



Title	Revising the Uigur Inscriptions of the Yulin Caves
Author(s)	Matsui, Dai
Citation	内陸アジア言語の研究. 2008, 23, p. 17-33
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://hdl.handle.net/11094/15011
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Revising the Uigur Inscriptions of the Yulin Caves

Dai Matsui

The 榆林 Yulin Caves, located ca. 100 km to the east of the 莫高 Mogao Caves of Dunhuang and ca. 55 km to the south of the 安西 Anxi Prefecture, is one of the most famous Buddhist sanctuary sites in the 甘肅 Gansu Province of China. Through the times the Yulin Caves have attracted a lot of Buddhist pilgrims, who wrote down many inscriptions on/beside the wall paintings of the caves, in various languages such as Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Tangut (Xixia 西夏) and Old Uigur. Most of those wall inscriptions carry more or less silly little contents — date, names of pilgrims, often adding their native place and their wish for Buddhahood — just like those by the modern travellers or sight viewers. Nevertheless, such information can provide a clue to reconstruct the traffic sphere of the pilgrimages and the social history of the Buddhists. Especially, most of the Uigur and Mongolian inscriptions belong to the Mongol times (the 13th–14th centuries), and can supplement the information on the Gansu region under the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, on which the historical source materials tell us so scarcely.

After the editions of the Chinese, Mongolian and Tangut inscriptions were published respectively,¹ appeared an epoch-making study by late Professor James Russel Hamilton in collaboration with Professor Niu Ruji. Their article in French published twenty of the Uigur inscriptions in the Yulin Caves together with the photographic reproductions on which their reading was based [Hamilton / Niu 1998]. In the same year, they published the Chinese version in collaboration with Prof. Yang Fuxue [Hamilton / Yang / Niu 1998], in which they dealt with only twelve inscriptions. Later, Niu Ruji himself also published the edition of the fourteen Uigur

* I would express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (Berlin) for improving my English.

1 For the Chinese wall inscriptions of the Mogao Caves, see Xie 1996 (first published in 1957), Sugiyama 1984, DMGD and GTH. Xie 1996 also carries those of the Yulin Caves with reference on the non-Chinese inscriptions. For the Mongolian, after Kotwicz [1925] and Kara [1976], the most reliable work is DhY / NMSfdx, though not entirely comprehensive: One of the inscriptions in the Yulin Cave 12 is re-edited in detail by Qaserdeni / Garudi / Bayanbayatur 1990. GTH carries also the Uigur and Mongolian inscriptions in the form of the reproduction of Pelliot's eye-copy, though insufficient — at the time of his investigation, 1908, Pelliot was not able to well decipher the Uigur and Mongolian [Moriyasu 1985, 10]. For the Tangut inscriptions, see Shi / Bai 1982.

inscriptions of the Yulin Caves [Niu 2002]. However, all of the Uigur inscriptions dealt with in these Chinese articles had been already edited in Hamilton / Niu 1998,² and the readings are substantially unchanged, except a few philological remarks.

In September 2006, I had a fortune to visit the Yulin Caves for investigation of the Uigur and Mongol inscriptions. Even though the time allowed for my research was so limited as only three hours, the investigation on the originals allowed me to improve the former edition and to find more or less important information on historical situation of Gansu in the 13th–14th centuries.

Expressing deep respect to the pioneering work by Prof. Hamilton and Prof. Niu, I present in this paper the revised edition³ of three of the Uigur inscriptions in the Yulin Cave 12: They have been edited as **H**, **J**, and **L** by Hamilton / Niu, and here I follow their designation. I could not get permission to take the photographs for academic publication, so that I can not offer the photographic reproductions for checking my revision. I would humbly ask the readers to see Hamilton / Niu [1998] for the photograhic reproductions, and I hope that the better reproductions will be provided in future.

Inscription H

Cave 12: Written on the inner-upper part on the south wall of the corridor to the anterior chamber.

- 1 quḍluy [luu] yīl (.....)
- 2 qayān qaḍun [s]oy[u]rqadīp qamīl-qa Y[]N
- 3 [buya]n qulī ong bašlay-līy biz X'D(....) P(....)
- 4 (...)MYŠ qīsaq-čī napčik-lig qamču T'V'[
- 5 [](.) ɬaruyači-nīng (q)uš-[č]i tārbiš bašlap
- 6 []KWY-lar birlä käl[i]p
- 7 [] ong-nīng (.)YPWR (....) süm-ä-tä kälip
- 8 [yan]mīš-ta buyanīmiz-(nī) ta mǎn yavlaq baxšī [
- 9 [] bīžī (P)Y(....)K-čī tāmür kin körmīš-[tä]
- 10 [ödig] bolzun tip sümkä bardīmiz mǎn(?) bī[t]i(p?)
- 11 [] quḍ[luγ] bolzun bardīmiz

2 The concordance of the Uigur inscriptions edited in the three articles is as follows:

Hamilton / Niu 1998 :	A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T
Hamilton / Yang / Niu 1998 :	A B C D F E G H I J K L
Niu 2002 :	E F G H I J K A L B C D M N O

3 In the edition [ABČ] stands for suggested restorations of missing letters; (ABČ) for letters partly damaged; [] for an estimated part; (...) for an estimated number of letters visible but illegible.

