Multilingualism in Tun-huang

TAKATA Tokio

PREAMBLE:
TUN-HUANG AS A COLONIAL TOWN OF THE HAN-CHINESE

Today's Tun-huang known as Sha-chou during the T'ang dynasty, is situated at the western extremity of the long Ho-hsi Corridor, along which a line of oases Kua-chou (An-hsi), Su-chou (Chiu-ch'uan), Kan-chou (Chang-yeh), and Liang-chou (Wu-wei) provided a route of communication with central China. This was the gateway to China for the east-west Silk Road linking China and the "Western Regions," and it can be readily imagined that different peoples from the west, speaking a variety of lndo-Iranian languages, would have been passing through this region from early times. Tun-huang is mentioned already in Ptolemaios' *Guide to Geography* under the name $\Theta\rho o\alpha\nu\alpha$ and it is also referred to as $\delta rw"n$ [*Th^{u}rwan*] in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters" thought to have been written in the fourth century A.D.[1] and discovered in a watchtower in western Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein during his second expedition. It is not immediately clear from which language this place-name derives, but there is a strong possibility that the Chinese form 'Tun-huang' is a transcription of some local place-name in a language other than Chinese.

Originally this area had been the home of the Yüeh-chih (Tokharians), but during the reign of the Han emperor Wen-ti (r. 179-157 B.C.) they were subjected to attacks by the Hsiung-nu and forced to migrate westwards. Near the end of the second century B.C. the Han emperor Wu-ti launched an offensive against the Hsiung-nu and not only ousted them from the Ho-hsi Corridor, but also set about actively establishing colonies in the oases of Ho-hsi, and it is recorded that during this colonizing process a commandery (*chün*) was established at Tun-huang too. It was probably around this time that the Chinese form of the name 'Tun-huang' was also established Since then this locality has indisputably remained a colonial town of the Han-Chinese, notwithstanding certain historical vicissitudes, and when the control of the central Chinese dynasty waned, it frequently became the centre of independent Han-Chinese regional administrations. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Tun-huang's most important language was the language of the Chinese, who held a predominant position both politically and socially. In this sense the linguistic environment of Tun-huang presents a patent contrast with that of the other oasis towns of Central Asia. We will have opportunity later to consider the nature of the Chinese language spoken in Tun-huang and how it changed over the centuries.

The position occupied by Tun-huang in the history of traffic and communications was not due simply to its location on the east-west Silk Road. Via Hami it was linked to the Turfan depression and beyond to the steppes on the far side of the T'ien-Shan Range, while Su-Chou and Kan-Chou further along

---

[1] There are several different opinions on the date of the "Ancient Letters", and I follow the newest study F. Grenet and N. Sims-Williams, "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *Transition Periods in Iranian History, Actes du symposium de Fribourg-Brisgou (22-24 Mai, 1985)*, (= Studia lranica, Cahier 5; Leuven, 1987), pp.101-22.

the Ho- hsi Corridor also connected it with the oases along the Etsin Gol. These routes represented north-south branches of the main east-west route of the Silk Road, and the northern regions with which they communicated were inhabited by Altaic nomads speaking Turkic and Mongolic languages These peoples frequently moved south along these routes, and in some instances they took up farming and settled in Ho-hsi. In addition, Tun-huang was connected with the upper reaches of the Yellow River   Huang-ho

) in today's Ch'ing-hai   province, and the people of T'u-yü-hun   , who had built up a powerful base in this region, also had important connections with Tun-huang.

The aim of this essay is to provide an outline on the basis of the Tun-huang manuscrlpts of the linguistic situation that prevaв led in Tun-huang, occupying as it did the geographical position described above. Because of the chronological bias of the Tun-huang manuscripts, our considerations will perforce be subject to certain limitations, and it should be pointed out at the outset that I will be focussing on the period from the T'ang dynasty onwards, including the period of rule by T'u-po   and the Kuei-i-Chün

lit. Return-to-Allegiance Army), while the period from the second half of the eleventh century onwards, when Tun-huang came under the domination of Hsi-hsia   , will be excluded altogether. Furthermore, because we are dependent on manuscript materials, there is regrettably no way of gaining an adequate grasp of the situation concerning languages other than written languages.

I. LANGUAGES FOUND IN TUN-HUANG

I-1. Sogdian

The so-called "Ancient Letters" alluded to earlier were letters written by Sogdians who had come east, and they were addressed to their masters and relatives in their hometown of Samarkand. It would thus appear that Sogdians had at an early stage established a base in Ho-hsi and were trading with China proper. According to lkeda On, a township (*hsiang*) called Ts'ung-hua   appears in a register of selective impositions (*ch'ai-k'o*   ) from the year T'ien-pao   10 (751), and the majority of its inhabitants were Sogdians[2]. They seem to have been living in a walled settlement to the east of the district headquarters of Tun-huang. The origins of this settlement go back to the early T'ang, but eventually its inhabitants were engulfed by Han-Chinese society, and they are said to have all but disappeared by the second half of the eighth century, when T'u-po took control of Tun-huang. The Tun-huang manuscripts include more than fifty Sogdian manuscripts, the majority of which are Buddhist texts, and they were presumably used chiefly by Sogdian Buddhists living in the above settlement [3]. But even though it may have lost its speakers, the Sogdian language itself did not die out completely, and it was still being used during the ninth and tenth centuries under the Return-to-Allegiance Army. This was so-called Turco-Sogdian, and it is thought to have been probably used by Uighurized Sogdians or by Uighurs whose language had been strongly influenced by Sogdian. Texts written in this language, which had undergone

---

[2]Ikeda On   "Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudojin shūraku" 8   (The Sogdian settlement in Tun-huang in the mid-8th century), in *Yūrashia bunka kenkyu*   (Studies in Eurasian culture; Sapporo, 1965), pp.49-92.

[3]Pelliot sogdien 8 ends with a prayer for the transference of merit by a Sogdian with the family name K'ang   (X'n), thus indicating that this manuscript had not been brought to Tun-huang from Sogdiana, but was written by a Sogdian living in a Chinese milieu. In addition the Sogdian manuscripts from Tun-huang often have the corresponding Chinese title written on the back or at the end, and this too hints at the background against which these manuscripts were produced. An annotated list of the Sogdian manuscripts from Tun-huang may be found in Yoshida Yutaka   , "Sogudogo bunken"   (Sogdian literature), in *Kōza Tonkō 6: Tonkō kogo bunken*   6   (Lectures on Tun-huang 6: Non-Chinese literature of Tun-huang; Tokyo, 1985), pp.187-204. As a brief, albeit slightly dated introduction to Sogdian studies in general, David A. Utz, *A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies* (= Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Minor III; Tokyo, 1978) is useful.

Uighuric changes, include accounts, letters and jottings[4]. It may seem strange that the Khotanese envoy Cā Kimä-śani (Chang Chin-shan   ), who visited Tun-huang in the tenth century, should have signed his name in the Sogdian script on a Khotanese manuscript which he himself used, but this illustrates the fact that even at this time Sogdian was still being used to a certain extent[5].

