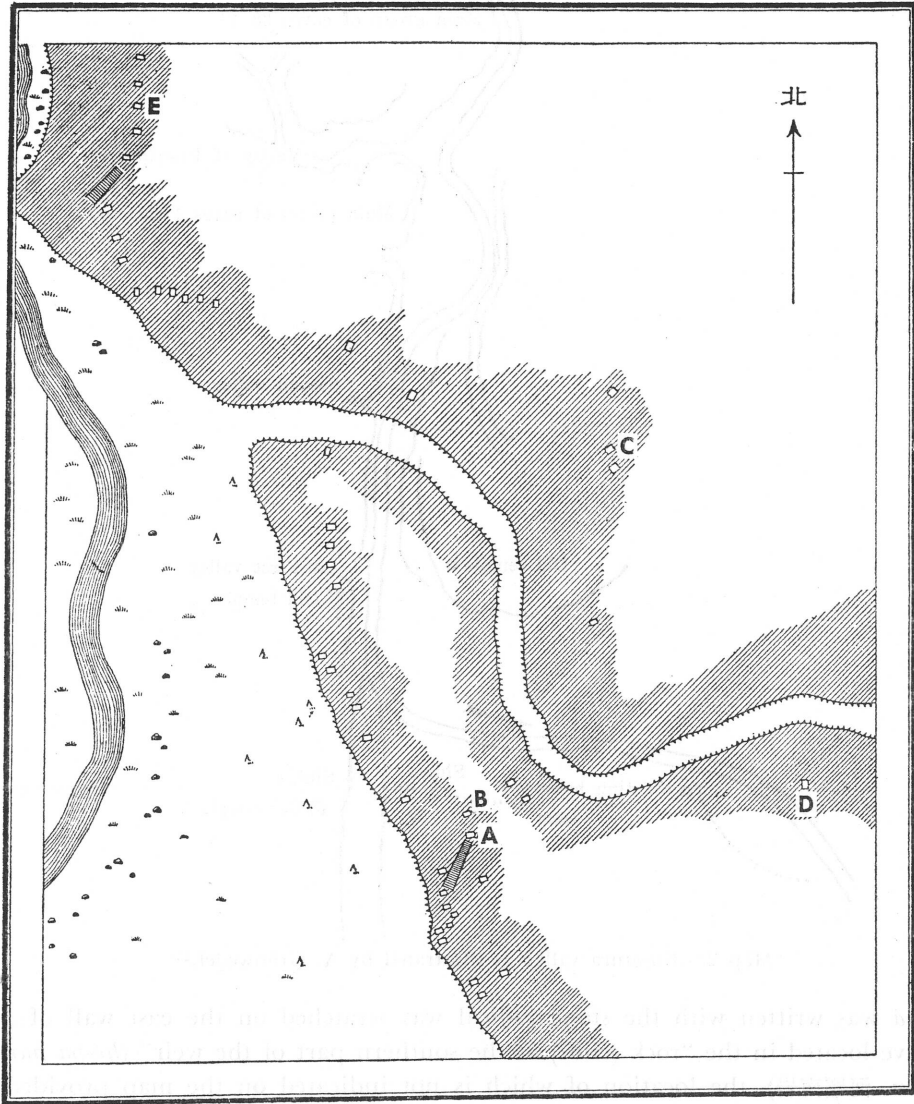
Fortunately, the name of the Buddhist temple which can help us to identify the KYMS'SY monastery was written in Chinese characters on the walls of the Kumtura Buddhist caves in Kucha.

Kumtura caves were constructed chiefly in the cliffs to the left of the Muzart river which flows from the mid of T'ien-shan mountains to the Tarim basin. Maps of these caves prepared by investigation teams which visited the area are duplicated below (Map 1-3).

In 1903 Kenyū Hori 堀賢雄 and Tesshin Watanabe 渡邊哲信 of the first Otani mission were the first foreign investigation team to visit the Kumtura caves. Thereafter the third German mission by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq in 1906, the Paul Pelliot mission in 1907, the Berezovskii brothers mission from Russia in 1907, Aurel Stein in 1908, Eizaburō Nomura 野村榮三郎 of the second Otani mission in 1909, Koichirō Yoshikawa 吉川小一郎 of the third Otani mission in 1913, and A. von Le Coq of the fourth German mission in 1914 followed in succession. The German missions reputedly conducted the most thorough investigations and collected the most materials of all the expeditions,¹⁸⁾ but members of the Japanese Otani mission and later Chinese researchers have recorded better quality information concerning the Chinese inscriptions left around the Kumtura caves than any of the European missions.¹⁹⁾

