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A REDISCOVERED XYLOGRAPH FRAGMENT FROM THE MONGOLIAN 'PHAGS-PA VERSION OF THE *SUBHĀṢITARATNANIDHI*

by

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The second volume of *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung*, recently published by Erich Haenisch,[1] contains two rather well preserved xylograph folios of the Mongolian 'Phags-pa version of the famous *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. This is apparently one of the fragments from the Berlin Collection that were misplaced and lost during the war. T. F. Carter reproduced the left half of the first page in a publication in 1925,[2] and this was the only part of the fragment available to Pentti Aalto in 1955; but thanks to the efforts of Professor Haenisch it has now been refound and is available for research.

The fragment in question is the largest of the three fragments of the 'Phags-pa edition that have been found and published. In 1912 Gustav Ramstedt published a xylograph fragment written in 'Phags-pa script, which Marshal Mannerheim had found in Chinese Turkestan,[3] and in 1952 Pentti Aalto ingeniously reconstructed the text and identified it.[4] Consequently Professor Aalto published an article on a second 'Phags-pa fragment of the work,[5] and in a third article he added the above mentioned fragment which had been published by Carter.[6]

Thus three fragments of this very interesting document, which is the

[1] Erich Haenisch, *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung*, II: *Mongolische Texte der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung in Faksimile* (= *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*; *Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Künste*, Jhg. 1959, Nr. 1) (Berlin, 1959).

[2] T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westwards* (New York, 1925).

[3] *JSFOu*, 27 (1912), p. 3.

[4] "Altaistica", I, *Studia Orientalia*, VII:7 (Helsinki, 1952), pp. 1–9.

[5] "A Second Fragment of the Mongolian *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* in Mongolian Quadratic Script", *JSFOu*, 57, p. 5.

[6] "Fragmente des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Quadratschrift", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, III:2, pp. 279–290. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Berlin, 1955).

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only Mongolian literary composition in 'Phags-pa script – albeit a translation – of which parts of a xylograph edition have been preserved, have now been published, and, thanks to Professor Aalto, identified and studied.

The Mannerheim fragment and fragment T III D 322:D 2 of the Berlin Turfan Collection he identified as being part of folio number 1 of the xylograph edition. Fragment T III D 322:D 1 clearly shows the page numbers 10 and 11 respectively. This fragment shows that each folio contains twenty lines, and with three lines per stanza this allows six and two-thirds stanzas on each side. By comparing the fragments with the MS published by Ligeti[7] one can approximately reconstruct the length of the 'Phags-pa edition. From this one can calculate the length of the entire book to have been approximately seventy folios.

It is not beyond reason, I think, to hope that more fragments, or perhaps even a complete copy of this unique publication, might be found somewhere in Central Asia.

The fragment in question, T III D 322:D 1 of the Berlin Turfan Collection, is reproduced in facsimile on pages 55 and 56 of Professor Haenisch's publication. The folios have inadvertently been reversed, so that page 10 is on page 56 and page 11 on page 55. The size of the original is given as 28×21 cm. The pages are divided in half, with ten lines on each side. In the middle appear in characters *pa shih* – a phonetic representation of the title to help the Chinese craftsmen and bookdealers to identify the work – and the page number in Chinese numerals. Every third line begins higher than the intervening lines and coincides with the beginning of a stanza.

Page 10 contains the seven last stanzas of the second chapter and page 11 gives the title of the second chapter and the first six stanzas of the third chapter. Unlike the Ligeti MS, which gives the chapter titles at the beginning of each chapter, this edition puts them at the end.

Although Professor Aalto has already treated the first ten lines of the recto page, I shall, for the sake of completeness, include them in this article.

In the following pages I give (a) a transliteration of the fragment, (b) a transcription, with the original length of the lines and the missing parts reconstructed, (c) a transcription of the corresponding passage in

[7] Louis Ligeti, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol: un document du moyen mongol* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, VI) (Budapest, 1948).

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the Ligeti MS, (d) a translation, (e) notes, and (f) an index of the words in ʾPhags-pa script. The reconstructed words are marked by an asterisk.

TRANSLITERATION

The sign] indicates that the first part of the line is missing; the sign [, the last part.

D 1b – T III D 322

1.]-ya-ri-yan-q[
2.]i-yer-tʻe-ǰi-[
3.]u-sud-ha-ran * do[
4.]r-di-ni-dur-šin-čʻi-le[
5.]n-ǰe-šin-čʻi-le-kʻun
6.]r-ber-ʾeu-lu-ba-ya-sun * do-rom-ǰ[
7.]u-ma-·uė-lan * ʾeo-·e-run-ėr-de-mi-ye-[
8. su-ė-le * sa-yid boq-da-sun-bel-ge-ʾ-nu-bo[
9. bi-li-gun-kʻeu-čʻu-ni-yer-o-luq-san-ėd * ʾeu-nen ė[
10. la-yi * no-qo-yi-qu-lu-qa-na-čʻa-du·-su-ber * hi-čʻu[

* * * * * * * * * * *

11. ʾl-dar-bu-yu
12. neo-kʻeor-se-·u-de-ri-tʻe-gus-ba-ya-ǰi-·u-lu·-su[
13. i-nu-ė-se-·u-buė * mo-ri-ni-yan-sa-yi-tʻur-čʻ[
14. ǰen-dur-beo-·ed-ʾeu-ǰes-kʻu-leŋ-tʻu ʾeu[
15. yam-bar-yam-ba-ri-yar-no-yad-kʻeu-·un * neo-kʻeo[
16. ra·-su-ė-le * tʻe-re-tʻe-re-kʻu-yo-su-·ar-neo-kʻ. . .i[
17. ʾeuė-le-si-beu-tʻu-·e-muė
18. sa-yin-boq-das-beu-kʻu-qa-ǰa-ra * bu-su-mer-ge-di-kʻen-ǰe-seŋ-ge-r[
19. hoq-tʻor-quė-dur-na-ran-ur-qu·-su-ė-le * ho-dud-o-lon-ber-[
20. su-ʾeu-lu-ʾeu-ǰeg-de-yu