I-2. Khotanese

Well over one hundred Khotanese manuscripts were discovered in the Library Cave at Tun-huang. These are all written in Late Khotanese, and apart from Buddhist texts they also include a considerable number of secular documents, such as diplomatic documents and reports[6]. Khotan was a state made up chiefly of people of Iranian stock who had settled in the oases along the southern margin of the Tarim basin, and there must have been some special circumstances for the language of this distant country to have been used with such frequency in Tun-huang. The presence of Khotanese in Tun-huang can be best explained by the fact that the regime of the Return-to-Allegiance Army under the Ts'ao   family, which ruled Tun-huang in the tenth century, was related by marriage to the royal house of Khotan and the two parties maintained close relations with each other[7]. Furthermore, during the reign of the T'ang emperor Kao-tsung   (r. 649-83) a governor generalship (*tu-tu-fu*   ) had been created in Khotan, with the jurisdiction name of P'i-sha   as a result of which Khotan was in effect placed under Chinese rule, and until the end of the eighth century, when it came under the sway of T'u-po, there operated over the native society an administrative system virtually identical to that of China proper. Consequently, there would have been no small number of people with Chinese blood, and the cultural traditions of China would have taken a deep hold, another circumstance that would have underpinned the links between Tun-huang and Khotan. Any embassy sent to the Chinese court by Khotan would of necessity have had to pass through Tun-huang, and during the period of rule by the Return-to-Allegiance Army under the Ts'ao not only would there have been regular embassies passing through Tun-huang, but it would have been hardly surprising had there also been a group of Khotanese, centred on a diplomatic corps, permanently stationed in Tun-huang. They would have understood Chinese to varying degrees, and the famous Chinese Buddhist text copied in Khotanese script must have been produced by people such as these[8]. Khotanese-Chinese bilingual texts consisting of conversational phrases, thought to have been compiled for the benefit of Khotanese travelling to and from Tun-huang, have also been discovered[9].

---

[4]Nicolas Sims-Williams and James Hamilton, *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang* (London, 1990) is a collection of such documents.

[5]Chang Chin-shan's name transcribed in Sogdian script appears in the colophon of the *Jātakastava* (Stein, Ch. 00274) and in the margin of the *Siddhasāra* (Ch. ii. 002).

[6]A survey of Khotanese literature in general, including manuscripts discovered at Tun-huang, may be found in Kumamoto Hiroshi   , "Kītango bunken gaisetsu   (An introduction to Khotanese literature), in *Kōza Tonko 6: Tonkō kogo bunken* (see n. 2), pp.101-140. More recent information is provided in R.E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (Second edition thoroughly revised and enlarged) (= Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Papers Series III; Tokyo, 1992).

[7]Some scholars would date all Khotanese manuscripts from Tun-huang to the 10th century; see Chang Kuang-ta   and Jung Hsin-chiang   , "Kuan-yü Tun-huang ch'u-t'u yü-t'ien wen-hsien ti nien-tai chi ch'i hsiang-kuan wen-t'i"   闐 (On the date of Khotanese documents unearthed at Tun-huang and the question of their interrelationship), in Yü-t'ien shih ts'ung-k'ao   闐   (Collected studies on Khotanese history; Shang-hai   , 1993), pp.98-139.

[8]The text in question is the Chinese translation of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā* transcribed in Khotanese script (Stein, Ch.00120). Since first mentioned by F.W. Thomas in 1937, this manuscript has been dealt with in several studies, the most recent of which is Ronald E. Emmerick and Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script* (= Serie Orientale Roma LXIX; Roma, 1993); all related research is mentioned in this work.

[9]Or.8212-162, P.2927 Verso and S.5212 Verso: see Takata Tokio   , *Tonkō shiryo ni yoru Chūgokugo shi no kenkyū — kyū-jusseiki no Kasei hōgen*   —   (A historical study of the Chinese language based on Tun-huang materials: The Ho-hsi dialect in the 9th and 10th centuries; Tokyo, 1988), pp.196-197.

I-3. Sanskrit

lt is unlikely that there would have existed in Tun-huang any Sanskrit-speaking social group. However, Buddhist monks from India often stayed not only in Tun-huang but also in the oases of Ho-hsi. Especially in the early Sung   , when the crisis facing Buddhism on account of the inroads made by Islamic forces in northwest India coincided with the zealous encouragement of Buddhism by the Sung emperors Ta'i-tsu   and T'ai-tsung   the number of Indian monks visiting China increased still more. China was also the site of the holy mountain Wu-t'ai-shan   sacred to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and this was presumably another reason that they were drawn to China. Already in 1924 Joseph Hackin published a Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary from the Pelliot Collection, dictated in the late tenth century at Su-chou by the Indian monk Devaputra, who had in fact made a pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai-shan [10]. These Indian monks would naturally have used Sanskrit, and it is to be supposed that there would also have been opportunities for monks at the Buddhist monasteries in Tun-huang to study Sanskrit under the tutelage of Indian monks [11]. In addition, it is to be surmised that sometime earlier, during the period of rule by T'u-po, the practice of studying the original Sanskrit texts of Buddhist scriptures would have been introduced to Tun-huang by Tibetan monks. Corroborative evidence of this is possibly provided by the fact that not long after its compilation in Tibet the *Mahāvyutpatti* seems to have reached Tun-huang [12], for a small fragment has been preserved on the verso side of a manuscript dating from the T'u-po period (Text 1) [13].

With the rise in the number of Indian monks visiting China in the second half of the tenth century, it was only natural that there should have been increasing opportunities for conversing with them, and it may be assumed that in Khotan, which lay en route to China, there were many people who acted as intermediaries for them. It is for this reason that we have a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual text [14], described by Kumamoto Hiroshi as "an exercise book for Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation for the use of Central Asian travellers"[15]. This manual appears to have been compiled in consultation with an Indian monk

---

[10]Joseph Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain* (Paris, 1924).

[11]Pelliot sanscrit 1 is a xylographic version of a Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* bearing the date "28th day, 10th month, K'ai-pao 4 (= 971)" in Chinese (   ). Following the *dhāraṇī* there is a colophon in Sanskrit, which reads to the effect that it "was written by the instructor Guṇa Gila of Satraya College" (Wu Chi-yu, "Quatre manuscrits sanskrits de Touen-houang", in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, Vol. Ill [Paris, 1984], p.69). According to Kao Ming-shih   , "T'ang-tai Tun-huang ti chiao-yü   (Education in T'ang-dynasty Tun-huang; Han-hsüeh Yen-chiu   4-2 [1986]), p.270, this Sanskrit colophon was written at a monastery school in Tun-huang during the period of rule by the Ts'ao-family Return-to-Allegiance Army, in which case it would offer concrete proof of the fact that Indian monks were engaged in teaching Buddhism in Tun-huang. But Kao's interpretation is open to question, and this colophon should probably be considered to have been originally appended to the *dhāraṇī* that served as the base text of the xylograph and to have no direct connection with Tun-huang.

[12]According to Giuseppe Tucci, the compilation of the *Mahāvyutpatti* began in 814 (*The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*. [= Serie Orientale Roma I; Roma, 1950], p.18). Yamaguchi Zuiho   , "Toban ōkoku Bukkyōshi nendai kō" (Notes on the chronology of the history of Buddhism in the T'u-po kingdom; *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō*   3 [1978]), p.17, similarly gives the date of its compilation as 814, but in *id.*, "Nikanbon yakugo shaku kenkyu"   (A study of the *sGra sbyor bampo gnyis pa; Nantasan Bukkyō Kenkyo Kiyō* 4 [1979]), p.12, he states that it would have been "slightly earlier" than 814.

