VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN
DER SOCIETAS URALO-ALTAICA

Band 87

Kutadgu Nom Bitig

Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag

Herausgegeben von
Elisabetta Ragagnin und Jens Wilkens

unter Mitarbeit von
Gökhan Şilfeler

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG
in Kommission

Kutadgu Nom Bitig

Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut
zum 60. Geburtstag

Herausgegeben von

Elisabetta Ragagnin und Jens Wilkens

unter Mitarbeit von

Gökhan Şilfeler

2015
HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG WIESBADEN
in Kommission

Inhalt

Zum Geleit VII

Schriftenverzeichnis JENS PETER LAUT 1980-2014 1

RUTH BARTHOLOMÄ
Lost in Triangle: Türkeitürkische und tatarische Geometrie-Terminologie zwischen arabisch-persischem, europäischem und türkischem Einfluss 25

RAINER BRUNNER
„Vom Wissenschaftlichen abgesehen, ist zwischen Stambul und Freiburg doch noch ein Unterschied, und das Wetter ist herrlich." Zur Frühgeschichte (nicht nur) der Turkologie an der Universität Freiburg 43

CHRISTIANE CZYGAN
Zur Ghazelkultur in der Zeit Sultan Süleymâns des Prächtigen: Der Herrscher als Liebender 77

CATHARINA DUFFT
Im „Gewand des Religiösen": Die Romane *Allah'ın Kızları* (2008) von NEDİM GÜRSEL und *Aşk* (2009) von ELİF ŞAFAK 93

DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST
Sogdisch *šxyʾk kwn-* = griechisch κοπιάζω ‚sich bemühen; bitte'? 109

WERNER ENDE
Machtsymbol und unwägbare Last: Medina in osmanischer Zeit 117

MARCEL ERDAL
On the Altaic relationship by marriage 139

HENDRIK FENZ
Trouble and bloodshed in an unhappy country: Akteure und Strukturen im Vorfeld des armenischen Völkermordes 149

JOST GIPPERT
An unusual account of the *Miʿrāǧ* 163

ERIKA GLASSEN
„Gibt es eine türkische Literatur?" Eine Umfrage (*anket*) unter Intellektuellen und Literaten im Jahre 1949 über die Auswirkungen der kemalistischen Kultur- und Sprachpolitik 183

LARS JOHANSON
On Old Turkic "vocative" moods 221

YUKIYO KASAI
Zum Gebrauch der Brāhmī-Schrift in alttürkischen buddhistischen Texten 225

CUMA KAZANCI
"*Pidgin German*" or a mixed language? 237

MICHAEL KNÜPPEL
Zur Uiguristik vor den Turfan-Expeditionen 255

DAI MATSUI
Old Uigur Toponyms of the Turfan Oases 275

AYSIMA MIRSULTAN
„Das Betrachten der gezeigten Städte und Länder und die Furcht davor" Neues zum 18. Kapitel des *Maitrisimit nom bitig* 305

IRINA NEVSKAYA
Old Turkic Runic inscriptions of religious content in the Republic Altai: Myths and linguistic evidence 323

HANS NUGTEREN/ELISABETTA RAGAGNIN/MARTI ROOS
On the wandering semantics of Turkic **köt* 337

THOMAS OBERLIES
Zwischen Gott und Mensch 351

ZEKINE ÖZERTURAL
Ein manichäisch-alttürkisches kosmographisches Fragment 361

GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT
The Tocharian background of Old Turkic *yaŋı kün* 377

SIMONE-CHRISTIANE RASCHMANN
„Verloren" und doch bewahrt: Ein Dokument aus dem Arat-Nachlass in İstanbul 407

ULRICH REBSTOCK
Vormoderne islamrechtliche Genderüberlegungen aus Baṣra: *In dubio a tergo* 423

CHRISTIANE RECK/JENS WILKENS
Soghdische Versionen von Vāgbhaṭas *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* 431

JOHANNES RECKEL
Die Entwicklung der oiratischen Schriftsprache in *Todo Bičig* von 1648 bis heute 453

KLAUS RÖHRBORN
Kollektaneen zum Uigurischen Wörterbuch: Die dritte Wortsünde *erig sarsıg sav* 471

MAX SCHERBERGER
Die „Ratschläge der letzten Vorlesung“: Ein Diskurs von SADRİ MAKSUDİ ARSAL im Interesse der ideologischen, intellektuellen, ethischen und professionellen Orientierung junger türkischer Juristen 477

CLAUS SCHÖNIG
Im Garten der Lüste 497

ABLET SEMET/DILARA ISRAPIL
„Die Macht des Königs Śaṅkha und die Prophezeiung über die Buddhawürde des Maitreya“ 539

OSMAN FİKRİ SERTKAYA
Verschreibungen und Schönschreibungen in altuigurischen Texten 573

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS
Further notes on numeral signs in Sogdian texts 585

MAREK STACHOWSKI
Osmanisch-türkische Appellativa im Reisebuch von Adam Wenner (1622) 593

ALOÏS VAN TONGERLOO
Five Letters from A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON to WILLI BANG KAUP 609

ABDURISHID YAKUP
A Chinese-Uyghur bilingual fragment of the *Altun Yaruk Sudur* 629

PETER ZIEME
Drei altuigurische Fragmente aus dem Buddhaleben 639

Old Uigur Toponyms of the Turfan Oases

DAI MATSUI (Hirosaki University, Japan)

Introduction

For the historical analysis of the pre-modern Turfan society, it is an indispensable task to identify the toponyms attested in the Turfan texts in various languages. According to the Chinese historical sources, "twenty-two cities" existed in the Turfan Basin under the 高昌 Gaochang Kingdom of 麴 Qu Family in 640 CE, when it was conquered by the Tang dynasty.[1] Several names of the "twenty-two cities" are recorded in the Chinese chronicles as well as in the Turfan Chinese manuscripts, and Turfan scholars have conducted a series of geo-historical surveys to identify them in comparison with the toponyms in the Chinese records of the Ming and Qing dynasties and the modern Uigur ones.[2]

Since the latter half of the 9th century the Turfan Basin was brought under the direct rule of the West-Uigur Kingdom, whose dominion was designated also as "twenty-two cities of the nation of Qočo" (*qočo ulus ikii otuz balïq*) in one of the Old Uigur Manichaean texts: After their submission to the Činggisid Mongol Empire at the early 13th century, the number of the cities ruled by the Uigur king *ïduq-qut* is once mentioned as twenty-four.[3] Among the Old Uigur texts from the 9th–14th centuries, we can find the toponyms identified to the modern Turfan oases, examples being: Chin. 高昌 Gaochang > Uig. *Qočo* ~ *Qara-Qočo* = Qara-Khoja or 高昌故城 Gaochang gucheng (the Ruin of Gaochang City; so-called Idikut-Schahri)[4]; *Turpan* = Turpan (~ Turfan > 吐魯番 *Tu-lu-fan*); *Lükčüng* = Lukčun (> Chin. 魯克沁 *Lu-ke-qin*)[5]; *Yar* = Yarkhoto or 交河故城 Jiaohe gucheng (the Ruin of Jiaohe City); *Toqsïn* (~ *Toqẓïn*) = Toqsun (> 托克遜 *Tuo-ke-sun*)[6]; *Čïqtïn* = Čiqtim (> 齊

---

1 舊唐書 *Jiu-Tangshu*, Chap. 198, 中華書局 Zhonghua shuju ed., 5295; ARAKAWA 1986, 38.

2 E.g., CEN 1945 = CEN 1962, 705-736; SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 113-147; ARAKAWA 1986; WANG SU 2000; PELLIOT 2002.

3 LE COQ 1922, 40, No. 23; MORIYASU 1987, 62; MORIYASU 1991, 164 = MORIYASU 2004b, 197.

4 PELLIOT 1912.

5 Uig. *Lükčüng* is derived from the Archaic Chinese pronunciation of 柳中 *Liu-zhong* (**l̥iôg- ṭi̯ông*, GSR 1114l + 1007a). See BAILEY 1982, 59; SHŌGAITO 1987, 68; YOSHIDA 1994, 290; cf. PELLIOT 2002, 11.

6 For Uig. *Toqsïn* attested in Ch/U $7344_{5,7,9}$, Ch/U 7451_{1}, U 5941_{r8}, see ZIEME 1976,

克塔木 *Ji-ke-ta-mu* ~ 七克台 *Qi-ke-tai*); *Bïlayuq* = Bulayiq ~ Buluyuq (~ 葡萄溝 Pu-tao-gou)[7]; *Tïyoq* = Toyoq (> 吐峪溝 Tu-yu-gou).[8]

In this paper I would like to present further identifications between the toponyms attested in the Old Uigur (and Mongol) documents and the Old Chinese or modern geographical names in the Turfan Basin.[9]

1. *Čïqtïn* and *Pučang*

As mentioned above, the Old Uigur toponym *Čïqtïn* has been identified to the modern oasis of Čiqtim (> 七克台 *Qi-ke-tai*). It is originated from a garrison of 赤亭 *Chi-ting* (**tś'i̯äk-d'iäng,* GSR 793a + 833h) during the Tang times, which was transcribed as 澤田 *Ze-tian* (**đ'ɒk-d'ien,* GSR 790o + 362a) by the Song ambassador 王延德 Wang Yande in early 980's CE. The latter form without final nasal *-ng* is a reflection of the Old Uigur form *Čïqtïn*: The modern Uigur form Čiqtim should be a dissimilation from it.[10]

Here I would draw attention to another Uigur toponym *Pučang*, which is mentioned together with *Čïqtïn* = Čiqtim in an Old Uigur document, SI O.39, in the St. Petersburg collection. The document consisting of two jointed administrative orders (displayed respectively as a and b below) was discovered by S. F. OL'DENBURG at modern Čiqtim and edited by MALOV.[11] Here I cite the texts with necessary modifications as follows:

[1a] SI O.39a (IOM RAS)

$_{10}$*birlä üč ygrmi* $_{11}$*at altï ygrmi äšgäk ulaγ-ta* $_{12}$*pučang čïqtïn birlä bir at* $_{13}$*bir äšgäk (i)ki ton-luq böz* $_{14}$*birlä a[t]a buqa qanimdu inäki* $_{15}$*bačaq (q)ayaγ-a*

248; RASCHMANN 1991, 146, 148. It is derived from Chin. 篤新 *Du-xin* (**tuok-si̯ĕn*, GSR 1019g + 382k). See SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 130; ARAKAWA 1986, 130; PELLIOT 2002, 87-92. Cf. RONG 2007, 36-37, for 啄進 *Du-jin* (**ṭák-tsi̯ĕn*, GSR 1218b + 379a) as an older variant of *Du-xin* and the possibility that *Du-xin* ~ *Du-jin* were originated from any non-Chinese toponym.

7 ZIEME 1981, 90; MORIYASU 2002, 156. For its Khotanese form *phalayākä*, see HAMILTON 1958, 150.

8 Uig. *Tïyoq* is derived from Chin. 丁谷 *Ding-yu* (**tieng-i̯wok*, GSR 833a + 1202a) and the direct origin of modern Toyoq. Cf. SUK 2, 291; MATSUI 2010b, 703; SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 120; PELLIOT 2002, 135.

9 In my previous papers I have sporadically presented some of the identifications mentioned in this paper, though mostly in Japanese or Chinese. See MATSUI 1998b, 31-34; MATSUI 2002, 107; MATSUI 2010c; MATSUI 2011.