D 1a – T III D 322

1. sa-yin-·eu-ge-tʻu-ʾer-di-ni-yin-cʻaŋ-ne-re-tʻu-šas-ti-ra-čʻa-s[
2. ni-o-no-quė-neo-kʻeo-·e-ǰeu-yil-da-·us-ba-yi
3. sa-du sa-du
4. ma-·uė-kʻeu-·un-ėd-tʻu-bo-lu·-su-ė-le * deu-led-tʻe-ma-·uė-ʾ[
5. bo-lu-yu * u-rus-qu-u-su-ni-kʻer-ber-q[
6. ru-·u-kʻu-u-ru-sun-buė
7. ma-·u-na-čʻa-sa-yin-ʾ-bu-ri-qar-qa-·-su-ber * tʻe-r[
8. bo-la-yi * bo-lo-ri-ʾer-di-ni-·er-ʾeoŋ-ge[
9. dur-kʻeu-ru-·e-su-mun-ʾeoŋ-ge-·en-ʾeu-ǰ[
10. muŋ-qa-·ud-ʾeuė-le-si-sa-yi-tʻur-beu-tʻu-·e-b[

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* * * * * * * * * * *

11. buė-ǰe-i-nu-beu-tʿu-·eg-sen-bu-su-qo-ro * q[
12. qor-bo-lu-run * kʿeu-·u-nu-u-ra-ni-yar-bo-luq[
13. sa-yi-dun-beu-tʿu-·eg-sen-ė-ye-yi * ma-·u-i-ni-kʿ[
14. tʿa-ri-ya-čʿi-nu-hon-za-ra-ǰo-boq-san-tʿa-ri-ya[
15.]qi-ra-·u-lu-muė
16.]·un-ʾeo-·er-un-ge-mi-yen-b[
17.]bur-tʿa-qi-i-deg-sen-qo-[
18.]r-čʿi-muė
19.]e-dur-ya-bu[
20.]heu-n[

TRANSCRIPTION

a

1. -qun * čʿina omoqi]yariyanq[ayila·asu daqi * arslan
2. ni·uleskʿuė sedkʿil]iyer tʿeǰi[·eyu
3. sayidtʿačʿa gemė/eriyu b]usud haran * do[radusačʿa qami·a ė/erikʿun
4. * qaqaraqsan ʾe]rdinidur šinčʿile[gdeyu * tʿülegsen
5. čʿučʿalayi kʿe]n ǰe šinčʿilekʿun
6. maqtaqsaniya]r ber ülu bayasun * doromǰ[ilaqda·asu ber ü-
7. lu kʿ]u mauėlan * ö·erun ėrdemiye[n sayitʿur a·a-
8. su ėle * sayid boqdasun belge anu bo[layi
9. biligun kʿüčʿuniyer oluqsan ėd * ünen ė[d tʿabar kʿemekʿu bo-
10. layi * noqoyi quluqana čʿadu·asu ber * hičʿu[·uri ǰabqaqsanu
11. aldar buyu
12. nökʿör se·uderi tʿegus bayaǰi·ulu·asu[* noyanu kʿu sayin
13. inu ese·u buė * moriniyan sayitʿur čʿ[ime·esu ėle * ė-
14. ǰendur bö·ed üǰeskʿuleŋtʿu ü[lu·u buė
15. yambar yambariyar noyad kʿü·un * nökʿö[diyen ačʿi·ariyan asa-
16. ra·asu ėle * tʿere tʿere kʿu yosu·ar nökʿ[öd]i[nu * noyaniyan
17. üėlesi bütʿu·emuė
18. sayin boqdas bükʿu qaǰara * busu mergedi kʿen ǰe seŋger[ekʿun *
19. hoqtʿorquėdur naran urqu·asu ėle * hodud olon ber [bö·e-
20. su ülu üǰegdeyu

b

1. sayin ·ügetʿu ʾerdiniyin cʿaŋ neretʿu šastiračʿa s[ayin hara-
2. ni onoquė nökʿö·e ǰüyil da·usbayi

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3. sadu sadu
4. ma·uė kʿü·un ėdtʿu bolu·asu ėle * düledtʿe ma·uė a[buritʿu
5. boluyu * urusqu usuni kʿer ber q[ari·ulu·asu * imaqtʿa hu-
6. ru·u kʿu urusun buė
7. ma·unačʿa sayin aburi qarqa·asu ber * tʿer[e ǰasadaq aburi kʿemekʿu
8. bolayi * bolori'erdini·er öŋge[le·esu ber * usun-
9. dur kʿüru·esu mun öŋge·en üǰ[e·uluyu
10. muŋqa·ud üėlesi sayitʿur bütʿu·eb[esu ber * ölǰeėe
11. buė ǰe (*) inu bütʿu·egsen busu (*) qoro * q[aėin šilusun yoŋ-
12. qor bolurun * kʿü·unu uraniyar boluq[san busu buė
13. sayidun bütʿu·egsen ėyeyi * ma·ui nikʿ[en da·undur ebdeyu *
14. tʿariyačʿinu hon zara ǰoboqsan tʿariya[ni * möndur nikʿen da-
15. ·undur]qira·ulumuė
16. olaŋqin ma]·un ö·erun gemiyen b[usud harandur u·uruyu *
17. tʿura·un]burtʿaqi idegsen qo[ši·u·an * ari·un qaǰar-
18. tʿur kʿičʿi·eǰu a]rčʿimuė
19. muŋqaq kʿü·uni üėl]edur yabu[·ulu·asu * üėlesi ebde-
20. ·ed mun ber qutʿuyu *]hün[egeni qan ora sa·uluqsanu šil-

LIGETI

II 7a

sayid boγdas-tur dorodus aran maγulabasu ber *
esergü qamiγ-a ayimasqun * čin-a omoγ-iyar-iyan
qayilabasu daqi * arslan nigülesküį sedkil-iyer
teǰigeyü **
sayid-tača gem eriyü busud aran * dorodus-ača
qamiγ-a erikün * qaγaraγsan erdeni-dür sinǰilegdeyü *
tülegsen čučala-yi ken ǰ-e sinǰilekün **

