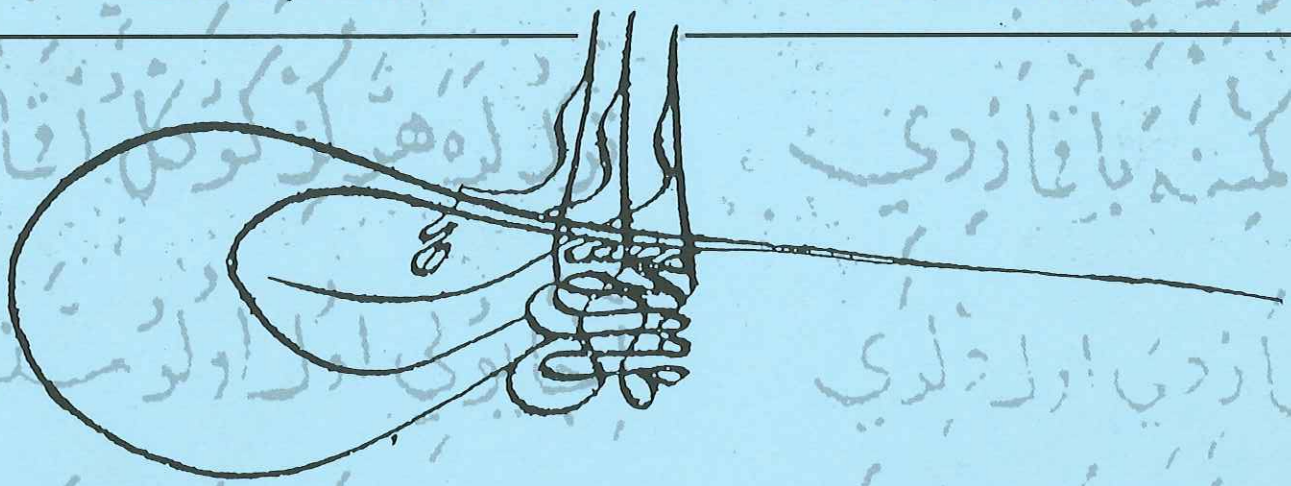
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RICHARD NELSON FRYE FESTSCHRIFT II.

Essays presented to

RICHARD NELSON FRYE

on his Seventieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

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In morphology this work has been carried out, and the parts of speech as well as other morphological phenomena are classified, on the formal, morphological basis, practically up to the end.

In syntax, the author's achievement has been the fact that here too he first and foremost proceeded from purely grammatical features, although with some reservations: first, he, who in the definition of morphological phenomena proceeded virtually from one morphological criterion, here, when describing syntactical phenomena, uses many criteria from different aspects of the language; second, he takes, not a syntactical, but a morphological criterion for such syntactical phenomena as parts of a sentence and certain kinds of subordinate clauses.

The works of Tatar linguist G. Alpar represent, in their essence, a new stage in Turkology, in many respects anticipating some new linguistic teachings. It is not by chance that his works were produced in Qazan, because during hundreds of years in all Tatar educational establishments much attention has been paid to the study of the science of logic, and this created a long-time tradition which influenced these works of G. Alpar.

* * *

After G. Alpar (d. 1936), we see only a regression in Tatar grammars because they are based either on the semantic principle or (following Russian grammars) on the complex of principles, including consideration of the semantic, morphological and syntactic features of linguistic phenomena (which, as is known, always leads to contradictions). Nowadays such a state is reached when, mixing up morphological notions with the syntactical, they write about syntactical (nor morphological) grammatical cases (!), a position again based on the semantic way of approach.

As far as I can see, only some of my works are devoted to the continuation and development of Alpar's principles in Tatar grammar, e.g., the following: "On the Principle of Correspondence of Linguistic Concepts and Units to the Language Levels Represented by Them," **Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists**, Bologna-Florence 1971, pp. 341-343, and "O sootvetstvii lingvističeskih ponjatij otražaemym imi urovnjam jazyka," Sp. **Russkoe jazykoznanic**, vyp. 2, Alma-Ata 1973, pp. 145-154, as well as other works.

CHAPTERS XVI AND XVII

FROM THE UIGHUR SUVARṆAPRABHĀSOTTAMA-SŪTRA (ALTUN YARUQ)

Roger Finch

Introduction

1.1 The **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**

The **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** is numbered among the so-called "nine **dharmas** (**dharmaparyāyas** or **vaipulyasūtras**)," or sacred books, of Nepal,[1] which testifies to the importance that the northern Buddhists attach to this work.[2] Indicative of the popularity of the **sūtra** is not only the numerous recensions of the Sanskrit which have been discovered but particularly the number of translations which have been made. The languages for which translations of this **sūtra** exist, either wholly or in part, are Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese Saka, Uighur, Sogdian, Classical Mongolian, Kalmuck, Hsi-hsia (Tangut) and Manchu.[3] In Chinese alone there are three extant versions: those of Dharmakṣema (obit 433 A.D.), Pao-kuei (ca. 600 A.D.) and I-tsing (703 A.D.); there existed also three other translations into Chinese - by Paramārtha, Yaśogupta and Jñanagupta - all dating from the sixth century, but these versions exist now only insofar as they were incorporated into the synthesis of Pao-kuei.[4] There are four translations included in the Tibetan **bKa-ḥgyur**, the first of which (Tib.I) is a translation of the surviving Sanskrit text (Skr.Suv.I); the second is a translation of a Sanksrit text not differing substantially from the preceding (Tib.II) and the third (Tib.III), which is a translation of I-tsing's Chinese version, and Tib.IV, a later, improved translation of I-tsing's version.[5] The Mongolian Kanǰur has three versions, apparently lacking what should correspond to Tib.IV. The Khotanese Saka fragments are of particular value in that they were made directly from a Sanskrit text which does not differ substantially from the existing one, but the translation exhibits certain features that would seem to indicate that the Sanskrit text upon which it was based was an earlier one.[6] The Uighur version, from which the two present chapters (XVI and XVII, which correspond to Chapter VII, the **Śrī-parivarta** of the Skr.Suv.I and also include Chapter IX, the **Buddhabodhisattvanāmasaṃdhāraṇa-parivarta**) were drawn, will be discussed in greater detail **infra**.

The **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** does not possess the cohesiveness of format or the consistency of style which characterize such **sūtras** as the **Mahāvastu** or the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka**, which have the unifying feature of a story-line; the present **sūtra** grew gradually, incorporating various elements as time went on, before it was realized in its final form. The nucleus of the **sūtra**, as demonstrated by Nobel,[7] was the third chapter (the **Dcśanā-parivarta**, which corresponds to Chapter IV of I-tsing's version, "Das Traumgesicht des reuevollen Bekenntnisses," or "The Dream of the Golden Drum"), the Saka version to part of which was translated by Pelliot.[8] Chapter V (= Suv.Chin., Chapter IX), dealing in a condensed form with the important Mahayanist concept of **śunyatā**, is another germinal chapter. Although the **Suvarṇapraghāsottama-sūtra** substantially as it exists now was established through this process of expansion and incorporated by the time of Dharmakṣema's translation in the fifth century,[9] the process

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[1]The first mention of these nine **Dharmas** was made by B. H. Hodgson in his **Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepál and Tibet**, London, 1874; this has been cited frequently, **inter alia apud** Nobel, Suv.Skr., vii, n.1.

[2]Cf. Burnouf, **Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien**, 47l.

[3]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xiii-xxix; Nobel, Suv.Chin., xxv-xxxvi; Emmerick, **The Sūtra of Golden Light**, x.

[4]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xvii-xviii.

[5]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xviii-xxvi; Emmerick, **Sūtra of Golden Light**, x, mentions only three Tibetan translations.

[6]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xxvii-xxix; Emmerick, Sūtra of Golden Light, xi-xii.

[7]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xxxv-xxxvi; cf. Emmerick, Sūtra of Golden Light, ix.

[8]'Un fragment du Suvarnaprabhasasutra en iranien oriental,' **Mćmoires de la socićté linguistique de Paris**, 18 (1913), 95ff.

[9]Emmerick, Sūtra of Golden Light, ix.

was not entirely complete until the time of I-tsing's translation, which may be considered the definitive one.

1.2 The Value of the **Sūtra**

Opinion varies among scholars concerning the nature and value of this text, but the majority of it is less than enthusiastic; of those authors who have more than made mention of this sūtra are Burnouf,[10] de la Valée Poussin[11] and Nariman,[12] but in general they agree in describing this **sūtra** as one which exhibits the earmarks of a decadence characteristic of Tantrayāna, not only insofar as the content of the **sūtra** is concerned, but even with respect to the language and style in which it was written. They substantially concur in registering surprise that the **sūtra** should have enjoyed such great popularity, which Nariman specifically attributes to the low level of culture among the people of Nepal, Tibet and Mongolia.[13]

It is hardly just to dismiss this work as a product of popular superstition and merely a collection of **dhāraṇīs** simply because it pertains to the school of Tantrayāna, or because a substantial portion of it is colored with Tantric elements, without at least making mention of the many features it shares with Buddhist works which are well regarded for their profound philosophical ideas or for their highly ethical and moralistic points. The **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** is not devoid of such features, contrary to what its detractors might maintain. It would seem, in fact, that it is precisely because this **sūtra** does have features of Tantrayāna, the very mention of which appears to be anathema to some authors, that this sūtra should be so ill regarded.

While it may be true that this **sūtra** consists of somewhat heterogeneous elements, and that it lacks the coherent structure of a work such as the **Mahāvastu**, the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkha** or the **Lalitavistara** - which is merely indicative of the way in which it evolved - it might be remarked that some of its component parts are philosophical in content, and that it does include several **jātakas** ("**Jalavāhana**, der Sohn des Gildemeisters" and "Die Hingabe des Körpers"). It does not purport to be a **sūtra** with a unity of story-line; it is a compendium of disparate genres, ranging from philosophy through medicine, but if its remedies includes spells beside medicaments, this was only reflective of the beliefs of the day. Its popularity undoubtedly lay in the fact that it offered not only parables illustrative of the various **paramitās**, but that it included also such things as these medical cures, which had a very immediate and practical application, which no homily, no matter how eloquent, could afford.

As far as the modern reader is concerned, the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** contains a wealth of material; even if we discount the philosophical portions of the **sūtra**, it is particularly rich in vocabulary and thus of great interest, from a philological point of view, as a source of material for those languages into which it was translated, such as Khotanese Saka, Mongolian and, above all, for Uighur. Since the **Altun yaruq** is the single longest work in this last language, we can see that this **sūtra** is undoubtedly of paramount importance to the lexicography of Uighur, and not until we have a definitive edition of the **sūtra** with full critical apparatus - preferably based upon a comparison with the original Chinese version from which it was translated - will a comprehensive dictionary of Uighur be possible.

1.3 The Philosophical Basis of the **Sūtra**

The fundamental philosophical concept underlying the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** is that of **śunyatā** (negativism or **Attributslösigkeit**), which is the principal subject of the IXth and Xth chapters of the present text (Chapter V in the Skr.Suv.I). Of the other important doctrinal points that the **sūtra** makes, three of these concern the nature of Buddha, a topic which is introduced in the second chapter and elaborated upon in the third chapter of the work. The first of these points concerns the divine nature of Buddha, and states that the length of his life cannot be measured, for his is in fact eternal; the second point refers to the non-corporeality of Buddha, maintaining that He is embodied in the **Dharmakāya** or **Dharmadātu**, while the third point is that he did not enter Nirvāṇa, which is implicit in the theory that his body is eternal.

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[10]Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien, 477-478.
[11]Cf. Bibliography.
[12]Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 82-83.
[13]Ibid., 83.

In the third chapter the theory and nature of the **Dharmakāya** is further expounded, beginning with an excursus upon the three bodies (**kāyās**) of Buddha, which are **nirmāṇakāya** (transformation body or **corps fictif**), **saṃbhogakāya** (the enjoyment body or **Genusskörper**) and the **dharmakāya**. The **nirmāṇakāya**, which is magical body, is one which Buddha was able to produce at will through supernatural power, and it is the only one of the three which is, strictly speaking, perceptible;[14] the **saṃbhogakāya**, which is possibly to be equated with the retribution-body (**vipākakāya**) or material body (**rūpakāya**) of the Sarvastivadin school,[15] is the body of the personality,[16] which manifests itself in relation to others through a cognitive norm but is not, like the **nirmāṇakāya**, perceptible. Both of these bodies, however, are fictitious; the **dharmakāya** alone is real and serves as the basis for the other two.[17] The **dharmakāya** may be described as an aggregate of conditioned **dharma**, the possession of which makes of the Bodhisattva a Buddha.[18]

Another characteristic feature of this text which emerges in the second chapter is that of 'bibliolatry' or 'text-veneration.' Worship of the **sūtra**, as the living word of Buddha, is urged in preference to the worship of relics (**śarīra**), which is a fundamental philosophy underlying Tantrayāna. The characters in which the scriptures were composed were considered sacred from the time of the introduction of writing into India, and the texts themselves came to be invested with the same sacred character.[19] The sacredness of the scripture and the embodiment of the Buddha in the **dharmakāya** are mutually interdependent concepts; it remains only to determine which of these ideas proceeded from the other. We may say that the scripture, and the Word of Buddha, is in fact a living relic and is the most real, most visible manifestation of the **dharma**.

1.4 Other Features of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**

In addition ot the philosophical and doctrinal issues outlined above, which are central to the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**, there are other important points which refer to the practical and ethical side of Buddhism; among these are the concepts of repentence (compare the act of **kṣanti** or confession required of the supplicant by the goddess Śrī in lines 524.19-20 of the present text), admonition, participation in joy (lines 514.8, 517.7) and prayer (528.18, 524.22), all of which are characteristic of this **sūtra** and are a sure means of overcoming the four obstacles: infractions of the rule of the Bodhisattvas, abuse of the **sūtras**, not understanding the virtues, and adhering to **saṃsāra**.[20] Besides these may also be mentioned the importance which is laid upon the teaching of the principles of **bodhi**, the laws of retribution (**karma**), which operates over various stages of transmigration, the concept of ultimate truth, and the practice of the ten virtues or **pāramitās**; an example of the first **pāramitā** (that of **dāna**, or charity) occurs in 526.18 (**pwsy pyrzwn**). We might add to this, above all, that virtue which is the essence of altruism: **pārinamanā** (or **puṇyamodana**) in 524.23 **et alibi**.

The presentation of these basic tenets of Buddhism is no less valid because it occurs in the context of a work which is heavily permeated with Tantric elements.[21] Although the popularity of this work may not repose upon the merits of its philosophical content[22] but to such features as the rituals and **mantras** which, for example in the present two chapters, promise wealth, abundance, prosperity and good fortune, it must be borne in mind that the text is very scrupulous in prescribing the performance of certain religious duties and the practice of highly commendable virtues in order to render these rituals efficacious.

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[14]Guenther, Tibetan Buddhism, 58.
[15]The three bodies of Buddha are, according to this school, **vipākakāya** (or **rūpakāya**), **dharmakāya** and **nirmāṇakāya**; however, **sambhogakāya** and **nirmāṇakāya** are elsewhere considered to be subsumed within **rūpakāya** (Lamotte, **Histoire**, 689).
[16]Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, 137.
[17]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xxxviii.
[18]Lamotte, Histoire, 689.
[19]Waddell, The Dhāranī Cult, 176.
[20]This view is according to Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, 166.
[21]Nariman, Literary History, 82-83.
[22]Cf. Nobel, Suv.Skr., vii, and Laufer, 'Skizze der mongolischen Literature,' KSz VIII, 225.

1.5 The **Dhāraṇīs** of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**

One of the characteristic features of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** is that the growing influence of the Tantric school is reflected in the gradual incorporation of an increasing number of **dhāraṇīs** into the **sūtra**. Originally only the present chapter, the Śrī-parivarta (Chapter VIII of the Sanskrit text) contained a germinal form of a **dhāraṇī**, consisting of only a few groups of magical words, which are to be found only in Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation. These groups of words apparently belong to a period prior to the formalization of the **dhāraṇī** properly speaking, since it lacks the features which characterize the **dhāraṇī** in its typical format: the opening with the word **tadyathā**, the closing with the word **svāhā**, and the high preponderance of meaningless syllables.[23]

In the present version of I-tsing, the **dhāraṇī** of the **Śrī-parivarta** contains no examples of the repeated nonsense-syllables (frequently concatenations of homophones differing only by the initial consonant) which are so prevalent in the prototypical form of the **dhāraṇī**, e.g., **nimini nimini** (433B22), **sukṛti kṛti kṛti . . . khakavile kapile kapile kapilamati** (435A11), **hiri miri hiri miri . . . hili mili hilimili** (436A29), **ciri ciri curu curu kuru kuru kutu kutu totu totu bhaha bhaha** (441A2), etc.; since we know that the **dhāraṇī** of the **Śrī-parivarta** is the earliest one of the **sūtra**, this would seem to be evidence that these features are characteristic of a later period in the development of the **dhāraṇī**.

The next text in chronological sequence after Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation is a Sanskrit text in which, in addition to the **dhāraṇī** of the **Śrī-parivarta** mentioned above, a **dhāraṇī** appears also in the **Sarisvatī-parivarta** (Chapter VII); in the course of time, new chapters containing **dhāraṇīs** were incorporated into the original text, viz. Chapter VI (Die **Dhāranī** des ganz reinen Landes), Chapter VIII (Die **Dhāraṇī** Goldsieg), Chapter XII (Die **Dhāraṇī** 'Nichtanhaftung') and Chapter XIV (Der Wunschedelstein), and **dhāraṇīs** were incorporated into pre-existing chapters which had hitherto contained no such formulas (12, 18, 19 and 25).[24] At least by the time of I-tsing's translation, this process of incorporating **dhāraṇīs** into the text of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**, which we may view as an indication of Tantrayāna influence, was firmly established. The presence of Tantric elements in I-tsing's translation - or at least his interest in such a text, if we maintain that his translation reposes wholly on a lost Sanskrit original - is not surprising, in view of the fact that I-tsing was an exact contemporary of some of the most prominent Tantrayāna authors,[25] and, even if we cannot find any direct mention of the Tantric school in I-tsing's works, the philosophy which culminated in that school undoubtedly underlay some of his ideas.

1.6 The Language of the Sanskrit **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**

The composition of the Sanskrit **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** belongs to a period transitional between that characterized by the use of "sanskrit mixte" and the period during which "sanskrit bouddhique" was used exclusively.[26] The text is characterized by a certain number of difficulties which were subjected by later redactors to a process of 'correction,' which sought to obviate any grammatical or stylistic unevenness or irregularity; this process of sanskritization went so far as to engender ghost words or nonexistent forms.[27] Although Nobel states that this process affected above all the metrical portions of the text, this cannot have been to such a marked degree as it was in the prose portions, since this **sūtra** is one of those, according to Lamotte, in which only the verse portions are in "sanskrit mixte," the prose portions being in generally acceptable Sanskrit.[28] It is to be expected that the texts dating from this transitional period should show a more marked degree of sanskritization in the prose portions for, not only were the metrical parts resistent to change, since they permit less flexibility for alterations or

[23]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xx.
[24]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xx.
[25]Benyotosh Bhattacharyya lists eighteen Tantrayāna authors whose dates range between A.D. 633 and A.D. 77 (**An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism**, 65); since I-tsing was born in A.D. 635 and died in A.D. 713, his dates may be seen to fall within this period.
[26]Lamotte, Histoire, 636.
[27]Nobel, Suv.Skr., ix.
[28]Lamotte, Histoire, 636.

interpolations, as Lamotte has suggested, but if this **sūtra** was a product of successive waves of compilation, it is reasonable to assume that the metrical portions are actually older and belong to a period of mixed Sanskrit, while the prose portions, even if they do not date from a time when they might have been composed in relatively correct Sanskrit, they would at least have originated at a time when the process of sanskritization was gaining momentum.

1.7 The Chinese Translation of I-tsing

I-tsing, the translator of the Chinese version of the present **sūtra**, was born in 635 A.D. in Fan-yang (present-day Cho-chou), near Peking, and at the age of fourteen he was admitted to the Buddhist order and received consecration (**upasaṃpadā**) in 654, at the age of twenty.[29] It was not until 671, at the age of thirty-seven, that I-tsing finally set out on his long-projected pilgimage to India which was to keep him abroad for some twenty-five years (671-695 A.D.).[30]

Between the years of 700 and 712 A.D., upon his return to China, I-tsing resided at Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, devoting his time to the translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit. He is credited with having translated fifty-six separate works out of the four hundred texts he brought with him from India, an undertaking of considerable magnitude indeed, since his translations comprise 230 volumes. It was in 703, at the Hsi-ming temple in Ch'ang-an, that his translation of the present text was completed.

Although I-tsing's translation was presumably made from a Sanskrit version no longer extant (which we may term *Skr.Suv.III),[31] it is not unlikely that certain portions of the **sūtra** may in fact be additions attributable to the authorship of I-tsing.[32] In the present chapter, there are sections which have no parallel in the earlier **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** (Skr.Suv.I), and it is precisely those sections which agree in content with passages from I-tsing's own **Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago**. An example of this in the present text is 於晨朝時去嚼齒木淨 澡漱已 (439C17) "dann soll er . . . zur Morgenzeit vorher Zahnholz kauen, rein baden . . .";

there is no mention of 'tooth-woods' in the Sanskrit text, but this is in fact the topic of a lengthy discussion[33] in one of I-tsing's frequent chapters devoted to personal hygiene and matters relating to health. It is possible, then, that I-tsing took advantage of the opportunities afforded by the text at hand to introduce observations about practices in India he gathered in his travels and about which he was most probably eager to inform his countrymen.

1.8 The Uighur Version

The Uighur version of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra (Altun yaruq)** dates from ca. 930 and, according to the colophon, was translated from Chinese into Uighur by the scholar Sïngqu Säli of Bïšbalïq and is extant in several different recensions: fragments from six copies which are in the Berlin collection and a complete xylograph version that is now in Leningrad. The most extensive of the Berlin copies is in the form of large **pothī**-folios and, according to the ductus of the script, appears to date from the tenth century. The remaining copies highly resemble one another; they are in the form of small **pothī**-folios and are some 200 years younger than the larger collection. The Leningrad xylograph which Radloff and Malov[34] used as the basis for their edition was discovered in Kan-su and dates from the surprisingly late

[29]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xiii; Takakusu, **Record**, xxv.
[30]Takakusu, **Record**, xvii; xxxvii.
[31]"Der Sanskrit-Text zu I-tsing's Version ist nicht mehr vorhanden. Es ist im wesentlichen derselbe Text gewesen, der auch mit Tib.II bezeichneten tibetischen Version zugrunde gelegen hat" (Nobel, Suv.Chin., xix).
[32]"Daß der neuen Übertragung eine ebenso geartete indische Vorlage zugrunde gelegen hat, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. I-tsing wird seine Version vielmehr aus dem vorhandenen Material zusammengestellt und neu bearbeitet haven" (Nobel, Suv.Skr., xvi).
[33]Chapter VIII, "The Use of Tooth-Woods," **Record** 33-35; cf. also Chapter V, "Cleansing after Meals" on rinsing out the mouth with water after eating; this is clearer in the Uighur text, which has **"qyzwn ywnzwn** (524.15) "he should wash out his mouth."
[34]Suvarnaprabhāsa (Sutra zolotogo bleska); cf. Bibliography.

year of 1687.[35] Unfortunately, the edition of Radloff and Malov is not a facsimile, but a reconstruction in the modern font which Radloff devised for all his Uighur publications.

