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Autor: Shögaito , Masahiro; Yakup , Abdurishid

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Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.
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✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Four Uyghur fragments of *Qian-zi-wen* 'Thousand Character Essay'

Masahiro Shōgaito & Abdurishid Yakup

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Qian-zi-wen, 'Thousand Character Essay' is a Chinese poem formerly used as a primer. It has 1,000 characters, not one of which is repeated. The author of this poem dedicated it to the Emperor of the Liang dynasty. It has been said that the story was composed in a single night. Four fragments of a Chinese-containing Uyghur scroll from the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences were identified as the Old Uyghur translations of this famous Chinese work. The edition of these four Uyghur fragments is the subject of this paper.

Masahiro Shōgaito, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, Sakyo-ku Kyoto 606-8501, Japan.

Abdurishid Yakup, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, D-55099 Germany.

0. Introduction

So far most Uyghur texts containing Chinese characters have been identified as Buddhist texts. However, the following Chinese-containing Uyghur scroll, which contains Chinese characters and exists in four fragments catalogued as 4B Kr. 181 (13 cm × 47 cm), 4B Kr 182, 4b Kr 185 (13 cm × 26 cm) and 4b Kr 194 in the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, shows different features in its content from other Chinese-containing Uyghur texts. It was identified as a fragment of the Uyghur translation of *Qian-zi-wen* 'Thousand Character Essay', a Chinese poem formerly used as a primer.¹ *Qian-zi-wen* has 1,000 characters, not one of which is repeated. Its author, Zhou Xingsi (周興嗣, 470?-521) from the Liang Dynasty² dedicated it to the Emperor of 梁 the Liang dynasty. It has been said that the story was composed in a single night.

As far as we know, there are three Uyghur translations of *Qian zi-wen*. One of

¹ We would like to express our warmest thanks to Professor Akiyoshi Kida, Kyoto University, for his kind help in identifying this text.

² Cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 385); Giles (1898: 161, item 416).

them is a block print catalogued as Ch/U 8152v in the Berlin collection and only known in one line [*ming už]ik-lar-nīng ċizi-y-i* ‘The Essay of a Thousand Characters’, should be the translation of the Chinese title just beside it.³ The second one includes three fragments, 4b Kr 182 (= Fragment A), 4b Kr 194 (= Fragment B), 4b Kr 185 (= Fragment D), in the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. Judging from its content, Fragment B is a continuation of Fragment A, and Fragment D is a translation of the last parts of *Qian zi-wen*. As a third version, 4b Kr 181 (= Fragment C) can be introduced. According to the handwriting and the content it should belong to another version. From its content we can judge that it comes just after Fragment A and Fragment B, and its first two lines (ll. 1-2) repeat the last three lines (ll. 11-13) of Fragment B. However, the style and the method used in the second and third versions are totally identical: First a leading Chinese character is provided, then an Uyghur translation of that line follows. After the leading characters, there always follow three horizontal strokes that stand for the next three Chinese characters. It should be noted that besides the leading Chinese characters, some other Chinese characters are used, but these characters should be considered as part of the Uyghur translation, since they were found as original Chinese spellings of the Chinese words given in the Uyghur transcription or just as a note for some Uyghur words used in special meanings. In this paper we will edit the second and third versions in transliteration, transcription and translation, together with notes based on our comparison of these two versions with the parallel Chinese passages.⁴ The order of fragments will be given according to their content corresponding to the parallel Chinese text.

It is very well known that *Qian zi-wen* has many Chinese versions from different ages, but which Chinese version underlies our versions is not clear to us. The orthography of our two versions suggests that this text should be dated back to the thirteenth century, like the block print version preserved in the Berlin collection.

1. On the Chinese pronunciation given in Uyghur script

The date of some Chinese words transcribed in Uyghur script can be fixed based on their form. For example, 陽 is transcribed as *yang* in the London version of the *Sākiz Yūkmāk Yaruq Sutra*, but as *yo* in the Kyoto and Berlin versions. In the North-Western dialect of Chinese at the end of the Tang dynasty, final *-ng* of 陽 *yang* is omitted,

³ Cf. Nishiwaki, Tsuneki. *Studien zu den chinesischen Fragmenten der Turfan-Sammlung zu Berlin* (in Japanese). 1997, Kyoto, pp. 98-109 + plate Ch/U8152v.

⁴ There is an English translation of *Qian zi-wen* by Giles: Herbert A. G. Giles (transl.) 1873. *The San Tzu Ching or Three Character Classic and the Ch'en Tzu Wen or Thousand Character Essay*. Shanghai. Our English translation of the Chinese text is mainly based on Paar (1963) with consultation of the Japanese translation and commentary by Ogawa & Kida (1997).

and the Kyoto and Berlin versions display this omitted form. Consequently, the London version displays the form before such an omission had appeared. On the other hand, 丁 *ding* is transcribed as *te* in most Uyghur texts, but as *ting* in TT VII No. 18 from the 14th century. In this period a Chinese pronunciation containing the syllabic ending *-ng* spread into the Western Region, and it was reflected in *ting*. However, the Uyghurs developed an “Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation” (the Uyghur reading of Chinese characters) based on the North-Western Chinese dialect used from the 唐 Tang until the beginning of the 宋 Song (dynasties), and this Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation was still used in the Yuan period. Therefore, in most cases it is difficult to date the texts according to the Chinese pronunciation. The Chinese pronunciation found in this text also displays forms that can be classified back to this Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation. In Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation final *-ng* is omitted in the 宕 *dang*, 梗 *geng* rhyme groups. Unfortunately, the compound vowels which belong to this rhyme group could not be found in this text. The finals *-k*, *-t*, *-b* in the Chinese words were lost in the Northern Chinese dialects of the Yuan period. Similar finals are frequently dropped in the Uyghur texts, in particular in colophons. But these finals are preserved in the Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation, e.g. 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *quy* (C36). In turn, fusion of *-m* and *-n* found in late Uyghur texts also does not appear in this text: 恬 <diem>, Uyg. *tem* (D10). However, compared to the developed Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation, this text preserves some old forms. For example, 蔡 <ts’äi> 倫 <liuēn> is indicated as *tsai luin* (D11, *ts’y lwyn*) in this text, but it is expressed as *sai lun* in Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation. The following are the Chinese characters and their Uyghur transcriptions found in this text.

- 化 <xua> 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *qw’ qwq xua quy* (C22)
 杜 <do> 操 <ts’äu>, Uyg. *tww ts’v tuu tsav* (C7)
 夫 <viu> 子 <tsiäi>, Uyg. *vw sy fu ši* (C7)
 呂⁵ <lio> 布 <po>, Uyg. *lw pw lupu* (D5)
 楚⁶ <ts’io> 王 <fiuāŋ>, Uyg. *cyw { } ciu {wang}* (C35)
 石 + 番 <bun> <k’iei>, Uyg. *p’nky panki* (C21)
 碑 <piuē>, Uyg. *py pi* (C20)
 蔡 <ts’äi> 倫 <liuēn>, Uyg. *ts’y lwyn tsai luin* (D11)
 西 <siei> 施 <çiē>, Uyg. *{ } sy {si} ši* (D16)
 趙 <çiieu> 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *{ }w qwq {çe}u quy* (C36)
 草 <ts’au> 書 <çio>, Uyg. *ts’v sw tsav⁷ šu* (C8)
 樓 <ləu>, Uyg. *lww luu* (B4)
 旦 <tän>, Uyg. *d’n dan* (C26)
 甲 <kap>, Uyg. *q’p qab* (C26)

⁵ The compound vowel of 呂 is usually transcribed as *yw*, and indicates *iu*.

⁶ 楚 is fundamentally spelled as *cw* or *cww*. *cyw* probably also refers to 趙 *zhao*.

⁷ Just as 草 is represented by *tsav*, there are also other examples for indicating final *u* with *v*. Cf. Shōgaito (1986: 65).

- 踏 <t'äp> 道 <däu>, Uyg. t'p tw *tap to* (B11)
 篆 <ɬiuən> 書 <ɕio>, Uyg. cwn⁸ sw *čun šu* (C9)
 簾 <lien>, Uyg. lyn *len* (C16)
 千 <ts'ien>, Uyg. syn *sen* (C15)
 阮 <ɲiun> 籍 <dziek>, Uyg. q'n tsyk (~sk) *yan⁹ tsek* (D9)
 漆 <ts'iat>, Uyg. tsyr *tsir* (C10)
 蒙 <mun> 恬 <diem>, Uyg. mwnk tym *mung tem* (D10)

2. Text

2.1. Fragment A (= 4b Kr 182)

2.1.1. Transliteration

1. []dyqy l'r 上||| []
2. []||| p'ky 'wynt'dy []
3. []nty l'r 'wlwq l'r []
4. []/ 'n' twyrw syn []
5. []nysy 'rs'r 猶 []
6. []/ 'wqs'tmys t'k []
7. []| pyr yyd []
8. []// l'r k'mysty l'r []
9. []yp 仁|||y'v's []
10. []造 |||k'syklyk 'ys kwydwyk
11. []|||twtmys twyrw syn tyn
12. []/t'ksylm'dy 情||| kwynkwyl
13. []t'pr's'r pylyk ywryllwr
14. []kwysws q'nwr ||| 'dyk
15. []twz wn s'v []/d []

2.1.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [卑 qo]dīqī-lar 上||| []: *qodīqī-lar* 'of inferior men' corresponds to Chin. 卑 *bei* 'low, humble'. The Chinese line connected with this word reads as 礼别尊卑 *li bie zun bei* 'Rules of propriety, such as those in the Book of Rites, distinguish between superiors and inferiors'.

The Chinese line led by 上 *shang* 'superior, upper, supreme, first or best; the Emperor' (Giles 1912: 9729), can be reconstructed as 上和和睦 *shang he xia mu* 'When superiors are kindly, inferiors will be peaceful'. The Uyghur equivalent of this line is missing.

2. [夫|||bāgi ün]tä[di [ärsär]: The Chinese letters can be reconstructed as 夫唱婦隨 *fu chang fu sui* 'The wife follows her husband's lead'. *bāgi ün]tädi [ärsär]*

⁸ The compound vowel *iuen* is usually spelled as *wyn*, but there are also exceptions, e.g. *kwwn*.

⁹ 阮 is usually spelled as *kwn* and represents *gun*.

‘if her husband calls ...’. Here *bägi* corresponds to 夫 *fu* ‘husband’ and *üntä-* ‘to call’ corresponds to 唱 *chang* ‘to lead, call out’.