II 7b

maγtaγsan-iyar ber ülü bayasun * doromǰilaγdabasu ber
ülü kü maγulan * öber-ün erdem-iyen sayitur abasu ele *
sayid boγdas-un belge anu bolaį **
bilig-ün küčün-iyer oluγsan ed * ünen ed tabar kemekü
bolaį * noqaį quluγan-a čadbasu ber * ičigüri ǰabqaγsan-u
aldar buyu **

II 8a

nökör següder-i tegüs bayaǰiγulbasu * noyan-u kü sayin

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inu esegü buį * morin-iyan sayitur čimebesü ele *
eǰen-dür büged üǰesküleng-tü ülügü buį **
yambar yambar-iyar noyan kümün * nököd-iyen ačibar-
iyar asarabasu ele * tere tere kü yosuγar nököd
inu * noyan-iyan üįles-i bütügemüį **

II 8b

sayin boγdas bükü γaǰar-a * busu merged-i ken
ǰ-e senggerekün * oγtarγui-dur naran urγubasu
ele * odud olan ber bügesü ülü üǰegdeyü **

III 1a

(blank)

III 1b

sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang neretü šastir-ača
mungqaγ-ud-i onoqui γutaγar ǰüįl **
maγuį kümün ed-tü bolbasu ele * düledte maγuį
aburi-tu boluyu * urusqu usun-i ker ber
qariγulbasu * imaγta uruγu kü urusun buį **

III 2a

maγun-ača sayin aburi γarbasu ber * tere
ǰasadaγ aburi kemekü bolai * bolor-i erdeni-ber
önggelebesü ber * usun-dur kürbesü mön öngge-
ben üǰügülüyü **
mungqaγ-ud üįles-i sayitur bütügebesü ber *
ölǰeį-e bui ǰ-a inu bütügegsen busu *
qoroqaį-yin silüsün yongqor bolur-un *
kümün-ü uran-iyar boluγsan busu buį **

III 2b

sayid-un bütügegsen ey-e-yi * maγun aran nigen
daγun-dur ebdeyü * tariyačin-u on sara ǰobaγsan
tariyan-i * möndür nigen daγun-dur qariγulumuį **
olangkin maγun öber-ün gem-iyen * busud aran-dur
uγuruyu * turaγun burtaγ-i idegsen qosiγuban *
ariγun γaǰar-tur kičigeǰü arčimuį **

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III 3a

mungqaγ kümün-i üǰle-dür yabuγulbasu * üǰles-i
ebdeged mön ber γutuyu * ünegen-i qan or-a
saγuluγsan-u siltaγabar * nököd-i ǰobqaγad mön
ber alaγdaǰuγuǰ geku **

II 1b

sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang neretü šastir-ača
sayin aran-i onoquǰ nögüge ǰüǰl **

TRANSLATION

[Even if the lowly are malicious towards the excellent saints,
In return, how shall they be angry?]
Even though the wolf[1] howls with arrogance,
the lion nourishes (him) with a compassionate mind.

Other people seek fault in the good ones.
Why should they seek it in the lowly?
A broken jewel is investigated;[2]
Who would investigate a burnt fire-brand?

If one keeps one's virtue well,
Not rejoicing at having been praised,
Nor becoming discontented even when insulted,
(It is) the sign of the excellent saints.

Goods found by the power of the mind
Are called true goods and chattels.[3]
Even if the dog and rat[4] sate themselves,
(They have) the reputation of having lost shame.

If (a prince) fully enriches his retinue,[5]
Is it not (to) the good[6] of the prince?
If he adorns his horse well,
Will it not also become beautiful to the master?[7]

In whatever manner a princely person
Through his own grace[8] protects his retainers,

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In exactly such a manner his retainers
Will fulfill the work of their prince.

In a place where the excellent saints are,[9]
Who will pay attention to the other sages?[10]
Whenever the sun rises in the sky,
Even though there be many stars, they are not seen.

The Second Chapter, "On Knowing Good People," from the *çāstra* called *The Treasury*[11] *of the Well-Worded Jewel*[12] has ended.

Sadu Sadu[13]

Whenever a bad person gains possessions,
His character becomes surpassingly worse.
However one diverts[14] flowing water,
It will only flow downwards.

Even if one produces[15] a good character from evil people,
That one is called a counterfeit character.
Even if one lends luster to a crystal with a jewel,
When it gets into water it shows its own color.

Even if fools fulfill[16] their deeds well,
It is by luck, it is not their own doing;
When the saliva of the worm[17] becomes silk thread,[18]
It (does) not become it through the skill of man.

The concord wrought by the excellent,
Bad people[19] destroy in an instant.[20]
The farmer's crop, over which he has worried[21] for a long time[22]
The hail turns[23] back (into dust[24]) in an instant.

Usually bad people throw
Their own faults on other people.
In clean earth the jackdaw[25] assiduously works
At cleansing the bill with which he has eaten filth.

If one sends foolish people on a job,
They first destroy the work and then themselves.

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By reason of having elected a fox as king,[26]
[Having tormented his retainers, he himself will be killed, it says.][27]