In addition, five fragments from the Berlin Turfan Collection pertaining to the present text have been utilized for this edition; the signature numbers of these fragments are: T III 56.6, T III 56.15, T III 56.9, T III 56.20, and T III 56.11. The photographs of these fragments come from the private collection of Prof. Şinasi Tekin, and it is entirely through his kindness and generosity that these fragments could be consulted for this study. A transliteration of the five fragments follows the transliteration of the Radloff/Malov text, and variant readings from the fragments have been noted in full for the Radloff/Malov text.

A characteristic feature of the Uighur translation is that it contains more or less extensive passages which have been interpolated apparently by way of explanation or clarification. According to Nobel, these commentaries indicate that the Uighurs took great pains to familiarize themselves with the content of this **sūtra,**[36] although this feature is proper only to the Leningrad version, as such interpolations have not yet been detected in the Berlin copies. This suggests the possibility that they did not originate with Sïngqu Säli, but are a later addition.

As for the original text from which the Uighur version was translated, although von Gabain stated without reservation that it is from the Chinese version of I-tsing, Nobel was of the opinion that, although the colophon to the text states that it was translated from the Chinese, it was actually translated from the Tibetan III (or Tib.IV) text, citing as proof a passage (lines 103.24-104.5) from the seventh chapter which is not in I-tsing's text or in that of Paramartha, which I-tsing utilized for this chapter.[37] This theory was based upon remarks made by von Gabain in the notes to the "Sogdische Text II" of F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, but the passage referred to by Nobel is a later addition and does not belong to the original text. We learn from Ş. Tekin[38] that the Uighur text includes a foreword which is lacking in the Chinese original, and that in this foreword there are two complete colophons and one defective one. It is in the second colophon that mention is made of a translation from Tibetan into Uighur by an **Ačari** named **Tanvašin** at the request of a certain **Qumqan Tutung**. This translation does not, however, refer to the **sūtra** itself, or even to the foreword, but rather to a single episode.

1.9 Nature of the Uighur Translation

A detailed comparison between the Uighur and the Chinese texts reveals that the Uighur translation does indeed have characteristics unshared by the Chinese text but that not all of these are by way of clarification. The points in which the Uighur text differs from the Chinese are of two orders: 1. additions and explanations and 2. abbreviations and reductions. The third possibility, that of specific differences or divergences in translation, including misreadings or misinterpretations of the text, are a feature common to all translations; there is nothing systematic about such differences, and so they will be dealt with as they occur within the body of the notes. We will discuss here only those differences concerning which some generalization may be made.

Of the first order, that of additions and expansions, we may further subdivide these into three broad categories which we may term, for the sake of convenience, conventions, definitions and interpretations. By conventions I mean those additions or changes in the text which effectively add no new information or substitute a conventional term for one less familiar; these characteristics are primarily of a stylistic nature and rest upon an established tradition of literary conventions. The category of definitions consists of interpolations which seek to explain or clarify some unfamiliar point or to define by way of paraphrase what may be generally regarded as pertaining to technical terminology; it is probably to this class, properly speaking, that Nobel referred. The third class consists of actual interpretations or re-interpretations of the Chinese text; to this class belongs what appear to be conscious deviations from the original text, although, of course, this point cannot be maintained with absolute certainty since there always remains the possibility that some misinterpretations may underlie the divergence.

[35]Von Gabain, "Die alttürkische Literatur," PhTF II, 226.
[36]Nobel, Suv.Chin., xxxiv.
[37]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xxvi.
[38]Bewußtseinslehre, 11.

In the order of abbreviations and reductions, it is not so simple to set up discrete categories, since one is proceeding from the basis of an **argumentum ex silentio**, but of this order two classes at least clearly emerge: the first we may call simply abbreviations, since in general it merely entails substituting a pronoun for a noun, for example, or using a shortened form of a longer proper name. The second class may be termed simplifications. We find that Sïngqu Säli shows a marked tendency to avoid tiresome repetitions and wherever possible suppresses such repetitive phrases if the sense of the passage is not impaired by their omission. In a few cases convention again appears to take a hand in the shortening of terms and phrases, just as where additions or expansions are concerned, but the present text contains few such examples. Lastly, there are instances where whole sentences are lacking in the Uighur translation, but it is difficult to pinpoint the source of such omissions, since we cannot determine whether these are intentional interpretations or due to textual variants or possibly to oversight.

As examples for additions made on the basis of stylistic conventions are such phrases as **n' 'wycwn typ tys'r** (514.18) "if one asks 'why?'," which is frequent in this form or as **nä üčün tisär** (cf. TT V B 120), or **"nyn tnkrym** (515.21) "hence, my Lord"; perhaps in this category we might include the use of the familiar epithet **twyk'l pylk' tnkry tnkry-sy pwrq'n** (515.2) for the specific Chinese term 如來 (439A12) "Tathāgata" By the way of definitions or clarifications we have examples of such simple additions as **'wyt // ywz mynk kwlty k'lp 'wyt-l'r** (514.5) "a hundred thousand **koṭi kalpas,**" to explain the loanword **k'lp** (< Toch. < Skr. **kalpa**) as a unit of time, or the addition of the name **pwsp'k** (< Skr. **puṣpaka**) as the identification of the 'celebrated palace' (the 'inconceivable castle' in Tibetan) of the Chinese text, or, on a more complex level, the attempt to make precise the rendering of the **terminus technicus** 善根 (Skr. **kuśalamūla**) which, in the present short sample of the text, occurs three times but is not translated the same way twice (cf. Appendix A for particulars). An example of an addition which would appear to be an actual interpretation is the inclusion of the word **s'syn** 'religion, teaching' twice, once in line 513.23 // **pwrq'n-l'r s.ynt'** <-- Chin. 於 . . . 佛 (439A5) "in Beziehung auf die . . . Buddhas" and again in line 514.22 // **-tnkry tnkry-sy pwrq'n s.ynt'** <-- 於 (彼) (439A11) "in Beziehung auf (jenen)."

In the way of abbreviations and reductions, we have in line 513.6 simply **pw nwm 'rdyny** for Chin. 是金光明最勝王經 (438C29) "dieses ganz ausgezeichnete Königs-Sutra Goldganz," and as examples of simplification there is the suppression of the phrases 至心 (439B15) "von ganzem Herze," 應當至心 (440A1) "und soll von ganzem Herzen" and 隨心 "seinem Herzen entsprechend," all of which are similar or repetitions of phrases which occur more than once in the Chinese text. Finally, we may cite the translation of the epithet 如來應正等覺十號具足 (439A11) "die Tathagata, der Arhat, der vollkommenen Erleuchtete, mit den zehn Bezeichnungen ausgestatet" by **tnkry tnkry-sy pwrq'n** (514.22) as a bow to convention.

What we have learned, then, from a detailed comparison of the present Uighur text with the Chinese original, regarding the nature of the Uighur translation, is that Sïngqu Säli tended to be more specific and to clarify terms that may have been unfamiliar and that, in the case of technical terms which had no established tradition, he was apparently searching for the translation which would best express the concepts underlying those terms rather than resorting to a literal and mechanical translation or introducing unfamiliar loanwords; that in certain instances he seems to have felt at liberty to interpret the Chinese text by introducing points which were not present in the original text or by consciously differing from the original; that he systematically shortened long, cumbersome names, and that, from the point of view of stylistics, he introduced familiar conventional phrases, generally by way of transition, and that he avoided repetition by deleting phrases which were identical or nearly identical to others in the text. What will be of interest to note is whether or not further studies of the remaining portions of the **Altun yaruq** will bear out these observations and whether they will shed light upon instances which as yet are unexplainable.

1.10 Uighur Use of other Sources

We know from the Sanskrit texts in Brāhmī script with glosses in Turkic, also written in Brāhmī script, which were published by Dr. H. Stönner as an appendix ("Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmīschrift") to his "Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkistan, I[39] and again by H. W. Bailey in "Indo-Turcica,"[40] and from the bilingual Sanskrit-Turkish texts in Brahmi script published by von Gabain as Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII,[41] that there was a certain interest among Turkic-speaking peoples in the study of Sanskrit, at least to the extent implied by the existence of these texts. As Bailey remarked, "Its interest and importance for Turkish is evident. . . . It is therefore somewhat unexpected not to find more use made of it, after the references of Professor F. W. K. Müller in **Uigurica [i]**"; that was in 1938. The appearance in 1954 of the bilingual texts of TT VIII spurred on a whole new wave of interest in speculative phonology, which in effect lay at the base of Bailey's observations, since he specifically called attention to the text as "a fully vocalized fragment of Turkish."[42]

What is even more surprising is that more attention was not paid to the content of these texts or the implications which are inherent in the juxtaposition of the two languages, where it is apparent that the purpose is for a Turkish speaker or speakers to learn Sanskrit. While it is true that the length of these manuscripts can afford us no very definite idea of the extent to which Turkic (or probably more specifically, Uighur) monks (presumably, since a large portion of the text consist of Buddhist terms) were familiar with Sanskrit. It is not surprising that it was made a subject of study since, although Khotanese Saka or Kuchean may have been canonical languages of Buddhism within the area of eastern Turkistan, Sanskrit was, after all, the canonical language for all of northern Buddhism, having much the same relationship to the former languages that Hebrew bears to Greek and Latin as canonical languages for western European Christianity.

1.11 The Canonicity of Sanksrit

As far as the canonicity of Sanskrit is concerned, a conscious scholastic tendency to replace Prakrit forms with Sanksrit was increasingly manifested in the Buddhist works of both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna,[43] and by the fourth century this process of sanskritization had reached its culmination, to the effect that Sanskrit was established as a canonical language to the exclusion of the various Middle Indian Prakrits that had hitherto been used, such as Māgandhī, Northwest Prakrit (Gāndharī) and Pāli. This procedure began to take effect during the first three centuries of our era, when "sanskrit mixte" began to rival the various Prakrits; dating from the Kuṣāna period in the second century, the use of a more correct form of Sanskrit was gaining grounds, and by the Gupta dynasty (fourth century A.D.), Buddhist Sanskrit, which was relatively correct, was substituted for Prakrit or mixed Sanskrit.[44]

This process of sanskritization affected first the prose portions of the **sūtras**, the **gāthā** portions remaining more resistent to change, either due to the relatively greater difficulty involved in normalizing forms in verse[45] or, as was further suggested by Lamotte, because of pedagogical reasons, since it was easier to memorize verses which approximated the current form of speech than it would be to memorize Sanskrit, with its stricter and less familiar phonological and morphological structure.[46]

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[39]SBAW 44, 1904, 1282-90.
[40]BSOAS 1938, 289-302.
[41]ABAW 1954, 1-105.
[42]"Indo-Turcica," 289.
[43]Lamotte, Histoire, 635.
[44]Ibid., 645.
[45]Ibid., 637.
[46]This latter view seems to me not very convincing. Certainly it would have been easier to memorize verses in a form of 'sankrit mixte' heavily permeated with Prakrit forms, but only if that Prakrit were one's own. Otherwise there is no substantial difference in memorizing Sanskrit or another, unfamiliar Prakrit and it would, in fact, be virtually impossible to separate the two. Lamotte further states that "Ces **gāthā** reprennent généralement sous une forme condensée les longs exposés qui les précèdent." Quite the contrary; this may be the way it is presented in the text, but the **gāth-** are in fact the older, original portions, which the prose parts are later expansions and explanations of.

It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty where this movement began, but from the discovery of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in Central Asia, we know that, if the movement enjoyed currency there, there must have been a concomitant tradition of Sanskrit studies; unfortunately, we have no idea of the date when these works were first put into Sanskrit. It is probable that there was some lapse in time before the movement of sanskritization definitely penetrated into Central Asia from its point of origin, which is attested by the fact that, among three recensions of the **saddharmapuṇḍarīka** stemming from Nepal, Central Asia (Khotan) and Kashmir (Gilgit), it is the Khotanese recension that contains the greater degree of prakritisms.[47] Although this does not prove either the direction or the relative chronology of dissemination, it is more likely that the movement would affect more recent compositions than it would to occasion reworkings of older ones.

What is of more interest to us, however, is not the beginning date of this process but how long it persisted; the Sanskrit manuscripts which were discovered in the caves of Tun-huang and in Kansu date from between the sixth and the eleventh centuries, which provides us with approximate delimitative dates for the entire Sanskrit studies movement in Central Asia. This has certain implications, from a chronological point of view, relating to the period during which Buddhism flourished among the Uighurs. Since the Turks had first been exposed to Buddhism already in the sixth century (in an area west of the Pamirs),[48] and since Sïngqu Säli's translation is from the second quarter of the tenth century, we may say that the establishment of the tradition of Sanskrit studies in Central Asia was roughly coeval with the proselytism of the Uighurs to Buddhism and reached its apogee during the Uighur period. If Sanskrit held the status of a canonical language in Central Asia to the extent that the number of manuscripts in Sanskrit discovered there would seem to ipmly, and to the extent even that glossaries of Sanskrit to Turkish were compiled as teaching devices, we might attribute this to the fact that a period of great missionary activity in Central Asia coincided with the establishment of Sanskrit scholarship in the same area; as with any new movement, it is likely to have enjoyed a high degree of prestige, at least in the centers of learning, and would have undoubtedly attracted the attention of those new converts who were destined for a scholarly career.

1.12 The Mongolian Translation

Aside from the Kalmuck (west Mongolian) translation of the **Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra** published by Eric Haenisch,[49] which corresponds to the Tib.I version,[50] the Mongolian Kanǰur contains three versions, which are, according to Ligeti's **Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé**: No. 176 (Fasciculus XIII, No. 12) **Qutuġ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü masi teyin böged ilaġuġsan sudur-nuġud-un qaġan neretü yeke kölgen sudur**, corresponding to Tib.III, which is a translation of I-tsing's version;[51] No. 177 (Fasciculus XIII, No. 13) **Qutuġ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuġud-un qaġan neretü yeke kölgen sudur (Ārya-suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendrarāja-nāma-mahāyānasūtra)**, corresponding to Tib.II; and no. 178 (Fasciculus XIV, No. 1) **Qutuġ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuġud-un qaġan neretü yeke kölgen sudur (Ārya-suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendrarāja-nāma-mahāyānusūtra)**, which corresponds to Tib.I, the translation of the extant Sanskrit text edited by Nobel.[52]

The first of these Mongolian translations, i.e., No.176, which we may designate Mo.III, following Nobel's convention for the Tibetan translations, has no Sanskrit title; it does, however, have a Chinese title **(kitad-un keleber)**: **Tayičing gin guang ming jui šing wang gying**, which is a transcription. It may be noted that the Mongolian title of this version differs in having the words **masi teyin böged ilaġuġsan** where the other two versions have simply **erketü**.

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[47]Lamotte, Histoire, 637.
[48]Tekin, Bewußtseinslehre, 12.
[49]**Altan Gerel, Die westmongolishce Fassung des Goldglanzsūtra nach einer Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek in Kopenhagen hrsg. von E. Haenisch**, Leipzig, 1929.
[50]Nobel, Suv.Skr., xxvii.
[51]Ibid., xx.
[52]Ibid., xviii; cf. Pentti Aalto, "Notes on the Altan Gerel," Studia Orientalia XIX, 4, n.2.

These latter two versions (Mo.I and Mo.II) were translated respectively from Tib.I and Tib.II, which are both translations in turn of Skr.Suv.I, as mentioned in Section 1.1.

1,14 Relationship of the Mongolian to the Tibetan Text.

One of the secondary results of our comparative study of the various versions of the present work, in particular that of the Uighur, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian text of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**, is the discovery of the strict parallelism between the Mongolian and the Tibetan versions, despite the fact that the colophon to the Mongolian III version states that it was translated from "the Chinese book" (i.e., canon: **Kitad-un debter-ečе**). These parallelisms may be effectively divided into two categories: 1. translation conventions and calques which stem from the long tradition of translation techniques from Tibetan into Mongolian, some of which are to be found registered in such multi-lingual dictionaries as the **mahāvyutpatti** or the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary entitled **Bod-kyi brda-yig rtogs-par sla-ba** ("Die tibetische Sprachregeln in leicht fasslicher Darstellung"),[53] and those parallelisms which are not registered in such works but are text-specific.

An instance of the former case is the somewhat artificial convention of using certain Mongolian words to translate those Tibetan words which in turn render Sanskrit verbal prefixes, e.g., **ilеdte** 'clearly' for Tib. **mṅon-par** 'clearly visible, evident' (= Skr. **abhi-**), **üneger** 'truly' for Tib. **yaṅ-dag-par** 'rightly, correctly' (= Skr. **sam-**) or **daġan** (< daġa 'suivre') for Tib. **rjes-su** 'nach.' This question has been dealt with thoroughly by Friedrich Weller in his excellent study, "Sanskritische Präpositionen im Spiegel mongolischer Übersetzung,"[54] and a close comparison of the Mongolian and the Tibetan versions of the present text further substantiates Weller's findings, for in every instance the Mongolian words of the present two chapters of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** which are included in Weller's article were found to conform to the usages which he outlined there. The same comparison of the Mongolian and the Tibetan text, morpheme by morpheme, also reveals similar translation conventions, such as the use of **degedü** 'superior' or 'upper' to translate Tib. **mchog** 'beste, ausgezeichneteste, höchete' (Nob.Wb.), which is equivalent to Skr. **vara, agra, uttama** or **para**, or Tib. **mchog-tu** 'im höchstem Masse' (Nob.Wb.), which is equivalent to Skr. **parama**^{O}, **uttama**^{O} or **pra**^{O}.

These parallelisms do not, of course, in any way suggest that the present Mongolian text was translated from the Tibetan, rather than Chinese, for even if it were translated from Chinese it would not be unlikely that these conventions would be carried over from the well-established tradition of translation from Tibetan; even a cursory examination of a multi-lingual dictionary such as the **Mahāvyutpatti** will reveal that a large majority of the Mongolian words registered therein can be shown to have a Tibetan model.

It is not upon such grounds that we base our hypothesis that the Mongolian version was translated from Tibetan, but rather upon the evidence afforded by instances where the Mongolian version follows the Tibetan in either diverging from the Chinese or in containing some feature which is absent from the Chinese text; the present two chapters (XVI and XVII) of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** alone contain no fewer than fifty instances (exclusive of structural or grammatical parallelisms) where this is the case. There is, of course, the possibility that in addition to the Chinese text, upon which the Mongolian translation might have been based, the Tibetan version was consulted to resolve certain obscure points or to facilitate the translation; this might even be an expected procedure in this instance, since there existed no tradition of translating Buddhist literature from Chinese as there was in the case of translating from Tibetan.

However, the evidence gained from this comparison between the Mongolian and Tibetan texts leads us to be so bold as to suggest that, not only is the phrase **Kitad-un debter-ečе** not necessarily equivalent to meaning that the Mongolian text was translated from Chinese, but even that a Chinese text may not have been consulted at all or, if it was, it was not very closely followed. It is due to the nature and extent of the divergences in the Mongolian text from the Chinese text, on the one hand, and its adherence to the

[53]Laufer, "Skizze der mongolische Literatur," KSz VIII, 181.

[54]CAJ VIII, No. 1, 1-26.

Tibetan text in precisely those places where it differs from the Chinese, on the other, that we have reached this conclusion.

It is not within the scope of this work to present the evidence for this hypothesis in detail, but a few key examples may not be out of order here by way of clarification. A particularly striking instance is the fluctuating usage of the Mongolian pronoun **öber** 'self' in our text; it corresponds to Tib. **bdag** - which not only means 'self' but is used also as the pronoun of the first person - in lines 146v21, 146v27, 146v29, 147v13, 147v17 and 147v26, where Tib. **bdag** <- Chin. 'I' or 'me.' From this evidence alone we might say that Mongolian **öber** is being used here as a convention for the pronoun of the first person, as in Tibetan; however, the equivalent to Tib. **bdag** (again <- Chin. 'I') in lines 148r7, 148r31, 148v14 **bis**, 149r6 and 149r7 is not **öber** but **bi** 'I' or **namayi** 'me'; furthermore, while **ober** corresponds to **bdag** in lines 147r2 and 148v28, in the former case **bdag** translates Chin. 'I' and in the latter, Chin. 'self.'

In line 146v10 the Mongolian text has **bükü**i 'to be' corresponding to Tibetan **mchis-pa // gaṅ-du mchis-pai yul de** (115r7) "that country where I have come," Chin. (439A14) "und in welche Länder sie auch gelangen mögen." Although the Mongolian text is defective at this point, lacking an equivalent to Tib. **yul de**, the presence of **bükü**i in the text can be explained only as the understanding of **mchis** as the verb 'to be' rather than **mchis-pa**, pf. < **mchi-ba** 'to come, to go.' If the Mongolian had been translated directly from the Chinese, we should expect **tere iregsen** (or **oduġsan**) **ulus-tur**. In line 147v14 the Mongolian has **čimeg** 'ornament, parure' which corresponds to Tibetan **rgyan**; the Chinese text here has "der bedeutet sonst 'Halskette' (Tib. **phren**); das Tib. hat hier aber einfach **rgyan** 'Schmuck'."[55] Finally, in line 147v29 the Mongolian text has **čidkü**d **mangġus** "devils and ogres" as the equivalent to Tib. **ḥdre-srin-rnams** (116r8) "demons" Chin. (439B16) "die Gottheiten"[56] while in line 439A26 of the Chinese, the same word was translated by Tibetan **lha-rnams** (115r6) "the gods," where the Mongolian had **tngri-ner** (147r10), id.

These examples could be substantially multiplied, to the extent indicated **supra**, and this is exclusive of grammatical and structural parallelisms which, we feel, could not be so close if both the Tibetan and Mongolian versions had been translated independently from the same source, since such highly developed grammatical structures could hardly be implicit in the relatively sparce grammar of the Chinese text. Examples of such structures are the use of üiled- 'to make' as an auxiliary verb corresponding to Tib. **bgyid** (elegant form for **byed-pa** 'to do, to make') in six instances and to **byed-pa** (normal form) in one instance, where the Chinese has no equivalent; the use of **-KU boluyu** as a periphrastic future corresponding to Tib. **-Par ḥgyur** (4 instances) or **-Par ḥgyur lags-so** (one instance); the converb **-CU** together with the **converbum preparativum -rUn** of the verb **bü-** (**-CU bür-ün**) as an equivalent either to Tib. **-nas** (11 instances), **bgyis-nas** (twice) or [pfe.]**-STe** (twice); and, finally, the use of the so-called **benedictivus** in **-GdAKU(i)**,[57] which corresponds to **-Par bgyi** (fut.)**-o** in every instance (total of 13 occurrences) but two, one of which is [imper.]**-Par bgyid** and the other which is a noun + **bgyi-o**. It is our contention that we should encounter a higher frequency of discrepancy between the Mongolian and the Tibetan if they were independently translated from the Chinese.