3. |外|| *tägi|nti-lär uluy-lar|-nǐng* |: The Chinese line led by 外 *wai* is 外受傳訓 *wai shou fu xun* ‘Outside, away from home, the teacher’s instructions are received’. [*tägi|nti-lär uluy-lar|-nǐng*] can be translated as ‘received greats’. In this line, [*tägi|nti-lär* ‘received’ corresponds to Chin. 受 *shou* ‘to receive, bear’. *uluy* ‘big, great’, metaphorically also ‘grand(father); eldest (son)’ (Clauson 1972: 136). Here *uluy-lar* certainly refers to ‘master’ or ‘teacher’, because its Chinese correspondence is 傳 *fu* ‘master, teacher’.

4. | | *ana törüsin*: Meaning ‘mother’s instruction’, it is clearly connected with 母儀 *mu yi* ‘maternal instruction’ or ‘maternal precepts’. The Chinese line is 入奉母儀 *ru feng mu yi* ‘Inside, at home, maternal precepts are respectfully received’. Here *ana* ‘mother’ is an equivalent of 母 *mu* ‘mother’, and *törü* ‘model, rule, custom’ corresponds to 儀 *yi* ‘etiquette, ceremony, rites’.

5. |qangning i|nisi ärsär 猶 |||| |: [*qangning i|nisi ärsär* ‘if father’s younger brother ...’. The original Chinese line is 諸姑伯叔 *zhu gu bo shu* ‘All paternal aunts and paternal uncles’. Here [*qangning i|nisi*, also possibly [*ataning i|nisi*, since we have *ana* in l. 4 of this fragment, and whole phrase corresponds to 叔 *shu* ‘father’s younger brother’.

The Chinese line led by 猶 *you* is 猶子比兒 *you zi bi er* means ‘(they should regard their nephews) like their own sons or as comparable to their own children’.

6. | | / *oxšatmīš täg* |: *oxšatmīš täg* ‘just as compared’, connects with 比 *bi* ‘compare, emulate; as...as,’ in the Chinese text. This line is a continuation of the previous line.

The Uyghur sentence which corresponds to 孔懷兄弟 *kong huai xiong di* ‘Cherish greatly your elder and younger brothers’ is missing.

7. |同||| | *bir yǐd|tīn* |: The Chinese sentence led by 同 *tong* reads 同氣連枝 *tong qi lian zhi* ‘They share the same life with you; you and they are joined like branches on the same tree’. *bir yǐd* means ‘same smell’ or ‘same breath’; here it translates 同氣 *tong qi* ‘same breath’ or ‘same origin’. *bir yǐd|tīn*] can be translated as ‘from the same breath’ or ‘from the same origin’.

8. |交|||/|-lar *kāmišti-lär* |: The Chinese line led by 交 *jiao* reads 交友投分 *jiao you tou fen* ‘There is a sharing, a give and take, between those joined in friendship’. *kāmišti-lär* ‘they threw away’ translates Chin. 投 *tou* ‘throw, fling; send’.

9. |äriqlä|šip 仁||| *yavaš* | *yarliqančuči* |: Only [*äriqlä|šip* ‘to give advice to each other’ remains from the Uyghur translation of 切磨箴規 *qie mo zhen gui* ‘Mutual improving is a valuable lesson’. Here [*äriqlä|šip* translates 箴 *zhen* ‘to pierce, to warn, exhort’ in the Chinese sentence. In Uyghur texts *äriqläš-* appears together with *ütläš-* as a biverb (Erdal 1991: 556), and that is probably the case in this context, too. If so, [*ütläšip äriqlä|šip* also is a possible reconstruction, and certainly translates 箴規 *zhen gui* ‘admonition, remonstrance’.

The Chinese line led by 仁 *ren* can be reconstructed as 仁慈隱測 *ren ci yin ce* ‘Humanity, compassion, commiseration and sympathy’. *yavaš* corresponds to 仁 *ren*

‘perfect virtue; benevolence’, and supposedly there should be *yarliqančuči* for 慈 *ci* ‘to sympathize’. But the reading of *yavaš* is not so certain, and may have been erased by a writer or copyist.

10. | 造||| *kāsiglig iš küdüg* |: The Chinese line led by 造 *zao* can be reconstructed as 造次弗離 *zao ji fu li* ‘From these, even in moments of haste, we should not be separated’. *kāsiglig iš küdüg* can be translated as ‘affairs to be done by turns’, and it translates 造次 *zao ci* ‘hurriedly, to be occupied’. In this context *kāsiglig iš küdüg* probably means ‘busy works (Hend.)’ or ‘busy affairs’.

11. | 節||| *tutmış törü-sin-tin*: The Chinese sentence led by 節 *jie* is 節義廉退 *jie yi lian tui* ‘Moderation, righteousness, integrity, and humility’. *tutmış törü-sin-tin* ‘from the reasons that have been kept’. *tut-* ‘to hold’ here corresponds to 節 *jie* ‘to regulate’, and *törü* ‘traditional law, customary’ (Clauson 1972: 531-532) translates 義 *yi* ‘righteousness, morality, loyalty, reason’. In Shōgaito (1993: 365) *törü* also stands for 道理 *daoli* ‘right principle; doctrine; reason; argument’ and 理 *li* ‘principle, rule’, which have similar meanings to 道 *dao*.

12. /*tägsilmädi* 情||| *kögüz* |: *tägsilmädi* means ‘were not altered’ or ‘were not changed’, and corresponds to Chin. 匪虧 *fei kui* ‘should not be lacking; should not be missing’ in the Chinese sentence 顛沛匪虧 *dian pei fei kui* ‘these, even in moments of danger, should not be lacking’.

Using 情 *qing* as a leading character should be an error. The first character of this Chinese sentence is 性 *xing*, and the whole line comes as 性靜情逸 *xing jing qing yi* ‘If you are of a calm temper, your emotions will be quiet’. *kögüz* meaning ‘chest, breast’, and also ‘thought’ and ‘mind’, here it translates 情 *qing* ‘passion, feelings’. In other texts *kongül* also corresponds to 情 *qing* (Shōgaito 1993: 281), and also translates 心 *xin* and 意 *yi* (Zieme & Kudara 1985: 291-2; Shōgaito 1993: 281).

13. | 心||| *yüräk* | *täpräsär bilig yoril{ur}*: The original Chinese sentence led by 心 *xin* is 心動神疲 *xin dong shen pi* ‘but if your heart is excited, your spirit gets weary’. [*yüräk*] *täpräsär bilig yorillur* can be translated as ‘if the heart works, the wisdom will be tired’. This is a word by word translation of the Chinese sentence, *yüräk* is an equivalent of 心 *xin* ‘heart, mind’, and *täprä-* ‘to move, stir, shake’ corresponds to 動 *dong* ‘to move, rouse, excite’ (the same case also can be found in Shōgaito 1993: 353). Usually *bilig* ‘wisdom’ translates Chin. 知 *zhi*, 智 *zhi*, 識 *shi* (cf. Shōgaito 1993: 244; Shōgaito 1982: 84), but here it corresponds to 神 *shen* ‘deity, spirit’. *ywryllwr* can be transcribed as *yorillur* or more correctly *yoril{ur}*, and is an erroneous rendering of *ywryllwr yorilur* ‘will be tired, will get weary’, an aorist of *yoril-* ‘to be tired’ and comes from *yor-* ‘to tire’ + passive *-il*. This verb exists in Turkish in the form of *yorul-*, passive of *yor-* ‘to tire, to weary, to fatigue’ (cf. Redhouse 1998: 1261b, 1262a), and here it corresponds to 疲 *pi* ‘tired, weary, exhausted’.

14. | 守||| | *küsü qanur* 逐||| *ädig*: The original Chinese sentence led by 守 *shou* is 守眞志滿 *shou zhen zhi man* ‘Hold on to what is genuine, and your ambition will be satisfied’. *küsü qanur* ‘wishes will be fulfilled’ translates 志滿 *zhiman* ‘the ambition will be satisfied’.

The original Chinese sentence led by 逐 *zhu* is 逐物意移 *zhu wu yi yi* ‘In pursuing worldly things, our thoughts become disoriented’. Only *ädig*, the objective case form of *äd* ‘material property’ is preserved from the Uyghur translation. Here *äd* corresponds to 物 *wu* ‘article, thing, matter, substance, goods’.

15. | 堅|| | *tüz-ün säv[ig(?) /d]* | : The original Chinese sentence led by 堅 *jian* is 堅持雅操 *jian chi ya cao* ‘Hold firmly to a correct fidelity’. Only *tüz-ün sävig(?)* ‘gentle and love’ is retained from its Uyghur translation. Supposedly *tüz-ün sävig(?)* corresponds to 雅 *ya* ‘correct, elegant, refined, polished’.

2.2. Fragment B (= 4b Kr 194)

2.2.1. Transliteration

1. [] synt'[] rt'cy []
2. [] ' ywwz ynt' ky š'n[]
3. [] 宮||| ' wrdw l'ry ny[]
4. [] 樓||| lww l'ry kwyrwnc lwk l'[]
5. [] y'r'q lyq cysyq lyq 'wl qws l'ry []
6. [] b'dyz lyk 'wl 'rž y l'r qwtlwq []
7. [] k' kwyrwr 'vnyrk y'nyn tyn[]
8. [] 甲||| 'wynklwk q'p yrw k'[]
9. [] l'ry kwyršy 肆||| twylt'klyk / []
10. [] 鼓||| t'pr'twr l'r 'wywn[]
11. [] / t'ptw c' kyrwr[]
12. [] / t'ksynwr qw[]
13. [] / yn[]

2.2.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [|synt'| | rt'cy(?) |] : Only some letters have remained in this line. This line should be a translation of 東西二京 *dong xi er jing* ‘are Lo-yang in the East and Ch'ang-an in the West’.

2. | 背||| *arq|a yüüz-intä ki šan*: The original Chinese sentence led by 背 *bei* is 背芒面洛 *bei mang mian luo* ‘Behind Lo-yang is Mang Hill, in front is the river Lo’. [*arq|a yüüz-intä ki šan*] can be translated as ‘on its back side is *Ki shan*’. Clearly [*arq|a yüüz-intä*] corresponds to 背 *bei* ‘back, behind’. *ki šan* is a transcription of 𡵓山 *qi shan* or 𡵓山 *qi shan*, but does not correspond to 芒山 *mang shan* or 𡵓山 *mang shan* ‘a mountain in the north of Lo Yang, old Chinese capital’, MChin. *miān šān*. Supposedly this is a mistaken reading by the Uyghur translator, and the Uyghur text should be based on a Chinese text where the first character of this word is spelled with 𡵓 *mang*, which is very similar to 𡵓 *qi*. The same spelling can be found in the 上野 *Ueno* manuscript of the *Qian Ziwen* commentary (cf. Kuroda 1982: 48).