NOTES

1. **č'ina*; cf. *činā* (wolf) in *Mukaddimat al-Adab*. The Mongolian text should read *činunčar/činučar* (jackal) to correctly translate the Tibetan *lce spyang*; cf. Ye-shes rdo-rje, *Mkhas pa rgya mtsho blo gsal mgul rgyan* (Corpus scriptorum mongolorum, vol. 4), p. 157: *lce spyangs* = *cho-no-tshar*; and Sumatiratna, *Mun sel sgron me* (= *Corp. script. mong.*, vol. 6), p. 604: *lce spyang* = *činučar/činunčar*. *Tabun ǰüil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruγsan manǰu ügen-ü toli bičig* (Peking reprint, 1957), p. 4949, translates *lce spyang* as "hyena".
2. *šinč'ilegdeyu*; It is curious to note that the word is spelled with a *č'* in this fragment. In *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script*, p. 130, instead of *šinč'ilegdeǰu*, read *šinč'ilegdeyu*. The gloss refers to this fragment.
3. In keeping with the ancient cast of the language, I have reconstructed the word *t'abar* instead of *t'avar*. The Ligeti MS also reads *tabar*. Note on line 4 of fragment TM 4D 130 of the Turfan Collection (reproduced on p. 12 of *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung*, II): *ed tabar*.
4. Where the Mongolian text has *quluqana* (rat = Tib. *byi ba*), the Tibetan text reads *byi bla* (cat); another xylograph of the Tibetan version belonging to the Far Eastern Library, University of Washington, also has *byi la* id.
5. *nök'ör se·uder(i)* Tib. *'khor* (retinue), cf. *Secret History*, *nokor se'uder* (Gefährte-Schatten, unzertrennlicher Gefährte).
6. The Tibetan text here reads *che ba* (greatness, might), whereas the Mongolian has *sayin*.
7. Tib. *rta la rgyan du byas pa de / bdag po nyid la mi mdzes sam /* "Won't that which has been done by way of adornment on the horse also beautify the master?" (Lit. "Won't (it) also be beautiful to/on the master himself?").
8. The Ligeti MS here reads *ačibar-iyar*, which is no doubt a mistake for *ačibar-iyan*; I reconstruct the 'Phags-pa accordingly.
9. *sayin boqdas*; Note the inconsistency in agreement. In the Ligeti MS the adjective inconsistently agrees with the noun in number.
10. I here translate *busu merged(i)* as "other sages", rather than "non-sages", in accordance with the Tib. *mkhas pa gzhan dag*. The adjective and noun are not in agreement here either.

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11. *c'aŋ*; A Chinese loanword. The word was Mongolized as *sang*.
12. In contrast to other 'Phags-pa sources where the word *erdini* is extant, it is here spelled with *e* rather than *ė* initially.
13. The word *sadu* = Skt. *sādhu* (good) has here been written twice in order to fill a line and retain the three-line form of the stanza.
14. Lit. "causes to return", Tib. *bzlog* id.
15. *qarqa·asu ber* should probably not be causative. The Ligeti MS has *γarbasu ber* "even if comes forth", which corresponds to the Tib. *byung yang* and fits better syntactically.
16. *büt'u·eb[esu]*; A *b* is clearly visible after the *e*. Is this conv. cond. in *-basu/-besü*, which is very uncommon in 'Phags-pa, a *lapsus calami*?
17. *qoro* * *q[aė]*; By mistake a punctuation mark has been put in the middle of the word.
18. *yoŋ[qor]*; The Tibetan version reads *dar skud* "silk thread". Kowalewsky translates *yongqor* as "pure silk", and Lewicki, in the vocabulary to the *Hua-yi yi-yu*, translates it as "raw silk". In Khalkha *yonxor utas* means "silk thread", which leads me to believe that the real meaning of the word is the unwoven silk thread.
19. Note the unusual form *ma·ui*.
20. "in an instant" = *nik'en da·undur*, Lit. "in (the space of) a voice".
21. *'bad pa* (to raise, take care of, exert oneself) is here translated by *ǰobo-* (to worry, suffer over).
22. *hon zara*; Lit. "year (and) month", Tib. *lo zlar* lit. "in year (and) month", I have translated loosely as "for a long time".
23. *qira·ulumuė* is a mistake for *qari·ulumuė*; the Ligeti MS has *qariγulumuį* "turning back" and the Tib. reads *rlog* id.
24. The Mongolian translator has omitted translating the words *rdul du*, "into atoms, dust". (The Ligeti MS reads *rtul du*, a mistake.)
25. **t'ura·un*; Ligeti MS *turaγun*; the word is identified in *Tabun ǰüil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruγsan manǰu ügen-ü toli bičig*, p. 4163, as *turuu*, translated by Tib. *bya rog mo* (raven); Manchu *turaki* (jackdaw) [cf. Evenki *turaki* (crow, gray and white), *Evenkiisko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow, 1958, p. 402]; Turki *taχanak*. Radloff [*Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialekte*, Vol. III, p. 1150] gives *tokunak* (jackdaw), *tokunak kaγa* id. Modern Uigur also has the word: *toqunaq qaγa* (jackdaw = Russ. галка) [*Russko-uǐgurskiĭ slovar'*, Moscow, 1956, p. 187].
26. Lit. "By reason of having caused a fox to throne-sit." The word *or-a* is here not to be construed as being in the dat.-loc. case; *or-a saγu-* is rather a single concept "to throne-sit, to rule as king" similar to the Manchu phrase *gurun te-* "to reside as a nation, to settle down as a

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nation". (Cf. also Öljeitü Qan's letter to Philippe le Beau of France, line 13, *bida yeke or-a sayuγysan-dur* "when We took up the rule...").
27. "it says"; referring to the fable from which the aphorism is taken.

GLOSSARY

The glossary is in the same alphabetical order as the glossary in N. Poppe's *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script*.

Words completely reconstructed are preceded by an asterisk. Partial reconstructions are enclosed in brackets. Verbal and nominal inflectional endings are in parentheses.

After every entry I have given, as far as possible, the forms of the gloss culled from the following sources:

1. Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1939).
2. Marian Lewicki, *La Langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle*; *Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, II: *Vocabulaire-index* (Wroclaw, 1959).
3. N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skii slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1938).
4. N. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script* (Wiesbaden, 1957).
5. Written Mongolian form of the word.
6. Colloquial Khalkha, mainly from *Mongol'sko-russkii slovar'*, A. Luvsandendev, ed. (Moscow, 1957).

[a(·a]su) to be a7–8// 1. *a-*, 2. *a-*, 5. *a-* id.

aburi character, nature b7// 1. *aburi*, 2. *aburi*, 3. *aburi*, 5. *aburi*, 6. *avir* id.

**aburitʿu* having a character by// 1. aburitu, 2. aburitu, 3. aburitu, 5. aburitu, 6. avirtai id.

aldar fame, reputation a11// 1. *aldar*, 5. *aldar*, 6. *aldar* id.

anu their a8// 1. *anọ*, 2. *anu*, 4. *anu*, 5. *anu* id.

a[rčʿi(muė)] to clean b18// 1. *arci-*, 3. *arči-*, 5. *arči-*, 6. *arči-* id.