[13]P.t. 1261 Verso. The recto of this manuscript is a Sino-Tibetan glossary of Buddhist terminology, and the Chinese terms have been taken from Hsüan-tsang's   translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Taisho No. 1579), fascs. 13-20, 31-34. But the Tibetan equivalents mostly differ from those appearing in the corresponding passages in today's bsTan-'gyur. The verso bears lists of monks and nuns given offerings at the time of special retreats, and the fragment of the *Mahāvyutpatti* is written in between these lists; cf. Li Fang-kuei, "A Sino-Tibetan Glossary from Tun-huang", *T'oung Pao* 49 (1962), pp.233-356. Judging from its handwriting, the glossary on the recto represented notes belonging to the eminent monk Fa-ch'eng   of the T'u-po period; see Ueyama Daishun   *Tonkō Bukkyō no kenkyū*   (Studies in Tun-huang Buddhism; Kyoto, 1990), p.238. Fa-ch'eng seems to have himself also studied Sanskrit, and he translated a manual on Sanskrit grammar, which he used in his lectures; see Ueyama, *ibid.*, pp.152-154, 180-182.

[14]P. 5538. The recto is an official letter sent by the Khotanese king Vǐśa' Śūra (r. 967-78) to Ts'ao Yüan-chung   , the grand prince (*ta-wang*   ) of Sha-chou (r. 944-74), and it was written in the fourth year of the Khotanese king's reign.

[15]Kumamoto Hiroshi, "Saiiki ryokōshayō Sansukuritto-Kōtango kaiwa renshūchō"   (An exercise book for Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation for the use of Central Asian travellers), *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū*   28 (1988), pp.53-82.

actually on his way to China, and it is intriguing to note that he was headed for Wu-t'ai-shan.

I-4. Uighur

ln order to secure the conditions conducive to the founding of a state based on trade, the administration of the Return-to-Allegiance Army under the Ts'ao family in the tenth century entered more than once into marital relations with the Uighurs of Kan-chou, as they had done with Khotan, and endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Kan-chou Uighurs. Partly because of this relationship, there were probably quite a number of Uighurs residing in Tun-huang. Furthermore, as pressure exerted by Hsi-hsia began to extend westwards in the eleventh century, a considerable number of Kan-chou Uighurs would no doubt have moved to the area around Tun-huang in the west. At the same time, the presence of migrants from the territories of the West Uighurs would also have grown to such an extent that they too could no longer be ignored. At any rate, the influence of this rapid influx of Uighurs gradually transformed the Ts'ao regime of Tun-huang into no more than a puppet government, and the Uighurs seized real control of Tun-huang. As is indicated by the fact that Ts'ao Hsien-shun   who sent an embassy to the Liao   in 1014, was called a "Sha-chou Uighur", Tun-huang was now out of Chinese hands and coming under Uighur hegemony. When these historical circumstances are taken into account [16], it would seem natural to assume that the use of Uighur in Tun-huang would have increased markedly from the second half of the tenth century onwards.Its influence would have rivalled that of Chinese, and eventually it may even have surpassed that of Chinese. But although roughly fifty Uighur manuscripts were retrieved from the Library Cave, including Buddhist texts, divinatory works, aphorisms and letters [17], they are by no means numerous, and therefore it could perhaps be said that the use of the written word was still not wide-spread in Uighur society at this time. However, the manuscripts preserved in the Library Cave show a bias towards particular languages, and it is possible that the actual state of affairs was quite different. This is, therefore, a matter that is still open to conjecture, and it reflects the limitations of any attempt to reconstruct linguistic history solely on the basis of literary materials. The Tun-huang manuscripts also include a considerable number of Uighur documents from the Mongol and Yuan   periods discovered at a cave other than the Library Cave [18], but these I have left out of consideration here.

II. THE COEXISTENCE OF TIBETAN AND CHINESE

II-1. The Influence of the Period of Tibetan Rule

ln the above we have briefly considered the use of several languages employed in Tun-huang. but if we exclude Uighur, the degree of whose influence cannot be accurately measured from extant literary remains, it is Tibetan that had a fundamental and lasting effect on the Chinese-speaking world of Tun-

---

[16]Moriyasu Takao   , "Uiguru to Tonkō"   (The Uighurs and Tun-huang), in *Kōza Tonkō 2: Tonkō no rekishi*   2   (Lectures on Tun-huang 2: The history of Tun-huang; Tokyo, 1980), pp. 299-338.

[17]The most important of these manuscripts may be found in James Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986). See also Moriyasu Takao, "Uigurugo bunken"   (Uighurica from Tun-huang), in *Kōza Tonkō 6: Tonkō kogo bunken* (see n. 2), pp.1-98, esp. Sect.2 "Tonko zōkyōdō shutsudo no kodai Torukogo (Uigurugo) monjo"   (Ancient Turkish [Uighur] documents unearthed from the Library Cave at Tun-huang) (pp.15-36). There is also the following work based on Hamilton's and Moriyasu's research: Yang Fu-hsüeh   and Niu Ju-chi   , *Sha-chou Hui-hu chi ch'i wen-hsien*   (The Sha-chou Uighurs and their literature; Lan-chou   , 1995).

[18]On the Tun-huang Uighur manuscripts apart from those found in the Library Cave, see Monyasu, "Uigurugo bunken" (see n.16), pp.3-13, 37-98.

huang. Because Tun-huang was under Tibetan military rule from 786 to 848, during this period the inhabitants of Tun-huang came unavoidably into contact with Tibetan in many different spheres of life. It can be readily imagined that, since the rulers' language was Tibetan, there would have been many instances in which Tibetan would have had to be used at various levels of government. Interpreters would naturally have been necessary to liaise between Tibetan officials and the Chinese, and it is only natural to suppose that a rudimentary knowledge of Tibetan would gradually have spread among the Han-Chinese population of Tun-huang. It may be assumed that some knowledge of Tibetan, especially written Tibetan for drawing up administrative documents, would have been required of the Chinese employed at the Tibetan government offices. This conjecture is supported by the fact that many of the exemplars of writing practice found among the Tun-huang manuscripts from the T'u-po period correspond to the opening sections of such administrative documents. Contracts too were sometimes drawn up in Tibetan even if the signatories were Chinese, while Chinese documents were often signed and sealed in the Tibetan script[19].

Furthermore, as is only to be expected, Tibetan terms appear in Chinese documents from the T'u-po period. These are not limited just to words difficult to translate, such as the names of official positions, including *ch'i-1i-pen*   (*khri dpon*: 'district official in charge of 10,000 households') and *chieh-erh*   (*rtse rje*: 'chief lord'), and the names of villages like Hsi-tung-sa   (sTong-sar) and Ho-ku-sa   [20] (rGod-sar), but also include words such as *lo-i*   , corresponding to the Tibetan *lag yig* ('finger-seal')[21]. Conversely, there also appear many — in fact, far more — Chinese terms in Tibetan documents[22]. Fragments of several Tibeto-Chinese glossaries have been discovered among the Tun-huang manuscripts, and works such as these would naturally have been necessary tools for mediating between the two languages. S.2736 and S.1000, written completely in Tibetan script, and P.t.1263 (= P.ch.2762), written in Tibetan and Chinese, are already well-known[23], and so in the supplementary materials appended to this article I have included a small fragment that has hitherto received scant attention (Text 2) and a Tibeto-Chinese bilingual list of the "twelve branches" (Text 3), which would have been necessary on a daily basis for the purpose of indicating dates.