One Uyghur sentence which corresponds to 浮渭據涇 *Fu wei ju jing* ‘Ch'ang-an rises from the River Wei, and has the River Ching for its defense’ is missing.

3. [|宮||| *ordu-larī-nī[ng]* | : The Chinese sentence led by 宮 *gong* can be reconstructed as 宮殿磐鬱 *gong dian pan yu* ‘In the capitals, there is a dense maze of pal-

aces and halls'. *ordu* 'palace' translates 宮 *gong* 'palace, mansion, temple'. In other Uyghur texts, e.g. Shōgaito (1982: 71), Zieme & Kudara (1985: 134), *ordu* also equals to 宮 *gong*.

4. [楼|||] *luu-larī körünč-lük-lä[ri]*]: The Chinese sentence led by 楼 *lou* reads 楼觀飛驚 *lou guan fei jing* 'There is a startling upsurge of soaring towers and look-outs'. *luu-larī körünč-lük-lä[ri]* means 'many-storied buildings' or 'two-storied buildings'. *luu* is a phonetic transliteration for 楼 *lou*. Here, *luu-larī körünč-lük-lä[ri]* corresponds to 楼觀 *louguan* 'many storied-buildings' (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 175).

körünčlük appears in U II 22:3-4: *Braxmadati eligning körünčlüki qayu ärki*, and at on the same page 5-6: *Braxmadati eligning [körünčlüki] ona iraqtan közüni turur*. Müller translated it as 'Abzeichen(?)'. Bang and Gabain supposed it to be 'eine Art von Schaugerüst oder gar einen Wagen' (cf. Bang & von Gabain 1929: note 124). Clauson preferred 'a state chariot' (Clauson 1972: 170, 746). DTS explained it as 'the outward appearance, characteristic' (DTS 319a). From our context it is clear that together with *luu-larī* it stands for 楼觀 *louguan* or 樓閣 *louge* 'high building' or 'many-storied building', especially the high buildings in the palace. The case in U II seems to be the same.

5. [圖|||] *yaray-līy čisīy-līy ol quš-larī*]: The Chinese line led by 圖 *tu* is 圖寫靈獸 *tu xie qin shou* 'In the palaces there are pictures of birds and beasts'. *yaray-līy čisīy-līy ol quš-larī* 'those birds which are made and drawn'. *yaray-līy* 'useful, suitable' corresponds to 圖 *tu* 'a picture, a portrait'; *čisīy-līy* comes from *čiz-* 'to stretch, to draw' + *-īy-līy*, is an equivalent of 畫 *xie* 'to write, to sketch'. *quš-larī* 'birds' is an equivalent of 禽 *qin* 'birds'. The Uyghur word for 獸 *shou* 'animal, beast' is damaged.

6. [| bādiz-lig ol arž-i-lar qutluγ: 'Those ornamented immortals, and blessed...'. This is one part of the Uyghur translation of 畫采仙靈 *hua cai xian ling* 'and brightly colored paintings of genii and spirits'.

arž-i < Skr. *ṛṣi*, usually corresponds to Chin. 仙 *xian*, 神仙 *shenxian* 'the genii, immortal'; cf. SH 166a, 334b. In this text it also translates Chin. 仙 *xian*. However, in various Uyghur texts it translates different Chinese and Sanskrit words. For detailed information and analysis cf. Röhrborn (1977-1998: 221-222). *qutluγ* usually means 'blessed', but here corresponds to 靈 *ling* 'spirit, divine, supernatural'. In the *Sākiz Yükmäk Yaruq Sutra* 靈 *ling* also is translated with *qut waxšik* 'spirits (Hend.)'. Cf. Haneda (1915, ll. 114, 373). *waxšik* < Sogd. *w'xšyk* (Gharib 1995: 400).

7. [| 丙|||]-*kä körür ävning yanintin*]: The Chinese line led by 丙 *bing* reads 丙舍傍啓 *bing she pang qi* 'On the sides of the palaces there are bright houses that open out.' *körür ävning yanintin* means 'from one side of the house which is [faced] to ...', and - *kä körür äv* is 'the house which [faced] to ...', here *körür äv* translates 丙舍 *bing she* 'third house in the palace' or 'a house by the side', which refers to the houses in the palace. *yanintin* corresponds to 傍 *pang* 'side'.

8. [| 甲||| *önglög qap y(a)ru kä[räkü(?)*]: The Chinese line led by 甲 *jia* reads 甲帳對楹 *jia zhang dui ying* 'First-quality screens are opposite the pillars'. *önglög*

‘coloured’ translates 甲 *jia*, which has the meaning ‘beautiful’ in this context (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 178). *qap* is a transcription of Chin. 甲 *jia*, MChin. *kap* ‘first Heavenly stem; shell; armour’ (cf. Shōgaito 1986: 140; Barat 1996: 60); *y(a)ru* should be ‘side, direction’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 955-956), and is possibly connected with the meaning ‘first Heavenly stem’ of 甲 *jia*. *kā[rākū(?)]* ‘the lattice-work wooden frame’ (Clauson 1972: 744) probably corresponds to 藝 *ying* ‘a column, pillar’. But such a reconstruction is not so certain.

9. | | -l’ry *körši* 肆 | | *töltäg-lig* | | : *körši* < *kör-üş-i*, can be translated as ‘contrary, to face, in view of’, and appears in Arat (1991: 10.11 and 13.107), Tezcan (1974: 940, 956). For an analysis see Tezcan (1974: 66, note 940), Kara (1983: 49-50), Erdal (1991: 343). Here *körši* translates 對 *dui* ‘to be opposite to, to oppose, to correspond with, to make a pair ...’ in the previous line (l.8).

The original Chinese line led by 肆 *si* is 肆筵設席 *si yan she xi* ‘Various banquet mats are spread out’. *töltäglig* ‘bedding that is spread out’ comes from *tölt* + *-ä* ‘to provide with cushions, lay out cushions’ (Clauson 1972: 494; Erdal 1991: 425), and here it corresponds to 筵 *yan* ‘bamboo mat’.

10. | | 鼓 || *täprätür-lär oyun* | | : The Chinese sentence led by 鼓 *gu* can be reconstructed as 鼓肘吹笙 *gu se chui sheng* ‘Music is heard with the striking of the *se* and the blowing of the *sheng*’. *se* is ‘a large horizontal stringed instrument’, and *sheng* means ‘a small wind instrument with pipes of different lengths’. *täprätür-lär* ‘to stir, move or shake something’ translates 鼓 *gu* ‘to drum, to rouse’. *täprätür-lär oyun* certainly refers to the ‘playing of music’. This is also documented in other Uyghur texts: Müller (1920: 46.8-9): *t(ä)ngridäm ir oyun täprätip* ‘playing heavenly music’. Zieme & Kudara (1985: 202-203): *t(ä)ngridäm oyun [bädizi]in täprät-mišlärin saqınyu ol* ‘are playing heavenly music, thus one should think’.

11. | 升 || | *taptu-ča kirür* | | : The Chinese sentence led by 升 *sheng* is 升階納陛 *sheng jie na bi* ‘Officials ascend the stairs and are presented at the steps of the throne’. *taptu-ča kirür* can be translated as ‘enters by stairs ...’ or ‘to enter in a tramp’. *taptu* comes from Chin. 踏道 *ta dao*, MChin. *t’äp d’äu* ‘step, tread, tramp’. For an analysis see Kara (1983: 48-50). Here *taptu* corresponds to 階 *jie* ‘stairs, degrees’, and in this place it refers to the steps used by emperors when they enter or leave the palace (Ogawa & Kida 1997: 183). *kirür* translates 納 *na* ‘to enter, to be appointed, to insert ...’ (Giles 1912: 8106).

12. | 升 || | *tägsinür qw* | | : The Chinese sentence led by 升 *bian* reads 弁轉疑星 *bian zhuan yi xing* ‘The sight of their caps moving around makes one think of a sky full of twinkling stars’. *tägsinür* ‘revolves, rotates, travels about’, spelled as *t’kz yn* in Fragment D 20; here it translates 轉 *zhuan* ‘turn around, revolve’.

13. ... /yn...: only three letters remain, and nothing can be understood from this line. Supposedly this line is a translation of 右通廣內 *you tong guang nei* ‘On the right you go through to the Guang nei Hall’. For an explanation of this Chinese sentence see Ogawa & Kida (1997: 186-187); Paar (1963: 154).

2.3. Fragment C (=4B Kr 181)

2.3.1. Transliteration

1. [] / 'ywr'r py lyr cymqwy 昇 []
2. []]l'r yyrtyn twypync c' 弁 []
3. [] / k'z yk 'wyz ' syz yklyk l'r / []
4. []] kyrs'r t'kyr 承明 tykm []
5. []] ||ty' [] tyrylw yyq lw []
6. [] / sstr l'r [] || [] ' wyk []
7. []] vw sy pylk' [] yk 杜 tww ts'v []
8. []] ts'v sw 草書 ' wysyk y' rtdy []
9. []] /y//n cwnsu 篆書 tykm' []
10. []] || tsyr 'wyz ' pytydy t'm tyn []
11. []] l'ryk 府 ||| wrdw 'ycynt' []
12. []] l'ryk 路 ||| ywl 'ykytyrt' []
13. []] yk 'ylyk l'ryk 戶 ||| []
14. []] q'ry lyq k'ntyk 家 ||| []
15. []] syn swwk 高 ||| 'ydyz []
16. []] l'n l'r 驅 ||| q'nkly qwsmys []
17. []] yz yk l'ryk t'pr'ty 世 ||| []
18. []] /// p'yyn 車 ||| qwsmys []
19. []] lwq l'r 策 ||| 'l []
20. []] l'r 勒 ||| py t's twqytdy []
21. []] ||| p'nyk 石 + 番溪 'wykwz []
22. []] 公 pylk' qw ' qwq 化国 []
23. []] pwl'r 'ykykw 佐 ||| p'swt []
24. []] swynk pwlty 湯王 'ylyk []
25. []] 奄宅 'tlq yyr t'ky 曲阜 []
26. []] ||| kyck d'n 'rk'n pwykw []
27. []] yytyp b'lyq 'yqwcy qylty 桓 []
28. []] qwrtp q'm'q p'kl'r yk pyrk' rtdy []
29. []] //ty 'mytmys l'r yk ywl'dy 綺 []
30. []] yk 'wydl'p 廻y'ntwrdy 漢 []
31. []] // tykyn y qylm'dyn []
32. []] /q q'n q' 'yl p'sl'd'cy []
33. []] tdy 'rm'z 'ys lyk []
34. []]]cynl'yw 'ync qylty []
35. []] / 'wyz ' 楚王 cyw []
36. []] [] w qwq 趙国 []
37. []]]twqr'q 'mk'dy l'r []
38. []] ||| ywlwq []

2.3.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [] **ürär pi lir čimyu** 昇 [] : Can be translated as 'blows the *pilir* and *čimyu*'. *ürär* meaning 'blow(s)', translates 鼓 *gu* 'to drum' in the Chinese text, but it was translated with a rather general word *täprät-* 'to stir, to play' in l. 10 of Fragment B.

pilir also appears in other Uyghur texts, as *bilur* in Tezcan (1974: 970), and as *pilir* in Shōgaito et. al. (1998: 1349). This word corresponds to Chin. 悲篳 *bei li*, MChin. 悲 <fiēi> 篳 <liät>. It is a compound of 悲 *bei* ‘sad’ and 篳 *li* ‘Bamboos used for spears, punt-poles, etc. A kind of horn or pipe’ (Giles 1912: 6979). In Middle Chinese the initial of 悲 is labio-dental *f*. This *f* was a bilabial when *Qie Yun* 切音 was established. This initial found in Uyghur texts is represented by a labio-dental, excluding some exceptions, such as *bur(xan)* 佛. Supposedly *pilir* is not a borrowing of Chinese 悲 *bei li*, but preferably was adopted from a Central Asian language other than Chinese.