10 ZIEME 1982, 266; MORIYASU 1992, 50-52; MORIYASU 2002; MATSUI 2004, 7; MATSUI 2010a, 57.

11 MALOV 1932, 140-143. A fine full-colored facsimile of the document was published in TUGUSHEVA 2008, 48.

b(il)ä quvrayγ $_{16}$*ärkägün il-tän bütürüp birzün* "Of 13 horses and 16 postal-relay donkeys in total (above), together (from the cities of) *Pučang* and *Čïqtïn*, 1 horse, 2 postal-relay donkeys and 2 cotton-cloth for clothes all together, (namely) Ata, Buqa, Qanimdu, İnäki, Bačaq, Qayaγa, they shall deliver (them), collecting from people of the (Buddhist monastic) community and the Nestorian-Christian (monastery)."

[1b] SI O.39b (IOM RAS)

$_{2}$*yilägäy ilči-kä qor* $_{3}$*qïlmiš kümüš-tä • pučang* $_{4}$*čïqtïn birlä biš stïr* $_{5}$*üč b[a]qïr kümüš-ni* $_{6}$*tümän buqa ata totoq* $_{7}$*bačaq qayaγ-a olar bütürüp* $_{8}$*birzün* "Of the silver that have been a loss (i.e., expenditure) for Ambassador Yilägäy, 5 *stïr* and 3 *baqïr* of silver (from the cities of) *Pučang* and *Čïqtïn* altogether, Tümän-Buqa, Ata-*totoq*, Bačaq, Qayaγa shall deliver (it) completely."

It is rather difficult to interpret the phrase $_{a12, b3-4}$*pučang čïqtïn birlä* above, as MALOV read *bučang čïnatun* to interpret a personal name. However, the latter *čïnatun* should be easily corrected into the toponym *Čïqtïn*, so the preceding *PWČ'NK = pučang ~ bučang* also must be a toponym. For the whole context above, I would suppose that the persons mentioned with names (1a: Ata, Buqa, Qanimdu, İnäki, Bačaq, Qayaγa; 1b: Tümän-Buqa, Ata-*totoq*, Bačaq, Qayaγ-a) were the local leaders (or officials?) of the certain area represented with the two villages *Pučang* and *Čïqtïn* (= Čiqtim) and responsible for delivery of the horses, donkeys and cotton cloth in 1a or the silver of 5 *stïr* and 4 *baqïr* (= ca. 216 grams) in 1b.

In view of the phonetic resemblance, I would read the toponym as *Pučang* to identify with Chin. 蒲昌 *Pu-chang* (**b'uo-tśi̯ang*, GSR 102n′ + 724a) in the Tang period. It should correspond to Wang Yande's 寶莊 *Bao-zhuang* (**pâu-tsi̯ang*, GSR 1059a + 727q) as well as Khotanese *phūcanä* in the Staël-Holstein scroll of 925 CE. All of them are the old toponyms for the modern village Pičan (> Chin. 闢展 *Pi-chan*) or 鄯善 Shan-shan.[12]

Both of Pičan and Čiqtim are located on the main route from Qočo to Hami (Qamïl), and the distance between them is ca. 50 km. In the Tang times, the military station 蒲昌府 *Pu-chang-fu* was settled in Pičan, and it had jurisdiction over several sub-military institutions (Chin. 鎮 *zhen* "garrison", 戍 *shu* "patrol" or 烽 *feng* "smoke signal post"), among which were included 赤亭鎮 *Chi-ting-zhen,* 赤亭戍 *Chi-ting-shu* and 赤亭烽 *Chi-ting-feng*,

[12] SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 129; WANG SU 2000, 66-67; HAMILTON 1958, 139; PELLIOT 2002, 6-8.

arranged at modern Čiqtim.[13] Such a military administrative system to closely relate Pičan and Čiqtim could be inherited even in the West Uigur rule and afterwards in the Mongol domination,[14] so that they are mentioned together in the text 1a.

2. *Soim, Qongsïr ~ Qongḍsïr* (> Mong. *Qongsir*) and *Limčin*

One of the Mongolian documents of Berlin-Turfan collection, MongHT 070, is a decree dipatched by the Chaghataid ruler Tuγluγ-Temür in 1352 CE. It concerns the protection of the people of the three villages, named *Soim*, *Qongsir* and *Limčin*.

[2a] MongHT 070 (TM 93)[15]

$_{5}$*ene morum saqal qayiči ekiten-i (s)[oim] qongsir limčin* $_{6}$*ekiten γurban silteged-ün irgen bur-a tar-a odčuγu* "The people of the three villages, i.e., *S[oim], Qongsir* and *Limčin*, who are headed by these Mormu, Saqal and Qayiči, had dispersed."

$_{9}$*soim qongsir limčin-e qariatan aran-i qaruγulǰu silγaγu<l>ǰu* "Having scrape and select (to unlawfully occupy) the people who belong to *Soim, Qongsir* and *Limčin*"

$_{13}$*ked ber bolǰu soim qongsir limčin ekiten silteged-ün γaǰar usun-*$_{14}$*tur mör yosu ügegü küčü auγ-a kürgeǰü buu darituγai* "Whoever are they, they shall not unlawfully violate the cultivated lands of the three villages *Soim, Qongsir* and *Limčin* nor oppress (the people there)."

The decree is addressed to "Čingtemür-*ïduq-qut* of Qočo ($_{2}$*qočo-yin čingtemür iduqud*)" and the officials named Turmis-Temür, Tükel-Qya and Kerei, who have been identified to the *bägs* appearing also in a series of the Turfan Uigur documents.[16] They should have been in charge of the mentioned three villages, *Soim*, *Qongsir* and *Limčin*, and consequently the villages should be under the jurisdiction of the central administrative office of Qočo.

Among the three villages mentioned above, *Qongsir* should be undoubtedly identified to Chin. 橫截 *Huang-jie* (*γwɒng-dz'iet*, GSR 707m + 310b) as seen frequently in the Turfan Chinese texts during the Gaochang Kingdom

---

[13] E.g., HIBINO 1963, 277-278; WANG YONGXING 1994, 305-306; CHEN/LIU 1997, 10-14, 19-22; LI 2005, 60.

[14] For the Tang administrative systems inherited by the Uigurs, see MATSUI 1998a; MATSUI 2006b.

[15] MATSUKAWA 1995, 116-118, has improved the edition and interpretation of BT XVI, No. 70.

[16] CLARK 1975b.

and Tang times, as well as to Khotanese *hve'tsverä* mentioned in the Staël-Holstein Scroll as a village on the way between Pičan (*phūcąnä*) and Lukčun (*ḍūkäcū*).[17] Thus far A. SHIMAZAKI's identification of *Huang-jie* with the modern Khandu (> Chin. 漢都 *Han-du* ~ 漢墩 *Han-dun*) has been generally accepted,[18] even though his argument to establish the phonetic resemblance between *Huang-jie* (*γwɒng-dz'iet)* and Khandu was not sufficient in the viewpoint of phonology.

Here, the attestation of 2a referring to *Qongsir* together with another toponym *Limčin* may well give support to him: It suggests us that *Qongsir* (= 橫截 *Huang-jie*) was located close to another village *Limčin,* which is undoubtedly derived from the Chinese toponym 臨川 *Lin-chuan* (**l̥iəm-tś'i̯wän*, GSR 669e + 462a) during the Gaochang Kingdom and Tang times and identified to modern oasis of Lämjin (> 連木沁 *Lian-mu-qin*).[19] Modern Khandu is located ca. 10 km northeast to Lämjin, and consequently it can be a candidate of the derivation from *Qongsir* = *Huang-jie*.

Still more, its Old Uigur correspondent *Qongsïr* ~ *Qongḍsïr* is also attested in two other texts cited below.

[2b] K 7717 (National Museum of China, Beijing)
$_{18}$*[.....] y[ir] yaqasï iki sï(γ) üür alp oγul-ta • qongḍsïr-ta(qï) yir* $_{19}$*[yaqasï .....] („)qo singtung-ta* "2 *šïγ* of millet for the rent of the land in [....] (was paid) by Alp-Oγul. [X of millet/wheat for the rent] of the land in *Qongḍsïr* (was paid) by (....)qo-Singtung."

T. MORIYASU, who presented the whole edition of 2b (= K 7717), regarded it as a revenue account of the rents paid by tenanted farmers to the Manichaean monastery in Qočo, and dated to the period when the Uigur Manichaeism most flourished[20]: Most probably it belongs to the first half of the 10th century.

We may safely regard *Qongḍsïr* (~ *Qongtsïr*)[21] here as an earlier and pre-

---

[17] HAMILTON 1958, 142, left *hve'tsverä* unidentified. Its initial *hve'* may well reflect Chin. 橫 **xwäi˜*$_1$ in the 河西 Hexi dialect, as attested in Khot. *hve'ḍū* < Chin. 橫堆 *Huang-dui* (HAMILTON 1958, 128; cf. TAKATA 1988a, 75; TAKATA 1988b, 402). I am grateful to Prof. YUTAKA YOSHIDA for his suggestion (in personal communication) that Chin. 截 **dz'iet* should have been transcribed as **tserä* in Khotanese but here assimilated into *tsverä* by preceding *hve'*.

[18] SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 120-122; ARAKAWA 1986, 40; RONG 1987, 40; WANG SU 2000, 61-62; RONG 2007, 33-34.

[19] SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 132; WANG SU 2000, 72-73. We have also the Old Uigur attestation of *Limčin* in *U 9014$_8$. Cf. VOHD 13,22 #464.

[20] MORIYASU 1991, 85-87 = MORIYASU 2004b, 105-108.

[21] MORIYASU placed only the transliteration as *XWNKDSYR* for *Qongḍsïr.*

cise transcription of Chin. 橫截 *Huang-jie* (*γwɒng-dz'iet): The Uigur script *-DSYR = -ḍsïr* (~ *-TSYR = -tsïr*) well corresponds to Chin. 截 **dz'iet* with the dental consonant /dz'/, which was generally joined with /s/ in Uigur in the later period.[22]

[2c] *U 9196 (T III M Kloster 2 Nr. 134)[23]
$_{41}$*taypidu bačaγ qïz tu* $_{42}$*šutza-lïq qongsïr-lïγ-*$_{43}$*lar-nïng lab biš stïr* $_{44}$*tört baqïr čao bir* $_{45}$*ülätü torɣu* "The [sum of the] offering (*lab*) from the people of *Qongsïr* under [the jurisdiction] of Taypidu and Bačaγ-Qïz-*tu(tung)-šutza* (< Chin. 首座 *shou-zuo*) (was) 5 *stïr* and 4 *baqïr* of paper currency and 1 handkerchief of silk."

The attestation of Uig. *čao* (< Chin. 鈔 *chao*) "paper currency" dates this text clearly to the period after 1260 CE, when the Mongol-Yuan dynasty started the issue of the paper currency 中統元寶交鈔 *Zhong-tong yuan-bao jiao-chao* (~ 中統寶鈔 *Zhong-tong bao-chao* > Uig. *čungtung paočao*).[24]

Here *U 9196 refers not only to *qongsïr-lïγ* but also to $_{6}$*lu̯kčüng-lüg* "people of *Lükčüng* (= Lukčun)", $_{19,37}$*tsingging-lig* "people of *Tsingging* (= Sänggim)" (see 3d below) and $_{36}$*nampï-lïγ* "people of *Nampï* (= Lampu)" (see Section 5 below). All of them were seemingly Buddhist lay donors to provide financial support to a certain Buddhist monastery.

