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Uighur Buddhist Stake Inscriptions from Turfan*

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1. Discovery and Publication of the Stake Inscriptions

Discovery of Stakes and History of Research

In the early 20th century, German expeditions into Turfan found three wooden stakes in octagonal shape with inscriptions which were written with Chinese black ink. Hereafter I call them "Stake Inscriptions".[1] Of these three Stake Inscriptions, two are written in Old Uighur (one of the Old Turkic languages) and another in Chinese. It was A. Grünwedel, the leader of the first German expedition, who unearthed the most famous stake with Uighur inscription from "Ruin α". "Ruin α" is the site of a main temple in the old city of Gao-chang 高昌 (= Uigh. Qočo), which was the winter capital of the West Uighur Kingdom[2] (late 9th - 13th centuries). He gave detailed information about the Ruin-site α and the circumstances of the find in his first report,[3] where

* I wish to express my sincere thanks to my intimate friends, Prof. Peter Zieme and Prof. Yutaka Yoshida, for giving me many comments or advices. For all shortcomings I feel responsible myself alone. Herewith I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Prof. Larry V. Clark for correcting the English of this paper.

[1] "Inschrift auf dem Pfahle" [Radloff 1906, p. 193]; "Pfahlinschrift(en)" [Müller 1915; USp, p. 35]; "Pfahl mit einer Weihinschrift" [Gabain 1949, p. 56]; "Pfahlinschriften" [LUKQ, p. 68]; "Inscriptions bouddhiques sur pieu" [Bazin 1974, pp. 318 ff. = Bazin 1991, pp. 251 ff.]; "Stake Inscriptions" [Moriyasu 1974, English summary, pp. 123-124]; "stake inscription" [Erdal 1979, p. 164]; "inscription on a peg" [Klimkeit 1990, p. 188]. I will mention the aim of making these Stake Inscriptions in the note on ***10 šat ïγač*** of the first stake below.

[2] The appellation "Uighur Kingdom of Qočo" which prevails in the European scholarly world is not exact, because this kingdom had four big centers during its golden age and its capital was not only Qočo. The four centers are Beiting 北庭 = Panjkath = Beš-balïq, Gaochang 高昌 = Xizhou 西州 = Činanjkath = Qočo, Yanqi 焉耆 = Ark = Solmï = Qara-šahr, and Guizi 龜茲 = Kuča = Küsän. The leading capital was Beš-balïq for over 350 years since the 10th century, but at first it was located at Yanqi in the second half of the 9th century and later it was moved to Qočo after the 1280s in the Mongol period. Cf. Abe 1954; Abe 1955; Moriyasu 1977.

[3] Grünwedel 1906, pp. 55-73, especially pp. 60-61.

text of the Uighur inscription transcribed by W. Radloff was included.[4] But Radloff deciphered and translated it only on the basis of photographs because he lived in St. Petersburg at that time. In 1908 he visited Berlin and checked the original, and then, adopting some new ideas about the opening part of this inscription made by F. W. K. Müller,[5] he could make a revised text with a new German translation. But his revisions were published posthumously in 1928 in USp [pp. 35-40 = No. 26] edited by S. E. Malov. He continued to think that a part of the date was put at the end of the text, but in fact it should be put at the beginning. Moreover, his later text was still full of mistakes.

On the other hand, F. W. K. Müller, after having given some new ideas to Radloff, himself published all three Stake Inscriptions in his article of 1915 entitled "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden". In this famous article, however, an Uighur inscription and a Chinese inscription were dealt in the main part with German translations, detailed notes, and an incomplete facsimile, while the third one in Uighur was treated in an appendix ('Anhang 1') without translation or facsimile. His readings have been regarded as the standard version and always cited up to this day. So, according to the order in his article, we call the first one written in Uighur and unearthed from the Ruin α as the First Stake Inscription or simply **Stake I**, the next one in Chinese as the Second Stake Inscription or simply **Stake II**, and a third one in Uighur included in the 'Anhang 1' as the Third Stake Inscription or simply **Stake III**.

Though they should have been of great importance as source materials not only for the history of the Uighurs and Central Asian Buddhism but also for Old Turkic philology, they were not fully utilized for a long time before 1974, apart from being mentioned from time to time.[6] Of course, they are frequently cited in Clauson's great dictionary [ED], but he could not use them critically. While the discussion on the problem of dating these Stake Inscriptions was animated after 1974, such a situation still has not changed.[7] The chief reason why no-one has been able to grapple squarely with them, I guess, resides in the

[4] Grünwedel 1906, pp. 193-195.

[5] Cf. Uigurica I, 1908, pp. 47-48.

[6] Cf. Pelliot 1929, pp. 253-255; Haneda 1931, pp. 90-91, 93, 104; Pelliot 1934, pp. 102-103; Cen Zhong-mian 1947; Gabain 1949, pp. 56-58 (Text 4), 58 (Text 5), 62; Rásonyi 1953, pp. 333-334; OECD, pp. 142-143, 151, 153, 157-160; Abe 1955, pp. 367-368, 390-396; Gabain 1955, pp. 198-200; Gabain 1961 p. 79, n. 47; Rásonyi 1962; TMEN, passim; ED (= Clauson 1972), passim; LUKQ, pp. 55, 68, 70-73. As for references after Bazin 1974 and Moriyasu 1974, see below as well as the bibliography.

[7] Even a recent version, published by Yang Fu-xue firstly in 1991 and reprinted twice in 1998 [Yang 1998a & 1998b], still follows the mistakes made by Müller.

incompleteness of Müller's texts and translations. Of course, as other scholars, I also admire the high quality of Müller's text and translation of Stake I, but it needs now to be wholly examined and corrected. Moreover, his text of Stake III includes so many misunderstandings that he could not give a whole translation. I think now is the time to improve them.

Content of Stake Inscription II

In Moriyasu 1974, I presented a new interpretation of the Chinese text of Stake II comparing its contents with those of the other two Uighur texts of Stakes I and III. Needless to say, in order to compare these three texts, it was necessary to proceed on the assumption that they come from the same society of the same area and date from approximately the same time. There is no doubt that they all come from Turfan and that Stake II dates from A.D. 983.[8] Then, rejecting the opinion of Müller, Gabain and Pritsak who thought Stakes I and III to date from the period of the East Uighur Khanate (from 740s to 840),[9] I adopted another opinion of Hamilton and Abe who thought them date from the early times of the West Uighur Kingdom (from the latter half of the 9th century to the 13th century).[10] The following is a brief description of the contents of the Chinese text.

The date of inscription comes first in *l.* 1. The main donor called *Tängri Tegin* or all of his family, of which members are listed in *ll.* 4-5, learned of what was stated in *ll.* 2-3, and made up his (or their) mind to have a Buddhist temple built in the valley of Sängim (*ll.* 7-8). He (or they) prayed for perpetuity of the said temple, longevity of the king and infinitude of his virtue (*ll.* 9-10), peace of the kingdom (*l.* 10), and the further prosperity of Buddhism (*l.* 11). This *Tängri Tegin* prayed for mercy upon himself (*l.* 13), as well as upon his own family (*l.* 14). Line 15 seems to be, according to my interpretation, an enumeration of the properties donated by *Tängri Tegin* which should

[8] Cf. Pelliot 1929, pp. 253-254; Gabain 1949, p. 62; Gabain 1955, p. 199; OECD, p. 151; Abe 1955, p. 368; Moriyasu 1974, p. 41; Bazin 1974, pp. 333-336 = Bazin 1991, pp. 260-262. Concerning the dating of Stake II, almost all scholars are unanimous.

[9] Müller 1908, p. 48; Müller 1915, pp. 4-5, 26; Gabain 1949, pp. 56-58, Texts 4 & 5 with comments from O. Pritsak.

[10] OECD, pp. 142-143; Abe 1955, pp. 367-368, 390. Hamilton and Abe, who had not yet been aware of the second system of the Chinese sexagenary calendar discovered later by Bazin, rather liked to date Stake III to 947, while Hamilton wanted to date Stake I to 948. Meanwhile, Rásonyi says "sie stammen wohl aus dem 10. Jh." without any explanation, [Rásonyi 1962, p. 224]. I presume he simply followed Hamilton. Based on the new theory discovered by himself, Bazin proposed to date Stake III and I to 899 and 948 respectively [Bazin 1974, pp. 321-330], and Hamilton at one time agreed with him, [Hamilton 1977, p. 514].

support the management of that temple. The sentences in *l.* 16 and below are his (or their) own expressions of the hope for the encounter with Maitreya or the salvation in the world to come.

As one can easily notice, the whole structure of the Chinese inscription is the same as that of the Uighur ones. Now the generally accepted view on these Stake Inscriptions may be summarized as follows: 1) These three inscriptions concern Buddhism and not Manichaeism; 2) these are the kind of documents which deal with donation for Buddhist monasteries[11] by the Uighur believers belonging to the royal family or the upper classes; 3) they reflect the Maitreya-cult in the Uighur Buddhism; 4) *Bögü*, appeared in Stake I (*l.* 3), cannot be identified with the famous Uighur *Bögü* 牟羽 Qaγan who ruled in Mongolia from 759-779 A.D; and 5) the texts of Stakes I and III cannot be used as evidence for asserting the prevalence of Buddhism among the Uighur people until the date when the said *Bögü* converted himself to Manichaeism.

New Dating of Stakes

Here I refrain from tracing the complicated history of study for dating the Uighur Stake Inscriptions.[12] I only say that, based on Bazin's epoch-making discovery[13] in the field of the Old Turkic calendar system directly influenced by the Chinese sexagenary calendar, Moriyasu and Hamilton have finally come to the same conclusion that Stake I and Stake III were dedicated in 1008 and 1019 respectively.[14] In spite of

[11] Müller himself characterised Stake I as "Gründungsurkunde für die Errichtung eines buddhistischen Vihāra oder Klosters" [Müller 1915, p. 3]. Gabain called them "buddhistische Tempelspendeninschrift" or "(buddhistische) Tempelspendenurkunde" [Gabain 1955, p. 198].

[12] I should indicate that Gabain, influenced by the older theory of Hamilton, had changed her former opinion. In Gabain 1955, pp. 198-199, she dated Stake III to 947 and Stake I to 1008 or 1068. Surprisingly, we find that she dared to date Stake III to 1019 or 1079 in LUKQ, pp. 20, 55. Of course, Bazin 1974 was not cited in LUKQ, but I cannot believe that such a new idea of hers came up independently of Bazin. On the contrary, Yang [1995, p. 377] believes that Gabain has a priority in this point.

[13] Bazin 1974, pp. 318-350, especially pp. 321-326 (Stake III), 326-330 (Stake I). This section was partly corrected in Bazin 1991, pp. 251-273.

[14] Moriyasu 1980, pp. 334-335 & pp. 337-338, n. 55; Hamilton 1984, p. 428; MOTH, pp. XVII-XVIII; Hamilton 1988, p. VIII; Sims-Williams / Hamilton 1990, p. 56; Moriyasu, UMK, pp. 150-152; Hamilton 1996, p. 140. My original supposition proposed in 1980 that Stakes I and III could date from 1008 and 1019 respectively has been reconfirmed in UMK. Yang [1995, p. 377; 1998a, p. 269 = 1998b, p. 190] writes as though I dated Stake I to 948 and Stake III to 959 in Moriyasu 1980, but it is not true, because I mentioned 959 as a second possible date. In Stake I of 1008 a person with the title of *Šaču sangun* ("Sha-zhou general") appears as one of the main donors to a Buddhist temple, while Stake III of 1019 states that the Uighur Khan had extended his rule in the east as far as Sha-zhou (= Dun-huang). I think that the

some disagreements, these datings are widely accepted now.[15]

Purpose of this Work

Since 1974 it has always been my hope to examine the original Stake Inscriptions. Nevertheless, my hope was not realised for a long time because the originals had been lost after the Second World War. When I visited Berlin in 1997, I was so happy to learn the good news that the original Stakes were returned to the Museum für Indische Kunst (= MIK) in Berlin. However, before leaving Japan for Europe to work on the Turfan and Dun-huang collections during my sabbatical year, I had already abandoned my plan to gain access to the original Stake Inscriptions, for I knew that the MIK would be closed for repairs. But, while staying in Berlin from January to September of 1999, I had an unexpected lucky chance to check these inscriptions by myself because I could work in the storehouse of the MIK in order to decipher many Uighur inscriptions on the banners from Turfan at the request of the director, Prof. Dr. Marianne Yaldiz, and a member of the Central Asia project, Dr. Chhaya Bhattacharya-Haesner. Then I felt it was indispensable to compare the text of a long inscription on the banner MIK III 533 with the text of the Stake Inscriptions. In fact this work allowed me to find plenty of new readings or ideas on both texts.

The chief purpose of this paper is to give the revised transcription with the informative transliteration of the inscriptions of Stakes I and III which I got a chance to check minutely. Here I also give new translations with notes, but not the facsimiles. They will be included in a Japanese book separately prepared for all extant Stake Inscriptions.

Extant Five Stakes

Only three Stake Inscriptions published in Müller 1915 have been known to the scholarly world for a long time, but now we know two more, one of which was edited with facsimiles by an Uighur scholar Y. Israfel (1996), while the other is not published yet. I was fortunate enough to have been able to check all these five Stake Inscriptions

Uighur ruler mentioned in Stake I is definitely different from the one mentioned in Stake III, but Hamilton regarded them as the same one. See also Hamilton 1992, pp. 8-9.

[15] Cf. Meng-meng 1990, p. 39; Sundermann 1991, pp. 286-287; Bazin 1991, pp. 254-259; Sundermann 1992, pp. 69, 84; Zieme 1992, p. 21; Umemura 1996, p. 365; Thierry 1998, p. 269; Umemura 1999, p. 432. Regrettably Yang [1995, p. 377] turned back to the older theory which dated Stake III and I to 947 and 948 respectively, because he could not understand the second system of the Chinese sexagenary calendar. Hua Tao's opinion is nearly similar to it [Hua 2000, pp. 127-128]. But that theory is nonsense now. Ş. Tekin's objection to Hamilton's transitional opinion no longer has sense [cf. BTT IX, Vol. 1, p. 9, n. 9]. Furthermore, as for the disagreement by Doerfer, see the note on ***13 sïngqur*** of Stake III.

with my own eyes.

Stake I : Made in 1008 A.D. Dedicated by an Uighur princess named *Tängrikän Tegin Silig Tärkän Qunčuy Tängrim* and probably her husband called *Külüg Ïnanč Šaču Sangun* with their family members. Unearthed at the so-called "Ruin α"[16] of Qočo by the first German expedition to Turfan. Housed at the MIK in Berlin under the classification number MIK III 4672. Long wooden stake in the shape of an octagonal cone or pyramid when it is seen upside down. The head is slightly damaged probably by being hit with a mallet in order to drive it into the earth. Length 83 cm (Müller says 84 cm), diameter of the head 10.3 ~ 11.3 cm, diameter of the point 0.6 ~ 0.8 cm. Made of rather heavy wood. Surface is very smooth, and the inscription on it is well-preserved. Written in Uighur, in semi-square script,[17] 20 lines + several additional lines or words. The scribe wanted to write 2 lines on each side at first, but in fact two sides have another shorter line (*l.* 11 on Side V; *l.* 14 on Side VI), and Side VII has 4 lines exceptionally including a short line written in smaller script (*l.* 16). In principle, one can recognize a calligraphic distinction between the final *-q* (*ḥeth*) with a long tail going straight downward (not lower right, when regarded as written vertically) and the final *-γ* (*gimel*) with a short tail going lower right. But the corruption has already begun, because the tail of *-γ* has a tendency to become longer going lower right, while the long tail of *-q* sometimes become shorter going lower right. There remains another calligraphic distinction between the letters *S* and *Š*, but it is sometimes confused like *upasanč* (*'WP'Š'NC* in *l.* 4), *šaču* (*S'CW* in *l.* 5), *üstün* (*'WYŠTWN* in *l.* 7), *ögäsi* (*'WYK'ŠY* in *l.* 15), or *isik* (*'YŠYK* in *l.* 15). It is the letter *Ẋ* that is used to represent *q* clearly instead of *Ẍ* which becomes common later. Text, German translation, and notes = Müller 1915, pp. 3-16 (It is stated that Müller made this text in collaboration with A. von Le Coq.); text and Japanese translation = Moriyasu 1974, pp. 39-41. Facsimile = Müller 1915, pl. (partly).

Stake II : Made in 983 A.D. Dedicated by an Uighur prince

[16] I do not know why Yang says Stake I was excavated from the 'Ruin X', [Yang 1998a, p. 257; Yang 1998b, p. 177]. It may be a simple mistake. Concerning Ruin α as a double-walled sanctuary and its historical background, see UMK, pp. 147-154 as well as sections 5-8 of Moriyasu 2000b in English.

[17] Since 1985, I have been proposing to classify the styles of Uighur script into four gradations: square (楷書 *kaisho*), semi-square (半楷書 *han-kaisho*), semi-cursive (半草書 *han-sōsho*), and cursive (草書 *sōsho*). See my English explanations in Moriyasu 1996, pp. 79-81, 91-92, 96; Moriyasu / Zieme 1999, p. 74. Uniting the results of my former studies mainly published in Japanese, I have come to a conclusion that one can classify the Old Uighur manuscripts approximately into two large groups based on the style of script: the older group of semi-square script (around the 10th - 11th centuries) and the other of cursive script (around the 13th - 14th centuries). I will explain my theory in detail in Moriyasu / Zieme 2001 (in press).

named *ying-li ye-lu-di-mi-shi tian te-yin* 英利耶噜地蜜施天特銀 = *El Yarutmiš Tängri Tegin* and his wife called *tian gong-zhu ju-xie-mi-shi deng-lin* 天公主居邪蜜施登林 = *Tängri Qunčuy Küsämiš Tängrim* with their children. Purchased by Le Coq from Uighur farmers of Sängim in Turfan. By this fact and the content of the inscription itself, one can conclude that it was found at a ruined temple in the Sängim valley. Housed at the MIK in Berlin under the classification number MIK III 7295. Pointed wooden stake in the shape of an octagonal pillar, whose head is destroyed by fire. Length approx. 49 cm, diameter of the existing head 6.5 ~ 7.0 cm, rectangular point 0.5 x 0.8 cm. At first, based on the description by Müller, I presumed the original was longer,[18] but it proved incorrect. When I examined the original stake, I recognized only one small part of the head between line 12 and line 13 of the text is not destroyed by fire. The length of 49 cm can be estimated as original. So we had better delete a space for two characters of each line reconstructed by Müller. Probably made of the same kind of wood as Stakes I and III. Surface is smooth, and the inscription on it is well-preserved. Written in Chinese, 16 lines. The scribe wanted to write 2 lines on each side at first, but he sometimes continued the second line in the lower narrow space of some sides. Müller's way of numbering is a little bit misleading, but I use it in this paper because it is too popular. The Chinese characters are written in a little bit corrupted style of the square script (Ch. *kaishu*; Jap. *kaisho*). Text, German translation, and notes = Müller 1915, pp. 17-21; text, Japanese translation, and notes = Moriyasu 1974, pp. 41-50. Facsimile = Müller 1915, pl. (partly); Asahi shinbunsha (ed.), *Gendai shodō nijūnin-ten dai-35-kai kinen Turufan koshahon-ten*, (Catalogue of the Turfan exhibition organized by the Asahi shinbunsha in 1991), Tokyo 1991, 4 pls. as No. 10 (completely).

Stake III : Made in 1019 A.D. Dedicated by an Uighur prince or nobleman named *Tarduš Tapmiš Yayatγar? Čangšï Yälü Qaya* with his wife *Tängrikän Körtlä Qatun Tängrim* and their children. Unearthed at the southern city-wall(?)[19] of Qočo by the third German expedition to Turfan. Housed at the MIK in Berlin under the classification number MIK III 7279. Pointed wooden stake in the shape of an octagonal pillar, whose head is slightly damaged probably by being hit with a mallet in order to drive it into the earth. Length approx. 81 cm, diameter of the head approx. 5.5 cm, diameter of the most thick part approx. 10

[18] Cf. Moriyasu 1974, pp. 52-53, n. 34.