čimyu also means ‘pipe’, and both *pilir* and *čimyu* translate Chin. 笙 *sheng* ‘an oboe, a pipe; a flute’. *čimyu* should be a word from the same origin as *čimyuq* in Tezcan (1974), where it is explained as ‘eine Art Flöte (?)’ (Tezcan 1974: 68, note 973).

The original Chinese sentence led by 昇 *sheng* is 昇階納陛 *sheng jie na bi*. In Fragment B l. 11 there is *taplu-ča kirür* for this sentence. It should be noted that here 昇 *sheng* is given a different form from the one in Fragment B. This implies that Fragment C is based on another version of the Chinese text, different from the Chinese text that was a base for Fragment B, for example, a similar version which is edited in Kuroda (1982) and where we also found 昇 instead of 升. Cf. Kuroda (1982: 49).

2. [|-l’r yertin tüpin<č>-čä 弁] | : *yertin tüpin<č>-čä* ‘from the ground to the root’ or ‘from the ground to the foundation’, here translates 納陛 *na bi* ‘to be presented at the steps of the throne’.

For the Chinese sentence led by 弁 *bian* and its translation see Fragment B note 12. In Fragment B only *tägsinür* is preserved as the translation of this sentence. In this fragment there is *käzig üz-ä sez-iklig-lär* from its translation (cf. next line).

3. [| käzig üz-ä sez-iklig-lär] : can be translated as ‘those who were suspicious of its revolving’. In this context it should be a literal translation of 轉疑 *zhuan yi*, which can be directly translated as ‘to doubt about revolving’ (cf. Fragment B note 12; Paar 1963: 116).

4. [| kirsär tägir 承明 tegm(ä) | ordu-qa] : ‘If (you) enter [from the left side], you will reach the Chengming [Hall], namely ...’. This line translates 左達承明 *zuo da cheng ming* ‘On the left you penetrate into the Ch’eng-ming Hall’. Here *tägir*, aorist of *täg-* ‘to reach’, corresponds to 達 *da* ‘to penetrate, reach to’. 承明 *Cheng-ming*, MChin. *čjēŋ miaŋ*, probably its Uyghur pronunciation is **šij me*.

The Uyghur translation of 右通廣內 *you tong guang nei* ‘On the right you go through the Kuang-nei Hall’ before 左達承明 is missing.

5. [既|||ty | terilü yïy(i)lu |] : The Chinese line reads 既集墳典 *ji ji fen dian* ‘Here have been collected the three ‘fen’ and the five ‘tien’’. ‘fen’ (墳) and ‘tien’ (典) are ‘books about the emperors and kings’; here it refers to all classic Chinese books, cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 188). As a translation of *fendian* there is *š(a)st(i)r-lar* in the next line.

Only *ty* is visible from the first word. *terilü yïy(i)lu* ‘assembling and accumulating’

or ‘collecting (Hend.)’ here translates 集 *ji* ‘to flock, group together, gather’. The spelling of *yŷy(i)lu* as *yyq lw* is somehow special.

6. [| š(a)st(i)r-lar [亦 |||| [ym]ä ök [| : š(a)st(i)r < Toch. A/B. šästär < Skr. śāstra, and translates 典 *dian* ‘standard, rule, norm’ in l. 5.

The Chinese sentence led by 亦 *yi* reads 亦聚群英 *yi ju qun ying* ‘Also, a multitude of eminent men is assembled here’. [ym]ä ök ‘moreover’ corresponds to 亦 *yi* ‘also’, the first word of the Chinese sentence.

7. *fu ši bilgä-|lär|ig* 杜 || *tuu tsau* [| : *fu ši bilgälär* ‘the wise masters’ translates 群英 *qunying* ‘gifted people, people of talent’ or ‘scholars, wise people’ in l. 6. *fu ši* goes back to Chin. 夫子 *fu zi*, MChin. *fiu tsiqi* ‘a sage, a prophet, a hero; added as a title of respect to the names of great teachers; the Master’ (Giles 1912: 3612), cf. Bang & von Gabain (1929: note 106).

The Chinese sentence led by 杜 *du* is 杜高鍾隸 *du gao zhong li* ‘The manuscript collections include grass calligraphy of Tu Cao and writing in ‘li-shu’ by Zhong Yao’. 高 *gao* refers to *Caoshu* and 隸 *li* refers to *Lishu* in this Chinese sentence, and the *cao shu* (草書) and *li shu* (隸書) are styles of writing of the Chinese characters (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 190-191).

tuu tsau is the transcription for 杜操 *Du Cao*, a prime minister of the Han dynasty. It is said that he was a better hand at the *Caoshu* style of writing. Zhong Yao (鍾繇) was the military chief of the Wei dynasty. It is said that he improved the *xiaozhuan* type of writing, and invented *lishu* (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 191).

8. [| tsav šu CAOSHU ušik y(a)ratdī [| : ‘invented the CAOSHU character, a rapid style of writing’. *tsav šu* is a transliteration of Chin. 草書 *cao shu*, MChin. *ts’au čio* ‘the ‘grass’ character or running hand; said to be so-called of a document, which was formerly written on straw paper’ (Giles 1912: 11, 634). *ušik* ‘letter, font, writing’, should be the category name for CAOSHU. Here it refers to 書 *shu* in CAOSHU.

9. / y//n/ čunšu 篆書 *tegmä* / : ‘čunšu refers to ZHUANSHU, a style of Chinese calligraphy...’. *čunšu* is a transliteration of Chin. 篆書 *zhuan shu*, MChin. *čiuən čio* ‘seal character, a style of Chinese calligraphy, often used on seals’ (HanYing: 1354).

10. [| 漆 ||| tsir üzä bitidi tam-tīn [| : The original Chinese sentence led by 漆 *qi* is 漆書壁經 *qi shu bi jing* ‘Also, there are old books written with varnish and classics that had been hidden in the wall’. *tsir üzä bitidi* means ‘wrote with varnish’. *tsir* is a transcription for 漆 *qi*, MChin. *ts’iEt* ‘the varnish tree, (*Rhus vernicifera* or *Venix vernicia*) from which the Chinese collect sap for lacquer ware; paint; to paint or varnish; black; sticky’ (Giles 1912: 1023). Concerning the system of such Uyghur transcription cf. Shōgaito 1995, p. 130.

tam-tīn means ‘from the wall’, and *tam* translates 壁 *bi* ‘wall, screen, partition’ in the Chinese sentence.

11. [| -lärig 府 || *ordu ičintä* [| : *l’ryk*, probably can be reconstructed as [bit-ig] *lärig* ‘books’, which translates 將 *jiang* ‘book, doctrine’ in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 府 *fu* reads 府羅將相 *fu luo jiang xiang* ‘Generals and ministers are in orderly formation in the halls of government’. *ordu ičintä* means

‘at the palace’. Here *ordu* translates 府 *fu* ‘a store-house; a treasury; a palace’, also ‘a political division or ‘prefecture’ as established under the Tang dynasty’ (Giles 1912: 3682).

12. | |lärig 路 ||| yol ikitirtä | | : The Chinese sentence led by 路 *lu* is 路俠槐卿 *lu xia huai qing* ‘Out along the roadways there are high officials together under the ‘huai’ trees’. *yol ikitirtä* ‘on the two sides of the road’, here *yol* is an equivalent of 路 *lu* ‘a road, a path, a journey’. *ikitirtä* probably comes from *iki* ‘two’ + *-tirtä*. *-tirtä* is supposedly a variant of *-tirti* / *-türti* (cf. Clauson 1972: xl).

13. | |bäglärig elig- lärig 戶 ||| | : *bäglärig elig-lärig* ‘officials and kings’ translates 槐卿 *huai qing*, which refers to dukes and ministers (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 193).

The Chinese sentence led by 戶 *hu* is 戶封八縣 *hu feng ba xian* ‘Some of these officials are from families that have been invested with a fief of eight districts’.

14. | |qarī- līq kántig 家 ||| | : *qarīliq kántig* means ‘old aged town’. *qarīliq* usually refers to the old age of a person, but in this text qualifies *kánt* ‘town’ (< Sogd. *knd*). In Osmanli *qarīliq* is ‘womanhood, wifehood’ (Clauson 1972: 659; Redhouse 1998: 607b). Here *qarīliq* probably translates 封 *feng* ‘to enfeoff; fief’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 95), and *kánt* translates 縣 *xian* ‘district’. *qarīliq kánt* seems to refer to ‘a town which is enfeoffed’.

The Chinese sentence led by 家 *jia* reads 家給千兵 *jia gei qian bing* ‘Each family has been given a thousand soldiers’.

15. | |sen süüg 高 ||| ediz: *sen süüg* means ‘a thousand soldiers’. *sen* is a transcription for Chin. 千 *qian*, MChin. ts’ien ‘thousand’. *sen süüg* translates 千兵 *qian bing* ‘a thousand soldiers’ in the previous line. The Chinese sentence led by 高 *gao* reads 高冠陪輦 *gao guan pei lian* ‘Wearing high caps, they accompany the imperial man-drawn carriage’. This sentence describes the situation of the high officials taking the same carriage with princes; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 200). *ediz* ‘high, lofty’ is an equivalent of 高 *gao* ‘high, tall, lofty’.

