

Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and *Abita Qur* “Abita Cave”

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Abstract: IOM RAS preserves 55 Old Uighur manuscripts related to a group of Buddhist Uighurs who were active around the monastery of *abita qur* “Abita Cave” at the Toyoq Cave Temples. This paper investigates the location of the “Abita Cave” through Uighur wall inscriptions, which have been discovered at the monastery complex in the West Zone of the Toyoq site. Furthermore, this paper inquires into an Old Uighur toponym mentioned as the hometown of the scribe of one of the 55 manuscripts, which would suggest the pilgrimage range surrounding the Toyoq Caves.

Key words: Old Uighur, Turfan, Toyoq, wall inscriptions, toponym.

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Introduction

In my previous research, I introduced 55 Old Uighur texts of the Serindia collection of IOM RAS as the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts,” which are related to a single group of Buddhist Uighurs, who were active around the Toyoq (~ Tuyuk = Tuyugou 吐峪溝 < Uig. *tïyoq* ~ *teyoq* < Chin. *Ding-yu* 丁谷) Cave Temples, one of the greatest Buddhist sanctuaries in the Turfan region, in the thirteenth century (Matsui 2004; Matsui 2005; Matsui 2010). In addition, in six of the texts, I detected mentions of Uig. *abita qur* “Abita-Cave”¹ as a

¹ Uig. *abita* < Chin. *A-mi-tuo* 阿彌陀 “Amitābha ~ Amitāyus”; *qur* < *ku* 窟 (MC **kuət*) “cave, grotto.”

name of a Buddhist temple (*varxar* ~ *vaxar*) or monastery (*sāngrām*), where the Uighurs conducted their Buddhist practice such as veneration, meditation, and education. Thus, I concluded that the “Abita-Cave temple” should be located at the Toyoq Caves and the provenance of the 55 Uighur manuscripts.²

Here, I offer supplementary remarks on the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts,” in view of the results of recent investigations of the Toyoq Caves, as well as through comparison with texts thus far unpublished or unedited.

1. The Toyoq Caves and *abita qur*

Recently, Chinese research organizations have conducted joint archaeological excavations at the Toyoq site. In particular, their works on the monastery complex in the West Zone (*xiqu* 西區) of the site brought about rich fruits of cultural relics and ancient manuscripts,³ as well as a great number of Old Uighur wall inscriptions and graffiti of Caves NK 10 and NK 26, editions of which have been published by scholars in China.⁴

Among the inscriptions of NK 26, we find two written by a scribe named Qītay-Toyrīl. We may safely regard them as written by one and the same hand.

Text A⁵

1	tonguz yil yetinč [a](y)[]	₁ The Boar year, the seventh [month, on the day.]
2	tekuy šila qītay [toyr](i)[l]	₂ Tekuy-šila, Qītay-[Toyrīl]
3	bo ĩdoq oron-ta i[ri]ki[p][]	₃ In this sacred place, in boredom
4	tep män qītay toyrī[l] t[ört kăzig bitidim]	₄ Thus saying, I, Qītay-Toyrīl, [wrote four lines]

² See Matsui 2004: 62–68; Matsui 2010: 704–710, Nos. 2, 6, 7, 10, 34, 49. Some fragments of the five texts have been given a new call number by IOM RAS: No. 2 = SI 1779 (Kr IV/252) + Dx 12145 + Dx 3650; No. 6 = SI 1789 (Kr IV/262); No. 7 = SI 1814 (Kr IV/265); No. 10 = SI 5067v + SI 5087v (Kr IV/367 + Kr IV/395); No. 34 = SI 3961 (4b Kr/42); No. 49 = Dx 9569. Cf. UygIOM, Nos. 517, 520, 523+524, 521, 510.

³ CASS/AT/KRI 2012; CASS/AT 2019; CASS/AT 2020.

⁴ See Yakup/Li 2019, for the inscriptions from Cave NK 10; for those from Cave NK 26, see Imin 2020; Li/Zhang 2021; Fu/Xia 2021. In fact, Imin 2020 did not declare the location of the inscriptions, although CASS/AT 2020 offers the facsimiles of the Uighur wall inscriptions of Cave NK 26, which include Imin’s Nos. 37–45. In detail: Imin’s Nos. 37–38, 39, 40, 41 are in Pl. 7; Nos. 42, 43, 44 (= Text A here), 45 in Pl. 8. In addition, we may note correspondences between Imin 2020, Li/Zhang 2021, and Fu/Xia 2021: Imin’s Nos. 37–38 = Li/Zhang’s K10-B-Z1 = Fu/Xia’s II-1, II-2, II-3, II-4; Imin’s Nos. 39–40 = Li/Zhang’s K10-B-Z2 = Fu/Xia’s II-6, II-7; Imin’s Nos. 43–44 = Li/Zhang’s K10-B-Y2 = Fu/Xia’s III-3, III-4; Imin’s No. 45 = Li/Zhang’s K10-B-Y3 = Fu/Xia’s III-6; Imin’s No. 46 = Li/Zhang’s K10-A-2. Consequently, “Cave 10” (or “NK 10”) and “K10” in signatures for inscriptions by Li/Zhang should be corrected to “Cave 26 (NK 26)” and “K26.”