¹The fortunate year of [Dragon,th month, onth day.]
²The Emperor and Empress showing favour, [.....] to Qamīl [.....]
³We, headed by Prince [Buya]n-Qulī, ⁴the cart-driver [...][MYŠ, Qamču-...] from Napčik [.....] ⁵as well as Tärbiš, the falconer of the governor general, ⁶coming together with [.....] ⁷[.....] Prince's [.....] came to the monastery, and, ⁸when we return, transferring our merit, I, an inferior master ⁹[.....]-bižir (and) the (P)Y(....)K-čir, Tämür said “[in] looking later, ¹⁰(this inscription) shall be a [memory]!”, and we went to the monastery. I? wrote? [thus] and, [saying] ¹¹“May it be fortunate!”, we departed.

Notes

H1: This line is not visible on the photograph used by Hamilton / Niu, so the line numbers of my edition are different from theirs. The word before *yil* “year” is hardly visible, though we may restore *luu* “dragon” as most likely, judging from the short space of the lacuna.

H2a, qayan qaḡun: In order to show respect to “the Emperor and the Empress (of the Yuan Dynasty)”, these two words are lifted up higher than the top of other lines, so that they are not visible on the photograph of Hamilton / Niu.

H2b, [s]oy[u]rqadip: Damaged and fading. The reading (*ü*)yür *saḡip* “ayant vendu du millet” by Hamilton / Niu does not fit to the context. Tentatively I restore *[s]oy[u]rqadip* < v. *soyurqaḡ*- (caus. / simplex) < *soyurqa*- ~ *tsoyurqa*- “to show favour” [ED, 556], though still other reading is possible.⁴

H2c, qamīl: Old Uigur city name, transcribed as 哈密力 / 哈密里 / 哈木里, etc. in the Yuan-Chinese sources, corresponding to Yizhou 伊州 and modern 哈密 Hami (*Qomul* in Modern Uigur). See Moriyasu 1991, 192, for the attestations of *Qamīl* in the Old Uigur. Moriyasu reconstructs the original form as *qamal* (not *qamīl* nor *qomul*), while most of the attestations belonging to the Mongol times are of *X'MYL* = *qamīl*.

H3a, [buya]n qulī ong: Hamilton / Niu read wrongly as *qilī* (< v. *qil-*) “faissant, accomplissant, produisant” and translates *ong* as “droit, juste”. Uig. *qulī* is a frequently attested as an onomastic element, and *ong* “prince” is a loanword from Chin. 王 *wang*. Consequently he is a member of the Chinggisids and given the title of

4 In connection with preceding *qayan qaḡun*, I had once expected *[K]WY(P')KWT* = *[k]ö(bä)güt* < Mong. *köbegüd* (pl. < *köbegün*) “sons; princes”, though the face of letters do not accept. Yet we may note the attestation of *Irinčin köbegün* “Prince Irinčin” in a Mongolian inscription by a certain Temür-Buqa in the Mogao Cave 61 [DhY / NMSfdx, 8, n. 1]. Here “Prince Irinčin” may be identical with 亦鄰眞 Irinčin, the Prince of Bin (邈王) of 1380 as seen in *Ming Taizu Shilu*. Cf. Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 264-265.

王 *ong* by the Yuan Dynasty: Most probably, a member of the Eastern Chaghataids occupying the Gansu corridor. Before *qulī*, the stroke of a final *-N* is slightly legible. Consulting the historical sources for the prince named [...]*Jn-Qulī* among the Eastern Chaghataids [Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 242-287; Akasaka 2007, 47-48], we can pick up Buyan-Qulī, the prince of Wei-wu Xi-ning (威武西寧王), with whom I shall identify [...]*Jn-Qulī ong* here. The historical fact that the Princes of Wei-wu Xi-ning settled their basement around Hami [Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 274-283] and the attestations of *Qamil* (= Hami) and *Napčik* (= Lapčuq, see note **H4b** below) in this inscription lend support to my identification. The period when Buyan-Qulī was the Prince of Wei-wu Xi-ning is uncertain: His father İliqčī (~ Yīliqčī) was given the title in 1334, and his grandson Gunaširi was executed by the Ming army in 1390. If we assume that this inscription is of “the year of Dragon (*luu yił*)” (see note **H1** above), the date is limited either 1340, 1352 or 1364.⁵

H3b, X'D(...) **P(...)**: Rather clear in the photograph by Hamilton / Niu, though the original letters was so fading that I could not confirm their reading.

H4a, qīsaqčī: I translated as “cart-driver”, following Hamilton / Niu, who related Uig. *qīsaq* with Mong. *qasaq* “two-wheeled cart, cart” (Lessing, 941). We may add the Mongolian attestation as 中合撒黑帖兒堅 *qasaq tergen* = Chin. 大車 “a big cart” in the *Secret History* [SH, 01:44:08]. Preceding (...)MYŠ must be the name of the “cart-driver”.

H4b, napčik: Hamilton / Niu proposed three candidates of reading, *yäpčir* / *yäpčid* / *yäpčiv*, though on the original the letters were clearly written as *N'PČYK* = *napčik* (< Chin. 納職 *Na-zhi* **nāp-tšjək* < Sogd. **nopčik*), to be identified with the ruined site of Lapčuq (> Chin. 拉布楚喀 / 拉甫却克 / 拉布楚克), which is located ca. 50 km to the west of the city of Hami. Thus far the Uigur contract SUK Lo06₂ carries only attestation of this place name [Moriyasu 1990, 72-80; Moriyasu 1996, 82-88]. While SUK Lo06 is hardly dated because of lacking the criteria [Moriyasu 1994, 74-75], the new attestation here is clearly dated to the 14th century [see **H3a** above] and suggests that the city of Napčik / Lapčuq was included the territory dominated by the house of Prince Wei-wu Xi-ning based on Hami, and that the Buddhists there were active enough to dispatch pilgrims to the Yulin Caves.⁶

5 A Mongolian letter fragment housed in Fujii Yūrinkan 藤井有鄰館 (Kyoto), issued by the administrative office (*ongvu* < Chin. 王府 *wang-fu*) of Buyan-Qulī to that of Sultan-šāh, the Prince of Xi-ning (西寧王 *Xi-ning-wang*), has been identified as being from East Turkestan [Franke 1965; Ligeti 1972, 235-236; Sugiyama 2004, 282], though I identify it as from Dunhuang or Gansu [Matsui 1997, 45, n. 13]. Its date is unclear but later than 1353, when Yaγan-šāh (or Yanga-šāh), Sultan-šāh's father, was the Prince of Xi-ning [cf. Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 272].

