ТАНГУТЫ
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Сборник статей
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профессора Е.И.Кычанова

Составитель и ответственный редактор
И.Ф. Попова

Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвя-
щен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук,
профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами
многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую
очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, бле-
стяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права,
этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большин-
ство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время
в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

Shōgaito Masahiro

Two Fragments of Chinese *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* Transcribed into Uighur Script: Дх-12114 and Дх-12082 Preserved in St. Petersburg

We have found more than a dozen fragments of Chinese texts transcribed into Uighur script at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, with the assistance of Prof. E.I. Kychanov. We identified them as being from the following three Buddhist texts: eight fragments of 聖妙吉祥眞實名經 (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti),* two fragments of 四分律比丘戒本 (*Si fen lü bi qiu jie ben*), and five fragments of 禮懺文 (*Li chan wen*) "Worship and repentance."[1] The original Chinese text of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* was translated into Chinese during the Yuan dynasty; therefore, the text could not have been transcribed into the Uighur script before that. However, the phonological system of Chinese transcribed into the Uighur script in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* bears a closer resemblance to the North-Western dialect of the later Tang or Five Dynasties period than to Chinese of the Yuan dynasty. The other texts transcribed into the Uighur script also display the same phonological characteristics as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti.* Meanwhile, Chinese spoken in Turfan and Dunhuang during the Yuan dynasty had a different phonological system, namely the Old Mandarin system known as 中原音韻 (*Zhongyuan yinyun*). Therefore, we inferred that the Uighur monks of the Yuan dynasty recited Chinese Buddhist texts in a historically unique way. We called this style of pronunciation 'Inherited Uighur Pronunciation of Chinese (IUPC).'

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[1] The studies of these fragments are published in Shōgaito 1995; 1996; 1997; 2003. Several fragments of this type are preserved in the Turfan Collection in Berlin. Among these fragments Peter Zieme found a fragment of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (Zieme 1996), Yutaka Yoshida found a fragment of 般若波羅蜜多心經 (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*) (Yoshida 2000), and we found a fragment of 梵網經 (*Brahmajāla-sūtra*) (Shōgaito 2009). Moreover, we found 阿含經 (*Āgama-sūtra*) at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Shōgaito 2009).

Since then, we have found at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS several other fragments of Chinese texts scribed into the Uighur script. We identified the contents of two of them as *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, but a different version of text than the text known before.

1. Text of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*

Our Chinese texts scribed into the Uighur script are composed of two fragments numbered Дх-12082 and Дх-12114, which belong to *Mañjuśrīnāma-saṃgīti*. These texts are written on the reverse of Chinese 妙法蓮華経 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*).[2] Among the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* texts transcribed into the Uighur script there are no other texts written on the reverse side of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. The text of the two fragments in the Uighur script corresponds to the original Chinese one except for three characters.[3]

1.1. Transliteration

Дх-12114
A1) [ ] qwq q-' s[yn
A2) cww v'q 世界[
A3) sy nynk kww [
A4) cy 'ww qww 大[
A5) 四 tym cww 中[
A6) 以 七 qwq cy v[y
A7) syk 二 šwl'y qwn[k
A8) q'y 八 t'w 正 'yk[y
A9) 二 q'y 真[
A10) 於

Дх-12082
B1) [   ]之 [
B2) [   ] 中之 [
B3) [sy]p sy syr [
B4) [ ] lw[q] syr [
B5) yy sy syp c[wnk
B6) synk q'y 'y[r
B7) 一切正 qwq q'n q['
B8) 無 pyn 'yk q'y [
B9) py cww c'r n' [

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[2] The contents of Дх-12082 corresponds to *Taishō Tripitaka,* vol. 9, p. 56a12-18, and the contents of Дх-12114 corresponds to p. 56a28-b4.

[3] The fragment of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* in Zieme 1996 also has these characteristics of the Uighur scripts. This fragment is also written on the reverse of a Chinese text which Zieme considered to be *Prajñāpāramitā*, but it is 大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經 (*Da tong fang guang chan hui zui zhuang yan cheng fo jing*) and corresponds to *Taishō Tripitaka,* vol. 85, p.1341c1-13.