The close parallelism of the Mongolian and Tibetan versions of the present text points out one very important fact for the field of Mongolian Buddhist studies, and that is that the particularly close adherence of the Mongolian translation to the Tibetan has resulted in a Mongolian translation language of a rather artificial nature which differs markedly from the Mongolian language of non-Buddhistic texts,[58] and that

[55]Nobel, Suv.Chin., 269, n.4.

[56]Ibid., 269, n.5.

[57]Cf. Cleaves, "The **Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur** of 1312," 93, n.35.

[58]Referring to this language, Hambis stated, "Le due collezioni [del **bKa ḥgyur** e del **bsTaṅ ḥgyur**], che sono considerevole anche nell'originale tibetano, formano una massa enorme di testi per la traduzione dei quali la lingua dovete ancora arricchirsi di molte nuove parole per rendere dei termini tibetani di cui non esisteva in mongolo l'equivalente e che permisero così di notare sfumature del pensiero che il mongolo non avrebbe mai potuto esprimere" in "Leteratura mongola," **Le civiltà dell'Oriente**, 1007.

the nature of this Mongolian language, aside from a few pioneer studies, remains as yet largely unexplored. This makes the study of Tibetan absolutely essential to the Mongolist who is interested in resolving the difficulties inherent in what we might term, for the sake of convenience, Buddhist Mongolian. As Prof. Poppe has pointed out,

> One should also keep in his mind that the Mongolian versions are verbatim translations from Tibetan, and the Tibetan text, in its turn, is a verbatim translation from Sanskrit. The result is that the Mongolian terms are literal translations or calques of Tibetan and, ultimately, Sanskrit terms . . . . There are cases in which Mongolian phrases and clauses contradict the rules of Mongolian syntax because they are literal translations which preserve even the order of words of the original.[59]

The present version of the **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra** is one of the very few in the entire Mongolian **tripiṭaka** which is not unequivocally stated to be translated from Tibetan; and yet we have seen how close the parallelism is between the two texts. If the Mongolian translations from Tibetan are verbatim, then it is obvious that Mongolian translations of Buddhistic works cannot be understood perfectly unless they are compared with the Tibetan original, particularly inasmuch as only a small fracton of the words included in the currently available dictionaries of Mongolian have Buddhistic nuances of meaning registered for them.

1.15 Characteristics of the Manuscript Fragments

In general, the orthography of the manuscript fragments from the Berlin Turfan Collection version of the **Altun Yaruq** corresponding to Chapters XVI and XVII of Radloff's edition more closely reflect actual pronunciation than the manuscript version represented by Radloff's edition does.

The letters t and d usually represent the actual sounds t and **d**, respectively, except that there is a tendency to use **d** in syllable-initial position in suffixes rather than t, even after voiceless consonants, where phonotactic rules suggest the preferred spelling should be **t** (e.g., **'yq'č-d'** for **ïğačta**, **bylmys-d'** for **bilmištä**, **yynk'q-d'** for **yïñaqta**), though the opposite use of **t** for **d** is occasionally found, particularly after **n** (e.g., **'yčynt'** for **ičindä**, **'wntwn** for **ondun**, **'wytwnty** for **ötündi**); **z** is always distinguished clearly from **s**, even in suffixes, whereas in Radloff's edition the spelling is sometimes s, sometimes z (e.g., **"zw : "sw** for **azu**, **'wyzwk : 'wyswk** for **üzük**, **swyzl'zwn : swyz-l'swn** for **sözläzün**); also, the double points are used consistently over **qoph** (**q**) to distinguish the voiceless uvular obstruent **q** from its voiced (fricative) counterpart **ġ** (e.g., **q̈'t' : q't'** for **qata**, **'wqy : 'wqy-** for **oqï-**, and **ywq̈: ywq** for **yoq**) and the one instance of **qoph** with points (**q̈**) in the Radloff version of the present text (**qwrwq** for **quru**) serves to distinguish **ġ** rom **q**, a practice characteristic of Mongolian usage of the Uighur script, and the use of unpointed **q** in the Berlin version for the voiceless uvular fricative **x** of loanwords (**q'twn** for **xatun**) suggests that the distinction of fricative and obstruent in the uvular series was more essential than the distinction of voiced and voiceless sounds.

Index of the Characteristics of the Manuscript Fragments

A. Orthographical features

q̈- : q- in Anlaut

q̈'č'n : q'č'n, **qačan**, ET **qačan** 'when'
q̈'m'q : q'm'q, **qamaġ**, Kašġ. **qamuğ**, ET **qamu** (~ **qamuq**) 'all'
q̈'n- : q'n-, **qan-**, ET **qan'** 'be satisfied'
q̈'ntwr- : q'ndwr-, **qantur-** 'satisfy,' ET **qandur-** 'quench (one's thirst)'
q̈'t' : q't', **qata**, Kašġ. **qata** 'times,' ET **qatla** 'times' < **qat** 'stage, degree'
q̈'tyq ; q'dyq, **qatïğ**, ET **qatïğ** (~ **qatïq**) 'hard, firm'
q̈yl- : qyl-, **qïl-**, ET **qïl-** 'make, do'
q̈ylm'nk : qylm'nk
q̈ylm'q'y : qylm'q'y
q̈ylqw-q' : qylqw-q'
q̈yls'r : qyls'r
q̈ylt'cy : qyld'cy
q̈ylw : qylw

[59]The Diamond Sutra, 6.

q̈ylyb : qylyb
q̈ylzwn : qylzwn
q̈ylzwn : qylzwn-l'r
q̈ylzwn-l'r : qylzwn
q̈lync : qylync, **qïlïnč** 'act, deed,' ET **qïlïnj** 'manner of being'
q̈wl- : qwl-, **qol-**, ET **qol-** 'ask for'
q̈wlwl'- : qwlwl'-, **qolula-** 'meditate'
q̈wbd' : qwbt', **qopta** 'completely'
q̈wyn : qwyn, **qoyn**, OT **qoñ**, ET **qoy** 'sheep'
q̈wrwq : qwrwq̈, **quruġ**, ET **quruġ** (~ **quruq**) 'dry'
q̈wt : qwt, **qut** '(good) fortune,' ET **qut** 'happiness'
q̈wvr'q : qwvr'q, **quvraġ** 'crowd, gathering'

-q̈- : -q- in Inlaut

"lq̈'- : "lq'-, **alqa-**, ET **alqa-** 'praise'
'wq̈y- : 'wqy-, **oqï-**, ET **oqu-** (~ **oqo-**) 'read'
'wq̈yt- : 'wqyd-, **oqït-**, ET **oqut-** 'have read'
s'q̈yn- : s'qun-, **saqïn-**, 'think,' ET **saqïn-** 'take precautions'
tswywrq̈'- : tswywrq'-, **tsuyurqa-** 'have pity on,' ET **suyurqa-** 'give, concede'
y'q̈yn : y'qyn, **yaqïn**, ET **yaeqïn** 'near'
yrlyq̈'- : yrlyq'-, **yarlïqa-** 'command; speak,' ET **yarlïğa-** 'have pity'

-q̈ : -q in Auslaut

"drwq̈ : "drwq, **adruq**, Oguz **ayruq**, ET **ayrï** 'different, other'
b'lyq̈ : b'lyq, **balïq**, OT **balïq**, Kašġ. **balïq** 'town'
čybyq̈ : čybyq, **čïbïq**, Kašġ. **čïbïq** 'stick,' ET **čïvïq** (~ **čïvaeq**) 'twig, stick'
m'y'q̈ : m'y', **mayaq**, Oguz **baynaq**, ET **mayaq** 'dung'
t'ryq̈- : t'ryq-, **tarïq-** 'disappear,' ET **tarïq-** 'let go'
y'ltryq̈ : y'ltryq, **yaltrïq** 'beam, ray,' Kašġ. **yaldrïq** 'anything shining,' ET **yaltïraq** 'brilliant'
yrwq̈ : yrwq, **yaruq** 'light,' ET **yaruq** (~ **yaruġ**) 'light'
yynk'q : yynk'q, **yïñaq** 'direction'
ywq : ywq, **yoq** 'nothing; having nothing,' ET **yoq** 'non-existent, not'

-q : -q̈ in Auslaut

q̈wrwq : qwrwq̈, **quruġ** 'dry,' ET **quruġ** (~ **quruq**) 'dry, barren'

In suffixes

+q̈- : +q- in Anlaut
/+KI/
ywmq̈y : ywmqy, **yumġï** (~ **yumqï**) 'all; mass'
yylq̈y : yylqy, **yïlqï** 'lasting for a year, for years'
/+KA/
"dyn'qw–q̈' : "dyn'qw-q'
"y'q-q̈' : "y'q-q'
'mty-q̈['] : 'mty-q'
'wlws-q̈' : 'wlws-q'
'wtly-q̈' : 'wtly-q'
bwrq'n-l'r'q̈' : bwrq'n-l'r-q'
bwrq'n-q̈' : bwrq'n-q'
čyq'y-q̈' : čyq'y-q'
qylqw-q̈' : qylqw-q'
swvq̈' : swv-q'
tynlq-l'rq̈' : tynlq-l'r-q'
ywq̈-q̈' : ywq-q'
/+KI/ Suffix of belonging
yynk'q̈dynq̈y : yynk'q-tynqy, **yïñaqtïnqï (yïñaqdïnqï)**

/+KINA/ Emphatic particle
y'q̈yn-q̈y-' : y'qyn-qy-', **yaqïnqïa** 'very near'
+...-q̈ : +...-q in Auslaut
/+lIK/ Noun of place
"qlyq̈ym : "qylyq-ym, **aġïlïq** 'treasury'
/+mAK/ Verbal noun (infinitive)
"y'm'q̈ : "y'm'q, **ayamaq**
[q̈]wtrwlm'q̈ : qwtrwlm'q, **qutrulmaq**
/+GULUK/ Necessitative
"lqwlwq̈ : "lqwlwq, **alġuluq**
[b'tqwl]wq̈ : b'tqwlwq, **batġuluq**
twrqwrqwlwq̈ : twr-qwrqwlwq, **turġurġuluq**
y'dqwlwq̈ : y'tqwlwq, **yadğuluq**

d- : **t-** in Anlaut
d'n'v'dy : t'ń'v'ty, **Danavati (Dhanavati)**

-d- : **-t-** in Inlaut
["]r'v'd'n : "r'v't'n, **aravadan** = **aranyadan** < Skr. **āranyadhānī** 'dwelling in the forest'
'rdyny : 'rtyny, **ārdini**, Mo. **erdeni** 'jewel'
'wydwn : 'wytwn, **ödün** 'at the time,' Kašġ. **öd** 'time'
'wydwn 'wydwn : 'wytwn 'wytwn
'wydynčw : 'wytynč'
b'd'k : b't'k, Skr. **pādaka**, Mo. **badağ** 'stanza'
d'n'v'dy : t'n'v'ty, **Danavati**
k'd- : k't-, **käd-**, ET **ki-** (~ **kiy-** ~ **key-**) 'put on, wear'
k'dy- : k'ty-, **kädi-** 'grow bigger'
y'd- : y't-, **yad-** 'spread out,' ET **yay-** 'lay out'
yyd : yyt, **yïd**, Kašġ. **yïd** 'scent, odor'

-t- : **-d-** in Inlaut
"t'- : "d', **ata-**, ET **ata-** 'name, call'
'rtynkw : 'rdynkw, **ärtiŋü** 'extremely'
'wyklyt- : 'wyklyd-, **üklit-**, Kašġ. **üklit-** 'increase'
'wyst'- : 'wysd'-, **üstä-**, Kašġ. **üstä-** 'add, increase'
'wyst'l- : 'wysd'l-, **üstäl-** 'be increased,' Kašġ. **üstäl-**
'wystwrdy : 'wysdwrty, **üstürti** 'on high'
'wytwk : 'wydwk, **ötüg**, Kašġ. **ötüg** 'request'
'yt' : 'yd-, **ät-**, ET **et-** 'make, do'
'tyk : 'ydyk, **ätig** 'act, action'
'ytyklyk: 'ydyklyk, **ätiglig** 'adorned,' KB **ätiglig** 'constructive'
bwyt- : bwyd-, **büt-**, ET **büt-** 'become complete, be finished'
m'nt'l : m'nd'l, Skr. **mandala**, Mo. **mandal**
q'twn : q'dwn, **xatun** 'lady,' ET **xatun** 'lady, wife'
q'tyq : q'dyq, **qatïġ** 'hard, firm,' ET **qatïġ** (~ **qatïq**) 'hard'
r'tn'bwsby : r'dn'bwsby, **Ratnapuṣpa**
yyty : yydy, **yäti**, ET **yete** (~ **yetti**) 'seven'

-d : **-t** in Auslaut
'd t'v'r : 't t'v'r, **äd tavar** 'goods'
'wd : 'wt, **ud** 'cow'
q̈wd : qwt, **qut** 'fortune'

-t : **-d** in Auslaut
"t : "d, **at**, ET **at** 'name'
'wq̈yt- : 'wqyd-, **oqït-** 'have read,' ET **oqut-** 'cause to read'

q̈wt : qwd, **qut** 'fortune'
s't- : s'd-, **sat-**, ET **sat-** 'sell'
swv't- : swv'd-, **suvat-** 'give water, water'

In suffixes

+d- : **+t-** in Anlaut
/+DA/ Locative
"nt'd' : "nt'-t', **antada**, ET **anda**
'vd' : 'v-t', **ävdä**
'vynd' : 'v-ynt', **ävindä**
'wq̈ytwqd' : 'wqydwq-t'
'yq'č-d' : 'yq'č-t', **ïġačta**
bylmys-d' : bylmys-t', **bilmištä**
q̈wbd' : qwbt', **qopta**
s'nkr'md' : s'nkr'm-t', **sañramda**
swtsy-d' : swtsy-t', **sutsïda**
yynk'q-d' : yynk'q-t', **yïñaqta**
yyrtynčwd' : yyrtynčw-t', **yärtinčüdä**
'wyz'synd' : 'wyz'-synt', **üzäsindä**
/+DI/ Adverb
'wystwrdy : 'wysdwrty, **üstürti**

+t- : **+d-** in Anlaut
/+DA/ Locative
'yčynt' : 'yčynd', **ičindä**, ET **ičinde**
yymyslykynt' : yymys-lykynd', **yämišlikindä**
/+DIn/ Ablative
'wntwn : 'wndwn, **ondun**
/-DUr/ Causative
q̈'ntwr- : q'ndwr-, **qantur-**, ET **qandur-**
/-DUK/ Verbal noun
'wqytwq : 'wqydwq, **oqïduq**
/-DI/ Past tense
'wytwnty : 'wytwndy, **ötündi**
/-DUn/ Past tense
'wytwntwnk : 'wytwndwnk, **ötündün**
/-DAčI/ Future
qylt'čy : qyld'čy, **qïldačï**

-z- : **-s-** in Inlaut
"zw : "sw, **azu**, Kašġ. **azu** 'or'
'wz'dy : 'ws'dy, **uzatï** 'for a long time,' ET **uzat-** 'prolong'
'wyzwk : 'wyswk **üzük**, Chag. **üzük** 'broken'
b'dyz'd- : b'tys't-, **bädizät-** 'cause to ornament' ET **bizä-** 'adorn'
kwyz't- : kwys't-, **közäd-**, Chag. **közet-** 'guard, protect'
s'zyn : s'syn, **šazïn**, TT vi **šazan** < Skr. **śāsana** 'discipline'

-z : **-s** in Auslaut
tyz- : tys-, **tiz-** arrange,' ET **tiz-** (~ **tez-**) 'arrange in rows'
'wyz- : 'wyz-, **üz-**, ET **üz-** (öz-) 'break'

In suffixes

+z- : **+s-**
"sylzwn : "sylswn, **ašïlzun**
"y'zwn : "y'swn, **ayazun**
'wq̈yzwn : 'wqys-wn, **oqïzun**

'wyklyzwn : 'wyklyswn, **üklizün**
swyzl'zwn : swyzl'swn, **sözlázün**
tyzwn : tyswn, **tizün**

ts- : **s-** in Anlaut
ts'nk : s'nk, **tsaŋ** < MC **dzâng** or MS **ts'âng**

-ż- : **-z-** in Inlaut
"ż̀wn : "zwṅ, **ažun** < Sogd. "zwn (**āžūn**)

-n : **-n** in Auslaut
s'r'n : s'r'ṅ, **saran**

-n- : **-ṅ-** in Inlaut
d'n'v'dy : t'ṅ'v'ty, **Danavati (Dhanavati)**

Plene and abbreviated spellings of vowels

-'- : **-Ø-**
d'rny : drny, **darni** (~ **tarni**, AI 477b)
t'byq : tbyq, **tapïġ**
y'rlyq'- : yrlyq'-, **yarlïqa-**
y'rwq : yrwq, **yaruq**

-Ø- : **-'-**
v'ysyrv'ny : v'ysyr'v'ny, Skr. **Vaiśravaṇa**

-Ø- : **-y-**
"dn : "dyn, **adïn** 'other'
"tlq : "tlyq, **atlïġ** 'treasury'
y'ltryqlq : y'ltryq-lyq, **yaltrïqlïġ**

-y- : **-w-**
twyk'tyb: twyk'-twb, **tükätip (tükätüp)**

B. Grammatical features

Possessive suffix

't'wyzy-nynk : 't'wyz-nwnk (**ät'özinïŋ : ät'öznüŋ**) and qwvr'qy-nynk : qwvr'q-nynk (**quvraġïnïŋ : quvraġnüŋ**) in 'wyz 't'wyzy-nynk qwvr'qy-nynk 'ysylm'k-l'ry t'ryq'r (T III 56.15r7-8) : 'wyz 't'wyznwnk qwvr'q-nynk : 'ysyl-m'k-l'ry t'ryq'r (516.20-22) "For himself and for his followers/Lack will disappear" (lit. "His own shortages and [those] of his followers will disappear").

yyd yyb'r : yytyn yyb'r-yn (**yïd yïpar : yïdïn yïparïn**) in y'n' "dn yyd yyb'r qw-' č'č'k "s 'yčkw 'wyz' (T III 56.9r25-v1) : y'n' "dyn yytyn yyb'r-yn qw-' č'č'k "s 'yčkw 'wyz' (520.8-9) "again [let him worship my image] with other incense (: more of his incense), flowers, food, and drink."

Genitive suffix

'v 'yčynt' : 'v-nynk 'yčynt' (**äv ičindä : ävniŋ ičindä**) in 'v 'yčynt' kyryb (T III 56.20r22-23) "going into the house" : 'v-nynk 'yčynt' kyryb (525.14-15) "going inside his house."

'yčynynky : 'yčynd'ky (**ičininki : ičindäki**) in bw nwm 'rdyny 'yčyninki bd'k-l'r (T III 56.6r2) "the sentences of [the contents of] this jewel of **sütras**" : bw nwm 'rdy-ny 'yčynd'ky b't'k-l'r (513.18-19) "the sentences inside this jewel of **sütras**."

Accusative suffix

'dyk : 'd (**ädig :äd**) in 'dyk t'v'r-yq 'wyst'm'k (T III 56.15v16-17) : 'd t'v'r-yq 'wysd'm'k (518.9-10) "The Increase of Property".

'rdynyk : 'rtyny (**ärdinig : ärdini**) in bw nwm 'rdynyk 'syds'r-l'r (T III 56.15r2) : bw nwm 'rtyny 'syds'r-l'r (516.15-16) "if they listen to this jewel of **sütras**."

kysyk : kysy-ny (**kisig : kisini**) in 'wl kysyk kwyw kwyz'tw twtwb (T III 56.20v16-17) "continuing to protect that person" : bw kysy-ny kwyw kwys'tw twtwb (526.13-14) "continuing to protect this person."

Adjective suffix /-lIG/

[q]wtrwlm'q : qwtrwlm'q-lyq (**qutrulmaq : qutrulmaqlïġ**) in 'wytrw trk 'wydwn [q]wtrwlm'q 'dkw-k' t'kk'y-l'r (T III 56.20v24-25) : 'wytrw trk 'wytwn qwtrwlm'q-lyq 'dkw twys-k' t'kk'y-l'r (526.22-527.1) "Then he will soon attain the good (fruits) of salvation."

Here the infinitive in /-mAK/ is used as an attributive adjective (cf. Brockelmann, **Ost.Gram.**, §84, p. 126 and Grönbech, **TS**, §7, p. 23) rather than the more ususal adjective forms /-mA/ or /-mAK-lIG/ (von Gabain, **AG** §§142, 143, p. 78; Brockelmann, **Ost.Gram.**, §82, p. 125; §195, p. 255).

"ltwn-t'q : "ltwn-lwq (**altuntaġ : altunluġ**) in v'ydwry-lyq "ltwn-t'q 'rd'ny č'č'k y'rwq y'ltryq (T III 56.9r18-19) lit. "adamantine gold-like jewel-flower light" : v'ydwry-lyq "ltwn-lwq 'rdyny-lyk č'č'k yrwq y'ltryq (519.22-520.2) lit. "adamantine golden jeweled flower light." This translates the first part of Vaiḍūryasuvarṇaratnakusumaprabhāsa- of the Buddha name Vaiḍūryasuvarṇnaratnakusumaprabhāsaśrī-guṇasāgara. In both cases "ltwn (**altun**) = **suvarṇa** is made into an adjective to modify 'rdyny (ärdini) = **ratna** 'jewel'; in Radloff's text, 'rdyny is made into an adjective to modify the following word č'č'k (**čäčäk**) = **kusuma** 'flower' but in both texts č'č'k is used as it is to modify the following noun.

The accusative in /-nI/ is a later extension in the noun paradigm from the pronoun paradigm: män : **mini** 'I, me'; **sän : sini** 'you (sg.)'; **biz : bizni** 'we, us'; **siz : sizni** 'you (pl.).'

Plural suffix

q̈ylynčyn : qylynč-l'ryn (**qïlïnčïn : qïlïnčlarïn**) in kntw q̈ylmys "yq q̈ylynčyn n'č' y'd' ks'nty q̈ylyb (T III 56.20r8-9) : kntw qylmys "yq qylynč-l'ryn n'č' y't' ks'nty qylyb (524.19-20) "confessing whatever bad deed(s) he himself committed."

q̈ylzwn : qylzwn-l'r (**qïlzun : qïlzunlar**) in m'nynk kwyrkwmk' t'byq 'wdwq q̈ylzwn (T III 56.9v1-2) "let him worship my image" : m'nynk kwyrkwm-k' t'byq 'wdwq qylzwn-l'r (520.10-11). The antecedent to the finite verb form -zwn or -zwn-l'r is kysy (**ol kisi**) in line 519.11; kysy (**kisi**) might be either singular or plural depending on context (Grönbech, **Der türkische Sprachbau**, §65, p. 57), but the use of the first person singular pronoun mn (**män**) in the verb form ywkwnwr mn (**yükünürmän**), line 519.22, indicates that 'wl kysy refers to some indefinite person, byrwk kym kysy **bir ök kim kisi** (518.23) 'anyone,' and that this use of /-lAr/ is a respectful form of reference (von Gabain, **AG**, §215, p. 111; Grönbech, **TS**, §92, p. 72).

q̈ylzwn-l'r : qylzwn (**qïlzunlar : qïlzun**) in bwrq'n-l'rq' t'byq 'wdwq q̈ylzwn-l'r (T III 56.20r7-8) : bwrq'n-l'r-q' t'byq 'wdwq qylzwn (524.17-18) "Let him worship Buddha."