6 Chen Cheng 陳誠, an ambassador of the Ming Dynasty to the Timurid, passed by a

H4c, qamčū: Uig. *qamčū* has been attested as a toponym (< Chin. 甘州 Ganzhou) [Zieme / Kudara 1985, 32], though it seems a personal name here.

H5, ʃaruyāčī-nīng quš-čī: *tārbiš-ning* 'WX[J(L)[JY by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected. As well known, *ʃaruyāčī* < Mong. *daruyāčī* “governor general, administrator, superintendent of the Mongols”; *quš-čī* ~ *quščī* “falconer” [ED, 671].

H7, süm-ä-tä: *süm-ä* (< Mong. *süm-e* ~ *süme* “Buddhist temple, monastery”) is frequently attested in the form *süm* = *SWYM* in other wall inscriptions [Hamilton / Niu 1998, 205], though here it is written clearly as *SWYM*-’ = *süm-ä*, not as *sümkä* (= *süm-kä*) “au temple” by Hamilton / Niu. Consequently, their interpretation of the following +*tä* (locative) for a reduced form of the enclitic *taqi* “aussi, de plus” is no more necessary.

H8, buyanīmiz-(nī) ta: The accusative +*nī* does not fit to the context here: It should have been erased, otherwise -(*nī*) *ta* may be an error for +*inta* (3. person locative).

H9, biži: Zieme [1987, 274] collected the attestations of this onomastic element: Mainz 858 (= BT XXVI, 251-252, Nr. 134), *₄kintso biži*; Ch/U 6958, *kuyčao biži*; SUK Sa03, *₂₂sutayī biži* (~ *biži*). Now we have still more: Mainz 778, *₂₂širmir biži t[utung]*⁷; U5321 (= USp 74), *₁₂qaytso-biži*; SI 4bKr 72, my former reading *ikuy* (~ *irkuy*) *bižu* should be corrected into *ikuy biži* (~ *biži*) [cf. Matsui 2005, 55]. Most of the names preceding *biži* are of Buddhist Chinese,⁸ consequently *biži* is a Buddhist title derived from Chinese, though I have no idea on its etymon.

H9, (P)Y(....)K-čī: Hamilton / Niu read as (.)*äring č*(...). For the first, I could decipher the initial letter as *P*- (rather than *K*-) but the middle were not clear. The second word is surely the suffix +*čī*. Even though we may expect *bitig-čī* “scribe”, it is too much damaged.

H10, bi[t]i(p?): Might be restored otherwise as *bi[t]i(g)* “writing”.

H11, bardīmiz: *biqīmiz* < *biti(di)miz* “nous avons écrit” by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected.

city 臘三 *La-zhu* (< **Lapčūq* < *Napčik*) in 1414 and reports that the city was populous but that the Buddhist temples there were deserted. See 西域行程記・西域番國志 *Xiyu xingcheng ji* & *Xiyu fanguo zhi* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju ed., 1988), 35.

7 This attestation was mentioned by Prof. P. Zieme in his lecture at the Center for Eurasian Studies, Kyoto University, 2005, Aug. 31 (<http://www.hmn.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/eurasia/newsletter/13.pdf>).

8 *Kintso* < Chin. 賢藏 *Xian-zang*; *Kuyčao* < 慧超 / 惠超 *Hui-chao*; *širmir* < 實密 *Shi-mi*; *Qaytso* < 戒藏 *Jie-zang*; *Ikuy* (~ *Irku*) < 一慧 / 一惠 *Yi-hui*. For the Uigur transcription of the Chinese, see Shōgaito 1987, 124-152; Shōgaito 2003, 126-136.

Inscription J

Cave 12: Written on the innermost-upper part on the south wall of the corridor to the anterior chamber; Just on the left side of Inscription **H** above.

- 1 *či čing taqïyu yïl bišinč ay* [
- 2 *biz šaču-luy upasï upasanč täväčï torčï(p)a ayš š-a irpa*
- 3 *sävinč torčï 'W(...)K'L tärim sikrăpăn inč qy-a turmïš*
- 4 *tärim-lăr-tä biz [J KYN qïdli(?) tigin açuluy tigin sävinč (.....)*
- 5 *oyul munsuz [q]iz başlap kălip [] bu aryadan orun-ta kălip*
- 6 *čodpa b(ir)ip yûkünüp küši küy(ü)rüp yandïm*

₁The year of Hen of Zhicheng, the Fifth month, [on theth day].

₄On behalf of ₂us — the male and female lay-disciples of Shazhou, *Tävächï*, *Torčipa*, *Ayš-ša*, *Irpa*, ₃*Sävinč*, *Torčï*, *'W(...)K'L-tärim*, *Sikrăpăn*, *Înč-Qya*, *Turmïš* and ₄the *tärim*s (mentioned above) —, we came together with [...]*KYN-Qïdli(?)*-*tigin*, *Açuluy-tigin*, *Sävinč*, (.....)-₅*oyul* and *Munsuz-qiz*, and, [...] I came to this monasterial place, gave the sacrificial offering, worshipped, burnt incense, and returned (home).

