Revising the Uigur Inscriptions of the Yulin Caves

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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

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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 / Bayanbaγatur 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.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 17 08/07/07 4:32:26 PM

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 edition[3] 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 quḍluγ [luu] yïl (.....)
2 qaγan qaḍun [s]oy[u]rqadïp qamïl-qa Y[ ]N
3 [buya]n qulï ong bašlaγ-lïγ biz X'D(....) P(....)
4 (...)MYŠ qïsaq-čï napčik-lig qamču T'V'[
5 [ ](.) ṭaruγačï-nïng (q)uš-[č]ï tärbiš bašlap
6 [ ]KWY-lar birlä kä[li]p
7 [ ] ong-nïng (.)YPWR (....) süm-ä-tä kälip
8 [yan]mïš-ta buyanïmïz-(nï) ta män yavlaq baxšï [
9 [ ] bïžï (P)Y(....)K-čï tämür kin körmiš-[tä]
10 [ödig] bolzun tip sümkä bardïmïz män(?) bi[t]i(p?)
11 [ ] quḍ[luγ] bolzun bardïmiz

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.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 18 08/07/07 4:32:26 PM

$_1$The fortunate year of [Dragon, ...th month, on ....th day.]
$_2$The Emperor and Empress showing favour, [.....] to Qamïl [.....]
$_3$We, headed by Prince [Buya]n-Quli, $_4$the cart-driver […]MYŠ, Qamču-[…] from Napčik [……] $_5$as well as Tärbiš, the falconer of the governor general, $_6$coming together with [.....] $_7$[.....] Prince's […….] came to the monastery, and, $_8$when we return, transferring our merit, I, an inferior master $_9$[.....]-*bižï* (and) the *(P)Y(....)K-čï*, 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 *yïl* "year" is hardly visible, though we may restore *luu* "dragon" as most likely, judging from the short space of the lacuna.

H2a, qaγan qaḍun: 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]rqadïp: Damaged and fading. The reading *(ü)yür saḍïp* "ayant vendu du millet" by Hamilton / Niu does not fit to the context. Tentatively I restore *[s]oy[u]rqaḍïp* < v. *soyurqaḍ-* (caus. / simplex) < *soyurqa-* ~ *tsoyurqa-* "to show favour" [ED, 556], though still other reading is possible.[4]

H2c, qamïl: Old Uigur city name, transcribed as 哈密力 / 哈迷里 / 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 *Qamïl* in the Old Uigur. Moriyasu reconstructs the original form as *qaməl* (not *qamïl* nor *qomul*), while most of the attestations belonging to the Mongol times are of *X'MYL = qamïl*.

H3a, [buya]n qulï ong: Hamilton / Niu read wrongly as *qïlï* (< v. *qïl-*) "faissant, accomplissant, produisant" and translates *ong* as "droit, juste". Uig. *qulï* 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 *qaγan qaḍun*, 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 (豳王) of 1380 as seen in *Ming Taizu Shilu*. Cf. Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 264-265.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 19 08/07/07 4:32:27 PM

王 *ong* by the Yuan Dynasty: Most probably, a member of the Eastern Chaghataids occupying the Gansu corridor. Before *qulï*, the stroke of a final *–N* is slightly legible. Consulting the historical sources for the prince named *[…]n-Qulï* among the Eastern Chaghataids [Sugiyama 1982 = Sugiyama 2004, 242-287; Akasaka 2007, 47-48], we can pick up Buyan-Qulï, the prince of Wei-wu Xi-ning (威武西寧王), with whom I shall identify *[…]n-Qulï 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 $_{2}$*Qamïl* (= Hami) and $_{4}$*Napčik* (= Lapčuq, see note **H4b** below) in this inscription lend support to my identification. The period when Buyan-Quli was the Prince of Wei-wu Xi-ning is unceratin: His father Ïlïqčï (~ Yïlïqčï) 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 yïl*)" (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, qïsaqčï: I translated as "cart-driver", following Hamilton / Niu, who related Uig. *qïsaq* 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* **nập-tśi̯ək* < 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 Lo06$_{2}$ 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]

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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-Quli 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

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 20 08/07/07 4:32:27 PM

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

H5, ṭaruγačï-nïng quš-čï: *tärbiš-ning 'WX[ ](L)[ ]Y* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected. As well known, *ṭaruγačï* < Mong. *daruγačï* "governor general, administrator, superintendent of the Mongols"; *quš-čï ~ quščï* "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 *taqï* "aussi, de plus" is no more necessary.