Contrary to *Qongsir* and *Limčin*, I cannot find the Chinese origin definitely corresponding to *Soim* (~ *Suim*), the first one of the three villages in 2a. However, from the geographical point of view we may well relate it to the Khotanese toponym *'īśumä* (~ *yūśumä*) in the Staël-Holstein scroll, which is mentioned to be located between *hve'tsverä* (= *Qongsir*) and *tsīräkyepä* (= *Sirkäp* ~ *Sirkip*) and identified to Chin. 威神 *Wei-shen* in the Turfan Chinese documents.[25] Could *Wei-shen* (**·jwe̯i-ʂi̯ĕn*, GSR 574a + 385j) be inverted into *'īśumä* (~ *yūśumä*), then via Old Uigur into Mong. *Soim* (~ *Suim*)?

---

[22] SHŌGAITO 1987, 32-33; SHŌGAITO 2003, 59.

[23] SERTKAYA 2006a, 131-132; VOHD 13,22 #306.

[24] Cf. CLARK 1975a, 139-143, 164; MORIYASU 2004a, 229.

[25] HAMILTON 1958, 140, though his identification of *'īśumä* ~ *yūśumä* to *Üjme-dong* is not acceptable; ARAKAWA 1986, 40, 68; WANG SU 2000, 70; RONG 2007, 34-35. For the attestation of Uig. *sirkäp*, see BT VIII, 64; MORIYASU 1985, 82; ZIEME 1997, 49. Coming across Uig. *S(.)R(.)SK'P* in a Dunhuang Uigur letter correspondence, MORIYASU identified it to the same toponym *Sirkäp*, though I would propose that it can be a Tibetan personal name ending with *-S(.)K'P* ~ *-SYK'P* = *skab* ~ *sikab* < Tib. *skyabs* "protector, defence".

3. *Singging < Singing*[26]

First attestation of the toponym *Singging* in the Turfan Basin was introduced by the edition of a Mongolian decree in the Berlin Turfan collection, MongHT 068 (TM 79), issued in 1369 CE under the reign of the Chaghataid ruler Ilyās-Ḫvāğa (> Mong. *Ilasqoǰa*).

[3a] MongHT 068 (= BT XVI, No. 68)
$_{3}$*merkid senggüm ekiten* $_{4}$*singging-ün tuṣümed-te* $_{5}$*en-e tegür-ün s(i)[ngging]-tür nigen köl γaǰar* $_{6}$*usun aǰiγu* "(This is a decree) to the officials of *Singging* headed by Merkid and Senggüm. (There) was a 'cultivated land of lake' of this (person), Tegür, in *S(i)[ngging].*"

There is no doubt in restoring the toponym *S(i)[ngging]* in the lacuna of line 5: The "cultivated land of lake (*köl γaǰar usun*)" in question must have been located in the area under the jurisdiction of "the officials of *Singging* (*singging-ün tuṣümed*)".

On the other hand, we come across a toponym *Siggik* in an Uigur testament SUK WP04.[27] In comparison with Mong. *Singging* in 3a above, I would correct *Siggik = SYKKYK* into *SY(N)KKY(N)K ~ SYNKKYNK = Si(n)ggi(n)g ~ Singging,* regarding them as the same toponym. Then the context should be as follows:

[3b] SUK WP04 (with modifications)
$_{8}$*singging-*$_{9}$*[tä uluγ] köl üzä suvaq-lïγ manga tgir on šïγ yir* "Land of (the space enough for seed of) 10 *šïγ*, belonging to me and irrigated with the [big] lake [in] *Singging*"
$_{20}$*singging-tä uluγ köl üzä suvaq-*$_{21}$*lïγ [.....] manga tägmiš* "[The land / vineyard?] irrigated with the big lake in *Singging* belonged to me."

For the etymon of Mong. *Singging*, H. FRANKE once tentatively proposed a Chinese hypothetical toponym 聖京 *Sheng-jing* "holy capital", to relate it with *Idiqut-Šahri* "the City of the Holy Charisma (= *ïduq-qut*, king of Uigurs)" or the modern byname of Qočo.[28] D. CERENSODNOM and M. TAUBE only regarded *Singging* as a geographical name, and placed no commentary in their edition of BT XVI, No. 68.

However, I would propose for its etymon the Chinese toponym 新興 *Xin-xing* (meaning "newly established") during the Gaochang Kingdom and

---

[26] This section is based on my previous articles. See MATSUI 1998b, 33-34; MATSUI 2010c.

[27] In USp No. 55, RADLOFF had mistaken it as †*Singrik.*

[28] FRANKE 1975, 65, where he noted the absence of contemporary attestations for both of *Sheng-jing* and *Idiqut-Šahri.*

Tang period, which corresponds to the modern village Sänggim (> Chin. 勝金 *Sheng-jin*) located ca. 13 km to the north of Qočo.[29] Even though FRANKE had formerly refused to identify *Singging* to Sänggim,[30] the ancient pronunciation of *Xin-xing* (*s̬iə̆n-χ̬iəng, GSR 382k + 889a) does not so much contradict to Uig.-Mong. *Singging* (see below).

My identification may well be supported by the geographical situation as seen in 3a and 3b above. From 3b we can observe that there was a "big lake (*uluγ köl*)" in *Singging*, and from 3a that Tegür possessed "one cultivated land of lake (*nigen köl γaǰar usun*)" in *Singging*: Both suggests that *Singging* should be related to "lake". Here we may pay attention to that a lake named Cïqqan-köl (> 七康湖 *Qi-kang-hu,* ca. 3.2 km around) is located to the west of modern Sänggim,[31] and that many 潢 *huang* "reservoir" and 澤 *ze* "marsh or swampland abundant in grass" were scattered around *Xin-xing* = Sänggim during Gaochang Kingdom and Tang period.[32] Thus we may well identify "the big lake in *Singging* (*singging-tä uluγ köl*)" in 3b to Cïqqan-köl near Sänggim = *Xin-xing*[33]: Also the "land of lake (*köl(-ün) γaǰar usun*)" in *Singging* in 3a may stand for "land irrigated by lake (probably Cïqqan-köl ?) or reservoir (*huang*)", or "land like a lake; land abundant in water; swampland" to be related with *ze* around *Xin-xing*.[34]

Still more, we have an attestation of *Singing*, which should be the variant of *Singging* but correponds rather better to the Chinese original pronunciation of 新興 *Xin-xing* (*s̬iə̆n-χ̬iəng).

[3c] Ot. Ry. 2720 + 2795 (Ryukoku University, Kyoto)[35]
$_{7}$bu'kün bir otuz-qa $_{8}$tangta-sïnta ą̈mraq tu[rurm]än ädgü avrta birlä $_{9}$qočodïn ünüp yor[ï .....]r munta bizintä täginür $_{10}$ą̈mtï bu qïz singingkä [mü

---

29 SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 123-127; ARAKAWA 1986, 40.

30 FRANKE 1975, 65.

31 *Chotscho*, 11; LE COQ 1926, 79; cf. SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 127.

32 SEKIO 1984, 5-12; ARAKAWA 1997, 53. We may add that one of the characteristic products from *Xin-xing* was reed (Chin. 葦 *wei*) growing on the shore and reverbed and used for building or utensils. See MORIYASU 1991, 92 = MORIYASU 2004b, 114.

33 Also we come across $_{16}$*uluγ köl-nüng suv satï[γï(?)]* "the price of water of the big lake (for irrigation?)" in the Manichaean monastery account book K 7717 (cf. 2b above). This "big lake (*uluγ köl*)" might be related to *Singging* = Sängim. See MATSUI 2011, 157-158.

34 From the viewpoint of such geographical situation, we may now reject the identification of *Xin-xing* with modern *Sänggim-Aghïz* (= Chin. 勝金口 Sheng-jin-kou) by WANG SU 2000, 69, 71.

35 Cf. MORIYASU 2011, 55, 69.

täginür] (a)zu lu̱kčüngkä mu $_{9}$*täginür* "Until today, (i.e.) the dawn of the 21st day, I have been joyful. Together with a good nanny (*av(i)rta*), [a girl?] departed from Qočo and (traveled ?) [..... the girl?] arrives here, to us. Now, [is] this girl [sent] to *Singing* or is (she) sent to *Lükčüng*?"

This letter correspondence, which is written in the so-called Semi-Square script, should belong to the West Uigur period of the 10th-12th centuries.[36] Consequently we may suppose that *Xin-xing* was borrowed into Uigur as *Singing* in the earlier period and later inverted into *Singging*: The first syllable *sin-* was nasalized into *sing-* in assimilation with the second *-ging*. Still afterwards *-ging* itself was dissimilated into *-gim*, to finally form the modern toponym Sänggim.

Besides 3a and 3b, we come across the attestation of *Singging* (~ *Sing'ging*) in an Uigur administrative order among the Berlin Turfan collection: U 5309, $_{6}$*sing'ging-lig* $_{7}$*(..)W(..)L(.)Y* "(..)W(..)L(.)Y of *Singging*".[37]

Furthermore, we may add the attestation of a toponym *Tsingging* as below:

[3d] *U 9196 (cf. 2c above)
$_{r19}$*tsingging-lig il turmïš* $_{20}$*ačari* "İl-Turmïš-*ačari* of *Tsingging*"
$_{r35}$*turmïš qaysidu šutza-*$_{r36}$*lïq nampï-lïγ-lar-nïng* $_{r37}$*tsingging-lig-lär-ning* $_{38}$*lab* "Offering from the people of *Nampï* and *Tsingging* under [the jurisdiction] of Turmïš (and?) Qaysidu-*šutza*"

Tsingging here is apparenty derived from a Chinese toponym, and I cannot find any other candidate suitable for it except 新興 *Xin-xing* > *Singing* ~ *Singging*. Thus I would regard *Tsingging* here as a variant of *Singging*, caused by hypercorrection of the initial *s-* into *ts-*.[38]

4. *Nižüng ~ Nišüng ~ Lišüng*[39]

The Bezeklik Caves are one of the most important religious sanctuaries for the Old Uigur Buddhist inhabitants in the Turfan Basin. As well known, Modern Uigur *Bezeklik* means "(place) with paintings; decorated", though the Old Uigur appellation for the Bezeklik Caves has been unclear. So far as

---

[36] Cf. MORIYASU 2004a, 228; MORIYASU 2011, 55.

[37] MATSUI 1998b, 31, 33, though my previous reading *oγlï* should be modified into *(..)W(..)L(.)Y* as any personal name.

[38] For the hypercorrection of Uig. *s-* into *ts-*, see YOSHIDA 1988, 173-174; YOSHIDA 1994, 318; YOSHIDA 2004, 18.

[39] This section is based on my previous article in Japanese, MATSUI 2011.

known, we find the only attestation of *bäzäklig ~ bäzäk-lig* in a booklet U 338, which does not seem to be a toponym.[40]

On the other hand, we come across attestations of the toponym *NYSWNK* or *LYSWNK* among the Old Uigur memorial inscriptions attached to wall paintings in the Bezeklik Caves,[41] as follows:

[4a] MIK III 8453 (from Bezeklik Cave 18; cf. BT XIII, No. 59)
$_3$*ona bu ṅYSWNK aryadan qïsïl-ta on küčlüg burxan bolγu-qa* "Just in this *NYSWNK* monastic valley, in order to become the Buddha with ten powers"

[4b] IB 6892 (The wall painting of a *ḍākinī* from Bezeklik Cave 21; cf. BT XIII, No. 60a; *Verluste*, 125)
$_1$*sašïmsïz kǫngül öriḍip* $_2$*sačuq kǫngül yoqaḍïp* $_3$*sar[v]arḍsdi tigin täg qaḍïylanïp* $_4$*säri[l]ip olurzun-lar bu NYSWNK-T' tip* $_5$我達摩實囉弟子寫矣 "Waking up inagitated mind, extinguishing agitated mind, training like Prince Sarvārthasiddha, (they) shall stay (and be disciplined) patiently in this *NYSWNK*. Thus saying, I, the pupil *Da-ma-shi-luo* (< Uig. *Darmašila* or *Darmaširi*)[42] wrote (this)".