16. | |len-lär 驅 ||| qanglī qošmīš | | : *len* is a transcription for 輦 *lian*, MChin. *lien* ‘man-drawn carriage’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 225) in the previous line. *len-lär* ‘man-drawn carriages’.

The Chinese sentence led by 驅 *qu* reads 驅轂振纓 *qu gu zhen ying* ‘As the chariot is urged on, the wheels turn rapidly and the tassels on the officials’ caps get shaken’. *qanglī qošmīš* ‘drive a wagon...’ translates Chin. 驅轂 *qugu* ‘drive the carriage’. *qoš-* ‘to put to or drive a pair of beasts’ (cf. Redhouse 1998: 675b).

17. | |ti|z-ig-lärig täprät(d)i 世 ||| | : *[ti]z-ig-lärig täprät(d)i* ‘shake the row’ translates 振纓 *zhen ying* ‘shake the tassels; shake the fringe’ in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 世 *shi* reads 世祿筮富 *shi lu chi fu* ‘They have hereditary incomes and are wealthy enough to live on a lavish scale.’

18. | |/// bayīn 車 ||| qošmīš | qanglī | : *bayīn* is the instrumental form of *bay* ‘rich, a rich man’. Here it corresponds to 富 *fu* ‘rich, wealthy’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 101) in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 車 *che* reads 車駕肥輕 *che jia fei qing* ‘They yoke

sleek steeds to their light chariots'. Here carriages (車), corpulent horse (肥), and light leather overcoat (輕) refer to the things used by the rich. *qošmīš* [qangli] 'a joined chariot', *qošmīš* is a past participle form of *qoš-* 'to conjoin, unite (two things), ...' (Clauson 1972: 670), and here it translates Chin. 駕 *jia* 'to yoke, harness; yoked carriage; drive a chariot'.

19. | ton|luy-lar 策 ||| al | |: [ton]luy-lar 'those who wear ... clothes' is supposedly a part of the phrase [yenik teri ton]luy-lar 'those who wear light fur coats', which stands for 輕 *qing* 'light' in the previous line, the shortened form of 輕裘 *qing qiu* 'light leather coat'. For *teri ton* 'a fur coat' (cf. Clauson 1972: 531).

The Chinese line led by 策 *ce* reads 策功茂實 *ce gong mao shi* 'Their exuberant plans and solid achievements'. The word *al* 'device, method of doing something' is often used together with *altay* or *čäviš*. Here it seems that *al* or *al* [altay] translates 策 *ce* 'a plan, a scheme, a stratagem'. Usually this is natural, since the meaning of these two words is almost the same. Another meaning of 策 *ce* is 'to write' or 'to render' (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 204-205).

20. | |l'r 勒||| bi taš toqïtdï | |: *l'r* may be reconstructed as [ärdäm]-lär 'goodness, virtue, good qualities' (Clauson 1972: 206), and supposedly translates Chin. 實 *shi* 'full, solid; fruit; true' (Pulleyblank 1991: 283).

The Chinese sentence led by 勒 *le* is 勒碑刻銘 *le bei ke ming* 'have been commemorated with inscriptions engraved on stone tablets'. *bi taš toqïtdï* 'had a memorial stone carved / written' is an exact translation of the Chinese sentence. *bi* can be traced back to Chin. 碑 *bei*, MChin. *piuě* 'a large stone tablet; a tombstone' (Giles 1912: 8764), and *taš* should have the same meaning as 碑 in this context.

A similar expression appears in KT S 12-13, BK(K)15: *bängü taš toqïtdim* 'I had a (memorial) stone carved'. Orkun translated it 'abide tašini yontturdum' in Orkun (1994: 28), and Tekin as 'I had the memorial stone inscribed' in Tekin (1968: 263), correctly. However, Clauson suggests "I had a (memorial) stone driven into (the ground)" (1972: 467). Obviously, the key word in this sentence is *toqïtdim*. Clauson explained it as "to have (something) woven" (1972: 467), and Erdal considers that "hewn" or even 'incised' seems just as possible" (1991: 789). In our context *toqït-* is clearly identical with Chin. 勒 *le* 'a bridle; to curb; to coerce. to carve; to engrave' (Giles 1912: 7316), and this interpretation can also be applied to the Orkhun inscriptions. *pi t[a]š yaratdïlar* in Röhrborn (1991: 315-316) should be a similar expression to *bi taš toqïtdi*.

21. | 石+番||| | banki 石+番溪 ögüz| |: The Chinese sentence led by 番 *ban* is 石+番溪伊尹 *Ban xi Yi Yin* 'Those who are commemorated are famous men like Lü Shang, the Tai Gong, who fished at Banki, and also the minister, Yi Yin'. Tai Gong or Tai Gongwang (太公王) is a popular title of a high officer of state named Lü Shang (呂尚) who lived from the 11th to the 12th century B.C., during the Zhou dynasty, cf. Giles (1898: 135-136, item 343; 708-709 item 1862). Yi Yin is a minister who rendered outstanding service to Tangwang of the Yin dynasty (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 206-210).

Banki is an Uyghur transcription of 石+番溪, MChin. *ban k^{hi}* 'a rivulet at the

South-Eastern part of present Baoji city, Shanxi province. According to legend Lushang, from the time of Zhou, 周 used to angle there before his meeting with Wenwang’ (Dacidian VII p. 1112). *ögüz* ‘river’ corresponds to 溪 *xi* ‘rivulet’.

22. | 太|公 *bilgä xua quy* 化国 | |: [太]公 *bilgä xua quy* means ‘the wise man Tai Gong’. Tai Gong *bilgä* refers to Tai Gongwang. It is said that he was a wise and virtuous man, and there are many stories about him. Cf. Giles (1898) and Ogawa & Kida (1997) (pages given in l. 21).

Xua quy is a transcription for 化国 *huaguo*, MChin. *xua kuEk*, and is probably an error of 華国 *hua guo*, a name for China. cf. Giles 1912: 5005.

23. | | bular *ikigü* 佐|| basut | |: *bular ikigü* ‘both of them’ here refers to Tai Gongwang and Yi Yin.

The Chinese sentence led by 佐 *zuo* is 佐時阿衡 *zuo shi a heng* ‘The former was a timely help, a Man of the Hour; the other was given the title of ‘A-heng’’. Yi Yin was a minister of Tang Wang and was called A-heng (阿衡) with respect. 阿 *a* is a ‘familiar prefix to names and terms of relationship’, and 衡 *heng* means ‘crosswise; balance arm of a steelyard’.

basut ‘support, help’ here renders 佐 *zuo* ‘to aid, to assist’.

24. | |söng *bolti* 湯王 *elig* | |: ‘? became the king Tang wang’. 湯王 *Tang wang*, MChin. *t’ân huiân* ‘King Tang’ was an emperor of the Yin dynasty. *elig* ‘king’ is an equivalent to Chin. 王 *wang* in 湯王 *Tang wang*.

25. | 奄|| |奄宅 *atl(i)y yer-täki* 曲阜: The Chinese sentence led by 奄 *yan* reads 奄宅曲阜 *yan zhai qu fu* ‘[Zhou Gongdan] resided in Qu Fu for a long time’. Zhou Gongdan (周公旦, Duke of Zhou (周公), who died in B.C. 1105, is known under the title *Dan* (旦), fourth son of Wen Wang and younger brother to Wu Wang, and is generally known in history, though sometimes spoken of as 姬公 *Ji Gong* ‘Duke of Ji’. Cf. Giles (1898: 162, item 418). 曲阜 *Qu fu* is a place name in Shandong province, China. Once it was the capital of Lu State (魯 841-476 B.C.) during the Zhou dynasty, and is also known as a place where Kong Fuzi, a famous Chinese philosopher, was born (cf. Cihai 1979: 1199).

Yanzhai atl(i)y yer-täki Qu Fu can be translated as ‘Qu Fu at a place named Yanzhai’. Interpreting *Yanzhai* as a place name is not correct. In this context 奄 *yan* means ‘long, for long’, and 宅 *zhai* is ‘to live, to stay’, and when put together they mean ‘to stay for a long time’ or ‘live for a long time’ (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 211-212).

26. | 微|||kičig *dan ärkän bögü*| |: The Chinese sentence led by 微 *wei* is 微旦執營 *wei dan shu ying* ‘Who, if not Dan, could have managed this?’. *kičig dan ärkän bögü* means ‘when Zhou Gongdan was a child, he has wise ...’. This sentence can hardly be regarded as a literal translation of the Chinese. *kičig dan* seems to translate 微旦 *wei dan*. Usually 微 *wei* has the meaning ‘small, minute’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 320), but here it means ‘were it not for...’. Translating it with *kičig* is not correct. *Dan*, Chin. 旦 refers to 周公旦 *Zhou Gongdan*. However, this reading is not certain.

27. | | yetip *balıq ayyučı qiltı* 桓||| |: *yetip balıq ayyučı qiltı* means ‘arrived

and made the governor of the city'. As the title *ayyučī* appears in many Uyghur documents and religious texts in the form of *iš ayyučī*, *šazīn ayyučī*, *tamya ayyučī*, etc., in most cases it means 'someone who is in charge of practical affairs' (cf. Umemura 1977: 253 (03)-252 (06); Röhrborn 1977-1998: 299-300). We also found *balīq ayyučī* in Yamada et al. (1991: Mi01, 19): *qočo balīq ayyučīqa bir kümüş yastuq berip* 'dem Befehlshaber der Stadt Qoco ein 1 Silber-yastuq geben' and in Kara & Zieme (1986: 382-383): *muntada in(a)ru Qayču čiu balīq ayyučī bāg ävindikilärkä ayip artuqraq kertgüntürdi* 'Von nun an sprach (?) der die Stadt Huaizhou beherrschende Bāg zu den Angehörigen seines Anwesens, und ihm wurde äußerst vertraut'. In the latter sentence *ayyučī bāg* stands for Chin. 刺史 *ce shi* 'a governor of a province under the Han dynasty; the magistrate of a Department under the Sung dynasty' (Giles 1912: 12412). But in the previous two cases *balīq* mostly seems to be a part of the preceding place names *Qočo* and *Qayču čiu*. In our text *balīq ayyučī* is very obviously a title just as *iš ayyučī*, *šazīn ayyučī* etc., and probably refers to 'governor of the city' or 'mayor'. Here it concretely refers to Zhou Gongdan's managing of Qu Fu, the capital city, enfeoffed by Lu State (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 212).

The Chinese sentence led by 桓 *Huan* reads 桓公匡合 *Huan gong kuang he* 'Huan Kung united the feudal princes, and put the country right'. Huan Gong or Huan Kung (684-642 B.C.) is the title of a duke of the Qi State, whose surname was 終 *Jiang*, and whose given name was 小白 *Xiaobai* (cf. Giles 1898: 327-328, item 841).