Notes

J1, *či čing taqïyu yïl*: (*.)čkä-ning* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected into *či-čing*, a transcription of the Yuan era name 至正 *Zhi-zheng* (1341-1370). Here “the year of Hen (*taqïyu yïl*) of Zhicheng” shall be either of the 5th = 1345, the 17th = 1357, or the 29th = 1369.⁹

J2a: *ol* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected into *biz* “we”. At present I follow their reading *šaču* < Chin. 沙州 *Shazhou*, though it is still possible to read *qaču* (~ Mong. *γaču*) < Chin. 瓜州 *Guazhou*: Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish initial *S-* / *Š-* from *X-* in the cursive script. I am sure of correcting *tăgră* into *upasanč* (< Sogd. *wp's'nc*) “female lay-disciple” to be coupled with the preceding *upasï* (< Sogd. *wp'sy*) “male lay-disciple”; Also *oqïdčï* shall be replaced with *tävächï* “camel herder”, a personal name here.

J2b, *torčï(p)a*: The reading *TW(...)Y = to(yun)ï* by Hamilton / Niu is impossible. The face of letters on the original seemed to me as *TWRČY(.) (K)'*. Regarding the middle *-(.) (K)-* as *-P-* partly damaged, I restore *TWRČY(P)' = torčï(p)a*. Another attestation of this name appears in Hamilton / Niu, Inscription **K₅** : Their

9 Some of the Chinese wall inscriptions of the Mogao Caves have the date of the Yuan regnal era names late as the 30th of *Zhizheng* (1370) as well as the 3rd of 宣光 *Xuanguang* (1372). See DMGD, 175.

Tükädäb(ä)g is clearly replaced with *TWRČYP* = *Țorčipa*. Both of Inscription **K** and **J** here are written in the Yulin Cave 12, then most likely both *Țorčipa* is a same person [see also **J5** below]. Still more, we have the Chinese transcription of the name such as 朵(兒)只巴 *duo-er-zhi-ba*, referred as the Governor (*zong-guan* 總管 > Uig.-Mong. *sunḡgon*¹⁰) of the Circuit (Chin. 路 *lu*) of Shazhou in the wall inscription of the Yulin Cave 3 [AXYLK, pl. 178], as well as 朵立只巴 *duo-li-zhi-ba* in the Qaraqota manuscript [HCW, 90, F131:W7]. The name *Țorčipa* may well be an equivalent of Mong. *Dorǰibal* < Tib. *rdo rje dpal* : There is a Mongolian prince named Dorǰibal, whose name is transcribed in Chinese in both ways as 朵兒只班 *duo-er-zhi-ban* and as 朵立只巴 *duo-li-zhi-ba* [Sugiyama 2004, 305-306].

J2c, ayš-š-a irpa: I tentatively replace ...š*k* by Hamilton / Niu with *Ayš-š-a*. The following name, *irpa*, possible to be read otherwise as *nirpa* ~ *ninpa*, etc., seems to be derived from Tibetan personal name.

J3: *SNKWN* = *s(a)ngun* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected into *sävinč*, a personal name attested frequently. As for their 'WX(WLL')*R* = *o(yulla)r*, I could only replace with 'W(...)*K*'*L*, whose middle are composed of any letters of *aleph*, *R*, *N*, and *X*. In any case, it should be a personal name of a certain *T'RYM* = *tärim*, not of a *tegin* = *T'KYN* "prince" as read by Hamilton / Niu. For the noble title *tärim*, see note **La3** below.

J4: Again *tegin-lär män* > *tärim-lär-tä*. Here I translated the locative +*tä* as "instead of, in place of, on behalf of", interpreting that the persons mentioned above are represented by *biz* "we" (< †*bača* as read by Hamilton / Niu) below, who actually went on a pilgrimage to the Yulin Caves. Among the following personal names and titles, *Qidli(?)* and *Ačuluy* are not so familiar in the Uigur onomasticon and can be read otherwise: The latter might be *Qačuluy* "from Guazhou". In any case, the reading by Hamilton / Niu as *Sänggä* and *Qildač* should be replaced.

J5a, oγul munsuz [q]iz : Here *oγul* "son" should be attached to the personal name which is missing at the damaged end of previous line, just as well as *qiz* "daughter" to a female named *Munsuz*. It should be noted that *Munsuz-qiz* appears

10 Uig. *sunḡgon* is attested in Inscription **D₂** by Hamilton / Niu 1998, which they wrongly read as *šunḡgun* and related to Mong. *šingγu(n)* "cinable, vermillion". In the later Chinese articles, it is related to Uig. *sanggun* < Chin. 將軍 *jiang-jun* "military general" and identified the *sunḡgon* of Shazhou here, named Qošang, with the Uigur *İduq-qut* of Qočo (*Gaochang wang* 高昌王) bearing the same name *Qošang (> 和尚 / 和賞 *He-shang*), who surrendered to the Ming dynasty in 1370 [cf. Hamilton / Yang / Niu 1998, 42-43; Niu 2002, 125]. These interpretation can be no more accepted. For Uig. *sunḡgon* we have another attestation in a letter fragment (B59:68) from the Northern Mogao Caves, correcting *šükčü šökün vu bäg-lär* "the military officials (*šökün* < *šanggun*) in Suzhou" by Yakup [2004, 399] into *sügčü sunḡgon vu bäg-lär* "the officials of the Office of Governor (*sunḡgon vu* < Chin. 總管府 *zong-guan-fu*) of Suzhou".

again in Hamilton / Niu, Inscription **K₈**.¹¹ Together with *Torčü(p)a* mentioned in **J2b** above, it suggests that these two inscriptions were written by the members of a single pilgrimage. The reading by Hamilton / Niu in the Inscription **K₄**, [*sü*]/*gčü-lüg* “from/ of 肅州 Suzhou (> Uig. *Sügčü*)”, could be a disproof against my identification, although it should be clearly corrected into either (*Š*)*aču-lu(γ)* or (*Q*)*aču-lu(γ)*, turning to lend support to me [See **J2a** above].