"y'zwn : "y'swn-l'r (**ayazun : ayazunlar**) in y'n' 'wyč 'rdynyk "y'zwn "qyrl'zwn-l'r (T III 56.20v15-16) : y'n' 'wyč 'rdynyk "y'swn-l'r "qyr-l'zwn-l'r (526.11-12) "again let him honor th three jewels (**triratna**)."

In the **Qutadġu Bilig**, the ending /-zUn/ is /-sUN/ or /-sUnI/ (Brockelmann, **Osttürkische Grammatik**, §178, p. 226).

1.16 The alternation -'- ~ -y- in Uighur Script

The alternate spelling in Uighur script with **aleph** (') and **yod** (y) of words that in Western Turkic have **e** (**ä**) has been interpreted as evidence for a primary **e fermé** in Common Turkic beside the low front vowel **ä**, and the existence of this primary vowel would seem to be confirmed by the use of spellings for this sound in Old Turkic Runic script and in Brahmī script (von Gabain, **AG**, §16, pp. 44-45; Deny, **Principes de grammaire turque**, §61, pp. 58-59; Räsänen, **Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen**, pp. 88-90). Brockelmann (**Osttürkische Grammatik**, pp. 58-60) and Bazin ("Structures et tendences des langues turques," **PhTF**, p. 12), however, question the existence of this ninth vowel in Common Turkic as an independent phoneme. Though Bazin maintains that there is no distinctive opposition **ä : e** in Common Turkic, he does admit a primary distinction between short vowels and long vowels; some instances of Uighur **ä ~ i ~ e** are secondary developments, it is true, but in other cases this **e** goes back to a long vowel **ē** (ä:) and in these cases the distinction between **ä** and **e** (**ä ~ i**, in East Turki either **e**, **e ~ ɛ**, or **e ~ i**) represents a distinctive opposition **ä : ē**. Beside such examples as Uig. **byr-** (**bir-**) 'give' = ET **ber-** (~ **ver-**), Yak. **biär-**, Chuv. **par-**; Uig. **kyč** (**kič**) 'evening' = EG **kič**, Yak. **kiäsä**, Chuv. **kaś**, where ET **e** clearly goes back to the long vowel **ē**, Räsänen gives examples where Yakut or Chuvash have **i**: Uig. **yyt-** (**yit-**) 'reach' = ET **yet-** (~ **yit-**), Yak. **sit-**, Chuv. **śit-**; Uig. **yy-** (**yi-**) ~ **y'-** (**yä-**) 'eat' = ET **ye-** (~ **ye-** ~ **yi-** ~ **yī-**), Yak. **siä-**, Chuf. **śi-**, and he traces these back to original ***e** or ***ē**, but such examples are all secondary developments.

Examples of Uig. **ä ~ i = e** which can be traced back to Turkic long **ē** are: Kašġ. **äg-** (~ **igil-**) 'bow' (Brockelmann, **Ost.Gram.**, 59) ET **eg-** (cf. Talât Tekin, Index); Uig. **il**, OT **el**, Kašġ. **äl ~ il** (**Ost.Gram.**, 58)

< *ēl; Uig. **ār-** 'be, become,' ET **er-** (~ ɛr-) < *ēr-; Uig. **it-**, OT **et-**, Kašġ. **it-** (~ ātil-) 'make, do' (**Ost.Gram.**, 59) ET **et-** < *ēt-; Uig. **bäg** 'prince; ruler,' ET **beg** < ***bēg**; Uig. **bir-** 'give,' ET **ber-** (~ **ver-**), Chuv. **par-** < *bēr-; Uig. **biš** 'five,' OT **beš**, ET **beš** (~ bɛš) < ***bēš**; Uig. **kič** 'evening,' ET **keč** < ***kēč**; Uig. **kit-** 'go, go away,' ET **ket-** < ***kēt-**; Uig. **ti-** 'say,' Kašġ. **ti-** (**tär, täp** ~ **tir, tip, Ost.Gram.**, 58), ET **de-** (~ dē ~ dī-) < *tē- (***dē**); Uig. **tir-** 'collect,' ET **ter-** < *tēr-; Uig. **yi-** (~ yä-) 'eat,' ET **ye-** (~ yē- ~ yi- ~ yī-), Chuv. **śi-** < *yē-; Uig. **yig** (Brahm. **yég**) 'better,' Kašġ. **yäg** ~ **yig** (**Ost.Gram.**, loc.cit.) < ***yēg**; Uig. **yil** (Brahm. **yel**) 'wind,' Kašġ. **yäl** ~ **yil** (**Ost.Gram.**), ET **yel** < *yēl; Kašġ. **yär** (~ **yiril-**) 'split' < *yēr (according to Tekin, *yīr, but **-i-** is probably due to raising under the influence of preceding **y-**, cf. infra); to these may be added Uig. **bärk** (with compensatory lengthening); Uig. **käč-** 'pass,' ET **keč-** (~ **kič-**) < *kēč-; Uig. **käl-** 'come,' ET **kel-** (~ **kil-**) < *kēl-; Uig. **käs-** 'cut, cut off,' ET **kes-** < *kēs-; Uig. **täg-** (~ **täk-**) 'touch; hit,' ET **teg-** (~ **tek-** ~ tɛk-) < *tēg-.

Examples of **-ā-** ~ **-i-** = **-e-** of the first syllable a secondary development < **-ä-**: 1) from the effect of umlaut (influence of a high front vowel of the second syllable) are Uig. **idiz** ~ ädiz 'high,' Kašġ. **ädiz** ~ **idiz** (**Ost.Gram.**, 59), ET **egiz** (~ **igiz**) < *ädiz (*ad^{y}iz or *äg^{y}iz); Kašġ. **äsiz** (~ **isiz**) 'bad' (**Ost.Gram.**, 58) < *äsiz; Uig. **äšid-** (~ äšit-) 'listen,' Kašġ.äšit- ~ išit- (**Ost.Gram.**, 59), ET **išit-** (~ ïšït-) < *äšid- or ēšid- < ***al-si-d-**, the back vocalism attested by ET ïšïd-, the possible long vowel **-ē-** of the first syllable the result of compensatory lengthening through fusion of **-l-** and **-s-**); Uig. **sämiz** 'fat, stout,' ET **semiz** < *sämiz; Uig. **titik** (~ **titig**) 'fast, quick,' ET **tetik** < ***tätig**; 2) from the effect of initial **y-** (progressive raising, cf. the regressive raising effect of **-y-** in Tk. **giy-** 'get dressed' < **gey-**; **iyi** 'good' < **eyi** < **edgü**, Deny, **Principes de grammaire turque**, §62, p. 59): Uig. **ymä** (**yəmä, y(ə)mä** in enclitic position) 'also,' Kašġ. **yämä** ~ **yimä** (**Ost.Gram.**, 58); Uig. **yinä** 'again,' ET **yenɛ** (~ yɛnɛ), Tk. **yine**~ **yene** (~ **gene**) < *yänä (~ *gänä) < *g^{y}änä; Uig. **yir** 'earth,' Kašġ. **yär** ~ **yir** (**Ost. Gram.**, loc.cit.), ET **yer** (~ yɛr) < *yär; Uig. **yit-** 'reach,' ET **yct-** (~ **yit-**), Chuv. **śit-** < ***yät-**.

Apparatus

: and ::	punctuation as indicated in the text
-	space between a word and its suffix or between two suffixes
=	break between word and suffix or between suffixes at the end of the line
. . .	lacuna in the text
[ ]	reconstructed letters
( )	doubtful readings
< >	letters which appear in one text but not the other

Note: The symbol **ñ** represents the digraph **nk** (with the value **ŋ** of **ng** in the English words **sing** and **singer**) everywhere here in my transliteration and transcription of the Uighur text; in the transcription of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and (Khotanese) Saka, and in the etymological notes, it has the usual value of a palatal nasal, the **ñ** in Spanish **cañón** or the **ny** in English canyon.
The symbol **ŋ** used in the etymological notes has the usual value of **ng** in the English words **sing** and **singer**.

Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra (Altun Yaruq)

Uighur version (V. V. Radlov and S. E. Malov: Suvarṇaprabhāsa [Sutra zolotogo bleska]. Tekst uygurskoy redakcii.)

Chapter XVI **Supplication of the goddess Srī**

Transliteration

(512)

16 **"ltwn 'wynklwk yrwq y'ltryq-lyq**
17 **qwbd' kwytrwlmys nwm 'ylyky**
18 **"tlyq nwm bytykd' syrykyny**
19 **"tlyq tnkry qyzy 'wytwk 'wytwn-**
20 **m'k "tlq "lty ykrmynč bwylwk** [: :]
21 'wl 'wydwn syrykyny "tlq qwt
22 tnkry q'twny 'wlwrmys 'wrwn-yntyn
23 'wyrw twrwb tnkry tnkry-sy

(513)

'ym-' qw w'ksynč twqwz :

1 bwrq'n "t'q-ynt' yynčwrw twybwn
2 ywkwnwb "y-'-syn q'vswrwb "qyr
3 "y'm'q-yn 'ynč' tyb 'wytwndy
4 "dy kwytrwlmys "y'q-q' tykymlyk
5 tnkrym mn byrwk q'yw twyyn s'mn'nč
6 'wb'sy 'wb's'nč bw nwm 'rdynyk
7 bwsqwnmys-yn twtmys-yn 'wqymys-
8 yn nwml'mys-yn bytymys-yn bytytmys-
9 yn kwyrw t'kyns'r mn : 'wytrw
10 'wl'r-ny qwb kwnkwl-yn "y'yw
11 "qyrl'yw t'bynw 'wtwnw t'kynyb
12 kwyrm'kwlwk 'tkw-k' t'kymlyk qylw
12 yykw-lwk "s-yn k'tkwlwk twnyn
13 'wlwrqwlwq 'wrwnyn twyltyn twyskyn
14 'ykl'mys-d'ky 'wwtyn 'm-yn
15 t'qy ym' "dyn n' krk'kyn
16 byrw 'kswksyz twlw twyk'l qylw
17 t'kynk'y mn : "b ym' twynl-'
18 "b ym' kwyntwz bw nwm
19 'rdy-ny 'yčynd'ky b't'k-l'ryn
20 ywrwk-l'ryn qwlwl'yw s'qynw twyk'-
21 twb bw č'mbwdyvyb yyrtynčw-t'
22 kynkwrw y'tdwrwb 'wynkr'ky
23 bwrq'n-l'r s'synynt' 'wrwq s'čmys

19 'yčynynky bd'k
20 qwlwl'yw s'qynw twyk'tyb
21 yyrtynčwd'
23 s'zynynt'

(514)

1 bwy'n 'tkw qylynč qylmys qwtlwq bwy'n-
2 lyq tynlq-l'r'q' 'sydtwrwb trk 'wytwn
3 yytlynkwlwkswz b'tqwlwq-swz qylw t'kynyb
4 'wl q'm'q tynlq-l'r-yq 'wylkwswz s'nsyz
5 "zwnl'rt' : ywz mynk kwlty k'lb
6 'wyt-l'r-k't'ky 'wystwn tnkry
7 yyr-ynt' "ltyn kysy "zwnynt' "trwq
8 "drwq yyk b'sdynqy 'dkw m'nkyk
9 "s'qwlwq m'nky-l'kwlwk : twys-t'm
10 yym 'yčym 'wyz' b'y m'nkylyk
11 bwlqwlwq : "č qyz 'mk'k-yk
12 kwyrm'kwlwk 'tkw-k' t'kymlyk qylw
13 t'kynk'y mn : kynky **bwrq'n**-l'r-
14 q' twsqwlwq 'wyč y'vl'q ywl-t'qy
15 "čyq t'rq' 'mk'k-l'rtyn 'wsqwlwq
16 "nk kynynt' **bwrq'n** qwtyn bwlq-
17 wlwq twys-k' 'wtly-q' t'kwrw
18 t'kynk'y mn : n' 'wyčwn tyb
19 tys'r : "dy kwytrwlmys "y'q-q'
20 t'kymlyk tnkrym : mn 'wywr
21 mn 'wynkr' 'rtmys 'wyr 'yr'q
22 'wytd' **r'tn'** bwsby "tlq tnkry
23 tnkry-sy bwrq'n s'synynt' tws

1 'dkw q̈ylynč
3 [b'tqwl]wq̈swz q̈ylw

(515)

'ym-' qw s'ksynč 'wylws 'wn

1 twlwm bwlwb 'dkw yyltyz-lyq
2 'wrwq s'č' t'kyntym : kym 'wl
3 **r'tn'** bwsby "dlq twyk'l
4 bylk' tnkry tnkry-sy **bwrq'n**
5 'wlwq yrlyq-'nčwčy kwnkwl-y 'wyz-
6 ' myny 'yrynč- k'yw tswywrq'yw
7 yrlyq'b : **bwrq'n**-l'r-nynk 'wlwq
8 kwyčy 'wyz-' kym myny 'mty-q'
9 d'ky q'yw 'wrwn-l'ryq 'wys'r mn :
10 q'yw yynk'q-t' kwyrs' rmn : q'yw
11 b'lyq 'wlwq-q' t'ks'r mn : 'wl
12 'wrwn-t'qy 'wl yynk'q-t'qy : 'wl
13 'wlws-t'qy q'm'q tynlq 'wql'n-
14 l'ryn : k'tkwlwk twn : yykwlwk
15 "s : 'wyz 'yltynkwlwk yyvyk
16 tysyk "ltwn kwymws v'ytwry
17 s'b'ryr [= s'b'ryk] sysyr b'tw syt' qwbyq
18 č'č q's yynčw mwnčwq 'wl'ty
19 'srynkw 'rdyny-l'r 'wyz' b'y
20 b'rym-lyq qylqwlwq 'wlwq kwyčk'
21 kwyswnk' t'kwrw yrlyq'dy : "nyn
22 tnkrym kym q'yw swyswk kyrtkwnč
23 kwnkwl-lwk tynlyq-l'r bw "ltwn

3 r'tn'bwsby
4 tnkrysy
5 yrlyq̈'nčwčy kwnkwly
6 tswywrq̈'yw
7 yrlyq'b
8 'mty-q̈[']
10 yynk'q̈-d'
11 'wlws-q̈'
12 yynk'q-d'q[y]

(516)

1 'wynklwk yrwq y'ldryq-lyq qwbd'
2 kwytrwlmys nwm 'ylyky "tlq nwm
3 'rdynyk 'wqys'r-l'r swyzl's'r-
4 l'r : y'n' kwyn kwynynk' 'dkw
5 yyd yyb'r kwywrwb qw-' č'č'k
6 s'čyb myny 'wyčwn 'wl
7 **r'tn' bwsby** "tlq tnkry tnkry-
8 sy bwrq'n-q' t'byq 'wdwq
9 qyls'r-l'r y'n' kwynt'm'k
10 'wyč q't' m'nynk "d-ymyn
11 "t'yw 'wynky 'wynky yyt
12 yyb'r qw-' č'č'k t'tyq-lyq

14 q̈yls'r-l'r
15 'wyzwkswz 'rdynyk
21 't'wyzy-nynk q̈wvr'qy-nynk
22 t'ryq̈'r

1 'kswm'z : čwq-y y'lyny "sylyb
2 'wyzy y'sy 'wysd'lwr : [3] yyr
3 t'tyq-y kwyč'tyb : 'wyrwk 'wyr-
4 kwt 'wysd'lwr : 'wyzk'n y'qmwr
5 'wytynč' : 'wysdwrty qwty twykw-
6 lwr : [4] q'm'q tnkry-l'r qwv-
7 r'q-y : ywmqy byrt'k s'vynwr :
8 "ryq s'm'k twys yymys : 'rklyk-
9 l'ry ym' 'wykyrwr : [5] 'y 'yq'č-t'
10 twyrwmys : twys yymys -l'r k'tyywr
11 n'č' b'r 'rs'r 'y t'ryq : "rt'm'dyn
12 'wz bwyd'r : [6] kym-l'r byrwk kwys's'r :

1 čwqy
2 'wyst'lwr
4 "sylwr (= 'wysd'lwr)
5 'wydynčw 'wystwrdy qwdy
6 q̈'m'q q̈wvr'qy
7 ywmq̈y-y byr t'k
9 'yq'č-d'
10 k'dyywr
12 bwyt'r

1 'wytwnwb tynlq'l'r-q' 'dkwlwk bw
2 nwm 'rdynyk kynkwrw y'tqwlwq
3 'wlwq bwy'n "lqwlwq 'rtynkw

1 tynlq-l'rq̈'
2 'rdyny-k kynk'rw y'dqwlwq̈

(517)

s'ksynč byr ykrmy :
13 'rdyny yynčw 'd t'v'r : kwnkwl
14 'yyyn t'bynč' : kwysws-l'ry trk
15 q'n'r : tyb tyty : 'wytrw twyk'l
16 bylk' tnkry tnkry-sy **bwrq'n**
17 'wl syrykyny qwt tnkry q'twnyn
18 'wyk' "lq'yw 'ynč' tyb
19 yrlyq'dy : 'dkw 'dkw sn
20 syrykyny-y-' : 'wynkr' "zwn-t'qy
21 'dkw qylynčynk-nynk twyr-yn 'wtly-
22 syn 'wyw s'qynw y'ntwd s'vynč
23 t'byq 'wdwq qylqw-q' 'wytwk

15 q̈'n'r tydy "nt' 'wytrw
16 tnkrysy
17 q̈wt
18 "lq̈'yw
19 y'rlyq̈'dy
20 "ż́wnt'q̈y
21 q̈ylynčynk twysyn
22 s'q̈ynw-w
23 q̈ylqw-q̈'

(518)

4 krk'klyk 'wytwk 'wytwndwnk tyb
5 yrlyq'dy :

3 "lqwlwq̈
4 'wytwntwnk

Chapter XVII **The Increase of Wealth**

(518)

5 **"ltwn 'wynklwk**
6 **yrwq y'ltryq- lyq qwbt'**
7 **kwytrwlmys nwm 'ylyky "tlq nwm**
8 **bytykd' syrykyny qwt**
9 **tnkry q'dwn-y 'd t'v'r-yq**
10 **'wysd'm'k "tlq yydy**
11 **ykrmynč bwylwk :: :: ::**
12 'wl 'wytwn syrykyny qwt
13 tnkry q'dwny y'n'n tnkry tnkry-
14 sy **bwrq'n**-q' 'ynč' tyb 'wytwndy :

6 yrwq̈ y'ltryq̈lq q̈wbd'
8 syrykyny "tlyq q̈wt
9 q'twny 'dyk t'v'r-yq
10 'wyst'm'k yyty
12 'wydwn q̈wt
13 q'twny y'n'
14 bwrq'n-q̈' 'wytwnty
15 "ty "y'q-q̈'

15 "dy kwytrwlmys "y'q-q' t'kymlyk
16 tnkrym mn 'rs'r t'qtyn
17 yynk'q v'ysyr'v'ny mq'-r"č-
18 nynk t'n'v'ty "tlq b'lyq-
19 ynk' y'qyn-qy-' swbwsby
20 "tlq yymys-lykynd' yyty
21 'rdynyn 'ydyklyk bwsb'k "tlq
22 s'rv'q-ynt' twrw t'kynwr mn :
23 byrwk kym kysy kwyn kwynynk'

16 t'qdyn
17 yynk'q̈ mq'r'č-nynk
18 d'n'v'dy b'lyq̈
19 y'q̈yn-q̈y-'
20 yymyslykynt'
21 'ytyklyk
22 t'kynwrmn
23 kym q̈'yw kysy

(519)

s'ksynč 'yky ykrmy

1 'ym t'ryqym "sylswn : 'd-ym t'v'r-ym
2 'wyklyswn : "qylyq-ym s'nkym twlz-
3 wn tyb kwys's'r-l'r : 'wytrw
4 'wl'r "qyr "y'q swyzwk kyrtkwnč
5 kwnkwl-yn byr y'nky 'v 'ydyb
6 yyr-yn 'wd m'y'qy 'wyz'
7 swv'dyb "nynk 'yčynd' m'nynk
8 kwyrkwmyn "drwq "drwq yyvyk
9 tysyk 'ydyk y'r'tyq 'wyz'
10 'ydyk-lyk 'wz b'tys'tzwn :
11 "nt' b's' 'wl kysy swv-q'

1 "sylżwn 'dym t'v'rym
2 'wyklyzwn "qlyq̈ym ts'nkym
5 kwnkwlyn "ryq y'nky 'ytyb
6 yyryn m'y'q̈y
7 swv'tyb 'yčynt'
8 "drwq "drwq
9 'ytyk
10 'ytylyk b'dyz'dzwn
11 swvq̈'

12 kyryb 't'wyzyn "ryq ywnwb
13 y'nky "ryq twn k'tyb
14 't'wyzynk' 'dkw yyt
15 yyb'r-l'r twyrtwb 'wl 'v
16 'yčynd' kyryb myny 'wyčwn
17 kwynt'm'k 'wyč'r q't'
18 'wyč 'wytt' **r'tn'** bwsby "tlq
19 tnkry tnkry-sy **bwrq'n** "tyn
20 bw nwm 'rdyny-nynk "dy byrl'
21 "d'yw 'ynč' tyb tyswn ::
22 ywkwnwr mn v'ydwry-lyq "ltwn-

13 k'dyb
14 yyd
16 'yčynt'
17 q't'
18 'wydt' r'tn'bwsby
19 tnkrysy
20 "ty
21 "t'yw tyzwn
22 ywkwnwrmn "ltwn-t'q

(520)

lwq 'rdyny-lyk č'č'k yrwq̇
y'ltryq'lyq qwtlwq 'wylwklwk
'dkw 'dr'm-lyk t'lwy 'wykwz
"tlyq r'dn'bwsby **bwrq'n** qwdynk'
tyb 'wytrw 'srynkw qw-' č'č'kl'r
"lyb "drwq "drwq "s
'yckw-l'r twtwb "qyr "y'm'q-
yn y'n' "dyn yytyn yyb'r-yn
qw-' č'č'k "s 'yčkw 'wyz'
m'nynk kwyrkwm-k' t'byq 'wdwq
qylzwn-l'r : y'n' 'wl "s
'yčkwk "lyb twyrt yynk'q-

tynqy tnkry-l'rk' s'čyb tbyq
'wdwq qylzwn : "nt'd' b's'
bk q'dyq kyrtw s'v swyzl'yw
'ynč' tyb tyswn : trkyn
t'vr'dy 'wytwnwrmn : syrykyny
qwt tnkry- syn : qwt
kwysws qwlwrmn : byrwk syz-
ynk s'vynkyz : kwyny kyrtw čyn
'rs'r bw m'nynk 'wytwnmys
'wydwkwmyn : ywqswz qwrwq
qylm'nk tyb : mwnčwl'yw swyzl'swn