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

H9, bïžï: Zieme [1987, 274] collected the attestations of this onomastic element: Mainz 858 (= BT XXVI, 251-252, Nr. 134), $_{v4}$*kintso bïžï* ; Ch/U 6958, *kuyčao bïžï* ; SUK Sa03, $_{22}$*sutaγï bïži (~ bïžï)*. Now we have still more: Mainz 778, $_{v2}$*širmir bïžï t[utung]*[7]; U5321 (= USp 74), $_{12}$*qaytso-bïžï* ; SI 4bKr 72, my former reading $_{3}$*ikuy (~ irkuy) biąu* should be corrected into *ikuy bïžï (~ bïžï)* [cf. Matsui 2005, 55]. Most of the names preceding *bïžï* are of Buddhist Chinese,[8] consequently *bïžï* is a Buddhist title derived from Chinese, though I have no idea on its etymon.

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

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

H11, bardïmiz: *biḍimiz* < *biti(di)miz* "nous avons écrit" by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected.

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city 臘竺 *La-zhu* (< *Lapčuq < 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* (~ *Irkuy*) < 一慧 / 一惠 *Yi-hui*. For the Uigur transcription of the Chinese, see Shōgaito 1987, 124-152; Shōgaito 2003, 126-136.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 21 08/07/07 4:32:28 PM

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 taqïγu yïl bišinč ay [
2 biz šaču-luγ upasï upasanč täväčï ṭorčï(p)a ayš š-a irpa
3 sävinč ṭorčï 'W(...)K'L tärim sikräpän inč qy-a turmïš
4 tärim-lär-tä biz [ ]KYN qïdlï(?) tigin ačuluγ tigin sävinč (.....)
5 oγul munsuz [q]ïz bašlap kälip [ ] bu aryadan orun-ta kälip
6 čodpa b(ir)ip yu̱künüp küši küy(ü)rüp yandïm

$_1$The year of Hen of Zhizheng, the Fifth month, [on the ....th day].
$_4$On behalf of $_2$us — the male and female lay-disciples of Shazhou, Täväčï, Ṭorčipa, Ayš-ša, Irpa, $_3$Sävinč, Ṭorčï, 'W(...)K'L-*tärim*, Sikräpän, İnč-Qya, Turmïš and $_4$the *tärim*s (mentioned above) —, we came together with [...]KYN-Qïdlï(?)-*tigin*, Ačuluγ-*tigin*, Sävinč, (.....)-$_5$*oγul* and Munsuz-*qïz*, and, [....] I came to this monasterial place, gave the sacrificial offering, worshipped, burnt incense, and returned (home).

Notes

J1, či čing taqïγu 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 (*taqïγu yïl*) of Zhizheng" 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. *γačυ*) < Chin. 瓜州 Guazhou: Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish initial *S-* / *Š-* from *X-* in the cursive script. I am sure of correcting *tägrä* 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 *täväčï* "camel herder", a personal name here.