Even after Ho-hsi and Central Asia had broken free of Tibetan rule, the status of the Tibetan language in this region remained high during the ninth and tenth centuries, and it was often used as the language of diplomacy[24]. Among the Khotanese-Chinese bilingual texts mentioned earlier, there is one that includes Tibetan and Chinese phrases in the same manuscript and contains Khotanese words in examples of Tibetan phrases, clear indications that this text was used by a Khotanese[25], in which case this text too could be said to demonstrate the international standing of Tibetan in the tenth century.

---

[19]A detailed study of Tibetan contracts may be found in T. Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Tokyo, 1995).

[20]In some manuscripts the first character of   is given as 紇 or   , but in either case a character with a final in -r (< -t) has been selected (was in this case an "entermg-tone" [ju-sheng   ] syllable ending in -r).

[21]P. 3730 Verso-7, "Ho-gu-sa pu-lo pai-hsing Wu Ch'iung-yüeh pien-su ch'i"紇   , dated "4th month of the year of the sheep (839). On *lag yig*, see Takeuchi, *op.cit.*, p.llOff.

[22]E.g., *deb tse* (牒   ),"*an pan* (瞥), etc. For further examples, see F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part II (London, 1951), in which one often encounters unidentified Chinese terms.

[23]On S.2736 and S.1000, see Takata, *op. cit.*, p.195ff. P.t.1263 (= P.ch.2762V) is discussed in P. Pelliot, *Histoire du Tibet* (= *Œuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, V*; Paris, 1961), pp.143-144. These may all be considered to date from the period of Tibetan rule. The recto of P.t.1263 bears a text entitled "Chang Huai-shen hsiu kung-te chi"   from the Return-to-Allegiance Army period, but the vocabulary items on the verso were written first and may be assumed to date from the period of Tibetan rule.

[24]Geza Uray, "Emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des états du Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieures à la domination tibétaine", *Journal Asiatique* 269, fasc. 1/2, pp.82-90.

[25]S.5212 Verso; see Takata, *op.cit.*, p.196.

II-2. The Copying of Buddhist Scriptures

During the reign of the Tibetan ruler (*btsan po*) Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (r. 815-41) [26], the copying of Buddhist scriptures was initiated on a grand scale throughout Tibet at the king's behest, and Tun-huang, then under Tibetan rule, would have been no exception. More than one thousand civilians are thought to have been made to take part in this undertaking. The main texts copied were the Tibetan *Tshe dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (corresponding to the Sanskrit *Aparimitāyur-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*), its Chinese translation (*Wu-liang-shou tsung-yao ching*   ), the Tibetan *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa* (Tōhoku No.8; Skt. *Śatasahāsrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*), and the corresponding Chinese *Ta pan-jo po-lo-mi-to chinng*   (Taishō No.220) translated by Hsüan-tsang ?   The names of the scribe(s) and reviser(s) were usually added to the scriptures copied in this manner, and although it is only natural that the Chinese texts should have been copied by Chinese, it is notable that, judging from their names, the majority of those responsible for copying the Tibetan texts were also Chinese[27]. In view of Tun-huang's population ratio, this was probably inevitable, but a precondition for this would have been sufficient knowledge of the Tibetan script on the part of the Chinese to be able to copy Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. Conversely speaking, many Chinese would no doubt have mastered the Tibetan script by copying these scriptures. In any case, because the Tibetan government used coercive measures to carry out this undertaking[28], the Tibetan script would have penetrated Tun-huang's Han-Chinese society regardless of the wishes of the Chinese themselves. When copying the Tibetan translation of the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, the scribes were able to receive an extra sheet of paper for their own use and of the same size as the paper used for copying the text. Called *glegs tshas*, it is not known whether this was meant to serve as an underlay or as protection from soiling or what its original purpose was, but it can be identified as such because the owner would often write, for example, "[This] is the *glegs tshas* of Bung Tse-weng" (*bung tse weng gi glegs tshas lagso*) (P.t.1155). These *glegs tshas* are often inscribed with phrases from the scriptures, the opening lines of letters, loan bills, and the like, all in Tibetan, thus suggesting that the scribes used their spare time while copying to practise their writing. This indicates that they were not simply copying Tibetan graphs mechanically, but had considerable knowledge of the Tibetan language as well.

Although bearing no comparison with the scripture-copying activities conducted under government direction, the copying of scriptures also seems to have been carried out on a smaller scale at monasteries. For instance, there have survived several dozen manuscripts of the Chinese *Chin-yu t'o-lo-ni ching*   in identical format, to all of which have been appended the name of the scribe in Tibetan script. Several of these names, such as Bam Kwang (Fan Kuang   ), Cang Si-ka (Chang Ssu-chia   )[29] and Deng "Eng-tse (Teng Ying-tzu 鄧   ), are also found among the scribes of either the

---

[26]There are several views on the dates of his reign, and I have followed Yamaguchi, "Tobanōkoku Bukkyōshi nendai kō (see n.11), p.18ff.

[27]On the names of the scribes, see Nishioka Soshū   , "Perio shshū Chibettobun *Muryōju shūyō kyō* no shakyōsei, kōkansha ichiran"   list of the scribes and revisers of the Tibetan version of the *Wu-1iang-shou tsung-yao ching* in the Pelliot Collection), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*   33, No.1 (1984), pp.320-314; *id.*, "Sashū ni okeru shakyō jigyo   (Scripture-copying activities in Sha-chou), in *Kōza Tonkō 6: Tonkō kogo bunken* (see n.2), pp.379-393; Ueyama Daishun, "Toban no shakyō jigyō to Tonkō" (T'u-po's scripture-copying activities and Tun-huang), in *Chūgoku toshi no rekishiteki kenkyū*   (Historical studies of Chinese cities [= *Tōdaishi Kenkyūkai Hōkoku*   (Reports of the Society for the Study of T'ang History) 6]; Tokyo, 1988), pp.190-198; *id.*, Tonkō Bukkyō no kenkyū (see n.12), p.440ff.

[28]There has survived a document relating to the organization of scripture-copying and penalties for tardiness (Ch.73, XV.5; Vol.69, fols.53-56); see Nishioka, "Sashū ni okeru shakyō jigyo" (see n.26). There also exist several quota lists.

[29]This name is also written as   or   and it appears frequently in Chinese documents; see Cheng Ping-1in   , "K'ang Hsiu-hua hsieh-ching shih-ju shu yü Hsüan ho-shang huo-mai hu-fen li yen-chiu"   炫

Chinese or the Tibetan version of the *Aparimitāyur-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*. Moreover, five manuscripts of this scripture bear the name Sam-ke (San-chieh   ), indicating that the copying of scriptures was also being conducted at the monastery San-chieh-ssu   at about the same time as the government-sponsored undertaking. It is worth noting, at any rate, that in this case too the scribes signed their names in Tibetan script even when copying Chinese texts.