J5b, kälip [] **bu aryadan orun-ta kälip**: *qayip* (.....) (*qa*)*dan bäg* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected. For attestations of *aryadan* (< Skt. *arāṇya*) “forest place; monastery for meditation isolated in forest”, see Zieme 1981, 246-247; BT XIII, 189; BT XXVI, 192.

J6a, čodpa birip: (*ud*)*bäg bar*(...) by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected. Uig. *čodpa* has been attested in the Uigur translation of the *Book of Dead* from Dunhuang, which Zieme / Kara interpreted “Gčod-pa-Opfer, Gčod-pa-Opferpriester” or simply “Opfer, Opferpriester”, proposing for its etymon two candidates from Tibetan: *gcod-pa* “to cut” and *mchod-pa* “offering” [Zieme / Kara 1978, 182-183, 216; cf. Das: 390, 438; ZHDCD, 747, 856]. It may be noted that *mchod-pa* means also “to honour saints or deities by offering articles” and “in practice bloody sacrifice” of “animals being immolated to certain deities” [Jäschke, 145-146, 166-167]. Moreover, according to Marco Polo, the “Idolaters” in *Sachiu* — i.e., the Buddhists in Shazhou — of the Mongol times “such as have children will feed up a sheep in honour of idol, and at the New Year, or on the day of the Idol’s Feast, they will take their children and the sheep along with them into the presence of the idol with great ceremony. Then they will have the sheep slaughtered and cooked, and again present it before the idol with like reverence, and leave it there before him, whilst they are reciting the offices of their worships and their prayers for the idol’s blessing on their children” [Yule / Cordier, 203-204]. Thus, it is more likely that Uig. *čodpa* should be derived from Tib. *mchod-pa*, and be translated “sacrifice”. Anyway, the attestation of this Buddhist loanword from Tibetan¹² lends support to my opinion that Tibetan Buddhism were

11 Hamilton / Niu [1998, 149, 151-152] consistently translate *munsuz* (~ *münsüz*) “sans défaut, sans péché” and *qiz* “rare, cher”, not as proper names.

12 Recently K. Nakamura emphasized the scarcity of the Uigur Buddhist technical terms borrowed from Tibetan [Nakamura 2007, 108, fn. 108; cf. Shōgaito 1974, 053 & n. 22]. However, besides Uig. *čoga* < Tib. *cho-ga* “Ritual” [Kara 1996] that he referred to as only example, we have been given more examples of Uigur Buddhist terms from Tibetan: *cäk* < *cheg* “Punkt” [BT VII, 88], *taṃṅgaq* < *gdams-ngag* “Instruktion”, *tamsung* < *gdams-gsung* “Belehrung” [Zieme / Kara 1978, 250]. As well as them, the attestation of *čodpa* here, not in a scripture derived from a Tibetan original but in a wall inscription written by a pilgrim, would suggest that Tibetan Buddhist terms were borrowed by Uigur Buddhists to a certain degree. On this issue we may expect further attestations, especially from the wall inscriptions of the Mogao and Yulin Caves.

spread among the Uigur Buddhists in the Gansu region in the late 14th century under the Mongol rule [Matsui 2008a, 169-171; Matsui 2008b, 37-41].

J6b, küši küy(ü)rüp yandīm: Hamilton / Niu read tentatively as (..)liḡ (yīrad)ip y(anī)p “éloignant le mal(?) et retournant(?).....”, though I confirmed on the original. The phrase such as “Burning incense, we departed / returned (home)” is often attested in the Uigur Buddhist wall inscriptions and manuscripts. Cf. Hamilton / Niu 1998, E₆₋₇, *küši tamdurup bardīmiz* “ayant allumé de l’encens, nous sommes partis”; ibid. P₂₋₅, *[küš]i tamdurup yanip bardīmiz* “nous avons allumé [de l’encens] et, nous sommes partis”. As the etymon of Uig. *küši* ~ *küži* “incense”, Clauson assumed any Sogdian [ED, 695], though it is likely Skt. *kuśa* “Kuśa grass, grass of good omen for devination” [Zieme 1981, 242, fn. 46; BT XIII, 144].