[19] According to Müller [1915, p. 22], "in der südlichen Stadtmauer von Chotscho". There is a note directly written on the head of this Stake: "III D aus dgr. Mauer a. d. Südsite". III means the third Turfan expedition, and D means Dakianus-šahri, i.e. old Qočo. In this connection, there is a simple note "D 91" on the head of Stake I.

cm, diameter of the point 1.7 ~ 2.0 cm. Made of rather heavy and hard wood. Surface is smooth, but the inscription on it is partly faded away or scratched. The lower part is more heavily scratched than the upper part, because the lower part was more deeply driven into the earth. So Müller often overlooked the text on this part. Written in Uighur, in semi-square script, 27 lines + 11 additional lines. The scribe wanted to write 3 lines on each side at first, but in fact three sides of the second half (Sides V, VII, and VIII) have 4 lines respectively. This fact as well as 11 additional lines leads us to imagine that the scribe must have been forced to save more space than expected at first because of an increase in co-donors. In principle, one can recognize a calligraphic distinction between the final *-q* with a long tail going straight downward and the final *-γ* with a short tail. But the long tail of *-q* is rather often corrupted and goes lower right. In that case, even if the tail of a final *-q* is a little bit longer than that of an ordinary *-X* (*-γ*), I indicated it with simple *-X*. So, comparing the transliteration and the transcription, one can recognize a *-q* with corrupted tail going lower right. We can find one example exceptionally written *Y'RWX* with a clearly short tail for *-γ* instead of *Y'RWQ* for *yaruq* in *l.* 25, but it may be a simple scribal error. There remains another calligraphic distinction between the letters *S* and *Š*, but it is sometimes confused like *išimizkä* (*'YSYMZK'* in *l.* 11), *sangun* (*Š'NKWN* in *ll.* 14, 15, 19, 20, 21) besides *sangun* (*S'NKWN* in *ll.* 21, 23), or *ögäsi* (*'WYK'ŠY* in *l.* 17). Like in Stake I, the letter *Ẋ* is used, too. Text and notes = Müller 1915, pp. 22-29. Facsimile = not yet published.

Stake IV : Probably from the 11th century. Dedicated by an Uighur monk (*bhikṣu*), whose name is unclear (*•T'N'?*), with his family and relatives. Found by two farmers in 1965 at a ruined stūpa in the old city of Ying-sha 英沙 (or the old city of An-jia-le-ke 安伽勒克; An-le cheng 安樂城 in the Tang period) near the famous Emin Tower in Turfan. Housed at the Museum of Xin-jiang Uighur Autonomous District in Urumchi under the classification number 65 G 0054. Pointed wooden stake in the shape of an octagonal pillar, whose head is slightly damaged probably by being hit with a mallet in order to drive it into the earth. Length approx. 62 cm, diameter of the thickest part 5.5 ~ 6.0 cm. Made of rather light and not so hard wood. Surface is smooth, but the inscription on it has severely faded away. Written in Uighur; in semi-square script, 16 lines. Each side has 2 lines. One cannot recognize a calligraphic distinction between the final *-q* with a long tail and the final *-γ* with a short tail. On the other hand, there seems to be another calligraphic distinction between the letters *S* and *Š*. The letter *Ẋ* is used to represent *q* clearly instead of *Ẍ*. Text, Chinese translation, and notes = Israfel 1996, pp. 62-66. Facsimile = *Xin-jiang chu-tu wen-wu* 新疆出

土文物, Peking, Wen-wu chu-ban she 文物出版社, 1975, pl. 199 (partly); Israfel 1996, pls. III-IV; *Xin-jiang wen-wu gu-ji da-guan* 新疆文物古迹大觀 *(A Grand View of Xinjiang's Cultural Relics and Historical Sites, China),* Urumqi, 1999, Xin-jiang mei-shu she-ying chu-ban she 新疆美術攝影出版社, p. 151, No. 380 (a small plate in color; partly).

Stake V : From the 13th - 14th centuries. Dedicated by an Uighur man named Šilimüňä. Unearthed at Toyoq in Turfan. Housed at the British Library in London under the classification number Or. 8211-1787 (Toy. VI 074). Wooden stake in the shape of a rectangular pillar. Original length approx. 61.5 cm, width approx. 10.5 cm, thickness 5.5 ~ 6.0 cm. After having written the inscription on one wider side, the upper part of the stake was cut off on the other three sides to be slightly sharpened. So the size of the top became 5.5 x 4.1 cm. Then put upside down, the head (originally the bottom) was hit by a mallet in order to drive it into the earth. Made of rather heavy wood. Surface is smooth, but the inscription on it is faded away. Written in Uighur, in cursive script, 9 lines on one side with a big *nišan* mark at the center. The letters *š* and *ň* are used, and *q̈* and *ÿ* coexist. Text = not yet published. Facsimile = not yet published.

Judging from every characteristic, we can easily separate Stake V from the group of Stakes I ~ IV. The latter, three of which were made in the late 10th - early 11th centuries, have an informative content written in older Uighur or Chinese script on the octagonal shaped stake, while the former one has a poor content written in later Uighur script on the rectangular stake. Moreover, the fifth one includes the word *nišan* with a real *nišan* mark of a star shape, as well as the special letters of later script. With these facts, we can easily date Stake V to the Mongol times. In spite of its poor content, Stake V is quite important because it can prove the continuity of the tradition of dedicating Stake Inscriptions among the Uighur Buddhist society from the early stage of the West Uighur Kingdom to the Mongol times.

2. Stake Inscription I

System of Transliteration and Transcription

Transliteration

' β C D K L M N P Q R S Š T W X Ẋ Ẍ Y Z Ẓ

* Q = X with a long tail going straight downward (not lower right, when regarded as written vertically) in word-final position.

Transcription

a ä e i ï o ö u ü b č d g k l m n p q r s š t v x y z
(only in loan words) f w ž

Explanation of symbols and conventions employed in this edition

a) Chiefly in the Uighur text

BOLD Suggested restoration of wholly damaged letters.

ITALIC Letters partly preserved and restored with certainty.

(ITALIC) Letters not clearly legible or only partly preserved whose traces may also be interpreted differently.

////// Conjectured number of letters in a damaged part.

[ ] Damaged part whose number of letters cannot be conjectured.

]xyz Damaged part of undetermined extent, at the beginning of a line.

xyz[Damaged part of undetermined extent, at the end of a line.

•••• Approximate number of visible but illegible letters.

⌒ABC⌒ Letters added secondarily right or left of the line, or in the margin.

‹ABC› Letters omitted by mistake or as usual, but restored by the editor.

{ABC} Visible traces of letters deleted or to be deleted.

{•••} Approximate number of deleted letters.

\- Separation in one word except after Z, or final form used in a medial position.

· : Punctuation marks used in the original text.

b) Chiefly in the translation

[ ] Translation of damaged or restored parts.

( ) Words not in the text but added to improve the English, or explanatory remarks by the translator.

(*italic*) Corresponding expression in the original text.

/ / / / / / Missing, illegible, or incomprehensible parts.

Transliteration

Side I

01) YM' XWT'DMYŠ ẊWTLWX TWPR'Q XWTLWX PYCYN YYL-X' 'WYDRWLMYŠ 'DKW 'WYDK' ẊWTLWX XWLWX'

02) TWXWZWNC ''Y TWYRT 'WTWZ-X' PWRβ'PWLKWNY YWLTWZ-X' KWYN ''Y TNKRY-T'K KWYS'NCYK KWYRTL' Y'RWQ

01'-02')[20] 'WNW XR' S'TMYŠ TRX'N TWXWMYŠ XWT'DMYŠ

Side II

03) TNKRY PWYKW TNKRYK'NYMZ KWYL PYLK' TNKRY 'YLYK-NYNK 'WRWNẊ' 'WLWRMYŠ 'YKYNTY YYLYNK' PYZ 'WYC 'RDYNY-K'

04) ''XYNCSYZ 'βRYLYNCSYZ SWYZWK KWYNKWL-LWK 'WP'Š'NC TNKRYK'N TYKYN SYLYK T'RK'N XWNCWY TNKRYM

Side III

05) 'WP'SY KWYLWK 'YN'NC S'CW S'NKWN PYZ 'YKYKW NWMLWX PYLK' P'XŠY-L'R-DYN 'YNC' 'ŠY-DTMZ KYM X'YW TYNLX

06) Y'X'Ẋ X'**RT**Y-NC' βRX'R 'YTS'R PWXD'Y 'βYNYNC' PWRX'N KWYRKYN DYNSWL'TS'R (or DYRSWL'TS'R) X'Z 'WYWRY ⌣'βYNY⌣ -NYNK YYTYNC 'WYLWŠY-NC'

Side IV

07) ŠẎRYR 'WRS'R YYKN'C' SWTWP C'KWR TWRXWRS'R TWYK'L P'RM PWY'N PWLWR TYP · 'WL PWY'N KWYCYNT' 'WYŠTWN TNKRY YYRYNT'

07'~08')[21] XWT'DMYŠ ·

08) ''LTYN Y'LNKWQ 'T'WYZ-YNT' KWYNKWL-T'KY T'K M'NKY TWNK' T'KYNYP KYNYNK' PWRX'N XWTYNLYX KWYLWK 'WYZ' NYRβ'NLYX

Side V

09) ẊWNWẊLWẊT' ẊWN'R TYP · PW MWNT'X ⌣'WLWX⌣ TWYRLWK 'DKW-L'RYK 'ŠY-DMYŠ-K' PYZ 'YKYKW TWYZ KWYNKWL-LWK PWLWP PW βRX'R 'YTKW

09')[22] 'YN'L YK'N

10) Š'T 'YX'C TWXYYW T'KYNTMZ PW PWY'N KWYCYNT' KYNYNK' TWYZWN M'YTRY PWRX'NYX TWŠ PWL'LYM

[20] Added below *ll.* 01-02.

[21] Added below between *l.* 07 and *l.* 08.

[22] Added below *l.* 09.

· M'YTRY PWRX'NTYN PWRX'N XWTYNK'
11) TWYZWN ''LXYŠ PWL'LYM · 'WL ''LXYŠ KWYCYNT' YWZ KLP 'WYC ''S'NKY ''LTY P'R'MYT (The text of this line is shorter than others.)
Side VI
12) TWŠXWRWP KYNYNK' PWRX'N YYRTYNCD' P'LKWRM'KYMZ PWLZWN · PYZYNK' 'YYN 'WYKYRD'CY TNKRYK'N KWYZY TNKRYM · ·· KWYNWY TNKRYM · TNKRYK'N KWYRTL' TNKRYM ·
12'~13')[23] 'YT TRX'N
13) TRK'N XWNCWY PWYTWRMYŠ TNKRYM · XWT'DMYŠ TNKRYM · XWNCWY TNKRYM · ''RβYẊ TNKRYM · K'NC TNKRYM · ''RYX TNKRYM · ''ŠMYŠ TNKRYM KWYS'MYŠ TNKRYM
14) TWRMYŠ X'TWN TNKRYM · 'RDYNY X'TWN TNKRYM · KWYRTL' TNKRYM · ''Y C'C'K TNKRYM · (The text of this line is shorter than others.)
Side VII
15) 'YL 'WYK'ŠY 'YŠYK 'DKW TWTWX 'WYK' 'YL X'Y' · 'YSYK 'DKW TWTWQ 'R TWNX' · YK'N KWYLWK S'NKWN K'D TWXMYŠ · 'WZWN 'WYNKW XWZ XWN'Ẋ · K'NC
15')[24] TWXMYŠ T'RX'N ·
16) KWYLWK 'YN'NC TWTWX 'YKTW · S'RYX P'Š TRX'N · Y'NK' S'NKWN · (The script of this line is smaller and the text is shorter than others.)[25]
17) T'NK 'RSL'N S'NKWN · 'YL P'K'DMYŠ S'NKWN · PWYRT P'Y · XWTLWX PAYWTMYŠ · 'YL X'TMYŠ · 'YT S'M'N P'KW · TWTWQ SYN'NDW S'NKWN ----------
18) XWCW P'LYQ P'KY 'LP TWTWQ 'WYK' · (space of 7 cm long) · 'YN'NC 'DKW 'WYKLY-L'R 'YL ''LMYŠ S'NKWN · Y'NK'CWQ · 'S'N · TWR' TWTWQ · M'NKLK SYNKXWR ·
Side VIII
19) 'YŠ ''YXWCY ''βLWC T'RX'N · 'DKW YK'N S'NKWN · CWXY TYR'K 'YX'CCY M'NKW · TYTYKCY X'YMYŠ · β'PDW TYR'K · YK'N SYNKXWR S'NKWN · PYTK'CY P'K

[23] Added below between *l.* 12 and *l.* 13.

[24] Added below *l.* 15.

[25] This line 16 does not continue directly the line 15, as we argue in the note on ***15-17 känč tang arslan sangun*** of Stake I. We should put it later, but I keep Müller's numbering because it has been often cited thither.

'RSL'N
20) X'M'XWN[26] PWRX'N ẊWTYN PWLZWN-L'R ·
ẊWNKX'W-CY PWXWNCW · (space of 15 cm long)
KWYLWK P'RS 'WYKTW TYR'K
PYTK'CY · P'K 'RSL'N

Transcription

01) yemä qutadmïš qutluγ topraq qutluγ bečin yïl-qa ödrülmiš ädgü ödkä qutluγ qoluqa
02) toquzunč ay tört otuz-qa purvapulguni yultuz-qa kün ay tängri-täg küsänčig körtlä yaruq
03) tängri bögü tängrikänimiz köl bilgä tängri elig-ning orunqa olurmïš ekinti yïlïnga biz üč ärdini-kä
04) aγïnčsïz ävrilinčsiz süzük köngül-lüg upasanč tängrikän tegin silig tärkän qunčuy tängrim
05) upasi külüg ïnanč šaču sangun biz ekigü nomluγ bilgä baxšï-lar-dïn inčä äšidtimiz kim qayu tïnlïγ
06) yaγaq qartïnča varxar etsär buγday ävininčä burxan körkin DYN+solatsar qaz üyüri ävini-ning yetinč ülüšinčä
07) šerir ursar yignäčä sutup čäkür turγursar tükäl barm buyan bulur tep · ol buyan küčintä üstün tängri yerintä
08) altïn yalnguq ät'özintä köngül-täki-täg mängi tonga täginip keningä burxan qutïnlïq kölük üzä nirvanlïγ
09) qonuqluqta qonar tep · bu muntaγ türlüg uluγ ädgü-lärig äšidmiš-kä biz ekigü tüz köngül-lüg bolup bu varxar etgü
10) šat ïγač toqïyu tägintimiz bu buyan küčintä keningä tüzün maitri burxanïγ tuš bolalïm · maitri burxantïn burxan qutïnga
11) tüzün alqïš bulalïm · ol alqïš küčintä yüz kalp üč asanki altï paramit
12) tošγurup keningä burxan yertinčüdä bälgürmäkimiz bolzun · bizingä eyin ögirdäči tängrikän küzi tängrim · künüi tängrim · tängrikän körtlä tängrim ·
13) tärkän qunčuy bütürmiš tängrim · qutadmïš tängrim · qunčuy tängrim · arvïq tängrim · känč tängrim · arïγ tängrim · ašmïš tängrim küsämiš tängrim
14) turmïš qatun tängrim · ärdini qatun tängrim · körtlä tängrim · ay čäčäk tängrim ·
15) el ögäsi isig ädgü totoq ögä el qaya · isig ädgü totoq är tonga · yegän külüg sangun käd tuγmïš · uzun öngü quz qonaq · känč
17) tang arslan sangun · el bägädmiš sangun · bürt bay · qutluγ bayutmïš

[26] Not X'MYXWN.

· el qatmïš · ït saman bägü · totoq sïnandu sangun ·
16) külüg ïnanč totoq iktü · sarïγ baš tarqan · yanga sangun ·
15') tuγmïš tarqan ·
12'~13') ït tarqan
09') ïnal yegän
18) qočo balïq bägi alp totoq ögä · · ïnanč ädgü ögli-lär el almïš sangun · yangaču̧q · äsän · tura totoq · mänglig sïngqur ·
19) iš ayγučï avluč tarqan · ädgü yegän sangun · čoγï tiräk ïγačči mängü · titigči qaymïš · vapdu tiräk · yegän sïngqur sangun · bitkäči bäg arslan
20) qamaγun burxan qutïn bulzun-lar · qungqaučï boγunču · külüg bars öktü tiräk bitkäči · bäg arslan
01'-02') unu qara satmïš tarqan toqumïš qutadmïš
07'~08') qutadmïš ·

Translation

[*ll.* 01-03] Now, at a lucky moment of a good chosen time, on the 24th day of the 9th month, under the *Pūrva-phalgunī*-(constellation), in the blessed and fortunate Monkey year with Earth element, in the 2nd year of the period when our *Kün Ay Tängri-täg Küsänčig Körtlä Yaruq Tängri Bögü Tängrikän* (= "Godlike *Bögü Tängrikän* 'Mystical Holy Spirit', who is desirable, beautiful and shining like the Sun and the Moon God"), i.e. *Köl Bilgä Tängri Elig* (= "Godlike king, full of wisdom like a lake"), has ascended the throne,

[*ll.* 03-05] we, *Tängrikän Tegin Silig Tärkän Qunčuy Tängrim* and *Külüg Ïnanč Šaču Sangun*, the laywoman and the layman with the indomitable, unshakeable, pure and faithful heart for the Three Jewels (= Skt. *Triratna*), we two together have heard from the wise teachers well acquainted with the (Buddhist) Law (= Skt. *dharma*) as follows:

[*ll.* 05-07] "If anyone builds a (Buddhist) temple like (the size of) a nutshell, and/or makes/adorns/installs(?) a Buddha image like (the size of) a grain of wheat, and/or puts/places a relic of the Buddha like the size of one-seventh of a mustard seed, and/or erects a spire of a stūpa like (the size of) a needle, he will attain the highest merit."

[*ll.* 07-09] "By the strength of those meritorious deeds, up in the land of heavenly beings, or down in the (world of) human-beings, he will experience great joy and supreme bliss as he likes, and finally he will settle in the resting place that is *nirvāṇa* by the vehicle for (reaching) the state of Buddhahood."

[*ll.* 09-11] When we had heard (all) these kinds of very good things, we two together had an impartial mind and ventured to drive a

stake of *šat* to build this monastery. By the strength of this meritorious deed, may we meet the superb Maitreya Buddha at a later period, and obtain a wonderful prophecy for (reaching) the Buddhahood from the Maitreya Buddha.

[*ll.* 11-12] By the strength of that prophecy, may it be done that we would fulfil the six *pāramitās* for a hundred aeons (= Skt. *kalpa*s) and three immeasurable lengths of time (= Skt. *asaṃkhyeya*s) and later we would appear in the Buddha world.

[*l.* 12] The persons who are going to rejoice in accordance with us (are as follows):

[*ll.* 12-14] (Enumeration of the 15 noble persons.[27]) (No. 1) *Tängrikän Küzi Tängrim*, (No. 2) *Künüi Tängrim*, (No. 3) *Tängrikän Körtlä Tängrim*, (No. 4) *Tärkän Qunčuy Bütürmiš Tängrim*, (No. 5) *Qutadmiš Tängrim*, (No. 6) *Qunčuy Tängrim*, (No. 7) *Arvïq Tängrim*, (No. 8) *Känč Tängrim*, (No. 9) *Arïγ Tängrim*, (No. 10) *Ašmiš Tängrim*, (No. 11) *Küsämiš Tängrim*, (No. 12) *Turmiš Qatun Tängrim*, (No. 13) *Ärdini Qatun Tängrim*, (No. 14) *Körtlä Tängrim*, (No. 15) *Ay Čäčäk Tängrim*.

