

An Uigur Buddhist's letter of the Yüan Dynasty from Tun-huang 敦煌 (Supplement to "Uigurica from Tun-huang")

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In 1980, Ş. Tekin published a work entitled *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*,¹⁾ with facsimile, in which he analysed two Uigur manuscript-books from Tun-huang. One is *Or. 8212-108* of the British Library's Stein collection, while the other is *P. 4521* of the Bibliothèque Nationale's Pelliot collection. Although both of the books were brought from the famous cave of Tun-huang (No. 17 = Pelliot No. 163) which was walled up in the first half of the 11th century, it is beyond doubt that they are not from the period prior to that century like most of the other deposited articles, but definitely from Mongol times or the Yüan Dynasty period (13-14th cc.). So Tekin's dating of the books is correct. I have already discussed this point more minutely in my prior work.²⁾

Previous research³⁾ had already been done on *Or. 8212-108*, but Ş. Tekin was the first to publish the text of *P. 4521*. Having had an opportunity to examine the original during my study in Paris from 1978 to 1980, I shall describe the form of this book (*P. 4521*) using my notes of that time.

Form: a boundbook, 25 cm. by 18 cm. (284 mm. by 180 mm. according to Tekin's research, which is however incorrect because each of the sheets is irregular in size.) We find three holes and a string for binding the book on its left-hand side. The front and back covers are pasted onto the bound text, so that the string can hardly be seen from outside.

The frontcover: lost (a part remaining where the book was bound.)

The flyleaf at the beginning of the book: one sheet (cf. Tekin, Tafel 18 & 19 left) of light-brown paper with printed images on both the recto and the verso, that on the recto being hardly visible.

The main part: 30 sheets made of grey and very thin rice-paper in folio (for 60 pages) with the foliation from *i* — (one) to *san-shih* 三十 (thirty) on the top of the versos of each sheet.

The flyleaf at the end of the book: one sheet (cf. Tekin, Tafel 40 right & 41 left). The same type of paper as the one used at the beginning of the book. On the recto of the page, there is a big Chinese-ink stamp with Tibetan letters and overleaf are twelve lines of Uigur sentences which are in different writing from that of the main texts. However, these Uigur sentences (a sort of colophon) have almost entirely been rubbed out on purpose.

The back-cover: (cf. Tekin, Tafel 41 right & 42) A used piece of paper on which some Uigur sentences are written, pasted onto one or two separate piece(s) of blank paper, thus making it thicker. Although most of the Uigur sentences are illegible unless held against a light, one part of it is legible: that is the part inscribed with sentences which overlapped when the extra page was pasted on and which was then folded over and pasted down (cf. Tekin, Tafel 41 right, right side & lower side).

According to Tekin, the text of *P. 4521* is divided into three parts. The first two parts, which have now been deciphered, are Uigur adaptations of the stories about two Bodhisattvas (*Sadāprarudita* 薩陀波崙 & *Dharmodgata* 曇無竭) in *Tai-po-jé-p'o-lo-mi-to-ching* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*). The first part, in particular, which is a long text in alliterating verse in sets of 4 lines, offers great interest for the history of Uigur Buddhism. It is, however, to the sentences hidden in the back-cover that this study will be devoted.

It is impossible to photograph this text, since the paper involved has been partly folded and pasted up with other paper as mentioned above. I succeeded in copying down each of the words through the use of a lamp, except those parts where the words were overshadowed by words on the main part of the page and where the light could not penetrate the paper. This text turned out to be a letter, after the legible part of it was deciphered. My realization of the importance of publishing the document as soon as possible has incited me to publish the text as it is so far decipherable. (We shall await a better and more accurate transcription and translation when the sheet of the cover is removed to reveal the complete text.) The romanized text with a tentative translation is as follows:

TEXT

1. - - - - L - - - - L -
2. - - - - - s(ä)n m(ä)n SY'N körmiš-täki-[-č]ä

[t[örtünč]
[t[oquzunč]
3. ay - - - otuz-qađägi inč äsän bar turur <Here is a blank>
4. yana XW//Z alp q(a)y-a nomdaš-qa sanga m-a KW/////


11. send it to me Don't be too lazy. *Qulï Tu*
 12. the horses which were left are doing well.
 12-14. Whether you have read the sūtras or not, send them to me

 14-15. If there is anything else, you can send a letter. In the meantime,
 (convey) the (following)
 15-16. message to *Alp Qaya: Buyan Tämür* of Chi-
 nese with a complete *C'KY* stone.
 17. One annotated text for *Fa-hua-ching* 法華經, one
 18. *Nāmasaṃgīti* which Dr. *An-tsang* 安藏 translated,
 19. one *Hsin-ching* 心經 (=qarday) of *Tai-po-jê-ching* 大般若經. I sent
 the sūtras as shown above.
 20. Please examine and receive them. You observe it, will you?
 These sūtras and others
 21. Sincerely yours. <The rest is blank.>
 22. in whatever way to think of it, you this


 23.
 <Interrupted in the middle>
 2?.
 2?. When needed and it is said in that way
 <The remainder is lacking>

NOTES on the TEXT

1. At the beginning of Uigur letters come salutations enquiring about the health of the receiver. cf. S. Tezcan & P. Zieme, *Uigurische Brieffragmente, Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, pp. 451-460, 6 plates; Takao Moriyasu 森安孝夫, *Tonkô shutsudo Uiguru-go bun-ken* 敦煌出土ウイグル語文献 (Uigurica from Tun-huang), *Kôza Tonkô* 講座敦煌, vol. 6 (in press). [This will be cited as Moriyasu, op. cit.]
2. SY'N is not an adverb modifying *körmiš*, but probably the name of the sender. It might be read SYN' (Sīna), instead of SY'N.
2. The expression *körmiš-täki-čü* can be found also in other texts: cf. Tezcan & Zieme, op. cit., p. 457, Text C, 1.6; Moriyasu, op. cit., *No. 203 group*, verso, 11.6-7.
3. In the old Uigur language, numbers are expressed as 'One-thirty, two-thirty, three-thirty, nine-thirty', representing 'one before thirty (from twenty)' for 'Twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-nine'. In this text, as the word before *otuz* (thirty) is missing, I could not give the exact date.