J2b, ṭorčï(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)' = ṭorčï(p)a*. Another attestation of this name appears in Hamilton / Niu, Inscription $\mathbf{K}_5$: 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.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 22 08/07/07 4:32:28 PM

Tükädäb(ä)g is clearly replaced with *TWRČYP' = Ṭorčïpa*. Both of Inscription **K** and **J** here are written in the Yulin Cave 12, then most likely both *Ṭorčïpa* is a same person [see also **J5** below]. Still more, we have the Chinese transcription of the name such as 朶(兒)只巴 *duo-er-zhi-ba*, referred as the Governor (*zong-guan* 總管 > Uig.-Mong. *sunggon*[10]) of the Circuit (Chin. 路 *lu*) of Shazhou in the wall inscription of the Yulin Cave 3 [AXYLK, pl. 178], as well as 朶立只巴 *duo-li-zhi-ba* in the Qaraqota manuscript [HCW, 90, F131:W7]. The name *Ṭorčïpa* 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 朶兒只班 *duo-er-zhi-ban* and as 朶立只巴 *duo-li-zhi-ba* [Sugiyama 2004, 305-306].

J2c, ayš-š-a irpa: I tentatively replace *[...](..)šk* by Hamiton / 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(γulla)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, *Qïdlïï(?)* and *Ačuluγ* are not so familier in the Uigur onomasticon and can be read otherwise: The latter might be *Qačuluγ* "from Guazhou". In any case, the reading by Hamilton / Niu as *Sänggä* and *Qïldač* should be replaced.

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

10 Uig. *sunggon* is attested in Inscription $\mathbf{D}_2$ by Hamilton / Niu 1998, which they wrongly read as *šunggun* 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 *sunggon* of Shazhou here, named Qošang, with the Uigur *Ïduq-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. *sunggon* we have another attestation in a letter fragment (B59:68) from the Northern Mogao Caves, correcting $_8$*šükčü šökün vu bäg-lär* "the military officials (*šökün* < *šanggun*) in Suzhou" by Yakup [2004, 399] into *sügčü sunggon vu bäg-lär* "the officials of the Office of Governor (*sunggon vu* < Chin. 總管府 *zong-guan-fu*) of Suzhou".

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 23 08/07/07 4:32:29 PM

again in Hamilton / Niu, Inscription $\mathbf{K}_8$.[11] Together with *Ṭorčï(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 $\mathbf{K}_4$, *[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)ačču-lu(γ)* or *(Q)ačču-lu(γ)*, turning to lend support to me [See **J2a** above].

J5b, kälip [ ] bu aryadan orun-ta kälip: *qayïp (.....) (qa)dan bäg* by Hamilton / Niu should be corrected. For attestations of *aryadan* (< Skt. *araṇya*) "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 Tibetan[12] 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 *qïz* "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], *tamngaq* < *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.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 24 08/07/07 4:32:30 PM

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 yandïm: Hamilton / Niu read tentatively as *(..)lïγ (yïrad)ïp y(anï)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, $\mathbf{E}_{6\text{-}7}$, *küši tamdurup bardïmïz* "ayant allumé de l'encens, nous sommes partis"; ibid. $\mathbf{P}_{2\text{-}5}$, *[küš]i tamdurup ..... yanïp bardïmïz* "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	kä šïpqan-lïγ oot quḍl[uγ	]
a2	biš yangï poẓat bačaγ kün ü[zä	]
a3	sügčüü ṭaruγačï mungsuz tärim bäg [	]
a4	q(a)b(ar)tu quḍluγ qamγun tämür [	]
a5	(....) quḍïnga čikin ṭorčï [	]
	. . . . .	
b6	quḍluγ tonguz yïl yiḍinč ay	
b7	män bir körk-lüg t(..)l(..)	
b8	äsän (....)L(.....)YYN män	

$_{a1}$[The year] with the Stem *jia* and the element of Fire, [the ....th month], $_{a2}$on the Fifth (day) for feast. [.....]
$_{a3}$The Governor General of Suzhou, Mungsuz-*tärim-bäg* [.....]
$_{a4}$Q(a)b(ar)tu, Quḍluγ, Qamγun-Tämür [.....]
$_{a5}$For the fortune [of Suzhou(?)], Čigin-Ṭorčï [.....]
. . . . . .
$_{b6}$The fortunate year of Boar, the Seventh month, [.....]
$_{b7}$I [....] one beautiful [.....] $_{b8}$Äsän, [.....], I