[*ll.* 15, 17] (Enumeration of the ministers or dignitaries who are all male persons.) (No. 1) The prime minister (= *el ögäsi*), *Isig Ädgü Totoq Ögä El Qaya*, (No. 2) *Isig Ädgü Totoq Är Tonga*, (No. 3) *Yegän Külüg Sangun Käd Tuγmiš*, (No. 4) *Uzun Öngü Quz Qunaq*, (No. 5) *Känč Tang Arslan Sangun*, (No. 6) *El Bägädmiš Sangun*, (No. 7) *Bürt Bay*, (No. 8) *Qutluγ Bayutmiš*, (No. 9) *El Qatmiš*, (No. 10) *Ït Saman Bägü*, (No. 11) *Totoq Sïnandu Sangun*, **[*l.* 16]** (No. 12) *Külüg Ïnanč Totoq Iktü*, (No. 13) *Sarïγ Baš Tarqan*, (No. 14) *Yanga Sangun*, **[*l.* 15']** (No. 15) *Tuγmiš Tarqan*, **[*l.* 12'~13']** (No. 16) *Ït Tarqan*, **[*l.* 09']** (No. 17) *Ïnal Yegän*; **[*l.* 18]** (No. 18) the head of Qočo city, *Alp Totoq Ögä*. (There is a space.) Reliable and good friends (or relatives who approve of our virtuous deed, i.e. building a temple, are as follows): (No. 19) *El Almiš Sangun*, (No. 20) *Yangačuq*, (No. 21) *Äsän*, (No. 22) *Tura Totoq*, (No. 23) *Mänglig Sïngqur*.

[*l.* 19] The persons in charge (*iš ayγučï*) (of this work): (No. 24) *Avluč Tarqan*, (No. 25) *Ädgü Yegän Sangun*, (No. 26) *Čoγï Tiräk*, (No. 27) the carpenter (*ïγaččï*) *Mängü*, (No. 28) the bricklayer (*titigči*) *Qaymiš*, (No. 29) *Vapdu Tiräk*, (No. 30) *Yegän Sïngqur Sangun*, (No. 31) the scribe (*bitkäčï*) *Bäg Arslan*.

[*l.* 20] May all the (enumerated) persons attain Buddhahood. (No. 32) The musician (*qungqaučï*) *Boγunču*, (No. 33) *Külüg Bars Öktü Tiräk*, (No. 31 = repeat of *l.* 19) the scribe (*bitkäči*) *Bäg Arslan*.

[27] These 15 persons with the title *tängrim* are often called princesses or noble ladies, but it is not true. Klimkeit's understanding is correct, cf. Klimkeit 1990, p. 188. As for *tängrim*, I will discuss this term below.

[*ll.* 01'-02'] (No. 34) *Unu Qara* and (No. 35) *Satmiš Tarqan* have driven (this stake). Blessed! **[*l.* 07'~08']** Blessed!

Notes

01 ödrül- : Clauson and Hamilton transcribe it as *üdrül-*, cf. ED, p. 69a; MOTH, p. 49, n. 5.43.

02 tängri-täg : *Y* of *TNKRY* is written with a final form, and the postposition *-täg* 'like, as' is added later with smaller letters.

02-03 kün ay tängri-täg küsänčig körtlä yaruq tängri bögü tängrikänimiz : Gabain's translation of the long title is this: "(unser), wie die Sonne und der Mond seiende, erwünschte, schöne, lichte, majestätische *Tängrikän Bögü*" [LUKQ, p. 68]. Here she says "Die Herrschertitel des uigurischen Königs von Qočo waren *xan*, *elig xan*, *tngrikän* und *ïduqqut*", and "Aus einem *tngri xan* wurde *tngrikän* gebildet." The latter idea comes from W. Bang, [cf. MOTH, p. 51, n. 5.57]. In ED, p. 525a, *tängrikän* is translated as'devout, pious', and Clauson says "This is clearly the right meaning, not 'sacred, divine' as originally suggested." But his opinion was criticized by Hamilton, [MOTH, p. 51]. Although the use of this term *tängrikän* was not limited to the rulers (cf. *ll.* 4, 12), I think this term maintained the meaning of something 'sacred, divine'. We can find a good explanation of this term in the Chinese version of the Commemorative Inscription of the (Uighur) king *Ïduq-qut* of Qočo[28]: *you you shan, yue tian-ge-li-gan da-ha, yan tian-ling shan* ye 又有山, 曰天哥里干答哈, 言天靈山也 "There is also a mountain called *tängrikän tay*, which means the mountain of the holy spirit." From this sentence, we may say that Uig. *tängrikän* is translated as Ch. *tian-ling* 天靈 'the heavenly soul, the holy spirit'.

We can find the same expression *tängri bögü tängrikänimiz* in the Toyoq Inscription, too, [cf. Ş. Tekin 1976, p. 229, *l.* 21; Geng 1981, p. 80, *l.* 22]. There he is also called *bögülüg uluγ ïduq-qut*. As for *bögü*, cf. ED, pp. 324-325. Hamilton reads it not *bögü* but *bügü*, [cf. MOTH, p. 231, glossary].

03 köl bilgä tängri elig : Everyone has thought that this part is separated from the preceding long title *Kün Ay Tängri-täg ... Tängrikänimiz* which ends with the 1st person plural possessive suffix *-imiz* 'our'. It

[28] *Yi-du-hu Gao-chang wang shi-xun bei* 亦都護高昌王世勳碑. As for the reference to the Chinese version of this inscription, see Hamilton / Geng 1981, pp. 12, 16. Unfortunately, the part correspomding to the Chinese sentence cited here does not remain in the Uighur version of this Inscription. This bilingual inscription was erected in the 14th century. In the existing part of the Uighur version, the term *tängrikän* is always used as a title of the Uighur ruler: It is interpreted as 'souverain céleste, désignation du souverain des Ouïgours de Qoço' in the glossary of Hamilton / Geng 1981, p. 52.

is clear that we are faced with a problem as to whether *Köl Bilgä Tängri Elig* indicates another preceding qaγan of *Kün Ay Tängri-täg ... Tängrikänimiz*. As I have already argued in UMK, pp. 184-185, *Köl Bilgä Tängri Elig* is not a personal title of an Uighur qaγan but a general title of Uighur qaγans. Then I mentioned a passage from Kāšγarī in favour of my theory: "The Khān of the Uighur was called: ***köl bilgä xan*** meaning 'His intelligence is like a lake'." [CTD I, p. 324]. In this connection, however, Hamilton's point of view is different from mine, cf. Hamilton 1992, pp. 8-9. Furthermore about *köl*, cf. OECD, p. 152; Hamilton 1962, p. 52, n. 10; ED, p. 715; MOTH, glossary; UMK, p. 195. As for *bilgä* which is always used in the title of the Uighur rulers, see Zieme 1989b, pp. 448-449.

As for the genitive suffix *-ning* of the phrase *köl bilgä tängri elig-ning*, three great scholars, i.e. Müller, Radloff, and Gabain, all thought that it joins directly to the next word *orunqa*.[29] But actually *orunqa* has no 3rd person possessive suffix, which is indispensable in the earlier Old Turkic text. If it is in the later texts, i.e. from the Mongol times, such an exceptional expression is also possible, but it is not usual in the texts written in the semi-square script which were older. Anyhow, from the grammatical point of view, the idea of Müller, Radloff, and Gabain, was not correct,[30] because the genitive suffix *-ning* here must not relate to the next word *orunqa* but to the term *yïlïnga* which appears later and includes the 3rd person possessive suffix. Judging from Hamilton's French translation "dans la deuxième année de l'accession au trône du souverain céleste Köl Bilgä, notre khan céleste semblable aux dieu Soleil et Lune, désirable, beau, lumineux, céleste, et sorcier" [MOTH, p. XVII],

I think we share the idea in this point.[31] An expression *tngri iligimz ïduq qut* "our Heavenly king, i.e. Ïduq-qut" [Manichaica III, No. 15, M. 919] will be helpful to our idea.

For the reasons mentioned above, we come to the conclusion that *Köl Bilgä Tängri Elig* is the same as *Kün Ay Tängri-täg ... Tängrikän*. On the other hand, if one can regard *orunqa* as a scribal mistake of *orunïnqa*, it may not be impossible to translate, as Müller, Radloff, or Gabain did, the whole phrase in question as "in the 2nd year of the

[29] *köl bilgä tängri elig-ning orunqa* "auf dem Throne des Kül bilgä tängri ilig" by Müller, "den Thron des Tengri Elik" by Radloff, and "unser erhabener, weiser Herrscher (= *tängri bögü tängrikänimiz)* sich auf den Thron (*orun*) des Kül , des weisen, majestätischen Königs (= *köl bilgä tängri elig*) niedergelassen hat" by Gabain [LUKQ, p. 55].

[30] I made the same mistake in Moriyasu 1974, p. 39, but corrected it in UMK, p. 151. Yang 1998a&b still keeps the older idea.

[31] Apparently Bazin has changed his translation to the same way of thinking, see Bazin 1974, p. 326; Bazin 1991, p. 256.

period when our *Kün Ay Täŋri-täg ... Täŋrikän* has ascended the throne of *Köl Bilgä Täŋri Elig*." I followed such an interpretation in Moriyasu 1974, but I have changed my former opinion in UMK [= Moriyasu 1991].

04 upasanč : < Sogd. *'wp's'nc* < Skt. *upāsikā*, cf. DTS, p. 613a; BTT XVIII, p. 206.

04 täŋrikän tegin : As for *täŋrikän*, see note on ***02-03*** above. As for *tegin*, cf. OECD, p. 156; Mori 1967, pp. 365, 407; TMEN, No. 922 & IV, p. 444; ED, p. 483. The royal title *tegin* originally meant 'a prince; a son or grandson of a ruling qaγan' in the Old Turkic world. However, it is not the case here. Because our *täŋrikän tegin* is indicated as *upasanč* 'a laywoman', it is clear this title is applied to a woman, in fact a princess, here. Gabain [LUKQ, p. 71] has already said "Im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo war *tegin* ein hoher Titel für Herren und auch für Damen." In fact, we can find some other examples where the title *tegin* is used for princesses or ladies, cf. Zieme 1978, p. 82; Zieme, BTT XIII, No. 43, p. 161: *upasanč Sïlïγ Tegin* in a colophon from 1313.

It is a normal progression that each title of high rank began to be used in a much less restricted sense as a title of honor of diminishing importance. Neither *tegin* nor *qunčuy* (see below) was an exception. So, I think, when these titles began to lose the original meaning, they needed to have some modifiers like *täŋrikän* or *tärkän* (see below) in order to indicate obviously 'royal' princes or princesses among the Uighurs. Meanwhile, in the western Turkic world from the period of the Karakhanids, the title *tegin* began to be adapted to mean the special slaves who could have a chance to get into the ruling class, [cf. CTD I, p. 276].

04 tärkän qunčuy täŋrim : As for *tärkän*, cf. TMEN, No. 889; ED, p. 544b. This royal title is often but not always applied to women. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that *qunčuy* always indicates a woman like a queen, concubine of king, princess, or lady of high rank, cf. Ecsedy 1965, p. 88; TMEN, No. 1585 and IV, p. 484; ED, p. 635a. So we can say safely that *tärkän qunčuy* always means 'a royal lady like a queen, concubine of king, or pricess'. Pelliot's assumption that the title *täŋrim* was used exclusively for women, has been widely accepted,[32] but we shoud not always follow him. In fact, even in an older inscription from Toyoq dated to around the 11th century, we can find a prince called *Alp Qutluγ(?) Tegin Täŋrim*.[33] Though the title *tegin* can be

[32] Pelliot 1944, pp. 175, 184-185. Cf. ED, p. 524; Moriyasu 1974, p. 43; MOTH, p. 253a; Shōgaito / Тугушева / Fujishiro 1998, p. 33, n. 11.

[33] Toyoq Inscription, *l.* 23, cf. Ş. Tekin 1976, pp. 229-230; Geng 1981, p. 80. In *l.* 22 of the same inscription, there are two other persons with the title *täŋrim*, and Tekin

borne by both men and women as I mentioned in the preceding note, *alp* qualifies only men. Generally speaking, *tängrim* is often applied to women of ruling classes, but it is not always limited to women, cf. LUKQ, pp. 70-71; Zieme 1977, p. 159; Geng 1981, p. 83. An *Asmiš Tängrim* in *l.* 15 of Stake III is a man, because he is a *yegän* which means 'the son of a younger sister or daughter', including 'nephew' but excluding 'niece' in older times. Below in this Stake Inscription I, we find many persons with the honorific title *tängrim.* They all have been hitherto thought to be 'princesses' or 'ladies of high society', but I think it is not sure. This should be reserved for a future study. See also the note on ***14 qadïn*** of Stake III.

05 ïnanč : Cf. Haneda 1931, p. 91; OECD, p. 152; TMEN, No. 669; ED, p. 187; Mackerras 1972, pp. 169-170, n. 240; MOTH, glossary; UMK, pp. 192-193.

05 upasi : < Sogd. *'wp's'k* < Skt. *upāsaka*, cf. DTS, p. 613a; BTT XVIII, p. 206.

05 šaču sangun : < Ch. *sha-zhou jiang-jun* 沙州將軍 (**ṣa-tśi̯au tsi̯ang-ki̯uən* = GSR 16a + 1086a + 727f + 458a). Cf. Moriyasu 1980, p. 334; UMK, p. 151; SUK 2, p. 40, Sa18, *ll.* 1, 8, 10, 13, 14; Moriyasu 2000a, pp. 35-36. Dun-huang was called *Šaču / Šačiu* from time to time, cf. MOTH, p. 250. As for *sangun / sängün*, cf. OECD, p. 155; Ecsedy 1965, pp. 87-88; TMEN, No. 1274; ED, p. 840; MOTH, glossary; UMK, p. 194.

05 baxšï : < Ch. *bo-shi* 博士 (**pâk-dẓ'i* = GSR 771a + 970a), cf. Ecsedy 1965, p. 90; TMEN, No. 724 & IV, p. 432; ED, p. 321.

06 yaγaq qartïnča : It means "like (the size of) a nutshell". As for the first word, Müller's reading *yasaq*[34] was corrected to *yaγaq* 'nut, walnut' by Clauson, [ED, p. 900b]. Meanwhile, the missing part of the second word was reconstructed as *qa[v]ïnča = X'[β]Y-NC'* by Müller, and as *qa[buq]ïnča = X'[PWX]Y-NC'* by Clauson. Uig. *qav* is a loan word from Ch. *ge* 合 (**ġâp* = GSR 675a) 'a unit of dry measure for grain (about 1 decilitre)', and Chaghatai *qapuq* means 'a nutshell'. Judging from the context, Clauson's interpretation is far better.[35] Correcting *qa[buq]* to *qa[paq]*, Zieme also adopted Clauson's idea.[36] But when I confirmed this part on the Stake itself, I realized that the space of the damaged part is too small to accept three letters like *PWX* or *P'X.*

seems to regard them as princes, but it is not certain. Following Geng, I would rather read *tängrikän tözlüg qunčuy tängrim* instead of *tängrikän tözlüg qočo bägi tängrim* by Tekin. The dating of this inscription by Tekin was rightly rejected by Geng.

[34] Müller's reading *yasaq* once misled Doerfer, cf. TMEN IV, p. 73.

[35] Even now, Yang [1998a, pp. 258, 260, 264; = 1998b, pp. 178, 180, 184] still keeps the older reading of Müller.

[36] Cf. Zieme 1999, p. 83.

Zieme newly suggested that I restore the word as *qa[rt]ïnča* = *X'[RT]Y-NC'*. He thinks that *qart* can mean also 'a nutshell' like *qapuq*, cf. *Этимологический Словарь Тюркских Языков, Общетюркские и Межтюркские лексические основы на буквы "к", "қ"*. Москва 1997, pp. 314-315.

06 varxar : < Sogd. *βrx'r* < Skt. *vihāra*, cf. DTS, p. 634b; MOTH, p. 76, n. 13.2.

06 buγday ävininčä : "like (the size of) a grain of wheat", cf. ED, p. 12a. Müller had noticed that his first reading *ävir* should be corrected to *ävin* 'seed, grain', and provided an additional note in Müller 1915, p. 38.

06 DYN+solatsar : Müller's reading was *körkin-din solatsar* which is adopted in ED, p. 825b. But in fact, it is impossible to read *+din solat-* separately, because the final letter of *+din* is not long and is written with one stroke joining directly to the next letter *S*. On the contrary, the final *N* of *körkin* is long, so we had better regard *körkin* as an accusative form of *körk* with the third person possessive suffix. Thence we should look for a word which could be transcribed as *DYN / DY' / DYR / DYW / D'N / D'R + SWL'T-*. Needless to say, judging from the grammatical components *+la+t-*, it must be a causative of a denominal verb. According to T. Takata, *xiang* 像 (**ẓi̯ang* = GSR 728e) was pronounced as **sɪɔ̃* in the North-Western part of China around the 9th - 10th century.[37] And we have a good attestation that Uig. *so / soo* corresponds exactly to Ch. *xiang* 像 'a statue; an image'.[38] Transcribing it as *dinsolatsar*, Zieme translated it as 'anfertigt', but he did not give any explanation.[39] Here I would like to propose two possibilities from the context: 1) Ch. *tan-xiang* 檀像 (**d'ân-so* = GSR 148a + Takata) 'a statue or image made of sandal-wood' > *dansolat-* 'to have a statue made of sandal-wood'; 2) Ch. *diao-xiang* 彫像 (**tieu-so* = GSR 1083t + Takata) 'a carved statue or image' > *diusolat-* 'to have a statue carved'. But these are no more than hypotheses, because the best reading is *DYN+solat-*. So I keep this form in our text.

06 qaz üyüri : As Pelliot and Zieme argued, it is not 'perilla ocimoides' but 'mustard seed', cf. Müller 1915, pp. 14-15; Pelliot 1934, p. 102; Gabain, TTT VIII, p. 68; ED, p. 275b; Zieme, BTT XVIII, p. 163, n. 1180. Semantically it means "the *üyür* of goose", and commonly the term *üyür* is considered as 'millet', cf. ED, pp. 679, 275-276. Strictly speaking, *üyür* is not 'setaria italica' but 'panicum miliaceum', cf. UMK, p. 58; SUK 2, p. 298.

[37] Takata 1988, p. 418, No. 908a.

[38] Cf. Moriyasu / Zieme 2001, section 5.

[39] Zieme 1999, p. 83.

07 šerir : < Skt. *śarīra* 'ashes or relics of the Buddha'. Here it is not written *Š'RYR* but *ŠYRYR*, cf. TMEN, No. 231 & IV, p. 389.

07 yignäčä : Müller had read *yikän* without translation,[40] but it was corrected to *yignä* by Pelliot who regarded it as a variant of *ignä* 'a needle' [Pelliot 1934, p. 102]. He is right. Although there is no difference in the spelling between YYKN' and YYK'N, Clauson's reading *yigän* 'a rush' [ED, p. 913a] cannot be accepted because of the context which has parallel expressions in other languages, cf. Müller 1915, pp. 14-15; Murata 1955-57, Vol. 1, pp. 260-261; Taishō No. 669 (= Nj. 259), Vol. 16, pp. 468b, 469a; Taishō No. 688 (= Nj. 260), Vol. 16, p. 781c; Taishō No. 689 (= Nj. 261), Vol. 16, p. 782a; Taishō No. 697 (= Nj. 293), Vol. 16, p. 799a; Taishō No. 698 (= Nj. 294), Vol. 16, p. 800a; Taishō No. 699 (= Nj. 523), Vol. 16, p. 801a; Taishō No. 704 (= Nj. 79), Vol. 16, p. 812a & b; Taishō No. 2122, Vol. 53, p. 580c. I cite here Müller's translation of the corresponding passage from the *Wei-ceng-you jing* 未曾有經 (Taishō No. 688 = Nj. 260): "Wenn jemand nach dem Parinirvāṇa des Buddha mit einer Reliquie so groß wie ein Senfkorn einen Grabhügel (Stūpa) errichtete, so groß wie eine Āmrakafrucht (Mango), mit einer Spitze wie ein Nadel, oben mit einem Schirm versehen (chatra) wie das Blatt der sauren Dattel (Zizyphusart), wenn das Buddhabildnis so groß wäre wie ein Gerstenkorn usw."