II-3. Monasteries

As regards Buddhism, which dominated the contemporary spiritual world, Tibetan control of the Ho-hsi region brought Tibetan Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism into direct contact with each other, and this would have been of considerable significance. In view of the social status and influence of Buddhism, one cannot ignore the influence that the study of Tibetan Buddhism and use of Tibetan in monasteries would have had on general trends. The leading scholar of Tibetan Buddhism at this time was Fa-ch'eng

(Chos-grub), a Chinese whose secular surname was Wu   [30]. Born in Tun-huang during the T'u-po period, he was proficient in both Chinese and Tibetan and wrote many works in both languages, as well as carrying out translations into both languages. He stood at the pinnacle of Buddhist circles in Tun-huang and was granted the title of Tripiṭaka Master (san-tsang fa-shih   ). It is known that at least some of his disciples were familiar with Tibetan[31], and his influence also appears to have extended to the laity as well. P.t.336 is a Tibetan version of the *Cintāmaṇi-mantra*, and according to the colophon it was "written by Chang   gTsug-legs (*cang gtsug legs gyis bris*), but in addition the Chinese characters *Sung p'an-kuan ching*   on the verso indicate that it belonged to a Chinese administrative assistant by the name of Sung.

II-4. The Formation of Bilingual Tibeto-Chinese Communities

The influence of Tibetan rule culminated in the creation of bilingual Tibeto- Chinese communities. Among the Han-Chinese of Tun-huang, there seem to have been some who were fluent not only in their native Chinese, but also in speaking, reading and writing Tibetan, and there is evidence that these "Ti-betanized" Chinese formed associations or communities (*she*   ), although it is not clear whether the use of Tibetan motivated the formation of these associations or whether it merely happened to be convenient for the majority of their members to use Tibetan. Either way, the fact that Tibetan had penetrated to the level of the *she*, which constituted the basis of Han-Chinese local society, merits special attention.

To date two texts thought to record the codes of regulations of such associations in Tibetan have been found. One of these (Ch.73.xiii.18) lists ten members (*zha myi*)[32], starting with their leader (*zha co*

) Dze'i-shi (Ch'i-shih   ?), and they would all seem to have been Chinese. Unfortunately the main part of the text is missing, and so the regulations are not clear in their entirety, but they include provisions for punishment for infringements of the rules, similar to those found in codes of regulations written in Chinese. The second such text (P.t.1103) also includes two or three names that would seem to be Chinese.

---

[29] (A study of the *K'ang Hsiu-hua hsieh-ching shih-ju shu* and *Hsüan ho-shang huo-mai hu-fen li*), in *Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan Yen-chiu*   3 (1998), p.196.

[30]Opinion is divided as to whether Fa-ch'eng was Chinese or Tibetan, but here I have deemed it appropriate to follow Ueyama Daishun's convincing arguments; see Ueyama, *Tonkō Bukkyo no kenkyū* (see n.12), p.92ff.

[31]Notes taken by Fa-ching   , who attended Fa-ch'eng's lectures, are said to contain numerous interpolations in Tibetan; see Ueyama, *ibid.*, p.181.

[32]An amalgam of Ch. *she*   (*zha*) and Tib. *myi* 'person'.

8

There also exists an association notice in Chinese, on the back of which there is a list in Tibetan of goods pooled by the members (*na-tseng-li*   (P.t.1102). This too provides supplementary evidence of the use of Tibetan in these associa tions[33].

These Tibetan documents relating to community associations date from the period of Tibetan rule [34], but the bilingual Tibeto-Chinese communities created during this period appear to have continued to exist under the Return-to-Allegiance Army. This is suggested by the existence of a Tibetan manuscript pertaining to a form of onomancy known as wu-hsing   ('five surnames'), in which surnames are classified in accordance with the five notes of the pentatonic scale, and the manuscript in question is thought to date from the tenth century (*Myi'i rus pa dgu "yim gang la gtogs pa'i mdo*) [35]. This form of divination based on the 'five surnames' would have been of no use to non-Chinese or at least people who had not undergone a considerable degree of sinicization, and it was probably used by Chinese who had come under the strong influence of the Tibetan language [36]. Material such as this serves to shed light on one aspect of bilingual Tibeto-Chinese communities, and it is possible to ascertain the use of at least the Tibetan script up until the second half of the tenth century.

II-5. Tibeto-Chinese Bilingual Texts

With the increasing penetration of the Tibetan script and language in the Han-Chinese society of Tun-huang during the period of Tibetan rule, there gradually developed the practice among some Chinese of using the Tibetan script, rather than Chinese characters, to write Chinese, and this has resulted in the survival of various kinds of Chinese texts transcribed in Tibetan. Broadly speaking, these consist of the following types:

Buddhist scriptures: *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Chin-kang ching*   ), Smaller *Sukhā-vatīvyūha* (*A-mi-t'o ching*   ), "Samantamukha-parivarta" ("P'u-men p'in"   ) of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Fa-hua ching*   ), *T'ien-ti pa-yang shen-chou ching*   , *Heart Sutra* (*Pan-jo hsin-ching*   ).

Songs and poems: "Tui Ming-chu"   on the tune of Cheng Lang-tzu tz'u   , "Yu chiang lo"   on the tune of Fan lung-chou   , "Han-shih p'ian"   .

Catechisms, etc.: *P'u-ti Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men*   , Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh"   , "Long Scroll" ("Ch'ang-chüan"   ).

Buddhist eulogies: *Tao-an fa-shih nien-fo tsan*   ] and eulogies contained in

---

[33]Takata Tokio, "Tsang-wen she-i wen-shu erh-san chung"   (Two or three community documents in Tibetan), in *Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan yen-chiu* (see n.28), Vol. 3 (1998), pp.183-190.

[34]I was previously of the view that, because of their phonological features, the regulations in Ch.73.xiii.18 could date from the 10th century; see "Bouddhisme chinois en écriture tibétaine: Le Long Rouleau chinois et la communauté sino-tibétaine de Dunhuang", in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales, quelques cas de réciproques adaptations* (Paris, 1994), p.144. However, it is in certain respects inappropriate to form such a judgement purely on the basis of phonological features, and I now believe that these regulations should after all be considered to date from the period of Tibetan rule. Accordingly I hereby wish to withdraw the view put forward in the above article.

[35]Takata Tokio. "Gosei wo toku Tonkō shiryō"   (Material from Tun-huang concerning the five-surname theory), *Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku*   , Special Issue 14 (1991), pp.249-268.

[36]Many of these Chinese texts transcribed in Tibetan script may be found in Takata, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugo shi no kenkyū* (see n.8). On the "Long Scroll", see Takata Tokio "Chibetto moji shosha *Chōkan* no kenkyū (honbun hen)"   (   ) (A study of the Chinese "Long Scroll" in Tibetan script: Text and facsimile), *Tōhō Gakuhō*   (Kyōto) 65 (1993), pp.380-313, 14 pls. In addition, W. South Coblin, "Two Notes on the London Long Scroll", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58 (1995), pp.105-108, identifies ll.73-83 of the recto side on the basis of S.5809 and l.44 of the verso side on the basis of P.2066, thereby filling two lacunae in my above study.