1 y'rwq̇
2 y'ltryq̇lq q̇wt 'wylwklwk
3 'dr'mlyk
4 "tlq r'tn'bwsby tnkry bwrq'n q̇wtynk'
5 č'č'k-l'r
6 "drwq̇ "drwq̇
7 "y'm'q̇yn t'bynzwn "nčwl'zwn
8 "dn yyd yyb'r
10 kwyrkwmk'
11 q̇ylzwn

12 yynk'q̇dynq̇y
13 t'byq
14 q̇ylzwn
15 q̇'tyq swyzl'b
16 tyzwn
17 t'vr'q̇
18 q̇wt q̇wt
19 qwlwrmn kwysws kwys'ywrmn
22 'wytwkwmyn ywqswq q̇wrwq
23 q̇ylm'nk swyzl'zwn

(521)

s'ksynč ykrmy 'wyč

'wytrw 'wl 'wytwn mn bw s'v-
l'ryq bylmys-t' kyn 'wl kysy-nynk
'v-ynt' 'ys'yn t'ryqn 'd-yn
t'v'r-yn "s'yn 'yčkw-syn "s'
'wyklydw t'kynk'y mn : bw
drnyq swyzl'yw myny 'wqys-
wn-l'r 'wytwnzwn-l'r : 'wqydwq-
t' 'wytwndwk-t' "snw-č' bw
bwrq'n-l'r "dyn bw **bwdystv**-
l'r "dyn "t'yw swyzwk kwnkwl-
yn ywkwnw 'ynč' tyb tyswn-
l'r : ywkwnwrmn

'wndwn synk'wr yyrtynčw-t' 'rykm'
"lqw q'm'q **bwrq'n**-l'r **qwtynk'** :
ywkwnwrmn r'tn'syky "tlq
bwrq'n qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
r'dn'-tyv'čy "tlq **bwrq'n**
qwtynk' : ywkw- nwrmn swv'r-
ṅ'dyv'čy "tlq **bwrq'n** qwtynk' :
ywkwnwrmn br'b'kwsy "tlq **bwrq'n**
qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn r'dn'č'ntyry
"tlq **bwrq'n** qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
tyb'nkk'ry "tlq **bwrq'n** qwtynk'

2 bylmys-d'
3 'vynd' 'y-syn t'ryqyn 'dyn
4 <"s'yn 'yčkw-syn>
5 'wyklytw
6 d'rnyq 'wq̇yzwn-l'r
7 'wq̇ytwq̇d' <'wytwndwk-t'> "snwč'
9 "tyn

10 "tyn swyzwk kyrtkwnč
11 tyzwn-l'r
12 'wydky
13 'wntwn synk'r yyrtynčwd'
14 <"lqw> q̇'m'q q̇wtynk'
15 r'tn'syk-y

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ywkwnwrmn mq'dyv'čy "tlq
bwrq'n qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
"kswby "tlq **bwrq'n** qwtynk' :
ywkwnwrmn r'tn'nymyty "tlq
bwrq'n qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
"byt' "tlq **bwrq'n** qwtynk' :

ywkwnwrmn twndwb'swv'ry "tlq
bwrq'n qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
swm'dyv'čy "tlq **bwdystv**
qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn k'nč' -ṅbr'by
"tlq **bwdystv** qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn
nyrv'nw "tlq bwdystv qwtynk' : ywkwnwrmn

d'rm-' 'wd'ry "tlq **bwdystv** qwt-
ynk' : ywkwnwrmn swm'kysymy "tlq
bwdystv qwtynk' yynčwrw twybwṅ
ywkwnwb bw q'm'q **bwrq'n-l'r bwdystv-**
l'r qwtynk' : "nt'-t' b's'
drny swyz- l'b 'wytwnw

'wqyywr mn syrykyny qwt tnkry-
syn kwys'mys kwysws-wmyn q'ntwr-
d'čyq qylmys 'ys-ymyn bwytwrd'čyk
drny-sy bw 'rwr : **t'ty'd' n'mw**
syry m'q'dyvy-ny y-' y-'

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s'ksynč ykyrmy twyrt

t'ty'd' bryty [= br'ty] bwrn' č'ry
s'm'nd' d'rs['n]y mq' vyq'r-
' k'ty : s'm'nt' vytymb'ry [= vytym(b)'ny]
mq' k'r'y-' br'tyst'
br'v'ny s'rv' "rt's't'ny sw-
br'ty bwry "ry-' d'rm-'-
t' m'q' vykwpyty m'q'
m(')ytr'b' 'wb' s'nqyty m'q'
qyn'r'sy [= qyt'ysy] sw s'nkyr' [= s'nkyry] qyty :
s'm'nt' r'tn' [= 'rt'] "nw b'lydy [= b'l'ny]
sv'q' : : : "dy
kwytrwlmys "y'q-q' t'kymlyk

tnkrym : byrwk kym q'yw
kysy bw qwtlwq drnyq swyzl'yw
myny 'wqyyw t'kynmys-t' mn
'wytrw 'wl'r-nynk 'wqyyw 'wytwn-
mys 'wytwk-l'ryn 'sydyb 'wl'r-
q' y'qyn b'ryb kwys'mys
kwysws-l'ryn q'ntwrq'y mn :
"dy kwytrwlmys "y'q-q'
t'kymlyk tnkrym : bw drny 'rs'r
"bysyk qylm'q-lyq b't'k 'wl :
syty tykm' 'ys kwydwkwk

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'wtqwr'q bwytwrd'čy b'd'k
'wl : kwyny kyrtw b'd'k 'wl :
'swkswz 'ykytsyz b'd'k 'wl
twyzwlm'k-k' t'kwrd'čy kwyny
ywryq 'wl : "lqw tynlq 'wql'n-
l'ry-nynk kwyny 'wnk'rw 'dkw
yyltyzl'r-yn 'wyrytd'čy twyz-
y twyby 'rwr : "nyn kym-l'r
byrwk bw drnyq swyzl'k'ly
twtq'ly s'qyns'r-l'r : "snw-
č' yyty kwyn yyty twyn
s'kyz twyzwn b'č'q čqs'bt-

yn "lyb "ryq b'č'b t'nkd'
't' t'l čybyqyn t'nčwl'b tys-
yn "rydyb "qyzyn ywnzwn :
"nt'-t' b's' yytyn yyb'r-
yn qw-' y'vysqwn bwrq'n-l'r'
q' t'byq 'wdwq qylzwn :
kntw qylmys "yq qylynč-l'ryn
n'č' y't' ks'nty qylyb y'n'
kntw 'wyz' 'wyčwn bys "zwn
tynlq-l'r 'wyčwn qwt qwlwb
bwy'n 'vyrzwn byr "ryq 'v-t'

12 č'qs'btyn
14 'yrt' čybyq̇yn
15 "rytyb ywnwb y'yzwn (= ywnzwn)
16 "nt'd' yydyn
17 bwrq'n-l'rq̇' q̇ylzwn-l'r

19 q̇ylmys q̇ylynčyn
20 y'd' q̇ylyb
21 kntw 't'wyzy "zwn
22 q̇wt q̇wlwb
23 'vd'

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s'ksynč bys ykrmy :

"sw "r'v't'n s'nkr'm-t' 'wt
m'y'qyn swv'b m'nt'l qylyb čynt'n
twytswk kwywrwb t'byq 'wqwq qylz-
wn : byr swtsyq 'wz 'ytyb
y'r'tyb 'wyz'-synt' br'-kws'tyty
s'lyntwrwb m'nt'l-'wtyr'-
synt' 'wrwb t'kr'synt' qw-'
y'vysqw tysyb 'wytrw tymyn
'wk 'wynkr'ky drnyq swyzl'zwn :
myny k'lzwn tyb kwys'zwn :
'wytrw mn 'wl 'wqwr-t' 'wl twyz-
wn-l'r 'wqly-nynk bw 'vryq-yn

kwyrwb "nk' y'syn k'lyb 'wl
m'nd'l qylmys 'v-nynk 'yčynt'
kyryb 'wl swtsy-t' 'wlwrwb
"nynk t'byq-yn 'wdwq-yn "ly
t'kynk'y mn : 'wytrw "nt'd'
kyn 'wl kysy twyl-ynt' myny
kwyrk'ly bwlq'y : mn n' twyrlwk
tyl'kyn krk'kyn twyk'l "yydyb
't t'v'r "qy b'rym "ltwn
kwymws qwyn yylqy 'y t'ryq "s 'yčkw
twn k'dym 'wyz' kwysws-l'ryk

1 ”zw [”]r’v’d’n s’nkr’md’ ’wd
2 m’y’q̈yn q̈ylyb
3 q̈ylzwn
5 y’[r’]ttyb ’wyz’synd’ br’-kws’try
6 s’lyntwryb
8 tyzyb
9 d’rnyq
11 ’wqwrt’
12 ’wyrysyn (= ’vryq-yn)
13 y’q̈yn
14 m’nt’l q̈ylmys ’v ’yčynt’
15 swtsy-d’
16 t’byqyn ’wdwqyn
18 twylynt’
19 <mn>
20 ”yytyb
21 ’d
22 q̈wyn yylq̈y
23 kwyswsl’ryk

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1 q’ndwrw t’kynk’y mn : q’č’n
2 byrwk ’wl twyzwn-l’r ’wqly bw
3 mwnt’q twys-k’ ’wtly-q’ t’ks’r-
4 l’r : ’wl bwlmys q’zq’nmys-l’ry-
5 nynk ’wylws-y ’wyz’ ”snw ’wyč
6 ’rdyny-k’ t’byq ’wdwq ”qyr
7 ”y’q qylzwn : ”nt’d’ kyn m’nk’
8 t’bynzwn ’wdwnzwn m’nk’ t’byq
9 ’wdwq qylmys yyt yyb’r qw-’
10 č’č’k ”s ’yčkwk s’dyb ”nynk
11 s’tyqy ’wyz’ y’n’ ’wyč ’rdynyk
12 ”y’swn-l’r ”qyr-l’zwn-l’r :
13 ’wytrw mn ’wyrwk ’ws’dy bw kysy-
14 ny kwyw kwys’tw twtwb n’ krk’kyn
15 ’kswk krk’k qylm’q’y mn : ’ynčyb
16 ’wl kysy ”z s’r’ṅ kwnkwl twr-
17 qwrqwlwq ’rm’z : ’wytwn ’wytwn
18 ywq-q’ čyq’y-q’ bwsy byrzwn :
19 ’ws’ty bw nwm ’rtynyk ’wqydyb
20 t’byq-yn ’wdwq-yn ’wysm’dyn
21 qylmys bwy’n-yn bwrq’n qwtynk’
22 ’vyrzwn-l’r : ’wytrw trk ’wytwn
23 qwtrwlm’q-lyq ’dkw twys-k’

1 b’rč’ q̈’ntwrw q̈’č’n
3 twysk’ ’wtly-q̈’
4 q’zqyq(?)-l’ry-nynk
5 ’yrw-sy (?)
7 q̈ylzwn <”nt’d’ kyn> m’nk’ ym’ ”nčwl’yw ’wq̈
9 q̈ylmys yyd
10 s’tyb
12 ”y’zwn ”qyrl’zwn-l’r
13 ’wz’dy ’wl (= bw) kysyk
14 kwyz’tw
15 qylm’q’y
16 <’wl kysy> ”č s’r’n twrqwrqwlwq̈
17 ’wydwn ’wydwn
18 ywq̈-q̈’ čyq’y-q̈’
19 ’wyrwk ’wz’dy ’wq̈ytyb
20 t’byqyn ’wdwqyn ’wyzm’dyn
21 q̈ylmys bwy’nyn q̈wtynk’
22 ’wydwn
23 [q̈]wtrwlm’q̈ ’dkw-k’ (= ’dkw twys-k’)

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s’ksynč ”lty ykrmy

1 t’kk’y-l’r tnkrym tyb ’wtwndy : ”nt’
2 ’wytrw twyk’l bylk’ tnkry tnkry-sy
3 bwrq’n syrykyny qwt tnkry q’twny-
4 nynk bw mwnt’q ’wydwk-yn ’sydyb
5 ’wyk’ ”lq’yw ’ynč’ tyb yrlyq’dy ::
6 ’dkw ’dkw qwt tnkry q’twny-y-
7 ’ ’wyzk’ ”dyn’qw-q’ ’ykytyn ’wlwq
8 ”syq twsw qyld’čy bw nwm ’rdynyk
9 kynkwrw y’tylqwlwq ’rdynkw krk’klyk
10 ’wytwk ’wytwndwnk tyb yrlyq’dy ::

1 ’wytwnty <”nt’>
2 tnkrysy
3 q̈wt
4 bw <mwnt’q> ’wytwkyn ’sydyb yrlyq̈’b
5 ”lq̈’yw yrlyq̈’dy
6 q̈wt
7 ”dyn’qw-q’ ’ykydyn
8 q̈ylt’čy
9 y’dqwlwq̈ ’rtynkw
10 ’wytwntwnk yrlyq̈’dy

Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra (Altun Yaruq)
Uighur version (Berlin Turfan Collection)
Chapter XVI **Supplication of the Goddess Srī**
Transliteration

T III 56.6 **recto**
1 (513.17) . . . -nk’y mn (m’n) : ’b ym’ twynl’ (513.18) ’b ym’
2 . . . -z bw nwm (513.19) ’rdyny ’yčynynky bd’k-l’ryn
3 (513.20) . . . -wk-l’ryn q̈wlwl’yw s’q̈ynw twyk’(513.21)tyb :
4 . . . -b yyrtynčwd’ (513.22) kynkwrw y’tdwrwb
5 . . . -’ky (513.23) bwrq’n -l’r s’zynynt’
6 . . . -čmys (514.1) ’dkw q̈ylynč
7 . . . bwy’n (514.2)-lyq . . .
8 . . . -wrwb trk ’wytwn . . .
9 . . . (514.3)-wq̈swz q̈ylw t’kynyb
10 . . . (514.4)-swz s’nsyz
11 . . . (514.5)-t- . . .

T III 56.6 **verso**
1 (515.2) s’č’ t’kyntym : kym ’wl (515.3) r’tn’bwsby ’- . . .
2 twyk’l (515.4) bylk’ tnkry tnkrysy bwrq’n . . .
3 (515.5) yrlyq̈’nčwčy kwnkwly ’wyz(515.6)’ myny . . .
4 ’yrynčk’yw tswywrq̈’yw (515.7) yrlyq̈’b b- . . .
5 -nynk ’wlwq (515.8) kwyčy ’wyz- . . .
6 kym myny ’mty-q̈- . . .
7 . . . (515.9) ’wrwn-l’ryq . . .
8 . . . (515.10) yynk’q̈-d’ kwyrs’r . . .
9 (515.11) ’wlws-q̈’ t’ks’r mn . . .
10 (515.12) ’wl yynk’q-d’q- . . .

T III 56.15 **recto**
1 (516.14) m’nk’ ym’ t’byq ’wdwq q̈yls’r(516.15)-l’r :
2 ’wyzwkswz bw nwm ’rdynyk (516.16) ’syds’r-l’r : bw
3 mwnt’q bwy’n (516.17) twysyn bwlq’y-l’r tyb
4 ’wytrw (516.18) slwk t’qswtyn ’ynč’ (516.19) tyb tydy
5 kym-l’r byrwk twts’r(516.20)-l’r
6 bw nwm ’rdynyk mwnčwl’yw :
7 ’wyz (516.21) ’t’wyzy -nynk q̈wvr’qy-
8 nynk ’ysyl(516.22)m’k-l’ry t’ryq̈’r : :
9 krk’kl’mys (516.23) twny ”sy ’wydwn ’wydwn
10 (517.1) ’kswm’z : :
11 čwqy y’lyny ”sylyb (517.2) ’wyzy y’sy
12 ’wyst’lwr : :
13 yyr (517.3) t’t . . . y . . . b . . . ’wyr . . . k
14 ”sylwr : :
15 ’wyzk’n y’qmwr (517.5) ’wydynčw ’wystwrdy
16 q̈wdy twykw(516.6)lwr : :
17 q̈’m’q tnkry-l’r q̈wv(517.5)r’qy ywmq̈y-y
18 byr t’k s’vynwr : :
19 (517.8) ”ryq s’m’k twys yymys ’rklyk(517.9)-l’ry
20 ym’ ’wykyrwr : :
21 ’y ’yq’č-d’ (517.10) twyrwmys twys yymys-l’r
22 k’dyywr : :
23 (517.11) n’č’ b’r ’rs’r ’y t’ryq ”rt’m’dyn
24 (517.12) ’wz bwyt’r : :

25 kym-l'r byrwk kwys's'r (517.13) 'rdyny yynčw 'd t'v'r

T III 56.15 **verso**

s'kyzynč 'wylws s'kyz

1 kwnkwl (517.14) 'yyyn t'bynč' kwysws-l'ry trk
2 (517.15) q̈'n'r tyb tydy : "nt' 'wytrw twyk'l
3 (517.16) bylk' tnkry tnkrysy bwrq'n (517.17) 'wl syrykyny
4 q̈wt tnkry q'twnyn (517.18) 'wyk' "lq̈'yw 'ynč'
5 tyb (517.19) y'rlyq̈'dy 'dkw 'dkw sn
6 (517.20) syrykyny-y-' 'wynkr'
7 "žwnt'qy (517.21) 'dkw q̈ylynčynk-
8 nynk twysyn 'wtly(517.22)syn 'wyw s'q̈ynw-w
9 y'ntwd s'vynč (517.23) t'byq 'wdwq q̈ylqw-q̈'
10 'wytwk (518.1) 'wytwnwb tynlq-l'rq̈' 'dkwlwk
11 bw (518.2) nwm 'rdyny-k kynk'rw y'dqwlwq̈ (518.3) 'wlwq
12 bwy'n "lqwlwq̈ 'r[ty]nkw (518.4) krk'klyk 'wytwk
13 'wytwntwnk t[y]b (518.5) [yrlyq']dy : :

Chapter XVII **The Increase of Wealth**

14 "ltwn 'wynklwk (518.6) yrwq̈ y'ltryq̈lq q̈wbd'
15 (518.7) kwytrwlmys nwm 'yl[y]ky "tlq nwm (518.8) bytykd'
16 syrykyny "tlq q̈wt (518.9) tnkry q'twny 'dyk
17 t'v'r-yq (518.10) 'wyst'm'k "tlq yyty (518.11) ykrmynč
18 bwylwk : (518.12) 'wl 'wydwn syrykyny q̈wt
19 (518.13) tnkry q'twny y'n' tnkry tnkry(519.14)sy bwrq'n-
20 q̈' 'ynč' tyb 'wytwnty : (518.15) "dy kwytrwlmys
21 "y'q-q̈' t'kymlyk (518.16) tnkrym mn 'rs'r
22 t'qdyn (518.17) yynk'q̈ v'ysyrv'ny mq'r'č(518.18)-nynk
23 d'n'v'dy "tlq b'lyq̈(518.19)-ynk' y'q̈yn-q̈y-'
24 swbwsby (518.20) "tlq yymyslykynt' yyty (518.21) 'rdynyn
25 'ytyklyk bwsb'k "tlq (518.22) s'rv'q-ynt'
26 twrw t'kynwrmn (518.23) byrwk kym q̈'yw kysy

T III 56.9 **recto**

1 (518.23) kwyn kwynynk' (519.1) 'ym t'ryqym "sylżwn
2 'dym t'v'rym (519.2) 'wyklyzwn "qlyq̈ym ts'nkym
3 twlz(519.3)-wn tyb kwys's'r-l'r : 'wytrw (519.4) 'wl'r
4 "qyr "y'q swyzwk kyrtkwnč (519.5) kwnkwlyn
5 byr "ryq y'nky 'v
6 'ytyb (519.6) yyryn 'wd m'y'q̈y
7 'wyz' (519.7) swv'tyb "nynk 'ycynt'
8 m'nynk (519.8) kwyrkwmyn "drwq̈ "drwq̈ yyvyk
9 (519.9) tysyk 'ytyk y'r'tyq 'wyz' (519.10) 'ytyklyk
10 'wz b'dyz'dzwn (519.11) "nt b's' 'wl kysy
11 swvq' (519.12) kyryb 't'wyzyn "ryq ywnwb
12 (519.13) y'nky "ryq twn k'dyb (519.14) 't'wyzynk'
13 'dkw yyd (519.15) [yy]b'r-l'r t[wyrtw]b 'wl ['v]
14 (519.16) 'yčynt' kyryb myny 'wyčwn (519.17) kwynt'm'k
15 'wyč'r q̈'t' (519.18) 'wyč 'wydt' r'tn'bwsby
16 "tlq (519.19) tnkry tnrkysy bwrq'n "tyn
17 (519.20) bw nwm 'rdyny-nynk "ty byrl' (519.21) "t'yw
18 'ynč' tyb tyzwn (519.22) ywkwnwrmn v'ydwry
19 lyq "ltwn(520.1)-t'q 'rd'ny č'č'k y'rwq̈
20 (520.2) y'ltryq̈lq q̈wt 'wylwklwk (520.3) 'dkw-w
21 'dr'mlyk t'lwy 'wykwz "tlq r'tn'bwsby

22 tnkry bwrq'n q̈wtynk' (520.5) tyb : 'wytrw
23 'srynkw qw-' č'č'k-l'r (520.6) "lyb "drwq̈
24 "drwq̈ "s (520.7) 'yčkw-l'r twtwb "qyr "y'm'q̈(520.8)yn
25 <t'bynzwn "nčwl'zwn> y'n' "dn
26 yyd yyb'r (520.9) qw-' č'č'k "s 'yčkw

T III 56.9 **verso**

s'kyzynč 'wylws twq̈wz

1 'wyz' (520.10) m'nynk kwyrkwmk' t'byq 'wdwq
2 (520.11) q̈ylzwn y'n' 'wl "s (520.12) 'yčkwk "lyb
3 twyrt yynk'q(520.13)dynqy tnkry-l'rk' s'čyb
4 t'byq (520.14) 'wdwq q̈ylzwn : "nt'd' b's'
5 (520.15) bk q̈'tyq kyrtw swyzl'b
6 (520.16) 'ynč' tyb tyzwn :
7 trkyn (520.17) t'vr'q̈ 'wytwnwrmn
8 syrykyny (520.18) q̈wt tnkrysyn : q̈wt (520.19) q̈wlwrmn
9 kwysws <kwys'ywrmn> byrwk syz(520.20)ynk s'vynkyz
10 kwyny kyrtw čyn (520.21) 'rs'r : bw m'nynk
11 'wytwnmys (520.22) 'wytwkwmyn ywq̈swz q̈wrwq
12 (520.23) q̈ylm'nk tyb mwnčwl'yw swyzl'zwn : :
13 (521.1) ['wytrw 'wl 'wy]dw[n mn] bw s'v(521.2)-l'ryq
14 bylmys-d' kyn 'wl kysy-nynk (521.3) 'vynd'
15 'y-syn t'ryqyn 'dyn (521.4) t'v'r-yn "s'
16 (521.5) 'wyklytw t'kynk'y mn : bw (521.6) d'rnyq
17 swyzl'yw myny 'wq̈yz(521.7)wn-l'r 'wytwnzwn-
18 l'r : 'wq̈ytwq̈(521.8)d' "snwč' bw (521.9) bwrq'n-l'r
19 "tyn bw bwdystv(521.10)-l'r "tyn "t'yw
20 swyzwk <kyrtkwnč> kwnkwl(521.11)yn ywkwnw 'ynč'
21 tyb tyzwn(521.12)-l'r : :
22 ywkwnwrmn 'wyč 'wydky (521.13) 'wntwn synk'r
23 yyrtynčwd' 'rykm' (521.14) q̈'m'q bwrq'n-l'r
24 q̈wtynk' : :
25 (521.15) ywkwnwrmn r'tn'syk-y "tlq (521.16) bwrq'n
26 [q̈w]tynk' : ywkwnwr-mn