07 sutup čäkür : One can read *sutup čakur*, too. Comparing many parallel passages in the Chinese texts just mentioned above, I would like to translate this expression as 'a spire of a stūpa'.[41] According to P. Pelliot, **čäkri* > **čägüri/čäküri* > **čäkür* extracted from Chinese transcriptions *que-li* 雀梨 (**tsi̯ak-lji* = GSR 1122a + 519h), *que-li* 雀離 (**tsi̯ak-lji̯e* = GSR 1122a + 23f), *zhao-hu-li* 昭怙釐 (**tśi̯äu-γuo-lji* = GSR 1131m + 49x + 979*l*), *tuo-jue* 拓厥 (**t'âk-ki̯wɒt* = GSR 795m + 301c), *jue-li* 爵離 (**tsi̯ak-lji̯e* = GSR 1121a + 23f), *zhe-jue* 柘厥 (**tśi̯a-ki̯wɒt* = GSR 795*l* + 301c), is a lost Tocharian word originally having meant 'a tower', from which a new meaning 'a spire of a stūpa' was derived [Pelliot 1934, pp. 75-103].[42] Although it is not sure that the word **čäkür / čakur* was really Tocharian,[43] K. Röhrborn seems to support the main part of Pelliot's argument with the examples of the

[40] In a note he said: "Zu *yikän* und *ykän* (Z. 9) wäre zu vergleichen *yäkä* = Stange am Steuerruder." [Müller 1915, p. 14].

[41] Cf. Bailey 1985, pp. 3-4.

[42] Some scholars [cf. Mizutani 1958, pp. 068-069; Sadakata 1980] were inclined to identify these names with Skt. *(dharma)-cakra* 'the wheel (of the Law)' or its derivatives, but I think it should be rejected, cf. Bailey 1985, p. 4. By the way, I think it is noteworthy that there is a Buddhist stūpa called *she-gu ta* 蛇骨塔 in Yunnan of China. *Ta* is a stūpa, and *she-gu* was pronounced **dź'i̯a-kuət* (GSR 4*l* + 486a) in Middle Chinese. Cf. *Wen-wu* 文物 1986-7, pp. 50-55.

[43] Cf. Boodberg 1979, pp. 247-248; Bailey 1985, pp. 3-4.

Biography of Xuan-zang 玄奘.[44] It is true that Uig. *čäkür / čakur* is used to translate three Chinese words: 1) Ch. *biao-zhu* 表柱 'a pillar of sign'[45], 2) Ch. *cha* 刹 (see below) in Vol. 4 [compare Taishō, No. 2053, Vol. 50, p. 242c, *ll.* 5-6 with Toalster 1977, p. 72, *ll.* 668-669]; and 3) Ch. *xiang-lun* 相輪 in Vol. 7 [compare Taishō, No. 2053, Vol. 50, p. 260c, *l.* 25 with Röhrborn 1991, p. 143, *l.* 1650]. European scholars[46] interpret *xiang-lun* as "the wheels or circles at the top of a stūpa, i.e. *chattras*", and it is not incorrect.[47] But more generally, the *xiang-lun* indicates the whole upper part of a big stūpa or pagoda in the Eastern Asia, and it represents the original shape of the Indian Buddhist stūpa. So a *xiang-lun*, like an original stūpa, consists of a dome (Skt. *aṇḍa*) with a basement (Skt. *medhī*), a square head or railing (Skt. *harmikā* or *vedikā*), a central pole or shaft (Skt. *yaṣṭi*), nine or several parasols (Skt. *chattra / chatra*) in the shape of wheels (Skt. *cakra*), and so on.[48] One can regard a *xiang-lun* as a stūpa in miniature. If it is seen from afar, it might look like a spire at the top of a big stūpa. About this point, we will discuss more together with the meanings of the term *cha* in the note on ***10 šat ïγač*** below.

In addition, we should remember that this *čäkür / čakur* might have been easily confused with another word *čkr / čkir / čakr / čakir / čakar* derived from Skt. *cakra* 'a wheel, circle'.[49] As pointed out by Röhrborn, such examples are found even in the Uighur version of the Biography of Xuang-zang itself [Vol. 4, *l.* 851, see Toalster 1977, p. 90; Vol. 7, *l.* 971, see Röhrborn 1991, pp. 90, 219-220].

07 barm buyan : Müller [p. 15] says it is a loan word from Skt. *parama puṇya*. Zieme wrongly thought that *barm* is an ordinary Uighur word, and translated *barm buyan* as "Habe und Puṇya", [Zieme 1999, p. 83].

08 mängi tonga : A hendiadys which was clearly identified by Zieme, who translated it 'Seligkeit und Freude' [Zieme 1975b, p. 128]. *mängi* = *bängi*, cf. ED, p. 348b.

08 burxan qutïnlïq kölük : *burxan qutï* is 'the state of Buddhahood,

[44] Röhrborn 1991, pp. 90-91, 143, 219-220 (note on *l.* 971), 246 (note on *l.* 1650).

[45] *Biao-zhu* is mistakenly cited as *chang-zhu* 長柱 'a long pillar' in Toalster 1977, p. 214.

[46] Cf. Soothill, p. 310b; De La Vallée Poussin 1937, p. 277.

[47] Cf. Mochizuki, Vol. 4, pp. 3835-3837.

[48] Cf. Nakamura, p. 870a-b; Iwanami, p. 519b, and illustrations in pp. 862-865. See also De La Vallée Poussin 1937, pp. 276-279.

[49] Cf. *otluγ čkir tilgän* 'a flaming wheel' [TTT V, pp. 326-327, Text A, *l.* 43]; *čkrlïγ* [BTT II, p. 27, ll. 307-308]; *çkr* [BTT VII, p. 69, footnote on D 15; Kara / Zieme 1986, p. 335, *l.* 339]; *čakr-ïγ* [BTT III, p. 26, *l.* 37]; *čakar* [BTT VII, p. 49, footnote on A 407; BTT XIII, Text 24, *l.* 13]; *čakir* [BTT VII, p. 32, *l.* 24; p. 58, *l.* 675].

the blessed state of being a Buddha', cf. Soothill, p. 228; ED, p. 594. *Kölük* corresponds to Skt. *yāna-* 'vehicle' [OTWF, pp. 238-239]. Erdal and Zieme respectively interpret *burxan qutï(n)lïγ kölük* as "the vehicle that is Buddhadom" [OTWF, p. 146] and "the vehicle of the Buddhahood" [Zieme 1996a, Text, *ll.* 5-6]. Erdal found a metaphorical use of *+lïγ* exactly as in the example of the next note on *nirvanlïγ*, but here it is not the case. The tail of final *-q* of *qutïnlïq* is not going straight downward, but long and clear. We can compare it with that of *totoq* which appears six times in *ll.* 15-18. So we should read *qutïnlïq* instead of *qutïnlïγ* and recall of a special use of *+lïq* 'for ~' which is also found by Erdal himself [cf. OTWF, pp. 121-130].

08 nirvanlïγ : About the metaphorical use of *+lïγ* in this part, see OTWF, pp. 145-146.

09 bu muntaγ türlüg uluγ ädgü-lärig : The word *uluγ* is added to the side between *muntaγ* and *türlüg*, but I think it is a scribal error.

09' YK'N : Müller wanted to take this word (*ykän*) as "Grundpfeiler" (the central pillar) from the context [Müller 1915, pp. 3, 9], but it does not seem to be. This word and the preceding one should be read together as *ïnal yegän* and put out of the main context, because this is a personal name. In my opinion, this man must belong to one of the groups of joint dedicators who are enumerated after *l.* 12, especially to a minor group of persons whose names were added later in some spaces. These two words at the bottom of *l.* 9 have hitherto bothered all scholars, so Yang [1998a, p. 261 = 1998b, p. 181] retains this misconception even now.

10 šat ïγač : "A *šat*-tree, a wooden *šat*, a *šat*-stake". As Pelliot argued, there is no doubt from the context that the *šat*-tree indicates this Stake Inscription itself. As for *šat*, I would also like to follow his opinion: "Quoi qu'il en soit de l'étymologie réelle, il semble bien que le *šat* de l'inscription ouigoure soit identique au chinois *tch'a* 剎 (**ṭṣ'at*) et emprunté au chinois directement." [Pelliot 1929, p. 253].

This *cha* 剎 is a special character which was made in China to represent foreign words including a part pronounced or transcribed *kṣa[t], ča[t],* etc. like Skt. *kṣetra* 'land, fields, country, world', *kṣatriya* 'a caste in India', *kṣaṇa* 'an instant, the shortest measure of time', and so on. Although the problem of the etymology is not yet solved, it is well known what *cha* 剎 (**ṭṣ'at*; Sino.-Jap. *satsu* or *setsu*) has meant traditionally[50]: 1) 'a flagpole',[51] which might correspond to Skt. *yaṣṭi*

[50] Cf. Oda, pp. 501a, 1029b-c, 1030a-b; Mochidzuki, Vol. 2, p. 1442b-c, Vol. 4, pp. 3835-3837; Soothill, p. 250b; Morohashi, Vol. 2, p. 258; Murata 1959, pp. 2-3, 17-18, 20-21; Nakamura, p. 826d; Iwanami, p. 488a & figures with the captions on pp. 861-865.

[51] Cf. the article from Vol. 15 of a Buddhist glossary (*A dictionary of the Whole*

or Pāli *laṭṭhi*; 2) 'a pole or staff erected in front of a Buddha hall as a sign of a temple; hence, a temple'; 3) 'the upper part of a stūpa; hence, a stūpa'; and 4) 'the central pillar of a stūpa',[52] which is called *shin-bashira* or *shin no hashira* 心柱 'a pillar of heart' in Japanese.

We know the fact that one or two flags used to be set on the top of a stūpa in North-West India, Tibet, or Central Asia.[53] Its top was so slender that it served as a flagpole. Then, the pole could be lowered to the ground, because it was not so easy to hang up a flag on the top of the high stūpa in the daily life. Thus, the first and second meanings arose. On the other hand, how could the third or fourth meaning appear? About twenty years ago, J. Irwin demonstrated that the primary component of the early stūpa was an axial pillar of wood,[54] and that the axial pillar was none other than the World Axis, metaphysically identified with the World Tree.[55] So, we should assume that originally the central pillar of a stūpa had been, at least had been regarded as, a continuous one from the top in the sky to the bottom under the ground, but that later it was divided into some parts: the top or upper part, the middle part, and the lower or bottom part. These parts might have developed independently or changed variously. As mentioned above, Uig. *čäkür/čakur* could represent three Chinese terms, i.e. *biao-zhu* 表柱 'a pillar of sign', *cha* 刹 in question, and *xiang-lun* 相輪, which represents doubtlessly the upper part of a stūpa. Moreover, *Biao-zhu* could be called *biao-cha* 表刹 '*cha* as a sign', too.[56] Therefore we may be allowed to conclude that *cha* 刹 could indicate the upper part of a stūpa,[57] of

Canon) compiled by Hui-lin 慧琳: 「刹柱. 音察, 幡竿也」 [Taishō, Vol. 54, p. 402c].

[52] In this case, *cha* 刹 has its variant 㮨 *cha* (Sino.-Jap. *satsu*). Cf. Morohashi, Vol. 2, p. 258, Vol. 6, p. 585c-d; Nakamura, p. 453b.

[53] Cf. Jettmar 1985, pp. 20-22, 25; Photo 18 - Plate 13, Photo 24 - Plate 16, Photo 26 - Plate 17, Photo 33 - Plate 19; Fussmann 1993, pls. 9, 11-16; Höllmann 1993, Taf. 4-5; Jettmar / Sagaster 1993, Abb. 4, 6, 7, 15; BSMA VI, pl. 9; Shinkyō Uiguru jichiku bunbutsu kanri iinkai (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Kiziru sekkutsu*, Vol. 3, Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1985, pls 51-54, 60-62, 116, 122, 123, 177 (MIK III 8860); Härtel / Yaldiz 1982, pl. 30; Huang Wen-bi, *Tu-lu-fan kao-gu-ji*, Pekin 1954, pl. LXIX-72; UMK, pl. XIVb; Tonkō bunbutsu kenkyūsho (ed.), *Chūgoku sekkutsu, Tonkō Bakkō-kutsu*, Vol. 5, Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1982, pls. 106-109.

[54] His opinion can be supported by 玄應 Xuan-ying's comment on *qie-cha* 切刹 included in Vol. 20 of a Buddhist glossary compiled by Hui-lin 慧琳: 「浮圖名刹者訛也. 應言剌瑟胝. 剌音力割反. 此譯云竿」 [Taishō, Vol. 54, p. 431a]. "It is not a correct usage when ordinary people call a stūpa *cha*. One should call it *la-se-di* (* *lat-ṣiɛt-tiei*), ..., which means a pole."

[55] Irwin 1979; Irwin 1980. See also Murata 1959.

[56] Surprisingly enough, Nakamura [p. 1145c] identifies *biao-cha* (Jap. *hyō-setsu*) with Skt. *chattra* 'a royal parasol'. If it is not a simple mistake, we may suppose that someone confused the term *cha* with *chattra* which is, as discussed above, one of the main components of the upper part of a stūpa.

[57] I think we can reach the same conclusion by making a comparison of the all

which the most important component consisted of the central pole.

Taking account of the fact that Uig. *čäkür/čakur* corresponds to the top part of the central pillar of a stūpa, I venture to regard Uig. *šat* as its bottom part which independently used to have been driven into the earth by a mallet as a symbol or monument of the foundation of a stūpa or temple. J. Murata argued that it appeared to be a custom in China around the 5th to 10th centuries and in Japan after the end of the 6th century to drive a wooden *cha* into the earth before building a stūpa and that there existed even an expression *da-cha* 打刹 'to drive or hit a *cha*'.[58] I believe this is parallel to *šat ïγač toqï-* in our Stake Inscription I or *šat tuγ yumzuγ tik-* in a Buddhist text.[59] It is highly probable this custom prevailed among the Buddhists both in Central Asia and in East Asia. In this connection, I want to cite a passage of a legend from a Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedia made in the 7th century: "Suddenly in the mid-night one heard a sound of a temple bell coming from the underground. Then he marked(?) the place where he sharpend a wood and made a 刹 *cha*. In three days there arose a precious stūpa with relics from the underground."[60]

Therefore, I think that the opinions concerning the aim of the Stake Inscriptions advanced by Grünwedel, Müller, Le Coq, and Klimkeit,[61] are not exact. Müller said: "Dem Fundorte nach könnte man den Pfahl für einen etwas vergrößerten *qazquq* (oder tibetisch: *phur-bu*), chin.: 杵 *čhu* = Stößel, Pflock oder Zauberdolch, die in die Erde zum Bannen der unterirdischen Dämonen eingetrieben werden, halten."[62] In fact, several passages from the *Prophecy of the Li (= Khotan) Country* in Tibetan are fascinatingly helpful for his idea.[63] I cite one example here: "On the spot where King Candraprabha made a gift of his head to the brahmin, he at once drove in the site-fixing peg. For his pious friend (*kalyāṇamitra*), the Ārya Dharmānanda, he built the *stūpa* and the great *vihāra* of Hdro-tir."[64] Nevertheless, I cannot follow him in whole because, according to Waddell,[65] the *phur-bu* is a small peg in the shape of a dagger. The function of this kind of site-fixing

parallel texts mentioned in the note on ***07 yignäčä***.

[58] Murata 1959, pp. 17-18, 20-21.

[59] Shōgaito 1979, Frag. II, *l.* 10 = BTT XIII, Text 12 E, *l.* 37. But Shōgaito's translation was corrected by Zieme, BTT XIII, pp. 76-77.

[60] *Fa-yuan zhu-lin* 法苑珠林, Vol. 38 in Taishō No. 2122, Vol. 53, p. 585b.

[61] Cf. Grünwedel 1906, p. 60; Müller 1915, p. 3; Klimkeit 1982, p. 25.

[62] Müller 1915, p. 3.

[63] Cf. Emmerick 1967, pp. 31, 39, 47, 51, 138b.

[64] Emmerick 1967, p. 39.

[65] Waddell 1971 (orig. 1894), p. 341.

dagger is far from that of the *cha* 刹 above mentioned. Müller introduced the ideas of Grünwedel and Le Coq, too.[66] The ideas of these three scholars are unified by Klimkeit as follows: "It probably served a double purpose. It supported a cult figure, of which only a few remnants were found. And it must have been credited with apotropaic powers, although it was not inscribed with any anathema but with a foundation character."[67] As the title of Israfel's article suggests, he keeps the idea that the Stake was the wooden axis of a statue of Buddha.[68]

In Moriyasu 1974, I was not able to see the purpose of preparing these octagonal Stakes bearing inscriptions. But now I would like to conclude that the Stakes were driven into the ground of temple yards during the ground-breaking ceremony as a symbol or monument of the foundation of a stūpa or temple, while they served at the same time for purifying the building site or pacifying underground demons. So the Stake Inscriptions were made to commemorate the establishment of stūpas or temples by the Uighur donators.

Even if our idea hits the target, there remains another problem. Pelliot [1929, p. 253] tried to explain why MCh. **ṭṣ'at* was not transcribed **čat* but *šat* in Old Uighur. I think we had better mention an example that an initial *č-* was compatible with *š-*. An Old Turkic title *šad*, which was frequent in the Old Turkic inscriptions written in Runic and generally transcribed *she* 設 (**śi̯ät* = GSR 290a), *cha* 察 (**ṭṣ'ăt* = GSR 337j), or *sha* 殺 (**ṣăt* = GSR 319d) in Chinese, was twice transcribed *čad* in the Tariat and Tes Inscriptions dated from the mid-8th century.[69]

11 alqïš : = Skt. *vyākaraṇa* = Ch. *shou-ji* 授記 = 'a prophecy, prediction; the giving of a record' [ED, p. 137b; Soothill, pp. 350-351], 'Prophezeiung (Voraussage Buddhas über die künftige Buddha-Würde eines Wesens)' [UW 2, pp. 99-100]. Klimkeit translates it as 'blessing' [Klimkeit 1990, n. 67], but it is misleading.

11 asanki : Cf. UW 3-4, pp. 224-225.

11 altï paramit : = Skt. *ṣaṭ-pāramitā* = Ch. *liu bo-luo-mi* 六波羅蜜 = 'the six *pāramitās*; the six virtues that ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to *nirvāṇa*; the six means by which one can cross over from this shore of births and deaths to the other shore, or *nirvāṇa*; the six ways of salvation; the six roads to salvation' [Soothill, pp. 134b, 267a; ED, p. 562b; Klimkeit 1990, n. 67 in p. 196]. For other attestations, cf. UW 2, p. 109a.

[66] Müller 1915, p. 3.

[67] Klimkeit 1982, p. 25.

[68] Israfel 1996.

[69] Tes Inscription, W6, and Taryat Inscription, N4, cf. Moriyasu / Ochir 1999, pp. 159-160, 170, 172.

12 burxan yertinčü : "Buddha world" [Klimkeit 1990, p. 192 and n. 67]. I think the spelling YYRTYNC without a final W is only a scribal mistake.

12 eyin ögirdäči : Müller [pp. 11, 16, 27] regarded these words as constituting elements of a personal name, but this is not correct. In fact, this is one of the important key expressions in these inscriptions. See the note on ***11 anumodit eyin ögirdäči*** of Stake III.

13 arvïq : It is written ''RβYẊ. The shape of the final letter with a diacritical point is the same as that of *yaγaq* Y'X'Ẋ of *l.* 6. Clauson says this *arvïq* is a mistranscription of *arviš* 'a magic spell' [ED, p. 199a], but I do not know which is better.

13 küsämiš tängrim : This is the same name as the wife of the main donor of Stake II written in Chinese, but it must have happened by chance.

15 el ögäsi : This title was variously transcribed in the Chinese sources, though several variants depend on a scribal error, cf. Ecsedy 1964, pp. 97-99. Müller insisted that it should not be read *il ögäsi* but *il ügäsi*, and translated it as "Ruhm des Reichs" [Uigurica II, pp. 93-94; Müller 1915, p. 16]. But Doerfer and Clauson rejected this opinion for etymological reasons and Clauson translated *el ögäsi* as a "counseller of the realm". Now it seems to be generally accepted that the word *ögä* is a derivative of *ö-* 'to think of', [cf. OECD, p. 159; TMEN, No. 614; ED, p. 101; Hamilton 1988, supplementary notes to OECD, p. IX]. I can also accept their translations 'counseller', 'Ratgeber', or 'conseiller, sage'. Meanwhile, we find good information about *ögä* in Kāšγarī's dictionary: 1) "the title *ögä* for a man of understanding and ripe old age"; 2) "The title for a man of the common people who is intelligent, mature, and experienced in affairs. He is one degree below the *Tegin*. (I omit a legend about the origin of this title.)" [CTD I, pp. 96, 124-125; see also ED, p. 101]. In other words, the *ögä* never belongs to a royal family, but stands next to the princes or princesses. Although we know that Kāšγarī's information is not always accurate, I feel this part is rather trustworthy.