**ari·un* clean, pure b17// 2. *ariʿun*, 3. *ariʿūn/ariyun*, 4. *ari·uė*, 5. *ariγun*, 6. *ariun* id.

**arslan* lion a1// 1. *arslan*, 2. *arslan*, 3. *arslan*, 4. *[ar]slan*, 5. *arsalan/arslan*, 6. *arslan* id.

[asa]ra(·asu) to protect, keep, guard a16// 1. *asara-*, 2. *asara-*, 3. *asara-* id., 5. *asara-* to have pity, 6. *asra-* to guard, serve, care.

bayaǰi·ulu(·asu) to make rich a12// 3. *bayaǰi-* to become rich, 5. *bayaǰiγul-* to make rich, 6. *bayažuul-* id.

bayas(un) to rejoice a6// 1. *bayas-*, 2. *bayas-*, 3. *bayas-*, 4. *bayas-*, 5. *bayas-*, 6. *bayas-* id.

belge mark, sign a8// 1. *belge* certificate, pawn, proof, 2. *bälgä* sign, mark, 3. *belge*, 5. *belge*, 6. *beleg* id.

ber concessive and generalizing particle a5, a6, a7, a8, a10, a19// 1. *ber*, 2. *bär*, 3. *ber*, 5. *ber* id.

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**ber* id. b20//
bilig(un) intellect a9// 2. *biliktü* prudent, sage, 3. *bilik* intellect, 5. *bilig* id., 6. *bilig* talent
bolayi is b8// 1. *boluyi*, 2. *bolaị*, 4. *bo[layi]*, 5. *bolaị/boluị* id.
b[olayi] is a8
[bo]layi is a9–10
bolu(q[san)] to become b12// 1. *bol-*, 2. *bol-*, 3. *bol-*, 5. *bol-*, 6. *bol-* id.
bol(urun) id.
bol(uyu) id.
bol(u·asu) id.
bolor(i) rock-crystal b8// 2. *bolor*, 5. *bolor*, 6. *bolor* id.
boqdas saints a18// 1. *bohda* holy, wise, 4. *boqdas/boqtʿas* saints, 5. *boγdas*, *bogdos* id.
boqdas(un) id. a8
bö·ed to be (here a strengthening particle) a14// 1. *boʿet*, 4. *bö·ed*, 5. *büged*, 6. *bögööd* id.
[bö·ë]su to be a20//
buė is a13, b6, b11// 1. *bui*, 2. *bui*, 5. *bui*, 6. *bii* id.
**buė* id. a14, b12
burtʿaq(i) filth, impurity b17// 3. *burtaq*, 5. *burtaγ*, 6. *burtag* id.
busu negative particle, other a18, b11// 1. *busu*, 2. *busu*, 3. *busu*, 5. *busu*, 6. *bus* id.
**busu* id. b12
[b]usud others b16// 1. *busut*, 2. *busut*, 4. *busud*, 5. *busud*, 6. *busad* id.
b[usud] id. a3
buyu to be a11// 1. *buyu*, 2. *buyu*, 5. *buyu* id.
bükʿu to be, exist a18// 1. *bugu*, 2. *bügü*, 4. *bükʿu*, 5. *bükü* id.
bütʿu·e(b[esu)] to complete, perform, fulfill b10// 1. *buteʿe-*, 3. *bütē-*, 5. *bütüge-*, 6. *bütee-* id.
bütʿu·e(gsen) id. b11, b13
bütʿu·e(muė) id. a17

cʿaŋ treasury, storehouse, granary b1// 1. *cang/zang* id., 2. *tsaŋ* public granary, 4. *cʿaŋ* land taxes, 5. *sang* treasure, treasury, storehouse, 6. *sang* id.
čʿad(u·asu) to be satiated, to glut oneself a10// 1. *cat-*, 2. *čat-*, 3. *čat-*, 4. *čʿad-*, 5. *čat-*, 6. *cad-* id.
čʿi[me(·esu)] to adorn a13// 3. *cime-*, 4. *čʿime-*, 5. *čime-*, 6. *čime-*, id.
**čʿina* wolf a1// 1. *činō*, 2. *čino*, 3. *činā/čanā*, 5. *činu-a*, 6. *čono* id.
**čʿučʿala(yi)* firebrand a5// 5. *čučali*, 6. *cucal* id.

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**daqi* again, even, too, also a1// 1. *taki*, 2. *taki*, 5. *daki*, 6. *daxin* id.
**da·un(dur)* voice, sound b13, b14–15// 2. *daʿun*, 3. *daʿūn*, 5. *dayun*, 6. *duu(n)* id.
da·us(bayi) to be finished b2// 1. *daoʿus-* to end, fulfill, endure, 3. *daʿūs-*, to be finished, 5. *dayus-* id., 6. *duus-* to end, finish.
d[oradus(ačʿa)] lowly, inferior people a3// 1. *dōromji(n)* vulgar people, 3. *doradu/doratu* lower, baseness, vileness, 5. *dooratu* inferior, insignificant
doromǰ[ilaqda(·asu)] to be humiliated, insulted a6// 3. *doramǰi-* to offend, insult, 5. *doromǰila-*, 6. *doromžlo-* id.
düledtʿe more, the more b4// 1. *dulet*, 2. *dülätä*, 5. *tüledte* id.

**ebde(yu)* to break, destroy b13// 1. *ebde-*, 3. *ebde-* id., 4. *ebdere-* to break, be damaged, 5. *ebde-* to destroy, 6. *evde-* id.
**ebde(·ed)* id. b19–20
[ʾe]rdini(dur) jewel a4// 4. *ėrdini/ėrtini*, 5. *erdini/erdeni*, 6. *erdene* id.
ʾerdini(·er) id. b8
ʾerdini(yin) id. b1
ėd goods, property a9// 5. *ed*, 6. *ed* id.
ėdtʿu with goods, property b4
[ė]ǰen(dur) lord, master a14// 1. *ejen*, 2. *äžän*, 3. *eǰen*, 4. *eǰen*, 5. *eǰen*, 6. *ezen* id.
ėle generalizing particle a8, a13, a16, a19, b4// 1. *ele*, 2. *älä*, 5. *ele* id.
ėrdem(iye[n)] virtue a7// 1. *erdem* ability, 3. *erdem* science, knowledge, ability, 5. *erdem* virtue, ability, knowledge, 6. *erdem* science, ability, erudition
**ė/eri(kʿun)* to search, look for a3// 1. *eri-*, 2. *äri-*, 3. *eri-*, 5. *eri-*, 6. *ere-* id.
**ė/eri(yu)* id. a3
ėse·u is it not? a13// 1. *ese-u* id.
ėye(yi) concord, peace b13// 1. *eye*, 2. *äyä*, 5. *ey-e*, 6. *eye* id.