T III 56.20 **recto**

1 (524.10) "snw(524.11)č' yyty kwyn yyty twyn (524.12) s'kyz
2 twyzwn b'č'q č'qs'bt(524.13)yn "lyb "ryq
3 b'č'b : t'nkd' (524.14) 'yrt' t'l čybyq̈yn
4 t'ncwl'b tys(524.15)yn "rytyb <ywnwb> "qyzyn
5 <y'yzwn> : (524.16) "nt'd' b's'
6 yydyn yyb'r(524.17)yn qw-' y'vysqwn
7 bwrq'n-l'r(524.18)q' t'byq 'wdwq
8 q̈ylzwn<-l'r> : (524.19) kntw q̈ylmys "yyq q̈ylynčyn
9 (524.20) n'č' y'd' ks'nty q̈ylyb : y'n'
10 (524.21) kntw 't'wyzy 'wyčwn bys "žwn (524.22) tynlq-
11 l'r 'wyčwn q̈wt q̈wlwb (524.23) bwy'n 'vyrzwn
12 byr "ryq 'vd' (525.1) "zw ["]r'v'd'n s'nkr'md'
13 'wd (525.2) m'y'q̈yn swv'b m'nt['l] q̈ylyb [čyn]t'n
14 (525.3) twytswk kwywrwb t'byq 'wdwq q̈ylz(525.4)wn
15 byr swtsyq 'wz 'ytyb (525.5) y'[r']ttyb 'wyz'synd'
16 br'-kws'try (525.6) s'lyntwryb m'nt'l 'wytr'(525.7)synt'
17 'wrwb t'kr'synt' qw-' (525.8) y'vysqw tyzyb
18 'wytrw tymyn (525.9) 'wk 'wynkr'ky d'rnyq

19 swyzl'zwn (525.10) myny k'lzwn tyb kwys'zwn
20 (525.11) 'wytrw mn 'wl 'wqwrt' 'wl twyz(525.12)wn-l'r
21 'wqly-nynk bw <'wyrysyn> (525.13) kwyrwb "nk'
22 y'q̈yn k'lyb 'wl (525.14) m'nt'l q̈ylmys 'v
23 'yčynt' (525.15) kyryb 'wl swtsy-d' 'wlwrwb
24 (525.16) "nynk t'byqyn 'wdwqyn "ly (525.17) t'kynk'y
25 mn : 'wytrw "nt'd' (525.18) kyn 'wl kysy
26 twylynt' myny (525.19) kwyrk'ly bwlq'y n'

T III 56.20 **verso**

s'kyzynč 'wylws byr ykrmy
1 twyrlwk (525.20) tyl'kyn krk'kyn twyk'l "yytyb
2 (525.21) 'd t'v'r "qy b'rym ; "ltwn (525.22) kwymws
3 q̈wyn yylq̈y 'y t'ryq "s 'yčkw (525.23) twn
4 k[']d[y]m 'wyz' kwyswsl'ryk (526.1) <b'rč'> q̈'ntwrw
5 t'kynk'y mn q̈'č'n (526.2) byrwk
6 'wl twyzwn -l'r 'wqly
7 bw (526.3) mwnt'q twysk'
8 'wtly-q̈' t'ks'r(526.4)-l'r : 'wl bwlmys
9 q'zqyq(?)-l'ry(526.5)-nynk 'yrw-sy (?) 'wyz' "snw
10 'wyč (526.6) 'rdyny-k' t'byq 'wdwq "qyr (526.7) "y'q
11 q̈ylzwn m'nk' <ym' "nčwl'yw 'wq̈>
12 (526.8) t'bynzwn 'wdwnzwn m'nk' t'byq (526.9) 'wdwq
13 q̈ylmys yyd y[y]b'r qw-' (526.10) č'č'k "s
14 'yčkwk s'tyb ["nynk] (526.11) s'tyqy 'wyz'
15 y'n' 'wyč 'rdynyk (526.12) "y'zwn "qyrl'zwn-
16 l'r : (526.13) 'wytrw mn 'wyrwk 'wz'dy 'wl
17 kysyk (526.14) kwyw kwyz'tw twtwb n' krk'kyn
18 (526.15) 'kswk krk'k q̈ylm'q'y mn 'ynčyb (526.16) "č
19 s'r'n kwnkwl twr(526.17)qwrqwlwq 'rm'z : 'wydwn
20 'wydwn (526.18) ywq̈-q̈' čyq'y-q' bwsy
21 byrzwn : (526.19) <'wyrwk> 'wz'dy bw nwm 'rdynyk
22 'wq̈ytyb (526.20) t'byqyn 'wdwqyn 'wyzm'dyn
23 (526.21) q̈ylmys bwy'nyn bwrq'n q̈wtynk'
24 (526.22) [q̈]wtrwlm'q̈ 'dkw'k' (527.1) t'kk'y-l'r tnkrym
26 [ty]b 'wytwnty : (527.2) 'wytrw twyk'l bylk'

T III 56.11 **recto**

1 (527.4) tnkry tnkrysy (527.3) bwrq'n syrykyny q̈wt
2 tnkry q't'wny(527.4)-nynk bw 'wytwkyn 'sydyb
3 <yrlyq̈'b. (527.5) 'wyk' "lq̈'yw 'ynč' tyb
4 yrlyq̈'dy : (527.6) 'dkw 'dkw q̈wt tnkry q't'wny
5 y(527.7)-' 'wyzk' "dyn'qw-q̈'
6 'ykydyn 'wlwq (527.8) "syq twsw
7 q̈ylt'cy bw nwm 'rdynyk (527.9) kynkwrw
8 y'dqwlwq̈ 'rtynkw krk'klyk (527.10) 'wytwk
9 'wytwntwnk tyb yrlyq̈'dy : :

Suvarṇprabhāsottama-sūtra (Altun Yaruq)

Chapter XVI

Translation

The sixteenth chapter, entitled "Supplication of the Goddess Srī," in the scripture entitled **Suvarṇprabhāsottama-sūtra.**

At that time, the goddess of Fortune, Srī, got up from the place where she was seated, bowed down at the feet of the Buddha, joined her palms together, and thus spoke with respect:

O, my venerable Lord (bhadanta bhagavan)! If I should see that any bhikṣu (monk), bhikṣunī (nun), upasaka (lay-brother) or upāsikā (lay-sister) learns, holds, reads, preaches, writes or has written this (excellent) sūtra, then shall I honor and serve him with all my heart, and shall give [him] food to eat, clothing to wear, a place to dwell, a bed, medicines [for use] in time of illness, as well as other things which are needed, cause all of those creatures who, both by day and by night, contemplate the words and meanings in this excellent sūtra, who disseminate [it] in this Jambudvīpa-land, who cause it to be heard by creatures possessing the good merit (punya) of meritorious good deeds done, (of) seeds planted in the religion (sāsana) of prior Buddhas, and who cause it not quickly to disappear, in countless existences, I will cause them for the duration of a hundred thousand kotis of kalpas to enjoy on high, in the realm of the gods and below, in the world of men, various most excellent joys, to acquire the joy (? to become richly endowed with) harvest food and drink, not to experience the deprivations of hunger, and to be provided with goods. I will cause them to encounter future Buddhas, to be rescued from the bitter necessities in the three evil ways, and in the very next [time] to attain the fruit of achieving bodhi-bliss.

If one asks, 'Why?' O my venerable Lord (bhadanta bhagavan), I recall that in a bygone time long ago [there was] a Tathāgata, in whose religion (sāsana), because I became complete, I humbly planted a seed of good root (merit-root, kusalamūla); so that, through the great compassion of the Tathāgata, the Samyaksambuddha (Fully Enlightened One), who takes mercy upon me, he has enabled me through the great might of the Buddhas, to acquire the great ability so that now, on whichever place I think, in whichever direction I look, in whichever country I arrive, [I] will make all of the sons of man in that place, in that direction, and in that country, wealthy with clothing to wear, food to eat, ornaments to adorn oneself with, gold, silver, beryl, rock crystal, (emeralds), carnelian, coral, amber, mother-of-pearl (or lapis lazuli), pearls, and various other gems. Therefore, my Lord, if any creatures read and recite with pure hearts this Suvarṇaprabhāsottama, most excellent of sūtras; if, further, burning excellent incense and strewing flowers, they worship the Tathāgata Ratnapuṣpa on my behalf and further, at the three times each day uttering my name and, with various sorts of incense, flowers, and savory [offerings] of food and drink, also worhsip me; if they uninterruptedly listen to this jewel of sūtras, they will thus attain merit-roots.

Then she spoke these slokas:

[1] If anyone holds
This jewel of sūtras thus,
For himself and for his followers
Lack will disappear.

[2] The food and clothes they need
Will never diminish;
Their brilliance will increase,
Their lives will lengthen.

[3] The savor of the earth grows stronger;
It will constantly increase;
The gathering (?) rain at the proper time
Will fall from above below.

[4] The whole host of gods
Will all rejoice as one:
The rulers of the forests
And the fruits will also rejoice.

[5] The fruits that spring forth
Upon the trees will flourish;
Whatever harvests there are
Will ripen well without spoiling.

[6] Whoever should want
Jewels, pearls, or wealth,
According to his heart's desire

His wishes will quickly be fulfilled.

Thus she spoke.

Then the Buddha, praising Srī, the goddess of Fortune, thus spoke:

Good, good art thou, O Srī. Meditating upon the fruits of your good deeds in a previous existence, making a vow to serve [others] with joy in return, you made the highly necessary request to bestow goods (?) on beings, to disseminate this jewel of sūtras and to give great merit (puṇya).

Chapter XVII

Translation

The seventeenth chapter, entitled, "The Increase of Wealth," in the scripture called **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrarāja**

At that time, Srī, the goddess of Fortune, again thus addressed the Buddha:

O, my Lord (bhadanta bhagavan), as for me, I humbly dwell near the city named Dhanavati, [the city] of Vaisravana, the mahārāja (lokapāla) of the north, in a garden named Supuṣpa, in a marvelous castle (vimāna) named Puṣpaka, constructed of the seven jewels. If anyone from day to day should wish, saying 'Would that my harvests grow greater! Would that my wealth increase! Would that my granaries grow full!' then they, with a faithful heart purified by worship, making a new house and besmearing the ground with ox-dung, let him paint my image inside there ornamentally and well with decorations and adornments. Then, let that person enter into the water, bathe himself clean, put on clean new clothing, anoint himself with excellent ointments and, entering into the house, let him thus speak thrice at the three times each day, uttering, on my behalf, the name of the Buddha called Ratnapuṣpa together with the name of this jewel of sūtras, saying:

'I bow before the majesty of the Ratnapuṣpa Buddha named Vaiḍūryasuvarṇaratnakusuma-prabhāsasrīguṇasāgara.' Then, let him worship with profound reverence, taking various flowers and holding various sorts of food and drink [offerings] and again let him worship my image with other [offerings of] incense, flowers, and food and drink. Then, taking those [offerings of] food and drink, let them worship, strewing [them] to the gods of the four directions. Then again, speaking words of very great sincerity, let them thus say, 'Swiftly, I pray [thee], Srī, goddess of Fortune! I beseech a blessing, [I ask for] a wish. If your words are really sincere and true, make not vain and useless this request of mine I begged for.' Thus let him speak. Then, at that time, after I have comprehended these words, I shall, in that person's house, humbly increase his harvest (grain), his goods, his food and drink. Let him invoke me, speaking this **dhāranī**; [but] previous to the invocation, let him name the names of these Buddhas and the names of these Bodhisattvas and, bowing down with a pure heart, speak thus:

Namas to the majesty of all the Buddhas who exist in the worlds of the ten directions in the three times; **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha names Ratnasikhi! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Ratnadhvaja! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Suvarṇadhvaja! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Prapakuṣa! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Ratnacandra! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Dipaṃkara! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Mahādhvaja! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Akṣobya! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Ratna(ni)mitra! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Abita (Amitabhā)! **Namas** to the majesty of the Buddha named Duṇḍubisvara! **Namas** to the majesty of the Bodhisattva named Somadhvaja! **Namas** to the majesty of the Bodhisattva named Kañcanaprabhā! **Namas** to the majesty of the Bodhisattva named Nirvana (?)! **Namas** to the majesty of the Bodhisattva named Dharmottara! **Namas** to the majesty of the Bodhisattva named Somakṣema!, bowing profoundly before the majesty of all these Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Then, further, reciting **dhāranīs**, I invoke Srī, the goddess of Fortune, who will fulfill my desires and will bring to completion the affairs I do.

This is the **dhāranī**:

Tadyathā namo Srī mahādevīni ya ya, tadyathā pratipūrṇacare samantadarsane mahāvihāragate samantavidmane mahākarya pratiṣṭhaprāpaṇe sarvārthasādhani supratipure aryanadharmata

mahāvikupite mahāmitrabha (mahāmaitri) upasaṃhite mahāhitaiṣi susaṃgrihite samanta artha anupalani svāhā.

O, my Lord, whenever anyone humbly recites this efficacious **dhāranī** and invokes me, I will then listen to his supplication and, drawing nigh, will fulfill his desires. O, my Lord (bhadanta bhagavan), as for this **dhāranī**, it is a formula (verse, **pādaka**) for performing the abhiṣeka consecration; it is a formula which will be thoroughly effective for the performance called **siddhi**; it is a true formula; it is a genuine formula; it is true method for achieving equilibrium; it is the foundation which will make manifest the true previous good roots (merit roots) of all the sons of man. Therefore, if anyone decides to recite and to keep it, he first should take the eight-membered vow [to fast] and, keeping a pure fast, he should early in the morning at dawn cut a willow twig and clean his teeth and should rinse out his mouth. After that he should worship the Buddhas with incense and flower petals. He should make a confession as to how many bad deeds he himself committed and then, beseeching a blessing on his own behalf and on behalf of the creatures of the five existence-forms, he should repay merit (**puṇya**).

He should make a **maṇḍala** by smearing ox-dung in a clean house or in a monastery and, burning sandalwood incense, he should worship. He should well construct a stand and place banners and parasols above it; casting into the center of the **maṇḍala**, he should strew flower petals around the edge of it and then should immediately recite the above **dhāranī**. He should wish that I come and then, at that moment, perceiving the conduct of that son of noble birth, I shall come to him quickly, enter into that very house where the **maṇḍala** was made and, sitting on that stand, I shall accept his worship. Thereafter, that person will be able to see me in his sleep. I will ask thoroughly about his every desire and need and I will satisfy [his] wishes with goods, wealth, gold, silver, sheep, cattle, grain, food and drink, and clothing. As soon as that son of noble family receives such a reward, he should first worship the **triratna** with a portion of the acquisitions he got. Then he should make offerings to me and, selling the perfumes, flowers, food and drink that he offered to me, should again worship the **triratna** with [the proceeds received from] the sale thereof. Then I will long continue to protect this person and I will provide him with no lack of necessities.

But that person is not one who will excite envy; from time to time he should make contributions to the poor. He should constantly read this jewel of sūtras and should turn toward the majesty of Buddha through merit achieved uninterruptedly by worshipping it. Then he will soon attain the good fruits of salvation, my Lord.

Thus she humbly spoke.

Then the Buddha, the Fully Enlightened One, hearing such speech from Srī, the Goddess of Fortune, spoke thus, praising [her]:

Good, good, O Goddess of Fortune! You, who will bring great benefit both to yourself and to others, made the highly necessary request to disseminate widely this jewel of sūtras.

Annotations

2.4 Notes to the Translation

512.22 **q'twn**. In TMEN 1159, Doerfer devoted eight pages to a thorough discussion of this word, from which we may abstract a few salient points.

He gives the meaning of Tk. **Xātun** as 'Gattin eines Chans, später: (einfache) Edelfrau und sogar (schlechtweg) Frau,' adding that "das Wort hat im Tk. genau dasselbe Sinken der Bedeutung durchgemacht." The word has undergone even further semantic reduction in the present text, where it is used simply as a gender marker to form the feminine of **tnkry**, and in usage is strictly parallel to Chin. 女 (in 天女), Tib. **-mo** (in **lha-mo**), and Mo. **ökin** (in **ökin tngri**), all of which compounds are ultimately traceable to Skr. **devī** (or **devatā**) 'goddess.' What is of particular interest to us in this instance, however, is that, while 512.21 has **syrykyny "tlq qwt tnkry q'twny**, the chapter heading (512.18) has **syrykyny "tlq tnkry qyz-y**, with **qyz** corresponding to **q'twn**. This is a pecularity of the Uighur version, for the

Chinese has 天、女 in both cases; the remaining occurrences of the name in these two chapters have **q'twn** and, unless **qyz** is a mistake here, we may conclude that both words have so lost their original meanings in this usage that they are interchangeable.

512.22 The Chinese here has 前 (438C26), which Nobel translates "trat nach vorn."

513.2 **q'vswr-** (**qavšur-**) 'bring together; join together; fold' < **qavïš-**, cooperative of *qav- (< ***qab-**, cf. Manchu-Tungus **kab** 'together'). This root is a variant of the root ***qab** ~ *qap ~ ***qam** found in Uig. **qavïr-** 'bring together, collect; constrict,' **qap-** 'grasp or seize with the hands,' **qama-** 'be dazzled (of the eyes)' = 'shut the eyes (against the light),' be set on edge (of the teeth)' = 'clench the teeth (in irritation),' or **qamaġ** 'all' = 'everything brought together.' The root ***qam** is at the base of the equivalent verb in the Mongolian version **qamtudqa-** 'joindre,' as in **ġar qamtudqa-** 'joindre les mains' (Mos.3322).

Other words in this group with the general meaning of 'coming together' or 'bringing together' are: Chag. **qav-** 'verfolgen, verjagen' (Radlov Wb.2.463), Uig. **qavuš-**, Ott. **qavïš-** 'zusammenkommen, sich vereinigen,' Chag. **qavġun** 'der Ueberfall, die Verfolgung,' Kaz. **qama-** 'einhüllen, umringen, von allen Seite angreifen,' Kaz., Kom **qamal-** 'sich versammeln, eintreten (von vielen Leuten),' OT **qamït-** 'halten, zusammenhalten,' OT **qab-** 'come together, meet, join,' Yak. **xab-** 'greifen, anfassen,' **xamïi-** 'zusammenlegen, einsammeln,' **xomui-** 'zusammenlegen, zusammenpacken; versammeln'; Mo. **qabi** 'vicinity; close, near,' **qabir-** 'stand close to one another (of animals),' **qabir-** 'grincer (des dents)' (Mos.344a), Ord. **xawi-** 'se tenir dans le voisinage, se tenir auprès de quelqu'un' (Mos.343b), Mo. **qamsu-** 'be united, come together,' Mo. **qomur-** 'cerner, encercler, entourer' (Mos.351a); Ma. **hami-** 'approach, be close to' (cf. Mo. **qabida-** 'come close, near'), **kamci-** 'zusammenlegen, zusammentun, vereinigen' (Hauer 571); Ev. **kabu-** 'walk round,' Nan. **qamï-** (~ **xami-**) 'reach.' James Hamilton (**Contc**, Glossary) has traced the root ***qav-** (< ***qab**) back to a primitive ***qa-** 'ajouter, entasser, joindre, mélanger à,' **qan-** (< ***qa-n-**) 'être rassasié, en avoir àsatiété < être entassé, accumulé,' including forms where the **-a-** of the first syllable has passed to **-o-** under the influence of the following labial consonant **-v-**: **qovra-** 's'assembler, se presser,' **qovraġ** 'assemblé, foule.' To the same root *qa- may be traced Mo. **qaġa-** 'close; block; surround,' **qada-** 'drive in, nail,' **qayi-** 'look all around,' **qaya ~ qayaġa** 'edge, border,' **qal- ~ qalu-** 'approach,' **qalda-** 'touch, approach,' **qalir** 'squinting' (the eyelids approaching each other), **qan- ~ qanu-** 'be satisfied' (Uig. **qan-**), **qani** 'friend' (a close associate), **qara-** 'look at, face' (regard closely), **qari-** 'return, go back' (go back together), **qasi-** 'enclose, fence; block,' **qaja-** 'bite' (press the teeth together), **qajiġu ~ qajaġu** 'side, flank; near'; **qoli-** 'mix,' **qori-** 'shut in, confine,' **qorši-** 'unite, combine,' **qotala** 'all, whole, entire' < **qotan** 'city; enclosure,' **qošila-** 'become double, form a pair' < **qos ~ qous** 'pair'; Ma. **ka-** 'lay siege to, surround' (< Mo. **qaġa-**), Ev. **kani** 'friend' (< Mo. **qani**, Cincius 1.372b), Ma. **kani** 'related, of the same or similar kind' (< ***qan** 'blood,' cf. Lam. **hān-** 'bleed,' Mo. **qana-** 'bleed,' OT **qan** 'blood'), **karca-** 'run into, collide with,' Ma. **haca** 'handful,' **hacihiya-** 'urge,' **hada-** 'nail, tack,; fix the eyes on,' **hafu-** 'penetrate; communicate,' **hahi** 'urgent' (= 'pressing'), Neg., Oroch., Ul., Orok, Nan. **xala** 'family, kin; clan,' Ma. **hala** 'family,' Ma. **hala-** 'exchange,' **halgi-** 'wrap around,' **hanci** 'near,' **hari-** 'iron, press,' **harsa-** 'protect,' **hashan** 'fence, palisade,' **hasa-** 'surround; cover, protect'; **hoki** 'companion,' **hori-** 'enclose' (< Mo. **qori-**); Orok **xori-** 'copulate (of deer),' Ma. **gari-** 'copulate (of dogs),' Ev. **goyo-**, Lam. **goyü-**, Orok **goyow-** 'wound,' Ma. **goi-** 'hit the mark,' **gosi-** 'love.' Tk. **q-** and Mo. **q-** as a rule correspond to **k-** and **x-** (written **h-**) in Manchu and **k-** or **g-** (a change conditioned by tautosyllabic **-r** ***-r** and ***-l**) in Tungus, though Manchu words with **x-** are frequently loanwords from Mongolian words with initial **q-** (Poppe, **VG** §10, p. 16), as Ma. **hoton** 'city' < Mo. **qotan** 'city.' Most Manchu words in this group have initial **x-** (**h-**) but are not loanwords; the correspondence here of Ma. **x-** to OT **q-** and Mo. **q-** is fairly systematic and may be the reflex of a sound in Proto-Altaic distinct from ***k-**.

513.6 **pw nwm 'rdyny**. The other versions have the full name of the sūtra here.