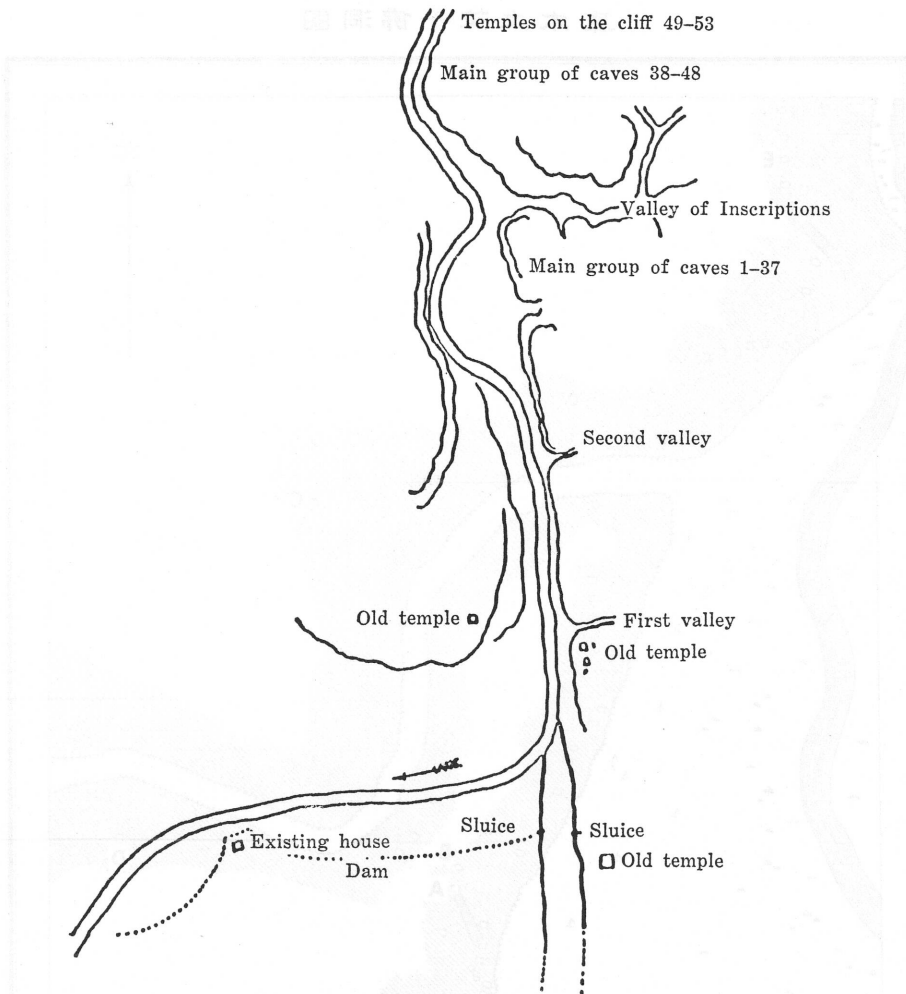
The scribbling or the scratching of temple names on the walls of the Kumtura caves was reported by Huang Wên-pi 黃文弼 who investigated the area in September 1928.²⁰⁾ According to him, the name of a Buddhist temple *Chin-sha-ssū* 金沙寺 (Gold Sand Temple) was scratched in Chinese characters on the west wall of a cave numbered D(Map 1)²¹⁾ which is located in the left

庫木土拉千佛洞圖



Map 1. Northern area of Kumtura valley as illustrated by Huang Wên-pi.²²⁾

side cliff of the eastern small valley of the northern part of the Kumtura caves called the *Inschriften Schlucht* (Valley of Inscriptions) by A. Grünwedel (Map 2). In this case the character *sha* meaning sand was written with the water radical. In another instance the name *Chin-sha-ssü* 金砂寺 in which

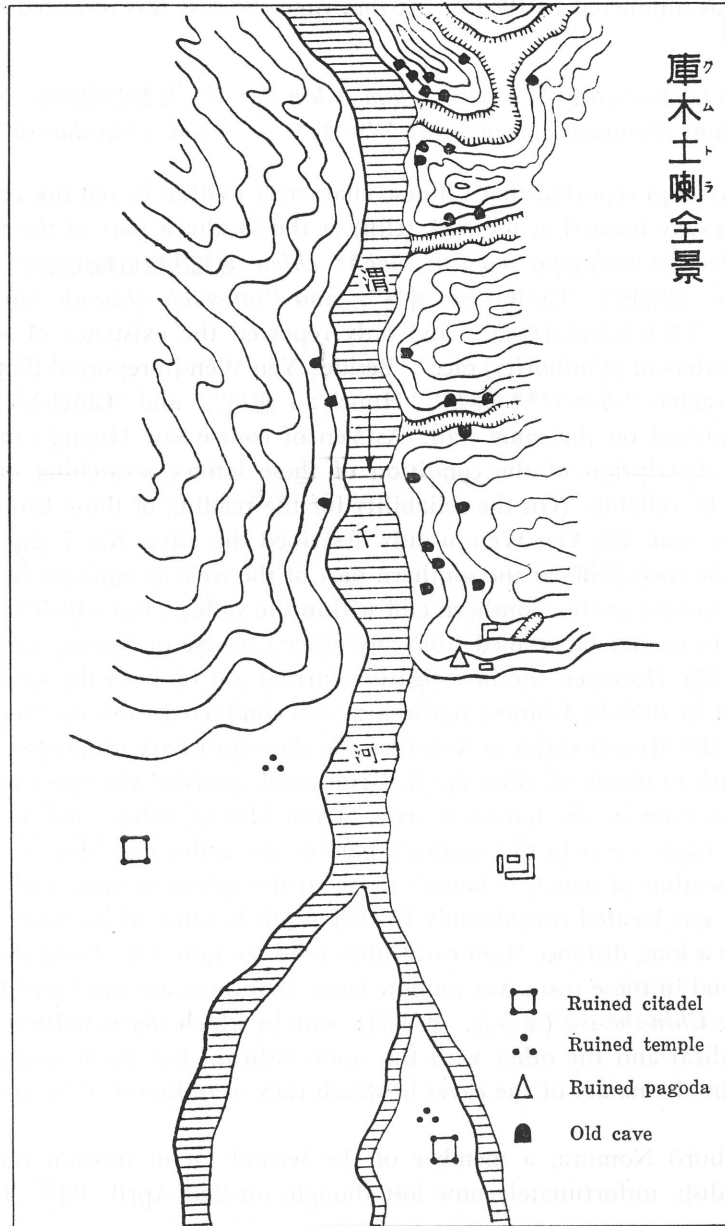


Map 2. Kuntura valley as illustrated by A. Grünwedel.²³⁾

sha was written with the stone radical was scratched on the east wall of a cave located in the “rock (cliff?) at the southern part of the weir” (*hé-pa nan yen* 河壩南岩) the location of which is not indicated on the map provided by Huang. The remaining text reads:²⁴⁾