[4c] TU-532 (State Hermitage, from Bezeklik Cave 20 /21; ZIEME 2013, 185)
$_1$*taypodu drm-a širi quluḍ-[lar](..)[...]* $_2$*NYSWNK ạ̈ran-yadan orun-(t)a [...]* "Taypodu, D(a)rm-a-širi, (i.e., we,) the servants of Buddha [....] in the monastic place of *NYSWNK* [...]"

[4d][43] IB 6905 (from Bezeklik Cave 15)

---

[40] U 338, fol. 16, $_6$*bäṣäk-ligtä qïz-lar qïrqïn bärtär-lärmü köngülin* "Do girls and maidens in *bäṣäk-lig* hurt their heart?" ARAT interpreted *bäṣäk-lig* here as "harem", and GABAIN did as "Pracht". See ETŞ, 251-253, 421; GABAIN 1964, 216-217.

[41] For the cave numbers below, I adopt the current ones given by the Turfan Cultural Relics Bureau.

[42] The most clumsy handwriting of Chinese text of line 5 may well suggest that the scribe was not a Chinese but an Uigur, and the text itself can be reconstructed into Uigur such as **män darmašila titsi bitidim*. His name 達摩實囉 *da-ma shi-luo* < Uig. *Darmašila* < Skt. *Dharmaśīla* had been seemingly read as 達摩密囉 *da-ma mi-luo* by LE COQ, who reconstructed the original Sanskrit name as *Dhar-ma-mit(?)-ra* in *Chotscho*, Taf. 34. Here I propose another reading 實 *shi* for 密 *mi*, taking into account the possibility that it is a mistake for 達摩實理 **da-ma shi-li* < Uig. *Darmaširi* (< Skt. *Dharmaśrī*) and should be identified to the one who wrote the inscriptions 4a and 4c. See MATSUI 2011, 146-148.

[43] Though this wall painting had formerly belonged to the German Turfan collection, it was brought to the Soviet Union after the World War II. Today it is pre-

> $_{1}$*bir ygrminč ay bir yangïqa LYSWNK-kä ärtintimiz bükün altï yangïqa (..)*
> "On the 1st day (of) the 11th month, we came over *LYSWNK*. Today (i.e.,) on the 6th day [...]"

It is obvious from the contexts of 4a-4c that *NYSWNK* was the place name where those wall inscriptions were written, or the appellation of the Bezeklik cave temples: That is well indicated by the phrases as *Ṅ YSWNK aryadan qïsïl* "*NYSWNK* monastic valley" (4a; cf. 4e below) and *NYSWNK ạ̈ran-yadan orun* "monastic place of *NYSWNK*" (4c). Consequently we can reconstruct the form *Nišüng* and place for its etymon Chin. 寧戎 *Ning-rong* (**nieng-ńźi̯ung*, GSR 837a + 1013d),[44] which is attested in 寧戎窟寺 *Ning-rong ku-si* "Cave Temples of *Ning-rong*", the Chinese appellation for the Bezeklik cave temples during the Tang times.[45] Chin. 寧 **nieng* was transcribed as *NY = ni* (*ne*) in Sino-Uigur (SinU),[46] and 戎 **ńźi̯ung* could have been transcribed as **žüng* in Uigur.[47] Also the form *NYZWNK = Nižüng* is attested in the texts from the West Uigur period of 10th-12th centuries (4g below = 2b above; $5a_{07}$ below), but the foreign voicing sound /ž/ had been assimilated to the native Uigur /š/ by the later period of the 13th-14th centuries.[48]

From the context of 4d, *LYSWNK* too should be the place where the inscription was written, and consequently it must be also identified to the Bezeklik Cave. We can safely transcribe *LYSWNK* here as *Lišüng* as a variant of *Nišüng*: It is a well known phenomenon that the initial *N-* of the foreign toponym could be replaced with *L-* in Old Uigur.[49]

---

served in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, under the shelf number VD-813. See *Verluste*, 127; PTB, pl. 332.

[44] Though *NYSWNK* in 4a and 4b had been mistaken variously as *'YSWNK ~ NYST'* in BT XIII, it may be noted that Prof. Peter Zieme had reached at the same conclusion that they should be revised into *NYSWNK = nišüng* < Chin. *Ning-rong*, independently of my article. See Matsui 2011, 142.

[45] Liu 1986, 58; Kudara 1992, 4.

[46] Shōgaito 1987, 30, 54, 130.

[47] Shōgaito 1987, 36-37, 50; Shōgaito 2003, 61-62, 94-95. It may be noted that Chin. 絨錦 *rong-jin* "velvet" was borrowed into Uigur as *ZWYNKYM = žüngim ~ žünkim* (< **žüng-kim*): 絨 *rong* is a homophone of 戎 *rong*. See Moriyasu 1991, 91 = Moriyasu 2004b, 112-113.

[48] Yoshida 1994, 320, 309; Yoshida 2000, 6-7; Erdal 2004, 83; Hashimoto 2004, 32-33; Yoshida 2009, 58-59. Also Shōgaito had suggested the assimilation of /ž/ into /š/, though he recently claims that Uig. *Ẓ, S, Š* for the Chinese 日母 *ri-mu* initial kept the voicing /ž/. See Shōgaito 1987, 37; Shōgaito 2003, 61-62; Shōgaito 2011, 8.

[49] E.g., Sogd. **Nop-čik* > Chin. 納職 **nập-tśi̯ək* > Uig. *Napčik* > **Lapčïq ~ *Lapčuq* >

Besides the inscriptions on the wall paintings of Bezeklik, we can find the attestations of *Nižüng* > *Nišüng* ~ *Lišüng* also in the Uigur manuscripts from Turfan.

[4e] Ch/U 6245v (T III M 117)[50]
$_{1}$*qlïmdu aqam-qa šulaydu aqam-qa 'äčim-kä bašlap 'äv-ḍäki-*$_{2}$*lär-kä män buyan qulï nišüng qïsïl-tïn tälim tälim buyan* $_{3}$*ayïḍtïm* "$_{1-2}$To my elder brother Q(a)lïmdu, to my elder brother Šulaydu, to my elder brother to my families. $_{2-3}$I, Buyan-Qulï, send (greetings) with many many (Buddhist) merit from Nišüng Valley."

[4f] *U 9053[51]
$_{1}$*ča-γan yïl altïnč ay bir yangïqa* $_{2}${*(.)WY(.)WP*} $_{3}$*lišüng-tä turup* $_{4}$*namo budy-a nmo ṭarmy-a* "The white (i.e., 庚 *geng*)?-[X] year, the 6th month, on the 1st day. Staying in *Lišüng*; *Namo buddhāya, namo dharmāya*"

[4g] K 7717 (National Museum of China, Beijing; cf. 2b above)
$_{13}$*bayïq-tïn nïẓüngdäki örü tam ya(qasï)(..)[ ]* "From Bayïq, the rent for Örü-Tam located in *Nïẓüng*"

[4h] U 5288 (T M 77, D 51)[52]
$_{13}$*lišüng vaxar-lïγ b(o)[rluq]* "Vine[yard] of *Lišüng*-Monastery"

Undoubtedly "*Nišüng* valley (*nišüng qïsïl*)" of 4e corresponds to *ṅišüng aryadan qïsïl* "*Nišüng* monastic valley" or the Bezeklik Caves, which were excavated on the cliff of Sänggim River. This text is written on the reverse side of a fragment of a Chinese Buddhist scroll, and many Uigur scribbles follow the line 4. Still more, no fold line can be observed on the original. Consequently it should be a practice or draft to remain at the place of issue, i.e., at Nišüng Valley or Bezeklik.

Noteworthy is that the manuscript 4e has the site number "T III M 117" to suggest that it was obtained by the Third German Turfan-Expedition ("T III") at "M(urtuq)". The German expeditions used the site number "M(urtuq)" for the area including both of the Bezeklik Caves (STEIN's "Bezeklik Temple Ruins") and the ruins of Ujan-Bulaq (Chin. 烏江不拉克

Chin. 臘竺 *La-zhu* ~ NUig. *Lapčuq* (> Chin. 拉布楚喀 *La-bu-chu-ke*); Sogd. **Nop* > Tib. *Nob* ~ Uig. *Nop* > Uig. *Lop* > Lat. *Lop* ~ Chin. 羅卜 / 羅不 *Luo-bu*. See MORIYASU 1990, 79-80; MATSUI 2008b, 20. Cf. ABE 1955, 550-551, HAMILTON 1958, 140 and PELLIOT 2002, 4-5, for 羅護 *Luo-hu* (GSR 6a + 784k, **lâ-γuo*) > ? > 納庫 *Na-ku* ~ 納呼 *Na-hu.*

[50] The whole edition was presented in MATSUI 2011, Text G.

[51] MATSUI 2011, Text I; Cf. VOHD 13,22 #575.

[52] MATSUI 1998b, Text 4, with modification of *lisung* into *lišüng*.

Wu-jiang bu-la-ke, corresponding to STEIN's "Murtuk Ruin") to be located ca. 4 km north to Bezeklik.[53]

The text of 4f apparently concerns memorial writing by a Buddhist Uigur who stayed at *Lišüng*.[54] As shown by the wall inscriptions 4a-4d above, it was popular custom among the Buddhist Uigurs to leave writings in memory of their pilgrimage or ascetic practices on the manuscripts or wall paintings inside the Buddhist cave monasteries. Thus 4f, though without the site number, may well have been obtained at Bezeklik.

Text 4g belongs to the West Uigur period (see 2b above) and displays the older form *Niẕüng*,[55] which reflects the original Chinese pronunciation 寧戎 **nieng-ńźiung*. However, *Niẕüng* here cannot be immediately identified with the Bezeklik Caves, because 寧戎 *Ning-rong* was also the name of an administrative district (for 縣 *xian* "prefecture" during the Gaochang Kingdom period; later for 鄉 *xiang* "village" during the Tang times). As generally accepted, the local government of *Ning-rong* district during the Gaochang Kingdom and Tang dynasty should have been located at the area of modern Sänggim-Aghiz.[56] In 4g = K 7717, *Niẕüng* is referred to as the location of the rented land, as well as *Qongḍsïr* (= Khandu) in 2b above. Judging from the current geographical situation, it is not so much likely that many cultivated lands suitable for tenant farming were located around Bezeklik.

As well, it is not easy to decide where the *Lišüng vaxar* "*Lišüng* (= *Nišüng*) monastery" of 4h was located. Of course it can stand generically for the Bezeklik cave temples, just as 寧戎窟寺 *Ning-rong ku-si* "Ning-rong Cave Temples" of the Tang times did. But it equally can be one (or the generic name) of Buddhist temples at Sänggim-Aghiz, i.e., *Ning-rong* District, where the ruins of twelve temples remain.[57] We find also 寧[戎]寺 *Ning-[rong]-si* "Ning-rong Temple" in a Chinese document (81 SAT: 2) of the Tang times from the Toyoq Caves.[58] It can be identified with our *Lišüng vaxar*, even

---

[53] NISHIMURA/KITAMOTO 2010, 224-240.