3. It took a long time in those days to transport letters, because they were entrusted to caravans or the like. Hence assumedly, the expression with the date on which letters were written, "I have been well (at least) up to the Xth of Xth month." was used. The same expression is used in other text. cf. Moriyasu, op. cit., *No. 203 group*, verso, 11.6-7.
4. The names of Uigur people with an element *q(a)y-a* are frequent during Mongol times and the Yüan Dynasty. cf. James Hamilton, *Un acte ouïgour de vente de terrain provenant de Yar-khoto, Turcica*, I, Paris 1969, pp. 50-51; Moriyasu, op. cit., *No. 203 group*, notes on the verso.
4. As to *nomdaš*, cf. Moriyasu, op. cit., *No. 203 group*, notes to the text on the recto, no. 2.
7. The original spelling of the word indicated by ?? is .
9. The causative verb *andȳar-* 'have someone vow', which derived from *and/ant* 'oath, vow', here has the sense 'have someone declare'.
10. *yanȳi* is a noun derived from *yan-* 'come back, return, come home', which generally means 'reply, response' (cf. Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 948b, *yaniğ* & p. 949a, *yanğı*; Kara & Zieme, *BTT* VIII, p. 146, *yanqï*). Its meaning here may be more concrete: 'report' which was to be made by *Alp Qaya* on the progress of *Yoqay's* work.
12. It can be given another reading *äd qalip urip turur* 'goods have remained (unsold)' for *ađ qalip onip turur*.
13. *oqimayin* means 'without reading', for *oqi-* 'to read' followed by the particle of negation *-ma-* and *-yin*, forming a gerund.
14. The future form of *id-* 'send' is not understood as simple future but as possibility in future and permission as well, meaning 'be able to send, may send'. cf. J. Hamilton, *Le conte bouddhique du Bon et du Mauvais Prince en version ouïgoure*, Paris 1971, p. 146.
16. C'KY is not clear. It indicates *ch'é-ch'ü* 磳磳 'giant clam, tridacna', one of the Seven Treasures, if the word is read as *čäkü*. cf. L. Ligeti, *Un vocabulaire sino-ouïgour des Ming, Acta Orient. Hung.*, XIX, Budapest 1966, p. 151.
17. KWYL'N is not clear.
17.

Y	W	W
β		P

 is not clear. Following the original . If MYWW, it may be chin. *miao* 妙.
17. *vapquaki* is a loan word from *Fa-hua-ching* in Chinese. Reconstructed form for *Fa-hua-ching* in Ancient Chinese is *piwpp-ȳwa-kieng* (No. 642k +No. 44a+No. 831c), according to Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, Kungsbacka 1972 (Repr. from the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 29, Stockholm 1957). [This work

- is cited as GSR.]
17. The general meaning traditionally given to *ač̣iγ* 'gift' is not adequate in this context. I interpret it as derived from *ač̣-* 'to open', and give a meaning 'explanation; annotation, commentary', to which Mr. Kōgi Kudara agreed in response to my letter. According to Mr. Kudara, 'commentary' is virtually translated with *ač̣-* as "*abidarim šastr-taq̣i č̣in kirtü tözlüg yörüglärning kingürü ač̣dači tikisi*" or "*Tikā* which opens (=comments) the senses of truth included in the Abhidharma" = *A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun-shih-i-shu* 阿毘達磨俱舍論實義疏 (Commentary of Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya) (*Or.* 8212-75A, la 2).
 18. According to Karlgren, *GSR*, the ancient Chinese form of *An-tsang* is *·ân-tšiang* (No. 146a+No. 727 p).
 19. *taypašaki* is a loan word from Chinese *Tai-po-jê-ching*. According to Karlgren, *GSR*, the ancient Chinese form is *t'ái-puân-nziak-kieng* (No. 317a+No. 182a+No. 777a+No. 831c). Although the syllable corresponding to *po~p'an* 般 can be also interpreted as *-p(a)n* instead of *-pa-*, *-pa-* is regarded as suitable in view of the familiar example of 般若經 being transcribed as *p'o-jê-ching* 波 (No. 25L, *puá*) 若經 in the documents of Tun-huang (cf. S.1517, S.2275, S.4385). *Taypašaki*, which is also transcribed as *taypažaki*, repeatedly appears in the Uigur translation of the Biography of *Hsüan-tsang* 玄奘 (cf. Л. Ю. Тугушева, Уйгурская версия Биографии Сюань-цзана, *Письменные Памятники Востока*, 1971, Москва 1974, p. 281; etc.) and even in the main texts of *P. 4521* (cf. Tekin, pp. 285, 366).
 19. Uig. *qarday* is a loan word from Skr. *hṛdaya* 'heart, mind, soul': cf. Masahiro Shōgaito, Kodai Uiguru-go ni okeru Indo raigen shakuyō goi no dô-nyū keiro ni tsuite 古代ウイグル語におけるインド來源借用語彙の導入経路について (On the routes of the loan words of Indic origin in the Old Uigur language), *Journal of the Asian and African Studies*, 15, Tokyo 1978, p. 96. *taypašaki quarday-i* or 'the heart of *Tai-po-jê-ching*' means *Po-jê-hsin-ching* = *Tai-po-jê-p'o-lo-mi-to-hsin-ching* (Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra). Incidentally the letter of Mr. Kudara says that there exists a *po-jê-hsin-ching* in Uigur translation in the form of a small boundbook in the Turfan Collection of Berlin (unpublished).
 20. For fear that the goods might be stolen or lost on the way, it was a custom to list their numbers and contents in the letter. The words "Examine and receive them" were often added to letters on that occasion. The expression *körü al*, having exactly the same meaning as *körüp aḷil* in this text, can be seen in *Pelliot Ouigour 12 & Or. 8212-180*. They are the words which borrowed from the expressions *chienting* 檢領, *chientung* 檢容, 'examine and receive' (cf. *P. 2992*) of the Chinese formulas.
 20. As to *yamu*, cf. Clauson, op. cit., p. 934; S. Tezcan, *Das uigurische*

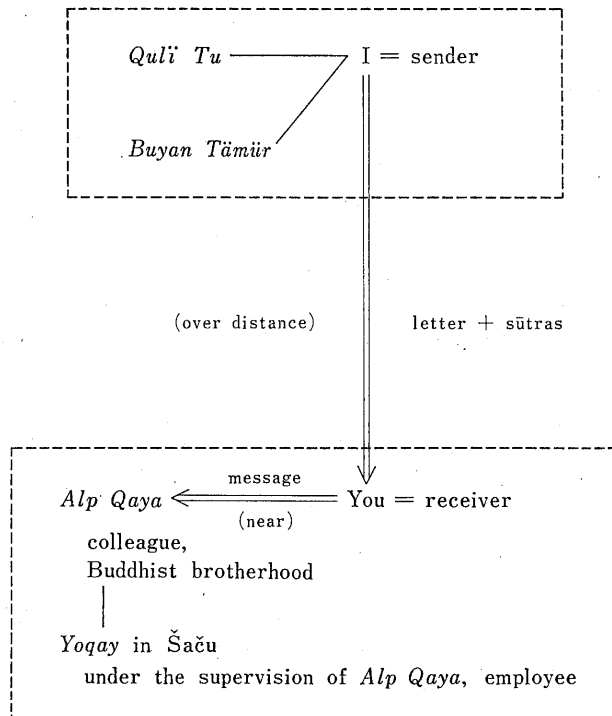
Insadi-Sūtra, (*Berliner Turfan-texte*, III), Berlin 1974, p. 106.