"Long Scroll" such as *Nan-tsung tsan*   and *Tz'u tao-ch'ang tsang*   .

Primers: Multiplication table, *Tsa-ch'ao*   , *Ch'ien-tzu wen*   .

Firstly, chronologically speaking, it is worth noting that these texts were written not only during the T'u-po period, but up until the period of the Return-to-Allegiance Army under the Ts'ao in the tenth century. Among the Buddhist scriptures, there are clear differences in phonological features between those dating from the T'u-po period and those from the Return-to-Allegiance Army period, and these allow one to draw quite interesting inferences, which will be touched on in the following section. Songs and poems are written chiefly on *glegs tshas* from the scripture-copying centres of the T'u-po period, and they were presumably written by scribes as they sang to themselves to relieve the boredom of copying out the scriptures. They are a type of random jotting and would probably not have been committed to writing in any other circumstances (see Texts 4 and 5). The introductions to Buddhism and eulogies would have been used on a daily basis in monasteries by the monks. The London "Long Scroll", the longest of the Tibeto-Chinese transcriptional texts, consists mainly of cat echisms and eulogies and, judging from its content and phonological features, was most certainly used in a tenth-century monastery. For some unknown reason Buddhist texts from the T'u-po texts such as these, reflecting monastic life, have been discovered. Among the primers, the *Tsa-ch'ao*[37], like the songs and poems, is found on *glegs tshas* dating from the T'u-po period. Likewise, the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* (Ch.86.II Verso; differs from the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* with phonetic glosses [P. 1046]) also dates from the T'u-po period. The multiplication table, on the other hand, has on its verso a Tibetan document containing the name of a Khotanese envoy Liu Ssu-k'ung   and it clearly dates from the time of the Return-to-Allegiance Army.

What is important here is the fact that the tradition of writing Chinese with the Tibetan script, established during the period of Tibetan rule, was still being maintained in the tenth century under the Return-to-Allegiance Army of the Ts'ao. After the expulsion of Tibetan forces from Tun-huang, all political pressure to use the Tibetan language and script would of course have disappeared. But once a particular custom has been established, it does not vanish all that easily, and one must also take into account the possibility that this tradition was preserved by a social stratum that had been alienated from the study of Chinese writing. However, at present there does not exist any material able to provide evidence in this regard.

III. THE CHINESE LANGUAGE IN TUN-HUANG

As was pointed out at the beginning, Tun-huang was a colonial town of Han-Chinese with long-standing traditions going back to Han times, and it would be by no means surprising should a distinctive dialect have developed during its long history. This would have been all the more likely in view of the fact that Tun-huang was often cut off politically from the central government. But since many of the colonists would have come from the neighbouring regions of Kan-su   and Shan-hsi   it can also be readily imagined that the patois spoken in Tun-huang would have belonged in a broad sense to the Northwestern dialect. In point of fact, it was noted at an early stage on the basis of an analysis of the phonetic forms

---

[37]On the content of the *Tsa-ch'ao*, see Naba Toshisada   , "Tō shōhon Zasshō kō"   (A study of a T'ang copy of the *Tsa-ch'ao*), *Shinagaku*   10 (1932), pp.437-527 (reprinted in *id. Tōdai shakai bunka shi kenkyū*   [Studies in T'ang-dynasty social and cultural history; Tokyo, 1974], pp.197-268) and Chou I-liang   , "Tun-huang hsieh-pen tsa-ch'ao k'ao"   , *Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao*   35 (1948), pp.205-212 (reprinted in Chou I-liang chi   [Collected Works of Chou I-liang; Shên-yang, 1988], Vol.3, pp.271-9.

found in the above-mentioned Chinese texts transcribed in Tibetan that the Chinese language used in Sha-chou during the T'ang dynasty possessed the characteristics of the Northwestern dialect. But during the T'ang dynasty, prior to Tibetan rule, Tun-huang would have been strongly imbued with the customs and institutions of central China, as were all parts of China at this time. The bureaucrats dispatched from the central government would have spoken the normative language of the capital Ch'ang-an   and the texts used at schools would also have had to be read in the normative pronunciation of Ch'ang-an. Because, geographically speaking, Ch'ang-an itself also belonged to the area where the Northwestern dialect was spoken, the situation becomes a little complicated, but it must be assumed that the standard language, representing the refined speech of the T'ang dynasty (and best exemplifed, as in the case of Mandarin in later times, by the language of the bureaucracy), would have been differentiated from the local dialect of Ch'ang-an. If there were differences even in Ch'ang-an, then it may be supposed that the differences between standard speech and the local dialect in Tun-huang would have been still more noticeable and more strongly felt. Moreover, although the dialect of Tun-huang (Ho-hsi dialect) [38] would have been the native tongue of the majority of local inhabitants, its status would have remained unrecognized on official occasions. But after the restoration of Chinese hegemony in 848 by Chang I-ch'ao   Tun-huang became in effect an independent state and its links with central China slowly diminished, while at the same time the position of the Tun-huang dialect rose proportionately and it began to appear on the public stage. Especially in the tenth century, under the Return-to-Allegiance Army of the Ts'ao, the Tun-huang dialect may be assumed to have become the standard language of the independent state of Tun-huang. Whereas the Chinese texts transcribed in Tibetan during the period of Tibetan rule and the early stages of rule by the Return-to-Allegiance Army reflect the standard pronunciation of Ch'ang-an or a pronunciation that is very close to this, texts from the later period of rule by the Return-to-Allegiance Army clearly exhibit the characteristics of the Ho-hsi dialect. It may thus be assumed that whereas standard pronunciation was used for reciting Buddhist scriptures at monasteries during the T'ang dynasty and the period of Tibetan rule, under the Return-to-Allegiance Army local pronunciation began to be used. This is a vivid manifestation of the changes that occurred in the norms of Chinese spoken in Tun-huang. But it should be noted that the local Tun-huang dialect would have existed throughout this entire period, and it would naturally have been used on a daily basis by the people of Tun-huang under T'ang and Tibetan rule too. It is only because of its low degree of recognition at this time that it has been scarcely reflected at all in extant materials. The phonetic equivalents of the names recorded in the association regulations alluded to earlier in Section 2-4 display the phonetic forms of the Tun-huang dialect, and on this account these texts were initially wrongly dated. But because they are neither Buddhist scriptures nor songs or poems, there would have been no need to use the reading pronunciation, and it is for this reason that the everyday pronunciation is thought to have appeared in these names. In this sense these materials are all the more valuable.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As was explained at the beginning, since Han times Tun-huang had generally belonged to the world of Chinese-speaking Han-Chinese. It is also true that, because of its position as a crossroads on the

---

[38]The dialect of Tun-huag was by no means an isolated dialect, and it may be assumed that cognate dialects were found throughout Ho-hsi. The term "Ho-hsi dialect" is here used to designate this dialect; see Takata, *Tonkō shiryo ni yoru Chūgokugo-shi no kenkyū* (see n.8), Sect.1 "Kyū-jusseiki no Kasei no rekishi jōsei to Kasei hōgen"   (The historical situation in 9th- and 10th-century Ho-hsi and the Ho-hsi dialect) (pp.5-8).