513.6 **'rdyny** < Sak. **ratana** (< ?Prak. **ratana**) < Skr. **ratna**. The explanation for Uig. final **-y [-i]** in place of Saka and Sanksrit **-a** is to be attributed to a characteristic in the accidence of Saka masc. and neut. **a**-stem nouns. Sak. **ratana** is a citation form; the nominative singular is **ratanä**, and the sound of this final **-ä**, according to Konow (Saka Studies, 5) is really identical to **-i**. We can assume, then, that Uig. borrowed the word in its nominative form.

Another feature which points to Saka as an intermediary source for Uig. **'rdyny**, is the patterning of the syllables. Apparently the morpheme structure rules of Saka are hostile to a medial consonant-cluster such as the group **-tn-** found in Skr. **ratna**, the solution to this being to introduce an epenthetic vowel. The sequence of CVCV in **(ra)tana** is paralleled by the last two syllables in Uig. **'rdyny** = **(är)dini, (är)däni**. As for the pattern of the first syllable in **'rdyny**, this is an example of the addition of a prothetic **alēph**, since Uighur does not tolerate an initial **[r-]**. It is true that further on in the present text (in line 514.22), we have the same Sanskrit word **ratna** written **r'tn'**, as for instance in the name **r'tn' pwspy (ratna-pušpi)** < Sak. ***ratnapuṣpa**, nom. **-ä** < Skr. **ratnapuṣpa**; however, this is a transliteration, not a loanword, and has not been assimilated into the vocabulary the way **'rdyny** has. The addition of this prothetic vowel **alēph** in turn resulted in **Mittelsilbenschwund** of a vowel (presumably a second **alēph**) between the **-r-** and the **-d-** in a possible intermediary form such as **'r'dyny.**

In the penultimate syllable of **'rdyny** there occurs a **yod (y)** in alternation with **alēph (')**, corresponding to **-a-** in Saka **ratana**; the presence of **yod** in itself suggests the effect of **i**-umlaut resulting from the final **-y**, but it is not clear whether this phenomenon had its origin in Saka or in Uighur.

513.7 **pwsqwnmys-yn twtmys-yn 'wqymys-yn nwml'mys-yn byty-mys-yn bytytmys-yn** Chin. 受 持 讀 誦 為 人 解 說 (438C23) "annimmt, festhält, liest, rezitiert und es den Menschen erklärt." The obvious differences in comparing these two is that the Chinese has no parallel to Uighur **byt- bytyt-** 'to write and to have written,' while the Chinese phrase 人、解 說 'to expound to others' appears to be untranslated in the Uighur text. At first, it might seem that the one is somehow a rendering of the other; however, this phrase is not unique; it occurs again, almost verbatim, in Suv. 447.15 (quoted **apud** TT V, A 69 n.): **bu ïduq nom iligi atlïġ nom ärdinig bošġundačï tutdačï oqïdačï sözlätäči bititäči bititdäči tüzünlär oġlï tüzünlär qïzï birök**, where **bošġundačï tutdacï oqïdačı sözlätäci bititdäci** translates 受 持 讀 誦 "zu empfangen [Hend.], zu lesen und zu rezitieren." Other than the slight difference in the two passages between **nomla-** 'to preach' and **sözlä-** 'to recite,' the phrase appears to be a stylistic cliché, at least insofar as Sïngqu Säli's translation of this text is concerned. The occurrence of **nomla-**, on the one hand, and of sözlä-, on the other, is not due to varying interpretations of

, which means properly 'réciter en chantant, lire ou apprendre de mémoire en chantant' (Cor.856) -

> Mo **ungši-** (146r4) 'réciter, lire à haute voix' (Mos.511), but by the presence of the Chin. 為 人 解 說 in the first instance. Tib. hdon-pa (114v6) 'äussern, sagen' (Nob.Wb.)

The Tibetan and Mongolian versions translate the Chinese more faithfully: Tib. **len-pa dan/ hdzin-pa dan/ klog-pa dan/ hdon-pa dan/ gzan-dag-la yan-dag-par ston-par bgyid-pa** (114r6) "who takes, holds, reads, recites and perfectly explains (expounds) it to others," Mo. **abqui kiged : bariqui oriqui ungšiqui : busud-tur üneger üjügülügči** (146r4) "who will take, hold, read, recite and will truly explain (teach) it to others.

513.9 **'wl'r-ny**. Chin. 此 等 法 師 (439A1) "diese **dharma**-Lehrer"; Tib. **chos-smra-ba de-la** (114v7) "to that preacher of the Law," Mo. **tere nom kelelegči-yi** (146r6) "that preacher of the Law"; Skr.Suv.I **tasya dharmabhāṇakasya** (112.8) "(of) that preacher of the Law." To this latter term **dharmabhāṇaka**, Tib. **chos-smra-ba**, generally corresponds. Although the Uig. substitutes a demonstrative pronoun for Chin. 等 師, Sïngqu Säli has recognized a plural here, as indicated by Chin 等 **têng**; the Tibetan and the Mongolian, however, have singular forms. The definition of Chin. 法 師 given by Soothill & Hodous is 'Buddhist teacher, master of the Law; five kinds are given - a custodian (of the **sūtras**), reader, intoner, expounder, and copier' (269b). These five functions of the **dharmabhāṇaka** were described in the preceding line of our text: **pwsqwn-** (reader), **twt-** (custodian), **'wqy-** (intoner), **nwml'-** (expounder), **pyty-** (copier); to this the Uighur has added a sixth: **pytyt-**, probably for the benefit of

the patron who, although he could not read or write, could nevertheless accrue merit by commissioning the **sūtras** to be copied.

If Sïngqu Säli had used a term here for **dharmabhāṇaka**, we might have expected **wapšï**, which is in fact a loanword from Chin. 法 師 ***vap-ši**. The term **nomči** which occurs in **kim ayïġ qïlïnč-lïġlar bu nomġ arwïsïġ nomlaġlï nomčïġ örlätgäli saqïnč saqïnsar, bu arwïsïġ sözläzün** (TT VI, 373) "Wenn irgendwelche Übeltäter beabsichtigter, den diese Lehre und Zauberformel predigenden Prediger zu stören, so soll er diese Zauberformel rezitieren," appears to have a more restricted context.

513.10 **qwp kwnkwl-yn**, "with his whole heart"; Chin. 專 心 (438C29) "mit ganzem Herzen," might be better translated "solely, with one mind" (Mat. 1428,43), which is accurately reflected by the Tib. **sems rtse gcig-tu** (114v7) "with his mind on a single point (single-mindedly)," cf. **rtse-gcig-pa** "mit (nur) einem Ziel versehen" (Hahn, Lehrbuch, 319); **rtse gcig-tu lta-ba** 'to look at one particular point; also adv. to look steadily'; **sems rtse gcig-tu byas-pai tiṅ-ṅe ḥdzin-la ẓugs-te** 'having entered into meditation he concentrated his mind on one particular object (of thought)' (Das 1012b); the Mo. **nigen üjügür-tü sedkil-iyer** has the same signification, "with his mind upon a single point," "single-mindedly," although the phrase **üjügür sedkitei** is defined by Mostaert as "très bon de coeur, juste, irréprochable' (750b). The corresponding Sanskrit in Suv. I is **autsukyaṃ** in the sentence **aham api . . . tasya dharmabhāṇakasya bhikṣor autsukyaṃ karişyāmi** (112.8,9), which Emmerick translated "I . . . will give zeal to that monk who preaches the Law"; this is not an accurate translation, since the word **autsukyaṃ** is to be interpreted as an accusative of manner rather than the object of the verb **karişyami**.

513.12 **k'tkwlwk twn (kädgülük ton)** 'clothing to wear': **käd-** 'put on, wear' = Mo. **kedür-** 'wear a garment over one's shoulders' < ***kebdür-** from a root ***keb** found in OT **käviz**, Mo. **kebis** 'rug, carpet,' OT **köbän** 'feather bed,' Mo. **kebeneg** 'felt raincoat or cloak,' OT **kübi-** 'quilt,' Ma. **kubu-** 'hem,' **kubun** 'cotton,' **kubcin** ~ **kubcen** 'hem,' also OT **käčä** 'felt,' perh. < ***kebče**, back-vowel variant ***qubča** in Mo. **qubčasuñ** 'dress, clothes'; cf. further Mo. **qunar** ~ **qunir** 'garments, clothes.'

H. H. Schaeder was the first to point out that Uig. **twn (ton)** was borrowed from Khot. **thauna /0auna/** 'cloth,' and Lüders incorporated this observation into his discussion of Kharoṣṭhi **thavamna, thavamnaġa (tavanaġa)** 'cloth' (**Textilen in alten Turkistan**, pp. 21-24), which Burrow identified as a loanword from the same Khotanese word **thauna** (**Iranian Words in the Kharoṭṭi Documents**, p. 512). Khot. **thauna /0auna/** is from ***tafna** from a root ***tap-** 'spin' and Bailey derives Ossetic **tunae**, Digor **tin** from Khot. **thauna**, later **thaum, thau** 'cloth, silk,' with the remark that "all θ have become t" (**Asica, TPS**, p. 27).

Beside Khot. **thauna** is a derivative, **prahona**, meaning 'clothing' (Lüders, p. 35; F. W. Thomas, **Some Notes on Central-Asian Kharoṣṭhi Documents**, pp. 534-535), which more closely fits the meaning of Uig. **ton**; this change of **θ > h** in intervocalic position (which is a typical change from Old Persian to New Persian in introvocalic position) indicates that this th was a fricative sound (θ) and not a stop. In Anlaut, the regular development of OPers. θ- is Pahl. **s-**, NPers. **s-** (Paul Horn, "Neupersische Schriftsprache," p. 85; Darmesteter, **Études**, p. 55; Bartholomae, "Chr. Vorgeschichte der Iranischen Philologie," p. 16), and even in Old East Iranian, Ossetic, and related dialects, **θ** and **s** of Achaemenid Persian, from Iranian ***s**, is represented by **s**, and this suggests that a change in the direction of **θ- > s-** would be more likely in these languages than a change of θ- > t-. Whether Ossetic **tunae**, Digor **tin** are directly from a form such as Khot. **thauna** or directly from the earlier form ***tafna** (or ***tavna**) is, of course, not the issue here; what we are concerned with is whether the Uighur-speaking population would have heard Khotanese initial θ- as **t-** or as **s-**.

Against Uig. **twn (ton)** as a loanword from Khotanese is the existence of cognates in the Altaic languages: Chag. **toqu-**, Kaz., Kir. **toqu-** 'weave,' Uig., Chag., Ott. **tor** 'net, fish net,' Az. **toratan** 'spider'; Mo. **tobki-** 'tie; sew, stitch'; Ma. **tonggo** 'thread.'

513.13 **twylyt (tölit)** perh. for **twyl't (tölät)** 'pillow, cushion' bears the same relationship to **töšäk** 'bedding, mattress' < **töšä-** 'spread out (a mattress or the like)' as **twyl (tül)** 'dream' does to **twys (tüš)** 'dream' (cf. note to l.526.18 infra). The Tibetan text has **mal-cha** 'Gegenstände für das Lager; Lager;

śayana' and the Mongolian has **debisker** 'quelque chose qu'un étend sous un objet; tapis, matelas' (Mos.145a).

Mo. **debisker**, despite its resemblance to Pers. **tanbasa, tanfasa** < Gr. τάπης 'carpet' (Paul Horn, "Neupersische Schriftsprache," **Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie**, p. 6), is a pure Mongolian word, a verbal noun in /-r/ < caus. **debiske-** < **debis-** (~ **debüs-**) 'spread (as a rug, mattress, cushion, or cover); lay'; this formation is rare, the usual verbal noun for causatives in /-GA-/ from s-stem verbs is a verbal noun in /-l): **durasqal** 'memory' < **durasqa-** < **duras-** 'remind; remember,' **qubisqal** 'revolution' < **qubisqa-** < **qubis-** 'change,' **sonusqal** < **sonusqa-** < **sonus-** 'hear; listen'; but there are a few parallel examples, e.g., **daġusqari** 'end, completion,' **daġusqari ügei** 'sans cesse' (K.1588a) beside **daġusqal** 'ending, conclusion' < **daġusqa-** < **daġus-** 'end, be accomplished' and **egüsger** 'shaft of an arrow or lance' beside **egüskel** 'starting point' < **egüske-** < **egüs-** 'begin.'

OT **tölät** 'cushion' and **töšäk** 'mattress' and Mo. **debisker** 'carpet; mattress,' debse 'saddle cushion,' **dere** 'pillow' are ultimately from a root ***teg-** (perh. < ***te-**) found in Ma. **te-**, Tg. ***teg-** (***tege-**) 'sit,' Ma. **tebu-**, caus. 'set out,' **teku** 'seat'; this root in Mongolian has the form ***deb** ~ ***deg** ~ ***teb** ~ ***teg** and signifies both 'some (flat) object placed under something (for support)' and 'over, above'; actions indicated by this root have to do with 'stepping' rather than 'sitting': **deb** 'step, grade,' **debse-** 'stamp the feet,' **debši-** 'rise, go up'; **degere** 'top, on top of,' **degde-** 'rise,' **degebüri** 'felt covering for the top of a yurt'; **tebši** 'platter or tray,' **tebke** 'bridge of a musical instrument'; **teg** in **teg ġajar** 'level place, field,' **tegši** 'even, level,' **teger** 'burden,' **tegege-** 'load.' The rounded vowel in OT **tölät** and **töšäk** may point to a root ending in **-b** or **-g** or they may be labial variants derived from a root ***tel-** ultimately from the same root ***te-**; cf. Mo. **delge-** 'spread,' **deli-** (~ **dele-**) 'stretch,' **tele-** (~ **teli-**) 'smooth by stretching'; Ma. **dele** 'top, on top,' **delise-** 'overflow,' **tele-** 'stretch taut,' **telejen** 'embossment; protuberance'; the alternation of **t-** ~ **d-** appears to belong to an early stratum of the language (pre-Turkic, pre-Mongolian, pre-Tungus): OT **täp** 'kick,' Tk. **tep-** 'kick': Mo. **debse-** 'stamp the feet,' **tüber-** 'stamp the feet'; OT **täpiz** 'salty ground, salt pan': Mo. **debege** 'marshy place; alpine grassland'; OT **tävsi** 'dish, plate': Mo. **tebši** 'platter'; OT **töpü** (Tk. **tepe**, TKM. depe) 'top': Mo. **deb** 'step, grade': Ma. **debe-** 'overflow'; OT **tüb** 'root (of a tree)': Mo. **tömüsüN** 'bulbous plants, bulbs'; OT **täg-** 'reach' (originally perh. a high place), Tk. **deg-**: Mo. **degde-** 'rise,' **tegege-** 'load': Ma. **dek** 'rising,' **dekde-** 'float, rise,' **tekde-** 'ascend'; OT **tüš** 'equal,' Tk. **düz** 'level': Mo. **tegši** 'even, level': Ma. **teheren** 'equal, even,' **teksin** 'even, equal'; OT **tüš** 'halt on a journey,' **tüš-** 'settle; dismount,' Tk. **düş-** 'fall': Ma. **tokto-** 'fix, settle,' **tomo-** 'nest'; OT **täg** 'better': Mo. **degere** 'top, on top': Ma. **dek** 'rising,' **dele** 'top, on top,' **dergi** 'top, above, over,' **terkin** 'steps, staircase'; OT **yük** 'load, burden': Mo. **teger** 'burden'; OT **yüksä-** 'be high': Mo. **dügür-** 'be full': Ma. **deken** 'rather high,' **den** 'high, tall,' **dukduhun** 'raised, elevated,' **tukiye-** 'lift, raise'; OT **yölä-** 'support': Mo. **döng** 'prop, support,' **tebke** 'bridge,' **tüsi-** 'prop.'

513.20 **twyk'typ**. The phrase **qwlwl'yw s'qynw twyk'typ** translates Chin. 觀 察 思 量 (439A3) "hinschauend, darüber nachdenkend und sie erwägend"; the Tibetan has **so-sor brtags-te / yid-la bsams-śiṅ yoṅs-su btsal-nas** (114vi) "having examined, borne in mind, and investigated," Mo. **öber-e öber-e uqaju : duran-dur-iyan sedkiged** (146r12) "having examined and comprehended in his mind"; Skr.Suv.I **upanāmayet / vyuparīkṣeta** (113.4) "he may take up and . . . examine."

In Chinese the compound 觀 察 **kuan ch'a** signifies 'investigation; meditation on and inquiry into' (S-H 490a) and is equivalent to Skr. **pravicaya**, while 思 量 **sze liang** 'meditate; think, consider' (Mat.5580), 'thinking and measuring, or comparing; reasoning' is equivalent to the seventh **vijñāna**, 'intellection, reasoning' (S-II 302a). The Tibetan **rtag-pa** 'consider, examine, search into, muse upon' is equivalent to Skr. **pra-īkṣate** (Das 538b), and with **so-sor** 'zur Wiedergabe von Skr. **prati-**' (Nob.Wb.) should yield **prati-īkṣ** 'look on, behold, perceive,' which is synonymous with **pra-īkṣ** 'look at, perceive.'

513.21 The Chinese here has 此 經 典 (439A4) "dieser Sūtra-Text."

513.21 The Chinese has 安 樂 而 住 (439A3) "in Wohlergehen leben," which is lacking in the Uighur text.

513.22 **'wynkr'ky** < **öñrā** 'auparavant, jadis' < öñ 'avant' +**rä** [+**rA**] 'vers, s'éloignant dans la direction de' (CDP, Gloss.); thus **'wynkr'ky pwrq'n-l'r** means 'former Buddhas'; cf. **öŋräki iliglär** (TT I 93, n.) "the ancient kings." Although this is doctrinally acceptable, and actually occurs in **bo muntaġ öñräki burxanlar sözlämiš šlok nom käntü özi ọk kọŋülintä klti** (TT X 527) "Derartige, von den früheren Buddhas gepredigte Lehrverse kamen ihm ganz von selbst in den Sinn," there is no such equivalent in the Chinese text, which has simply 佛 **fo** 'Buddhas.' The origin of the Uig. **'wynkr'ky** is not difficult to determine, however, and is to be found in the particle 已 **yi**, the sign of the past tense, in 已 . . . 種 (439A5) "erzeugt haben."

513.23 **s'synynt'.** Uig. **pwrq'n-l'r s'synynt'**, "in the teaching of the Buddhas" translates Chin. 於 . . . 佛 所 (439A5) "in Beziehung auf die . . . Buddhas"; the Tibetan has **saṅs-rgyas . . . -las** (1115r1) "from . . . the Buddhas," Mo. **burqan-dur** (146r17) "in the Buddhas." The word **s'syn** (**šazīn** < Skr. **śāsana**) 'Disziplin,' as in **burxan šaz-īnïn alqïp** (Hüen-tsang I, 315) "die Disziplin Buddhas vernichten," corresponds simply to Chin. 所 'place; where; cause,' Tib. **-las** and Mo. **-dur**, and therefore there is nothing in the original to justify the term. It would appear that the Uighur sought to interpret 佛 所 as 佛 敕 'Buddha's **śāsana** or orders,' i.e., his teaching (S-H 228a). This is not a unique occurrence; in 514.22 **tnkry tnkry-sy pwrq'n s'synynt'** it again corresponds to Chin. 所 in 於 彼 所 (439A11) "in Beziehung auf jenen [d.h. dem Buddha]," Tib. **-las** in **de-las** (115r6) "from him," and this time Mo. **-eče** in **tegün-eče** (146v5), id.; Skr.Suv.I has **yatra** (113.15) "where," and Sak.Suv.I **ce pätä** (53r1), id.

514.2 **tynlq-l'r. tïnlïġ** 'Lebewesen, Mensch' (AI) < **tïn** 'ruh, nefes, soluk' (Kāšġ.) +1IG, lit. 'possessing breath, soul.' Structurally and semantically this is paralleled by Chin. 有 情 **you ch'ing**, '**sattva**, in the sense of any sentient being; the term was formerly tr[anslated] 衆 生 "all the living," which includes the vegetable kingdom, while | | limits the meaning to those endowed with consciousness' (S-H 213b), lit., 'possessing feelings (**ch'ing**); Tib. **sems-can** 'animated being, man, animal' (Das 1277b), lit., 'possessing a soul (as power of moral volition) or spirit' (**sems**; cf. Chin. mmm *sīəm, 'heart' GSR 663); Mo. **amitan** 'êtres, vivants, être vivant, gens' (Mos. 21b) < **amin** 'vie' +tAn, lit., 'possessing life.' AT (and Uig.) **tïn** 'Atem' and AT, Oir. **tïn-** 'atmen' are derived by Poppe from a root ***tī̈n** (with long vowel, as attested by Yak. **tī̈n**, 'Seele, Atem') found in Mo. **činar** < ***tī̈nar** 'Natur, Wesen, Wesenart, Eigenschaft,' MMo. **činar** 'Liebe, Zuneigung.' (Vgl. Gram., 15).

514.3 **yytlyn-.** The **verbum compositum yytlyn- p't-** here translates Chin. 隱 沒 **yin mou** (439A5) "dahinschwinden"; the Tib. has **nub-pa** (115r2) "disappear," and the Mo. **süid-** (146r19), id. ('être dissipé, subir une perte, Mos. 597a). Although the form **yytlyn-** is not elsewhere attested in Uighur, it is to be analyzed as **yit-(i)l-^{O}n-**, the reflexive of a passive verb **yit-il-** (with **Mittelsilbenschwund**), from the base **yit-** 'kaybolmak, yitmek' (Kāšġ.).

Coman has the form **itlän-** (analyzed by Radloff as **it+lä+n**, although **it-** is clearly a verbal root) 'verloren gehen' (Wb.I,1505) and the passive **itil-** 'fortgestossen werden' occurs in Azeri (Wb.I,1504).

The addition of the reflexive to the passive results in the form **-lIn-**; "In alten Zeit werden nicht selten die Affixe des Passivs mit denen des Refls. verbunden, wobei bald die pass., bald die refl. Bedeutung überwiegt, wie **boġlïn-** 'ersticken,' **büglün-** 'gebogen w., sich sammeln,' **itlin-** 'sich drängen'" (Brockelmann, Ostt.Gr., 204). The force of analogy may have had a hand in the development of this form, on the model of Osm. **bilin-** 'gewusst werden,' **alïn-** 'genommen werden'; according to Ramstedt, these examples 'vielleicht sind . . . aus diesem grunde nicht dissimilationen aus **bil-il-**; **al-īl-**, sondern aus ältester zeit erebte **-n-** stämme" (Zur verstammbildungslehre, §8). It would be all the more possible for this formation to be

generalized as soon as the distinction between the passive and the reflexive became blurred, as evidenced here by the lack of change in meaning between the root verb **yit-** 'verloren gehen' and the derivative **itlän-** (**yitlin-**) 'verloren genhen.'

514.4 **'wylkwswz.** The **nomen compositum 'wylkwswz s'nsyz** translates Chin. 無 量 **wu liang** (439A6) "unermesslich" (= Skr. **apra-mana**, S-H 382b); Tib. **thsad ma-mchis-pa sñed-du** 'immeasurable' ('uncountable,' lit., 'to the number which cannot be measured'; = Skr. **apramāna**, Nob.Wb.), Mo. **čaġlasi ügei** 'immeasurable.'