Hitherto published Uigur letters number no more than ten or so in all. Actually, however, several times as many of them are preserved in various collections of Paris, London, Berlin, Kyoto, etc.⁴⁾ I had the opportunity of seeing a considerable number of them as well as some of their photographs, and was thus able to grasp the style and idiomatic expression of the Uigur letters. (Heartfelt thanks go to Dr. James Hamilton who gave me much instruction during my stay in Paris.) The translation given in this essay is based upon this study. After further analysis of it, I have arrived at the following schema:

1. The name of receiver and sender, (missing).
2. The greeting to ask about the health of the receiver, (missing).
3. The health of the sender, (11.2-3).
4. Message 1 (11.4-7) - - - About a new work.
5. Message 2 (11.8-11) - - - Request for the receiver's report on the progress of the business promoted by *Yoqay*, who is in *Šaču*.
6. Message 3 (11.11-12) - - - A report on the horses (or goods) concerning *Quli Tu*.
7. Message 4 (11.12-14) - - - Request to send back to the sender the sūtras which are now in the receiver's hands.
8. Message 5 (11.14-15) - - - Advice to the receiver.
9. Message 6 (11.15-17) - - - Request to the receiver to give a message to *Alp Qaya*.
10. Message 7 (11.17-21) - - - Listing of all the titles of the sūtras to reach the receiver and request to assure reception of them.
11. The remainder (down from 1.22) is unclear.

Further study of the letter in the light of the above analysis clarifies the mutual relationship of the persons as shown in the following schema (cf. next page).

The expression "Don't be too lazy." (1.11) suggests that the relationship between 'I', the sender of the letter, and 'You', the receiver, is that of an employer and an employee. But it must be a closer relationship, family or relatives such as for example 'brothers', or 'uncle' and 'nephew', engaged in a private exchange of sūtras. It is clear that the receiver worked with *Alp Qaya* and *Yoqay* as a substitute under the direction of the sender. *Alp Qaya*, who was close enough to the receiver in distance to exchange messages, was requested to observe *Yoqay*'s work and make a report. In other words, these three persons lived in the same neighborhood. As *Yoqay*, one of the three, was in *Šaču* (Tun-huang), 'You' and *Alp Qaya* were also in or around *Šaču*.



'You' and *Alp Qaya* are supposed to have stayed at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (including nearby temples and hamlets), in the light of the following facts: The text *P. 4521* itself, whose back-cover is our letter translated above, was found in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which are about 20 km. south-east from Šaču;⁵⁾ *Alp Qaya* is called 'comrade in the doctrine'; and several kinds of sūtras were exchanged between the sender and the receiver.

In the next paragraph, I investigate the period in which this letter was written. The complete text *P. 4521* was written surely during Mongol times or the Yüan Dynasty period (13th–14th cc.). This is indicated by the type of writing of the letter (cursive or running style) and linguistic features (use of 's' for 'z', cf. 1.14; use of 'd' for 't', cf. 11.3, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 22; use of *-nï* as accusative, cf. 11.13, 19). Therefore, this text must belong to the latter half of the period, between the 8th and 14th centuries, during which most of the Uigur texts were drafted. As a matter of fact, the best clue to the date of this text lies in the sentence "*Nāmasaṃgīti* translated by *Antsang baqšï*" (1. 18).

Regarding a person named *Antsang* who played an important role in Uigur history as an Uigur translator of sūtras, we cannot think of anyone but *An-tsang* 安藏, who was a great scholar of Uigur and an active person in the Mongol times, particularly during the Yüan Dynasty.⁶⁾ Working for the Imperial Court during the reign of *Hsien-tsung* 憲宗 (Möngkä-Khan, r. 1251–

1259) and his successor *Shih-tsu* 世祖 (Khubilai-Khan, r. 1260–1294), he was eminent in the educational and religious field, mainly as the advisor of the Emperors. Despite such a reputation, the *Yüan-shih* 元史, which is notoriously defective, lacks his biography.

I, hereby, trace *An-tsang's* achievements as found in the "Spirit-Way Stele (in Memory) of His Excellency *Wên-ching*, Prince of *Ch'in-kuo*" *Ch'in-kuo Wên-ching-kung shên-tao-pei* 秦國文靖公神道碑 in *Hsüeh-lou-chi* 雪樓集⁷⁾ (vol. 9), composed by *Ch'êng Wên-hai* 程文海 (styled himself *Chü-fou* 鉅夫, 1250–1319) of the Yüan Dynasty, from which *An-tsang's* biography in the *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi* 蒙兀兒史記 (vol. 118) and *Hsin Yüan-shih* 新元史 (vol. 192) originated.

At the age of five, he started to be given by his father and his brother lectures on Confucian classics and annotations, and, at the age of nine, had a teacher for a regular study. It is said that he could read ten lines at a glance and wrote ten thousand characters everyday. When he was thirteen, he learnt by heart *Chü-shê-lun* 俱舍論 in thirty volumes, and when fifteen, he had read through all the texts of Buddhism and Confucianism. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed to an Imperial office. When *Shih-tsu* mounted the throne (1260), *An-tsang* wrote and dedicated *Pao-tsang-lun* 寶藏論 and *Hsüan-yen-chi* 玄演集 to him. The Emperor highly admired him for these works. He advised the Emperor to seek the causes of chaotic and orderly reigns of all ages through knowledge of political and historical books, and to enlighten the way of governing by *chéng-hsin-shu* 正心術. Moreover, he translated *Shang-shu Wu-i-p'ien* 尚書無逸篇, *Chéng-kuan chéng-yao* 貞觀政要 and *Shên-chien* 申鑑 to show the Emperor. When *Ariγ Bügä*⁸⁾, *Shih-tsu's* brother, rose in revolt against *Shih-tsu* in Mongolia (1260–1264), as he was unwilling to send an army directly against a bloodrelative, *Shih-tsu* sent *An-tsang* to persuade *Ariγ Bügä* to withdraw his army. Thereafter, *An-tsang* was much estimated as a counselor of *Shih-tsu*, became *Han-lin hsüeh-shih*, *Chia-i tai fou*, *Chih-chih-kao*, *T'ung-hsiu-kuo-shih* 翰林學士·嘉義大夫·知制誥·同脩國史 and was appointed *Shang-i Chung-shu-shêng-shih* 商議中書省事. By Imperial order, he translated the *Shang-shu* 尚書, the *Tzū-ch'ih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, difficult sūtras and books of pharmacology (in Uigur)⁹⁾, all of which satisfied the Emperor. He was promoted to *Han-lin hsüeh-shih ch'êng-chih* 翰林學士承旨 and accumulated the posts of *Chéng-féng tai-fou*, *Ling Chi-hsien-yüan Hui-t'ung-kuan Tao-chiao-shih* 正奉大夫·領集賢院會同館道教事. It is said that he enjoyed such confidence that every word of his was agreeable to the Emperor. He died in the fifth month of the 30th year of *chih-yüan* 至元. After his death, his posthumous works were put in order. They consisted of songs, poems, gāthās, eulogies, odes, etc., in several tens of volumes. The Emperor gave an order for them to be wood-block printed and had them widely distribute. In the second year of *yen-yu* 延祐 (1315), *An-tsang* received the posthumous title of *Ch'in-kuo-kung* and *Wên-ching*. He was an Uigur and his family had lived in *Pieh-shih-pa-li* 別石

