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From Chinese to Uighur Documents

Takao Moriyasu & Peter Zieme

Introduction

There are a lot of examples of Uighur Buddhist texts including Chinese words or phrases with or without parallel Uighur translation among the Turfan Collections. In majority these are written in cursive script, even though a few exceptional ones¹ are recorded in square script. Almost all of them are supposed to be from the Mongol period, i.e. the 13th - 14th centuries. Furthermore, there are some Uighur secular documents with additional Chinese texts which are not translated into Uighur. They are dealt with in the SUK: Em01, Mi10, Mi27, Mi33. They are written in cursive script and stem from the Mongol period, too.

On the other hand, there are some real bilingual secular documents in Uighur / Chinese preserved in the Turfan Collections of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin and of the Ryūkoku University in Kyōto. As a peculiar characteristic of this small group, we can point out that the Uighur parts are always written in semi-square script (see below).

These texts have been noticed by some scholars earlier, but have never been published so far. As for the ones of the Berlin Collection, some records are preserved in the posthumous papers of A. v. Gabain, A. Shimazaki 嶋崎昌 and N. Yamada 山田信夫. While preparing the edition of the uncompleted work of N. Yamada on the contracts (later published as SUK by us), we postponed the edition of these special bilingual Uighur / Chinese documents to a separate study which

1 These cases all belong to sūtra texts, cf. Kudara / Zieme 1983, pls. 8-10, 13, 14.

we are going to present here. Mentioning some of them, one of the authors already has pointed out² their importance for the study of the cross-cultural relationship between the Chinese and the Uighurs especially on account of their bilingualism. They are keys for solving the question how the Uighur format of various secular documents like contracts (sale, exchange, loan, hiring, lease, etc.), records of management of monasteries, or legal documents etc. turned up.

Since 1985 Moriyasu has been proposing to divide the style of Uighur script into four gradations: square (*kaisho* 楷書), semi-square (*han-kaisho* 半楷書), semi-cursive (*han-sōsho* 半草書), and cursive (*sōsho* 草書).³ Square script or book script written by professional scribes can be used at any time continuously from the oldest times, i.e. 9th - 10th centuries, to the later Mongol times. All dated or datable Uighur manuscripts in cursive script belong to the Mongol period. As opposed to this, semi-square script can be found mainly among the Uighur manuscripts from around the 10th century like documents from the famous hidden cave of Dun-huang or the two stake inscriptions from Turfan.⁴ Semi-cursive is a transitive stage. The fact that the Uighur parts of all our manuscripts are written in semi-square script does not contradict Moriyasu's theory that the Uighurs began to make every kind of secular documents based on the preceding Chinese formulas in the early times of the West Uighur Kingdom, i.e. late 9th to 10th century.⁵

The texts are given both in transliteration and transcription basically according to UW or Röhrborn's system with an additional mark -q which indicates a final -q

2 Moriyasu 1989b, p. 53; Moriyasu 1991, p. 50; Moriyasu 1996, pp. 68-69; Moriyasu 1998, p. 16.

3 Moriyasu 1985, pp. 16, 39, 73; Moriyasu 1989b, p. 71; Moriyasu 1990a, section 5 (pp. 69-72); Moriyasu 1991, pp. 53-54; Moriyasu 1992, pp. 48-50; Moriyasu 1994, section 10; Moriyasu 1996, section 4 (pp. 79-81) and pp. 91-92, 96; Moriyasu 1997a, pp. 1235-1233; Moriyasu 1998, pp. 5, 9-12, 14.

4 Cf. Moriyasu 1980, pp. 334-335, 337-338 (n. 55); Moriyasu 1991, pp. 150-152.

5 For contract documents see Moriyasu 1989b, section 1 (pp. 51-54) and its English translation, Moriyasu 1996, section 1 (pp. 67-69).

with a long tail going straight down.⁶ Further technical remarks:

<i>italic</i>	partly damaged Uighur letters
漢字	partly damaged Chinese letters
{ }	erased letters
□	Chinese character not readable
[]	wholly missing parts
Ch	Chinese text
U	Uighur text

We include some codicological information concerning the colour of paper depending on the *Catalogue des Manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang. Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1970-1995. For the thickness and quality of paper we give the following categories: very thick 極めて厚手 > thick 厚手 > rather thick 中手の厚い方 > common 中手 > rather thin 中手の薄い方 > thin 薄手 > very thin 極めて薄手; very good 上 > good 上下 > fairly good 中上 > mediocre 中 > coarse 中下 > bad 下.

MS. I. Ch / U 6100 (T III 1153) + Ch / U 6101 (T III 173.119) verso

[Plate VI]

The size of the joined fragment is 25.5 cm (h) x 20.5 cm (w). The paper is rather thin and homogeneous, but not dyed. Its screen marks are nearly invisible. Its colour is chamois α. Generally one can say that the paper quality is fairly good.

The recto side [Plate VII] contains parts of the Chinese Buddhist text *Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa* by Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva. It corresponds to Taishō Tripiṭaka No. 1509, in Vol. 25, 240c12-21, 240c28-241a4, 242a27-

6 Moriyasu 1989a, pp. 2-4; Moriyasu 1990b (French edition of 1989a), pp. 147-150. It is clear that in these Chinese / Uighur bilingual texts the Uighur letters were also written vertically as the Chinese ones.