Silk Road, many different peoples passed through Tun-huang, thereby leading to the development of a multilingual world. But this did not alter the fact that Chinese was the prevailing language. However, the period of Tibetan rule from 786 to the mid-ninth century had a profound influence on this Chinese-speaking world. Later, Chinese culture revived under the rule of the Return-to-Allegiance Army, and the Ho-hsi dialect of Chinese emerged as the chief language of Tun-huang. But this was no more than a fleeting phenomenon, and although it is difficult to corroborate on the basis of extant materials, it would appear that after the gradual spread of Uighur influence in the late tenth century the use of Chinese slowly declined, to be eventually superseded by Uighur and other languages. However, following the vicissitudes of the Hsi-hsia, Yuan and Ming periods, Tun-huang has today once again reverted to an almost completely Sinophonic society. This state of affairs was brought about by renewed colonization during the reigns of the Ch'ing emperors Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung and it offers an apposite illustration of how the survival of languages in frontier regions is influenced by changes in the political situation. There is very little material that enables us to speculate on the linguistic situation in Tun-huang in the centuries immediately preceding the Ch'ing dynasty. By way of contrast, because of the existence of the many manuscripts discovered in the Library Cave at Tun-huang, it is possible to gain a rough picture of the linguistic situation prior to the eleventh century. It is of this that this essay has attempted to present a preliminary overview, but it has regrettably not been possible to examine in detail the background of the various source materials.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

The following texts are reproduced here with the aim of supplementing my previous publications. They are all fragments, and although their value as source materials cannot be said to be all that great, it is to be hoped that they will nonetheless serve to some extent as supplementary material.

Text l: Pelliot tib.1261 Verso

(1) */:/ gcig   /   bcu   /   brgya'   /   stong   /   khri   /*
     "e ka (eka)   da sha (daśa)   sha ta (śata)   sa ha sra (sahasra)   "a yu ta (ayuta)

(2)   *'bum   /   sa ya   /   bye ba^1 /   dung phyur   /*
     lag ksha (lakṣa)   ni yu ta (niyuta)   ko' ṭi' (koṭī)   nyar bu da^2 (nyarbuda)
              ( )   ( )

(3)   *ther'bum   /   shu [rd]og^3 /   mchog ñal   /   skyang 'pyes   /*
     pad ma (padma)   knar ba (kharva)   ni khar ba (nikharva)   [   ]

(4)   *bye ma nab nub   /   thig 'bum mam mtsho yas   /   lhab   /   phyor   /   dzi   /*
     sha ṭa ku   [   ]   [   ]   [   ]   [   ]

The above corresponds to "names of worldly numerals" (*'jig rten pa'i grangs kyi ming*) in the *Bre brag tu rtogs par bye pa*, sDe-dge ed. (Tōhoku No.4346), Co 113a (= *Mahāvyutpatti* [Sakaki ed.], nos. 8050-68). The original manuscript gives only the Tibetan and the Sanskrit equivalents transcribed in Tibetan script; the Sanskrit forms in parentheses and the Chinese equivalents have been added from the Sakaki edition. Whereas the bsTan-'gyur text gives first the Sanskrit form and then the Tibetan equivalent, in the Tun-huang manuscript the order has been reversed. Moreover, the bsTan-'gyur text gives the neuter case ending of each Sanskrit term (with *anusvāra*), but the Tun-huang manuscript gives only the stem form. In addition, whereas the bsTan-'gyur text regularly indicates Sanskrit cerebrals by means of the inverted form of the corresponding Tibetan graph, the Tun-huang manuscript is inconsistent in this regard. Further differences between the bsTan-'gyur text and Tun-huang manuscript are as follows:

1. In the bsTan-'gyur text this is followed by the entry *"arbu daṃ = bye ba*.
2. bsTan-'gyur text gives *nya rbu daṃ*.
3. bsTan-'gyur text gives *shu rdogs*.

Text 2: Pelliot tib.1260 (fragment of Tibeto-Chinese glossary)

(1)   ...   / *rab "a ma(?)* / *zo ca* /   /...
(2)   *gzar ~~sou bu~~* /   / *zhan bu* /   / *tshar phe* /   ...
(3)   *pho bu*   / *pi cag chan pho* /   / *klu he(?)*...
(4)   *gri*   / *dri ri*   / *cag zang*   / *zangs sang* /   ...

In view of the many orthographical errors, the following comments may be helpful:
(1)   *zo ca* = pitcher? The Chinese equivalent cannot be made out.
(2)   *gzar* is a rug placed under a saddle to protect the horse's back, but the Chinese equivalent is missing; *zhan bu* = *zhal bu* 'small cup'? — the final character   of   is perhaps   ; if *tshar phe* is a variant of *tshar spe*, then it signifies a heap of harvested grain.
(3)   If *pho bu* is equivalent to *phor bu* 'small cup', then Ch.   should perhaps also be read   , although ta means 'big' rather than 'small'; *pi cag chan pho*: *pi cag* is a loanword corresponding to Turkish *bıçak* 'knife and the like', a nominal derivative of the verbal root *bıç / biç* 'cut' (cf. Sir Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* [Oxford, 1972], p. 293), while *chan po* is a variant form of *chen po* 'big', and thus the entire phrase tallies with Ch.   ; *klur he*: meaning unclear. (4) *gri* 'knife' tallies with Ch.   ; *dra ri = dra gri* 'knife used for sewing'?   is presumably meant for   ; *cag zang = lcags zangs* 'iron kettle', with Ch.   emended to   ; *zanes sang zangs zangs* 'copper kettle', with Ch.   similarly emended to   .

Text 3: Ch.73.viii, frag.3 (Poussin, Cat.724)

// *byi ba la* // *glang la* // *stag la* // *yos bu la* // *'brug la* // *sbrul la* // *rta la* // *lug la* // *sphre'u la* //
   tshi   *che'u*   *'ying*   *'bre'u*   *zhin*   *zi*   *'gu*   *'bri*   *gzhin*

bya la   //   *khri la*   //   *phag la* //
  ye'u   *gshur*   *hra'*

Text 4: Pelliot tib.1259, "Yu chiang lo"   on the tune of Fan lung-chou

(1) *chun phung se yu cam "i shib / ha shi kho khwar "ig yang chun /*
                 霜