“...*t'i-chi chih êrh nien-i-jih hua Chin-sha-ssŭ Hsin... | Ta-tê Fa-ts'ang Yen* [?]..... / *yüeh nien-ssŭ-jih hua*..... 題記之耳廿一日畫金砂寺新□/大德法藏鄴駟□□□□□/月廿四日畫□□□□□□□... the inscription ends here. I, Hsin [Chieh] (a novice 新戒?) of *Chin-sha-ssŭ* wrote this on the 21st day... / A most virtuous *Fa-ts'ang* 法藏 (Dharma-store) Yen 駟*... /24th day of ? lunar month... wrote...”

* The right-hand radical of this Chinese character is not indicated.



Map 3. Kumtura valley as illustrated by E. Nomura.²⁵⁾

However, Yen Wên-ju 閻文儒²⁶⁾ reported that the investigation organized by the Association of Chinese Buddhism (*Chung-kuo fo-chiao hsieh-hui* 中國佛教協會) and the Institute of Tun-huang Cultural Relics (*Tun-huang wên-wu yen-chiu-so* 敦煌文物研究所) in 1961, discovered that the inscription concerning the *Chin-sha-ssŭ* quoted above was written by brush in red ink, not in scratching, beside the three lines of Uighur inscription on the wall of cave No. 7

which was numbered in 1953.²⁷⁾ At that time the text was recorded by Yen as follows:

“*Ta-tê Fa-ts’ang Wu* [?] . . . *hua Chin-sha-ssü* 大德法藏鄒鄒 画金沙寺
A most virtuous Dharma-store Wu 鄒* wrote *Chin-sha-ssü*”

Huang Wên-pi reported that Chinese characters written in red ink on the east wall of a cave located at the rock (cliff) at the southern part of the weir were “Hui-ch’ao *Fa Shêng-po tao t’zu liéh*** *chien* 惠超法聖伯到此誓聞”, “Chieh-ming *tao* 戒明到”, “Chih-ts’ên 智岑”, and “*san-yüeh chiu-jih tao t’zu jih P’an-yen* 三月九日到此日畔晏”, and only reported the existence of scratching of “old letters of (a minority) race”. Besides, Yen Wên-ju reported that the Chinese characters “*shên* ?*** 神誓”, “Hui-ch’ao 惠超”, and “Chieh-p’êng 戒朋” were scratched on the same wall. As Yen of course saw Huang’s report, the former’s description of the condition of these letters, scratching or writing seems to be reliable. (On the reliability for the reading of those Chinese characters, see note 40.) Yen Wên-ju only described this cave, No. 7 (equal to the cave at the rock (cliff) at the southern part of the weir as reported by Huang), as being located at the “southern cliff within the valley”, but which valley he is referring to cannot be verified from any other Chinese or foreign reports (But see note 27). However, the investigation carried out by both the German missions and in 1953 by Chinese researchers was conducted from the south to the north of the Muzart valley at Kumtura. So they must have numbered the caves from south to north (cf. Map 2). A. Grünwedel recorded the existence of over fifty caves even in the northern areas of the Muzart valley, and E. Nomura observed many caves in the southern part of the valley (see Map 3). So, cave D, the location of which is known to be in the northern area, and cave No. 7, which was located considerably further south because of its lower number, are quite a long distance from each other (also see note 41). From the inscriptions found in these two caves we now know that there are two ways of writing the name *Chin-sha-ssü* (金沙寺, 金砂寺): one in which *sha* is written with the water radical and the other with the stone radical. But these names do not seem to be the names of the caves in which they were found. The reason is as follows.

Eizaburō Nomura, a member of the second Otani mission obtained a wooden dish, unfortunately now lost though, on 2nd April, 1907. His diary reads:²⁸⁾

“2nd, April, fine.

Spring has arrived at the foot of the T’ien-shan mountains, peach blos-

* This character may be pronounced *fu* or *né*.

** This character 誓 is not in any Chinese dictionaries and I think it may be a mistake the original writer for the character *liéh* 誓 (to praise) or *shih* 誓 (to swear) and so on.

*** This character 誓 is not given in any Chinese dictionaries.

soms in the fields have begun to bloom, and the willow trees beside the Wei-kan 渭干 (Muzart) river have turned green. The results of today's excavation are as follows:

A wooden dish, 7 *ts'un* 寸 (21.2 cm) in diameter, 6 *fên* 分 (1.8 cm) in depth. The Chinese characters *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 are written in Indian ink on the reverse side.

Fragments of paper with letters.

An inscription written in Chinese characters "érh-chê hêng you k'ou-shé 二者橫有口舌" (*sic*)

do. "wei-t'i fu-jên kuan-chien shui pien-ch'êng ping shih 韋提夫人觀見水變成冰時" (*sic*)

The Chinese characters of the last inscription mentioned describe the *Shui-hsian-kuan* 水想觀 of the *Kuan-wu-liang-shou ching* 觀無量壽經 (Amitâyurdhyāna-sūtra), which proves that the *Chin-t'u chiao* 淨土教 (Pure land sect) was popular in this district.

I made a rubbing of the engraved letters on the wall of a cave. There were other letters in the cave, shown below [The letters have not been reproduced here]."