29, 243a28-b1. Accordingly we can state that at the top of the lines of this Chinese text only one character is missing. In this way we can reconstruct the original height to 28-29 cm. Thus we may conclude that the lines on the verso side are nearly complete. The width of the lines is 1.5 ~ 1.7 cm. The page was well prepared for writing a Buddhist text. In the case of a sūtra, each line has usually 17 characters in square script, but as this text is a śāstra, more than 17, even up to 29 letters in cursive script per line are written. One can say that many characters have the shape of the cursive script of the Tang times. Probably this śāstra text composed during the Tang period, belonged to a temple, and after being scrapped, the paper was reused to write a document concerning the management of the same temple.

The Uighur lines on the verso side are rather spacious, and the letters are fairly big. The style of the Chinese characters is not good, and there are even some miswritten ones. One may assume that the scribe has written at the same time first the Chinese and then the Uighur characters with the same kalem (see the continuously written words in l. 10: 渠kytyn). But in line 7 Ch. 四至 *si-zhi* is omitted and only Uigh. *sičisi* is given. On the other side, the concluding sentence in ll. 12-13 is written only in Chinese.

This bilingual text is neither a land-sale contract nor a land-lease contract because there are recorded the four frontiers of a field two times. It may be the final part or the end of the first section of a list of fields belonging to an unknown temple in the Turfan area. Among the Chinese documents from Turfan and Dun-huang, it is common that the fields are enumerated according to the location of canals.

One may suppose the following structure of the document. At the beginning of the text the name of the temple and the date were given and a list of the fields belonging to it followed. The fields were arranged either according to their location along the canals or according to their respective types concerning the quality of land. And at the end of each section, the total sum of that section was given.

- 12 [čun]gan olar-nıŋ yeri □□渠 []
- 13 [常]田合陸拾畝

Translation

- (01-02) **Ch:** [In the south] the field of the *Qiang-si* temple. **U:** In the South the field for crops [belonging to the *////si* temple].
- (02) **Ch:** In the West there is a canal. [**U:** In the West there is a canal.]
- (03-05) **Ch:** In the North [it is bordered by] the fields of *Cheng* [*]-zhong* and *Yuan Fo-nu* etc. belonging to the temples *Bie-si* and *Niu(?)*-*si* at *Tu-ju*. **U:** In the North it is separated by the boundary of the fields of those (people) like the two temple people [č]o and Vardu of (the temples) *Pirsi* and *Tiu(?)**si* (which are) at *Tukü*.
- (05-07) **Ch:** (Along) the *Sun-lu* canal, **U:** (Along) the *Su[nlu]* canal], **Ch:** (there is) a good field of eighteen *m[u]*. **U:** (there is) a field of [ei]ghteen (square measure) which can be cul[tivated for crops] near the river.
- (07) **U:** Its four boundaries (are as follows):
- (07-08) **Ch:** In the East the field belonging to the temple *////-wang-si*. **U:** [In the] E[ast] the field for crops belonging to the temple *////[wan]g[s]i*.
- (08-09) [**Ch:** In the South the field of the temple *////-de-si*]. **U:** In the South the field for crops belonging to the temple Čunŋtigsı.
- (10) **Ch:** In the West it is bordered by a canal. **U:** In the West (there is) a c[ana]l.
- (10-12) **Ch:** In the North it is bordered by the fields of *Xin Fa-de* and *Du Chongfan* etc. **U:** In the North the fields of Vaptig of the family *Si[n]* and [Čun]gan of the family *Tuu*.
- (12-13) **Ch:** [By the] */////* canal (there is) *////////*, [by the] */////* canal] (there is) *//////////*, totally (there are) [good] fields (which can be easily supplied by water) of sixty *m[u]*.

Notes

03-04 別寺 *Bie-si* = *Pirsi*, 紐(?)寺 *Niu(?)*-*si* = *Tiu(?)**si* & 07-09 □王寺 *////-wang-si* = *////[wan]g[s]i*, □德寺 *////-de-si* = *Čuŋtigi*. The Chinese names of the temples are given in Uigh. transcription. At first glimpse, the temple 別寺 *Bie-si* seems to mean “another temple, or a branch temple” of the main temple, but the corresponding Uigh. *Pirsi* makes sure it is really a proper name.⁷ The reconstruction of 紐(?)寺 *Niu(?)*-*si* = *Tiu(?)**si* is not certain. As to Uigh. *tiu* for Ch. *niu* we can only refer to similar examples for the initial consonant such as *du* / *tu* for Ch. 奴 *nu* “slave”. As the remaining stroke of the character between 東 and 王 of line 7 does not correspond to 詣 nor 至 appearing in lines 3 and 10, we think it is a part of a temple name. *Čuŋtigi* can be *Zhong-de-si* 中 / 眾 / 重 / 德寺.⁸ We know from the travel record of 王延德 Wang Yan-de, ambassador from the Song court to the West Uighur Kingdom in 981-984, that there were over fifty Buddhist temples in the Turfan area.⁹ These four temples should be among them. Almost all names of Buddhist temples in Turfan from the 6th - 8th centuries and their categories are recorded by Oda 1989a, Oda 1989b, and especially Machida 1990. But we do not find the above names among them, either.