八里 (Uig. *Biš-Balīq*) for generations. His grandfather was called *Hsiao-shêng-tu* 小乘都 (Uig. *Savšing Tu*), his grandmother *P'u-yen ti-chin* 普顏嫡瑾 (Uig. *Buyan Tegin*), his father *T'ien-tsang* 腆藏 and his mother *Yeh-hsien chün-chu* 葉仙郡主 (Uig. *Äsän Qunčuy*). His wife was a daughter of *Chang* 張 and one of their children was called *Wo-êrh-t'ò ti-ch'in* 斡兒妥迪欽 (Uig. *Ortu Tegin*). The most prominent person of *An-tsang's* disciples was *T'ien-tsang* 天藏 who later rose to the position of *Sha-chin ai-hu-ch'ih* 沙津愛護赤 (Uig. *Šazin Ayyuč'i*)¹⁰, and became the Emperor's teacher (*t'ai-shih* 太師 in *Hsüeh-lou-chi*, *ti-shih* 帝師 in *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi*, *kuo-shih* 國師 in *Hsin Yüan-shih*).

This is all we can learn from the *Hsüeh-lou-chi*. In regard to his additional achievements as a scholar of Buddhism, however, other documents give us some information.

An-tsang, in the position of *Han-lin hsüeh-shih ch'êng-chih*, *Chêng-fêng tai-fou*, participated, as an examiner of translation, in the work of compiling the *Chih-yüan Fa-pao K'an-t'ung Tsung-lu* 至元法寶勘同總錄 according to the preface of the 26th year of *chih-yüan* (1289). This was a comparative catalogue between the Chinese Tripiṭaka and Tibetan Tripiṭaka, which was edited by the Emperor's order in the 22nd–24th years of *chih-yüan*. Moreover, the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*, vol. 20 (No. 1108) contains the *Shêng-chiu-tu-fo-mu-êrh-shih-i-chung-li-tsan-ching* 聖救度佛母二十一種禮讚經 (1 vol.) translated into Chinese by *An-tsang*, and recently Kêng Shih-min brought to light an Uigur translation of this text as well.¹¹ According to Kêng Shih-min, the Uigur text was translated from Tibetan and not from Chinese probably by *An-tsang* himself, though this cannot be verified in the absence of any colophon.¹² Furthermore, the colophon of an Uigur sūtra *Hua-yen-ching* 華嚴經 published by Tôru Haneda tells us:¹³

arı̄y bögä tigin y(a)rlīringa k(ä)ntü(?) dı̄ntarı̄ kinki boşyutlūy biş balı̄q arasang(atsang?) [ba]qşı̄ tutung t(a)v̄raç tilintin türk tilinçä ikiläyü ävirmiş

By order of Prince *Arı̄y Bögä*, *Arasang* (*Atsang?*)-*baqşı̄-tutung*, a priest, scholar of *Biş-Balı̄q* turned (translated) it from Chinese into Turkish.

'*Arasang*(*Atsang?*)' should perhaps be read as '*Antsang*' here, though I am unable to make a final decision because neither the original nor its facsimile are accessible to me.¹⁴ As I interpret it, Prince *Arı̄y Bögä* should be identified with *Arīy Bügä* (?–1266), who rose in revolt against *Shih-tsu* for the throne (1260–1264). There is no chronological incongruity in this supposition.

Juten Oda read a paper "Uigur culture in Yüan Dynasty" at the symposium entitled *General Survey on Islam and the Social Change of Middle-East*, which was held in Hachi-ôji, Tokyo, in November 1980. He pointed out then that there were two long Buddhist verses composed by *Antsang* in *Eski Türk Şiiri* which was arranged and published by R. R. Arat. A preface (*Or. 8212–108*) or postscript (*T. III. M 208*) is appended to each of these poems.¹⁵

T. III. M 208 (U 4829)

ïduq samandabadiři bodistv-nïng yorïr qut qolunmaq-ïnga tayanïp qulutï
antsang qalim käyši [Mr. Oda read *q(a)nlim kävši*] qoşuř-qa ïnřurmiş(?)
şlok taqşut nom tükädi sařu sařu namo bud namodïram namosang

Here ends the doctrine in alliterative verses which was written by your servant (=I), *Antsang*, a member of the *Han-lin* Academy, relying on the search for the *dharma* which the sacred *Samantabhadra-Bodhisattva* pursued. Good! Good! *Namo Buddha, Namu Dharma, Namu Sang.*

Or. 8212-108

buda avatansaka atlıř sudur içindä buşulmaq-siz nom uřuş-qa kirmäk
bölükdä bulung yïngař sayu kälmiş bodistv-lar buliđçïlayu yïřilmïş toy
quvrař ara burqan ořlı tolpi tüzün uřan arşı-nïng bulunçsuz yig ädgü-
lärin ögmiş şlokda burq(?) şarq(?) qïlip on ädgüsin m(ä)n antsang özüm
buyan küsüş üzä qoşmiş taqşut başladı

Here begins the poem composed by myself, *Antsang*, with the 'ten good virtues' in search of *punya* 'blessed virtues', being impressed by a verse of the chapter regarding the entrance to the indestructible *Dharma*-realm in the sūtra called *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, where is admired the exceeding goodness of the Son of Buddha, 'The all Sacred God', among the large gathering of bodhisattvas who assembled from different regions.