[54] It seems not to be a draft for a legal document. Cf. SERTKAYA 2006b, 198. For the possibility that Uig. *ča-γan* < Mong. *čaγan* "white" should correspond to Chin. 庚 *geng* (the 7th of the Ten Elements), see MATSUI 2011, 169.

[55] MORIYASU 1991, 85, just transliterated as *'YẔWNK*, and later modified into *NYẔWNK* in MORIYASU 2004b, 106, though he did not identify it with *Ning-rong*.

[56] ARAKAWA 1986, 68; RONG 1987, 40.

[57] Cf. *Chotscho*, Tafn. 72, 73; LE COQ 1926, 69-70 & Taf. 16.

[58] LIU 1997, 123, 363-365, 471; NIE 2006, 214-215. The colored photograph is published in 李蕭 LI XIAO/侯世新 HOU SHIXIN/張永兵 ZHANG YONGBING (eds.), 吐魯番文物精粹 *Tulufan wenwu jingcui*, Shanghai 2006, 148, as 西州乘牛帖 *Xizhou cheng niu tie*.

though its location still remains unclear.

In short, for *Nižüng ~ Nišüng ~ Lišüng* without markers to locate it in the Bezeklik Caves, we have to take into account another possibility to locate it in Sänggim-Aghiz.

5. *Nampï ~ Lampï*

For a puzzling toponym attested in an Uigur adoption contract (SI O/70 in IOM RAS; SUK Ad01), H. UMEMURA has offered a reading $_{v13}$*Ambï balïq* "Ambï City" and identified it with 俺鼻城兒 *An-bi cheng-er* "the City of An-bi" as seen in the Ming Chinese source.[59] His identification has been adopted by SUK. From the phonological point of view his identification is well acceptable, yet we might still doubt it: Any toponym similar to Uig. *Ambï* or Chin. *An-bi* has not been attested in the Chinese Turfan texts of Gaochang Kingdom and Tang period thus far published.

For the Uigur script's *aleph* and *N* are hardly distinguishable, I would propose to replace *"MPY = Ambï* with *N'MPY = Nampï*, which can be identified with the oasis 南平 *Nan-ping* (**nə̀m-b'i̯wɒng*, GSR 650a + 825a) in Gaochang Kingdom and Tang period: In SinU we find the attestations of *N'M = nam* for Chin. 南 *nan*, as well as *PY = pi ~ pe* for 平 *ping*.[60] The first syllable *nam-* could assimilate the second *-pi ~ -pe* into back vocalic *-pï*, as indicated by *Nampï-lïγ = N'MPY-LYX* as attested in 3d$_{r36}$ above. That is indicated also by further attestations of *Nampï-lïγ* and *Nampï-qa* "to *Nampï*" as below.

[5a] Ot. Ry. 1696 (Ryukoku University, Kyoto)[61]
01 nampï-lγ taydu ačari • kimqoču toyïn • ala
02 küz ačari • qotao ačari • qontsi toyïn • T(.)[ ]MYŠ
03 sangun • bitkäči tiräk • buyruq il igälä[ ]
04 bašlayčï [ ]KYNK • biz munta biš (t)oyïn kiši
05 bašlap il bodun balïq qapïyda suv sayï
06 sözläšür ärtmz yna bodun-nung (...)[mï]š
07 quanpu-uγ nižüng buyruq alïp tngri YW(....)

"Taydu-*ačari* of *Nampï*, Kimqoču-*toyïn*, Ala-Küz-*ačari*, Qotao (< Chin. 光道 *Guang-dao*?) *-ačari*, Qontsi-*toyïn*, T(.)[...]myš-*sangun*, Tiräk the Secretary, Il-igälä[...] the *buyruq*, the leader [.....]. We, the people headed by the five Buddhist monks (mentioned) here, have been negotiated

[59] UMEMURA 1977, 013. Formerly it had been read as *ordu ~ amtï ~ yangï*, all of which are not appropriate for its face of letters.

[60] SHŌGAITO 1987, 138, 130. Cf. SHŌGAITO 2003, 131, for Uig. *T'M = ṭam ~ dam* as another SinU for Chin. 南 *nan*.

[61] HANEDA/YAMADA 1961, 204 & pl. 19, with modifications.

about the water and plain at the gate of the city. Now, the officer (*buyruq*) of *Nižüng* took the *quanpu* that the people did [....], the holy [.....]"

Judging from several markers, we can safely date this text to the West Uigur period (ca. 10th -12th cent.): It is written in the Semi-Square script, comprises the term $_{07}$*quanpu* "cotton cloth used as currency" and still keeps the calligraphic distinction between -*q* (with a long tail) and -γ (with a short tail) as shown by $_{03,07}$*buyruq*, $_{05}$*balïq*, $_{01}$*-l(ï)*γ and $_{07}$*-u*γ.[62]

We may note that the initial *N-* of $_{01}$*Nampï-l(ï)*γ = *N'MPY-LX*[63] in this text has a slightly roundish stroke comparable with sharpness of the initial *aleph* in $_{01,02}$*ačari* = *"Č'RY* and $_{07}$*alïp* = *"LYP*, as well as that *Nampï* is attached with the back vocalic *-l(ï)*γ = *-LX,* even in the earlier period.

[5b] SI Uig 14 (IOM RAS; cf. USp 53.2, with modifications)
01 qoyn yïl säkizinč ay yiti yngïqa
02 toqsïn-taqï yiti ïlayï bay[ï?]
03 käpäz alγalï baryučï yägänčük-
04 -kä turmïš-qa nampï-
05 -qa baryu iki at-ta
06 bačaq-a tarqan yu̱z-intä
07 bolmïš taz bir at ulay
08 birip üč baqïr kümüš
09 qupčïr-qa tutzun

"The Sheep year, the 8th month, on the 7th day. Of the two relay horses to go to (the city of) *Nampï* for Yägänčük and Turmïš, who are to go to take the cotton [from?] *Yiti-ïlayï-bay[ï?]* in Toqsïn, Bolmïš-Taz who belongs to Bačaqa-Tarqan's century (*yüz*) shall deliver (i.e., rent out) one relay horse [for two days], and count (it) for 3 *baqïr*s of silver of the *qupčïr*-tax."

This text 5b is an administrative order to balance a delivery of one relay horse (*at ulay*) for two days with 3 *baqïr* (= ca. 12 grams) of silver (*kümüš*) of *qupčïr*-tax.[64] The term $_{09}$*qupčïr*, a notorious poll tax, allows us to date the

---

62 Cf. MORIYASU 2004a, 228.

63 It was read as *imki(?)-lär* by HANEDA and YAMADA, though it can be safely modified thus: *N'-* is rather similar to initial double *aleph*s in $_{01,02}$*ačari* = *"Č'RY*; *-P-* is distinguishable from other *-K-* in $_{03}$*sangun* and $_{07}$*tngri*; *-L(Y)X* = *-l(ï)*γ is written as *-'LX*, with the hook of *-L-* attached downward by mistake, and its final *-X* differs from *-R* in $_{07}$*sözläšür*.

64 Cf. MATSUI 1998a, 035-038. For *qupčïr* in the taxation system in the Mongol administrations, see MATSUI 2005, 74-76.

text to the Mongol period.[65]

The context indicates that the final destination of the two officers (named Yägänčük and Turmïš) or users of the delivered relay horse was $_{02}$*Toqsïn* = modern Toqsun, and $_{04}$*Nampï* was an intermediate city where the officers exchange the relay horses. The text 5b was obtained in Qara-Khoja in 1898 by the Russian expedition headed by V. I. ROBOROVSKIJ and D. A. KLEMENC, so that *Nampï* should be located between *Qočo* (= Qara-Khoja) and *Toqsïn* (= Toqsun).

It well tallies with the location of *Nan-ping* during Gaochang Kingdom and Tang times, which has been settled to the ruin of Lampu (> Chin. 勒木丕 *Le-mu-pi* ~ 拉木拍 *La-mu-po* ~ 讓布工尚 *Rang-bu gong-shang*), ca. 15 km to the south of Turfan, ca. 26 km to the west of Qara-Khoja and ca. 48 km to the east of Toqsun. The difference of the initial consonant between *Nan-ping* and *Lampu* has been explicated with the *N- / L-* substitution,[66] such as shown in *Nišüng* > *Lišüng* or *Napčik* > *Lapčuq*.

Important to the point are the attestations of Uig. *Lampï* as a variant of *Nampï.*

[5c] Helsinki University Library No. 17[67]

01 [yangï](q)-a [bizkä q]uḍluγ
02 [äšgäkči sïsïr aqa] ini-lär-k[ä y](u)nglaq-lïq
03 [kärgäk bolup q](y)-a-tïn il-tä yorïr yitmiš
04 [b](i)z üčä[gü] (t)äng tüz ülüš-lüg
05 [ ]ng [ ] yïngaq tüz qavlal[ïq]
06 [sat]tïmz (bu) 'äv-ning saḍïγï yi[tmiš]
07 [-n]i [bu bitig qï]lmïš kün üzä biz äšgäkči qu[ḍluγ]
08 sïsïr üčägü bir ägsük-siz (t)ükäl s[ana]p [altïmïz män]
09 qy-a yim-ä tükäl sanap birdim bu 'ä(v)[-ning sïčï-sï]

---

[65] CLARK 1975a, 151-152. Now I am preparing a study to date *qoyn yïl* "the Sheep year" in this text to 1259 CE.

[66] HUANG 1954, 11, and the plan of the ruin inserted between pp. 16-17; CEN 1945 = CEN 1962, 723-724; SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 133-134; WANG SU 2000, 62-64. We cannot follow PELLIOT 2002, 92, who identified *Nan-ping* and 無半 *Wu-ban* together with Turpan. For *Wu-pan* see CEN 1945 = CEN 1962, 724; SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 133; WANG SU 2000, 79-81.

[67] The edition by HALÉN 1991, 164, has been partly corrected by MORIYASU 1998, 19, n. 2. Even though I have not yet had a chance to investigate the original document, here I present further revisions and restorations for the lacunae: $_{01}$*[q]uḍluγ* < *adlïγ*; $_{06}$*[b](i)z üčä[gü] (t)äng* < *[ ]/z or a[ ]nïng*; $_{06}$*yi[tmiš]* < *yi[ ]*, $_{07}$*[qï]lmïš* < *[ ]lmïš*; $_{07}$*qu[ḍluγ]* < *qu[ ]*; $_{10}$*qavla(l)ïq* < *yayïn[ ]*; $_{12}$*qay-a-nïng oq* < *sanga äng uz.* For restoration of the sequence of the northern, southern, western and northern boundaries in lines 10-13, cf. MATSUI 2006a, 44.