03 佛奴. We find the same name in a Dun-huang document around the 10th century: P 3649 v., 李佛奴.¹⁰

03-05 *Cheng* [*]-zhong Yuan Fo-nu* etc. = [*č*]o *vardu olar*. Here the Chinese names are transcribed in Uighur without mentioning their family names as in ll. 10-11, where they are indicated with the term *bag* “clan”. We suppose that in the

7 In fact, we have another example that Ch. 別 is transcribed as *bir* / *pir* in Uigh. Cf. Takata 1988, no. 0696; Kudara / Zieme 1990, p.130; Shōgaito 1995, text A, l. 15.

8 For Uigh. *čuŋ* cf. Takata 1988, pp. 414-417; for *tig* cf. Takata 1988, no. 0979; Shōgaito 1995, text G, ll. 1, 5.

9 [揮麈錄]前錄 *Hui-zhu lu, qian lu*, ch. 4, Shanghai / Peking, Zhong-hua shu-ju, 1961, p. 37; [宋史] *Song shi*, ch. 490, Peking, Zhong-hua shu-ju, 1977, p. 14112. İzgi 1989, p. 60; Moriyasu 1991, p. 142.

10 Cf. TTD, III, No. 336.

latter case it was added because they keep a higher position than the *varhar-čī*.

04 varhar-čī. This term can be translated as “temple people”, “t. family” or “t. servant” and may correspond to (not recorded in this document) Ch. 寺戶 *si-hu*, 常住百姓 *chang-zhu bai-xing*, or 寺戶口 *si hu-kou* known from the Dun-huang documents.¹¹ In our text, these *varhar-čīs* seem to have their own lands. So we do not regard them as 寺家人 *si jia-ren* or 寺家奴 *si jia-nu* who are supposed to be slaves of a temple.¹² Anyhow, this passage will be useful for the further discussion of these technical terms and the management of monasteries.

05 sim. The word *sim* < Toch. *sim* < Skt. *sīmā* “border”, a term which has a special meaning in Buddhist context,¹³ is used here (probably due to the fact that the scribe was a monk being more familiar with the Buddhist terminology) in the same sense like *sičī* in l. 7. As it is well known, *sičī* is a loan word from Ch. 四至 *si-zhi*, cf. Müller 1920, p. 324; Mori 1961. In the fragment Ch / U 6115 (a kind of Chinese-Uighur glossary) verso l. 12 we find the expression 結界 (=jie jie) *sim bap* “binding the boundaries”.¹⁴

06-07 常田 *chang-tian*. The peculiarity of this Chinese technical term concerning the 均田制 *jun-tian-zhi* “equal land allocation system” is already noticed in Moriyasu 1996, p. 69.¹⁵ It is translated here as *ögüz yalıŋa-ta[k]ı [tarıgla]k yer*. Uigh. *ögüz* means “river”. In contrast to *tarıglag* which is the usual accepted form of the word and in accordance with all Turkic data available,¹⁶ here one is inclined to read *tarıglak* because of the clear distinction of the final letter

11 Cf. Gemet 1956, pp. 68, 96-103, 123-124, etc.; Kitahara 1980, pp. 410-415, 417; Oda 1982, p. 219; Moriyasu 1991, p. 133.

12 Cf. Gemet 1956, pp. 123-124; Hori 1975, p. 343; Oda 1982, pp. 219, 229-230; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 68, 133.

13 Cf. Kieffer-Pülz 1992, esp. pp. 44-45.

14 Cf. also DTS, p. 500a.

15 See also Moriyasu 1989b, p. 53.

16 ED, pp. 541b-542a (against *tarıglık* p. 542a); Zieme 1980, p. 199.

with its long tail¹⁷ (cf. the other examples of ll. 2, 8; but in l. 9 *tarıglag*). While *borluk* “a vineyard” and *kavlalık* “a vegetable garden” correspond to Ch. 葡萄 (= 蒲陶) 園 *pu-tao-yuan* and 菜園 *cai-yuan* respectively, one can easily argue that *tarıglag* / *tarıglak yer* means “a field for crops”.¹⁸ These correspondences cannot be by chance.¹⁹ In the 華夷譯語 *Hua-yi yi-yu* of the late 14th century, *tarıg yer* = 田地 *tian-di* is still preserved, but *kavlalık* has already disappeared. Maybe *bag borluk* = 園圃 *yuan-pu* had included or absorbed *kavlalık*.²⁰ As for *yalıŋa*, there is only one other example in the Old Turkic texts: *alıŋa* in a Manichaean text.²¹ Although the context is somehow obscure, it is evident that the word denotes a kind of land.