⁵ CASS/AT 2020, Plate 7; Imin 2020: 126 (No. 44) and Fig. 9 = Li/Zhang 2021: 154–155, K10-B-Y2, lines 7–10 = Fu/Xia 2021: 199, III-4.

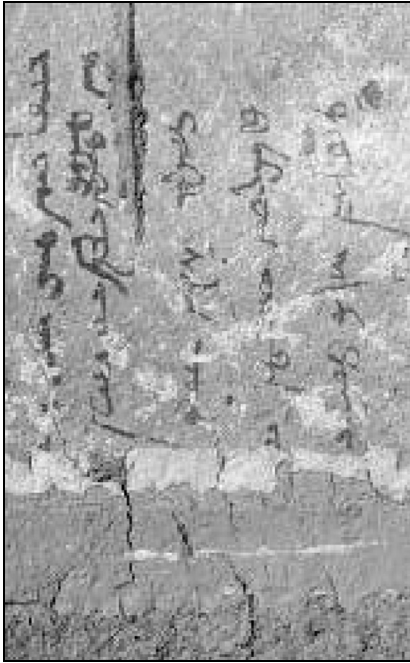


Fig. 1. Text A
(extracted from CASS/AT 2020: Pl. 8)

Notes

A2, tekuy šila: Uig. *tekuy* < Chin. *Ding-hui* 定惠. This Tekuy-šila may be identical with the one who put his name on the wooden tablet excavated from the Cave 51, as *mān tekuy šila* “I, Tekuy-šila,” and a text as *ming beš b(a)š?* “one thousand and five heads(?)” on the opposite side. See CASS/AT 2020, Plate 22, Figs. 1 and 2.

A4a, q̄itay toyrī[l]: The ductus for *toyrī[l]* is well legible here, and we can also supplement it after *q̄itay* in line 2.⁶

A4b, t[ört k̄āzig bitidim?]: The initial *T-* of *t[ört]* “four” is well legible. From the context we may supplement “I wrote four lines (*k̄āzig*).” Cf. e.g., Matsui 2019: Text B.

Text B⁷

1	tonguz yīl ye[tin]č? (ay) sāki[z]	1 The Boar year, the seventh? month, on the [... day].
2	mān q̄itay toyrīl [] bitidim?	2 I, Q̄itay-Toyrīl wrote? [...].
3	q̄izīl-ta üç ay tur(u)? (tägintim? bo?)	3 I humbly? stayed? in the gorge for (the summer-retreat of) three months. Through (this?)
4	buyan kücintä kād toyīn (.....)	4 meritorious deed, Kād-Toyīn, [...]
5	burxan bolu täginäyin	5 we shall become Buddha!

⁶ We can safely modify *q̄itay tung* (< *tutung* < Chin. *du-tong* 都統) by Fu/Xia 2021: 199.

⁷ Imin 2020: 122 (No. 22) and Fig. 6.



Fig. 2. Text B
(after IMIN 2020: Fig. 6)

Notes

B2, bitidim?: The lacuna after *toyril* is followed by a quite faint ductus. From the context, Imin’s *bitidim* “I wrote” may be modified to *bo teyoq* (*3qizil*) “this Toyoq (Gorge).”

B3a, üç ay: Here Uig. *üç ay* “three months” may well connote Uig. *pkčan* ~ *pekčan* (< TochA. *pākāccām* ~ TochB. *pakaccām*) “the three-month summer retreat for Buddhist monks.” Examples being: BT III: 27–28, *58yay-qü üç ay-lar-niing 59ärtmäkindin pekčan üşlünčü-si tolun ay beş ygrmi tünlä-sintä* “at the end of the summer retreat after three months of summer had passed, (i.e.) in the night of the fifteenth (day) of the full moon”; Matsui 2017: No. 231, *3üç ay pkčan(?) qonip tüz täginip* “(I).... stayed (here) for the summer retreat(?) of three months and obtained calmness of mind.” Cf. Fu/Xia 2021: 186.

B3b, tur(u)? (tägintim? bo?): From the context, I would tentatively modify Imin’s reading *tur(up)*.