**gem* vice, defect, sin a3// 4. *gemud*, diseases, 5. *gem*, defect, sin, 6. *gem* id.
gem(iyen) id b16

**hačʿi(·ariyan)* grace, benefit, merit a15// 1. *hači*, 2. *hači*, 4. *hačʿi*, 5. *ači*, 6. *ač* id.
haran people a3// 1. *haran*, 2. *haran*, 3. *haran*, 4. *haran*, 5. *aran* id., 6. *aran*, plebeian, commoner
**haran(dur)* id. b16
haran(i) id. b1–2

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hičʿu[·uri] shame a10// 1. *hiče-* to be ashamed, 2. *hičä-* id., 5. *ičegüri* shame, 6. *ičgüür* id.

hodud stars a19// 1. *hodun* star, 2. *hodun* id., 3. *hodud*, stars, 5. *odun*, 6. *od(on)* id.

hon year b14// 1. *hon*, 2. *hon*, 3. *hon*, 5. *on*, 6. *on* id.

hoqtʿorquė(dur) heaven, firmament, sky a19// 1. *hohtorḥu* empty, 2. *ho-χtorχu/-χui* id., 5. *oγtorγui* firmament, sky, 6. *ogtorgui* id.

[hu]ru·u downwards, downstream b6// 1. *huruʿu*, 3. *hurū/urū*, 5. *uruγu*, 6. *uruu* id.

hün[egen(i)] fox b20// 1. *hunegen*, 2. *hünägän*, 3. *hünegen*, 5. *ünege(n)*, 6. *üneg(en)* id.

ide(gsen) to eat b17// 1. *ide-*, 2. *idä-*, 3. *ide-*, 5. *ide-*, 6. *ide-* id.

**imaqtʿa* always, only b5// 5. *imaγta*, 6. *yamagt* id.

inu his a13, b11// 1. *inọ*, 2. *inu*, 3. *inu*, 5. *inu* id.

i[nu] id. a16

**ǰabqa(qsan)* to lose a10// 1. *ǰabḥa-*, 3. *ǰabqa-*, 5. *ǰabqa-*, to disappear, to be lost. 6. *zavxra-* id.

**ǰasadaq* counterfeit, false b7// 5. *ǰasadaγ*, 6. *zasdag* id.

ǰe enclitic expressing doubt a5, b11, b18// 1. *-je*, 2. *ǯä*, 5. *ǰ-e/a*, 6. *-z* id.

ǰobo(qsan) to suffer, worry b14// 1. *ǰobo-*, 2. *ǯobo(laŋ)*, 3. *ǰoba-*, 5. *ǰoba-*, 6. *zovo-* id.

ǰüyil chapter, category, sort b2// 1. *ǰuyil(e)*, 2. *jüyil*, 5. *ǰüḭl*, 6. *züil* id.

**kʿemekʿu* to say, name, call a9, b7// 5. *kemekü* id.

kʿen who a18// 1. *ken*, 2. *kän*, 3. *ken*, 4. *kʿen*, 5. *ken*, 6. *xen* id.

[kʿe]n id. a5

kʿer ber if, however, in whatever way b5// 1. *ker ber*, 2. *kärbär*, 4. *kʿer ber*, 5. *ker ber*, 6. *xerev* id.

kʿičʿi·e(ǰu) to be zealous, take pains at b18// 1. *kiciʿe-*, 2. *kičäʿä-*, 3. *kičē-*, 5. *kičege-*, 6. *xičee-* id.

kʿu strengthening particle a16, b1// 1. *ku/gu*, 2. *gü*, 5. *kü*, 6. *xüü/xöö* id.

kʿu id. a7

**kʿu* id. a12

kʿücʿun(iyer) strength a9// 1. *gucu(n)*, 2. *güčün*, 3. *küčin*, 4. *kʿüčʿun*, 5. *küčun*, 6. *xuč(in)* id.

kʿü·un man, person a15, b4// 1. *guʿun*, 2. *güʿün*, 3. *küʿūn*, 4. *kʿü·un*, 5. *kümün*, 6. *xün* id.

k'ü·un(u) id. b12

**kʿü·un(i)* id. b19

kʿüru·esu to arrive b9// 1. *gur-*, 2. *gür-*, 3. *kür-*, 5. *kür-*, 6. *xür-* id.

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[maqtʿa(qsaniya]r) to praise a6// 2. *maχta-*, 3. *maqta-*, 5. *mayta-*, 6. *magta-* id.
ma·uė bad, evil b4// 1. *maoʿui*, 2. *maʿu*, 3. *maʿū*, 4. *ma·uė*, 5. *mayu/mayuį*, 6. *muu* id.
ma·uėla(n) to be offended, discontented, malicious a7// 1. *maoʿula-* to sorrow, be upset, 3. *maʿuįla-* to do evil, 5. *mayuyila-* to be offended, 6. *muula-* to gossip, to blame
ma·ui see *ma·uė*, b13
ma·un(ačʿa) evil ones b7// 1. *maoʿun*, 2. *maʿun*, 5. *mayun* id.
[ma]·un id. b16
merged(i) wise men, the accomplished ones a18// 1. *mergan*, sg. 2. *märgän*, sg., 4. *mergen*, sg., 5. *merged*, 6. *mergen*, sg., id.
morin(iyan) horse a13// 1. *mori(n)*, 2. *morin*, 3. *morin*, 5. *morid*, pl., 5. *morin*, 6. *mori(n)* id.
**möndur* hail b14// 2. *mündür*, 3. *möndür*, 5. *möndür*, 6. *möndör* id.
mun the very, same one b9// 1. *mun*, 2. *mun*, 3. *mön*, 4. *mün*, 5. *mön*, 6. *mön* id.
**mun* id. b20
**muŋqaq* fool, stupid b19// 1. *mungḫah*, 2. *muŋχaχ*, 3. *muŋyaq* [sic], 5. *mungqay*,
muŋqa·ud pl. id. n10