Probably we can compare (y)*alıŋa* to *yalama toprak* meaning “nehir, deniz sularının bastığı toprak (= land overflowed by the water of a river or sea)” as well as “buzlanmış, donmuş, insan ayağının basmadığı yer (= fallow, not used field not trodden by human beings’ feet)” in modern Turkish dialects.²²

While it seems to be clear that *yalıŋa* and *alıŋa* are two variants of the same word, it is not sure that *alaŋ* belongs here, although in Chagatai it denotes “heights in the neighbourhood of broken (i.e. winding ?) rivers”.²³ Among the Old Turkic texts *alaŋ* is known only from the so-called Ernteseŋen.²⁴ The word is recorded by

17 Cf. Moriyasu 1989a, pp. 2-4; Moriyasu 1990b (French edition of 1989a), pp. 147-150; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 33, 38, 46, 55, 87, 134, 135, 147, 172, 179-180, 186.

18 As for *tarıg*, see Ligeti 1966, p. 260; CTD, I, p. 287; Moriyasu 1991, pp. 51-52, 58, 85-87. As for the enumeration of these three categories, see Zieme 1980, p. 199, n. 9.

19 Cf. Ögane 1988, p. 273.

20 Cf. Ligeti 1966, p. 291 (I 6a and 5b).

21 UW 91b (the reference to the text is wrong, instead of “TT III (m) 37 m. 4” read “M III 37 u. 4”). K. Röhrborn read this word as *alaŋa* and explained it as *alaŋka* (with Dative suffix) but the word can be transliterated only in this way: ”[y]nŋ”. It is absolutely clear that the space of the unclear letter is sufficient only for y. Thus we now think the only possible reading is *alıŋa*.

22 DS, p. 4138.

23 ED, p. 147a.

24 UW, p. 91b; Zieme 1975, p. 113, ll. 22-23.

Kāšgharī as *alaŋ yazı* “level soft ground”²⁵ which does not seem to mean a good field for crop cultivation.²⁶ In New Uigh. it means *arasiya ziraet yaki bašqa ösümlükler önmegen, boş, ala, aq* “empty, free space where crops or other plants are not growing”.²⁷ It is generally accepted that the Russian term *елань, ялань*, “a meadow”, is connected with (y)*alaŋ*.

Even though we cannot judge whether *yaliŋa / aliŋa* is derived from the same stem as *alaŋ*, they both have two lines of meanings which are rather opposite. So we do not know how to comprehend the word *yaliŋa* of our text, but at least taking into account the existence of the preceding word *ögüz* “river”, we may reach to the conclusion that *ögüz yaliŋa-ta[k]ı [tarıgla]k yer* is a “field for the cultivation of crops near a river”. This conclusion corresponds to the result achieved during the long discussion in Japan and China, that 常田 *chang-tian* means “good field which can be easily supplied by water”.²⁸

We would like to indicate the possibility that the opposite category of fields corresponding to another old term 部田 *bu-tian* “inferior field which needs to be fallow from time to time” was called Uigh. *kag (yer)* in the 10th century.²⁹

06 拾扶 = [sä]kiz ygrmi. 扶 should be miswritten for 捌 *ba* which means 八 *ba* “eight”. This is one of the special characters called 大字 *da-zi* “big figures” which were used instead of the normal figures that had lesser strokes and could easily be confused or falsified. It is the same case in 拾 *shi* = 十 *shi* (ll. 06, 13) and 陸 *liu* = 六 *liu* (l. 13). Comparing to usual fields measuring 1, 2, or 4, 5 *mu* as found often among the Turfan or Dun-huang documents, the size of a field consisting of 18 *mu* as

25 ED, p. 147a.

26 *yazı* means a “plain, steppe, 野地”, cf. Ligeti 1966, p.283 & p.291 (I 6a); ED, p.984b.

27 UIL I, 154b.

28 Cf. Nishimura 1959, pp. 325-327; Ikeda 1973, note 27 (pp. 94-96) and supplementary note 3 (p. 112); Kong 1986, pp. 50-51; Ögane 1988.

29 Cf. Moriyasu 1991, p. 50, text K 7709, ll. 11, 87 (pp. 39, 44).

one unit is rather big.

10 充[安] = [čun]gan. For the reconstructed form [čun]g see Takata 1988, no. 1159.

13 [常]田. We suppose for the damaged part Ch. *chang* the first element of *chang-tian*, but there is another possibility that the missing character was *si* 寺田 *si-tian* “fields of the temple”. In the former case, this temple has sixty 畝 *mu* of good fields and an unknown amount of inferior fields. In the latter case, this temple has only sixty *mu* of fields including 18 *mu* of good fields. 1 *mu* as a unit of a square measure corresponds to 240 步 *bu*, and 1 *bu* as a unit of a square measure is 1 time 1 *bu* as a unit of length. Admitting 1 *bu* as a unit of length in the Tang period is about 1.5 m, 1 *bu* as a unit of a square measure is 2.25 m². Then 1 *mu* is about 540 m² = 5.4 a, and 60 *mu* are about 32400 m² = 3.24 ha.