The name of the scribe of these two inscriptions, Qıtay-Toyril, reminds us of one of the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts” related to the Abita-Cave Temple, as follows:

Text C = Дх 9569 verso⁸

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 | [] bodu qıtay toyril pin(tso) | ₁ [...] bodu, Qıtay-Toyril and Pintso |
| 2 | [] -lar bo abita qur vaxar | ₂ this Abita-Cave Temple |
| 3 | [] biti]dimz sadu ädgu yamu | ₃ we [wrote]. It is very good. |

⁸ DhSPB 14 186; Matsui 2004: 65–66 (No. 8). In Matsui 2010: 709–710 (No. 49), the call number was mistaken as “4bKr 42.”

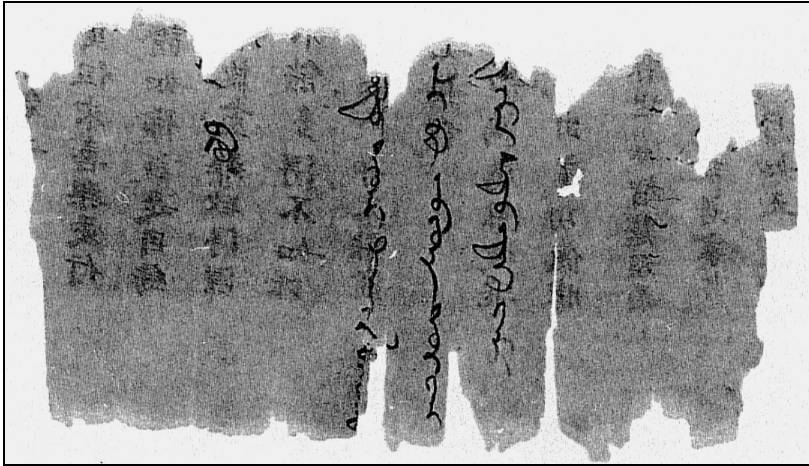


Fig. 3. Text C
Дх 9569 verso
(after DhSPB
14: 186)

Its onomastic components, *q̄itay* “Q̄itay, Khitay; (North) Chinese” and *toyr̄il* “a kind of bird of prey”⁹ were frequently used among the Uighurs and do not directly confirm the identity of the scribe of Texts A, B, and the one in Text C. However, through comparison of the ductus of the name *XYT()Y TWXRYL* = *q̄itay toyr̄il*, we can surely regard the three texts as written by one and the same hand. Moreover, another name in Text C, *Pintso* (< Chin. *Bin-zang* 斌藏), is shared by other Toyoq inscriptions introduced by Imin 2020: No. 18, *m̄an pintso* “I, Pintso” and No. 19, *m̄an pintso ȳükündüm* “I, Pintso, venerated.” The name *pintso* is also rather frequent among Buddhist Uighurs, although the two instances may be identified with Q̄itay-Toyr̄il’s colleague in Text C.¹⁰

If these personal identifications are the case, the three texts here would corroborate my locating *abita qur* “Abita-Cave” in Text C and other “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts” at the Toyoq Caves and allow us to further pinpoint its location at the monastery complex in the West Zone of the Toyoq site. Even though we cannot find mention of *abita qur* among the Old Uighur wall inscriptions in the caves of the West Zone thus far edited,¹¹ we may expect the archaeological results to provide evidence in the future.

2. Toponyms related to the Toyoq Caves

A key person of the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts,” Sivšidu (< Chin. *Xiu-shi-nu* 修士奴), declared in his memorial graffiti that he was *teyoq q̄isil-l̄iy* “(inhabitant) of the Toyoq Gorge.”¹² Another key person, Yaqšidu (< Chin. *Yao-shi-nu* 藥師奴), identified himself as *l̄ükc̄üng-l̄üg kenki bošyut-luy* “a learner of late generation from Lükc̄üng (i.e.,

⁹ VWTD III: 1167; ED: 472.

¹⁰ Furthermore, Imin 2020: No. 20, reads *m̄an b(ä)küz ȳüküdüm* “I, Bäküz, venerated,” although I speculate that we may modify the name *b(ä)küz* = *PKWZ* to *pintso* = *PYNTSW*, and regard it as identical with the same named one in Nos. 18, 19, and our Text C.

¹¹ See Yakup/Li 2019 for the inscriptions in the Cave NK 10 of the northern caves; Imin 2020 and Li/Zhang 2021 for those in Cave NK 26. Cf. fn. 4 above.