naran the sun a19// 1. *naran*, 2. *naran*, 3. *naran*, 4. *naran*, 5. *naran*, 6. *nar(an)* id.
neretʿu called, with the name b1// 1. *neretu*, 2. *närätü*, 3. *neretü*, 4. *neretʿu*, 5. *neretü* id., 6. *nert/nertei*, famous
**ni·ulesʿuė* compassionate a2// 2. *nüläsküi* kindness, compassion, 5. *nigüleskü̇i* id.
nikʿ[en] one b13// 1. *nikan/niken*, 2. *nikän*, 3. *niken*, 4. *nikʿen*, 5. *nigen*, 6. *neg* id.
**nikʿen* id. b14
noqoyi dog a10// 1. *noḫai*, 2. *noχaį*, 3. *noqaį*, 5. *noqaį*, 6. *noxoi* id.
noyad lords, princes a15// 1. *noyat*, 2. *noyat*, 3. *noyan*, sg., 4. *noyad*, 5. *noyad*, 6. *noyod* id.
**noyan(u)* id., sg. a12
**noyan(iyan)* id. a16
nökʿ[öd] retainers, companions a15// 1. *nokot*, 2. *nököt*, 3. *nöküt*, 5. *nököd*, 6. *nöxöd* id.
nökʿö[d(iyen)] id. a15
nökʿör se·uder(i) followers, retinue, companions a12// 1. *nokor seʿuder*, 5. *nökör següder*, id.

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nökʿö·e second, other b2// 1. *nokoʿe*, 2. *nökö'ä*, 5. *nögüge*, 6. *nögöö* id.

**olaŋqin* usually, in general, the greater part b16// 1. *olonki(n)*, 2. *olaŋkin*, 5. *olangkin*, 6. *olonxi* id.

olon many a19// 1. *olon*, 2. *olon*, 3. *olon*, 4. *olon/olan*, 5. *olan*, 6. *olon* id.

olu(qsan) to find, get a9// 1. *ol-*, 2. *ol-*, 3. *ol-*, 4. *ol-*, 5. *ol-*, 6. *ol-* id.

[omoq](iyarian) arrogance, pride a1// 1. *omoh* bravery, 2. *omoχ* bravery, pride, 5. *omoγ* pride, 6. *omog* id.

ono(què) to understand, comprehend b2// 1. *ono-* to count, 2. *ono-* to reflect, meditate, 3. *ona-* understand, 5. *ono-*, 6. *ono-* id.

ora throne, seat, place b20// 1. *oro(n)*, 2. *oro(n)* place, 3. *ora/orun/oran*, 4. *oran* id., 5. *oron* place, throne, 6. *oron* place

**ölǰeė(e)* luck, good fortune b10// 1. *olje/oljei*, 2. *ölžäi̯*, 4. *ölǰeė*, 5. *ölǰei̯*, 6. *ölzii* id.

öŋge[le·esu] to give luster, polish, clean b8// 5. *önggele-*, 6. *öngölö-* id.

öŋge(·en) color b9// 1. *ongge*, 3. *önge*, 4. *öŋge*, 5. *öngge*, 6. *öngö* id.

ö·er(un) one's own a8, b16// 1. *oʿerun*, 2. *öʿärün*, 4. *ö·erun*, 5. *öberün*, 6. *ööriin* id.

qaǰar(a) ground, earth a18// 1. *ḥajar*, 2. *χažar*, 3. *γaǰar/qaǰar*, 4. *qaǰar*, 5. *γaǰar*, 6. *gazar* id.

**qaǰar(tʿur)* id. b17//

**qami·a* where? (here: how?) a3// 3. *qamā*, 5. *qamiγ-a*, 6. *xaa/xaana* id.

**qan* khan, king, b20// 1. *ḥan*, 2. *χan*, 4. *qan*, 5. *qan*, 6. *xaan* id.

**qaqara(qsan)* to split, crack a4// 3. *qaγal-*, 5. *qaγara-*, 6. *xagara-* id.

q[ari·ulu(·asu)) to cause to go back, to detour, to cause to return b5// 1. *ḥariʾul-*, 2. *χariʿul-*, 3. *qariʾūl-*, 5. *qariγul-*, 6. *xariul-* id.

qarqa(·asu) to cause to come forth, to produce b7// 1. *ḥarḥa-*, 2. *χarχa-*, 3. *γarγa-/γarqa-*, 5. *γarγa-*, 6. *garga-* id.

**qayila(·asu)* to cry, shout a1// 1. *ḥayila-*, 3. *qai̯la-*, 5. *qayila-*, 6. *xaila-* id.

qira·ul(umuė) = *qari·ul*. See note 25. b15

qoroq[aė(yin)] worm, insect b11// 2. *χoroχai*, 3. *qoraγai̯/qoruγai̯*, 5. *qoroqai̯*, 6. *xorxoi* id.

qo[ši·u(·an)] beak, bill b17// 1. *ḥośiʾu(n)*, 2. *χošiʿun*, 5. *qosiγun*, 6. *xošuu(n)* id.

quluqana rat, mouse a10// 1. *ḥuluḥana*, 2. *χuluχana*, 3. *qulγuna*, 5. *quluγan-a*, 6. *xulgana* id.