B10) yyk q'y c'r n' [
B11) [   ] synk c' [

1.1. Corresponding Chinese *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*

    大寶光明具吉祥　A1)　正**覺化身**莊嚴具
A2)　**諸百世界**皆令動　A3)　**而能具**彼神足力
A4)　**持於廣大**實性念　A5)　**四念住中**靜慮王
A6)　**以七覺支為**花香　A7)　**即是如來功**德海
A8)　**解八道支義**理故　A9)　**是解真**實正覺道
A10) 於諸有情大分著　　　亦如**虛**空無所著
    一切有情意中生　　　速疾猶如有情意
    解諸有情根與義　　　能奪有情諸心意
    亦解五蘊實性義　　　清淨五蘊令受持
    決定出彼諸邊際　　　亦能出於決定中
    向決定出道中住　　　宣**說**一切決定出
    拔十二支三有根　　　持於清淨十二種
B1)　具有四諦**之**義相　B2)　解持八**種之**心識
B3)　**十二實**義令具足　B4)　**十六實**性現體解
B5)　**以二十種**成菩提　B6)　**勝解一**切正覺相
B7)　**一切正覺幻化**身　B8)　**無邊億界**令出現
B9)　**彼諸剎那**現了解　B10) **亦解剎那**諸有義
B11) 種種**乘者**方便理　.　　利益去來皆了解

(*Taishō Tripitaka,* vol. 20, p. 829b23-c11）

2. Phonological reconstruction of the Chinese characters

We reconstructed the phonological forms of the Chinese characters transcribed into the Uighur script by applying the phonological system of IUPC proposed in Shōgaito 2003.

The first reconstruction of this phonological system was made in Shōgaito 1995 and then revised in Shōgaito 2003. For the further discussion we focus on the following main characteristics of IUPC:

1) Tones are not distinguished.

2) Middle Chinese *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz-*, *s-*, and *z-* are mostly represented as *s-*.

3) Middle Chinese *tʂ-*, *tʂ'-*, *tɕ-*, *tɕ'-*, *t-*, *t'-*, and *d-* are represented as *č-*.

4) Middle Chinese labiovelars are almost delabialized. 化 *hua* <χua> *q-'* is represented as χa, not χua.

5) Middle Chinese *k-*, *k'-*, and *g-* are represented as *k-* when combined with a final in division (= grade) 3 or 4, having a medial *-i-*, *-ɿ-*, and as *q-* elsewhere. 固 *gu* <ko> *qw* qu, 句 *ju* <kɪu> *kw* ku.

6) Middle Chinese *m-* and *n-* are denasalized. However, the nasal *m-* remains when the syllabic ending is also nasal: 妙 *miao* <miɛu> *pyw* beu ~ 面 *mian* <miɛn> *myn* men, while *n-* is denasalised almost completely: 泥 *ni* <niei> *ty* di ~ 念 *nian* <niem> dem, 難 *nan* <nân> dan.

7) Middle Chinese non-nasal stops are not dropped in the final position: 業 *ye* <ŋɪɐp> *kyp* geb, 別 *bie* <pɪɛt> *pyr* per, 欲 *yu* <yiok> *ywq* yuɣ.

8) The final *-ŋ* is dropped in the Dang group (宕摄 *dang she*: *-âŋ*, *-iâŋ*, *uâŋ*, *iuâŋ*) and Geng group (梗摄 *geng she*: *-âŋ*, *-aŋ*, *-iaŋ*, *-uaŋ*, *iuaŋ*, *-ieŋ*, *-iɛŋ*): 當 *dang* <tâŋ> *tw* to, 名 *ming* <miɛŋ> *my* me. Cf. Ceng group (曾摄 *ceng she*: *-əŋ*, *-iəŋ*): 登 *deng* <təŋ> *tynk* tïŋ, Tong group (通摄 *tong she*: *-uŋ*, *-iuŋ*, *-ioŋ*): 功 *gong* <kuŋ> *qwnk* quŋ, 從 *zong* <dzioŋ> *swnk* suŋ.

2.1. Reconstructed forms of the characters

2.1.1. Typical forms in terms of IUPC

覺 <kɔk> qwq /qoγ/ (A1)(A6)(B7)
化 <χua> q' /χa/ (A1)(B7)
身 <ɕien> s[yn] /šin/ (A1)
諸 <tɕio> cww /cuu/ (A2)
而 <nʑiəi> sy /ži/ (A3)
能 <nəŋ> nynk /nïŋ/ (A3)
具 <gɪu> kww /kuu/ (A3)
持 <ɖiəi> cy /ci/ (A4)
於 <ˑɪo> 'ww /uu/ (A4)
廣 <kuâŋ> qww /qou/ (A4)
念 <niem> tym /dem/ (A5)
住 <ɖiu> cww /cuu/ (A5)
支 <tɕie> cy /ci/ (A6)
為 <ɦɪue> vy /vi/ (A6)
即 <tsiək> syk /sig/ (A7)
如 <nʑio> šw /žu/ (A7)
來 <lâi> l'y /lai/ (A7)
功 <kuŋ> qwnk /quŋ/ (A7)
解 <kaï> q'y /qai/ (A8)(A9)(B6)(B10)
道 <dâu> t'w /tau/ (A8)
十 <ʑiəp> [sy]p /šib/ (B3)(B5)
二 <nʑiei> sy /ži/ (B3)(B5)
實 <dʑiet> syr /šir/ (B3)(B4)
六 <liuk> lw[q] /luγ/ (B4)
以 <yiəi> yy /yi/ (B5)
種 <tɕioŋ> c[wnk] /cuŋ/ (B5)
勝 <ɕiəŋ> synk /šiŋ/ (B6)
一 <ˑiet> 'y[r] /ir/ (B6)
幻 <ɦuan> q'n /χan/ (B7)
邊 <pien> pyn /pen/ (B8)
億 <ˑiək> 'yk /ig/ (B8)
界 <kai> q'y /qai/ (B8)
彼 <pɪe> py /pi/ (B9)
諸 <tɕio> cww /cuu/ (B9)