¹² SI 4030 (4b Kr/13), ²[*küs*]kü yil bešinç ay on yanḡıqa m̄an ³teyoq q̄isil-l̄iy sivšidu tutung qy-a bo äidoq tavyaç kien-tä “²The Mouse year, the fifth month, on the tenth day. (I), ³Sivšidu-tutung of the Toyoq gorge, [wrote] on this sacred Chinese scroll.” See Matsui 2010: 703.

modern Lükchün = Lukeqin 魯克沁).¹³ The brand-new wall inscription of the West Zone of the Toyoq Caves also attests to the name Toyinčuy-*tutung* from Lükchün (*lükčüing-lüg toyinčuy tutung*).¹⁴ This information, together with the Toyoq Inscription that declares the donation of the cultivated land in the city of Lükchün (*lükčüing*) to the monastery of the Toyoq Caves,¹⁵ and a Buddhist Uigur fragment from Dunhuang (B464:65v) to pray for protection of *lükčüing* “Lükchün” and *teyoq qisil* “the Toyoq Gorge,”¹⁶ well suggest that the Uighur Buddhist monastery at the Toyoq Caves was physically and materially supported by inhabitants of the city of Lükchün; therefore, the majority of visitors to the Toyoq Caves would be the inhabitants of Lükchün.

Furthermore, one of the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts” refers to another toponym as the hometown of a scribe. It deserves analysis from the geohistorical viewpoint, as it indicates the pilgrimage range to the Toyoq Caves.

The manuscript, SI 1823 (Kr IV/284) verso,¹⁷ includes 14 lines in the cursive Uighur script. In view of the handwritings, the contents can be divided into five parts: Da = lines 1–4, Db = lines 5–6, Dc = lines 7 and 9, Dd = lines 8 and 10–12, and De = lines 13–14. Da and Db were apparently written by one and the same scribe. I proposed 1241 CE for the most probable date of the “Ox year” of Da, and 1243 CE for the “Hare year” of Dc and Dd. Judging from its placement, De was written last, so I would date its “Sheep year” to 1247 CE, one cycle of twelve-animal years later than my former dating of 1235 (Matsui 2004: 60–61).

Text D = SI 1823 (Kr IV/284) verso

- Da1 ud yil altinč ay toquz ygrmikā biz qan-kimqadu šilavanti kuyšidu tutung
 Da2 kenšidu tutung šenšidu tutung biz munča kiši-lār tāng ödiglāp o(l)ortumuz
 Da3 nātāg qilsar ädgü bolur ärki ämgäk nāmā ay bo yertinčü sav-lar nātāg
 Da4 nāng ädgü bitigāli bolmatin turur yemtso
 Db5 y-a qutluy bolzun ymä kim inčip ol körsär körki köz sqnär? kötürsär
 Db6 küši kök P(L) KW KYT KYPY 无大山 □
 Dc7 tavišyan yil altinč ay säkiz yangiqa bo tavyač kuen-tä
 Dd8 tavišyan yil aram ay säkiz otuz-qa {q} qulutı män (..)
 Dc9 män sambodu šäli qaya čiztim
 Dd10 išum balıqlıy sävičä tutung q qy-a bo nom-qa
 Dd11 čiša tägindim qilinč mu bolur ärki tep

¹³ SI 4029 (4b Kr/12), ¹⁰*küskü yil ikinti ay säkiz yangi pošač* ¹¹*bačay kün üzä biz yaqšidu kentso* ¹²*kök taz ücägü vapdu baxšim čisi-tin* ¹³*kälip män män? lükčüing-lüg kenki bošyut* ¹⁴*luq yaqšidu tutung täk turup čizdim* “¹⁰The Rat year, the second month, on the eighth, (i.e.) ¹¹on the day of feast. We, Yaqšidu, Kentso (< Chin. *Xian-zang* 賢藏), and ¹²Kök-Taz, the three of us, came from *čisi*(?) of my Master Vapdu (< Chin. *Fa-nu* 法奴 “slave of Dharma”), ^{13–14}and I, Yaqšidu-*tutung*, who is a learner of late (generation) from Lükchün, remained alone and depicted (this graffiti).” Cf. Matsui 2010: 703.

¹⁴ Imin 2020: No. 29; Fu/Xia 2021: 188. He is obviously identical to the same named Toyinčuy-*tutung* in Imin 2020: Nos. 16, 37–38, 39, and Li/Zhang 2021: K10-B-Z6; Fu/Xia 2021: I-4, I-5, II-1, II-2, II-4, II-6.

¹⁵ Matsui 2010: 703; for the most up to date edition of the inscription, see Zieme 2020: esp. 10–11.

¹⁶ Zieme 2020: 11; for the facsimile of the manuscript, see DMBS III: Pl. XLV.

¹⁷ Cf. Matsui 2004: 54; Matsui 2010: 699 (No. 9); UygIOM: 237–238 (No. 522).