28. | *olyjurtup q(a)may bäglär-ig birgärtdi*: 'placed [the country] and assembled all officials'. The whole sentence translates 桓公匡合 *Huan gong kuang he* in the previous line. Here *olyurt-* 'to place' corresponds to 匡 *kuang* 'to aid, correct', *q(a)may bäglär* 'all officials' translates 公 *gong* 'duke, public just', and *birgärt-* 'to unite, assemble' translates 合 *he* 'to join, unite'.

29. | |//ty ämitmiş-lärig yülädi 綺||| |: *ämitmiş-lärig yülädi* means 'supported those who were inclined to'. This sentence translates 扶傾 *fu qing* 'overturned one' in 濟弱扶傾 *qi ruo fu qing* 'He helped the weak, and helped up the falling' in the Chinese text. This sentence follows the sentence in l. 28.

The Chinese line led by 綺 *qi* is 綺迴漢惠 *Qi hui Han Hui* 'Qi Liji restored Hui Di of the Han dynasty to the throne of crown prince'. *Qi* refers to Qi Liji (綺李季), one of the Four Gray-heads, whose surname was 朱 *Zhu*, and whose given name was 暉 *Hui*. Here he stands for the Four Gray-heads (四皓), namely Tang Xuanlang (唐宣朗), Cui Guang (崔廣), Zhou Shu (周術) and Qi Liji, of the Han dynasty; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 215-218); Giles (1898: 124, item 309; 164, item 423; 714, item 714; 775, item 2038).

30. | *lyk ödläp 迴 yanturdī* 漢: Can be translated as 'gave advice to... and returned Han...'. This line translates 綺迴漢惠 'Qi Liji restored Hui Di of the Han dynasty to the throne of crown prince' in the previous line. 迴 *hui* usually means 'to go back; to return', but here refers to Qi Liji and the other three virtuous men who changed the situation and advised the emperor not to abolish Hui Di. Maybe this is the reason for adding the Chinese character 迴 before its Uyghur translation *yanturdī* in order to clarify its special meaning.

31. | **oyul|uy tegin-i qïlmađın|** |: Can be translated as ‘without making [the son of ...] the prince’. Probably it is connected with the content of the previous line. It is said that Liu Bang (劉邦), the first emperor of the Han dynasty, first wanted his oldest son Liu Ying (劉盈, whose emperor name is Hui Di 惠帝) to be the crown prince. Later he loved his second wife and tried to abolish Liu Ying and make his son by a concubine the crown prince. On the advice of the Four Gray-heads he changed his idea and kept his first decision. *tegin-i qïlmađın* is connected with this historical matter (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 216-217; Giles 1898: 553, item 1442).

32. | **|/q qan-qa el bašladačï|** |: ‘one who ruled the country for the king’. *el bašla-* is identical with Chin. 治國 *zhì guó* ‘to govern a country’ from a passage in *Uigurica* I 25 given with its Chinese parallel text: *el bašlayu törüsin ötünürsi[z]lär ayıtu* ‘fragt ihr mich nach dem Reichsregierungs-Gesetz’ (= Chin. 問我治國法). There are two words *tut-* and *bašla-* in the Orkhun texts for this concept: *qırq yıl el tutdum bodun bašladım* ‘for forty years I held the realm and ruled the people’, and these two verbs should have a similar meaning to *el bašla-*. In this line *qanqa el bašladačï* translates 密勿 *mì wu* ‘one who works hard; minister who participates in confidential matters of the country’; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 220).

The original Chinese sentence reads 俊乂密勿 *jun yì mì wu* ‘Thus, superior and able men have exerted themselves in the service of the emperors’.

33. | **|tdy ärmāz iš-lig| är** |: *ärmāz* may be connected with the verb preceding it. *iš-lig| är* ‘hard-working person’, is possibly an another translation of 密勿 *mì wu*. Kāšyarī (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 244) has *išliy är* meaning ‘a man who completes a job and leaves nothing over for someone else’. Clauson quotes Turkmen *išli* ‘busy, fully occupied’ (1972: 262).

34. | **|čïnlayu enč qïlti|** |: Can be translated as ‘really made in peace’ or ‘really made peaceful’. The Chinese sentence is 多士寔寧 *duo shì shí níng* ‘With the help of these many scholars, there was a true peace in the empire’. *čïnlayu enč qïlti* corresponds to 寔寧 *shí níng* ‘really at peace’.

35. | **|üzä 楚王 čiu |wang|** |: *üzä* means ‘above, on high’ and has several other meanings as a postposition (cf. Clauson 1972: 280). 楚王 *Chuwang* ‘ruler of the feudal Chu State’, here it refers to a feudal state in Hu Guang under the Zhou dynasty (cf. Paar:1963: 143). *čiu wang* is an Uyghur transcription for 楚王 *Chuwang*, MChin. ts’io iuŋ (cf. Dacidian IV p. 1148).

The original Chinese sentence reads 晉楚更霸 *Jin Chu geng ba* ‘Jin and Chu were, one after the other, the chiefs of the feudal states’. Jin and Chu are state names during the time of Chun Qiu (春秋). This sentence also refers to Wen Gong of Jin, and Zhuang Wang of Chu both becoming the supreme rulers (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 222). The Uyghur translation seems to be based on the latter explanation.

36. | **čïju quy|** |: *čïu quy* is an Uyghur transcription of 趙國 *Zhaoguo* ‘an ancient state name during the time of the Warring States (戰國 *Zhanguo* 475-221 B.C.)’. Dacidian IX p. 1132.

The Chinese sentence reads 趙魏困橫 *Zhao Wei kun heng* ‘Zhao and Wei encountered difficulties due to the system of alliances that created a horizontal barrier

across China'. Here *Zhao* and *Wei* are state names during the time of the Warring States.

37. [ar|tuqraq ämgädi-lär|]: Can be translated as 'they excessively suffered'. [ar]tuqraq ämgädi-lär translates 困 *kun* 'to torment, to torture, to hurt, to distress' in the previous line.

38. [假||| yoluy|]: The Chinese sentence led by 假 *jia* is 假途滅虢 *jia tu mie Guo* 'Duke Xian of Qin, under false pretences, obtained permission to pass through Yu, in order to subjugate Guo'. *yol* 'road, way' translates 途 *tu* 'path, road-way' in the Chinese sentence.

2.4. Fragment D (= 4b Kr 185)

2.4.1. Transliteration

1. []|||t'wyz ynt'ky kyryk s[]
2. []kwys'ywr swqyq yq 驢[]
3. []qyr l'r 駭|||ywkwrwp sykryp []
4. []||| 'wylwrmys pycmys k'rk'k 'wqry[]
5. []k y'qy l'ryq 布||| lwpw 呂[]
6. [] / t' 'wz 'nm'qlyq 'rty 宜了[]
7. []k'd 'rty 嵇琴 kyšwq []
8. [] 阮籍 ''tlq 'wywncy syqyrq'ly []
9. [] t'n tsyk < q'n sk > 肥籍 ''tlyq []
10. [] / mwnk tym 蒙恬 ''tlq kysy[]
11. [] 倫紙 ts'y lwyn 蔡倫 []
12. [] 鈞巧p' qwnk[]
13. [] |||| pwytydm'k t'[] 'wz 'nm'q []
14. [] // 'wyz ' bwlq'nmys s'ry l'ryq[]
15. [] ||| pyr y'nklq p'rc' yyk 'dkw []
16. [] sy 西施 ''tlq pw 'yky qyz[]
17. [] y'r'q lyq pwldy l'r 工 ||| []
18. [] kyn lyk kwylcyrk' ywwz lwk[]
19. [] ''tmys 'wq t'k twrq'rw[]
20. [] vswrw t'kz ynyp |||sy[]
21. [] kwyk q'lyq t' []
22. [] //dy 'wyz ' 'y[]
23. [] swrwky 'wyz ' []

2.4.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [骸||| ät'öz-intäki kirig s|uv-da]: The Chinese sentence led by 骸 *hai* reads 骸垢想浴 *hai gou xiang yu* 'When the body is dirty, one thinks of bathing'. ät'öz-intäki kirig s|uv-da] 'with water (wants / hopes to wash) the dirt on the body', is an almost word by word translation of the Chinese sentence.

Usually ät'öz corresponds to 体 *ti*, 身 *shen* (cf. Shōgaito 1993: 234a, etc.), but here it translates 骸 *hai* 'bones of the body, skeleton'.

2. [執||| |küsäyür soyïq-ïy 驢|||]: The Chinese sentence led by 執 *zhi* is 執熱願涼 *zhi re yuan liang* ‘When you have taken hold of something hot, you wish for something cold’. *küsäyür soyïq-ïy* ‘desire for cold (thing)’, corresponds word by word to 願涼 *yuan liang* in the Chinese sentence.

The Chinese sentence led by 驢 *lü* is 驢騾犢特 *lü luo du te* ‘Donkeys, mules, calves and bulls’.

3. [|sä|yir-lar 駭|||yügürüp sekrip|]: [sä|yirlar means ‘oxen’, and here it translates 特 *te* ‘bulls’. The Chinese sentence led by 駭 *hai* is 駭躍超驤 *hai yue chao xi-ang* ‘when startled, will leap more than a spirited horse’. *yügürüp sekrip* ‘running and jumping’ corresponds to 躍超驤 *yue chao xiang* ‘leap over a spirited horse’ in the Chinese sentence. The Uyghur word which corresponds to 駭 *hai* ‘startled, frightened’ is missing, and supposedly there is a converb of *ürk-* ‘to be startled, scared, frightened’ (Clouston 1972: 221).

4. [誅||| ölürmiš bičmiš kargäk oyri|-larïy]: The Chinese sentence led by 誅 *zhu* reads 誅斬賊盜 *zhu zhan zei dao* ‘Thieves and robbers are punished and beheaded’. *ölürmiš bičmiš kargäk oyri|-larïy*] can be translated as ‘should kill and cut the thieves’ or ‘should kill (Hend.) the thieves’. *bič-* ‘to cut’ is used in the same meaning as *ölür-* ‘to kill’ in some texts. Examine the following verse in Kāšyari (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 327):

<i>tünlä bilä bastimiz</i>	we attacked them at night;
<i>tägmä yayaq bustimiz</i>	we lay in ambush on every side;
<i>käsmälärin kästimiz</i>	then we cut their horses’ forelocks;
<i>miñlaq ärin bičtimiz</i>	and killed the men of miñlaq (a place name).

Obviously, in our text *ölürmiš bičmiš* translates 斬 *zhan* ‘to behead, to cut into’.