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 25 08/07/14 3:40:07 PM

Notes

La1, kä šïpqan-lïγ oot quḍl[uγ]: As already noted by Hamilton / Niu, Uig. *oot (~ ot) qutluγ* "having the element of 火 *huo* 'Fire' (one of 五行 *wu-xing* 'the Five Primary Elements')" usually corresponds to 丙 *bing* and 丁 *ding*, the third / fourth of the Ten Stems (十干 *shi-gan* > Uig. *šïpqan*) [Hamilton / Niu 1998, 154]. However, I could confirm that the word at the line top is *kä* < Chin. 甲 *jia*, the first of the Ten Stems,[13] which ordinally corresponds to Uig. *ïγač qutluγ* "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 yangï poẓat bačaγ kün: *poẓat ~ posat* (< Skt. *(u)posatha*) "feast" and *bačaγ* "a (religious) feast" often form a hendiadys. To the attestations mentioned by Hamilton / Niu [1998, 154] and their Inscription $\mathbf{M}_2$, we may add two: U 1919, *törtünc ay biš yägirmi aγïr uluγ posat kün* [BT XXIII, 148]; SI 4bKr $12_{10\text{-}11}$, *küskü yïl ikinti ay säkiz yangï posat bačaγ kün* "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) ṭaruγačï* "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 (*daruγači*) of Suzhou was a female.

La4: Again I replaced readings by Hamilton / Niu except *qamγun*, 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 *Qamγun* 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 (*qutïnga*)" of their home city, Suzhou. Similar context is attested

13 It is also attested in the inscription of the Uigur *Ïduq-qut*s 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].

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 26 08/07/07 4:32:31 PM

in Hamilton / Niu 1998, **D**$_7$, *biz munča kiši šaču-nïng quḍïnga* "We, these persons (from Shazhou) [pray] for the fortune of Shazhou".

The following personal name *Čikin-Ṭorčï* may be devided for two persons.

Analysis on the Toponyms

The three inscriptions revised here apparently belong to the Mongol period, judging from the loanword such as *ṭaruγačï* (**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**: *Qamïl* (= 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 pilgirms, and suggest the traffic sphere of the Uigur Buddhist pilgrims in the Mongol times.

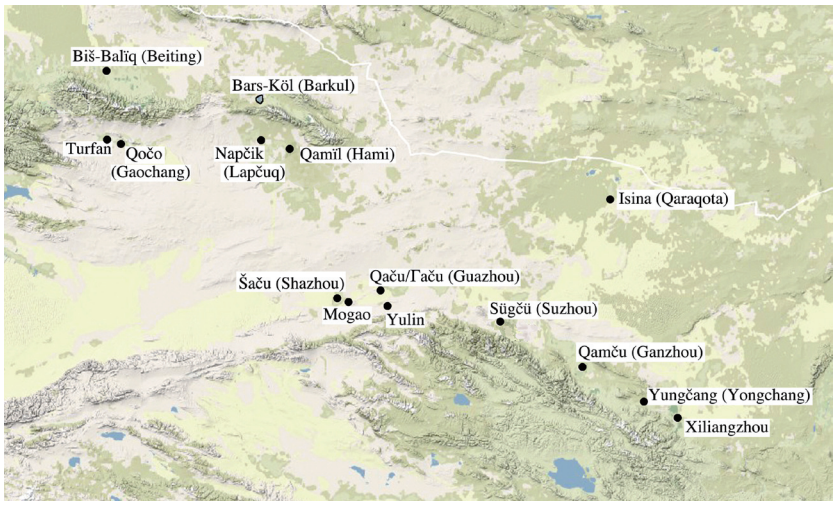
M. Sugiyama has pointed out that the traffic sphere of the pilgrimages to Dunhuang covers the Gansu, 陝西 Shaanxi and 山西 Shanxi, where the Eastern Chaghataids possessed their fiefs. His analysis is based mainly on the toponyms as seen in the Chinese wall inscriptions in the Mogao Caves as well as 重修皇慶寺記 "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]

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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 / Bayanbaγatur 1990 (Mong., Yulin 12); DhY / NMsfdx, 16, No. 26

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 27 08/07/07 4:32:31 PM



Besides the toponyms of the Gansu, those of the Eastern Tianshan region such as *Qamïl* 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 *Qamïl-lïγ yangï 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 *Qamïl* and *Napčik*. Still more it is recently reported that another Uigur inscription written by the pilgrim(s) "from Hami (*Qamïl-lïγ*)" 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 atttention 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).