If the damaged part should be reconstructed as *si* and 60 *mu* is the total sum of the fields owned by a temple, this is not a large temple. One can assume from the 9th century Dun-huang document Stein 4491 that one tenant farmer could cultivate 10 *mu* per year, and from the 10th century Dun-huang document Pelliot 3947 that each monk or disciple was obliged to cultivate 4 ~ 20 *mu* per year.³⁰ According to the *jun-tian-zhi* “equal land allocation system” in the Tang period one person can be bestowed by up to 60 ~ 100 *mu*, but, as far as we know, the usual amount in the Turfan area was about 10 *mu*.³¹

However, we prefer to reconstruct the damaged part as *chang* and assume that this fragment is a part of a list of the cultivated fields possessed by a temple. Then it is possible to suppose that there were besides the 60 *mu* of the good fields much more inferior fields belonging to that temple. Even so it might not be a large temple.

30 Cf. Kitahara 1980, pp. 377-378, 380-381.

31 Cf. Nishijima 1959, p. 224 & p. 038 (in English); Oda 1982, p. 213.

MS. II. U 5368 (T I 576) recto [Plate VIII]

The size of the fragment is 17 cm (h) x 14.5 cm (w). The thickness of the paper is common, its screen marks are nearly invisible. Its colour is chamois α . The paper quality is mediocre or fairly good.

The bilingual side is the final part of a land sale contract.³² We judge this side as recto, since there is a remarkable tendency that for the contract documents, especially for land or slave sale documents, a brand-new paper is used.³³ In the upper corner of the left side of recto we find a glued paper, and therefore one may say that at least two sheets were pasted together for the original writing.

The verso side contains a part of an unidentified Uighur Buddhist text written in semi-square script. We can say that the separate writing of *te-di* is also one of the characteristics of the older Uighur texts.

Concerning the land sale deed, the Chinese text has been written first. Thereafter another Uighur scribe added the translation in Uighur left of each Chinese line. The thickness of the letters is different. While the Chinese characters are big and rather thick, the Uighur ones are smaller and thin. On the other hand the ink for the Chinese was not very black. If both had been written by the same scribe, he should have used the same kalem and the same ink. The sequence of the lines follows exceptionally the Chinese norm, i.e. the lines run from right to left, while normally in Uighur the opposite is the case. In the usual format of Chinese contract documents a definite space is empty above the lines of the last section containing the names of the concerned persons. As this manuscript forms the end of the contract, the additional phrase concerning the payment was written in the empty space of the broad upper margin. The Chinese characters are written in a calligraphic and elegant style, completely different from that of MS. I.

32 One can find similar examples in the Chinese documents, cf. TTD, III.

33 Cf. SUK, vols. 2 & 3; Moriyasu 1998.

Transliteration

01a	[
01b	yyr s't'qly tq'y c'k[
02a	賣地人骨□[
02b	yyr s't'qly qwt[
03a	見人骨□[
03b	t'nwq qwt [
04a	見人寅只 [
04b	t[
05a	[
05b	[

(Additional statement)

06a	[] □文內卅伍貫文還荅 []
06b	[] pys qyrq qw'n p'qr t'pmys []
07a	[] □在骨咄祿荅弥 []
07b	[] qwtlwq t'pmys s'nkwn q' []

Transcription

01a	[賣地人]
01b	yer sataglı tagay čäk[]
02a	賣地人骨□[]
02b	yer sataglı kut[]
03a	見人骨□[]
03b	tanuk kut []
04a	見人寅只[]
04b	t[anuk]
05a	[]

05b []

(Additional statement)

06a [] □文內卅伍貫文還答 [弥施]

06b [] beš kırk kuan bakır tapmış []

07a [] □在骨咄祿答弥 [施將軍]

07b [] kutlug tapmış sajun-ka []

Translation

(01a) Ch: [The land vendor]

(01b) U: The land vendor Tagay Čäk[]

(02a) Ch: The land vendor Gu-[]

(02b) U: The land vendor Kut[]

(03a) Ch: The witness Gu-[]

(03b) U: The witness Kut []

(04a) Ch: The witness Yin-zhi-[]

(04b) U: The w[itness]

(05a) Ch: []

(05b) U: []

(Additional statement)

(06a) Ch: From [the total sum of guan]-wen D[a-mi-shi] paid back 35 guan-wen.

(06b) U: [] as for 35 kuan bakır Tapmış []

(07a) Ch: [The remaining debt of] is for Gu-duo-lu Da-mi[-shi Jiang-jun].

(07b) U: [The remaining debt of is] for Kutlug Tapmış Sajun.

Notes

01b, 02b satagli. This form instead of the expected satgılı may be seen as

characteristic for the older period, cf. Doerfer 1993, pp. 119-128. Neither the Chinese nor the Uighur expression is clear whether the meaning here is “land purchaser ” or “land vendor ”.

01b Tagay Čäk[...]. If we read the name as an Uighur one, we cannot give an explanation of the second element. On the other hand, reading *ts'y* instead of *tq'y*, one can also suggest a Chinese name like Tsai (= 蔡 ?) Čäk (?).

04a 寅只 Yin-zhi. This is a transcription of an Uighur name, but we cannot offer a satisfying reconstruction.