- Dd12 munča biḍip qoddi
- De13 qoyn yil altinč ay toquz yangi-qa bo tavḡaç
- De14 kuḡentä
- Da ¹The Ox year, the sixth month, on the twenty-ninth day. We, Qan-Kimqadu-*šilavanti*, Kuyšidu-*tutung*, ²Kenšidu-*tutung*, Šenšidu-*tutung*, these persons, altogether humbly commemorated: ³“How can we conduct so that things should be good? What is distress? Ah! How ⁴can we write good things about the matters of this world?” Yemtso
- Db ⁵Ah, may it be fortunate! What follows now: if one sees, the figure disappears (from) eyes; if one offers, ⁶(the smoke of) incense (becomes?) blue. *KW KYT KYPY wu-da-shan*
- Dc ⁷The Hare year, the sixth month, on the eighth day. On this Chinese scroll, ⁹I, the servant Sambodu-*šäli*, depicted (this).
- Dd ⁸The Hare year, the first month, on the twenty-eighth day. I, ¹⁰⁻¹¹Sävinč-*tutung* from the town of Īsum, respectfully depicted on this (scroll of) sutra. Saying “Is (this) a sin? Is (this) permitted?” ¹²I wrote thus and left (it here).
- De ¹³The Sheep year, the sixth month, on the ninth day. On this Chinese ¹⁴scroll

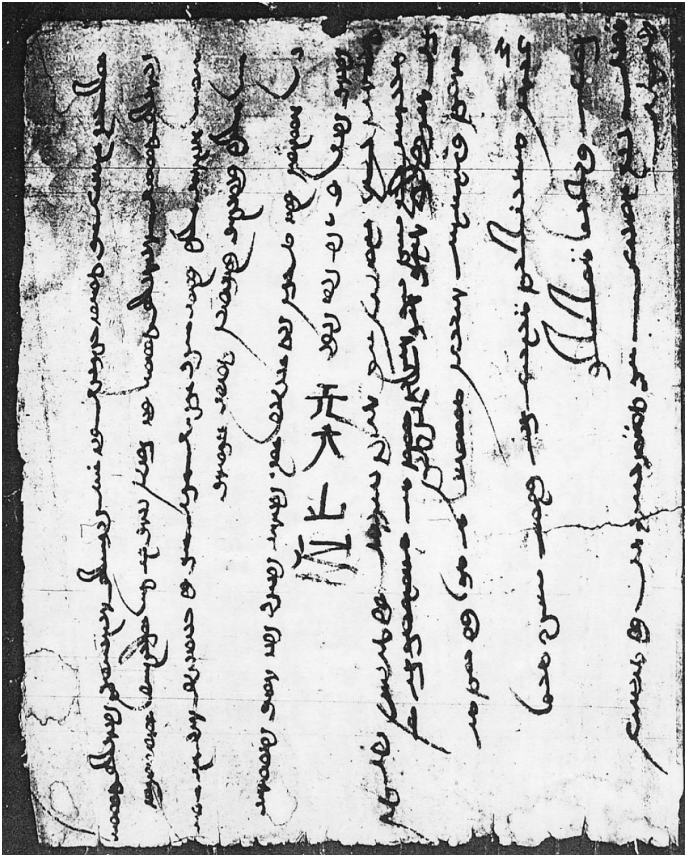


Fig. 4. SI 1823
(IOM RAS)

Notes

Da1–2: *Kimqadu* < Chin. *Jin-hua-nu* 金華奴; *Kuyšidu* < Chin. *Hui-shi-nu* 惠師奴; *Kensidu* < Chin. *Xian-shi-nu* 賢師奴; *Šensidu* < Chin. *Chan-shi-nu* 禪師奴 or *Shan-shi-nu* 善師奴. These names also appear in other Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts (Matsui 2010: 697–702). Uig. *šilavanti* (< TochB. *šilavānde* << Skt. *šilavat-*) and *tutung* (< Chin. *du-tong* 都統) are well known Buddhist titles (Kitsudo 2017: 168).

Da3, ämgäk nāmä: This phrase is not so easily graspable. It may be interpreted otherwise, “there is no distress!” or “I do not know distress!” (ATG: 348; CTD II: 272).

Da4, yemtso: Reading is tentative. It seems to be a personal name derived from Chin. *Yan-zang* 嚴藏, although the context is unclear.

Db5–6, körsär körki köz sönär kötürsär küši kök P(.): My interpretation “if one sees, the figure disappears (from) eyes; if one offers, (the smoke of) incense (becomes?) blue” is rather tentative. It would belong to an alliterative verse, which was popular among contemporary Uighur monks. One of the “Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts,” SI 5748 (3 Kr/5(21)),¹⁸ includes a parallel passage: *y-a qutluγ bo(l)zun ymä kim inčip ol körsär körki köz sönär? kötür[sär]*. Another manuscript SI 1777 (Kr IV 250)¹⁹ includes *ḱkörsär körki köḱür-sär küši ḱkök P(...)*, which could be an emendation or extraction of the text.