Inscription L

Cave 12: Written near on the halfway-upper part on the south wall of the corridor to the anterior chamber. Hamilton / Niu did not note that a1-a5 and b6-b8 are written by different hand, and that between a5 and b6 is written another inscription of open-faced letters. Each line top is not clear on the photograph used by Hamilton / Niu, though I could confirm in the investigation of the original.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| a1 | kā šipqan-liḡ oot quḏl[uḡ |] |
| a2 | biš yangī poḡat bačay kūn ü[zä |] |
| a3 | süḡčüü ṡaruḡačī mungsuz tärim bağ [|] |
| a4 | q(a)b(ar)tu quḏluḡ qamyun tämür [|] |
| a5 | (....) quḏḡinga čikin ṡorčī [|] |
| | | |
| b6 | quḏluḡ tonguz yīl yiḏinč ay | |
| b7 | mān bir körk-lüḡ t(..)l(..) | |
| b8 | āsān (....)L(.....)YYN mān | |

a₁[The year] with the Stem *jia* and the element of Fire, [theth month], a₂on the Fifth (day) for feast. [.....]

a₃The Governor General of Suzhou, Mungsuz-tärim-bäḡ [.....]

a₄Q(a)b(ar)tu, Quḏluḡ, Qamyun-Tämür [.....]

a₅For the fortune [of Suzhou(?)], Čigin-ṡorčī [.....]

b₆The fortunate year of Boar, the Seventh month, [.....]

b₇I [....] one beautiful [.....] b₈Āsān, [.....], I

Notes

La1, kǎ šīpqaŋ-līy oot quǎl[uŷ]: As already noted by Hamilton / Niu, Uig. *oot* (~ *ot*) *qutluŷ* “having the element of 火 *huo* ‘Fire’ (one of 五行 *wu-xing* ‘the Five Primary Elements’)” usually corresponds to 丙 *bīng* and 丁 *dīng*, the third / fourth of the Ten Stems (十干 *shi-gan* > Uig. *šīpqaŋ*) [Hamilton / Niu 1998, 154]. However, I could confirm that the word at the line top is *kǎ* < Chin. 甲 *jia*, the first of the Ten Stems,¹³ which ordinally corresponds to Uig. *īyač qutluŷ* “having the element of Wood (木 *mu*)”. Here we should consult the study by L. Bazin, who find the “Second System” of the Elements and Sexagesimal Cycle borrowed by the Uigurs from China. In this system, the years of 甲戌 *jia-xu* (no. 11) and 甲辰 *jia-chen* (no. 41) have the element of Fire [Bazin 1991, 239]. During the 13th–14th centuries, years of *jia-xu* are 1214, 1274, 1334 and 1394, and years of *jia-chen* are 1244, 1304, and 1364. We may exclude 1214, which is much earlier than the Mongol conquest of the Gansu region, as well as thae latest 1394, after the Gansu region fell into the Ming domination.

La2, biš yangī poṣat bačay kūn: *poṣat* ~ *posat* (< Skt. (*u*)*posatha*) “feast” and *bačay* “a (religious) feast” often form a hendiadys. To the attestations mentioned by Hamilton / Niu [1998, 154] and their Inscription **M**₂, we may add two: U 1919, *törtünc ay biš yägirmi ayir uluŷ posat kūn* [BT XXIII, 148]; SI 4bKr 12₁₀₋₁₁, *küskü yil ikinti ay säkiz yangī posat bačay kūn* “the year of Rat, the Second month, on the Eighth (day) for feast” [unpublished].

La3: Except *Mungsuz*, I replaced readings by Hamilton / Niu: At the line top, their [...] *täginti* shall be corrected into *Sügčüü* (= *Sügčü*) *taruŷačī* “the Governor General of Suzhou”, enough visible on the original. Thus far *tärim* is recognized as a title for female noble [ED, 549], though the attestation here should be for a male, since it is most unlikely that the Governor General (*daruŷačī*) of Suzhou was a female.

La4: Again I replaced readings by Hamilton / Niu except *qamyun*, regarding whole words as personal names of the pilgrims. Uig. *qabartu* can be a variant of Mong. *qabartai* “having nose; having glanders” [Lessing, 896]. Yet *Qamyun* might be better read as “*XM’T* = *Axmat* < Arab. *Aḥmad* : A lot of Mongol princes bearing Muslim name, e.g., the Princes of Xining, Sulaymān and Sulṭān-Šāh, were often pious Buddhists [Matsui 2008a, 168; Matsui 2008b, 36].

La5: The lacuna at the line top may be restored with [*sügčü*] “Suzhou”, since the pilgrims seemingly came from Suzhou [see **La3**] and they might well invoke “for the fortune (*quṭinga*)” of their home city, Suzhou. Similar context is attested

13 It is also attested in the inscription of the Uigur *İduq-quts* of Qočo, while another form *qap* is popular among the calendar fragments from Turfan [Geng / Hamilton 1981, 22, 44; TT VII, 113; Shōgaito 1987, 85, 140].

in Hamilton / Niu 1998, D₇, *biz munča kiši šaču-niŋg quđiŋga* “We, these persons (from Shazhou) [pray] for the fortune of Shazhou”.

The following personal name *Čikin-Torčī* may be divided for two persons.

Analysis on the Toponyms

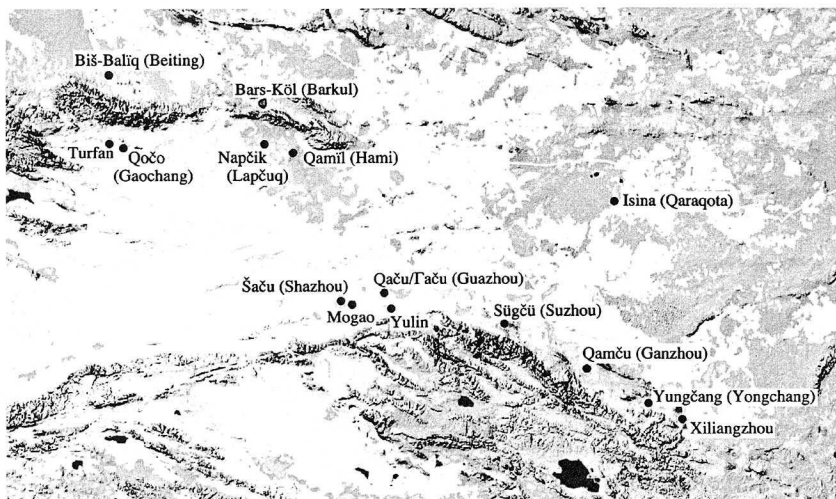
The three inscriptions revised here apparently belong to the Mongol period, judging from the loanword such as *taruṣačī* (H5, La3) and *sümä* (H7, H10). For the possibility of the definite dating, see my notes H3a, J1 and La1.