"Letters in the cave, shown below" were also copied by Teshin Watanabe,²⁹⁾ who showed the whole plan of the cave where these letters were found.³⁰⁾ This cave can be identified as one of the five caves described by Hsü Sung 徐松³¹⁾ and as one of "the five big caves" namely Huang's cave No. E and of A. Grünwedel's "Felsentempel 49-53".³²⁾ "Letters in the cave, shown below" by Nomura were found in the fourth (*ting* 丁) cave of these five caves according to Watanabe, and it can be easily presumed from Watanabe's diary that Nomura made a rubbing of engraved letters on the wall of a cave in the same area. But the description of 2nd April 1907 by Nomura does not refer only to the same cave. The "Chinese characters" (inscriptions) were found in another cave that is called "Höhle 14 (Kinnarī-Höhle)" by A. Grünwedel,³³⁾ a fact of which is also confirmed by Watanabe's diary.³⁴⁾ Therefore, all of the articles obtained by Nomura from his excavation on the day were not collected from the same place. Anyway, this wooden dish was probably found near the exit of the Valley of Inscriptions, which is closer to cave D where the Chinese characters *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 were found rather than in the proximity of cave No. 7 where the *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 were written.

By now it should be clear that the Chinese words *Chin-sha-ssü* were not mere random scribbling on cave walls, but that they are the name of a rather big temple which possessed exclusive utensils. The *Chin-sha-ssü* temple seems to have been located either in or close to the Kumtura valley.

The Uighur inscription and the *Chin-sha-ssü*

The name *KYMS'SY* in our Uighur inscription written on the wooden fragment must be equivalent to the *Chin-sha-ssü* < *k̄iəm (ša zi)* 金沙(砂)寺 in the Chinese scribblings. The Chinese character *chin* < *k̄iəm* 金 has been often transliterated into Uighur texts as *KYM/kim* for example *kimbaq* 金帛³⁵). The Chinese character *sha* < *(ša)* 沙(砂) is transliterated in Uighur texts as *S'/sa*, for instance *saču* 沙州³⁶), and the *SY/si* in the Uighur inscription is undoubtedly *ssü* < *zi*) 寺.

Thus, our inscription is closely connected with the wooden dish and accordingly with the Kumtura caves, and it is evident that the temple *Chin-sha-ssü* < *k̄iəm (ša zi)* 金沙(砂)寺 was known to the Uighurs directly by its Chinese name. So, a person, possibly *qutadmīš*, wrote down the Uighur inscription on this wooden fragment in accordance with Uighur linguistic custom as *KYMS'SY/kimsasi sāngrām* probably in much the same way as *sangram* was added to the Sanskrit *Nalandrm* etc. This fact also strongly suggests that the Chinese name *Chin-sha-ssü* was widely known and had been popular in the Kumtura region, before the Uighurs arrived.

An entry in the diary of Kenyū Hori, for 10 May 1903, the second day the Otani mission was in the Kumtura region, seems to mention the place, the date and the finder of the fragment in question. It reads:³⁷)

"I excavated a small cave located at the left side of the small valley, but by about 1:00 P.M. I had only discovered a wooden fragment on which Central Asiatic characters were written."

Comparing this entry with the diary of Tesshin Watanabe who accompanied Hori at that time, "the left side of the small valley" should be identified with the left side of the "Valley of Inscriptions" where Huang Wên-pi located cave D. But since we do not have any evidence which allows us to identify the "Central Asiatic characters" as being Uighur script, we cannot say with certainty whether Hori's diary entry refers to the place where the Uighur fragment was discovered.

The date of the fragments

It is possible to consider from historical data that the Uighurs migrated *en masse* into the Kucha region after the mid-9th century. But details of the process of Uighur settlement, their acceptance of Kucha Buddhistic culture, and their domination of the region are unknown at the present stage of re-

search. It is also unclear whether or not the Turks had been resident in the Kucha region before the mid-9th century.³⁸⁾

Other Chinese inscriptions found on the walls of Kumtura caves not mentioned above, may also give us some clues on the date of these fragments.

Cave C recorded by Huang Wên-pi (see Map 1) and cave D, where the characters *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 (*sha* being written with the water radical) were discovered, are connected with the name of a Buddhist monk, Hui-tsêng 惠增. The name Hui-tsêng is scratched on the east wall, on the north wall of cave D, and on the west wall of cave C.³⁹⁾ According to Huang's record of the Chinese character inscriptions, cave No. 7, where the characters *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 (*sha* being written with the stone radical) appear, and cave C are connected with the name of a Buddhist monk, Hui-ch'ao 惠超 which is written (according to the report of Yen Wên-ju scratched) on the east wall of cave No. 7, and scratched on the west wall of cave C. Judging from the way in which the names Hui-tsêng 惠增 and Hui-ch'ao 惠超 were found side by side on the west wall of cave C, they seem to have been scribbled at almost the same time.⁴⁰⁾ Therefore, the *Chin-sha-ssü* of cave D and the one of cave No. 7 may be considered to have been scribbled on the cave wall at more or less the same time.

Cave C	Cave D ⁴⁰⁾	Cave No. 7
	On the west wall:	On the east wall:
	<i>Chin-sha-ssü</i> 金沙寺	<i>Chin-sha-ssü</i> 金沙寺
On the west wall:	On the east wall:	
Hui-tsêng 惠增	Hui-tsêng 惠增	
	On the north wall:	
	Hui-tsêng 惠增	
Hui-ch'ao 惠超		Hui-ch'ao 惠超

Connection between cave wall inscriptions in Chinese characters.