06-07. As we can see from the examples of SUK Sa21 and Sa22, such an additional statement used to concern the debtor, i.e. the vendor. Usually it was given when the complete payment had not been done on the same day of making a contract deed. In the case of SUK Sa21 it was one day later, and in the case of Sa22 three days later.

06a, b 貫文 *guan-wen* = *kuan bakır*. The Chinese character *wen* is partly damaged but there is no doubt in this reading. Here Ch. *guan-wen* which is originally a synonym of 貫錢 *guan-qian* (= a string of 1000 copper coins) is translated as *kuan bakır*. Further we have another text where Ch. 一百貫文 *yi-bai guan-wen* is translated as Uigh. *yüz kın (qyn) bakır* “one hundred *kın bakır*”.³⁴ Thus it is clear that Uigh. *kuan / kın* is nothing else than a transcription of Ch. *guan*. Then the question is how Ch. *wen* or *qian* corresponds to Uigh. *bakır*. While examining the meaning of the Old Turkic word *bakır* appearing in an *bakır*-receipt housed in the National Museum of Urumchi, one of the authors concluded that there are three or four meanings of the word: 1) “copper” of Turkic origin; 2a) “weight unit (about 4 grams)” of Chinese or Sogdian origin; 2b) “money unit of silver of 4 grams which corresponds to 100 copper coins”; 3) “a copper coin” derived from the mixture or

34 Kara / Zieme 1986, pp. 335, 355, 359, pl. XXV.

misuse of 1) and 2b).³⁵

We assume now that originally *bakır* was a translation of Ch. 錢 *qian* which could be used as well as a unit of weight or a unit of money. In the first case it was a measure for medicine, gold, silver, or precious stones. When used as a unit of money, this *qian* was equal to 4 g silver which had a value of 100 copper coins. Here we can refer to the Uighur expression *bo bakır toquz on toquz-ar ol* “this *bakır* is 99 each” in the *bakır*-receipt.³⁶ However, because Ch. *wen* of *guan-wen* which was often used instead of *guan-qian* indicated usually “one copper coin”, the meaning of Uigh. *bakır* shifted to “one copper coin”, too. We must not think like almost all former scholars that the Turkic word *bakır* meaning “copper” was adopted as a direct translation of Ch. *wen* “one copper coin” from the beginning. Incidentally, when *bakır* was used as a unit of weight, there appeared such a confusing expression “(a numeral) + *bakır kümüš*” which could be misunderstood as an enumeration of copper and silver. But it was no problem in their daily life. Even in the contract documents of the Mongol times this expression was used commonly in order to indicate the weight of silver.³⁷ We should recall the real meanings of the two Chinese translations, i.e. 銅 *tong* and 錢 *qian*, given for *bakır* in the *Hua-yi yi-yu* of the late 14th century.³⁸

By the way, Kāshgharī says that *bānāk* was “a small copper coin” in the mid-11th century,³⁹ and we find another expression *bun bakır* which means

35 This conclusion of Moriyasu 1998 was made by comparing and analyzing various kinds of source materials like Chinese books, Uighur documents, silver ingots used as money, and so on. These sources were collected by F. W. K. Müller, Sh. Katō, N. Maeda and T. Moriyasu: Müller 1920, pp. 319-322; Katō 1926, pp. 469-473; Maeda 1944; Moriyasu 1997b.

36 Moriyasu 1998, p. 16.

37 SUK, Lo07, Lo08, Lo09, Mi13, Mi14.

38 Cf. Ligeti 1966, pp. 137-138.

39 CTD, I, p. 295; ED, p. 350b. For Sarīy Yuyur *mānāk* cf. Nugteren / Roos 1996, p. 45.

“worthless money” in a Buddhist text from the Mongol period.⁴⁰ Therefore we want to suppose as follows: at first *kuan bakır* and *bakır* meant respectively 1000 and 100 copper coins; then, to indicate one copper coin, a new compound word **bän / bun bakır* was produced, while another diminutive form *bänäk* appeared; later, *bakır* came to be used as well as *bänäk* to designate a copper coin.

06a 荅. Only the upper part of this Ch. character is preserved. Although it can be deciphered as the radical “flower”, its reading as 荅 is clear, because the use of that radical instead of “bamboo” is often met with in that period, cf. the same character in l. 7a.

MS. III. U 5797 (T III 215-500) (+) Ch / U 6124 (T II 1035) recto

[Plate X]

The size of the fragment U 5797 is 13 cm (h) x 10 cm (w), that of Ch / U 6124 is 8.5 cm (h) x 9 cm (w). These are two pieces of one manuscript. It is impossible to give an information on the thickness of the paper, because it is preserved under glass. Its screen marks are nearly invisible, and its colour is chamois α . The paper quality is not identical with but similar to MS. II.