In the inscriptions are mentioned the toponyms as follows: H: *Qamīl* (= Hami) and *Napčik* (= Lapčuq); J: *Šaču* (= Shazhou) or *Qaču* (= Guazhou); J: *Sügčüü* (~ *Sügčü* = Suzhou). Even though the contexts of the inscriptions are mostly not clear, these places undoubtedly are the basement of daily life of the pilgrims, and suggest the traffic sphere of the Uigur Buddhist pilgrims in the Mongol times.

M. Sugiyama has pointed out that the traffic sphere of the pilgrimages to Dunhuang covers the Gansu, 陝西 Shaanxi and 山西 Shanxi, where the Eastern Chaghataids possessed their fiefs. His analysis is based mainly on the toponyms as seen in the Chinese wall inscriptions in the Mogao Caves as well as 重修皇慶寺記 “the Inscription in Memory of the Reconstruction of Huangqing-si Temple” of 1351. Much more Chinese inscriptions of the Yuan period are provided by DMGD, and the toponyms mentioned in them stand for his argument.¹⁴ The situation suggested by the Chinese inscriptions mostly tallies the Uigur and Mongolian inscriptions of the Yulin and Mogao Caves, in which we frequently come across the toponyms of the Gansu region such as *Šaču* = Shazhou, *Qaču* = Guazhou and *Sügčü* = Suzhou, and *Yungčang-vu* < 永昌府 Yongchang-fu, and *T(a)ngut čölgä* “the Circuit (*čölgä* < Mong. *čölge* = Chin. 路 *lu*) of Tangut” each once, as the origin of the pilgrims.¹⁵

14 Together with those mentioned by Sugiyama [1984, 9], we can gather from DMGD toponyms of the place of origin such as 肅州 Suzhou, 甘州(路) Ganzhou(-lu), 永昌 Yongchang, 西涼州 Xiliangzhou (modern 武威 Wuwei), 寧夏 Ningxia (modern 銀川 Yinchuan) from Gansu; 安西府 Anxi-fu (i.e., the Government of 安西王 the Prince Anxi, who set up his summer camp at 六盤山 Liupanshan and at 西安 Xi'an in winter), 奉元路 Fengyuan-lu (modern Xi'an), 鞏昌府 Gongchang-fu (modern 隴西 Longxi), 平涼府 Pingliang-fu, 秦州 Qinzhou, 雍州 Yongzhou, from Shaanxi; 太原(路) Taiyuan(-lu) = 冀寧路 Jining-lu, 晉寧(路) Jinning(-lu) (modern 臨汾 Linfen), 北臺 Beitai (of 五臺山 Wutaishan) from Shanxi; 大都 Dadu (modern Beijing), 真定府 Zhending-fu (modern 正定 Zhengding) from 河北 Hebei; 成都 Chengtu, from 四川 Sichuan.

15 *Šaču* : Hamilton / Niu 1998, D, Q (Uig., Yulin); *Qaču* : Hamilton / Niu 1998, A (*qaču* < †*qaraču* “gens du peuple”), K, O (Uig., Yulin); *Sügčü* : Hamilton / Niu 1998, B; Ligeti 1976 (Uig., Mogao 144); Kotwicz 1925, 242-243 = Ligeti 1972a, 33-34 = DhY / NMsfdx, 11, No. 09 (Mong., Mogao 144: AD 1323); DhY / NMsfdx, 14, No. 22 = Qaserdeni / Garudi / Bayanbayatur 1990 (Mong., Yulin 12); DhY / NMsfdx, 16, No. 26



Besides the toponyms of the Gansu, those of the Eastern Tianshan region such as *Qamıl* or *Napčik* appear in the Uigur inscriptions. We have already the Uigur-Tibetan bilingual inscriptions in the Yulin Caves 25 and 36, written by a pilgrim who names himself *Qamıl-lıy yangı Tsunpa* “Tsunpa (< Tib. *bTsun-pa*), a freshman from Hami” [Hamilton / Niu 1998, Inscriptions **S** and **T**, revised in Matsui 2008a, 170, fn. 44]. Revised here, Inscription **H** provides with attestations *Qamıl* and *Napčik*. Still more it is recently reported that another Uigur inscription written by the pilgrim(s) “from Hami (*Qamıl-lıy*)” remains in the Mogao Cave 217.¹⁶ Together with the Dunhuang Uigur texts mentioned by Moriyasu [1985, 76-87], they clearly indicate the Uigurs’ active traffic for Buddhist pilgrimage between the Eastern Tianshan and the Gansu region in the Mongol times.

However, we may pay attention to that the above-mentioned toponyms of the Eastern Tianshan or the East Turkestan do not appear in the Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions thus far given to us, and that in the Buddhist sites of the East Turkestan, we have not yet any similar wall inscriptions written by Chinese and Mongolian pilgrims. They would suggest it was not the Chinese nor the Mongols but the Uigurs — in a precise sence, the Uigur-speaking-writing people — that played the main role

(Mong., Yulin 28); *Yungčang-vu* : DhY / NMsfdx, 15, No. 23 (Mong., Yulin); *T(a)ngut čölgä* : DHMGK, pl. 160 (Uig., Mogao 61), as yet unedited but partly mentioned by Moriyasu 1988, 441.