There were five dates indicated by the sexagenary cycle in Chinese inscriptions in cave C, which have also been reported and studied by Huang Wên-pi. Almost all the five dates are regarded as belonging to the second half of the 9th century, because one of the inscriptions left on the west wall of cave C reads:

"Ta T'ang Ta-shun *wu-nien wu-yüeh san-shih-jih*, *sha-mi* Fa-ch'ing Ti-sêng, *sha-mi* Hui-shun *jih*(?) *hsün-li chih* 大唐大順五年五月三十日沙彌法晴第僧沙彌惠順日?巡禮至。

On the 30th day of the fifth lunar month of the fifth year during the Ta-shun era (894 A.D.) of the T'ang dynasty, *sha-mi* (śrāmanera) Fa-ch'ing, Ti-sêng and *sha-mi* Hui-shun daily(?) came here to make a pilgrimage."

Actually, there were only three years in the Ta-shun era (A.D. 890.1.25—892.2.20 in the Julian calendar),⁴²⁾ but as the Kucha region was distant from the metropolitan China, the name of this era may have been continued to be used until much later. Huang surmised that the five dates of the sexagenary cycle were equivalent to the following years in the western calendar:

Ting-mao 丁卯 = Ta-chung yüan (1) nien 大中元年 = 847 A.D.

I-yü 乙酉 = Hsien-t'ung liu (6) nien 咸通六年 = 865 A.D.

Jên-ch'en 壬辰 = Hsien-t'ung shih-san (13) nien 咸通十三年 = 872 A.D.

I-ssü 乙巳 = Kuang-ch'i yüan (1) nien 光啓元年 = 885 A.D.

Ting-wei 丁未 = Kuang-ch'i san (3) nien 光啓三年 = 887 A.D.

There is no data available which denies this identification of dates. Thus, it may be possible to consider that the Buddhist monks Hui-tsêng 惠增 and Hui-ch'ao 惠超 whose names appear on the same wall of cave C visited here in the second half of the 9th century. If this hypothesis is true, since Hui-tsêng appears in cave D where *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 was found and Hui-ch'ao appears in cave No. 7 where *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙寺 was discovered, the date of inscriptions of *Chin-sha-ssü* 金沙(砂)寺 can be reckoned as belonging to the same period.

By the second half of the 9th century the influence of Chinese culture and the Chinese writing system should have been begun to weaken or at least begun to be replaced by a new wave of Uighur culture. This may have caused the appearance of two ways of writing the name *Chin-sha-ssü* in Chinese characters. There are Uighur inscriptions on the walls of Kumtura caves, reported by A. Grünwedel: *nama buddh(āya) nama sangh(āya) nama (dharmāya)*,⁴³⁾ by Yen Wên-ju mentioned above,⁴⁴⁾ and by Huang Wên-pi (cave C).⁴⁵⁾ These Uighur and Chinese inscriptions on the cave walls mainly scribbling, are considered to have been made some years after the construction of those caves because they seem to have been scribbled on the decorated walls. At least some Chinese inscriptions of which photographs were shown at p. 27 of Yen-Kumtura (see note 26) and the Uighur inscription copied by Grünwedel cited above were such cases.

All of this evidence strongly suggests that it is possible that our Uighur fragment dates from the second half of the 9th century after the Uighurs migrated into this region. A big group of Uighurs *en route* to the Turfan area first migrated into the Karashahr area⁴⁶⁾ which is without a doubt closely connected both geographically and politically with the Kucha region. Actually an inscription scratched on the east wall of cave C in the Kumtura caves was transcribed by Huang Wên-pi:

“Ta T'ang . . . [omission] . . . Hui-ch'u hsiün-li kung-tê wei Yen-ch'i Hsiao-wan wo chih (hê)-p'ing-fu hsiang-chien chi shih yüan yeh [omission]

大唐…惠初巡禮功德爲焉耆小萬我知(和)平福相見卽是願也 (During the) Great T'ang dynasty Hui-ch'u 惠初 made a pilgrimage, and (performed) virtuous deeds for Hsiao-wan 小萬 of Yen-ch'i (焉耆 Karashahr), in the hope that he may meet with peace and happiness."

The date *ting-mao* 丁卯 which was identified as 847 A.D. by Huang Wên-pi follows in the next line of this inscription.

This may coincide with the date of the last period of the construction of the Kumtura caves, that is the 8-9th centuries, according to A. von Le Coq.⁴⁷⁾

Looking at the fragment again, we find that the whole surface of the upper side of the photograph (Plate 2) of the fragment with the inscription has mud or rather stucco marks and that the right side has been cut clearly (Plate 2 & 1-b). Moreover, letters were written on the red painted surface. Therefore, we may surmise that this fragment was originally a part of some wooden construction in a cave or temple in the Kumtura valley. Looking at the second wooden fragment on which an arabesque pattern was painted, it is obvious that if the pattern is really a "continuous round light frames behind each of the small Buddha images" as I mentioned, then it would look very similar to a painted wooden panel excavated in front of the cella pedestal of Dandân-Uiliq, a great distance from Kumtura by A. Stein.⁴⁸⁾ Since the workmanship of the first and second wooden fragment in question is very like the wooden panel of Dandân-Uiliq, they must have been prepared when the cave or temple was built or renovated. Then, it is not impossible to push the date of our fragments back to the period prior to the date when the letters *Chin-sha-ssü* were written on the cave walls. The Uighur nomad kingdom had at least once come into power in the Kucha region during the 820s: On the *wu-yin* 戊寅 day of the sixth lunar month of the Ch'ang-ch'ing 長慶 year (821 A.D.), the Uighurs submitted a memorial to the Chinese (T'ang) Emperor saying that they would dispatch ten thousand cavalry from Pei-t'ing 北庭 (Biš-Baliq), and ten thousand cavalry from An-hsi 安西 (Kucha) in order to obstruct the influence of the T'u-fan 吐蕃, and would like to receive a princess from the T'ang Court in return for their action.⁴⁹⁾ However, the detailed conditions of Uighur influence in Kucha society during this period still remain unclear from extant historical sources.