5. [tutmiš k(ä)rgäk yayï-larïy 布||| löpu 呂: [tutmiš k(ä)rgäk] yayï-larïy ‘should catch the enemies’. This sentence translates 捕獲叛亡 *pu huo pan wang* ‘Rebels and fugitives are seized and arrested’ in the Chinese text. In the Uyghur translation *yayïlar* ‘enemies; hostiles’ corresponds to 叛亡 *panwang* ‘to forsake and escape’ in the Chinese text, and [tutmiš k(ä)rgäk] ‘should capture’ corresponds to 捕獲 *pu huo* ‘to seize, to capture’.

The Chinese sentence led by 布 *bu* is 布射遼丸 *Bu she Liao wan* ‘Lü Bu was skilled as an archer, and Yi Liao excelled in shooting clay balls’. *lö pu* is a transcription for 呂布 *Lü Bu*, MChin. *lio po* (?-198), the name of a famous general of the Late Han dynasty, who was born in Jiu Yuan, and whose honorific name is Fengxian. He killed Dong Zhuo, surrendered to Yuan Chao and was killed by Cao Cao (cf. Kokan Jiten p. 554). Yi Liao (宜遼), whose full name is Xiong Yiliao (熊宜遼), was a native of Chu during the Warring States. It is recorded that he played ball excellently; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 329).

6. [| t’ uz-anmaqlïy ärti 宜|]: *t’ uz-anmaqlïy ärti* means ‘was master in...’, and it should be part of the Uyghur translation of the Chinese sentence in the previous line.

宜了 *yi liao* is another spelling for 宜遼. According to Ogawa & Kida, the Chinese characters for 遼 *liao* are different in various *Qian zi-wen* versions. Some texts use 遼 and others use 僚. Using 了 in this text should be another variant; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 329-330).

7. ||kād ārti 嵇琴 *kişuy* | 嵇叔 |: *kād ārti* ‘were extremely good’. 嵇琴 *Ji Qin* is the name of a stringed musical instrument which was invented by 嵇康 *Ji Kang*, an ideologist and poet during the time of Three-States and Wei. His honorific name is 叔夜 *Shuye*. *kişoq* is an Uyghur transcription of 嵇叔 *Ji Shu*, MChin. *xişuy*, which was coined by the Uyghurs taking *xi* (Uyghur pronunciation is *ki*), the Kei Kang’s surname, and 叔 *Shu* (Uyghur Chinese pronunciation is *şuy*) from his honorific name 叔夜 *Shuye*. In some Chinese records we found 嵇叔夜 *Ji Shuye*, composed of Kei Kang’s surname 嵇 *Ji* and his honorific name 叔夜 *Shuye*. *kişuy* 嵇叔 should be a name made by the Uyghurs in a similar way, or it could also be based on 嵇叔夜. For more detailed information see Kokan Jiten vol.1, p. 1099c; Jinshu (pp. 1369-1372); Ma Zonghu (1982: 461-471).

The Chinese sentence is 嵇琴阮嘯 *Ji qin Ruan xiao* ‘Ji Kang was master in playing the Chinese lute, Ruan Ji was skillful in flute playing’.

8. ||阮籍 *atl(i)y oyunī sīyīryālī* |: ‘A musician named Ruan Ji [was skillful] in whistling’, is a translation of 阮嘯 in the previous line. 阮籍 *Ruan Ji* (210-263 AD.), was a poet and ideologist of Wei during the Three-States Period, and his honorific name is Si Zong (嗣宗). He is one of the seven virtuous men at the Groves of Bamboo’ (Kokanjiten vol. 3 p. 1086b). For more detailed information see Jinshu (pp. 1359-1362); Cihai (1979: 408b). Here he is mentioned as *oyunčī* < *oyun* + *čī* ‘musician’ or ‘one who loves amusement’. This word also can be read as *ōtčī*, which comes from *ōt* ‘advise’ + *čī*, literally meaning ‘someone who gives advice’. Here it probably stands for Chin. 賢人 *xian ren* ‘virtuous man’. It should be noted that this line has been circled by the writer or the copyist; therefore, it may be that this line was erased.

9. ||tan tsik 阮籍 *atlīy 肥* |: *tan tsik* is an Uyghur transcription for 阮籍 *Ruan Ji*, MChin. *ñiun dziek*. This transliteration was corrected to *yan s(i)k*, and it is written beside the word with a thin pen. *tsyk* is an early Chinese pronunciation of 籍 *Ji*, which later changed to *s(i)k*, and *tan* is for 阮; it may also represent an early pronunciation of it or is an error for *yan*.

阮籍 *atlīy* means ‘(a person) named RUANJI’. Concerning 阮籍 *Ruan Ji* see our note in l.8.

10. | / mung tim 蒙恬 *atl(i)y kiši* |: Can be translated as ‘a person named Meng Tian’. *mung tim* is a transliteration of 蒙恬 *Meng Tian*, which is the name of a general in the time of Qin (秦). He worked as Neishi (內史) ‘officers of the Censorate under the Han dynasty’ at the time of Qin Shihuang (秦始皇). He led an army of 30,000, drove Huns out, and constructed the Great Wall; in the time of the second ruler of Qin, he was sentenced to death (?-210 B.C.). It was recorded in Shi Ji (史記) ‘Historical Records’ that he invented the writing brush. Some other records also say that he improved the writing brush (cf. Kokan Jiten vol. 3, p. 440a; Cihai 1979: 1627b).

The Chinese sentence is 恬筆倫紙 *Tian bi Lun zhi* ‘Meng Tian invented the writing brush, Cai Lun invented paper’.

11. | 蔡 | 倫紙 *ts'y lwyn* 果倫 | : [蔡] 倫紙 *Cai Lun zhi* means ‘a paper invented by Cai Lun’ or ‘paper of Cai Lun’. Since Cai Lun was a lord (候 *hou* ‘marquis’) of Long Ting (龍亭), this paper is also called 蔡候紙 *Cai Hou zhi* ‘paper of Lord Cai’; cf. *Dacidian* vol. IX p. 538; *Kokan Jiten* vol. 3 p. 456b.

ts'y lwyn is a transliteration of the next Chinese characters 蔡倫 *Cai Lun*, MChin. *ts'äi liuën*.

12. | | 馬鈞 *pa qong* | : The Chinese sentence is 馬鈞任釣 *Jun qiao Ren diao* ‘Ma Jun was a skillful artificer, Ren Gongzi excelled in fishing’. 馬鈞 *Jun qiao* in this text is a citation from the first two characters of the Chinese sentence. *pa qong* is a transcription for Ma Gong (馬公), which is composed of Ma Jun’s family name Ma, MChin. *ma*, and the first letter of Ren Gongzi’s given name Gong, MChin. *kuŋ*.

Ma Jun (馬鈞) was a scholar of Wei during the time of the Three-States. Ren Gongzi (任公子) is a person of the First Qin (先秦). For detailed information cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 335-336).

13. | |//// bötidmäk-tä uz-anmaq | : Can be translated as ‘to be master in making dance’. *bödit-* ‘to make dance (a person or one’s feet)’. Kāšyarī (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 416): *ol oylini böditti* ‘He made his son dance’. *uzanmaq* ‘to be master’, the preceding noun always with the locative (examples and analyses cf. Clauson 1972: 289; Erdal 1991: 768, also cf. l. 6 of this fragment). *-tä* is not clear from the photograph.

According to *Zhuang Zi* (「莊子」), Ma Jun made a doll from wood, and dressed it with colourful silk cloth. The doll danced by itself without being any different from human beings. This line is connected to this story. For details cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 336).

14. | | üz-ä bulyanmīs sav-larīy | : This phrase can be translated as ‘disordered affairs by ...’. The Chinese sentence is 釋紛利俗 *shi fen li su* ‘They cleared up confusion and they were of profit to the commonalty’. *bulyanmīs sav-lar* ‘disordered affairs, confused matters’ corresponds to 紛 *fen* ‘confused, disorderly, mixed’.

15. | 並 |||| bir yanglīy barča yeg ädgü [ärti] | : The Chinese sentence reads 並皆佳妙 *bing jie jia miao* ‘They were all excellent and admirable men’. *bir yanglīy barča yeg ädgü [ärti]* ‘all was best and good of one kind’ is an almost word by word translation of the Chinese sentence.

16. | mau čo 毛 嬌 | ši 西 施 | atl(i)y bu iki qīz: This line can be translated as ‘Mao Qiang, Xi Shi these two girls...’. Both Mao Qiang and Xi Shi were remarkable for their great beauty at the time of Chunqiu (770 - 476 B.C.). A Chinese classic book entitled *ZhiZi*, *XiaoCheng* (智子. 小称) thus records: 毛嬌, 西施, 天下之美人也 ‘Mao Qiang and Xi Shi are the beauties of the world’ (*Dacidian* vol. VIII pp. 744-5). For detailed information also see Giles (1898: 271, item 679; 575, item 1497). *ši ši* is a transcription of 西施 *Xi Shi*, MChin. *siei çiě*.

The Chinese sentence is 毛施淑姿 *Mao Shi shu zi* ‘Mao Qiang and Xi Shi were beautiful and charming’.

17. | **[yaray-līy boldī-lar 工///]** | : *yaray-līy boldī-lar* can be translated as ‘became suitable...’ or ‘became useful’. *yaraylīy* means ‘suitable, opportune, useful’ and the like’ (Clauson 1972: 964). Here it is used to describe the beauty of Mao Qiang and Xi Shi.

18. | **[kin -lig külčirgä yūüz-lüg]**: This phrase means ‘beautiful and smiling faced’. *kinlig* ‘beautiful’ comes from *kin* < Chin. 妍 *yan*, MChin. *ȝien* which means ‘beautiful’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 356) + *-lig*. *külčirgä* comes from *külčir-* ‘to smile’ (< *kül-* ‘to laugh’ + *-čir*) + *gä*. *külčirgä yūüz-lüg* appears in Tezcan (1974: 998): *külčirgä yūüz-lügün* ‘mit lächelndem Gesicht’, and as a name in BT VII A 152 and 621, and *külčirä yūüz* appearing in TT X 322 and MaitriH. 1450, 2418, etc. also has the same meaning (cf. Clauson 1972: 716; Tezcan 1974: 70, note 998; Erdal 1991: 377, 537-538).

The Chinese sentence is 工口+頻妍咲 *gong pin yan xiao* ‘The one seemed to have achieved a work of art when she knit her brows; the other was beautiful when she smiled’. This sentence also describes the beauty of Mao Qiang and Xi Shi.

19. | **[atmīš oq täg turqaru |]** : This phrase can be translated as ‘like a shot arrow, always...’. The Chinese sentence comes as 年矢每催 *nian shi mei cui* ‘The years fly like arrows, each pushing on the other’.