16 T. Kikuchi, “On Ritual, Worshippers, and the Program of Ornamental Elements in Cave 217 at Tun-huang” (paper read at the panel “Asian Art History” in the 53rd International Conference of Eastern Studies, Tokyo, 2008, May 16).

in the Buddhist pilgrimage between the Gansu province and the East Tianshan or East Turkestan.¹⁷

Conclusion

Deciphering the Uigur and Mongolian wall inscriptions written by a rapid cursive hand with so light ink is much more difficult than deciphering them on paper. Besides those revised and mentioned in this article, the edition by Hamilton / Niu based on the photographs need further revision, which would give us more information on the historical situation of the Uigurs in Gansu and East Turkestan.

What is anxious is that the wall inscriptions in the Yulin and Mogao Caves are fading into fainter and, consequently, the deciphering them is getting more difficult day by day. I would expect that the institutes and scholars it may concern should undertake the exhaustive investigation on the wall inscriptions and necessary arrangement to preserve them as quickly as possible. At the same time, it would be indispensable the cooperation between philological decipherment¹⁸ and historical interpretation in order to provide the academic field with the editions and to establish their historical importance. This work, will, I expect, also improve on my readings.

17 It may lend support to my assumption that the *guan-ding guo-shi* 灌頂國師 “National preceptor that administrates Baptizing (Skt. *abhiṣeka*)” named *Dorji-Kirešis-Bal-Sangbo* (< Tib. *rDo-rje bkra-shis dpal bzang-po*), who headed the pilgrimage from Gansu to the East Tianshan region (Qočo, Biš-Baliq and Bars-köl = Barkul) in the late 14th century, was of Uigur origin [Matsui 2008a, 170; Matsui 2008b, 40].

18 Recently Sarangowa has collected the information on the Tibetan, Mongolian, Uigur, Tangut and Brāhmī inscriptions of the Mogao Caves scattered in GTH, together with some decipherment of those in Uigur-Mongolian [Sarangowa 2006], though we need further check based on the investigation on the originals. E.g., *adibra ece yobozu daciluna* in the Cave Pelliot 53a (= current Cave 197) by Sarangowa [2006, 781] can be corrected into Uig. *adityažın yūkünü tāginür män* “I, Adityažın (< Skt. *Adityasena*) shall worship humbly”: In the Uigur inscription of the Cave Pelliot 59 appears a pilgrim with the same name: *adityažın yūkünüär män* “I, Adityažın, shall worship” [GTH II, 70], so does in Inscription N of the Yulin Cave 19, whose name is wrongly read as *ārdinišažın* by Hamilton / Niu [1998, 156]. Here I express my glatitude to Prof. Peter Zieme, who deciphered the Sanskrit inscription [*ā di*] *tya se na* in Brāhmī script on the left side of N [cf. Hamilton / Niu 1998, 181] and confirmed my correction in personal correspondence.

Glossary

açuluy	J4	ong	H3, H7
aryadan	J5	oot	La1
ay	J1, Lb6	orun	J5
ayş	J2	[ödig]	H10
äsän	Lb8	pozat	La2
baçay	La2	q(a)b(ar)tu	La4
bar-	bardimüz H10, H11	qaγan	H2
başla-	başlap H5, J5	qamçu	H4
başlay	H3	qamyun	La4
baxşı	H8	qamıl	H2
bäg	La3	qađun	H2
biži	H9	qıdılı(?)	J4
bir	Lb7	qışaq-çi	H4
bir-	b(ir)ip J6	[q]ız	J5
birlä	H6	(q)uş-[ē]i	H5
biş	La2	qut	quđ-ınga La5
bişinç	J1	quđluy	H1, H11, La1, La4, Lb6
biti-	bi[tji(p?) H10	qy-a	J3
biz	H3, J2, J4	sävinç	J3, J4
bol-	bolzun H10, H11	soyurqad-	[s]oy[u]rqadıp H2
bu	J5	sikräpän	J3
buyan	H8	sügçüü	La3
[buya]n qulı	H3	süm	süm-kä H10
çi-çing	J1	süm-ä	H7
çikin	La5	ş-a	J2
çodpa	J6	şaçu	J2
çaruyaçi	H5, La3	şıpқан-liy	La1
torçi	J3, La5	taqıyu	J1
torçi(p)a	J2	tämür	La4, H9
inç	J3	tärbiş	H5
irpa	J2	tärim	J3, La3, tärim-lär-tä J4
kä	La1	täväçi	J2
käl-	kä[li]p H6, kälip H7, J5 (x2)	tigin	J4 (x2)
kin	H9	ti-	tip H10
kör-	körmiş-[tä] H9	tonguz	Lb6
körk-lüg	Lb7	turmış	J3
kün	La2	upası	J2
küşi	J6	upasanç	J2
küyür-	küy(ü)rüp J6	ü[zä	La2
[luu]	H1	yan-	[yan]miş-ta H8, yandım J6
män	H8, H10(?) Lb8, Lb7	yangı	La2
mungsuz	La3	yavlaq	H8
munsuz	J5	yıl	H1, J1, Lb6
napçik	H4	yıdınç	Lb6
oγul	J5	yükün-	yükünüp J6

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- P. S. My investigation in the Yulin Caves was carried out as part of the academic research project headed by my teacher, Prof. Takao Moriyasu. I hope that this paper, as a part of the result of our project and as a token of my gratitude, would be suitable for this volume to honour his sixtieth birthday.