10 öngḍün y bu oq ’äv-ning qavla(l)ïq [adïrar]
11 lampï-lïγ älgüz-ning qavla[lïq adïrar]
12 qay-a-nïng oq [’ä]v (ad)[ïrar]
13 äv adïrar bu t[ört sïčï-lïγ äv üzä ming yïl tümän]
14 kün-kä tägінčä [qy-a ärklig bolzun]
15 (..)[ ]
[missing]

“ [The ... year, the ...th month,] on the [...]th day. [For us], the brothers Quḍluγ, Äšgäkči and Sïsïr, the [...] for consumption being necessary, from [...]-Qya, for 70 [....] valid in the country, in possession of equally to three of us, [.....] in the direction .... vegetable garden, [.... we received it and] we so[ld the house]. [As to] the 70 [....] for its price of this house, on the day when we ma[de this contract], we, the three of Äšgäkči, Quḍluγ and Sïsïr, without any lack, completely counted and received (it). [I, ...]-Qya, also completely counted and paid (it). The four boundaries of this house [are as below]: The eastern boundary [is up to] the vegetable garden of this house itself. [The southern boundary is up to the vege]table garden of Älgüz of *Lampï*. [The western boundary] is up to [...]-Qaya’s own house. [The northern boundary] is up to the house [of ...]. [On] the house with the f[our boundaries, until after [thousand years and ten-thousand] days, [...-Qaya shall be the owner. .....]”

[5d] U 5288 (cf. 4h above)[68]
$_{15}$*lampï töläk tämür [....]* $_{16}$*ö(n)gdün älik bilä bir saba* $_{17}$*araqï bilä birṣün*
“Tökäk-Tämür (of) *Lampï*, [....], and Älik of the East (block of the city) altogether shall deliver 1 *saba* of brandy in total.”

[5e] U 5510[69]
$_{14}$*[l]ampï angguy* $_{15}$*[üč tämbin] ara[qï] saba-sï* $_{16}$*bilä [....] üč tämbin araqï* $_{17}$*[saba-sï bilä] lampï ögrünč* $_{18}$*[üč tämbin] araqï saba-*$_{19}$*[sï bilä birzü](n)*
“Angguy of *Lampï* (shall deliver) 3 *tämbin* of brandy with its container. [...] (shall deliver) 3 *tämbin* of brandy [with its container]. Ögrünč of *Lampï* [shall deliver] 3 *tämbin* of brandy [with it container].”

The attestation of $_{11}$*Lampï-lïγ* of 5c clearly suggests that *Lampï* was a toponym, so I would like to correct my previous interpretation for *Lampï* (~ *Lambï*) in 5d and 5e as an element of a personal name: Even without the suffix *-lïγ,* it should be regarded as a designation of the origin of the per-

[68] Matsui 1998b, Text 4, with modifications.
[69] Matsui 1998b, Text 15, with modifications.

sons (Töläk-Tämür, Angguy and Ögrünč). These attestations of Uig. *Nampï* > *Lampï* may well fill the chronological blank between Chin. 南平 *Nan-ping* and *Lampu* in Modern Uigur, to corroborate their identity.[70]

6. *Yimši (~ Yemši)*

The Chin. toponym 鹽城 *Yan-cheng* as seen in the Turfan Chinese documents has been identified to the modern oasis Yemši (> Chin. 雅木什 *Ya-mu-shi* ~ 也木什 *Ye-mu-shi*), located several km to the south of Yar-Khoto, or ca. 11 km southwest to the modern city of Turfan.[71] Even though this identification is also based on the phonetical resemblance between *Yan-cheng* (**i̯äm-ź̟i̯äng*, GSR 609n + 818e) and Yemši, now we can consult the research of SinU to safely reconstruct Uig. *YYM-ŠY = yimši ~ yemši* for Chin. *Yan-cheng*.[72]

As a matter of fact, we have an attestation of *YYMSY = Yimši* as a toponym in an Old Uigur text. Reference to $_{21}$*ṭaruγa* (< Mong. *daruγa*) allows us to date this text to the Mongol period.

[6a] Ch/U 8175 (T II 742; Cf. VOHD 13,21 #202)
$_{23}$*tört ot[uz-qa ....]* $_{24}$*ilči-kä yimši-kä barγu üč [at-ta]* $_{25}$*qodïγ-a bir sävig bir iš (täm)[ür bir]* $_{26}$*at altï otuz-qa sombuz ilči-(k)[ä]* $_{27}$*yimši-kä barγu üč at-ta T[. . . .]* $_{28}$*bir altmïš bir sävinč toyïn [bir at]* "On the 24th day, of three horses for Ambassador [X] to go to *Yimši*, Qodïγa [delivered] one [horse], Sävig [did] one and İš-Tämür [did] one horse. On the 26th day, of three horses for Ambassador Sombuz to go to *Yimši*, T[....] [delivered] one [horse], Altmïš [did] one and Sävinč-*toyïn* [did one horse]."

---

[70] RONG 2007, 35-36, supposed that Chin. 柳婆 *Liu-po* (AC **li̯ôg-b'wâ* ~ MC **li̯ə̯u-b'uâ*, GSR 1114l + 25q) was a transcription of any non-Chinese toponym corresponding to modern Lampu, and it was renamed as 南平 *Nan-ping* in the Gaochang Kingdom but could remain afterwards among the local tongue in Turfan. However, unlikely is that the non-Chinese toponym should become the direct origin of modern Lampu. Judging from the phonetic resemblance, we may be confident that modern Lampu was directly derived from Old Uigur *Lampï* (< *Nampï* < Chin. *Nan-ping*).

[71] CEN 1945 = CEN 1962, 720; SHIMAZAKI 1959 = SHIMAZAKI 1977, 134; WANG SU 2000, 78-79.

[72] SinU of Chin. 閻 *yan* (**i̯äm*, GSR 672m), a homophone with 鹽 *yan,* is *YYM = yim (yem)*, and that of 成 *cheng* (**ź̟i̯äng,* GSR 818a), a homophone with 城 *cheng*, is *ŠY = ši (še)*. See SHŌGAITO 2003, 131, 135; Also cf. SHŌGAITO 1987, 19, n. 5, for Uig. **KY-ŠY* = **ki-ši* as the supposed reconstruction for Chin. 京城 *jing-cheng*.

Seemingly it concerns an account book of postal relay horses delivered from local Uigur people for the officials. As the destination of the postal relay horses, this text mentions also to $_{2,4,8\text{-}9,16}$Qočo.

Conclusion

From the results of my analysis in this paper, which are now displayed as Nos. 1-6 in *Table*, we may go on to the conclusion as below.

First, the Uigur transcription system of the Chinese toponyms varies in the toponyms. We can observe a system parallel to that of SinU, in 寧戎 *Ning-rong* > Uig. *Nižüng* > *Nišüng* ~ *Lišüng*, 南平 *Nan-ping* > *Nampï* ~ *Lampï* and 鹽城 *Yan-cheng* > *Yimši* (~ *Yemši*), as well as in the well-known toponyms such as *Qočo* (< 高昌 *Gao-chang*) and *Tïyoq* (< 丁谷 *Ding-yu*). On the other hand, another system to keep the Chinese pronunciation older than SinU can be seen in 柳中 *Liu-zhong* (AC **l̥iôg-ṭi̯ông*) > Uig. *Lükčüng*, 橫截 *Huang-jie* > *Qongḍsïr* and 蒲昌 *Pu-chang* > Uig. *Pučang*.[73] The former system is characterized with dropout of the nasal *-ng*, which is kept in the latter system.

As generally accepted, SinU was established with the Uigurs' acceptance of Chinese Buddhism by the end of the 10th century under the strong linguistic influence of the 河西 Hexi dialect of Chinese. As the direct origin of SinU, T. TAKATA proposed the Turfan dialect of Chinese, whereas Y. YOSHIDA did the Dunhuang dialect in view of the intimate interaction of the Buddhists between the West Uigur Kingdom and Dunhuang during the 10th century.[74]

In any case, the former system parallel to SinU as seen in the transcription of the Old Uigur toponyms may well throw a light on the linguistic situation in the Turfan Basin under the West Uigurs. For the governmental necessity, the Uigurs must have borrowed the Chinese toponyms as loanwords at the beginning phase of their rule. And the fact that such Uigur toponyms are mostly parallel to SinU – especially as shown by *Nižüng* and *Qočo* in K 7717 (= 2b & 4g) – may well indicate that the Turfan Chinese dialect had acquired the characteristics parallel to SinU or Hexi dialect in the earlier period of the West Uigur rule.

---

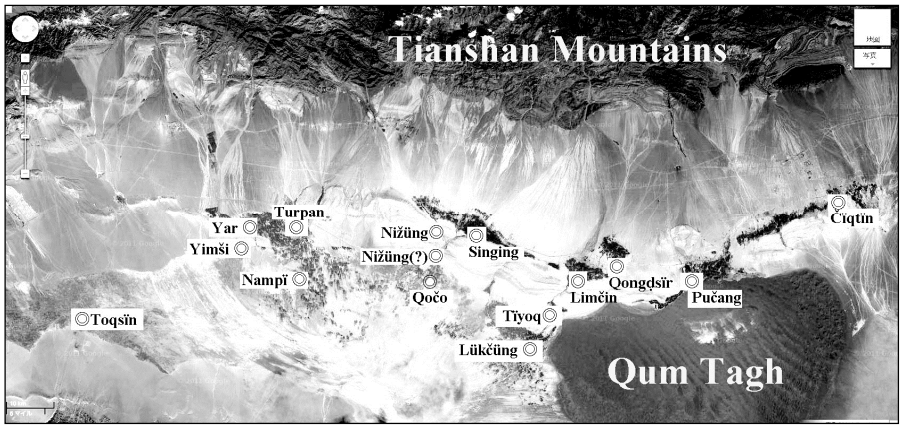
[73] In SinU 橫 *huang* is transcribed as *XW = qo*, and 昌 *chang* is *ČW = čo*. See SHŌGAITO 2003, 92-93, 135; SHŌGAITO 1987, 51, 128.

[74] TAKATA 1985, 137; TAKATA 1990, 337-338; TAKATA 2004, 339; YOSHIDA 1994, esp. 311-310; YOSHIDA 2004, 15-18.

Table

Old Uigur	Chinese origin	(Middle Chinese)	Modern	Khotanese**
1. *Pučang*	蒲昌 Pu-chang	**b'uo-tśi̯ang*	Pičan 闢展	*Phūcąnä*
1. *Čïqtïn*	赤亭 Chi-ting	**tś'i̯äk-d'iäng*	Čiqtim 七克台	
2. *Soim* (~ *Suim*) [Mong.]	威神 Wei-shen (?)	**·jwe̯i-śi̯ĕn*		*'Īśumä* ~ *Yūśumä* (?)
2. *Qongḍsïr* ~ *Qongsïr*	橫截 Huang-jie	**ɣwɒng-dz'iet*	Khandu 漢都	*Hve'tsverä*
2. *Limčin*	臨川 Lin-chuan	**li̯əm-tś'i̯wän*	Lämjin 連木沁	
3. *Singing* > *Singging*	新興 Xin-xing	**si̯ĕn-χi̯əng*	Sänggim 勝金	
4. *Nižüng* > *Nišüng* > *Lišüng**	寧戎 Ning-rong	**nieng-ńźi̯ung*	Bezeklik *and* Sänggim-Aghiz (?)	
5. *Nampï* > *Lampï**	南平 Nan-ping	**nə̀m-b'i̯wɒng*	Lampu 勒木丕	
6. *Yimši* *	鹽城 Yan-cheng	**i̯äm-źi̯äng*	Yemši 也木什	
Napčik	納職 Na-zhi	**nə̂p-tśi̯ək*	Lapčuq 拉布楚喀	*Dapäcī*
Tïyoq *	丁谷 Ding-yu	**tieng-i̯wok*	Toyoq 吐峪	*Ttiyākä*
Lükčüng	柳中 Liu-zhong	**li̯ôg-ti̯ông* (AC)	Lukčun 魯克沁	*Ḍūkäcū*
Qočo *	高昌 Gao-chang	**kâu- tśi̯ang*	Qara-Khoja	*Secū*
Toqsïn	篤新 Du-xin	**tuok-tsi̯ĕn*	Toqsun 托克遜	

*Transcription parallel to SinU **See HAMILTON 1958



On the other hand, unclear is the process of borrowing in the latter system not to follow SinU but to keep the features of older Chinese, as seen in *Lükčüng*, *Pučang* and *Qongḍsïr*. If they were directly borrowed from Chinese, we may consider for the time being that the geopolitical importance of those cities or villages made themselves known to and fixed among the Uigurs in the period far earlier than SinU: Maybe it happened before the westward migration of the Uigurs from Mongolia in the mid-9th century. Lukčun or 柳中 *Liu-zhong* > Uig. *Lükčüng* had been one of the largest cities in the Turfan Basin, and 蒲昌 *Pu-chang* (> Uig. *Pučang*) was a name of the Tang military station to front the nomadic people on the northern slope of Tianshan mountains,[75] even though 橫截 *Huang-jie* > *Qongḍsïr* cannot be well explicable.