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刹 <tʂʻat> cʻr /car/ (B9)(B10)
亦 <yiɛk> yyk /yeg/ (B10)
乘 <dʑiəŋ> synk /šiŋ/ (B11)
者 <tɕia> cʻ /cä/ (B11)

The forms between the slash marks are the reconstructed phonological ones. We could easily reconstruct these forms by applying the phonological system of IUPC. In the other words, these writings in the Uighur script were done using the phonological system of IUPC.

2.1.2. Forms alien to the IUPC

We must note that the following three forms are somewhat alien to the normal system.

a) 百 <pak> is normally transcribed into *p'q* and reconstructed as /paɣ/, but here it is written as *v'q* (A2). There are some other examples showing that script *v* can correspond to Middle Chinese *p* or *pʻ* in the Chinese texts scribed into Uighur script: 八 <pat> *v'r*, 悲 <pĕi> *vy*, and 普 <pʻo> *vw*. We reconstructed these transliterated forms respectively as /far/, /fi/, and /fu/. Therefore, *v'q* may be reconstructed as /faɣ/.

b) The nasal initial *n-* when it had no nasal endings (-*m*, -*n*, -*ŋ*) in the finals, was denasalized and became *d-* in IUPC. Therefore, 那 <nâ> was to be transcribed into *d'* (or *t'*) and to be reconstructed as /da/, but here it was transcribed into *n'* (B9)(B10). This denasalazation-rule is rigid in IUPC, so we regard *n'* in (B9)(B10) as a special form constituting the second part of the Buddhist term 刹那 <tʂʻat nâ>, and reconstruct it as /na/.

c) 義 <ŋɪĕ> is transcribed into *'yk[y]*(A8). This character is normally transcribed into *ky* and reconstructed as /gi/. We consider that the velar nasal initial *ŋ-* in Middle Chinese is generally denasalized in IUPC, but in our text there are a few curious forms that correspond to *ŋ-*: 五 <ŋo> *'wqw* /uɣu/ (while the normal form is *qw* /ɣu/) and 願 <ŋɪuɐn> *'wykwn* /uigun/ (the normal form is *kwn* /gun/). These curious forms *'wk-* (/uɣ-/) and *'wyk-* (/uig-/) corresponding to the initial *ŋ-* might express some remnant of the original nasal qualities of initials. Here we would reconstruct *'yk[y]* as /igi/ for present purposes.

2.2. Unusial usage of the Chinese characters

The three characters 二正中 written instead of the Uighur script correspond to 是支種 in the Chinese text. If we replace the latter three characters with the former ones in the same order, the contents of the Chinese text will be different from the original. However, if we recite these characters in IUPC, both texts will have the same or similar phonological forms, as shown below:

是 < ʑie rising tone> : 二 < nʑiei departing tone> (A7)(A9) IUPC /ši/ : /ži/
支 <tɕie level tone> : 正 <tɕiɛŋ level tone> (A8) IUPC /či/ : /če/
種 <tɕioŋ rising tone> : 中 <ȶiuŋ level tone> IUPC /čuŋ/ : /čuŋ/ (B2)

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Though we cannot understand why 二正中 were used for 是支種, it is clear that the writer of this text knew that the former three characters belonged to the same phonological categories as the latter three.[4] However, a problem for us is that 是 and 支 do not show the same sounds as 二 and 正 respectively in IUPC.

The similar problems arise with the phonetic notes written in interlinear. For example, in Chinese, the interlinear character 二 <nʑiei> is written for the same sound as 屍 <ɕiei>, but the phonological forms of these two characters are different in IUPC: the former is represented as /ži/ and the latter is represented as /ši/. Moreover, the interlinear character 藉 <ʣiɛk> is written for the same sound as 即 <tsiək>, but in IUPC their phonological forms are /seg/ and /sig/, respectively.[5] These distinctions between /ž/ and /š/ or between /e/ and /i/ in IUPC are common issues we found in our texts.