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 28 08/07/07 4:32:36 PM

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 exaustive 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 decipherment[18] 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.

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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 *Dorǰi-Kirešis-Bal-Sangbo* (< Tib. *rDo-rje bkra-shis dpal bzang-po*), who headed the pilgrimage from Gansu to the East Tianshan region (Qočo, Biš-Balïq 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. *adityaẓin yuḳünü täginür män* "I, Adityaẓin (< Skt. *Ādityasena*) shall worship humbly": In the Uigur inscription of the Cave Pelliot 59 appears a pilgrim with the same name: *adityaẓin yuḳünür män* "I, Adityaẓin, shall worship" [GTH II, 70], so does in Inscription **N** of the Yulin Cave 19, whose name is wrongly read as *ärdinišaẓïn* by Hamilton / Niu [1998, 156]. Here I express my gratitude 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.

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 29 08/07/07 4:32:37 PM

Glossary

ačuluγ	J4
aryadan	J5
ay	J1, Lb6
ayš	J2
äsän	Lb8
bačaγ	La2
bar-	bardïmïz H10, H11
bašla-	bašlap H5, J5
bašlaγ	H3
baxšï	H8
bäg	La3
bïžï	H9
bir	Lb7
bir-	b(ir)ip J6
birlä	H6
biš	La2
bišinč	J1
biti-	bi[t]i(p?) H10
biz	H3, J2, J4
bol-	bolzun H10, H11
bu	J5
buyan	H8
[buya]n qulï	H3
či-čing	J1
čikin	La5
čodpa	J6
ṭaruγačï	H5, La3
ṭorčï	J3, La5
ṭorčï(p)a	J2
inč	J3
irpa	J2
kä	La1
käl-	kä[li]p H6, kälip H7, J5 (x2)
kin	H9
kör-	körmiš-[tä] H9
körk-lüg	Lb7
kün	La2
küši	J6
küyür-	küy(ü)rüp J6
[luu]	H1
män	H8, H10(?) Lb8, Lb7
mungsuz	La3
munsuz	J5
napčik	H4
oγul	J5
ong	H3, H7
oot	La1
orun	J5
[ödig]	H10
poẓat	La2
q(a)b(ar)tu	La4
qaγan	H2
qamču	H4
qamγun	La4
qamïl	H2
qaḍun	H2
qïdlï(?)	J4
qïsaq-čï	H4
[q]ïz	J5
(q)uš-[č]ï	H5
qut	quḍ-ïnga La5
quḍluγ	H1, H11, La1, La4, Lb6
qy-a	J3
sävinč	J3, J4
soyurqad-	[s]oy[u]rqadïp H2
sikräpän	J3
sügčüü	La3
süm	süm-kä H10
süm-ä	H7
š-a	J2
šaču	J2
šïpqan-lïγ	La1
taqïγu	J1
tämür	La4, H9
tärbiš	H5
tärim	J3, La3, tärim-lär-tä J4
täväčï	J2
tigin	J4 (x2)
ti-	tip H10
tonguz	Lb6
turmïš	J3
upasï	J2
upasanč	J2
ü[zä	La2
yan-	[yan]mïš-ta H8, yandïm J6
yangï	La2
yavlaq	H8
yïl	H1, J1, Lb6
yiḍinč	Lb6
yükün-	yụkünüp J6

MatsuiSIAL23.indd 30 08/07/07 4:32:37 PM

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