It is also possible that this Uighur inscription was written sometime near the end of the 11th century when Uighur Buddhism was still active in the Kucha region. A passage in a Chinese dynastic history book, the *Sung-shih* 宋史 relates that in 1096, three people accompanying the Great Chief Arslan came from Kucha to Lung-yu tao 隴右道 (in Kan-su 甘肅) regional office of the Sung dynasty (T'ao-hsi hsi-hê *ching-lüeh-shih* 洮西熙河經略使) carrying a written dedication to the Emperor (*piao-chang* 表章) and a Buddha image made from jade.⁵⁰⁾ Prior to this time, the Kucha kingdom continued

to send envoys for trade several times to the Sung dynasty during the 11th century, most of whom were Buddhist monks themselves or presented Buddhist sūtras or Buddha images etc. This is evidence that Buddhism had been popular in the Kucha region. The following table shows the envoys from Kucha to the Sung dynasty during the century, that concern Buddhism in Kucha.

A. D.	Description of Chinese books
1003	On the sixth day, sixth lunar month of the sixth year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 in the Chên-tsung 眞宗 reign, a Buddhist priest I-hsiu 義修 from Kucha came and presented Palm-leaf scriptures, a stamped leaf of a bo-tree, a rosary and a bone of the Buddha. ⁵¹⁾
1010	In the intercalary second lunar month of the third year of Ta-chung Hsiang-fu 大中祥符, . . . a Buddhist priest Chih-yüan 智圓 paid a tribute of forty five <i>chin</i> 斤 of amber and forty six <i>chin</i> 斤 of <i>yü-shih</i> 瑜石 (jewel stone which is next best to jade). ⁵²⁾
(1021)	In the seventh lunar month of the fifth year of T'ien-hsi 天禧, <i>Tien-chih</i> 殿直 Po Wan-chin 白萬進 memorialised the Emperor: "Formerly Kucha passed Yen-fu 延福 and others off as foreign envoys, hankered after gracious, rewards, requested to be awarded the sūtrapīṭaka, Gold (Buddha) image and so on." ⁵³⁾
1022	In the first lunar month of the first year of Ch'ien-hsing 乾興, a Buddhist priest Hua-yen 華嚴 from Kucha presented a bone and relics of the Buddha, and Palm-leaf scriptures from India. ⁵⁴⁾
1023 1037	From the period of T'ien-shêng 天聖 to the fourth year of Chin-yu 景祐, Kucha (sent envoys) to present tribute five times. The Court awarded the last (envoy) a heap of Buddhist sūtras. ⁵⁵⁾

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that these fragments were excavated from the Kumtura caves in the Kucha region. Though no informative academic report was prepared concerning these materials after the Otani mission, the Uighur inscription itself indicates its place of origin. Their date can be estimated as lying somewhere between the 9th century, which is regarded as the final phase of Kumtura art and is possibly the period when the Uighur people migrated into the Kucha region, and the end of the 11th century when Buddhism was still active in Kucha. At that time a temple *Chin-sha-ssü* which seems to have been located around Kumtura was well known to both the Chinese and Uighur inhabitants of the Kucha region. Thus, these fragments

despite their brevity, may be regarded as valuable materials useful for future studies about the history of the Kucha region, Uighur language and history.