According to Chinese sources, it is well known that an *El Ögäsi* from the Ädiz clan, who had been the general and chief minister of the East Uighur Khanate (740s to 840 A.D.), became the qaγan and took on the surname of the royal Yaγlaqar clan in 795[70] after the great war around Beš-balïq between the Uighurs and the Tibetans (789-792 A.D.).[71]

[70] Cf. Abe 1955, pp. 169-170; Mackerras 1990, pp. 318-319.

[71] Concerning the Tibeto-Uighur war, cf. Abe 1955, pp. 159-169; Haneda 1957, pp. 217-221; Ecsedy 1964; Moriyasu 1973 & 1979; Moriyasu 1981.

There the title *el ögäsi* was used mistakenly as a personal name,[72] because he might have been only one or the best one of some *el ögäsi*s who was/were standing at the top of the subjects. From the famous trilingual Qara-balgasun Inscription erected in 810-820s, we know that there existed a couple of *el ögäsi*s at the same time in the court of the East Uighur Khanate.[73] This fact can be confirmed by the colophon of the Manichaean hyme book called *Maḫrnāmag*.[74] Moreover, we might cite another document T II D 135 published by Müller.[75]

Furthermore, I have realized that there were several kinds of Chinese seals held by the *el ögäsi*(s) 頡於(or 于)迦(or 伽)思諸宰相 *jie yu-jia-si zhu zaixiang* ("*el ögäsi* and various prime ministers; or various prime ministers entitled *el ögäsi*; or various prime ministers headed by *el ögäsi*") among the Uighur documents dated from the early period (i.e. around the 10th century) of the West Uighur Kingdom which were unearthed from Turfan. Of course, we should mention at first the well known seal, which is put on an administrative order concerning the management of the Manichaean monasteries housed in the Museum of History in Peking and discussed in UMK, pp. 127-128. Comparing with this one, I have recently found more than four seals of the same kind among the Uighur documents housed in the BBAW and in the Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. 1) K 7709, 10 cm high, 9.5 cm wide; 2) U 5319, 9.5 ~ 9.6 cm high, 9.6 cm wide; 3) U 5525 & U 5717, 11 cm high, more than 7.2 cm wide (incomplete); 4) U 5983, 5.8 cm high, more than 5.1 cm wide (incomplete); 5) U 5990v & Ot. Ry. 1590, 6.1 ~ 6.2 cm high, more than 4.8 cm wide (incomplete). We also find two *el ögäsi*s in Stake III (*ll.* 03, 17), which clearly prove the coexistence of them. We may take into consideration some Chinese or Persian sources which say there were nine prime ministers (Ch. *zai-xiang* 宰相 ; Pe. *wazīr*) both in the West Uighur Kingdom and in the Gan-zhou Uighur Kingdom from the 10th to the early 11th centuries, [cf. UMK, pp. 163, 170]. Thus I am sure that there were more than one *el ögäsi* at the same time at the Uighur court continuously from the time of the

[72] Cf. Ecsedy 1964, pp. 97-99 (n. 17); Mackerras 1972, pp. 100-105, and n. 156 (p. 155), n. 185 (p. 161).

[73] Comparing the Chinese version with the Sogdian one, we can get at least two *el ögäsi*s among the authors of this inscription. The first one is the Inner Grand Minister *el ögäsi Yaγlaqïr ////*, and the second one is *Oγuz el ögäsi ïnanču baγa tarqan*. See Haneda 1957, p. 305; Yoshida 1988, pp. 32, 38, 41; Yoshida 1990, p. 118; Hamilton 1990, p. 129. Besides Hamilton, I am also preparing a new edition of the Chinese version of the Qara-balgasun Inscription. We should pay attention that Ecsedy's identification of the most famous *El Ögäsi* with one of the authors of this inscription is impossible, cf. Ecsedy 1964, p. 99.

[74] Cf. Müller 1913, pp. 11-12.

[75] Cf. Müller 1912.

East Uighur Khanate to the West Uighur Kingdom.

On the other hand, I succeeded in deciphering a red seal put on an Uighur manuscript U 5980 housed in the BBAW. Regrettably only a half of the original remains. The size is 6.1 cm high (complete) and more than 3.5 cm wide (incomplete). The original legend should be 1) □□□ 2) □天特 3) 勤之印 ////////////// *tian te-qin zhi yin* ("the seal of the *Tängri Tegin* ....."). We can find the same title in Stake II (*l.* 4) mentioned above and in the Chinese manuscript S 6551 which came from Dun-huang and is housed in the British Library, [cf. UMK, p. 159]. Needless to say, the title of *tegin* is borne only by the members of the royal family in older times. We should pay attention that the size of the seal held by a *tängri tegin* is smaller than that of three seals held by *el ögäsi*s mentioned above. Remembering the remark of Kāšγarī that the title *ögä* is borne by the common people and less worthful than the *tegin*, I would like to suppose that *el ögäsi* could not be appointed *tegin* at the early stage of the West Uighur Kingdom. I will discuss the clear distinction between *tegin*s and *el ögäsi*s in future. But there is no doubt that *el ögäsi*(s) is/are at the top of all subjects. Therefore it can be translated as the prime minister(s). Kafesoğlu [1982, pp. 289-290] says that *ögä* as well as *ayγučï* is a title of the state chancellor who comes from outside the ruling family. But we may better define *el ögäsi* as a title of the prime ministers who come from outside the ruling family. As for *ögä* alone, it might be safe to interpret it as 'senior, elder' or 'a leading person of each office or class, minister' in spite of its etymology. If the *tegin ögä* means "the crown prince" in the *Maitrisimit*, there will be no problem, [cf. LUKQ, p. 71]. I cannot understand why Doerfer and Gabain gave another translation 'Stellvertreter (= representative)' to *ögä*, [cf. OECD, p. 159; TMEN II, p. 157; Gabain, op. cit.].

15 isig ädgü totoq : The same title occurs two times here. Maybe this title explains the holder's role within the court or the content of his work. I think the first person, who is also one of the prime ministers, is senior to the second one, because the word *ögä* just mentioned in the preceding note is added to the title of the first person. As for *totoq*, cf. TMEN, No. 874 & IV, p. 439; Ecsedy 1965, pp. 84-86; Mori 1967, pp. 81-83; ED, p. 453a; Sims-Williams / Hamilton 1990, p. 29; UMK, pp. 89, 197. It is noteworthy that an important person with the same title *isig ädgü totoq ögä* appears in a Sogdian Manichaean letter newly discovered at the Bäzäklik Caves in Turfan and just published by us. Cf. Xin-jiang Tu-lu-fan di-qu wen-wu ju 新疆吐魯番地区文物局 (ed.), *Tu-lu-fan xin-chu Mo-ni jiao wen-xian yan-jiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文献研究, Pekin, Wen-wu chu-ban she 文物出版社, 2000, Letter C, *l.* 28, pp. 120, 136 ; Y. Yoshida & T. Moriyasu, "Bezekuriku shutsudo

Sogudo-go Uiguru-go Mani-kyō to tegamibun (Manichaean Sogdian and Uighur letters recently unearthed in Bezeklik, Turfan", *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū (Studies on the Inner Asian Languages)* 15, 2000, Letter C, *l.* 28.

15 tonga : Cf. Haneda 1931, p. 94; ED, p. 515; Zieme 1975b, p. 128; MOTH, p. 51. This *tonga* is clearly a different word from the one in *l.* 8 of this Stake.

15 yegän : It means originally 'the son of a younger sister or daughter', but it is often used not only as a name but also as a title, cf. Haneda 1931, p. 91; OECD, pp. 160-161; Grønbech 1953, p. 124; ED, pp. 912-913; BTT V, p. 67, n. 707; Zieme 1981, p. 86; MOTH, p. 135 and glossary; UMK, pp. 193-194.

15 käd tuγmïš : Radloff read this name as *kin taqmïš/toqmïš*, and Müller read it as *kin(?) turmïš*. Neither of them is correct. A compounded personal name *kädtuγmïš* 'well born' is attested in a long Manichaean document, cf. UMK, p. 45, *l.* 115.

16 iktü : Found in *l.* 21 of Stake III and *l.* 5 of Stake IV.

16 tarqan : Cf. Haneda 1931, p. 92; Pelliot 1944, pp. 176-177; OECD, pp. 155-156; Mori 1967, p. 149, n. 76; TMEN, No. 879 & IV, p. 440; ED, pp. 539-540; UMK, pp. 90, 195. Gabain [LUKQ, p. 71] says this title is limited to men.

15-17 känč tang arslan sangun : The last two words *TWXMYŠ T'RX'N* at the bottom of *l.* 15 should be regarded as an addition, because the letters were written a little bit smaller than those of the main text and the ink color of this part is not so dark as the main part. Line 16, which is very short and written in smaller letters in the narrow space between *l.* 15 and *l.* 17, must have been added after finishing lines 15 and 17. So the word *känč* just before *TWXMYŠ T'RX'N* of *l.* 15 must join to *tang arslan sangun* which stands at the head of *l.* 17. In Old Turkic *känč* means 'young; the young', but here it is used as a name or title, cf. OECD, p. 152; UMK, p. 193.

17 bägädmiš : *kikirdmiš/kirmiš* by Radloff, *kikädmiš(?)* by Müller, and *k(e)ngädmiš* by Erdal [OTWF, p. 776]. These various readings were not correct. As for *bägäd-*, see OTWF, p. 486.

17 sïnandu sangun : The name of a monk *sïnandu*, which was read *sixadu? (sixandu, sixardu?)* by Müller, appears in Uigurica II, p. 88, *l.* 73. We should pay attention to the fact that a short line is drawn after *sangun*. From this line, I concluded that the three persons, whose names were added later (Nos. 15-17), belong to the group of joint dedicators enumerated in *ll.* 15-17.

18 qočo balïq bägi alp totoq ögä : Cf. *balïq bägi* "Stadtfürst" by

Zieme, BTT XVIII, p. 203 index; *qočo bägi*[76] in SUK 2, p. 136, WP02 (in cursive), *l.*15; *qočo balïq ayγučï* in SUK 2, p. 146, Mi01 (in cursive), *l.* 19. Furthermore, we know that a famous Chinese title *ci-shi* 刺史 (**ts'i̯äk-ṣi* = GSR 868d + 975a) 'regional chief, prefect', which had been earlier borrowed into the Old Turkic in the form of *čigši*,[77] was translated as *balïq ayγučï bäg* in an Uighur Buddhist sūtra, [cf. Kara / Zieme 1986, p. 336, *l.* 382 & p. 358]. Therefore *qočo balïq bägi* must be the head of Qočo city which was the winter capital of the West Uighur Kingdom. So he must be a person of high rank.

18 ïnanč : Here it is used not as a famous title but as a common adjective signifying 'reliable, trustworthy', [cf. ED, p. 187]. Such cases are rather rare in the older texts.

18 ädgü ögli-lär : The same expression appears in a similar context of Stake III [*l.* 22], where it is modified with another expression *eyin ögirdäči*. The latter is someone who is going to perform the action of *eyin ögir-*, which corresponds to Ch. *sui-xi* 隨喜 "to praise someone doing good actions", as will be discussed below in the note on ***11 anumodit eyin ögirdäči*** of Stake III. On the other hand, it is clear that *ädgü ögli*, which means semantically 'good thinker', exactly corresponds to Ch. *shan-you* 善友 (Jap. *zen-u / zennu*) or *shan-zhi-shi* 善知識, which are the translations of Skt. *kalyāṇamitra* 'a friend of virtue; a friend who is going to do good actions together with someone', [cf. ShōGl., p. 308a; UW 5, pp. 353-355; Soothill, pp. 368-369; Oda, pp. 1056a, 1064a; Nakamura, pp. 848a, 850d]. Röhrborn [UW 5, p. 354] says that, as mentioned by Müller [1915, p. 32], it can be a calque of Sogd. *šyrxwzyy / šyrxwz'k* 'well-wisher > friend' originally, and that later it popularly came to mean not only 'a friend' but also 'a relative, a family member'. Therefore we can suppose that *ädgü ögli-lär* here means "good friends or relatives who approve of our virtuous deed (= building a temple)".

18 yangačuq : *yangïčun (yärgičün?)* by Müller. It was not correct.

19 iš ayγučï : Not a personal name but a title 'a manager, secretary, person in charge'. This is a person of rather lower rank who simply arranges work in the daily life or in a ceremony, cf. ED, p. 271a; UMK, pp. 60-61, 90.

19 avluč : *avluč (ailuč?)* by Müller. Cf. UW 4, p. 280a.

19 ïγačči : 'Holzarbeiter (Zimmermann)' by Müller, 'carpenter, woodworker' [ED, p. 80a], 'Architekt der Holzkonstruktionen' [LUKQ, p. 72].

[76] Ş. Tekin [1976, p. 229, *l.* 22] read *qočo bägi* in the Toyoq Inscription, but it may have been a misreading, cf. Geng 1981, p. 80, *l.* 23.

[77] Cf. Ecsedy 1965, pp. 86-87.

19 titigči : 'Maurer' [Müller 1915, p. 36], 'a man who makes mud walls' [ED, p. 455b], 'Architekt der Lehm- und Ziegelbauten' [LUKQ, p. 72]. It appears in *l.* 02' of Stake III, too.

19 vapdu : Probably from Ch. *fa-nu* 法奴 (**piwɒp-nuo* = GSR 642k + 94*l*) "a slave of the Law (Skt. *dharma*)".

19 yegän sïngqur : *yäkrä/yäkän qïngrul* by Radloff, and *y(ä)gän ayïsïz* by Müller. These are not correct. As for *sïngqur*, see the note on ***13 sïngqur*** of Stake III.

19, 20 bitkäči bäg arslan : This must be a scribe of this Stake Inscription. The final two letters 'N of 'RSL'N (arslan) at the end of *l.* 19 were erased, because this part was sharpened after having written the inscription. Müller's observation was right in this point, [Müller 1915, p. 16]. For this reason, I think, the scribe wrote his name once more in *l.* 20. As for *bäg*, cf. Mori 1967, Part 1, Chap. 3 (pp. 94-160); TMEN, No. 828 (pp. 389-406) & IV, p. 437; ED, pp. 322-323. Gabain [LUKQ, p. 71] says this title is limited to men.

As for *bitkäči* or *bitgäči*, see Müller 1915, pp. 32-33; TTT VI, p. 162, n. 264; Gabain 1950, p. 9 (= PhTF II, p. 189); TMEN, No. 718 & IV, pp. 430-431; DTS, p. 104a; CBBMP, pp. 112-113; ED, p. 304. They think that *bitkäči* has the same meaning as *bitigüči* 'a scribe, secretary' or *bitigči*, but they do not share the opinion about the etymology of *bitkäči/bitgäči*. It is written in Runic script *b i t k a č i* = *bitkäči* (Or. 8212-78 = Ch. 0014) or *b i t g a č i* = *bitgäči* (Or. 8212-77 = Ch. 00183) in the Dunhuang manuscripts from around the 10th century, cf. Thomsen 1912, pp. 216, 219 & pl. IIIb; Hamilton / Bazin 1974, p. 37 & Fragment a in plates. Because the problem surrounding the etymology or history of *bitkäči* and *bitigüči* is too complicated, we need to discuss it in a separate article.

19, 20 tiräk : Cf. Haneda 1931, p. 90; OECD, p. 157; TMEN, No. 997; ED, p. 543; MOTH, p. 105, n. 18.8; UMK, p. 191.

20 qamaγun burxan qutïn bulzun-lar : "May all the (enumerated) persons attain Buddhahood." Considering that Stake Inscription III is finished by a phrase *biz burxan bolalïm* "Let's become Buddha!" and Stake Inscription II ends with a phrase *yi-shi cheng-fo* 一時成仏 "May we (or they) become Buddha together at the same time!",[78] I think this must be a closing phrase, too. So the following part should be regarded as additional.

20 qungqaučï : '*qungqau* player' < Ch. *kong-hou* 箜篌 (**k'ung-γəu*) + *čï*, a Turkic denominal suffix which forms professional names. It is very important, as earlier pointed out by Pelliot [1914, p. 258], that we

[78] I think Müller's translation "Mögen sie ... einst die Buddhawürde erlangen." [Müller 1915, p. 20] is not exact.

can find a phrase *yue duo pi-pa kong-hou* 樂多琵琶箜篌 in the report on the West Uighur Kingdom by Wang Yan-de 王延德, who visited that country as an ambassador from the Song court in the 980s. This is cited from the version included in the *Song shi* 宋史 [History of the Song, Zhong-hua shu-ju edition, p. 14111], and was translated into French by S. Julien as follows[79]: "Dans leur musique, ils font grand usage du *pi-pa* (sorte de mandoline) et du *kong-heou* (guitare à vingt-cinq cordes)" [Julien 1847, p. 57]. But it looks strange that a guitar could have so many strings as twenty-five.

According to Morohashi [Vol. 8, p. 802d], a standing *kong-hou* is a kind of harp, and a lying *kong-hou* looks like a koto (< Jap. *koto*, 'a kind of zither'). It is certain that Japanese *kugo* / *kūgo* 箜篌, which was borrowed from China via Korea, is an instrument of the harp type.[80] But Pelliot interpreted Uig. *qungqau* as a kind of guitar in a comment on an Uighur Buddhist text where *qungqau* is used instead of Uig. *qopuz* [Pelliot 1914, p. 258, n. 2]. Although Müller [1915, p. 35] followed Pelliot, he translated it as 'Saitenspieler'. Later Pelliot thought *kong-hou* was a loan word in Chinese from the Han times, and proposed a hypothesis that it was a transcription of an original form of *qopuz*, such as **qomγuz*, **qobγur*, or **qopγuz* [Pelliot 1926]. Accepting his opinion in principle, Hamilton explains it as 'une sorte de guitare, luth, ou cithare' [CBBMP, pp. 89, 119].

An old Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary from the Tang times interprets *kong-hou* as *vīna* [Bagchi 1929-37, pp. 236, 334, 446], which must correspond to Skt. *vīṇā*. According to Monier-Williams [p. 1005a], the word *vīṇā* is an 'Indian lute (an instrument of the guitar kind)'.[81] In the *Mahāvyutpatti*, too, Skt. *vīṇā* is translated as *pi-pa* 琵琶 in Chinese and as *biba* in Mongolian.[82] A Sino-Uighur glossary of the Ming times explains an Uighur word *qubur*, which must be a corruption of old Uig. *qopuz*, by a Chinese word *pi-pa* 'espèce de guitare' [Ligeti 1966, pp. 168, 305 (II 5b)]. Thus Pelliot's opinion looks like highly probable. But I cannot follow him.

Gabain [LUKQ, pp. 72, 151; fig. 182] differs from Pelliot in regarding *qungqau* as a harp, but without comment. She has only

[79] But another version of Wang Yan-de's record included in the *Hui-zhu lu* 揮麈錄 by Wang Ming-qing 王明清 dropped the word *pi-pa* and simply gives *yue duo kong-hou* 樂多箜篌 [Zhong-hua shu-ju edition, p. 37].

[80] Cf. *Ongaku daijiten*, Vol. 2, pp. 760-761.

[81] But a Japanese scholar thinks that *vīṇā* is rather a general word for musical instruments with strings in old India, and that there existed a *vīṇā* of the harp kind. Cf. *Ongaku daijiten*, Vol. 1, pp. 185-187.