Db6: The three Chinese characters *wu-da-shan* 无大山 would be an error of *wu-tai-shan* 五臺山 “Mt. Wutai,” the well-known Buddhist sanctuary of Mañjuśrī cult, which is located in the northern part of Shanxi Province. For Uighur forms *utayšan* ~ *udayšan* (< Chin. *wu-tai-shan*) ~ *utay* ~ *uday* (< Chin. *wu-tai*) and the cult of Wutaishan as the sanctuary of Mañjuśrī among the Uighurs, see Zieme 2002; Zieme 2016; Matsui 2017: Nos. 128, 130; Kasai 2020, for example. The scribe of the present text reconstructed wrong Chinese characters *wu-da-shan* 无大山 from the Uighur form *utayšan*, according to the Sino-Uighur pronunciation: Chin. *wu* 无(無) > Uig. *u(u)* ~ *wu(u)*; *da* 大 > *tay*; *shan* 山 > *šan*.²⁰

In view of the fact that Dunhuang Chinese texts of *Wutaishanzan* 五臺山讚 “Praise of Mt. Wutai” are composed of verses of seven characters, we may regard *KW KYT KYPY* preceding *wu-da-shan* 无大山 as transcriptions of four Chinese characters. The existing versions of Chinese *Wutaishanzan*, however, do not attest to any corresponding verse (Du 1991).

One more Chinese-like sign follows *wu-da-shan*, but it is not easily graspable.

Dd8, išum baliqlıy: The toponym *išum* = *ʾYšWM* might be read as *Y(ʾ)šWM* = *yašum* ~ *yäsüm* or *ʾšWM* = *äsüm*. For details, see the analysis below.

The hand of Text D (lines 8, 10–12) tends to stretch the ductus vertically: here, *baliqlıy* = *PʼLYXLYX* is written as *PʼLʼXLX*.

Dc9, sambodu: < Chin. *San-bao-nu* 三寶奴 “slave of Triratna.” The namesake is found in SI 3961 (4b Kr/42), SI 4028 (4b Kr/11), SI 4031 (4b Kr/15), and SI 5067 + SI 5087 (Kr IV/367 + Kr IV/395) (Matsui 2004: 58; Matsui 2010: 697–702; UygIOM, Nos. 510, 555, 527, 378+523).

¹⁸ This fragment joins to SI 1780 (Kr IV/253). See Matsui 2004: 54, 55; Matsui 2010: No. 3; UygIOM, 236 (Nos. 518, 519).

¹⁹ This fragment joins to Дх 3652. See Matsui 2005: 140–142; Matsui 2010: No. 1; UygIOM: 235 (No. 516).

²⁰ BT XXXIV: 174, 175, 184. For another Sino-Uighur form *wu-tai-shan* 五臺山 > *ʾWXW TY šN* = *uyu-tay-šan*, see BT XXXIV: 71, 148.

Dd10: The personal name *sävičä* = *S'VYČ'* may be a misrepresentation of the frequently attested name *S'VYNČ'* = *sävinč'*.

Dd11: The face of the letters of *tägindim* = *T'KYNDYM* is in fact written as if *TRYNDYM*.

From the geohistorical viewpoint, it is noteworthy that the scribe of Text Dd, *Sävičä-tutung*, identifies himself as *išum baliqlıy* “from the town of Išum.”

I suppose that *išum* here would be the same toponym as Mong. *soim* ~ *suim* = *SWYM*, which is mentioned in a Mongolian decree of 1352 CE by the Chaghatai Khan Tuyluytemür as a village (*siltege(n)* > pl. *silteged*), together with two other villages, *qongsir* and *limč'in* (BT XVI, Nr. 70). Mong. *qongsir* is a loanword of Uig. *xongtser* ~ *xongser* (~ *qongtsir* ~ *qongsir*), which derived from Chin. *Heng-jie* 橫截 (MC **ɣwɒŋg-dz'iet*) and corresponds to the ruins nearby the modern village of Subashi (= Subashi 蘇巴什), at the north exit of the gorge through the Huoyanshan 火焰山 mountains, ca. 7 km north from the Toyoq Caves;²¹ Mong. *limč'in* derives from Uig. *limč'in*, which goes back to Chin. *Lin-chuan* 臨川 (MC **liəm-tš'jwän*) and corresponds to the modern village of Lämjin (= Lianmuqin 連木沁) (Matsui 2015: 279), at ca. 20 km east to Subashi.