   nam ci li sheng sen (2) dze'u khe'u / pug ci lan ling to yig la'u /

   ye'u bo'u tung se si hu shu / hud cag jong kang wan lu le'u /

   beg lu shong pyi chur keng hag / bu shu kang "e'u shu shang ye'u /
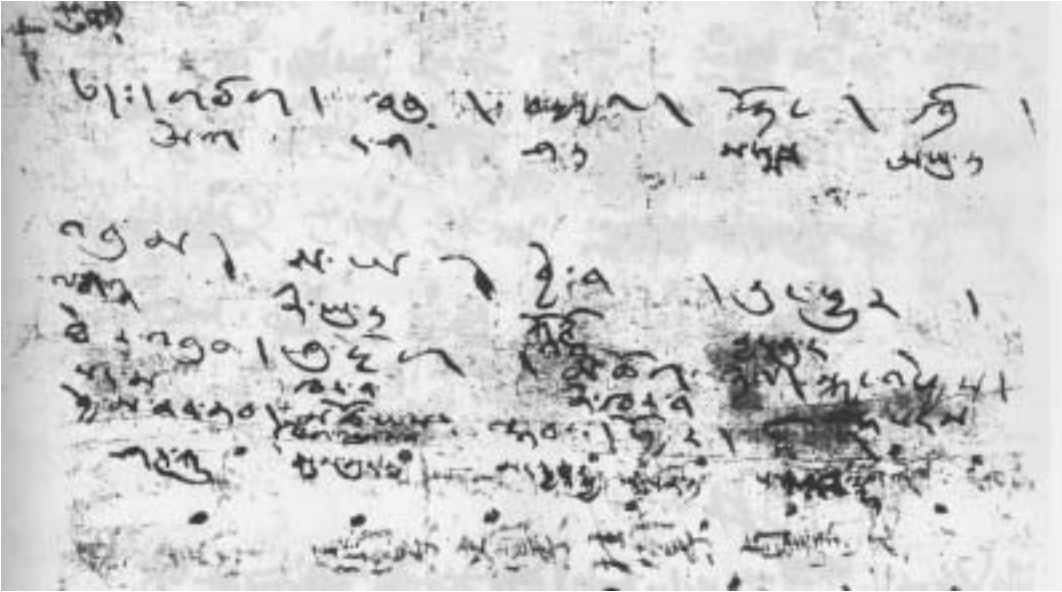   谿   鷗

(3) *yi'u kang lag bam lung ci'u /*

The Chinese text appears together with Text 5 in P.3271 and S.6537. In the original Chinese, the two characters at the start of l.6 are   , but they do not tally with Tib. *hud cag*; further deliberation is required. The Chinese text may be found in Jao Tsong-yi and Paul Demiéville, *Airs de Touen-houang* (Paris, 1971), pp.265-266, and in Jen Pan-t'ang   , textit*Tun-huang ko-tz'u tsung-pien*   (collection of songs and poems from Tun-huang), Vol.1 (Shang-hai, 1987), pp.379, 400.

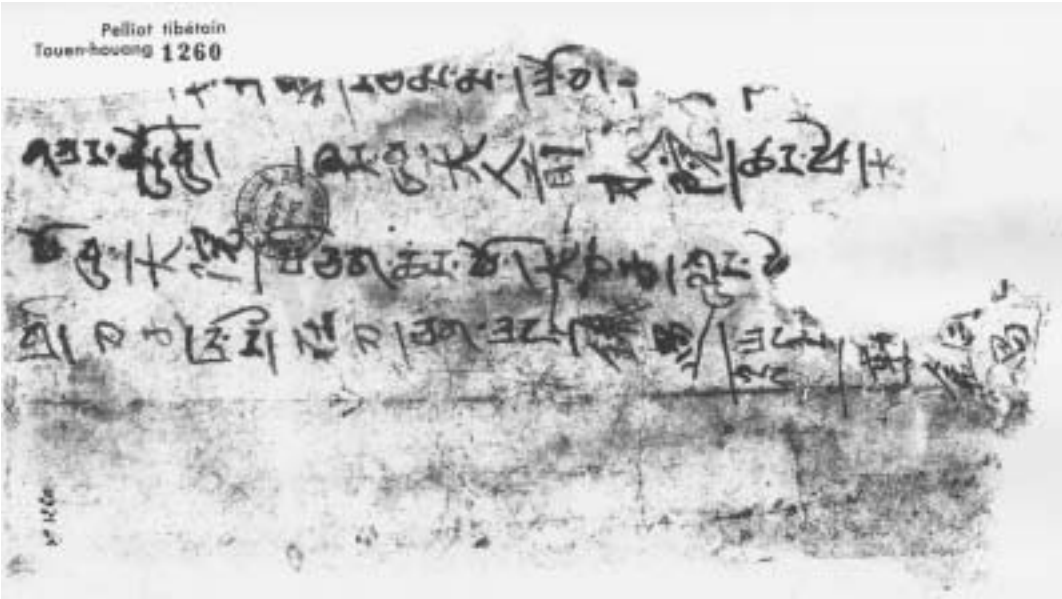Text 5: Pelliot tib.1235 Verso, "Tui Ming-chu"   on the tune of Cheng Lang-tzu tz'u

tsheng si hya'n [ ] beg 'gog / k'ung sha'ng ka'g ci [ ] 'go "im tswag /

ha shi tig dwa'i meng cu da'n / "yi hda'n / da'n khag then ha khwag //

The Chinese text appears together with Text 4 in P.3271 and S.6537. The syllables corresponding to Ch.   and   are missing in the Tibetan manuscript.
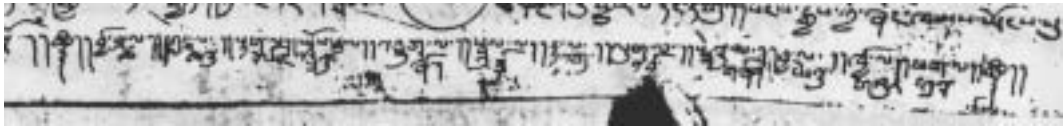
Plate I

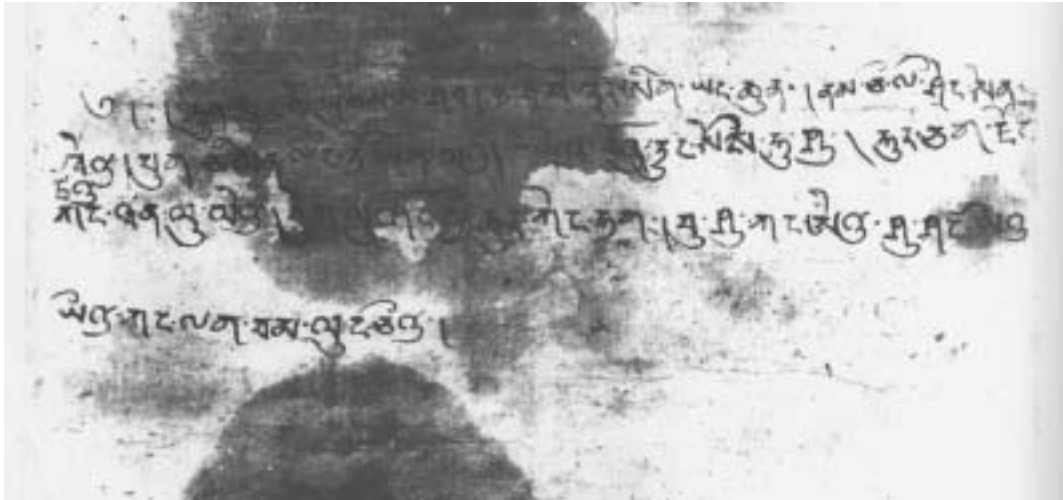Text 1: Pelliot tib. 1261 Verso, Part of *Mahāvyutpatti*.

Text 2: Pelliot tib. 1260, fragment of Tibeto-Chinese glossary.

Plate II

Text 3: Ch.73 viii frag. 3 (Poussin Cat. 724), Tibeto-Chinese bilingual list of the "twelve branches".

Text 4: Pelliot tib. 1259, "Fan lung-chou".

Text 5: Pelliot tib. 1235, "Tui ming-chu".