[82] *Mahāvyutpatti*, No. 5025 [Sakaki 1916, pp. 331-332; Sárközi / Szerb 1995, p. 349].

indicated a sketch by Grünwedel [1912, fig. 664] of an Uighur wall-painting from Qočo where the musicians are playing a harp, a kind of guitar, and some kinds of pipe. If we compare this painting with the text cited from the record of Wang Yan-de, her idea seems to be not impossible, because the painted instrument of the guitar type could be identified with *pi-pa.*

From all above mentioned, we cannot safely consider *qungqau* in Uighuristan as a kind of guitar nor as a kind of harp. Here I would like to cite another Chinese text from the Yuan period: *wei-wu-er seng lü-lü chang wei hui-fu-yuan ti-ju, nai guo-zhao sha-jin ai-hu-chi (han-ming zong-tong) nan-de-sha zhi zi. shi xi er-shi-xian (ji kong-hou ye), xi yi tong wei xian* 畏吾兒僧閭閭嘗為會福院提舉, 乃國朝沙津愛護持 (漢名總統) 南的沙之子. 世習二十弦 (即箜篌也), 悉以銅為弦. This was translated into German by Franke [1956, pp. 89-90] as follows: "Der uigurische Buddhapriester Lü-lü war früher Intendant im Materialamt für Kultusangelegenheiten. Er war ein Sohn des 'Fürsprechers der Religion der nationalen Dynastie' (Glosse: sein chinesischer Titel ist Oberaufseher) Nan-ti-sha[83]. Zu Lebzeiten pflegte er die Zwanzigsaitige (Glosse: Harfe) zu spielen. Ihre Saiten waren aus Kupfer." Franke might have regarded *kong-hou* 箜篌 as a harp, because it was called "(an instrument with) Twenty Strings" and its strings were made of copper. So I am sure that the Uighurs played an instrument of the harp kind still in the 14th century. Moreover, an encyclopaedia on Dunhuang studies published just recently says that the so-called *kong-hou* commonly meant a standing instrument of the harp kind from around the 5th century, and shows three sketches of *kong-hou* painted on the Dunhuang wall-paintings.[84] I think it is because of the lack of a special word for a harp .

in Sanskrit that *kong-hou* was explained simply as *vīṇā* in the Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary.

01'-02' : It is clear that these words were added in a narrow space at the bottom of Side I (*ll.* 1-2) after the whole inscription was finished. I think four personal names were added which should follow the persons

[83] Franke [1956, p. 90, n. 1] says "Der Name *Nan-ti-sha* war nicht einwandfrei zu deuten. Vielleicht gibt *ti-sha* ein skt. *-tiṣya* wieder. *Nan* könnte ein mong.-uig. *nom* 'Gesetz', skt. *dharma* zugrunde gelegen haben." But I think it corresponds to Uig. *Nomdaš.*

[84] Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (ed. in chief), *Dun-huang xue da ci-dian* 敦煌學大辭典, Shang-hai ci-dian chu-ban she, 1998, pp. 252, 258. Here I cite a phrase from the section on Samarkand of the *Wei shu* 魏書 [Historical Record of the Wei, Zhong-hua shu-ju edition, p. 2281]: *you da-xiao gu pi-pa wu-xian kong-hou* 有大小鼓琵琶五弦箜篌 "(As musical instruments), they have big or small drums, *pi-pa, wu-xian* (Five Strings) and *kong-hou.*" One should not read as *wu-xian kong-hou* "a *kong-hou* with five strings", because *wu-xian* is also a technical term for pi-pa with five strings, cf. *Dun-huang xue da ci-dian*, pp. 251, 257.

enumerated in *ll.* 18-20. But it is not certain. Müller interpreted *toqumïš* as "Eingeschlagen", i.e. "(One) has struck (this stake)", and *qutadmïš* as "Beglückt!", i.e. the closing word of the inscription. He joined this *qutadmïš* to another *qutadmïš* added in a space at the bottom of Side 4 (*ll.* 7-8).

3. Stake Inscription III

Transliteration

Side I

01) XWTLWX KY 'WT XWTLWX XWYN YYL · 'YKY*NTY* ''Y · 'WYC Y'NKY-X' : K*WYN* ''Y TNKRYD' *XWT* PWLMYŠ · 'WLWX

02) XWT 'WRN'NMYŠ · 'LPYN 'RD'MYN 'YL TWTMYŠ 'LP 'R*S*L'N XWTLWX KWY*L* PY*L*K' ⌒TNKRY X'*N*⌒ [ ]••• 'W*R*W*N*-X'(?) 'WLWRMYŠ(?) · 'WNK*T*WN Š'CYW

03) KYDYN 'WC P'R*S*X'N-X'T'KY 'YL'NW 'RKSY*NW* *YRLYX'YWR* *'WX*WRD' /////•N *(P)*/// ⌒*(TN)*K*(RYK'N)*⌒ ••••••/// 'YL 'WYK'*(Š)*Y 'LP TWTWQ

Side II

04) 'WYK' · XWTLWX XWCW 'WLWŠWX P'ŠL'YWR 'RK'N : : MN 'WYC 'RDNYK'[85] ••/•[ ]•••[ ]N SWYZWK KYRTKWNC

05) KWYNKWLWK 'WP'SY T'RDWŠ T'PMYŠ Y'Y'TX'R C'NKŠY · Y'LW X'Y-' · 'MR'Q YWTWZWM 'WP'S'NC T*N*K*RYK'N* K*W*YRT*L*' X'TWN TNKRYM ·

06) 'MR'*X* XYZYMZ YWK'TMYŠ X'TWN TNKRYM · 'WXWLWMWZ //•//•••'K 'YN'L PYRL' · TWX//•[ ]•••// *PYLK'* TNKRY TNKRYS*Y*

Side III

07) PWRX'N-NYNK · YRLYX'MYŠ PRXMN C'DYŠKY SWDWR 'YC*YN*T'KY · βRX'R S'NKR'M 'YTM'KN*YNK* 'WL*WX* •///L*(W)*•//•••////••••••YN

08) 'ŠYDYP · PYLYP 'WẊWP Y'N' YM' PW 'T'WZ-NWNK *YW*XYN XWRWXYN · X'ZX'NMYŠ X'MX 'D *T*β'R-NYNK P'KSYZYN M'NK*WSWZ*YN

09) S'ẊYNYP ''ẔWNTYN ''ẔWNX' 'YLTW P'RXWLW*X* X'Z*X*'NC PWLZWN · Y'N' YM' PWRX'N XWTYNK' TNKRY

[85] Not 'RD'NYK'.

YYR*Y*NT' TWXMYŠ PWLZ*W*N TYP TWYRTYN

Side IV

10) YYNK'XTYN KLT'CY P'RD'CY TWYZWN PWRSWNK XWβR'X-X' M'YPRY KWYRKYN · Y*M*' PW [ ]••••••••[ ]*(LYX)* C*(N)*D*(R')*D*('S)* βRX'R

11) S'NKR'M · 'YTK'LY 'WN'NDYMZ · PW 'DKWLWK 'YSYMZK' ''NWMWTYT 'Y-Y-N 'WYKY*R*D'CY *'K'MZ T'*P*MYŠ* TNKRYM 'YCY*MZ*(?) T'Y 'WYK' P'DWTMYŠ ·

12) Y'NK'MZ ''RYX X'TWN TNKRYM · SYNKLYMZ KWYS'TMYŠ TNKRYM · 'MR'TMYŠ TNKRYM · YYTMYŠ *X'TWN TNKRYM* · ///•• ••••N TNKRYM · 'YL YW••••MYŠ TNKRYM · 'DKWRMYŠ TNKRYM · 'YL X*W*T'D*MYŠ*

Side V

13) KWYD'KWMWZ 'LP SYNKXWR TYKYN · 'YL 'YCK'RMYŠ TYKYN · 'LP TWXRYL TYKYN · 'YL B'SMYŠ TYKYN 'YL 'YTMYŠ TYKYN · 'WXWL 'YN'NC 'WYK' X'YMYŠ ·

14) KWYL 'RYX C'NKŠY · 'YN*YMZ* TNKRYD' PWLMYŠ 'YN'L · X'DYNYMZ XWT'DMYŠ TNKRYM · 'LP Š'NKWN 'WYK' 'LPYRWX · T'X'YYMZ XWM'R TYR'K TYKYN 'YL ''ŠMYŠ TYKYN

15) YK'NLRYMZ · ''ŠMYŠ TNKRYM · XWTLWX TWXMYŠ TYKYN · ''Y TWXMYŠ Š'NKWN · S'XL'X Š'NKWN · PWYTWRMYŠ 'YN'L · 'YL 'YCK'RMYŠ 'YN'L · T'Z 'YN'L · KWYN 'RYX 'YN'L · 'LP

16) ''Y ''Y'Z 'YN'L ''RYX ''Y'Z 'YN'L · PW βRX'RD' 'WLWRD'CY P('Z)' ŠLY [ ]•••••[ ]••••

Side VI

17) 'YL 'WYK'ŠY ''T' 'WYK' 'YL *X*'Y-' SYXYR TRX'N 'WYK' X'YMYŠ · X'MYL[86] 'WYK' 'YN'L PWYRT · PW 'DKWLWK 'YŠ-K' XYNT*WR*D'CY Š'ẔYN •••••L•• TNKRY ŠL'β'NTY KYŠY ''C'RY

18) PW βRX'R S'NKR'MYK 'YTKWK' PYLYK PYRD'CY KWLYWK YYRCYMZ TNKRY KL*('NP'TR)*Y KŠY ''C'RY · Q'DYN 'YCYL'RYMZ Y'Š' TRX'N · *'RSL*'N P'RS TYR'K

19) PWT*(MZ)*[87] TRX'N · CYN' TYR'K XWM'R 'R*SL*'N C'NKŠY · SWRY' *(Š)*'NKWN · N'β'ŠYNKY(?) C'NKŠY · PY''• ŠY''X(?) TRX'N · PYZ Y'N' ••//•• •••••••• XY••••/// TRX'N *'YN*'L · P'RS ••••• *PYLYK* P'RS Š'NKWN ·

Side VII

[86] Not*X'M'L*.

[87] Or PWTRY or PWTNYor PWT'Y.

20) 'LP SYNKXWR TRX'N β'P C'NKŠY · 'YL 'YN'NC TYR'K · KWYN PYRMYŠ TRX'N · XWTL*WX P'RS* ••///• [ ] TRX'N · T'*X'Y* T'Š Š'NKWN

20'~21')[88] TNKRYM

21')[89] KWYẔY · 'YN'L P'Š

21) 'YL XWT'DMYŠ TYR'K SWYKTYKY Š'NKWN · P'K P'RS S'NKWN · XWCW PWYRWXY 'YL 'RD'M *TWT*WX YK'N S*YNKXWR* · 'YL••M••N TWTWQ *X*WT*RWL*MYŠ · KWY*SWN*LIK 'YKTW TRX'N ·

22) 'Y-Y-N 'WYKYRD'CY 'DKW 'WYKLYL'RYMZ · ••SYX TNKRYM · S'NMYŠ XWNCWXY? · *X'R*Y XWNCWXY? · X'•••////•••••••• · M'NK// TW*XR*YL Q*WNCWQY* · *XWTLWX* TW•••• XWNCWXY · YWK•• TNKRYM ·

22'~23')[90] X'NTYRMYŠ 'YN'L ·

23) YYβMYŠ XWNCWXY · 'YL TWYZMYŠ SW•••• · ''LTMYŠ''X S'NKWN · Š'PY PWYRW*X* · 'WYKYRMYŠ TYR'K P'*RS TRX*'N · [ ]Š TRX'N *(XW)*• ••••N [ ] S'*N*KWN 'YŠ •••••••••

Side VIII

24) 'YC*TYN*KY 'WRWNCY-L'R 'W*T*MYŠ 'YN'NC TWT*W*Q · K'D YK'N *TWT*WX · XWTLWX P'Y T*RX*'N · [91] · •••• *Y*'N' T••••// B*WY*'N 'DKW XYLYNC-NYNK ••••*YN* Y'X'SYN

·25) 'βYR'R PYZ · KYM PYZYNK' PW Y'RWX YYRTYNCW YYR SWβWX KWYRKWTY PYRMYŠ ''T*(MN) (K)'(MN)* · *X*'NKYMZ XWβYZ '••//•• 'WYK' P'K 'WYK*W*MZ TNKRYK'N XWTLWX TWXMYŠ

26) TNKRYM · 'WL'TY X'X'D'Š *YK'N* T'X'Y · X'MX TWYRT TWXWM PYŠ YWL 'YCYNT'KY TYRYK TYN*LX* ••D••Š 'WYZLWK TYN*LX* 'WXLNYNK' TWYZ*W* '*WY*NK 'WYLWK PWLM'XY

27) PWLẔWN ''LXW TYN*LX* 'WXL'NY {'WXL'NY} P'RC' 'WYSTWN TNKRY YRYNT'KY 'WL'TY NYRβ'N*LYX* 'YNCKW*LWK* M'NK*Y*-K' T'KM'K*L*'RY PWLZWN · P*YZ* PWRX'N P*WL*'LY*M*[92] ·

(At the bottom part of Sides I-III clearly separated from the main part by drawing a line.)

[88] Added above between *l.* 20 and *l.* 21.

[89] Added above *l.* 21.

[90] Added above between *l.* 22 and *l.* 23.

[91] Here is a space of approx. 3 cm.

[92] A hook of the letter L is written on the next side.

01') PW βRX'R-D' *('MK'N)*MYŠ[93] 'WZ-*L*'R SWYZWK *KWY*NKLYN 'YŠ P*YRDY*[94]
02') TYTYKCY ''TSYZ · SWYRCY PW*(N)* •••[ ]Y-L'''D[
03') 'YX'CCY P'K Y'Š ·
04') 'YX'CCY XWTLWX SYNKXWR · 'Y•• T••••••••• XWTLWX ••••[
05') TRX'N · XWT'DMYŠ YK'N TRX'N · XWM'R YK'N · XWM'R
06') 'LPY TWTW*X* · T'YŠY ·
07') P'K P'RS · XWTLWX P'RS · XWZ X'Y-' · •••• ••••••
08') P'KY · T'Z ''TP'Y · 'YN'L CWR · YK'N · P'K'T ·
09') Y'XŠYCY YWRX' YYRCY Y'NK' ·
(At the bottom part of Side V clearly separated from the main part by drawing a line.)
13') 'YL YYXMYŠ TNKRYM · •••• 'LP *TNKRYM*
15') SWYNKW 'YN'L

Transcription

01) qutluγ ki ot qutluγ qoyn yïl · ek*inti* ay · üč yangï-qa : k*ün a*y tängridä *qut* bulmïš · uluγ
02) qut ornanmïš · alpïn ärdämin el tutmïš alp a*rslan* qutluγ kö*l* bi*l*gä tängri *xan* [ ]••• o*r*un-**qa(?) olur**mïš(?) · ön*g*tün šačiu
03) kedin uč bar*s*xan-qatägi ellänü ärksi*nü yarl*ïqa*yur u*γurd*a* ////•N *(P)/// tängrikän*(?) ••••••/// **el** ögä*s*i *a*lp totoq
04) ögä · qutluγ qočo ulušuγ bašlayur ärkän : : män üč ärdänikä ••/•[ ]••[ ]*(N)* süzük kertgünč
05) köngüllüg upasi tarduš tapmïš yayatγar? čangšï · yälü qaya · amraq yu**tuzum upa***s***anč** *tängrikän kört*lä qatun tängrim ·
06) amraq qïzïmïz yügätmiš qatun tängrim · oγu**lumuz** //•//•••'K ïnal birlä · TWX//•/////////••// *bilg*ä tängri tängri*s*i
07) burxan-nïng · yarlïqamïš braxman čadiški sudu*r* i*čintäki* · varxar sangram etmäk*ning* ulu*γ* •///L*(W)*•//•••////••••••YN
08) äšidip · bilip uqup yana yemä bu ät'öz-nüng *yo*qïn quruγïn · qazγanmïš **qamaγ** *ä*d *ta*var-**nïng** bäksi**zin** mäng*üsüz*in
09) saqïnïp ažunt'in ažunqa eltü baryulu*q* qazγanč bolzun · yana yemä burxan qutïnga **täng**ri yer**intä tu**γmïš **bolzu***n* tep törttin
10) yïngaqt'in kältäči bardačï tüzün bursong quvraγ-qa maitri körkin · ye*m*ä bu //////••••••••/////*lïγ(?)* *čandradas(?)* varxar

[93] At first I read it *('YTYN)*MYŠ = *etinmiš* following Müller's reading.
[94] After the word was written, the last part of it was cut off by sharpening.

11) sangram · etgäli unandïmïz[95] · bu ädgülüg išimizkä anumodit eyin ögirdäči äkämiz tapmiš tängrim · ičimiz(?) tay ögä bädütmiš ·
12) yängämiz arïγ qatun tängrim · singlimiz küsätmiš tängrim · amratmïš tängrim · yitmiš *qatun tängrim* · ///•• ••••N tängrim · el YW••••miš tängrim · ädgürmiš tängrim · el qutadmïš
13) küdägümüz alp sïngqur tegin · el ičgärmiš tegin · alp toγrïl[96] tegin · el basmïš tegin el etmiš tegin · oγul ïnanč[97] ögä qaymïš ·
14) köl arïγ čangšï · inimiz tängridä bolmïš ïnal · qadïnïmïz qutadmïš tängrim · alp sangun ögä alp+yaruq[98] · taγayïmïz qumar tiräk tegin el ašmïš tegin
15) yegänlärimiz · ašmïš tängrim · qutluγ tuγmïš tegin · ay tuγmïš sangun · saγlaq sangun · bütürmiš ïnal · el ičgärmiš ïnal · taz ïnal · kün arïγ ïnal · alp
16) ay ayaz ïnal arïγ ayaz ïnal · bu varxarda olurdačï paža šäli [ ]•••••[ ]••••
17) el ögäsi ata ögä el qaya sïγïr tarqan ögä qaymïš · qamïl ögä ïnal bürt · bu ädgülüg iš-kä qïnturdačï šazïn ••••L•• tängri šilavanti keši ačari
18) bu varxar sangramig etgükä bilig berdäči külüg yerčimiz tängri kalanabhadra keši ačari · qadïn ičilärimiz yaša tarqan · arslan bars tiräk
19) PWTMZ(?) tarqan · čina tiräk qumar arslan čangšï · surya sangun · navašinki(?) čangšï · PY''• ŠY''X(?) tarqan · biz yana ••//•• •••••••• XY••••/// tarqan ïnal · bars ••••• bilig bars sangun ·
20) alp sïngqur tarqan vap čangšï · el ïnanč tiräk · kün bermiš tarqan · qutluγ bars ••///• [ ] tarqan · taγay taš sangun
20'-21') küži tängrim · ïnal baš
21) el qutadmïš tiräk süktiki(?) sangun · bäg bars sangun · qočo buyruqï el ärdäm totoq yegän sïngqur · 'YL••M••N totoq qutrulmïš · kösünlig iktü tarqan ·
22) eyin ögirdäči ädgü öglilärimiz · ••SYX tängrim · sanmïš qunčuqï · qarï qunčuqï · X'•••////•••••••• · mäng// toγrïl qunčuqï · qutluγ TW•••• qunčuqï · YWK•• tängrim ·
22'~23') qanturmïš ïnal ·
23) yïvmïš qunčuqï · el tüzmiš SW•••• · altmïš'aq sangun · šabi buyruq · ögirmiš tiräk bars tarqan · [ ]Š tarqan (qu)• ••••n [ ] sangun iš ••••••••

[95] I could not read it *uγradïmïz* ('WXR'dymz), whose possibility Zieme kindly suggested to me.

[96] Based on Müller's misreading *toγrul*, Clauson adopted this form as an exceptional one, [ED, p. 472a]. But it is not correct.

[97] I corrected Müller's misreading *ïnal* to *ïnanč*.

[98] *alp+yaruq* : Müller read it *alpayut*, but it turned to be a non-existant ghost.