As the bilingual side contains two parts of a contract deed, we judge it as recto like in the case of MS. II. In the upper corner of the left side of U 5797 recto we find a glued paper, and therefore one may say that at least two sheets were pasted together for the original writing. Like in MS. II the Chinese characters are big and calligraphically written, but as a different characteristic from MS. II the same kalem was used for both scripts. One cannot decide whether the Uighur lines were added left of the Chinese lines later or written simultaneously. At any rate,

40 Tezcan 1974, p. 34, ll. 153-154 & pl. X. (Including our new readings of two words, the text reads as follows:) *purani tirdi başlap bramanlar-nıñ / pun bakır-ča ymä idi kârgäk-i bolmadın* “Like a small coin (which is worthless), there is no need at all for Brähmaṇas headed by Pūraṇas or Tīrthas.”

one may conclude that the same scribe was at work.

The verso side contains parts of an unidentified Uighur Buddhist text written in semi-square or semi-cursive script. Not only the contents of this Uighur text is different from MS. II verso, but also the size of the letters.

Transliteration

U 5797

- 01a []者[
- 01b []m pytyk twt' yyr [
- 02a []地及論課□[
- 02b []wrym'zwn 'lyk[
- 02c []n ...[

Ch / U 6124

- 01a []達干[
- 01b []n trq'[
- 02a []支凍俄[
- 02b []tw[]'[

Transcription (These two fragments can be joined in the following way):

- 01a [] 達干[]
- 01b []n tarka[n]
- 02a [] 支, 凍俄[]者[]
- 02b [] to[ŋ]a [ula]m bitig tuta yer [alguči korsuz bolzun]
- 03a [] 地, 及論課□[]
- 03b [sözläri y]onmazun älig[]
- 03b' []n ...[]

Translation

- (01a) Ch: [] *Da-gan* []
(01b) U: [] *n tarka*[*n*]
(02a) Ch: [] *-zhi Dong-e* [] anyone []
(02b) U: [] *To[η]a* [] Holding this [*eterna*]*l* deed, [*the purchaser*]
of the land [*should not suffer a loss.*]
(03a) Ch: [] the land, and as for estimating(?) the *corvée*(?) []
(03b) U: [] their claims] may not be valid, the hand(?) []
(03b') U: []

Notes

02a, b 凍俄 *Dong-e* = *Toŋa*. This is a common Uighur name, cf. SUK, vol. 2, p. 292b.

02b. Because the expression *bo bitig tuta korsuz bolzun* “Holding this deed, (the purchaser of the land) should not suffer a loss” is known from three land-sale contract documents,⁴¹ we assume here that the text can be emended to *[ula]m bitig tuta yer [alguč: korsuz bolzun]* “Holding the [*eterna*]*l* deed, [*the purchaser*] of the land [*should not suffer a loss*]”. Instead of *[ula]m bitig* we find only *ulam* in Sa25, l. 05 and in a similar way as *ulam y(a)rl(ı)g* in the deed on release of taxes T III M 205 (U 5317), l. 09.⁴²

03a 論 *lun*. “to discuss, judge, calculate, estimate”.

03a 課 *ke*. “*corvée*; to levy taxes”.

41 SUK, Sa02, l. 19; Sa09, l. 20; Sa16, l. 16.

42 Cf. Zieme 1981, p. 244, 250.

MS. IV. Ot. Ry. 1033 [Plate XII]

The size of the fragment is 24 cm (h) x 11.5 cm (w). The paper is rather thick and not homogeneous. Its screen marks are coarse. Its colour is chamois $\alpha \sim$ ocre. One can say that the paper quality is mediocre or fairly good.

This document is published for the first time in Oda 1984,⁴³ but there the editor has overlooked or neglected the existence of one Uighur word *kutlug* which seems to be one part of a personal name. There are a large red square seal (8.1 x 8.1 cm) with Chinese legend and four or five small black rectangular seals on the paper-joint of the recto side. There is also a black square seal (3 x 3 cm) on the paper-joint of the verso side. But one cannot decide whether the legends of the black seals are Chinese, Uighur, or a kind of design. The red seal seems to be an official one used by a minister of the West Uighur Kingdom. There are several other examples of the same kind which will be published by Moriyasu in the near future.

Transliteration

- 01 [] qwtlwq []
02 [] 東西二十二步南北二十四 [步] 步 [計] 計五百[]
03 [] 一畝余四十八步 翟陀⁴⁴

Transcription

- 01 [] kutlug []
02 [] 東西二十二步南北二十四步計五百 [二十八步]
03 [] 二⁴⁵畝余四十八步 翟陀

43 Oda 1984, p. 7, without facsimile.

44 Oda 1984 reads as 翟隆 *Di Long*.

45 Oda 1984 reads as 一 'one' according to the original manuscript. But here is a small damage in the original paper, then it should be reconstructed as 二 'two' as a result of calculation.