The two Buddhist texts with these words are composed of four lines, each with alliteration. This style is characteristic of Uigur Buddhist culture.¹⁶⁾ Despite *Antsang's* great achievements in the history of Uigur Buddhism, the fact that he translated *Nāmasaṃgīti* into Uigur is as yet almost unknown. *Nāmasaṃgīti* itself generally indicates *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*Taişō Tripitaka*, vol. 20, no. 1187–no. 1189). Actually, there had been found among Turfan documents in the Uigur language many fragments of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* in wood-block printed books, which were edited by G. Kara and P. Zieme some years ago.¹⁷⁾ In a recent article,¹⁸⁾ Kara edited some additional fragments belonging to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, revealing consequently that the following colophon published in Zieme's previous article¹⁹⁾ was also a part of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, where *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* is simply called *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

TM 14 (U 4759)

ariş ariř bu nama sangit nom ärdini açari kşi karunadař sidu üzä aqdaril-
mişi adinçïř mungadinçïř taydu-taqï aq stup-luř uluř vxar-ta adruq şim
şipqan-liř bars yïl yitinç ay-ta alquşï barça alasızın tüzü yapa adaqïnga
tägi uz yaraşı ädgüti bütürüldi ∴ sadu sadu

The sacred *Nāmasaṃgīti*, *dharma*-jewel, was translated by *Ssü-t'u* 司徒

Karunadaḡ, *ācārya*, a director. At an exceptionally marvellous big temple with a white pagoda in Peking, in the seventh month of the year of *jên-yin* 壬寅, all the work was done without any omission and performed perfectly and carefully to the very end. Good! Good!

Kara and Zieme are right in pointing out that the above mentioned year of *jên-yin* is equivalent to A.D. 1302, and *Ssü-t'ü Karunadaḡ* is identified with *Chia-lu-na-ta-ssü* 迦魯納答思 who left a biography in the *Yüan-shih*, vol. 134.²⁰ This fact proves that the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* which was commonly called *Nāmasaṃgīti* in those days was rendered into Uigur by *Chia-lu-na-ta-ssü* and not by *Antsang*. This raises another question: how to interpret “*Nāmasaṃgīti* which Dr. *Antsang* translated”, 1.18 of our text. It is oversimplifying to suppose the existence of translation by *Antsang* besides *Karunadaḡ*. It is helpful to take into consideration the relationship between *Antsang* and *Karunadaḡ*. According to the biography of *Karunadaḡ* in the *Yüan-shih*, vol. 134, he was also an Uigur and deeply versed in Buddhism and various languages, thanks to which he came to serve *Shih-tsu* with the recommendation of *Antsang* who had previously been an Imperial official. *Karunadaḡ* is said to have learnt Tibetan from the National Teacher 'Phags-pa and translated Tibetan and Indian sūtras and śāstras into Uigur. His translations were printed xylographically and widely distributed by Imperial order. He became *Han-lin hsüeh-shih ch'êng-chih* in 1287, and rose to *Tai-ssü-t'ü* 大司徒 when *Ch'êng-tsung* 成宗 (Temür-Khan, r. 1294–1307), the successor of *Shih-tsu*, acceded to the throne in 1294. He died in 1311. Moreover, we find further evidence, namely “*Chia-lu-na-ta-ssü* of the Biš-Baliq Protectorate (*Pei-t'ing Tu-hu-fou* 北庭都護府), who understands the two languages and is well versed in the exoteric and esoteric teachings has translated Tibetan by Imperial order” in the preface of the *Chih-yüan Fa-pao K'an-t'ung Tsung-lu* which was edited from 1285 to 1287, together with the above mentioned phrase “*Antsang* with the Chinese title *Han-lin hsüeh-shih ch'êng-chi*, *Chêng-fêng tai-fou*, has examined the translation by Imperial order.” These data make it clear that the relation between the two was very intimate: both of them are Uigur from *Pei-t'ing* (=Biš-Baliq), were active as important members of the *Han-lin Academy* in the Capital city of *Tai-tu* 大都 (Peking) under the reign of *Shih-tsu*, and were engaged in the translation of Buddhist texts. They were presumed to be also privately in a close contact, in view of the fact that *Karunadaḡ* entered the Imperial Court with *Antsang*'s recommendation. It is hardly acceptable in common sense to infer that these two persons, working in the same section, sharing works, serving the Emperor who much appreciated their abilities, and also being in close private contact, would have translated the same sūtra independently whether on their own initiative or by Imperial order. This reflexion enables us to propose two alternative solutions to the problem posed by the sentence “*Nāmasaṃgīti* which Dr. *Antsang* translated”

in the epistle.

- (1) The author of our letter mistook *Karunadaḥ* for *Antsang*, who were very close to each other.
- (2) The translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* was attributed officially to *Karunadaḥ* because of its publication after *Antsang*'s death, though executed by *Karunadaḥ* with or under the direction of *Antsang* who was his superior. Yet, it was treated as a work of *Antsang*'s among Uigur Buddhists who were well acquainted with the facts. (The discrepancy between the time of translation and that of printing poses no problem.)

At any rate, we can assume that the "Nāmasaṃgīti translated by *Antsang*", which was said to have been sent separately to the region of Šaču (probably to the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas of Tun-huang) by the author of the letter, was one of the xylographically printed *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, which had been available generally only after its impression of 1302 in Peking, or its copy. At least, I would like to think this until we find a *Nāmasaṃgīti* translated obviously by *Antsang*.

In my preceding discussion, I came to the conclusion that the letter from an Uigur Buddhist introduced in this study was written after A.D. 1302. Following A.D. 1266, the revolt of Khaidu expanded into a dreadful war which divided Mongol powers into two spheres. As a consequence, some of the Western Uigur people were scattered into *Hē-hsi* 河西 (= Kansu Corridor) and other places, while some were left in the Eastern T'ien-shan region (including Turfan). When the revolt came under control in the first years of the 14th century, the exchange of missions between the Yüan Dynasty and the Western Mongol royal families became easy and frequent, and the East-West trade-route was secured, thus restoring its prosperity.²¹⁾ Such peace and prosperity continued up until the destruction of the Yüan Dynasty (at least east of the Pamirs) even when the T'ien-shan region was put under the reign of a Chaghatai Khan and *Hē-hsi* was under the reign of another Chaghatai Khan²²⁾ and of the former Western Uigur royal family. Most of the decipherable names of places where the sūtras and almanacs found in Turfan and Tun-huang were xylographically printed in Uigur, Mongol and *Hsi-hsia* 西夏 are located in inland China, places like Peking and *Hang-chou* 杭州 which were centers of culture during the Yüan Dynasty. (It doesn't necessarily hold true for all. As shown in the appendix of my previous article, many Uigur wood-block types were disinterred from the cave No. 181 of Pelliot's enumeration, thus revealing that printing was done even in Tun-huang.) Furthermore, most of the dates of printing determined up to the present are concentrated in the first half of the 14th century.²³⁾ The above facts are very suggestive. Uigur Buddhists stayed in the Caves of the Thousand

Buddhas of Tun-huang, and one of their fellows did business in Šaču and exchanged letters in cursive style and various sūtras with Uigur people in far distant places. The existence of such a peaceful situation is possible only in the period from the beginning to the middle of the 14th century.