24) *ičtin*ki[99] orunčï-lar u*t*mïš ïnanč tot*o*q · käd yegän *t*otoq · qutluγ bay t*arq*an · · •••• *ya*na T••••// b*uya*n ädgü qïlïnč-nïng ••••in yaqasïn ·
25) ävirär biz · kim bizingä bu yaruq yertinčü yer suvuγ körküti bermiš ''T*(MN) (K)'(MN)* · *qa*ngïmïz quvïz '••//•• ögä bäg ög*ü*müz tängrikän qutluγ tuγmïš
26) tängrim · ulatï qa+qadaš ye*gän* taγay · qamaγ tört tuγum beš yol ičintäki tirig t*ïnlïγ* ••D••S özlüg t*ïnlïγ* oγlan*ï*nga[100] tüz*ü ö*ng ülüg bolmaqï
27) bolzun alqu t*ï*nl*ïγ* oγlanï barča üstün tängri yerintäki ulatï nirvan*lïγ* enčg*ülüg* mäng*i*-kä tägmäk*ä*ri bolzun · b*iz* burxan b*o*lal*ïm* ·

01') bu varxar-da *ämgän*miš(?) uz-*lar* s*ü*zük *kö*nglin iš b*erdi*
02') titigči atsïz · sürči(?)[101] pu*n(?)* •••///////Y-L'''D////
03') ïγaččï bäg yaš ·
04') ïγaččï qutluγ sïngqur · 'Y•• T••••••••• qutluγ ••••///
05') tarqan · qutadmïš yegän tarqan · qumar yegän · qum**ar**
06') alpï totoq · tayšï ·
07') bäg bars · qutluγ bars · quz qaya · •••• ••••••
08') bägi · taz atbay · ïnal čor · yegän · bägät ·
09') yaxšïčï yorγa yerči yanga ·
13') el yïγmïš tängrim · •••• *a*lp *tängrim*
15') süngü ïnal

Translation

[*ll.* 1-4] On the 3rd day of the 2nd month, in the fortunate Sheep year of *ki*-(stem) with Fire element, in the period when *Kün Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmiš Uluγ Qut Ornanmiš Alpïn Ärdämin El Tutmiš Alp Arslan Qutluγ Köl Bilgä Tängri Xan* (= "Godlike ruler, full of fortune and wisdom like a lake, brave as a lion, who has obtained charisma from the Sun and the Moon God and has been imbued with great charisma, holding the realm by his bravery and manly qualities") has [enthroned?] and deigns to be the ruler and have authority as far as Šačiu (= Dun-huang) in the east and Uč (= Uč-Turfan) and Barsxan in the west, while / / / / / *Tängrikän(?)* / / / / / / the [prime] minister (*el ögäsi*) *Alp Totoq Ögä* is the head of the fortunate country of Qočo,

[*ll.* 4-6] I, *Tarduš Tapmiš Yayatγar(?) Čangšï Yälü Qaya*, the layman with / / / / / / / / / / pure and faithful heart for the Three Jewels, together with [my] dear wife, the lay[wom]an, *Tängrikän Körtlä Qatun*

[99] I could not read it *ičräki* like Müller.

[100] Müller's reading *iläntäki* should be corrected to 'WXLNYNK' = *oγlanïnga*.

[101] One can read it *suvačï*.

Tängrim, our dear daughter, *Yügätmiš Qatun Tängrim*, and [our] son, / / / / •••'*K Ïnal*,

[*ll.* **6-9**] we had heard [from? Tocharian? teachers?] and understood the great / / / / / [merit or good things] / / / / / / / of building a monastery preached by the wise God of Gods Buddha in the sūtra about a Brahman (called) Čadiški, and had thought of the emptiness and vacuity of these bodies and of the transitoriness [of al]l obtained goods,

[*l.* **9**] and then having hoped "May it become an advantage to (let us) bring from (lower) existence to (higher) existence" as well as "May we be rebo[rn in] the Gods' Land (in the way) to the Buddhahood",

[*ll.* **9-11**] we agreed to make a statue of Maitreya and the Buddhist monastery named / / / / / / / / / / / Čandradas(?) for the well-behaved monks coming and going from the four directions.

[*l.* **11**] The persons who are going to rejoice in accordance with this virtuous work of ours (are as follows):

[*ll.* **11-12**] Our elder sister: (No. 1) *T[ap]miš Tängrim*. Our [elder brother ?]: (No. 2) *Tay Ögä Bädütmiš*. Our elder sister-in-law: (No. 3) *Arïγ Qatun Tängrim*. Our younger sisters: (No. 4) *Küsätmiš Tängrim*, (No. 5) *Amratmiš Tängrim*, (No. 6) *Yitmiš Qatun Tängrim*, (No. 7) / / / / / / / / / *n Tängrim*, (No. 8) *El YW••••miš Tängrim*, (No. 9) *Ädgürmiš Tängrim*, (No. 10) *El Qutadmiš*.

[*ll.* **13-14**] Our sons-in-law: (No. 11) *Alp Sïngqur Tegin*, (No. 12) *El Ičgärmiš Tegin*, (No. 13) *Alp Toγrïl Tegin*, (No. 14) *El Basmiš Tegin*, (No. 15) *El Ětmiš Tegin*, (No. 16) *Oγul Ïnanč Ögä Qaymiš*, (No. 17) *Köl Arïγ Čangšï*. Our younger brother: (No. 18) *Tängridä Bolmiš Ïnal*. Our fathers-in-law: (No. 19) *Qutadmiš Tängrim*, (No. 20) *Alp Sangun Ögä Alpyaruq*. Our maternal uncles: (No. 21) *Qumar Tiräk Tegin*, (No. 22) *El Ašmiš Tegin*.

[*ll.* **15-16**] The sons of our younger sisters or daughters: (No. 23) *Ašmiš Tängrim*, (No. 24) *Qutluγ Tuγmiš Tegin*, (No. 25) *Ay Tuγmiš Sangun*, (No. 26) *Saγlaq Sangun*, (No. 27) *Bütürmiš Ïnal*, (No. 28) *El Ičgärmiš Ïnal*, (No. 29) *Taz Ïnal*, (No. 30) *Kün Arïγ Ïnal*, (No. 31) *Alp Ay Ayaz Ïnal*, (No. 32) *Arïγ Ayaz Ïnal*.

[*l.* **16**] The persons who are going to dwell in this monastery (as the chief priest, general secretary, or superintendent): (No. 33) The master (*šäli*) named *Paža* /

[*l.* **17**] (No. 34) the prime minister (*el ögäsi*), (who is also) a father-minister (*ata ögä*), *El Qaya Sïγïr Tarqan Ögä Qaymiš*, (No. 35) *Qamïl Ögä Ïnal Bürt*. The person who will let (other people) desire this virtuous work (is) (No. 36) *Šazïn* / / / / / *Tängri Šilavanti Keši*

Ača[ri].

[*ll.* 18] The person who will give his knowledge in order to erect this monastery, (who is also) a famous spiritual leader of ours, (is) (No. 37) *Tängri Kalana hadra Keši Ačari.*

[*ll.* 18-19] Our elder brothers related by marriage (are as follows): (No. 38) *Yaša Tarqan*, (No. 39) *Arslan Bars Tiräk*, (No. 40) *PWTMZ(?) Tarqan*, (No. 41) *Čina Tiräk Qumar Arslan Čangšï*, (No. 42) *Surya Sangun*, (No. 43) *Navašinki*(?) *Čangšï*, (No. 44) *PY'•ŠY'X(?) Tarqan.*

[*ll.* 19-21] We, also, ////////////////////// (No. 45) *[Tar]qan Ïnal*, (No. 46) *Bars /////*, (No.47) *Bilig Bars Sangun*, (No. 48) *Alp Sïngqur Tarqan Vap Čangšï*, (No. 49) *El Ïnanč Tiräk*, (No. 50) *Kün Bermiš Tarqan*, (No. 51) *Qutluγ Bars ////////// Tarqan*, (No. 52) *Taγay Taš Sangun*, (No. 53) *Küži Tängrim*, (No. 54) *Ïnal Baš*, (No. 55) *El Qutadmiš Tiräk Süktiki(?) Sangun*, (No. 56) *Bäg Bars Sangun*, (No. 57) the buyruq-officer of Qočo city, *El Ärdäm Totoq Yegän Sïngqur*, (No. 58) *'YL••M••N Totoq Qutrulmïš*, (No. 59) *Kösünlig Iktü Tarqan.*

[*ll.* 22-24] Our good friends who are joyfully going to follow (our virtuous deed, i.e. building a temple): (No. 60) *••SYX Tängrim*, (No. 61) *Sanmïš Qunčuqï*, (No. 62) *Qarï Qunčuqï*, (No. 63) *X'••• //// //*, (No. 64) *Mäng// Toγrïl Qunčuqï*, (No. 65) *Qutluγ TW•••• Qu[nčuq]ï*, (No. 66) *YWK•• Tängrim*, (No. 67) *Qanturmiš Ïnal*, (No. 68) *Yïvmiš Qun[čuqï]*, (No. 69) *El Tüzmiš SW••••*, (No. 70) *Altmiš'aq Sangun*, (No. 71) *Šabi Buyruq*, (No. 72) *Ögirmiš Tiräk Bars Tarqan*, (No. 73) *//// Tarqan /////*, (No. 74) */////// Sangun.* The inner attendants [who are in charge of this] work (are as follows): (No. 75) *Utmiš Ïnanč Totoq*, (No. 76) *Käd Yegän Totoq*, (No. 77) *Qutluγ Bay Tarqan.*

[*ll.* 24-27] Furthermore ////// we transfer the ///// merit(?) of this meritorious and good deed to our ///// (deceased parents?)[102], i.e. our father *Quvïz ////////// Ögä Bäg* and our mother *Tängrikän Qutluγ Tuγmiš Tängrim* who had shown us this bright earthly world, as well as to the (deceased) relatives, nephews and uncles. Let some share (of the merit) reach everywhere all the living beings in the Four Births and the Five Ways of Existence. May all the human beings get into the eternal peace above in the Gods' Land and further in the Nirvāṇa. Let's become Buddha!

[*ll.* 01'-09'] The craftsmen[103] who worked hard (?) in this monastery, gave labors with a pure heart. (No. 78) The bricklayer

[102] About the parallel text in other colophons concerning the religious action *buyan ävirmäk*, cf. Zieme 1977, pp. 160-161; Shōgaito 1981, p. 165; Zieme 1996a, pp. 412, 415; MIK III 533 [in Moriyasu / Zieme 2001].

[103] As for various kinds of craftsmen or artisans who were employed in the Buddhist monasteries at Dun-huang around the 9th - 10th centuries, see Kitahara 1980, pp. 376, 412; UMK, p. 95, n. 121-122.

(*titigči*) *Atsïz*, (No. 79) the lacquerer(?) (or coachman? or waterman?) *Pun(?)* / / / / / / / / / / /, (No. 80) the carpenter (*ïγačči*) *Bäg Yaš*, (No. 81) the carpenter *Qutluγ Sïngqur.* / / / / / / / / / (No. 82) *Qutluγ* ••••/// *Tarqan*, (No. 83) *Qutadmïš Yegän Tarqan*, (No. 84) *Qumar Yegän*, (No. 85) *Qumar Alpï Totoq*, (No. 86) *Tayšï*, (No. 87) *Bäg Bars*, (No. 88) *Qutluγ Bars*, (No. 89) *Quz Qaya*, (No. 90) / / / / / / *Bägi*, (No. 91) *Taz Atbay*, (No. 92) *İnal Čor*, (No. 93) *Yegän*, (No. 94) *Bägät*, (No. 95) the locksmith (*yaxšïčï*) *Yorγa*, (No. 96) the guide (*yerči*) *Yanga*,

[*ll.* 13', 15'] (No. 97) *El Yïγmïš Tängrim*, (No. 98) / / / / *Alp Tängrim*, (No. 99) *Süngü İnal.*

Notes

01-02 : Gabain's translation of the long title is : "majestätischer König, der von der Sonne und dem Mond das Charisma erhalten hat, der sich mit grossem Charisma niedergelassen hat, der mit Tapferkeit und Tüchtigkeit den Stamm regiert, der tapfere Löwe, der beglückte Kül, der Weise" [LUKQ, p. 68].

01 qut bulmïš, 02 qut ornanmïš : For the reason why *qut* is translated as 'charisma', see Mori 1981, especially Chap. III.

02 alpïn ärdämin el tutmïš : For *ärdäm* used in the title of the Uighur rulers, see Zieme 1989b, pp. 446-448. Zieme translates *alpïn ärdämin el tutmïš* as "mit Tapferkeit und Tüchtigkeit das Reich haltend" [p. 448]. For the identification of *el tutmïš* 'state holding' with Ch. *zhen-guo* 鎮國 and the attestation of the persons who have this title, see Moriyasu 1980, p. 336; Moriyasu 2000a, pp. 37, 43-44.

02 köl bilgä tängri xan : The two words *tängri xan* were added in the space between line 1 and line 2. There is no trace of *-YMYZ* after *xan*. So it is not possible to read and restore *xan[ïnïz?]* as Müller and Gabain did. I think that one should not identify this *köl bilgä tängri xan* with *köl bilgä tängri elig* of Stake I simply on the basis of the similarity of the wording. In this point, I am in disagreement with some scholars as Hamilton and Yang.[104] In my opinion, these are not personal names but the general titles of the ruler of the West Uighur Kingdom.

02 [ ]••• orun-qa(?) olurmïš(?) : . . . . . *xan olurmïš* by Müller. My reconstruction is also speculative, since the writing of this part is heavily faded away.

02 šačiu : Cf. Moriyasu 2000a; the note on ***05 šaču sangun*** of Stake I.

[104] Cf. Hamilton 1986, pp. XVII-XVIII; Hamilton 1988, p. VIII; Hamilton 1992, pp. 8-9; Yang 1995, p. 377. Sundermann follows Hamilton with a reservation, [Sundermann 1992, pp. 66-67].

03 uč barsxan : Müller read it *nuč barsxan*, and identified the place name *Nuč* with *Nu-chi-jian* 笯赤建 of Chinese sources or *Nūjkath* of Arabic sources, [Müller 1915, p. 26, n. 2]. It was located near Tashkent. Abe followed him without any doubt, and identified Barsxan with Lower (i.e. Nearer) Barsxan located near Taraz, [Abe 1955, pp. 390-393]. But Yamada suspected that the first place name *Nuč* should be read as *Uč*, and identified Barsxan with Upper (i.e. Farther) Barsxan[105] on the southern bank of the lake Issik-kul (*Isik-köl*), [Yamada 1971, p. 476 = 1989, p. 201]. In Moriyasu 1980, I ignored Yamada's idea, because I trusted Müller's reading. This time, when I checked this point minutely on the original, I found out that Yamada's reading might be preferred. In this Stake Inscription III, an initial *N-* is not always distinguished from an *alef*, but when needed, *N* is clearly written with a round head as in the cases of *'Y-Y-N* [*ll.* 11, 22] or *N'β'ŠYNKY(?)* [*l.* 19]. According to Yamada, this *Uč* corresponds to modern Uč-Turfan situated to the west of Aksu or Kucha, [cf. Ḥudūd, pp. 98, 294-295; Pelliot 1923, p. 131]. I support his idea from the historical point of view, too. Kāšγarī mentions Uč and Barsxan together as a couple of places located north and south of the famous Bedel Pass, [cf. CTD I, p. 300]. Hua Tao, who discussed the problem of the western frontier of the West Uighur Kingdom with the full use of Islamic sources, preferred Yamada's idea to Abe's, but regrettably sticks to the reading *Nuč* and follows the old dating of Stake III [Hua 2000, pp. 128-130].

03-04 el ögäsi alp totoq ögä : I translate the title *el ögäsi* as "prime minister(s)", cf. the note on ***15 el ögäsi*** of Stake I. This title appears once more in *l.* 17 of this Stake III. We can easily notice that the name or another title of this prime minister *Alp Totoq Ögä*, who was dominating the fortunate country of Qočo (= *qutluγ qočo uluš*) in 1019, is the same as that of the person who was the head of Qočo city (= *qočo balïq bägi*) in 1008 as indicated in *l.* 18 of Stake I. Müller translated *qutluγ qočo uluš* as "dem majestätischen Reiche Chotscho" [Müller, 1915, p. 26], while Bazin and Zieme thought that *uluš* is not a country but a city [cf. Bazin 1974, p. 321 = Bazin 1991, p. 254; Zieme 1992, p. 95]. I would like to adopt the older idea here. I wonder if *Alp Totoq Ögä* is not a personal name but a title. Anyhow, it is highly probable that a person called *Alp Totoq Ögä*, who had been the head of Qočo city in 1008, was promoted by 1019 to the head of the whole country of Qočo, i.e. the ruler of the whole Turfan region, with the rank of prime minister (*el ögäsi*). I have already argued that the fortunate country of Qočo consisted of 22 cities around the 10th century.[106]

[105] As for Lower and Upper Barsxan, see Minorsky 1948, pp. 290-292; Ḥudūd, pp. 98, 292-293.

[106] Moriyasu 1987, p. 62. Cf. *qočo uluš ikü otuz balïq* (T.M. 176) in Manichaica III,

05 čangši : Cf. Ecsedy 1965, pp. 88-89; ED, pp. 426-427.
06 ïnal : Cf. TMEN, No. 1900 and IV, pp. 196-199; ED, pp. 184-185. We should pay attention to the fact that it is not *inäl* but *ïnal* as pointed by Erdal. It occurs generally as a title or name, but it is attested as a common noun signifying 'young boy of noble birth' in a 10th-century Dun-huang document [cf. MOTH, No. 32, *l.* 7; Erdal 1988, p. 257]. I think Kāšγarī's specific explanation for this word is worthy to cite here: "The name for any young man whose mother is a Khātūn and whose father is a commoner. This is the root-meaning." [CTD I, p. 147]. This title occurs 14 times in this Stake III, and Clauson thought that it was used as an element of proper names and that the etymological meaning given by Kāšγarī was forgotten by the 11th century. However, we can easily find that at least the first person with this title in *l.* 6 conforms to Kāšγarī's definition very well. Moreover, I think it highly probable that "our younger brother *Tängridä Bolmiš Ïnal*" in *l.* 14 and six members among "the sons of our younger sisters or daughters" in *ll.* 15-16 also fit the definition.
07 braxman čadiški : Yoshida kindly suggested me that one might regard Čadiški as a mixed form of the name of a famous Brahman Jatiṣrona and that of a richman Jyotiṣka. See Akanuma, pp. 240-241 (Jānussoṇī) and 250-251 (Jotika).
11 -gäli unan- : According to Müller, *ornan- (unan-?).* I would like to follow his second reading, because this part cannot be transliterated *'WRN'N-* (= *'W''''-*) but *'WN'N-* (= *'W'''-*). For the same reason, another reading as *uγra-* (= *'WXR'- = 'W''''-*) is impossible, though, judging from the context, *-gäli uγra-* 'to intend to do something' is possible. Moreover, there is a rather clear distinction between *-X-* and *-''-* in this inscription. But there remains only one difficulty that the reflexive form *unan-* of the intransitive verb *una-* 'to agree to (do something, *-γalï/-gäli*)' [ED, p. 171b] is not attested.
11 ädgülüg : or *ädgülük*?, cf. ED, pp. 53-54; OTWF, pp. 121-131, 147; UW 5, pp. 351-353. Here I am inclined to accept *ädgülüg* 'full of goodness, virtuous' instead of *ädgülük* 'for goodness or benevolence', but I am not sure.
11 anumodit eyin ögirdäči : As for *anumodit* < Skt. *anumodita-*, cf. UW 3, p. 160b. As for *eyin ögir-*, cf. TTT II, pp. 426-427; ATG, p. 141, section 296; ED, p. 274a; Röhrborn 1981, p. 343. This *eyin* is not a postposition but an adverb 'together, therewith'. It corresponds to Ch. *sui* 隨, as attested often in Uighur texts which have Chinese parallel

p. 40, No. 23. Moreover, I have found a nearly identical phrase *ąutluγ ąočo uluš iki [otuz] baliąq* in a fragment Ch/U 8118 (T.II.T. 1222) which has come back to Berlin recently. In this connection, Abe [1955, pp. 429-430] said that 22 cities could not be included in the Turfan area, but his opinion was refuted by me.

texts, cf. ShōGl., pp. 271-272. The expression *eyin ögirdäči*, which appears also in *l.* 22 of this Stake III and *ll.* 12 and 18 of Stake I, means someone who is going to perform the action of *eyin ögir-*, which corresponds to a Chinese Buddhist term *sui-xi* 隨喜 "to find pleasure in seeing that someone makes good actions and obtains virtues; to praise someone doing good actions" [cf. Oda, p. 1010b; Nakamura, p. 808c]. Nakamura says Ch. *sui-xi* corresponds to Skt. *anumodanā*. Anyhow, *anumodit* here may be regarded nearly as a synonym of *eyin ögir-*.[107] So *anumodit eyin ögirdäči* could literally mean "person(s) who will rejoice or enjoy oneself", but here it actually refers to "those person(s) who is/are joyfully going to take part in doing a good action (= building a temple) together with us, probably by a financial aid". Röhrborn translates *bu ädgülüg išimizkä anumodit eyin ögirdäči* as "die über dieses unser gutes Werk (sc. über den Bau des Klosters) Mitfreude Empfindenden" [UW 3, p. 160b]. Concerning the merit of *sui-xi*, see Michihata 1980, pp. 103-105.