NOTES

- 1) (Jirō Sugiyama 杉山二郎): *Ōtani tankentai ni yoru Saiiki chōsa no igi to seika* 大谷探検隊による西域調査の意義と成果 (The Significance and Results of the Survey of Central Asia conducted by the Otani Mission), *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku: Ōtani tankentai shōraihin hen* 東京国立博物館圖版目録・大谷探検隊將來品篇 (Illustrated Catalogues of Tokyo National Museum: Central Asian Objects brought back by the Otani Mission), Tokyo, 1971, pp. 9–37. [Hereafter this volume will be cited as *Catalogue*]; and Kazuo Enoki 榎 一雄: *Ōtani tankentai no igi* 大谷探検隊の意義 (The Significance of the Otani Mission), *Chishiki* 知識 (Knowledge), 21, Tokyo, 1981, pp. 108–111; and Hiroshi Umemura 梅村 坦: *Tonkō tanken kenkyū shi* 敦煌探検・研究史 (History of Exploration and Research on Tun-huang), *Kōza Tonkō* 講座敦煌 vol. 1, —Tonkō no shizen to genjō 敦煌の自然と現状— (Nature and the Present Conditions of Tun-huang) (*Series Tun-huang*), Tokyo, 1980, pp. 227–235.
- 2) I wish to acknowledge the kindness of the Tokyo National Museum in allowing me to examine the fragments in question.
- 3) *Catalogue*, *op.cit.* p. 26, pp. 30–31.
- 4) Chōsen Sōtokufu Hakubutsukan Chūō Ajia hakkutsuhin mokuroku 朝鮮總督府博物館中央亞細亞發掘品目録 (Catalogue of Objects unearthed in Central Asia held by the Museum of the Korean Government-General), Reproduced in *Shin Saiiki ki* 新西域記 (*New Reports on Chinese Central Asia*), vol. 2, Tokyo, 1937; and reprinted in *Catalogue*, *op.cit.*
- 5) A. von Gabain, W. Winter: *Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf „Tocharisch“ B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, *ADAW (Türkische Turfantexte IX)*, 1956–2, Berlin, 1958, S. 5, S. 19.
- 6) W. W. Radloff, S. E. Malov: *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Nr. 88, Z. 17.
- 7) G. Kara, P. Zieme: *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas „Tiefer Weg“ von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśīnāmasaṃgīti* (*Berliner Turfantexte*, VIII), Berlin, 1977, S. 41, Anm. A180.
- 8) P. Zieme: *Ein uigurischer Landverkaufsvertrag aus Murtuq*, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, Berlin, 1974, SS. 295–308.
- 9) С. Е. Малов: Уйгурские Рукописные документы экспедиции С. Ф. Ольденбурга, *Записки Института Востоковедения АН.*, 1. Ленинград, 1932, стр. 130–135, строка 25.
- 10) H. Umemura: *Jūsan seiki Uigurisutan no kō-kenryoku* 13世紀ウイグリスタンの公權力 (Official Powers in Uighuristan of 13th Century), *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, LIX, 1–2, 1977, pp. 011–016.
- 11) G. Doerfer: *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Bd. II, Wiesbaden, 1965, Nr. 874 (SS. 452–457)
- 12) P. Zieme: *Manichäisch-türkische Texte* (*Berliner Turfantexte*, V), Berlin, 1975.
- 13) Masahiro Shōgaito 庄垣内正弘: *Nakamura Fusetsu shi kyūzō Uiguru go monjo danpen no kenkyū* 中村不折氏舊藏ウイグル語斷片の研究 (A Study of the Fragments of Uigur Text Found in the Fusetsu Nakamura Collection), *Tōyō Gakuhō*, LXI, 1–2, 1979, p. 07.
- 14) K. Röhrhorn: *Eine uigurische Totenmesse* (*Berliner Turfantexte*, II) Berlin, 1971: examples of using the *q* with one dot are, *baq̄ir* (Z. 203, Tafel XI), *bir̄iq̄* (Z. 311, Tafel XV), *ornūQ̄* (Z. 399, Tafel XXI), *baq̄ir* (Z. 557, Tafel XXX), *mončūq̄* (Z. 797, Tafel XLI), *undunQ̄uluq̄* (Z. 898, Tafel XLV), *yorīQ̄* (Z. 1246, Tafel LIX).
- 15) A. von Gabain: *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hüen-tsangs, I. Bruchstücke des 5. Kapitels*, *SPAW.*, 1935, S. 167, Z. 322.
- 16) S. Tezcan: *Das uigurische Insadi-Sutra* (*Berliner Turfantexte*, III), Berlin, 1974, Z. 172

- 34) T. Watanabe, *op.cit.*, p. 336.
- 35) S. Tezcan, *op.cit.*, S. 65, Anm. 927, Tafel LVII; and Şinasi Tekin: *Maitrisimit nom bitig, Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule (Berliner Turfantexte, IX)*, 1. Teil, Berlin, 1980, S. 142, Anm. 51, 4.
- 36) F. W. K. Müller: *Zwei Phahlnschriften aus den Turfanfunden, ABAW.*, 1915, Nr. 3, S. 6, Text, Z. 5.; and M. Shōgaito: *Uiguru go, uiguru go bunken no kenkyū*, I, "Kannon-gyō ni fusawashii sanpen no Avadāna" oyobi "Agonkyō" ni tsuite, ウイグル語・ウイグル語文獻の研究 I 『観音經に相應しい三篇の Avadāna』及び『阿含經』について (*Studies on Uigur language and uigur texts, I: On the Two Buddhist Uigur Texts: with Special Reference to the Three Avadānas Suitable to Avalokiteśvara-sūtra and Āgama-sūtra*), Kobe, 1982, pp. 6, 68-69, Text; 1. 240. Last page of photographs.
- 37) K. Hori, *op.cit.*, 2, p. 45.
- 38) Although Prof. Tōru Haneda has interpreted the legends on Türgish coins written in the Turkish language with Uighur letters as evidence of the first usage of the Uighur script i.e. in the first half of the 8th century (Toruko zoku to Bukkyō トルコ族と佛教 Les tribus turques et le bouddhisme, in *Haneda Hakushi shigaku ronbunshū, Shūkyō gengo hen* 羽田博士史學論文集, 宗教言語篇 *Recueil des œuvres posthumes de Tōru Haneda II, Etudes religieuses et linguistiques*, Kyoto, 1955, rep. 1976, pp. 506-508; do. *Uiguru moji kō* 回鶻文字考 *Réflexions sur l'alphabet ouïgour, ibid.*, pp. 1-38), but thereafter exactly the same type of coins were found at Ak-Besim, the legends of which were rightly interpreted as being written in the Sogdian language: Л. Р. Кызласов, О. И. Смирнова, А. М. Щербак: Монеты из раскопок городища Ак-Бешим (Киргизская ССР) в. 1953-1954 гг. *Ученые Записки Института Востоковедения*, Т. XVI, М.-Л., 1958, стр. 514-561; and M. Mori 護雅夫: Iwayuru Churugishu no dō-sen no meibun ni tsuite いわゆるチュルギシュの銅錢の銘文について (On the legend of the so-called "Türgish coins"), *Mikasanomiya Denka kanreki kinen Oriento gaku ronshū* (Near Eastern Studies dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of his sixtieth Birthday), Tokyo, 1975, pp. 322-329; do. *Kodai yūboku teikoku* 古代遊牧帝國 (*Ancient Nomad Empires*), Tokyo, 1976, pp. 195-202.
- 39) Huang, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-16.
- 40) These inscriptions of Chinese characters may have been very roughly scribbled characters as was the scratching on the walls of the Kizil caves, photographs of which have been published as Plates 96 & 97 of Huang, *op.cit.* That may be the reason why Kenyū Hori wrote in his diary that they (Hori and Watanabe) did not regard these Chinese characters as being worthy of copying even though they knew that the German team had copied them, because they were mere scrawls by some Buddhist priests (K. Hori, *op.cit.*, p. 44). And that may also be the reason why Yen Wên-ju reported that some names of Buddhist monks differed from those which were mentioned above in Huang Wên-pi's report. i.e. Yen transcribed Hui Tsêng 惠增 on the west wall of cave C as Hui Têng 惠灯, and did not find the name of Hui Ch'ao 惠超 in the same cave. But as Yen also reported that some inscriptions which were already copied by Huang more than thirty years before could not be found anywhere (Yen, *op.cit.*), we can only rely on Huang's report for the reading of those inscriptions.
- 41) Yen-Kumtura *op.cit.* wrote that the name Hui Tsêng appears on the south and east walls of cave No. 49 (p. 27). According to him it appears also in cave No. 69 (p. 29). His No. 49 may be equal to cave D of Huang.
- 42) Takeo Hiraoka 平岡武夫: *Tōdai no koyomi* 唐代の曆 (*The Tang Calendar*), Kyoto, 1954, rep. 1977, pp. 337-339.
- 43) A. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, S. 25.
- 44) Also found in cave No. 42 by Yen-Kumtura *op.cit.*, p. 27.
- 45) Huang, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
- 46) Takao Moriyasu 森安孝夫: Uiguru no seisen ni tsuite ウイグルの西遷について (Nouvel examen de la migration des Ouïgours au milieu de IX^e siècle), *Tōyō Gakuhō*, LIX, 1-2,