When we call the Buddhist documents and inscriptions (graffiti) in Uigur or Mongolian or Chinese with definite dates which were found at Tun-huang (but not in the famous cave), we find that most of them were written in the same period. In the Tun-huang cave No. 144 (Pelliot's No. 6) there is a Mongolian inscription which was written in the 3rd year of *chih-ch'ih* 至治 (A.D. 1323) by a group of pilgrims (either Mongols or Uigurs judging from their names) coming from *Su-chou* 肅州,²⁴⁾ and in the cave No. 217 (No. 70 of Pelliot) there are Uigur inscriptions in Uigur and 'Phags-pa script saying that a Uigur Buddhist called *Buyan Qaya* also coming from *Su-chou* stayed in Tun-huang for three years.²⁵⁾ A piece of Uigur Buddhist prayer (document No. 212 from the cave No. 181 of Pelliot) was written in the 12th year of *chih-chêng* 至正 (A.D. 1352),²⁶⁾ and as for the Uigur sūtra in boundbook style (*Or. 8212-109*) which I assume to have been exhumed in the same cave, it has a colophon written in the 10th year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1350).²⁷⁾ Two inscriptions in Chinese script were made in commemoration of the reparation of the temples in *Mo-kao-k'ü* 莫高窟 (= the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas) or in Šaču: one in the 8th year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1348) and the other in the 11th year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1351), both of which were initiated mainly by members of the Mongol royal families who ruled a part of *Hé-hsi*.²⁸⁾ On the top of the former, the mystic formula *Om maṇi padme hūṃ* was inscribed in the six scripts of Lantsha (Devanāgarī), Tibetan, Uigur, 'Phags-pa, Hsi-hsia and Chinese. Meanwhile, in the perspective of the whole of *Hé-hsi*, in the area of *Su-chou*, we find the *Ch'ung-hsiu Wên-shu-sü pei* 重修文殊寺碑 (Stele in Memory of the Reparation of Mañjuśrī-Temple) which *Nom Taš Taysi* of Chaghatai Khan's lineage had built in the 3rd year of *t'ai-ting* 泰定 (A.D. 1326),²⁹⁾ and the *Tai-yüan Su-chou-lu yeh-k'ê ta-lu-hua-ch'ih shih-hsi chih pei* 大元肅州路也可達魯花赤世襲之碑 (Stele of the Genealogy of the Great Darughachi of the Yüan Dynasty in *Su-chou*) of the 21st year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1361) commemorating a family of Tangut high officials;³⁰⁾ and in the region of *Yung-ch'ang* 永昌 is the *I-tu-hu Kao-ch'ang-wang shih-hsün-peï* 亦都護高昌王世勲碑 (Stele in Memory of the Meritorious Services of the *Iduq-qut*, Kings of *Kao-ch'ang*) which was erected in the 2nd year of *yüan-t'ung* 元統 (A.D. 1334) in honour of the successive West Uigur rulers (*Iduq-qut*).³¹⁾ The inscriptions of these steles being written in both Chinese and Uigur, Uigur texts are more detailed than their Chinese counterparts. Also in the region of *Yung-ch'ang*, there is the *Tai-yüan ch'ih-sü chui-fêng Hsi-ning-wang Hsin-tu-kung shên-tao-peï* 大元敕賜追封西寧王忻都公神道碑 (Spirit-way Stele of His Excellency *Hsin-tu*, Prince *Hsi-ning*, granted by Imperial Order under the Yüan) in Chinese and Mongol, which was erected in commemoration of an Uigur high

official in the 22nd year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1362).³²⁾

From the above materials, we can presume that colonies of Uigurs existed in various places of *Hê-hsi* from the beginning to the middle of the 14th century, and that Uigur was used as a common language among people of different origins dwelling there. The truth is that a large group of Uigur people following the West Uigur *Iduq-qut* transferred their residence to *Yung-ch'ang*.³³⁾ It is also assumed that a large number of old West Uigurs who had moved from the area of the Eastern T'ien-shan scattered about other places of *Hê-hsi*, thus constituting an important element of its population together with the Chinese, Mongols, Tanguts (and Tibetans).

As mentioned in my previous article, Tun-huang cave No. 181 according to Pelliot's enumeration (and probably cave No. 182) was constructed for Uigur Buddhists, and its various documents in Uigur, Chinese, Hsi-hsia, Mongol, Brāhmī and Tibetan belonged to the local Uigur Buddhist community. Among the documents, we found an Uigur letter written in cursive style (document *group No. 203*) which had been sent from the Turfan region and also some fragments of Mongolian code with Chinese annotations (document *group No. 16*) which had been brought to Šaču to be widely distributed after being published in the capital of the Yüan Dynasty. Moreover, an Uigur Buddhist's prayer text (document *No. 212*) was dated in the 12th year of *chih-chêng* (A.D. 1352). The date roughly determined for the whole of the documents from the cave No. 181 (and cave No. 182) in Pelliot's system of enumeration was thought to be from the 13th c. to the 14th c. (i.e. Mongol period inclusive of the Yüan Dynasty) in the prior work, but now we would specify the period from the beginning to the middle of the 14th century. We feel assured that all the Uigur Buddhist texts in boundbook style, such as the *Or. 8212-75 A & B*, *Or. 8212-108*, *Or. 8212-109* and *P. 4521*, were from the caves of this period (Pelliot's No. 181 and No. 182), even though the places of their discovery, somewhere among the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, may be obscure.

Now we have come to the conclusion that the letter which was hidden in the back-cover of the *P. 4521* was addressed to an Uigur Buddhist who was in a close contact with the Uigur Buddhist community at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas from the beginning to the middle of the 14th c. in order to supervise the exchange of sūtras and the management of some commercial affairs. The letter was probably dispatched from a settlement of Uigur people in *Hê-hsi* outside of Šaču or from somewhere in the Eastern T'ien-shan region which had been the territory of the West Uigur Kingdom. In bringing the present paper to a close, I express the hope that the back-cover will be taken apart in the near future to enable us to study our text more directly.