At the same time, we may have to always take into account the possibility that the intermediate languages, e.g., Sogdian or Tocharian, had borrowed the Chinese toponyms and transferred them to the Uigurs. The intermediates could have modified them according to their own system for Chinese pronunciation similar to Hexi dialect or SinU, or keep the older Chinese pronunciation after the Uigurs' acceptance of SinU.

Apart from the question of the borrowing process, the Old Uigur toponyms investigated here generally reinforce the identifications between the old Chinese toponyms and the modern Uigur ones thus far presented by

[75] *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (compiled in 982 CE) refers to *(.)Ḥ(.)K-art* as a stage located in the territory of the Uigurs (*Toghuzghuz*). See MINORSKY 1970, 95. If HAMILTON 1958, 139, was right in reading it as **PČNK* = *Pičang* to be identified with *Pu-chang*, it might indicate that the toponym *Pu-chang* was even known to the Muslim world over the Turkic nomads, though HAMILTON himself was most tentative in this identification.

the former scholars: We can now confirm that many Chinese toponyms were transcribed in Old Uigur and then developed to the modern Uigur ones. In other words, the inhabitants of the Turfan Basin have utilized those cities or villages as the dwelling spaces throughout the ages from the Gaochang Kingdom (4th – 7th cent.) and the Tang dynasty (7th – 9th cent.), via the West Uigur (9th – 12th cent.) and the Mongol times (13th – 14th cent.), up to the modern period. It should be the result of that the arid environmental circumstance in the Turfan Basin has confined the local people to the specific habitable zones.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

ABE TAKEO 安部 健夫 (1955): 西ウイグル國史の研究 *Historical Study of the West Uighur Kingdom*, Kyoto.

AC = Archaic Chinese (according to GSR)

ARAKAWA MASAHARU 荒川 正晴 (1986): 麴氏高昌國の郡縣制の性格をめぐって [On the Character of the *Chun-hsien* System in the Kingdom of Kao-ch'ang under the Rule of the Ch'u Familiy]. In: 史學雜誌 *Shigaku zasshi* 95/3, 37-74.

ARAKAWA MASAHARU 荒川 正晴 (1997): 唐代トゥルファン高昌城周邊の水利開發と非漢人住民 [Development of Irrigation and Non-Chinese Population around the city of Gaochang in Turfan Basin under Tang Rule]. In: TAKAO MORIYASU (ed.), 近世・近代中國および周邊地域における諸民族の移動と地域開發 *Migration of Peoples and Community Development in Pre-modern and Modern China and in Surrounding Areas*, Osaka, 1-48.

BAILEY, HAROLD WALTER (1982): *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan*, New York.

BT VIII = GEORG KARA/PETER ZIEME (1977): *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas "Tiefer Weg" von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, Berlin (Berliner Turfantexte VIII).

BT XIII = PETER ZIEME (1985): *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berlin (Berliner Turfantexte XIII).

BT XVI = DALANTAI CERENSODNOM/MANFRED TAUBE (1993): *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Berlin (Berliner Turfantexte XVI).

CEN ZHONGMIAN 岑 仲勉 (1945): 吐魯番一帶漢回地名對證 [Identification of the Chinese and Uigur Toponyms in the Turfan Region]. 中央研究院歷史語言集刊 *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyuan jikan* 12.

CEN ZHONGMIAN 岑 仲勉 (1962): 中外史地考證 *Zhongwai shidi kaozheng*, Vol. II, Beijing.

CHEN GUOCAN 陳 國燦/LIU YONGZENG 劉 永增 (1997): 日本寧樂美術館藏吐魯番文書 *Turfan Manuscripts Preserved at Neiraku Museum, Japan*, Beijing.

Chotscho = ALBERT VON LE COQ (1913): *Chotscho*, Berlin.

CLARK, LARRY VERNON (1975a): *Introduction to the Uyghur Civil Documents of East Turkestan (13th–14th cc.)*, Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation.

CLARK, LARRY VERNON (1975b): On a Mongol Decree of Yisün Temür (1339). In: *Central Asiatic Journal* 19/3, 194-198.

ERDAL, MARCEL (2004): *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, Leiden.

ETŞ = REŞİD RAHMETİ ARAT (1965): *Eski Türk şiiri*, Ankara.

FRANKE, HERBERT (1975): Ein mongolischer Freibrief aus dem Jahre 1369. In: *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 47, 64-71.

GABAIN, ANNEMARIE VON (1964): Die alttürkische Literatur. In: LOUIS BAZIN et al. (eds.), *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II, Wiesbaden, 211-243.

GSR = BERNHARD KARLGREN (1957): *Grammata serica recensa*, Stockholm.

HALÉN, HARRY (1991): Die uigurischen Mannerheim-Fragmente (2). In: *Studia Orientalia* 67, 161-169.

HAMILTON, JAMES (1958): Autour du manuscrit Staël-Holstein. In: *T'oung Pao* 46/1-2, 115-153.

HANEDA AKIRA 羽田 明/YAMADA NOBUO 山田 信夫 (1961): 大谷探檢隊將來ウイグル字資料目録 [A List of Manuscript Remains in Uigur Script Preserved in the Ryukoku Library]. In: 中央アジア古代語文獻 *Buddhist Manuscripts and Secular Documents of the Ancient Languages in Central Asia*, Kyōto, 171-206.

HASHIMOTO TAKAKO 橋本 貴子 (2004): トゥルファン出土の難字音注斷片に反映されるウイグル漢字音について [Sino-Uighur Pronunciation Reflected in Two Chinese Fragments of Phonetic Glosses from the Berlin Turfan Collection]. In: アジア言語論叢 *Ajia gengo ronsō* 5, 17-44.

HIBINO TAKEO 日比野 丈夫 (1963): 唐代蒲昌府文書の研究 [The *Puchangfu* Documents of the Tang]. In: 東方學報（京都）*Tōhō gakuhō (Kyoto)* 33, 267-314.

HUANG WENPI 黃 文弼 (1954): 吐魯番考古記 *Tulufan kaoguji*, Beijing.

IOM RAS = St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Science

KUDARA KŌGI 百濟 康義 (1992): ベゼクリク壁畫から見た西域北道佛教の一形態 [On the Trail of a Central Asian Monk: A Bezeklik Portrait Identified]. In: キジルを中心とする西域佛教美術の諸問題 *Studies on the Buddhist Art of Central Asia*, Kyoto (The Ueno Memorial Foundation for the Study of Buddhist Art Report XXII), 1-26.

LE COQ, ALBERT VON (1922): *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III*, Berlin (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1922-2).

LE COQ, ALBERT VON (1926): *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig.

LI FANG 李 方 (2005): 關于唐西州蒲昌府問題 [On Puchang Fu (command) of Xizhou in the Tang Dynasty]. In: 西域研究 *Xiyu yanjiu* 2005-3, 58-68.

LIU HONGLIANG 柳 洪亮 (1986): 柏孜克里克石窟年代試探 [Analysis on the Date of the Bezeklik Caves]. In: 敦煌研究 *Dunhuang yanjiu* 1986-3, 58-67.

LIU HONGLIANG 柳 洪亮 (1997): 新出吐魯番文書及其研究 *Forschungen zu neuentdeckten Manuskriptfunden aus Turfan*, Urumqi.

MALOV, SERGEJ EFIMOVICH (1932): Ujgurskie rukopisnye dokumenty ekspedicii S. F. Ol'denburga. In: *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1, 129-149, +6 pls.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (1998a): モンゴル時代ウイグリスタン税役制度とその淵源 [Some Taxation Systems in Uiguristan under the Mongols and Their Origin]. In: 東洋學報 *Tōyō gakuhō* 79/4, 026-055.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (1998b): ウイグル文クトルグ印文書 [Uigur Administrative Orders Bearing Qutluγ-seals]. In: *SIAL* 13, 1-62, +15 pls.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2002): モンゴル時代ウイグリスタンの税役制度と徵税システム [Taxation and Tax-collecting Systems in Uiguristan under Mongol Rule]. In: KŌICHI MATSUDA (ed.), 碑刻等史料の總合的分析によるモンゴル帝國・元朝の政治・經濟システムの基礎的研究 *Research on Political and Economic Systems under Mongol Rule*, Osaka, 87-127.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2004): モンゴル時代のウイグル農民と佛教教團 [Uigur Peasants and Buddhist Monasteries during the Mongol Period]. In: 東洋史研究 *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 63/1, 1-32.

MATSUI DAI (2005): Taxation Systems as Seen in the Uigur and Mongol Documents from Turfan: An Overview. In: *Transactions of the International Conference of Eastern Studies* 50, 67-82.

MATSUI DAI (2006a): Six Uigur Contracts from the West Uigur Period (10th – 12th Centuries). In: 人文社會論叢（人文科學篇）*Jinbun shakai ronsō (Jinbun-kagaku hen)* 15, 37-62.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2006b): 回鶻語 käzig 與高昌回鶻王國税役制度的淵源 [Uigur *käzig* and the Origin of the Tax-Labor Systems of the Qočo Uigur Kingdom]. In: 新疆吐魯番地區文物局 XINJIANG TURFAN CULTURAL RELICS BUREAU (ed.), 吐魯番學研究: 第二屆吐魯番學國際學術研討會論文集 *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Turfanological Studies*, Shanghai, 196-202.

MATSUI DAI (2008): Revising the Uigur Inscriptions of the Yulin Caves. In: *SIAL* 23, 17-32.

MATSUI DAI (2010a): Uigur Peasants and Buddhist Monasteries during the Mongol Period. In: TAKASHI IRISAWA (ed.), *"The Way of Buddha" 2003: The 100th Anniversary of the Otani Mission and the 50th of the Research Society for Central Asian Cultures*, Kyoto, 55-66.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2010b): Uigur Manuscripts Related to the Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu at "Abita-Cave Temple" of Toyoq. In: 新疆吐魯番學研究院 ACADEMIA TURFANICA (ed.), 吐魯番學研究: 第三屆吐魯番學暨歐亞游牧民族的起源與遷徙國際學術研討會論文集 *Journal of Turfan Studies: Essays of the Third International Conference of Turfanological Studies, 2008, Turfan*, Shanghai, 697-714.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2010c): 吐魯番出土回鶻文書中所看到的七康湖和其灌溉 [Qikang-hu (Čïqqan-köl) Lake and Its Irrigation as Seen in the Uighur Documents from Turfan]. In: 吐魯番學研究 *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 2010-1, 79-81.