1977, pp. 105-130.

- 47) A. von Le Coq, *op.cit.* (see note 32), V, S. 15 u.a.
- 48) A. Stein: *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol. I, Text, p. 274, 297, Vol. II, Plates LXVII.
- 49) *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, *T'ang-chi* 唐紀, 57: Mu-tsung Ch'ang-ch'ing yüan-nien *liu-yüeh wu-yin*.... Hui-hu tsou i wan-ch'i ch'u Pei-t'ing, wan-ch'i ch'u An-hsi, chü T'u-fan i ying kung-chu. 穆宗長慶元年 (821 A. D.) 六月戊寅...回鶻奏以萬騎出北庭, 萬騎出安西, 拒吐蕃以迎公主; cf. Takeo Abe 安部健夫: *Nishi Uiguru koku shi no kenkyū* 西ウイグル國史の研究 (A Study on the History of the West Uighurs), Kyoto, 1955, p. 216.
- 50) *Sung-shih* 宋史 vol. 490, *Ch'iu-tz'ü* 龜茲: Shao-shêng san-nien, *shih Ta-shou-ling A-lien-sa-lo téng san-jên*, i *piao-chang chi yü-fo chih T'ao-hsi hsi-hé ching-lüeh-shih*. 紹聖三年 (1096 A. D.) 使大首領阿通撒羅等三人, 以表章及玉佛至洮西熙河經略使。
- 51) *Sung hui-yao* 宋會要 *Fan-i* 蕃夷 4, *Ch'iu-tz'ü* 龜茲 2: Chên-tsung Hsien-p'ing *liu-nien liu-yüeh liu-jih*, *Ch'iu-tz'ü kuo séng I-hsiu lai-hsien fan chia p'u-t'i-yin-yeh nien-chu shé-li*. 眞宗咸平六年六月六日, 龜茲國僧義修來獻梵夾菩提印葉念珠舍利。
- 52) *ibid.*: *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu san-nien jun érh-yüeh*....séng *Chih-yüan kung hu-p'o ssü-shih-wu jin, yü-shih ssü-shih-liu jin*. 大中祥符三年閏二月.....僧智圓貢琥珀四十五斤礮石四十六斤。
- 53) *ibid.*, *Ch'iu-tz'ü* 3: (T'ien-hsi) *wu-nien ch'i-yüeh*, *Tien-chih Po Wan-chin shang-yan, tso Ch'iu-tz'ü shih Yen-fu téng chieh cha wei wai-shih, yao-chi én-shang chi ch'i tz'ü ching-ts'ang chin-hsiang téng wu*. (天禧) 五年七月, 殿直白萬進上言: 昨龜茲使延福等皆詐爲外使, 邀冀恩賞及乞賜經藏金像等物; It is recorded that Li Yen-fu 李延福 brought tribute from Kucha in 1010. There seems to have been some trouble between Li Yen-fu and Po Wan-chin who was also a native of Kucha and entered Sung government service in 1006 (*Sung hui-yao*, *Fan-i* 4, *Ch'iu-tz'ü* 2).
- 54) *ibid.*: *Ch'ien-hsing yüan-nien chêng-yüeh*, *Ch'iu-tz'ü kuo séng Hua-yen tzu Hsi-t'ien chih i fo-wu shé-li fan chia wei hsien*. 乾興元年正月, 龜茲國僧華嚴自西天至以佛骨舍利梵夾爲獻; *Hsi Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編 vol. 98 records date as the *ping-shên* 丙甲 day of the fifth lunar month of 1022.
- 55) *Wên-hsien t'ung-kao* 文獻通考 vol. 24, *ssü-i* 四裔 13 or *Sung-shih* 宋史 vol. 490, *Ch'iu-tz'ü* 龜茲: *tsu T'ien-shêng chih Ching-yu ssü nien Ch'iu-tz'ü ju-kung ché wu, tsui-hou tz'ü i fo-ching yi ts'ang*. 自天聖至景祐四年龜茲入貢者五, 最後賜以佛經一藏。