The reconstruction of the phonological system of IUPC was made basing on the Chinese texts transcribed into the Uighur script, comparing it with Middle Chinese, the North-Western dialect of Chinese in the later Tang dynasty, and Old Mandarin. We found that employing the information about Chinese made some reconstructed sounds too narrowly classified because the Uighur script is polyphonic. Consonants /š/ and /ž/ are written with the same script, *s* or *s'*. Both vowels /i/ and /e/ are written with a single script *y*. Here, we could argue that /š/ and /ž/ or /i/ and /e/ denoted the same sound, probably /š/ and /i/. However, there might be another possibility, namely that the writers of these characters recognized these subtle distinctions of IUPC, but they used these characters to represent similar sounds. At present, it is unknown which possibility is correct.

2.3. Chinese characters in the texts

We can infer that the characters in the texts other than 中二正 mentioned in section 2.2 were also read in IUPC. We reconstruct their phonological forms by using the phonological system of IUPC, as shown below:

世(A2) <ɕiɛi> /ši/
界(A2) <kai> /qai/
大(A4) <dâi> /tai/
四(A5) <siei> /sï/
以(A6) <yiəi> /yi/
七(A6) <ts'iet> /sir/

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[4] There is a similar usage of Chinese characters in the fragment numbered as SI Kr. IV 309. This fragment contains the part of Chinese 四分律比丘戒本 (*Si fen lü bi qiu jie ben*) transcribed into the Uighur script. Preceeding the Uighur scripts there are three lines of Chinese characters, and the second line is 月説戒竟衆來若. This string of characters corresponds to original 月説戒經中來若, that is 竟衆 are written instead of 經中. Though 竟衆 has no meaning in this string of characters, it has the same phonological form as 經中 in terms of IUPC as shown below:
　經 <kieŋ> : 竟 < kɪaŋ>　IUPC /ke/ : /ke/
　中 <ȶiuŋ> : 衆 <tɕiuŋ>　IUPC /čuŋ/ : /čuŋ/
[5] These examples are from the texts of Chinese *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* which are preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, and numbered as Дх-17385 and Дх-17058.

八(A8) <pat> /far/
真(A9) <tɕien> /cin/
於(A10) <ˈıo> /uu/
之(B1) <tɕiəi> /ci/
一(B7) <ˈiet> /ir/
切(B7) <ts'iei> /si/
無(B8) <ŋɹu> /uu/

2.4. Reconstructed text

Here, we show how Uighur monks recited our texts. The missing parts of the text, which are put in square brackets, are also reconstructed by using the phonological system of IUPC.

Дх-12114
A1) [če] qoγ χa š[in čo yem kuu]   正覺化身莊嚴具
A2) čuu faγ ši qai [qai le tuŋ]   諸百世界皆令動
A3) ži nïŋ kuu [pi šin suγ lig]   而能具彼神足力
A4) či uu qou tai [šir se dem]   持於廣大實性念
A5) sï dem čuu čuŋ [se lu wo]   四念住中靜慮王
A6) yi sir qoγ či v[i χa xo]   以七覺支為花香
A7) sig ži žulai qu[ŋ tïg χai]   即是如來功德海
A8) qai far tau če ig[i li qu]   解八道支義理故
A9) ži qai čin [šir če qoγ tau]   是解真實正覺道
A10) uu [čuu yu se tai fïn čaγ]   於諸有情大分著

Дх-12082
B1) [kuu yu sï ti] či [igi so]   具有四諦之義相
B2) [qai či var] čuŋ či [sim šig]   解持八種之心識
B3) [ši]b ži šir [igi le kuu suγ]   十二實義令具足
B4) [šib] lu[γ] šir [se xen ti qai]   十六實性現體解
B5) yi ži šib č[uŋ še pu ti]   以二十種成菩提
B6) šiŋ qai i[r si če qoγ so]   勝解一切正覺相
B7) ir si če qoγ χan χ[a šin]   一切正覺幻化身
B8) uu pen ig qai [le čur xen]   無邊億界令出現
B9) pi čuu čar na [xen leu qai]   彼諸剎那現了解
B10) yeg qai čar na [čuu yu igi]   亦解剎那諸有義
B11) [čuŋ čuŋ] šiŋ čä [fo pen li]   種種乘者方便理

3. Conclusion

Thus far, we have published eight fragments of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* transcribed into the Uighur script. This Buddhist text is especially important for studies on IUPC because it is fairly clear that the writing was done during the Yuan dynasty. The two fragments discussed here have Chinese characters incerted

in the Uighur scripts. In this way, they are different from other fragments of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* in Russia. It is noteworthy that some of these characters force us to re-examine the phonological system of IUPC.

We have found several more Chinese fragments written in Uighur script in the Russian Collection, but have not identified them yet.

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