- 03 [] ywrwkl'ryn kynkyrw swyz
 04 [] kym pw šlwk nwnk p'synt'
 05 [] ywkwnwr mn typ ty dy pw
 06 [] ywkwnč ym' q'c twyrlwk
 07 [] ly 'ync' 'wqmys krk'k ·
 08 [] -l'r q'yw 'wl twyrt typ tys'r ·
 09 [] ... 'd m'ŋ'l qylq[]
 10 [] 'wl tys'r 'ync' []

Transcription

- 01 []
 02 [] kin amti bo ok šlok
 03 [] yörglärin kinjürtü söz
 04 [] kim bo šlok-nuŋ bašmta
 05 [] yükünür-mn tep te-di bo
 06 [] yükünč ymä kaç türlüg
 07 [] inča ukmš kärgäk ·
 08 [] -lar kayu ol tört tep tesär ·
 09 [] ... ad maŋal kılq[]
 10 [] ol tesär inča []

Translation

- 02 [] after [] now just this *šloka*
 03 [] the explanations of [] broadly tell-
 04 [] at the beginning of this *šloka*
 05 [] I bow. Thus he said. This
 06 [] veneration, and some kinds

- 07 [] one has to understand.
 08 [] the [] which are the four?
 09 [] mak[ing] blessings []
 10 [] if one asks, thus []

(b1) Ch / U 6124 verso

Transliteration

- 01 []n pw kwwn [
 02 []wr'r t'kzync [
 03 []k ywrwryn [
 04 []wlwr twyk'd[
 05 []'kyz 'wzyk [
 06 []wyn[

(b2) U 5797 verso

Transliteration

- 01 []l[]yz l'r t[
 02 [] ywl q' t'kyr kwnk[
 03 []wl-q' t'kyr . p's[
 04 []wsqwtswz ywl q' [
 05 []yrβ'n yq pwlwr : n'nk 'l[
 06 [] \p'lyq/ wlws q' \kyrk'ly/ ym' »pyd'rym s's[tr
 07 [] kwyrkwlwk [] y'lnkwq [
 08 []

Transcription of the joint fragment Ch / U 6124 (+) U 5797 verso

01 [	]-lar t[]
02 [	] yol-ka tægir köŋ[ül]
03 [	y]ol-ka tægir . baş[tınkı]
04 [	bo]şgutsuz yol-ka [tægir]
05 [	n]irvan-ıg bulur : næn k[]
06 [	] balık uluŝ-ka kirgäli ymä abidarim ŝas[tr-nıŋ	]n bo kön
07 [	k]örgülük [	] yalŋuk-[
08 [		y]örär tægziné
09 [		]k yöriğin
10 [		b]ulur . tükäd[
11 [		]s]äkiz użik

Translation of the joint fragment Ch / U 6124 (+) U 5797 verso

01 [	] the []
02 [	] one reaches the [	] way, heart
03 [	] one reaches the [	] way, first (?)
04 [	one reaches] the way of not-longer-learning (Skt. <i>asaikṣamārga</i>) []
05 [	] one achieves <i>nirvāṇa</i> . Not []
06 [	] in order to enter the [peaceful ...] city, now of the Abhidharmaśās[tra	] this <i>juan</i>
07 [	] to see [	] creature [
08 [		] the explaining (?) scroll
09 [		] the explanation of [
10 [		] one achieves. Complet[ed(?)]
11 [		]eight syllables [

Conclusion

As we pointed out above, four bilingual texts dealt with in the SUK (Em01, Mi10, Mi27, Mi33) have additional texts in Chinese. But here we are concerned with real bilingual texts, namely at least with three different types.

MS. I is a continuous text where the Uighur translation of the Chinese expressions follows one after the other. In MS. II the Chinese text had been written first. Thereafter another Uighur scribe added the translation in Uighur. For MS. III, one may suppose that the same scribe has written the Chinese as well as the Uighur text, even though both languages are written line by line. MS. IV is too fragmentary to say anything definitely on this matter.

What is most striking is the fact that in MSS. II and III the lines run from right to left. This is not the usual Uighur style but the Chinese one. So it is clear that in these cases they followed the Chinese tradition. This fact gives us another unshakeable evidence for our hypothesis,⁴⁹ namely that in the early years of the West Uighur Kingdom, i.e. around the 10th century, the Uighurs inevitably came to learn Chinese forms of social or legal documents through their contact with the Chinese.

When the Uighurs established their kingdom in the Turfan and Beš-balık regions, there were many Chinese who kept their tradition for composing documents in Chinese, and they influenced the Uighurs. The Uighurs for their part adopted the Chinese forms in principle, but added some small changes to make them fit to their custom. For example, the description of the *sičt* section ("four frontiers of a field") was made clockwise (East-South-West-North) in contrast to the normal Chinese way (East-West-South-North). M. Mori demonstrated that such a clockwise enumeration of directions was based on the tradition of the nomadic peoples including the Turkic tribes.⁵⁰ Now we can prove from our MS. I that

49 Moriyasu 1989b, section 1, esp. pp. 52-53; Moriyasu 1996, section 1, esp. pp. 68-69.

50 Mori 1961.

this change took place already in the early period.

Probably the Uighurs made the same type of bilingual documents as our MSS. II and III when they began to adopt the Chinese formulas. Then another type of documents like our MS. I appeared. Only later they gave up the Chinese part and composed their documents in Uighur solely. Thus we can safely conclude that the manuscripts dealt with in this article, represent transitional stages from Chinese to Uighur documents.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

AoF = *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin.

AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*.

BTT = *Berliner Turfantexte*.

CTD = R. Dankoff & J. Kelly, *Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk)*. 3 vols., Harvard University Printing Office, 1982-85.

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