NOTES

- 1) Şinasi Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*, (*Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 69), Wiesbaden 1980, 383 p. + 42 plates.
- 2) T. Moriyasu, *Tonkô shutsudo Uiguru-go bunken 敦煌出土ウイグル語文獻 (Kôza Tonkô, vol. 6 = Tonkô kogo bunken 敦煌胡語文獻 Documents in barbarian languages from Tunhuang* (in press), chap. 1 & 3. [This will be cited always as Moriyasu, op. cit.]
- 3) R. Rahmeti Arat, *Eski Türk Şiiri*, Ankara 1965, pp. 63-161; Masahiro Shôgaito 庄垣内正弘, *Uiguru-go shahon, Daiei Hakubutsukan-zô Or. 8212-108 ni tsuite ウイグル語寫本・大英博物館藏 Or. 8212-108 について (Uighur Manuscript Or. 8212-108, British Museum)*, *Tôyô Gakuhô 東洋學報*, 57-1/2, Tokyo 1976, pp. 017-035.
- 4) Cf. Semih Tezcan & Peter Zieme, *Uigurische Brieffragmente*, *Studia Turcica*, ed. by Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1971, pp. 451-460, 6 plates; P. Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, (*Berliner Turfantexte*, V), Berlin 1975, pp. 65-71, Nos. 30-34, plates; James Hamilton, *Edition du corpus des manuscrits ouigours de la grotte murée de Töuen-houang*, in preparation; T. Moriyasu, *Ryûkoku Daigaku Toshokan shozô Ôtani Tankentai shôrai Saiiki shutsudo bunken chû ni hukumareru Uiguru-go shokan danpen ni kansuru hôkoku 龍谷大學圖書館所藏・大谷探險隊將來西域出土文獻中に含まれるウイグル語書簡斷片に關する報告 (A report on the fragments of Uighur letters brought from Central Asia by the Ôtani Mission and preserved in the Ryûkoku University Library)*, inedited.
- 5) It says *Şaçu balïq-ta* 'in the town of Şaçu' in the 7th line of the colophon (rubbed out on purpose) which remains on the flyleaf at the end of the book of *P. 4521*. For information, I transcribe here the first five lines which are rather legible in this colophon.
 1. bodistv uꞑuṣ-luꞑ baqṣi-lar
 2. - - - - - ṣasd[ī]r-lariꞑ yaraḍip
 3. - - - - - [biṣ] ḥopdik-lār öd(i)ntä
 4. - - - - - -suz alqu-qa ulaz-un tip
 5. qoṣup - - - qodmiṣ bu ṣasdīr-lariꞑ
- 6) Cf. B. Ögel, *Sino-Turcica*, Taipei 1964, pp. 120-121; Li Fou-t'ung 李符桐, Hui-hu yü Yüan-chao chien-kuo chih kuan-hsi 回鶻與元朝建國之關係 (The relationship between the Uigurs and the Establishment of the Yüan Dynasty), *Shi-da Xue-bao 師大學報* 15, 1970, p. 182.
- 7) *Hu-pei hsien-shêng i-shu* 湖北先生遺書, chi-pu 集部, vol. 5.
- 8) It is certain that *A-li Pu-kê* 阿里不哥 corresponds to *Ariꞑ Böğä/Bügä/Bökä/Bükä* but not to *Ariꞑ Buqa*. cf. Louis Hambis, avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che*, (*T'oung Pao*, Supplément au Vol. XXXVIII), Leiden 1945, p. 89. In most cases, *kê* corresponds to the sound *gä/kä* of the front vowel (e.g. *Yeh-hsiang-kê* 也相哥 = *Yäsängä*, *Mêng-kê* 蒙哥 = *Möngkä*, *Mo-kê* 末哥 = *Mögä*, *Pieh-êrh-kê* 別兒哥 = *Bärkä*, *Hu-kê-ch'ih* 忽哥赤 = *Hügäci*, etc.), while *Buqa* of the back vowel is represented mostly by *Pu-hua* 不花, *Pu-hua* 補花.
- 9) Acc. to the biography of *An-tsang*, *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi*, vol. 118.
- 10) *Ai-hu-ch'ih* 愛護赤 in the *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi* is correct, but *mi-hu-ch'ih* 密護赤 in both the *Hsüeh-lou-chi* and *Hsin Yüan-shih* is misleading. *Sha-chin Ai-hu-ch'ih* 沙津愛護赤 or *Şazim Ayyučï* means 'a Chief Director of Buddhism' and is regarded not only as the supreme director of a Buddhist community but also as an extremely high position in the political field. cf. L. Ligeti, *Sur quelques transcriptions sino-ouigoures des Yuan*, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, XXXIII, 1961, pp. 242-243; idem, *A propos d'un document ouigour de l'époque mongole*, *Acta Orient. Hung.*, XXVII-1, 1973, pp. 9-10; N. Yamada 山田信夫, *Uiguru-bun nuhi monjo oyobi yôshi monjo ウイグル文奴婢文書および養子文書 (Uighur Documents of Slaves and Adopted Sons)*, *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Ôsaka University*, XVI, 1972, p. 228.
- 11) Geng Shi-min, *Qadimqï Uyğurca Buddhistik äsar* ((*Ārya-trāta-buddhamātrika-Vimsati-pūga-stotra-sūtra*)) *din fragmentlar*, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 3, Cambridge