**qutʿu(yu)* to be spoiled b20// 5. *γutu-*, 6. *guta-* id.

sadu = Skt. *sādhu*, see note 14. b3

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sayid the good, noble ones, good, pl. a8// 1. *sayit*, 2. *sayid/t*, 4. *sayid*, 5. *sayid* id., 6. *said*, minister
**sayid(tʻačʻa)* id. a3
sayid(un) id. b13
sayin good a18, b1, b7// 1. *sayin*, 2. *sayin*, 3. *sain/sayin*, 4. *sayin*, 5. *sayin*, 6. *sain* id.
**sayin* id. a12
sayitʻur well a13, b10// 1. *sayitur*, 2. *sayitur*, 5. *sayitur*, 6. *saitar* id.
**sayitʻur* id. a7
sa·ulu(qsan) to seat b20// 1. *saʾul-*, 2. *saʻulχa-*, 5. *sayul-*, 6. *suulga-* id.
**sedkʻil(iyer)* thought, mind a2// 1. *setkil*, 2. *sätkil*, 3. *setkil*, 5. *sedkil*, 6. *setgel* id.
seŋger[e(kʻun)] to busy o.s. with, pay attention to a18// 1. *senggere-*, 3. *sengere-*, 5. *senggere-* id.
se·uder(i) shadow, see *nökʻör* a12// 1. *seʻuder*, 2. *säʾüdär*, 3. *seʾüder*, 4. *se·uder*, 5. *següder*, 6. *süüder* id.
šastir(ačʻa) Skt. *çāstra* b1// 5. *šastir*, 6. *šastar* id.
šilusun saliva, b11// 1. *śilusun*, 5. *silüsün*, 6. *šüls(en)* id.
šinčʻi[legde(yu)] to be examined a4// 5. *šinǰile-*, 6. *šinǰle-* id.
šinčʻile(kʻun) to examine a5

**tʻabar* goods, chattels a9// 1. *tabar* valuables, 5. *tabar/tavar* chattels, goods, 6. *tavaar* id.
tʻariyačʻin(u) farmer b14// 1. *tariyaǰin*, 3. *tariʾāči*, 5. *tariyači*, 6. *tariačin* id.
tʻariya[n(i)] crop b14// 1. *tariyat*, pl., 2. *tariyan* cultivated land, 3. *tariʾān*, grain, crop, 4. *tʻariyan*, 5. *tariyan*, 6. *taria(n)* id.
tʻegus perfect, complete a12// 1. *tegus*, 2. *tägüs*, 4. *tʻegus*, 5. *tegüs*, 6. *tögs* id.
tʻeǰi[·e(yu)] to nourish, feed, rear a2// 1. *teǰiʻe-* id., 2. *täǯäʻül-* to cause to rear, 3. *teǰē-* to rear, 5. *teǰiye-* to rear, nourish, 6. *težee-* id.
tʻere that, that one a16// 1. *tere*, 2. *tärä*, 3. *tere*, 5. *tere*, 6. *ter* id.
tʻer[e] id. b7
**tʻura·un* jackdaw, crow b17// 5. *turaγun/turuu* id.
tʻüle(gsen) to burn a4// 1. *tule-*, 3. *tüle-*, 5. *tüle-*, 6. *tüle-* id.

usun(i) water b5// 1. *usu(n)*, 2. *usun*, 3. *usun*, 4. *usu/usun*, 5. *usun*, 6. *us(an)* id.
[usun](dur) id. b8–9
uran(iyar) art, craft b12// 2. *uran*, artisan, 3. *uran* craft, 5. *uran*, 6. *ur(an)* id.

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urqu(·asu) to rise, grow, appear a19// 1. *urḫu-*, 3. *uryu-/huryu*, 5. *uryu-*, 6. *urga-* id.

urus(qu) to flow b5// 1. *urusḫa-*, make flow, 3. *urus-*, 5. *urus-*, 6. *ursa-* id.

[üėl]e(dur) work, deed b19// 1. *uiyile*, 2. *üyilä*, 3. *üi̯le*, 4. *üėle*, 5. *üi̯le*, 6. *üil* id.

üėles(i) id., pl. a17, b10

**üėles(i)* b19

üǰegde(yu) to be seen a20// 1. *ujekde-*, 3. *üǰegde-*, id., 4. *üǰe-*, to see, 5. *üǰegde-* to be seen, 6. *üzegde-*, id.

üǰ[e·ulu(yu)] to show b9// 1. *ujuʿul-*, 2. *üžäʿül-*, 3. *üǰeʾūl-*, 5. *üǰegül-*, 6. *üzüül-* id.

üǰeskʿuleŋtʿu beautiful, handsome a14// 1. *ujesguleng* appearance, 3. *üǰeskülengtü*, 5. *üǰeskülengtü*, 6. *üzesgelent* id.

ülu neg. used with verbs a6, a20// 1. *ulu*, 2. *ülü*, 3. *ülü*, 4. *ülu*, 5. *ülü*, 6. *ül* id.

ü[lu·u] neg. interrogative a14// 1. *uluʿu*, 4. *ülu·u*, 5. *ülügü* id.

ünen truth, true a9// 1. *unen*, 2. *ünän*, 3. *ünen*, 4. *ünen*, 5. *ünen*, 6. *ünen* id.

yabu[·ul(u·asu)] to send b19// 1. *yabuʾul-*, 2. *yabuʿul/yabuyul*, 3. *yabuʾūl-/yabaʾūl-*, 4. *yabu·ul-*, 5. *yabuyul-*, 6. *yavuul-* id.

yambar how, what kind a15// 1. *yambar*, 2. *yambar*, 3. *yamar*, 5. *yambar*, 6. *yamar* id.

[yoŋ]qor silk thread b11–12// 2. *yoŋχor* raw silk, 5. *yongqor* pure silk, 6. *yonxor utas* silk thread

yosu(·ar) manner, rule, custom a16// 1. *yosu(n)*, 2. *yosun*, 4. *yosun*, 5. *yosun*, *yos(on)* id.

zara moon, month b14// 1. *sara*, 2. *sara*, 3. *sara*, 4. *zara*, 5. *sara*, 6. *sar* id.

·*ügetʿu* having words b1// 1. *uge* word, 2. *ügä*, 3. *üge* id., 5. *ügetü* having words, 6. *ügtei* id.

NOTE:

Mr. Bosson's article was written a few weeks after he had received Professor E. Haenisch's edition of the Turfan fragments, and was sent to the publishers of the *Central Asiatic Journal* in midsummer 1959. The publication of the article was delayed through no fault of its author. In the meantime Professor Pentti Aalto published his article on the same subject. Although Mr. Bosson's article appears only now, it is absolutely independent of Prof. Aalto's works.

NICHOLAS POPPE

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