11 äkämiz : Müller read it as *ärmäz* without reservation, but it turned out to be incorrect. This is one of the key words of this inscription. It is severely damaged, but after having checked some examples of the enumeration of terms of kinship in the Buddhist colophons,[108] I reached a solution that it is nothing else but *äkämiz* 'our elder sister'.

13 sïngqur : As a component of personal names, *sïngqur* 'a falcon, gyrfalcon' is used only for men. Based on a manichaean Runic text from around the 9th century reedited by myself, I have proved that the initial of the word originally was not *š* but *s*, and that the vowel of the first syllable is not *u/o* but *ï*, [Moriyasu 1997, pp. 46-47, 49-50]. The initial of this word occurring two times in *ll.* 18 & 19 of Stake I as well as four times in *ll.* 13, 20, 21 & 04' of Stake III has a clear *S*. Therefore we can support Clauson's opinion that the Uighur form *sïngqur* is older than *sungqur / songqur, šungqar / šongqar*, or Mon. *šingqor/ šongqur / šangqur*, [cf. TMEN, Nos. 237, 1273; ED, p. 838a]. Regarding Mon. *šingqor* as the origin of all Turkish forms, however, Doerfer rejected Clauson's opinion and came to the conclusion that Stakes I and III date from the 13th century at the earliest [TMEN II, p. 534; TMEN IV, pp. 73-74]. His idea has been influenced by a misreading by Müller of *yasaq* instead of *yaγaq* in *l.* 6 of Stake I. But the dating proposed by Doerfer is no longer worth discussing.

13 oγul : It means 'a son, male child', but here it is used as a title, cf. Haneda 1931, p. 90; OECD, p. 104 (n. 18.3), p. 169 (n. 34.19); ED, pp. 83-84; UMK, p. 192.

[107] Müller noticed that *anumodit* is synonymous with *eyin ögirdäči*, but regrettably he thought them as personal names [Müller 1915, p. 27].

[108] Cf. Zieme 1977, pp. 160-161; Shōgaito 1981, p. 165; Zieme 1996a, pp. 412, 415.

14 köl arïγ čangšï : This person should be male, because he is one of "our sons-in-law" and has a title *čangšï*. Thus we see that the word *arïγ* 'pure, clean' is not always limited to women, though it is frequently used for women as indicated by Gabain [LUKQ, p. 74]. Two more male persons with this word appear in *ll.* 15-16.

14 qadïn : According to Clauson [ED, p. 602], 'related by marriage'; perhaps originally specifically 'father-in-law'. If we interpret both *Qutadmïš Tängrim* and *Alp Sangun Ögä Alpyaruq* as *two* fathers-in-law, we must think that the one is the father of the main donor of this Stake, i.e. *Tarduš Tapmïš Yayatγar(?) Čangšï Yälü Qaya*, and the other is the father of his wife *Tängrikän Körtlä Qatun Tängrim*. But it is impossible, because we find below in *ll.* 24-26 the enumeration of the parents of the main donor of this Stake who, judging from the context, must have already been deceased. As mentioned above in the note on ***04 tärkän qunčuy tängrim*** of Stake I, the title *tängrim* prevailed among princesses or ladies of high society. Needless to say, *qutadmïš* 'blessed' was borne by both men and women, while *alp* 'brave' and *sangun* 'a general, army commander' were exclusively limited to men. Thus we come to a conclusion that *Qutadmïš Tängrim* is a mother-in-law of the main donor, that is the mother of his wife *Tängrikän Körtlä Qatun Tängrim*. It proves also that the word *qadïn* could mean not only 'father-in-law' but also 'mother-in-law' in the early 11th century.

14 taγayïmïz qumar : Müller's *tarqanïm(ï)z tämir* cannot be accepted. About *qumar* as a personal name, see the note on ***05' qumar*** below.

15 yegänlärimiz : Here *yegän* has the original meaning 'the son of a younger sister or daughter', see the note on ***15 yegän*** of Stake I above.

16 paža šäli : Hamilton demonstrated that the word *šäli* is a loan from Ch. *she-li* 闍梨 (**dź'i̯a-lji* = GSR 45h' + 519h) which is an abbreviated transcription of Skt. *ācārya* 'a master' [Hamilton 1984]. Here we can clearly read this title. But the preceding word is so damaged that Müller read *ban..a.* I corrected it to *P('Z)'* and first regarded *P'Z' šäli* as a special title of a Buddhist monk of high rank. Recently Yoshida suggested me that it might be read *paža šäli. Paža* is a loan from Ch. *bo-re* 般若 (**pua-ria* = Pulleyblank 1991, pp. 40, 265) corresponding to Skt. *prajñā*. 般若 is sometimes written *bo-re* 波若 (**puâ-ńźi̯ak* = GSR 25*l* + 777a) in the Dun-huang manuscripts.[109] I adopt his idea though I missed the chance to check whether it is written *P'Ž'*. In Uighur *paža* is often attested as a part of the name of the famous Buddhist sūtra *Tay-paža-ki* < Ch. *Da bo-re jing* 大般若經 = Skt. *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, cf. Тугушева 1991, pp. 161, 367.

17 ata ögä : *Ata* means 'a father'. As for *ögä*, see the note on ***15 el***

[109] For example, S. 1517, S. 2275, S. 3485 housed in the British Library.

ögäsi of Stake I. We may tentatively interpret it as "father-minister". An important statesman called *Ata Ögä* is attested in the travel report on the West Uighur Kingdom by Wang Yan-de 王延德, cf. Julien 1847, p. 61; OECD, p. 147; Abe 1955, pp. 344-345; Bazin 1993, p. 34. Wang Yan-de saw him in Qočo in 982. He was a father-in-law of the Uighur King *Arslan Bilgä Tängri Ilig*,[110] and was entrusted with all affairs at the winter capital Qočo during the absence of the king who went to the summer capital Beš-balïq to avoid the heat of the summer. On the other hand, the *ata ögä* of this Stake III is one of the *el ögäsis* "prime ministers" in 1019. As for the coexistence of more than one *el ögäsis* see the note on ***15 el ögäsi***. Furthermore, it is clear from the beginning part of this Stake III that another prime minister (*el ögäsi*) called *Alp Totoq Ögä* was ruling Qočo on behalf of the Uighur qaγan. Therefore it is hard to identify *Ata Ögä* reported by Wang Yan-de with *ata ögä* of this Stake directly, but it is not impossible to regard the latter also as a father-in-law of the West Uighur qaγan. See also Abe 1955, pp. 366-369.

17 qamïl : An ancient place name of Hami to the east of Turfan, cf. Haneda 1931, pp. 95-96; UMK, p. 192.

17 qïnturdačï : I could correct Müller's reading *qutadmiš* to *qïnturdačï*, and decipher the following words.

17, 18 keši ačari : This combination has hitherto been transcribed as *kši ačari*, but I prefer the transcription *keši ačari*, because in this inscription it is spelled both as *KYŠY* (*l.* 17) and as *KŠY* (*l.* 18). It is widely accepted that Uig. *kši / keši*, which makes often a hendiadys with *ačari*, is a loan from Toch. *käṣṣi* 'a teacher, master' [cf. Hamilton 1984, p. 430; BTT XIII, p. 217a]. It is noteworthy that both *ačari* and *šäli* are attested side by side in this inscription.

18 yerčimiz : Müller's reading *yinčirü*, which makes no sence, has been corrected to *YYRCYMZ* (= *yerčimiz*). Generally *yerči* means 'a guide' [ED, p. 958a], but here it must indicate a 'spiritual leader, religious teacher', [cf. BTT XIII, Text 47, *l.* 4.

18 tängri kalanabhadra keši ačari : The name *kalanabhadra* was firstly read as *klianmati* = KL*Y'NM'TY* (= Skt. Kalyāṇamati) with reservations by Müller. Thence Ş. Tekin thought that it should be identified with a high Buddhist Tocharian teacher *tngri klanptri kši ačari* who appears in a colophon of the *Maitrisimit*,[111] which is one of the earlier Uighur Buddhist texts of great importance. He transcribed his name as Kalyāṇabhadra, and later Röhrborn transcribed it as

[110] It means "Wise and sacred Lion-king", who has another title *Süngülüg Qaγan*, cf. UMK, p. 183.

[111] Tekin 1970, pp. 131-132; BTT IX, Vol. 1, pp. 9, 260-261.

Kalnapatre(?), [UW 1, p. 39b]. Zieme doubted this identification because Ş. Tekin used it in an attempt to date the *Maitrisimit* to the 8th century based on Müller's old idea [Zieme 1992, pp. 20-21]. Müller had thought that Stakes I and III both belong to the reign of Bögü Qaγan of the East Uighur Khanate of the third quarter of the 8th century. But this opinion was disputed by Hamilton and Abe who thought that these Stakes belong to later times, and finally Hamilton and I, as mentioned above [see p. 38 and n. 15], have determined to date them respectively to 1008 and 1019. So Zieme's criticism against Tekin is all right by itself. Nevertheless, I want to accept Tekin's identification, because I have confirmed on the Stake itself that the faded writing of this name can be read KL*('NP'TR)*Y (= Skt. Kalanabhadra)[112] as well as KL*(Y'NPTR)*Y (= Skt. Kalyāṇabhadra), KL*(Y'NMTR)*Y (= Skt. Kalyāṇamitra) or K'L*('Y-MTR)*Y (= Skt. ???mitra).

Partly based on the identification of Tekin, Hamilton has already proposed the following very fascinating idea: "Si donc le céleste maître (*ačari*) d'origine tokharienne (*kšy* étant pour le tokh. *käṣṣi*, «maître») Klanpatri du colophon du *Maitrisimit* et *Klianpatri de l'inscription de 1019 sont un seul et même personnage, nous pouvons comprendre que ce personnage était actif aux alentours de la deuxième décennie du XI[e] siècle, que la copie du *Maitrisimit* en question datait approximativement de la même époque, et que le titre de *šäli* qui y figure était alors déjà en usage." [Hamilton 1984, pp. 430-431].

On my part, I have been trying to find a very deep influence from the Tocharian Buddhism on the early Uighur Buddhism. Based on my studies on the Uighur Manichaeism and Buddhism,[113] I insist once more that the origin or base of the Uighur Buddhism was not the Sogdian Buddhism but the Tocharian and Chinese Buddhism, and that the earlier Uighur Buddhist texts could be made only after the establishment of the West Uighur Kingom. In my opinion, the Uighur version of the *Maitrisimit* could appear in the 10th century at the earliest. Therefore I would like to adopt Hamilton's argument cited above. Even if it is difficult to accept, I think the nominal coincidence is possible at least.

19 bars sangun : Cf. OECD, p. 148.

21 buyruq : Cf. Györffy 1960; TMEN, No. 815; ED, p. 387; MOTH, p. 72, n. 11.8; UMK, p. 197.

22 qunčuqï : Maybe it is not the same with *qunčuy*, which always indicates women. *Qunčuqï* seems to be used for men.

[112] Zieme [1992, p. 20] says Kalanabhadra might be better than Kalyāṇabhadra as a reconstruction of KL'NP'TRY.

[113] Cf. Moriyasu 1974, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1997, 2000a, 2000b.

23 altmiš'aq : Cf. RH03, *l.* 3 [SUK 2, p. 71]; U 5584, *l.* 5; Shōgaito 1981, Text, *ll.* 17, 25.

23 iš •••••••• : I suppose that this part corresponds to *iš ayγučï* in *l.* 19 of Stake I.

24 ičtinki orunčï-lar : Müller [pp. 23, 28, 34] read this part *ičräki orunčï-lar* and interpreted it as "eunuchs", but it is not true. About *orunčï*, cf. ED, p. 236b as well as p. 31a.

24 ••••in yaqasïn : Comparing with the parallel text of other colophons concerning the religious action *buyan ävirmäk*, we can easily assume that it is an accusative form of a hendiadys which means something like 'merit' or 'power', because it must be an object of the transitive verb *ävir-* 'to transfer, to turn'. In Uighur we have two words in the form of *yaqa*: 1) 'the collar of a garment; edge, border, frontier', 2) 'rent, lease; rental fee' [cf. ED, p. 898; SUK 2, glossary]. But I am not so sure these apply here. Or, is it possible *yaqa* means 'a part, portion' of the religious merit?

25 bizingä bu yaruq yertinčü yer suvuγ körküti bermiš ... : We find a parallel expression in a colophon to an Avalokiteśvara-text U 4921 (T II D 199), cf. Hazai 1976, p. 274, *l* 19: *bizingä yruq yirtinčü körkidü birdäči ögümüz qangïmïz*. Checking the original manuscript in BBAW, I corrected Hazai's *kü...dü* to *körkidü*. However, we should correct Müller's reading *körkäti* to *körküti*, which Zieme kindly confirmed on the Stake in MIK.

25 ''T*(MN) (K)'(MN)* : I cannot understand these words. I suppose it means something like "deceased parents". I tried to read *ata* 'father' in vain.

26 qa+qadaš : Cf. Müller 1915, pp. 34-35; SUK 2, p. 272a; Sims-Williams / Hamilton 1990, p. 27.

26 tört tuγum beš yol : Cf. Müller 1915, p. 36; Moriyasu 1985, pp. 35-36 (n. 41 and n. 42), p. 61 (n. 148).

26 ••D••Š : I could not reconstruct this word, but the meaning is rather clear from the context.

26 tüzü : Cf. ED, p. 573a; Tekin 1989; ShōGl., p. 376. I prefer Shōgaito in this context.

26 öng ülüg bolmaqï : This is my new reading. The expression *öng ülüg* occurs in a famous colophon of Üträt [Uigurica II, p. 80, *l.* 64], and in two other colophons of Buddhist texts [Hazai 1976, p. 274, *l.* 20; MOTH, p. 7, No. 1, *ll.* 23'-24']. We can also take into account an expression *öng ülüš* in a contract document [SUK 2, p. 120, Ad03, *l.* 18]. Even though ED does not contain the word *öng* which is suitable to this context, it is clear that its meaning is 'share, portion, part' as Zieme [1992, p. 65, n. 338] has pointed out. So *öng ülüg* is a hendiadys

like *öng ülüš*.

27 biz burxan bolalïm : This part is newly deciphered. This reading can be confirmed by the Chinese expression *yi-shi cheng-fo* 一時成仏 "May we (or they) become Buddha together at the same time!" in *l.* 18 of Stake II.

02' titigči : Cf. the note on ***19 titigči*** of Stake I.

02' sürči : Müller read *sürči* and translated it 'ein Anstreicher' [p. 29]. He seems to have regarded it as a synonym of *sïrčï* 'a lacquerer, painter' [ED, p. 845b]. On the other hand, *sürči* can be interpreted as *sürüči* 'a driver, coachman' [TMEN, No. 1285]. I think it is possible to read *suvačï* instead of *sürči*. If the word *otačï* 'a physician' derived from *ota-dačï* 'a person who is going to treat with medicinal herbs' [cf. ED, pp. 42b, 44a], this *suvačï* might have derived from *suva-dačï* 'a person who is going to irrigate (lands)'. But I am not sure.

05' qumar : Cf. MOTH, pp. 18-19, n. 1.16'.

06' tayšï : Ecsedy 1965, pp. 89, 90; TMEN, No. 249 and IV, p. 390; ED, p. 570a.

08' čor : Cf. Müller 1915, p. 34; ED, pp. 427-428; MOTH, p. 231, glossary; Sims-Williams / Hamilton 1990, p. 78. This title was borne only by men.

09' yaxšïčï : Cf. MOTH, p. 139.

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Abbreviations

ADAW = Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst.
Akanuma = Ch. Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*. Repr. Kyoto, Hōzōkan, 1967.
AoF = Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin.
AOH = Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
APAW = Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin.
ATG = Gabain 1974.
BBAW = Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
BSMA I-VII = Le Coq 1922-33.
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BTT = Berliner Turfantexte.
BTT II = Röhrborn 1971.
BTT III = Tezcan 1974.
BTT V = Zieme 1975a.
BTT VII = Kara / Zieme 1976.
BTT IX = Ş. Tekin 1980.
BTT XIII = Zieme 1985.
BTT XVIII = Zieme 1996b.
CAJ = Central Asiatic Journal.
CBBMP = Hamilton 1971.
Ch. = Chinese.
Chap. = Chapter.
CTD = R. Dankoff & J. Kelly (eds. and trs.), *Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk)*. 3 vols., Cambridge, Harvard University Printing Office 1982-85.
DTS = В. М. Наделяев et al. (eds.), *Древнетюркский Словарь*. Ленинград 1969.

EB = G. P. Malalasekera, W. G. Weeraratne et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism.* Colombo 1961-.
ED = G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish.* Oxford 1972.
ed., eds. = edited, editor(s).
GSR = B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa.* (Repr. from *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29), Stockholm 1957.
Ḥudūd = V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam 'The Regions of the World'. A Persian Geography 372 A.H. --- 982 A.D.* 2nd ed., London 1970.
incl. = including.
Iwanami = H. Nakamura, K. Hukunaga et al. (eds.), *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten*, Tokyo 1989.
JA = Journal Asiatique.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
LUKQ = Gabain 1973.
Manichaica I-III = Le Coq 1912-22.
MIK = Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.
Mochizuki = Sh. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 5 vols., Tokyo 1931-36. (Repr.: 1937.)
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MOTH = Hamilton 1986.
MRDTB = Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.
Nakamura = H. Nakamura, *Bukkyō-go daijiten*, shukusatsu-ban, Tokyo, Tōkyō shoseki, 1981. (Orig.: Tokyo 1975 in 3 vols.)
Nj. = B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan.* Oxford 1883.
Oda = T. Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 2nd edition, Tokyo 1954. (Orig.: 1917.)
OECD = Hamilton 1955 = Hamilton 1988.
Ongaku daijiten, 6 vols., Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1981-83.
Orig. = Originally, original edition.
OTWF = M. Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation.* 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1991.
p., pp. = page(s).
pl(s)., Pl. = plate(s), Plate.
Repr. = Reprint(ed).
SDAW= Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst.

SEDTF = *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*, I-III, Leipzig, 1972-1985.
ShōGl. = Glossary in Shōgaito 1991-93, Vol. II.
SIAL = Studies on the Inner Asian Languages (Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū), Osaka (Toyonaka), Osaka Daigaku Bungaku-bu, Chūō Yūrasia-gaku kenkyūkai.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
Sogd. = Sogdian.
Soothill = W. E. Soothill & L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London 1937.
SUK = N. Yamada; O. Juten, P. Zieme, H. Umemura, & T. Moriyasu (eds.), *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte (Uiguru-bun keiyaku monjo shūsei)*. 3 vols., Suita, Osaka University Press, 1993.
Taishō = *Taishō Tripiṭaka = Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經.
TDAYB = Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten.
TG = Tōyō Gakuhō, Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko.
TMEN = Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-75.
Toch. = Tocharian.
TP = T'oung Pao.
TTT = Türkische Turfan-Texte.
UAJh = Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.
Uig. = Uighur.
Uigurica I & II = Müller 1908 & 1911.
UMK = Moriyasu 1991.
USp = W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler. Materialien nach dem Tode des Verfassers mit Ergänzungen von S. Malov herausgegeben.* Leningrad 1928. (Repr.: Osnabrück, Biblio Verlag, 1972.)
UW = K. Röhrborn (ed.), *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden 1977-.
vol(s)., Vol. = volume(s), Volume.
VSUA = Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica.

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