- (U.S.A.) 1979, pp. 295-306 (with plates).
- 12) *ibid.*, p. 296.
 - 13) Tôru Haneda 羽田 亨, Toruko-bun Kegon-kyô no dankan トルコ文華殿經の斷卷 (A propos d'un fragment du sutra *Gandavyuha* en langue turque), *Recueil des Œuvres Posthumes de Tôru Haneda*, II, Kyoto 1958, pp. 200-201 et n. 16.
 - 14) A letter from Mr. Juten Oda 小田壽典 gives me to understand that he holds the same view as me.
 - 15) Arat, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171 (plate, p. 485) & pp. 72-73 (plate, p. 446).
 - 16) Cf. P. Zieme, Zur buddhistischen Stabreimdichtung der alten Uiguren, *Acta Orient. Hung.*, XXIX-2, 1975, pp. 187-211 (with plates); see especially pp. 188-189.
 - 17) G. Kara & P. Zieme, *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen der Guruyogas* (《Tiefer Weg》) *von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, (*Berliner Turfantexte*, VIII), Berlin 1977.
 - 18) G. Kara, Weiteres über die uigurische *Nāmasaṃgīti*, *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, VIII, 1981, pp. 227-236, 4 plates.
 - 19) Zieme, *op. cit.* (*AOH*. XXIX-2), pp. 198-199.
 - 20) Kara, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-234; Zieme, *op. cit.*, p. 197; P. Zieme, Bemerkungen zur Datierung uigurischer Blockdrucke, *JA*. 1981, pp. 388-389.
 - 21) Tôru Saguchi 佐口 透, Jyûyon-seiki ni okeru Gen-chô dai-kân to seihô san ôke to no rentaisei ni tsuite 十四世紀に於ける元朝大カーンと西方三王家との連帯性について (On the Continuance of the Connection between the Great Khan of the Yüan Dynasty and the Three Western Royal Families in the 14th Century), *Kita Ajia Gakuhô* 北亞細亞學報, 1, 1942, pp. 1-64; ditto, Mongoru-jin shihai jidai no Uigurisutan モンゴル人支配時代のウイグリスタン (Uighuristân zur Mongolenzeit), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, 54-8, 9, 1943, pp. 785-855, 988-1013; Takeo Abe 安部健夫, *Nishi Uiguru Kokushi no kenkyû* 西ウイグル國史の研究 (*Studies on the National History of the West Uigurs*), Kyoto 1955, chap. 2, pp. 65-138; J. W. Dardess, From Mongol Empire to Yüan Dynasty, *Monumenta Serica*, XXX, 1972-1973, pp. 117-165, chap. III; Ritsuko Ôshima 大島立子, Gen jidai 元時代 (Yüan period), *Kôza Tonkô*, vol. 2, Tokyo 1980, pp. 375-380.
 - 22) Regarding the existence of another Chaghatai Khan's Family in *Hê-hsi*, cf. Masaaki Sugiyama 杉山正明, Hin-ô Chubei to sono keifu 幽王チュベイとその系譜 (Cübei, the prince of *Bin* 幽 and his genealogy), *Shirin* 史林, 65-1, 1982, pp. 1-40.
 - 23) Regarding Uigur texts, cf. Arat, *op. cit.*, (in particular, pp. 185-211, *K'ui-k'ui* 嚙嚙 <uig. *Kki-kki*> who was an active person in the first half of 14th century); Zieme, Bemerkungen zur Datierung uigurischer Blockdrucke, *JA*. 1981, pp. 385-399. Regarding Mongolian texts, cf. Erich Haenisch, *Mongolica. Der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung*, I-II, (*ADAW.*, Jahrg. 1953, Nr. 3 & Jahrg. 1959, Nr. 1), Berlin 1954-1959; W. Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke • Landkarten*, (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd. 1), Wiesbaden 1961, Nos. 293, 324, 402, 403, 645; Herbert Franke, *Mittelmongolische Kalenderfragmente aus Turfan*, (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische A. W.*, Jahrg. 1964, Heft 2), München 1964. Regarding *Hsi-hsia* texts, cf. Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, chap. 3, note (6).
 - 24) W. Kotwicz, Quelques données nouvelles sur les relations entre les Mongols et les Ouigours, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, II (1919-1924), Lwów 1925, pp. 240-247; L. Ligeti, *Monuments Préclassiques*, 1, (*Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*, II), Budapest 1972, pp. 33-34.
 - 25) G. Kara, Petites inscriptions ouigoures de Touen-houang, *Hungaro-Turcica*, Budapest 1976, pp. 55-59 (with plates).
 - 26) Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, chap. 2, No. 212.
 - 27) M. Shôgaito, Uiguru-go shahon, Daiei Hakubutsukan-zô Or. 8212 (109) ni tsuite (On Uigur Manuscript Or. 8212-109), *Tôyô Gakuhô*, 56-1, 1974, p. 045; P. Zieme & G. Kara, *Ein Uigurisches Totenbuch*, (*Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 63), Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 27-28, 160-163.

- 28) Ed. Chavannes, *Dix inscriptions chinoises de l'Asie Centrale d'après les estampages de M. Ch.-E Bonin*, Paris 1902, pp. 96-103; Hiroshi Umemura 梅村坦, *Jyûmin no shuzoku kôsei* —Tonkô o meguru shominzoku no dôkô 住民の種族構成—敦煌をめぐる諸民族の動向— (The race constitution of dwellers— The movement of different races connected with Tun-huang), *Kôza Tonkô*, vol. 3, Tokyo 1981, pp. 213-219.
- 29) Included in the *Lung-yu chin-shih-lu* 隴右金石錄. But the *Lung-yu chin-shih-lu* explains mistakenly that the verso of this inscription is written in Mongolian. In fact it is written in Uigur. (cf. Hambis, op. cit., p. 58, n.3 & p. 61, n.12; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, Paris 1959, p. 254). Incidentally, I am preparing for publication this Uigur text on the basis of Pelliot's manuscript preserved in the Musée Guimet (Paris).
- 30) Pai Pin 白濱 & Shih Ching-p'o 史金波, 《(Tai-yüan Su-chou-lu yeh-k'ê ta-lu-hua-ch'ih shih-hsi chih pei) k'ao-shih—Lun Yüan-tai Tang-hsiang-jên tsai Hê-hsi ti huo-tung 《大元肅州路也可達魯花赤世襲之碑》考釋—論元代黨項人在河西的活動—, (Annotations on "The Genealogical Tablet of the Great Darughachi of the Yüan Dynasty in Su-Chou" —Comments on the Activities of the Tanguts in Ho-Hsi Area during Yüan Dynasty), *Minzu Yanjiu* 民族研究, 1979-1, pp. 68-90, including as supplement the partial translation of the Uigur text of this inscription by Kêng Shih-min 耿世民.
- 31) Huang Wên-pi 黃文弼, *I-tu-hu Kao-ch'ang-wang shih-hsün-pei fou-yüan ping chiao-chi* 亦都護高昌王世勲碑复原并校記 (The restoration of and collation notes on the stela concerning the meritorious deeds of i-tu-hu (iduq-qut), the Princes of Kao-ch'ang), *Wen-wu* 文物, 1964-2, pp. 34-39, 1 plate; Kêng Shih-min 耿世民, *Hui-hu-wên I-tu-hu Kao-ch'ang-wang shih-hsün-pei yen-chiu* 回鶻文亦都護高昌王世勲碑研究 (A Study of the Stone Tablet in Uygur Script about the Meritorious Services of Princes of Gaochang), *Kao-gu Xue-bao* 考古學報, 1980-4, pp. 515-529, 1 plate; Geng Shimin & J. Hamilton, *L'inscription ouïgoure de la stèle commémorative des Iduq Qut de Qoço*, *Turcica*, XIII, 1981, pp. 10-54.
- 32) F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12, 1949, pp. 1-133, 27 plates.
- 33) Saguchi, op. cit. (Uighuristân), pp. 991-992; Abe, op. cit., pp. 119-127.