For the etymon of Mong. *soim* ~ *suim*, I previously proposed the Khotanese toponym *'iśumä* ~ *yūśumä*, which the Staël-Holstein scroll of 925 CE locates around Khot. *hve'tsver* (~ Uig. *xongser* ~ Mong. *qongsir* < Chin. *Heng-jie*) and *dūkä cū* (~ Uig. *lükč'üng*).²² I also supposed that a Chinese toponym *Wei-shen* 威神 (MC **jwɛi-dz'jɛn*) in the Turfan document of the Gaochang kingdom period developed to Mong. *soim* ~ *suim* via Khot. *'iśumä* ~ *yūśumä* (Matsui 2015: 280). Accepting my proposal, Chen Guocan further identified *Wei-shen* with Chin. *Yu-chen* 于謹 (MC **jju-žjəm*) of the Tang period and identified it as the ruins at ca. 20 km northeast to Lämjin (Chen 2017a: 34; Chen 2017b: 14–15, 21).

Now our Text Dc offers the Uigur form *išum* (or *yašum* ~ *yäšüm* ~ *äšüm*), which would fit Khot. *'iśumä* more appropriately than Mong. *soim* ~ *suim*. This identification tallies with the geographical location of *Wei-shen* and *Yu-chen* proposed by Chen Guocan. As shown in the map below, the Toyoq Caves (*teyoq qisil*) would be the nearest religious sanctuary for Buddhist Uighur inhabitants of Išum, east of Lämjin.

Furthermore, we find another Uighur toponym *yušum* in a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection.

Text E = U6018²³ recto

1	pučang-niŋg beš []	Five [...] of Pučang [...]
2	yušum-nung säkiz []	Eight [...] of Yušum [...]
3	tört äšgäk (.)[]	Four donkeys [...]
4	(tsi)rkıp-n[ing]	[...] of Tsirkip [...]
5	[l]ü(k)č'üng-n[üŋg]	[...] of Lükč'üng [...]

²¹ For Chin. *Heng-jie* 橫截 > Uig. *xongtser* ~ *xongser* (~ *qongtsir* ~ *qongsir*), see Matsui 2015: 278–279. In its geographical identification as modern Khandu (= Handun 漢墩), I followed previous scholars such as Shimazaki 1977: 120–122, Arakawa 1986: 40, Wang 2000: 61–62, and Rong 2007: 33–34; cf. Rong 2016: 21. However, through fieldwork in the Turfan region, Chen 2017a: 34–35, proposed the identification as the ruins nearby Subashi.

²² KT II: 73; Hamilton 1958: 140; Arakawa 1986: 40, 68; Wang 2000: 70; Rong 2007: 34–35.

²³ Cf. VOHD XIII, 22: 149–150 (No. 448). Here, I would improve readings of toponyms in lines 2, 4, and 5.

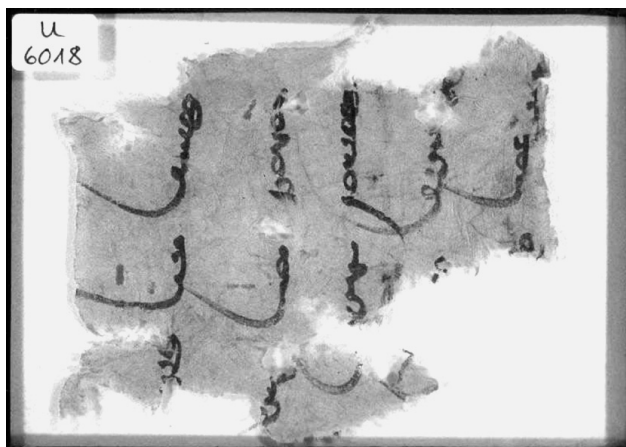
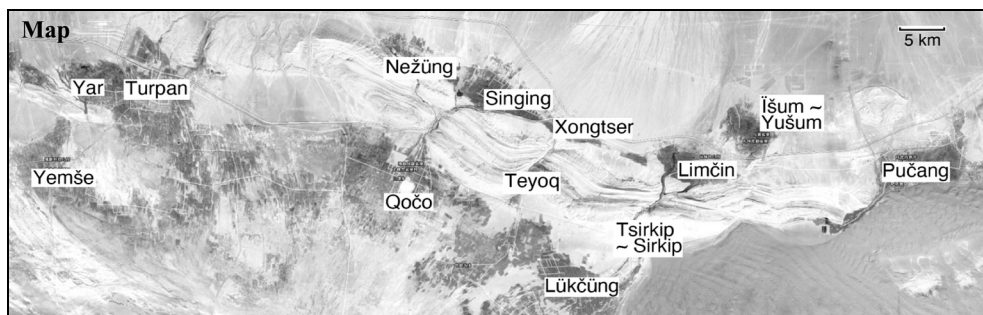


Fig. 5. U 6018
 Depositum der Berlin-
 Brandenburgischen Akademie der
 Wissenschaften
 in der Staatsbibliothek zu
 Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
 Orientabteilung