20. | **[qa]všuru tägz-inip ///sy|** | : *[qa]všuru tägz-inip* can be translated as ‘revolving together ...’. This line should be connected to 璇王+畿懸幹 *xuan ji xuan e* ‘The astrolabe hangs and turns’ in the Chinese text. *tägz-inip* corresponds to 幹 *e* ‘to revolve’. Concerning the Chinese character corresponding to *[qa]všuru* ‘collecting, bringing together, putting together’ we have no clear idea.

21. | **[kök qalīy-ta]** | : *kök qalīy-ta* means ‘on the sky’, it is certainly connected with the Chinese sentence in the previous line.

22. | **[///dy üz-ä ay]** | : ‘by / with ... the moon ...’. This line is connected with 晦魄環照 *hui po huan zhao* ‘The moon wanes and becomes dark, then after a circuit it shines again’. Supposedly *ay* ‘moon’ together with the word before it corresponds to 晦魄 *hui po* ‘hidden moon at the end of the month’.

23. | **[sürügi üz-ä |]** | : *sürüg* (spelled as *swrwk*) means ‘something driven’ (Clauson 1972: 850) or ‘a flock, herd’ (Erdal 1991: 205). *sürügi üz-ä* ‘on the herd’, can also be read *sürük* ‘within the deadline’ (Modern Uyghur *sürük* corresponds to Chin. 期間 *qijian*, 期限 *qixian* ‘time limit, deadline’). In this text the latter one is the most probable.

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Word index

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| al a plan C19 | kād ä.-ti D7 | bilig wisdom 神 A13 |
| ana mother | yeg ädgü ä.-ti D15 | bilir < Chin. 悲 策 |
| ana törüsin A4 母儀 | ät'öz body 骸 | C1 a musical instrument |
| arqa back 背 B2 | ä.-täki D1 | bir one 同 |
| artuqraq excessively | äv house 舍 | b. yid A7 |
| a. ämgädi-lär C37 困 | körür ä.-ning B7 丙舍 | b. yangliŷ D15 |
| arži immortal 仙 | balıq city | birgärt- to assemble 合 |
| a.-lar B6 | b. ayyuci C27 | C28 |
| at- to shoot | banki < Chin. <i>banke</i> | biti- to write 書 |
| a.-miš oq D19 矢 | name of a river | b.-di C10 |
| atlıŷ named | C21 石 + 番溪 | bol- to become |
| C25 D8,9,10,16 | barča all 皆 D15 | b.-ti C24 |
| ay moon D22 | basut help 佐 C23 | b.-di-lar D17 |
| äd property 物 | bašladači leader | böŷit- to make dance |
| ä.-ig A14 | qanqa el b. 密勿 C32 | b.-māk-tä D13 |
| ädgü good 妙 D15 | bay rich 富 | bögü wise C26 |
| ämgä- to hurt, to distress | b.-in C18 | bu this D16 |
| artuqraq ä.-di-lär C37 | bädizlig ornamented 畫 B6 | bular they C23 |
| 困 | bäg husband 夫 | bulyan- to be disordered 紛 |
| ämit- to incline to 傾 | b.-i A2 | b.-miš D14 |
| ä.-miš-lärig C29 | b.-lärig C13, 27 | Chengming < Chin. 承明 |
| är man C33 | bi < Chin. 碑 epitaph 碑 | name of a palace C4 |
| är- to be | b. taš C20 | čimŷuy a pipe 笙 C1 |
| ä.-sär A2,5 | bü- to cut 婉 | činlayu really C34 |
| ä.-kän C26 | b.-miš D4 | čiu quy < Chin. 趙国 |
| ä.-mäz C33 | bilgä wise man 英 C22 | antient state name C36 |
| uzanmaqlıŷ ä.-ti D6 | b.-lär C7 | čizıylıŷ written 写 B5 |

čunšu < Chin. 篆書 seal character C9
cyw wang < 楚王 ruler of Chu C35
dan < Chin. 旦 personal name C26
ediz high 高 C15
el country
 qanqa e. bašladači 密勿 C32
elig king 王 C24
 e.-lärig C13
enč peace
 e. qilti C34 寧
fuši < 夫子? wisdom
 f. bilgä-[äläri]ig C7
xan (漢) name of a dynasty C30
xua quy < Chin. 化国 C22
ič inner
 i.-intä C11
iki two D16
ikigü both C23
ikinti second
 i.-ntä C12
inčä such, so C1
ini brother
 qangnig i.-si A5 叔
išlig hard-working (?)
 i. är C33
käd very good D7
kämiš- to throw 投
 k.-ti-lär A8
känt town 縣
 k.-ig C14
kärgäk must D4,5
käšiglig of turn
 k. iš küdüg A10 造次
käzig turn C3
kičig small C26
kinlig beautiful 妍 D18
kir dirt 垢
 k.-ig D1
kir- to enter 納
 k.-sär C4
 k.-ür B11
kišan name of a mountain

maš B2
kiši person D10
kišuy < Chin. 嵇叔 personal name 嵇叔 D7
kök sky
 k. qaliy-ta D21
köngül hear, mind 情 A12
kör- to see
 k.-ür äv B7 丙舍
körši contrary 對 B9
körünčlük many-storied building 樓觀
 k.-läri B4
külčirgä smiling 咲
 k. yüzlüg D18
küsä- to desire 願
 k.-yür D2
küsüş desire, hope 志 A14
len < Chin. 輦 man-drawn carriage 輦
 l.-lär C16
löpu < Chin. 呂布 personal name 呂布 D5
luu < Chin. 樓 building 樓
 l.-läri B4
mau čo < Chin. 毛 端
 personal name D16
mung tim < Chin. 蒙恬
 personal name D10
oyrī thief 賊盜
 o.-läriy D4
oxšat- to compare 比
 o.-miš täg A6
ol that B5, 6
olyurt- to place
 o.-up C28
oq arrow 矢
 atmiš o. täg D19
ordu palace 宮, 府 C11
 o.-läri-nig B3
 o.-qa C4
oyun play; music B10
oyunčī musician D8
ödlä- to advise
 ö.-p C30
ögüz river 溪 C21

ök
 ymä ö. C6
ölür- to kill 斬
 ö.-miš D4
önglüg colourful 甲 B8
pa qong < 馬公 personal name D12
qaliy sky
 kök q.-ta D21
qamay all C28
qan king
 q.-qa el bašladacı 密勿 C32
qan- to fulfill 滿
 q.-ur A14
qang father
 q.-ngnig inisi A5 叔
qanglī carriage
 q. qošmiš C16 驅
qap < Chin. 甲 colourful 甲 B8
qarilīq old-aged, enified (?) 封 C14
qavšur- to bring together D20
qil- to do
 q.-ti C27, enč q. 寧 C34
 q.-madin C31
qiz girl D16
qodiqī inferior A1 卑
qoš- to conjoin 駕
 q.-miš C16, 18
quš bird 鳥
 q.-läri B5
qutluq blessing 靈 B6
sarī direction
 s.-läriy D14
sävig lovely
 tüzün s. A15
sen < Chin. 千 thousand 千 C15
sekri- to jump 驢
 s.-ip D3
seziklig suspected 疑
 s.-lär C3
süyir ox 特

s.-lar D3
sīyir- to whistle 嘯
 s.-yalī D8
soyīq cold 涼
 s.-īy D2
sōng (?) C24
suv water 浴
 s.-da D1
süü soldier, army 兵
 s.-g C15
sürüg deadline
 s.-i D23
š(a)stir < skr. sastra 典
 š.-lar C6
ši si < Chin. 西施 personal
 name D 16
tam wall 壁
 t.-tīn C10
tan tsik < Chin. 阮籍
 personal name D9
tang wang < 明王 name of
 an emperor
 t. elig C24
taptu < Chin. 踏道 step 階
 t. -ca B11
taš stone, epitaph 碑
 bi t. C20
täg
 oxšatmiš t. A6
 atmiš oq t. D19 矢
täg- to reach
 t.-ir C4
tägin- to receive
 t.-tilär A3 受
tägšil- to change 虧
 t.-mädi A12 匪
tägšin- to revolve 轉
 t.-ür B12
tägzin- v. tägšin- to revolve
 t.-ip D20 幹
täprä- to 働
 t. -sär A13
täprät- to stir 鼓
 t.-(d)i C17 振
 t.-ür-lär B10
tegin prince

t.-i C31
tegmä so-called C4, 9
teril- to gather 集
 t.-ü C5
ti < Chin. 笛? a pipe 笙
 t.-lar C1
tizig row 哥
 t.-lärig C17
toqīt- to carve 勒
 t.-dī C20
töltäglig mat, bamboo mat
 筵 B9
törü traditional law
 ärin t.-in A4
 t. -sin-tin A11
tsavšu < Chin. 草書 'grass'
 character C8
ts'y lwyn < Chin. 蔡倫
 personal name 蔡倫 D12
tsir < Chin. 漆 lacquer 漆
 C10
ton coat 輕
 t.-luyar C19
tur- to hold 持
 t. -sar A15
turqaru always 每 D19
tut- to hold
 t.-mīš törü-sin-tin A11
 t.- mīš kargäk D5 捕
tuu tsau < Chin. 杜操
 personal name C7
tüp root C2
tüzün gentle 雅
 t. sävig A15
ünčä- to call 唱
 ü. -di A2
ür- to bowl
 ü.-rär C1
üzä up, above
 C3,10,35 D14,22,23
uluy great, master 傳
 u.-larnıng A3
uşik character 書
 C8
uzan- to be master
 u.- maq D13

uzanmaqlıy master D6
yayı enemy 叛亡
 y.-larıy D5
yan side 傍
 y.-tintin B7
yantur- to return 廻
 y.-dī C30
yanzhai < Chin. 宅 stay
 for long C25
yanglıy in ...a way
 bir y. D15
yaraylıy suitable, drawn 圖
 B5, D 17
yarat- to invent
 y.-dī C8
yarlıqančuçı compassionate
 A9
yavaş gentle, mild 仁 A9
y(a)ru side, direction B8
yeg good, best 佳 D15
yer ground, place
 y.-tin C2
 y.-täki C25
yet- to arrive
 y.-ip C27
yıd scent 氣
 bir y.-tın A7
yıyıl- to assemble 集
 y.-u C5
ymä also 亦
 y. ök C6
yol road 路 C12
 y.-uy C38 途
yügür- to run 躍
 y.-üp D3
yülä- to support 扶
 y.-di C29
yüräk heart 心 A13
yüz face 面
 y.-intä B2
yüzlüg faced D18
yorıl- to tire 疲
 y.-ur A13