MATSUI DAI 松井 太 (2011): 古ウイグル語文獻にみえる「寧戎」とベゼクリク [*Ning-rong* 寧戎 and Bezeklik in the Old Uigur Texts]. In: *SIAL* 26, 141-175.

MATSUKAWA TAKASHI 松川 節 (1995): Review of BT XVI. In: 東洋史研究 *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 54/1, 105-122.

MC = Middle Chinese (according to GSR)

MINORSKY, VLADIMIR (1970): *Ḥudūd al-'ālam "The Regions of the World", a Persian Geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D.* (2. ed.), London.

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1985): ウイグル語文獻 [Uigurica from Tun-huang]. In: ZUIHŌ YAMAGUCHI (ed.), 敦煌胡語文獻 *Literature in Central Asian Languages from Tun-huang*, Tokyo, 1-98.

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1987): 敦煌と西ウイグル王國 [Tun-huang and the West Uighur Kingdom]. In: 東方學 *Tōhōgaku* 74, 58-74.

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1989 '90): ウイグル文書劄記（その２）[Notes on Uighur Documents, II]. In: *SIAL* 5, 69-89.

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1991): ウイグル=マニ教史の研究 *A Study of the History of Uighur Manichaeism*, Ōsaka (= 大阪大學文學部紀要 Ōsaka Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō 31/32).

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1991 '92): ウイグル文書劄記（その３）[Notes on Uighur Documents, III]. In: *SIAL* 7, 43-54.

MORIYASU TAKAO 森安 孝夫 (1998): ウイグル文契約文書補考 [Supplement to *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*]. In: 待兼山論叢 *Machikaneyama ronsō* 32, 1-24.

MORIYASU TAKAO (2002): On the Uighur Buddhist Society at Čiqtim in Turfan during the Mongol Period. In: MEHMET ÖLMEZ/SIMONE-CHRISTIANE RASCHMANN (eds.), *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan*, İstanbul/Berlin (Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi 35), 153-177.

MORIYASU TAKAO (2004a): From Silk, Cotton and Copper Coin to Silver. In: DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST et al. (eds.), *Turfan Revisited*, Berlin (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 17), 228-239.

MORIYASU TAKAO (2004b): *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße. Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund*. Übersetzt von CHRISTIAN STEINECK, Wiesbaden (Studies in Oriental Religions 50).

MORIYASU TAKAO (2011): Epistolary Formulae of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road (Part 1). In: 大阪大學文學部紀要 *Ōsaka Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō* 51, 1-86.

NIE XIAOHONG 乜 小紅 (2006): 唐五代畜牧經濟研究 *Studies on the Cattle Breeding Economy during the Era of Tang and Five Dynasties*, Beijing.

NISHIMURA YŌKO 西村陽子/KITAMOTO ASANOBU 北本朝展 (2010): スタイン地圖と衛星畫像を用いたタリム盆地の遺跡同定手法と探檢隊考古調査地の解明 [Method to Identify the Sites in the Tarim Basin and the Location of Sites Investigated by the Expeditions by Means of Stein's Maps and Satellite Photographs]. In: 敦煌寫本研究年報 *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 4, 209-245.

PELLIOT, PAUL (1912): Kao-tch'ang, Qočo, Houo-tcheou et Qarâ-khodja. In: *Journal Asiatique* 19/1, 579-603.

PELLIOT, PAUL (2002): *Les routes de la région de Turfan sous les T'ang suivi de l'histoire et la géographie anciennes de l'Asie Centrale dans Innermost Asia*. Ed. by JEAN-PIERRE DRÈGE, Paris.

PTB = Gosudarstvennyi Èrmitaž, *Peščery tysjači budd*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2009.

RASCHMANN, SIMONE-CHRISTIANE (1991): Die alttürkischen Turfantexte als Quelle zur Erforschung der sozialökonomischen Geschichte Zentralasiens. In: HORST KLENGEL/WERNER SUNDERMANN (eds.), *Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan*, Berlin, 141-149.

RONG XINJIANG 榮 新江 (1987): 吐魯番的歷史與文化 [History and Culture of Turfan]. In: 胡戟 HU JI (ed.), 吐魯番 *Tulufan*, Xi'an, 26-85.

RONG XINJIANG 榮 新江 (2007): 吐魯番新出送使文書與闞氏高昌王國的郡縣城鎮 [Study on a Newly Discovered Embassy Document of the Gaochang Kingdom under the Kan Family and Its Local Administrative Districts]. In: 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 10, 21-42.

SEKIO SHIRŌ 關尾 史郎 (1984): 高昌國における田土をめぐる覺書 [Notes on the Land in the Gaochang Kingdom]. In: 中國水利史研究 *Chūgoku suirishi kenkyū* 14, 1-18.

SERTKAYA, OSMAN FİKRİ (2006a): Hukukî Uygur belgelerindeki para birimleri üzerine. In: OSMAN FİKRİ SERTKAYA/RYSBEK ALIMOV (eds.), *Eski Türklerde para*, İstanbul, 117-137.

SERTKAYA, OSMAN FİKRİ (2006b): Eski Uygur Türkçesi metinlerinde karalamalar ve müsveddeler. In: YAŞAR ÇORUHLU et al. (eds.), *Orta Asya'dan Anadolu'ya Türk sanatı ve kültürü: Prof. Nejat Diyarbekirli'ye armağanı*, Ankara, 195-200.

SHIMAZAKI AKIRA 嶋崎 昌 (1959): 高昌國の城邑について [On the Cities of the Gaochang Kingdom]. In: 中央大學文學部紀要(史學科) *Chūō daigaku bungakubu kiyō (Shigakka)* 5, 69-94.

SHIMAZAKI AKIRA 嶋崎 昌 (1977): 隋唐時代の東トゥルキスタン研究 *Studies on East Turkistan during the Sui-Tang Times*, Tokyo.

SHŌGAITO MASAHIRO 庄垣内 正弘 (1986 '87): ウイグル文獻に導入された漢語に關する研究 [Chinese in Uighur Script]. In: *SIAL* 2, 17-156.

SHŌGAITO MASAHIRO 庄垣内 正弘 (2003): ロシア所藏ウイグル語文獻の研究 *Uighur Manuscripts in St. Petersburg*, Kyoto.

SHŌGAITO MASAHIRO (2011): Interlinear Characters Based on the Phonological System of IUPC. In: SETSU FUJISHIRO (ed.), *Dynamics of Eurasian Languages* II, Kobe, 1-17.

SIAL = 内陸アジア言語の研究 *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*

SinU = ウイグル字音 Sino-Uigur

SUK = 山田 信夫 YAMADA NOBUO (1993): ウイグル文契約文書集成 *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte*, 3 vols. Ed. JUTEN ODA/PETER ZIEME/HIROSHI UMEMURA/TAKAO MORIYASU, Osaka.

TAKATA TOKIO 高田 時雄 (1985): ウイグル字音考 [Sino-Uighur Pronunciation]. In: 東方學 *Tōhōgaku* 70, 150-134.

TAKATA TOKIO 高田 時雄 (1988a): コータン文書中の漢語語彙 [Chinese in Khotanese Texts]. In: YŪJIRŌ OZAKI/ SHŌJI HIRATA (eds.), 漢語史の諸問題 *Contributions to Chinese Historical Linguistics and Philology*, Kyoto, 71-128.

TAKATA TOKIO 高田 時雄 (1988b): 敦煌資料による中國語史の研究 *A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials*, Tokyo.

TAKATA TOKIO 高田 時雄 (1990): ウイグル字音史大概 [A Historical Outline of the Sino-Uighur Pronunciation]. In: 東方學報（京都） *Tōhō gakuhō (Kyoto)* 62, 329-343.

TAKATA TOKIO (2004): The Chinese Language in Turfan with a Special Focus on the *Qieyun* Fragments. In: DESMOND DURKIN-MEISTERERNST et al. (eds.), *Turfan Revisited*, Berlin (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 17), 333-340.

TUGUSHEVA, LILIJA YUSUFZHANOVA (2008): Expeditions to Central Asia and the Discovery of Early Medieval Turkic Manuscripts. In: IRINA POPOVA (ed.), *Russian Expeditions to Central Asia at the Turn of the 20th Century*, St. Petersburg, 40-49.

UMEMURA HIROSHI 梅村 坦 (1977): 違約罰納官文言のあるウイグル文書 [Uighur Documents with Forfeiture Clauses. In: 東洋學報 *Tōyō gakuhō* 58/3-4, 01-040.

USp = WILHELM RADLOFF (1928): *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*. Ed. by SERGEJ E. MALOV, Leningrad.

Verluste = CAREN DREYER/LORE SANDER/FRIEDERIKE WEIS (2002): *Dokumentation der Verluste* 3, *Museum für Indische Kunst*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

VOHD 13,21 = SIMONE-CHRISTIANE RASCHMANN (2007): *Alttürkische Handschriften* 13, *Dokumente,* Teil 1, Stuttgart.

VOHD 13,22 = SIMONE-CHRISTIANE RASCHMANN (2009): *Alttürkische Handschriften* 13, *Dokumente*, Teil 2, Stuttgart.

WANG SU 王 素 (2000): 高昌史稿：交通編 *Gaochang shigao: Jiaotong-bian*, Beijing.

WANG YONGXING 王 永興 (1994): 敦煌經濟文書導論 *Introduction to the Dunhuang Economic Documents*, Taipei.

YOSHIDA YUTAKA 吉田 豊 (1988): ソグド語雑録 (II) [Sogdian Miscellany (II)]. In: オリエント *Oriento* 31/2, 165-176.

YOSHIDA YUTAKA 吉田 豊 (1994): ソグド文字で表記された漢字音 [Chinese in Sogdian Script]. In: 東方學報（京都）*Tōhō gakuhō (Kyoto)* 66, 380-271.

YOSHIDA YUTAKA (2000): Further Remarks on the Sino-Uighur Problem. In: アジア言語論叢 *Ajia gengo ronsō* 3, 1-11.

YOSHIDA YUTAKA 吉田 豊 (2004): シルクロード出土文獻における言語變化の年代決定 [Dating of the Linguistic Transformation in the Texts Unearthed from the Silk Road]. In: えくす・おりえんて *Ex Oriente* 11, 3-34.

YOSHIDA YUTAKA 吉田 豊 (2009): Book review: M. SHŌGAITO, *Uighur Abhidharma Texts: A Philological Study.* In: 佛教學セミナー *Bukkyōgaku seminā* 90, 45-62.

ZIEME, PETER (1976): Zum Handel im uigurischen Reich von Qočo. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 4, 235-249.

ZIEME, PETER (1981): Materialien zum uigurischen Onomasticon II. In: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten 1978-1979*, 81-94.

ZIEME, PETER (1982): Ein uigurisches Familienregister aus Turfan. In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9, 263-267, +2 pls.

ZIEME, PETER (1997): Remarks on Old Turkish Topography. In: SHIRIN AKINER/NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS (eds.), *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*, London, 46-51.

ZIEME, PETER (2013): A Brāhmaṇa Painting from Bäzäklik in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg and Its Inscriptions. In: TATIANA PANG/SIMONE-CHRISTIANE RASCHMANN/GERD WINKELHANE (eds.), *Unknown Treasures of the Altaic World in Libraries, Archives and Museums*, Berlin, 181-195.