The Uighur toponym ${}_{1}pučang$, as well as Khot. $phūcamnā$, derives from Chin. *Pu-chang* 蒲昌 of the Tang times and corresponds to the modern village of Pichan (= Pizhan 關展, or Shanshan 鄯善) (Matsui 2015: 276–278). Another toponym, ${}_{4}tsirkip$, is an older form of *sirkip*, which derived from Chin. *qi-ji* 七級 “seven-storied” (MC **ts'jēt-kjəp*) and was used as a component of the name of a Buddhist temple *Qi-ji-si* 七級寺 on the halfway point between Lämjin and Lükchün in the Tang times. The temple name became the name for its village, that is, modern Sirkip (= Seerkepu 色爾克普).²⁴

These toponyms, ${}_{1}Pučang$, ${}_{4}Tsirkip$, and ${}_{5}Lükčüng$, may well suggest that Text E belongs to a financial record concerning donkeys (and other livestock and materials used for official transportation?), which were assembled from towns and villages on the route from *Pučang* (= Pichan) to *Lükčüng* (= Lükchün).²⁵ Consequently, ${}_{2}yušum$ (or *yušüm* ~ *yüşüm*), followed by a genitive suffix (-*nung*) as well as the other toponyms, would also be the name of a town or village on the route, especially between *Pučang* and *Tsirkip* (= Sirkip). We may safely identify it with Khot. *yūšumā*, and regard it as a variant of Uig. *išum* ~ Khot. *išumā*.



²⁴ For details, see Kitsudo 2014. The form *tsirkip* in Text E, as well as Khot. *tsīrkyepā* in the Staël-Holstein scroll of 925 CE, well preserves the *qing-mu* 清母 initial ([tɕ]) of *qi* 七 of the Chinese etymon. See BT XXXIV: 100.

²⁵ S.-Chr. Raschmann also described the fragment as “Listenförmige Aufzeichnung, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Steuer-, Abgaben- und Arbeitsdienstsystem steht.” See VOHD XIII, 22: 150.

While we have many Uighur toponyms originated from Sino-Uighur forms (Matsui 2015: 293–294; Kitsudo 2014), *išum* and *yušum* do not accurately correspond to the Sino-Uighur expected for Chin. *Wei-shen* 威神 and *Yu-chen* 于謹.²⁶ As shown above, Uig. *išum* and *yušum* correspond better to Khot. *’iśumä* and *yūšumä*, respectively, although the dual forms in both languages may well suggest the etymon in another language. The onset of the toponym may perhaps be unstable among Uighur, and too unclear for Mongolians, who later borrowed it in a collapsed form *soim* ~ *suim* (or maybe *šoim* ~ *šuim*), dropping its initial /i/ ~ /yu/, to recognize.

The mention of *išum baliq* (-liḡ) “(from) the town of *İšum*” in our Text Dd indicates that *İšum* had sufficient size or infrastructure to be called a *baliq* “town, city” in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, Text E does not preserve the numbers of donkeys or any other materials requisitioned on *Yušum* (= *İšum*) and other three towns and does not offer us information on their size. The mention of the town of *Yušum* (= *İšum*) itself, however, may reflect its social significance in the eastern region of the Turfan basin, similar to *Pučang* and *Tsirkip* (~ *Sirkip*). Therefore, the refugees and disorder of the town of *Soim* ~ *Suim* (= *İšum* = *Yušum*) was a great concern for Chaghatai Khan of the fourteenth century, who issued a royal decree to aid its inhabitants.

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²⁶ See BT XXXIV: 176, 187, for Sino-Uighur *u-šin* < *Wei-shen* 威神; Middle Chinese of *chen* 謹 had *chan-mu* 禪母 initial (/s/) and *qin* 侵 rhyme (/im/), and therefore *Yu-chen* 于謹 should be transcribed as *u(u)-šin* in Sino-Uighur. Cf. BT XXXIV: 173, 105, 183.

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Два комментария по поводу пещер Туяк и Абита кур «Пещеры Абита»

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Статья поступила в редакцию 23.06.2021.

Аннотация: В ИВР РАН хранятся 55 рукописей на старотуякском языке, которые ассоциируются с группой уйгуров-буддистов, живших в районе монастыря *abita qur* «Пещера Абита» пещерных храмов Туяк. В статье делается попытка определить местонахождение «Пещеры Абита», основываясь на настенных надписях на уйгурском языке, обнаруженных в западной части монастырского комплекса Туяк. Кроме этого, в статье разбирается старотуякский топоним, зафиксированный как родной город одного из писцов, переписавших эти 55 рукописей. Этот факт может указывать на географический охват паломничества в пещеры Туяк.

Ключевые слова: старотуякский, Турфан, Туяк, настенные надписи, топоним.

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