514.4 **q'm'q** (**qamaġ**) 'all.' As Pelliot observed, **qamaġ**, "qui n'est pas donné dans le dictionnaire de Radlov, semble être une forme spécifiquement ougoure . . . . Par 'ougour' j'entend ici le dialecte des Ouigours de Tourfan, et non tous les textes écrits en écriture ouigoure; c'est ainsi que la forme ordinaire du Qutadġu bilig est **qamuġ** et non **qamaġ**" (**Sur le légende d'Uġuz-Khan**, 263, n.2).

Bang traced Uig. **qamaġ**, OT (Kök Türk) **qamïġ**, Chag. **qamuq** (~ **qamuġ**), Alt., Tel. **qamïq** 'all, whole' back to MPers. **hamāk**, and Clauson proposes a possible reading **xamaġ** for Uig. **q'm'q** (**Etym.Dict.**, 627a) in conformity with this theory in spite of the fact that the modern dialects have an obstruent consonant **k-** (**q-**) in initial position (Radloff registers no forms of this word with initial **x-** or **h-**) rather than the expected fricative if the word was borrowed from a word with initial **x-** or **h-**, thus Ott. **qamu** corresponds to OT **qamïġ** but Ott. **xatun** 'lady' < OT **xatun** < Sogd. **xwt'yn** (**xwatēn**) 'wife of the lord' (Räsänen, **Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen**, 150), Ott. **xan** 'caravan-serai' < Pers. **xān**, Chag. **xanman** 'furniture' < Pers. **xānmān**, Ott. **xod** 'self' < Pers. **xōd**, Ott. **hoš** 'well' < Pers. xōš, Ott. **xüda** 'God' < Pers. **xudā**; Ott. **hazaran** 'bamboo' < Pers. **xīzrān**, Ott. **hašhaš** 'poppy' < Pers. **xašxāš**, Ott. **havan** 'mortar' < Pers. **hāvan**, Ott. **hič** 'not' < Pers. **hīč**, Ott. **huš** 'feeling' < Pers. **hūš**.

Poppe has correctly identified OT **qamïġ** as a cognate of Mmo. **qamuq**, Mo. **qamuġ** 'all' from a verb **qamu-** 'zusammenscharren, zu einem Haufen zusammenscharren' from a root ***qam** also found in Mo. **qamsa-** 'xich vereinigen, sich zusammenschließen,' **qamji-** 'helfen, sich jemandem anschließen,' and **qamtu** 'zusammen' (**Vgl.Gr.**, 67, and to this group should be added Kaz. **qama-** (Chag. **qaba-**) 'einhüllen, umgeben, umringen, von allen Seite angreifen,' Kaz., Kom. **qamal-** 'sich versammeln, eintreten (von vielen Leuten),' OT **qamït-** 'halten, zusammenhalten,' Alt. Tel. **qamïn-** 'sich festhalten; etwas ergreifen, um sich fest zu halten'; Mo. **qamiya** 'rapport, liaison,' **qamur-** 'amasser avec un râteau; enlever ce qui est à la surface'; Ma. **kamci-** 'place close together; be together,' **kamni-** 'bring together; close (the eyelids or lips),' Neg. **kampï**, Ud. **kampi-**, Ul. **qampu-**, Nan. **qampï-** 'put together,' Ul., Orok. **qamur-** (~ **qamùrï**) 'together,' Nan. **qamor** (~ **qamùr**) 'id.,' Ev. **kama-** 'oppress,' Lam. **qam-** 'squeeze,' Neg. **kamalï-**, Ul. **qamalu-** 'hamper, hold,' Orok., Nan. **qamalï-** 'press, squeeze'; and Kor. **kam-** 'shut, close (one's eyes).'

The root of this group of words is ***qam** 'together,' as in Mo. **qamtu** 'together,' possibly the same word as Tuba, Leb. **qām** 'the whole hand, a handful' from a verb ***qa** signifying 'hold' or 'hold back' at the base of Mo. **qaġa-** 'close, block' (> Ev. **kā-** 'shut, close,' Ma. **ka-** 'obstruct, stop,' Cincius 1.356). This root is evidently to be connected with the root ***qab-** (~ ***qav-**) in Uig. **q'všur-** (**qavšur-**) discussed in the note to line 513.2 above, as well as with **qap-** 'grasp or seize with the hands' (not in fact distinct from ***qap-** at the base of qapaq 'lid, cover; eyelid,' **qapïġ** 'door, gate,' and **qapġaq** 'cover'); Oroch. **gām, gāmji**, Ma. **ganji** (< ***gām-či**) 'all' from a verb ***ga-** 'take' found generally in Manchu-Tungus (Ev., Lam. **ga-**, Orok., Nan. **ġa-**, Ma. gai- 'take') as well as in Mo. **ġar** (< ***ga-r**) 'hand'; Uig. **qop** 'all; completely,' with rounded vowel, and its front-vowel variant **kōp** 'abundant; much, a great deal, many' found also in Mo. **kōbciN** 'whole, complete, all' and Ev. **kuwukti** (~ **kūkti**), Lam. **kubčč** (**kubɔč**), Neg. **kepukte** 'all,' Ud. **kufula** (~ **kufulc**) 'entirely,' Ul. **kupte** 'intact,' Nan. **kupukte**, Ma. **gubci** (**kupci**) 'all.'

Kor. **hama** 'on the verge of' and **hamulmye** 'much more' are from an obsolete verb **ha-** 'to be much, great, widespread' (cf. Ramstedt, **SKE**, 59) and **ha** 'very much, extremely' and **han** 'big, large, great' are from the same verb. If Kor. **hamppak** (~ **himppek**) 'very much, plenty, greatly' (which is very close in form to Uig. **qamaġ** 'all') and Kor. hamkkey 'together (with), in company (with)' (very close in meaning to Uig. **qamaġ**) are from **ha-** and are connected with Uig. **qamaġ**, then the root ***qa-** at the base of Tuba, Leb. **qām** 'handful' might have signified 'have the hands together' or 'have something in the hand(s).' Korean initial **h-** may go back to Altaic ***s-** (Kor. **ha-** 'do; say' < **hā-** = Jap. **sa-** [~ **se-** ~ **si-** ~ **su-**] 'do' = Ma. se- 'do; say,' Mo., Tk. -sA- 'wish, want; want to do'); Kor. **hiri-** 'glide; run' = Tk. süz- 'flow; swim'; cf. **SKE** 58-

66) but Altaic *s- is more often retained in Korean (Ramstedt, **Einführung**, 1.71-72) and not every initial **h-** in Olcha, Orok, and Nanay as possible evidence for an initial ***h-** in Altaic (**Einführung** 1.72-73), but **h-** may just as well derive from velar fricatives **x-** or **ġ-** or even an independent uvular stop **q-** as opposed to post-velar variant **q-** (**k-**) conditioned by vowel harmony. Sporadic occurrences of **h-** in various Altaic languages, however, are evidence only of free alternation in the proto-language (as Tk. **hangi** 'which?' beside Uig. **qanū** ~ **qayu** 'which? what?').

Words in this word family which have to do with the hand or actions of 'taking,' 'hold,' or 'closing' are: Uig. **qol** 'arm,' **qarï** 'arm,' Kaz. **qar** 'upper arm,' Uig. **qap-** 'grasp, seize,' **qapïġ** 'door, gate,' **qapaq** 'lid, cover; eyelid'; Mo. **ġar** 'hand, arm,' **qabši-** 'put together; press, squeeze,' **qabsu-** 'join; fold; put together,' **qabsur-** 'hit together; add; close (as a book); unite,' **qabqaN** 'trap,' **qabqaġ** 'cover, lid,' **qamki-** 'shut, close,' **qaġa-** (< ***qa-GA-** or ***qab-GA-**) 'close; block,' **qomusla-** 'tie; press together'; Ma. **habtala-** 'squint, wink,' **hafin** 'clamp, vise,' **gala** 'hand, arm,' **gamji** 'covetous,' **gaji-** (< **ganji-** < ***gam-či-**) 'bring'; Ul. **qapalï** 'snare, trap,' Orok. **xaw-** 'buy,' Neg. **komtan**, Oroch. **kumtaN**, Ul. **qōmtaN**, Nan. **qomta** 'lid, cover,' Ev. **kumlē-**, Sol. **xumelī-**, Lam. **kemnə-**, Neg. **komnō-** 'embrace,' Ev. **kupu-** 'cover,' Ul., Nan. **kup** 'shut tight,' Ul. **qamsamï ġasa**, Neg., Orok. **gabala**, names of idols: Ul. **gabala**, Nan. **gabala** 'insatiable,' Ma. **gabula** 'glutton'; Kor. **kkapsalli-** 'close the door to'; Jap. **kaw-** (< ***kaf-** < ***kap-**) 'buy,' **kobushi** (< ***kol-bu-si**) 'fist.'

Words denoting amounts or quantities or the action of placing together are: Uig. **qaba** 'thick (hair or beard),' **qop** 'completely'; Mo. **qobusuN** 'double nature of a shaman,' **qolba-** (~ **qolbu-**) 'unite' (< ***qol-bu-** < ***qol** 'hand'; cf. **qolbi** 'to one side' as the hands are to the side of the body; **qolġu-** 'injure by rubbing' an action of the hand, **qoli-** 'mix,' an action of the hand), **qoyar** 'two' (< ***qob-ġar** or ***qab-ġar** < ***qob-** in **qobqu** 'asunder' or ***qab** in Tg. **kab** 'double,' ***qob** meaning perhaps 'two going apart' and ***qab** 'two going together' + **ġar** 'hand,' thus lit. 'both hands'); Ma. **kab** (~ **kaba**) 'double,' Ev. **kapkal-** 'put things together,' Neg. **kab** (~ **kap**), Oroch. **kapali**, Ul., Orok, Nan. **qap** 'together,' Ma. **kob** 'wholly, totally'; Kor. **kap-cel** (~ **kop-cel**) 'two times, twice, double, twofold': **kop** '-times, -fold; double'; **kkop-** 'count,' **kaps** 'value, worth.'

514.5 **"zwn-l'r.** The Uighur has **'wylkwswz s'nsyz "zwn-l'rt' ywz mynk kwlty k'lp 'wyt-l'r**, "in innumerable existences for a period of a hundred thousand **koṭi kalpas**"; there is no equivalent to **"zwn-l'rt'** in the Chinese which has 於無量百千億劫 (439A6) 'in unermesslich (vielen) Milliarden von **kalpas**." Possibly Sïngqu Säli interpolated **"zwn-l'r** after **'wykwlswz s'nsyz** because he felt the illogicality of stating "innumerable' and then proceeding to add a specific numeral to that, although this is certainly a familiar stylistic cliché in Buddhist literature.

514.6 **k't'ky**, 'later'; this explanation was offered by Bang and von Gabain in their note to **kidin**: "Das Nomen ist **kid** 'Ende' usw. (Kašġ.); dazu **kädki** 'späterer' im Suv. 164.16" (TT V A 99, n.). Since "Le suffixe ـكى [-KI] ne peut se joindre qu'à trois sortes d'expressions," one of which is that of "les adverbes de lieu et de temps. Cet emploi ne constitue qu'un cas particulier du précédent [le locatif des noms et pronoms], puisqu'il sert à exprimer une **localisation** dans l'espace ou dans le temps" (Deny, §285, 287), it is evident that **kid** is an adverb and that it expresses here a **localisation temporale** and is to be compared to **dün-kü** 'd'hier' and **bu gün-kü** 'd'aujourd'hui.'

514.7 **"trwq "drwq**, 'verschieden, anders' **adir-** 'trennen, unterscheiden' (AI) +^{O}**K** 'déverbatif au sens passif ou résultatif' (Hamilton, CDP, Gloss.). In the Liste to Uigurica [1], Muller gave 異 **yi** 'other, different' as the equivalent to **adruq** 'verschiedenartigen'; in the present text, Uig. **"trwq "drwq** translates Chin. 種種 **chung chung** 'all sorts' (Mat.1511.10). Although the doubling of the word may in this instance be modelled on the Chinese, the expression is frequent enough elsewhere, as for example **adruq adruq acïġ-ġ tarqa ämgäk ämgändäči-lär** (TT VII 40.25) "verschiedene bittere Qualen (Hend.) erleidenden (Lebewesen)."

514.8 **'dkw.** The phrase **'dkw m'nky** translates Chin. 樂 **le** "Freuden"; Tib. **loṅs-spyod** (115r2) "enjoyment," Mo. **jirġalang** (146r21) "joy"; Skr.Suv.I **sukhāni** (113.8) "pleasures." In line 514.12 we shall

see **'dkw** used alone to translate Chin. 安樂, according to Nobel "Wohlergehen," but 'joy' or 'contentment' are also possible. In the present passage it may be simply a modifying adjective to **m'nky**, but if my assumption is correct that **'dkw** may function as a noun with a meaning approximately synonymous with **m'nky**, then the present phrase **'dkw m'nky** would be an example of hendyadyoin.

514.9 **twys-t'm.** The whole phrase **twys-t'm yym 'ycym** renders Chin. 豐稔 (439A7) "reiche Ernten"; the Tib. has **lo-legs-pa** (115r3) "(a year of) good harvest," Mo. **tariyan** (146r22) "harvest"; Skr.Suv.I **subhikṣa** (113.9) "an abundance (of food)." There is no problem with Uig. **yym 'ycym**; it is a **nomen compositum** in -^{O}**m** from the verbs **yy-**, **'yc-**, and is attested in TT IV A 38, where it was translated 'Speise.'

The difficulty is with **twys-t'm** (***tüšdäm**). The morphology is clear; it is the root **tüš** 'Frucht, Lohn' (AI) with the suffix +**dAm** "Weiterbildung der Abstrakt-endung **-da** [+**dA**] mit dem synonymen **m**, wenn nicht erst mit diesem von denominierten Verben auf **-d** [+**dA-**] abgeleitet, wie **ärdäm** 'virtus,' **öktäm** 'Vergehn,' **tildäm** 'Beredtsamkeit'" (Brockelmann, 37). The meaning is undoubtedly 'harvest,' judging from the root **tüš** and the equivalent in the other texts, unless the whole phrase **twys-t'm yym 'ycym** signifies 'harvest' in the sense of 'crop of grain or fruit'; otherwise, we may translate it as 'foods of harvest.'

514.10 **p'y m'nkylyk.** The expression **p'y m'nkylyk pwl-** occurs in Suv. 192.4 **törtünč budun qara bai mäŋilig köni törüčä äwril-täči bolġai** (quoted **apud** Uig.St., 3 n.) "viertens wird das Volk reich, freudvoll und gerecht werden." From the occurrence in line 514.9 of **mäŋilä-** as a synonym of **aša-** in the **verbum compositum aša- mäñilä-** 'kosten, geniessen, empfinden,' it may be said that the meaning here for **m'nkylyk pwl-** is not "froh, freudvoll sein,' but rather 'geniessen.' As for **p'y**, the sense of the whole phrase is clear enough; it refers to the riches or abundance of harvest. It is not improbable that p'y is here structurally subordinate to **m'nkylyk** rather than in a coordinate status, as in the example translated by Bang and von Gabain, as cited above, and that the underlying phrase **p'y m'nky** means 'the taste (enjoyment) of riches or abundance.' Thus, **twys-t'm yym 'ycym 'wyz' p'y m'nkylyk pwlqwlwq** may be translated "they will enjoy an abundance of the foods of harvest."

514.11 **"č qyz.** The phrase **"č qyz 'mk'k** translates Chin. 飢饉 (439A7) "Hungersnöte"; the Tib. has **mu-gei rgyud-pa** (115r3) "period of famine," Mo. **jud-un šintaraqui** (146r23) "the afflictions of famine"; Skr.Suv.I **durhibkṣa** (113.9) "famine."

Above, Chin. 飢 **ki** means 'manque de récolte deux années de suite; famine, faim' (Cor.1017), and 饉 **kin** 'manque de légumes; manque de moissons durant trois années consécutives' (Cor.1023). Tib. **mu-ge** 'Hungersnot' is generally equivalent to Skr. **durbhikṣa** (Nob.Wb.), as in Mvy.8284 **Durbhikṣāntara-kalpa**; Tib. **mu-gei bskal-pa bar-ma**, while **rgyud** = Skr. **gati** 'cause, motion, progress' (Mvy. 9230); **āhāra** 'fetching, taking; food, sustenance' (Mvy. 798) or **yuga** 'yoke; race; generation; period of life; period of five years' (Mvy. 9251). It is in this latter meaning that I take **rgyud** in the present passage as a literal rendering of 飢 **ki** 'manque de récolet deux années de suite' + 饉 **kin** 'manque de moissons durant trois années consecutives.

Mo. **jud** (Tib. **mu-ge**) 'la famine, disette publique' (Kow 2385a) is faithful to the Tibetan, but **šintaraqui** < **šintara-** 's'affliger, se chagriner' (Kow 1459b) hardly seems a suitable rendering of Tib. **rgyud**. This is actually due to a misreading of **rgyud** as **rgud**; throughout the text of the **Subhāṣitaratnanidhi**, "the verb **šingtara-/šintara-** translates the words **rgud par hgyur, rlag par hgyur, nams**, all of which mean 'to decline, to come into difficult circumstances, to come to naught, to be destroyed'" (Bosson, Subh., 310). The expression **jud-un šintaraqui** may thus be translated "the affliction of famine."

Returning to Uig. **"č qyz**, this looks at first as though it might be a mistake for **"č qys**, i.e., 'a hungry winter,' which acceptation is too divergent in the present context. However, in the Legend of Oġuz Qaġan we find the word **qïz** in the passage **koṇ ḍälim qïz yaquḍ ḍaš** (1.120) "viele kostbare (seltene) Rubin-Steine" (ed. Bang & Rachmati), in the note to which they quote Qutadġu Bilig 36.28 **yaqut täg qïz ol** "es ist

selten wie der Rubin," and the same word appears in Uig. **qïs** 'wenig, selten' (Wb.II, 799). This can be analyzed as **qï-z** from an unattested verbal root ***qï-** found also in Osm. **qï-t** 'ungenügend, wenig zahlreich, selten' (Wb. II, 796) and OT **qï-d-** 'sich an Etwas feindlichem Sinne machen, vernichten' (Wb.II, 790); the original meaning of this root ***qï-** may have been 'wenig werden, kurz werden,' and its disappearance is probably due to the fact that it was supplanted by the derivative Uig. **qïza-** (**qï-z+a-**). The signification here of **qïz** must be something on the order of 'insufficiency' or 'want,' but rather than interpret "č qyz separately as 'hunger and insufficiency,' it is likely that this is a hendyadyoin with the meaning 'famine,' as in the Chinese text.

514.12 **'tkw. ädgü** 'gut, das Gute, gesund, Vorzug, vorzüglich' (AI); to these meanings we may add 'Wohlbehagen, Wohlergehen,' and possibly even 'Glück' or 'Freude' on the strength of Chin. 安樂 (439A8) "Wohlergehen" ('joyful, at ease, content' Mat. 26), Tib. **bde-ba** (115r3) 'happiness, welfare, safety, piety, enjoyment, joy, bliss, prosperity' (Das 668a), Mo. **jirġalang** ('36r24) 'bonheur, félicité' (Mos 202a); Skr. **sukha**^{o} (113.9) 'ease, easiness, comfort, prosperity, happiness, joy, delight in' (M-W 1221a). The present context seems to favor the meaning 'prosperity' for **'tkw.**

514.12 The Chinese here has 恒 (439A8) "beständig" ⇒ Tib. **gtan-du** (115r3) "forever"; Mo. **turġaru** (146r24), id. In line 514.9, the Uig. left the Chin. word 常 "immerdar" untranslated, and in line 514.11 the same held true for 永 **yung** 'für immer." The Tibetan has **rtag-par** "constantly" (= 常) . . . **gtan-du** "forever" (= 永) . . . **gtan-du**, id. (= 恒), and the Mongolian has **nasuda** "constantly" (= 常) . . . **aburida** "always" (= 永) . . . **turġaru** "forever" (= 恒) in the three corresponding places.

Here we can see what the various translators did when faced by the repetition and the exigencies of finding synonyms. Only the Mongolian matches the Chinese in variety; the Tibetan repeated the same word twice, while Sïngqu Säli cut the Gordian knot by omitting the word entirely.

514.13 **kynky.** In the Uighur, **knyky** < **kin** 'danach, später, hinter' (Ai) +**KI**, modifies the following word, thus: **kynky pwrq'n-l'r** "future Buddhas," where the Chinese text has 得 值 遇 諸 佛 世 尊 。 於 未 來 世 (139A8) "werden sie mit den Buddhas, den Erhabenen, zusammentreffen . . . in zukünftigen Zeitaltern." The final phrase, 於 未 來 世 has a full stop before it in the Taisho Issaikyo edition and properly belongs to the following sentence, as attested by the presence of a finite verb form at the corresponding point in Skr.Suv.I **tathāgatasamavadhānagatāś ca bhaveyur anāgate 'dhvani** (113.10) "[they] may meet Tathāgatas, and in future time . . ." and in Tib. **saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan-ḥdas-rnams daṅ ḥjal-bar ḥgyur / slad-mai dus-kyi thse** . . . (115r3) "they will meet Buddhas, the Lords; and . . . in later times," and Mo. **ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-luġ-a učiralduqu boluyu : iregei edüi čağ-un učir** (146r26) "they will meet the Lord Buddhas; and at a future period of time . . ."

514.14 **'wyc y'vl'q ywl**, "the three evil ways" <- Chin. 三 塗 (439A9) "[die] drei bösen Wege"; Tib. **ṅan-ḥgro gsum** (115r4) "the three evil ways," Mo. **ġurban maġui jayaġan** (146r28) "the three evil destinies." Chin. 塗 **t'ou** properly means 'boue, limon; salir, souiller' (Cor 178), but is, according to Soothill and Hodous, interpreted by 途 'a road' in the expression 三 塗 'the three unhappy **gati** or ways; (a) to the fires of hell; (b) to the hell of blood, where as animals they devour each other; (c) the asipattra hell of swords, where the leaves and grasses are sharp-edged swords' (S-H 62b). The Tibetan term **ṅan-ḥgro** is described as '**(durgati)** going or about to go to the undesirable state, i.e., the state of the damned, comprising those in hell and those wandering about in distorted forms' (Das 349b). Skr.Suv.I enumerates these three evil ways as **sarvanarakatiryagyoniyamalokaduḥkhāni** (113.12) "all the woes of hells, animals, and the world of Yama."

Yamaloka is given variously as "the realm of Yama, the third devaloka," (S-H 253b); "Yamadevaloka, the third of the desire-heavens, above the Trayastrimsas" (S-H 377a), or "The hells under

the earth" (S-H 383b); it is presided over by Yama, "originally the Aryan god of the dead living in a heaven above the world, the regent of the South; but Brahamanism transferred his above to hell. Both views have been retained by Buddhism . . . . The regent of the hells (v. Naraka), residing South of Djambudvîpa, outside the Tchakravâlas, in a palace built of brass and iron" (Eitel, 173a,b). Altogether there are six **gatis**, "or 6 conditions of sentient existence" (Eitel, 41a); these six states or regions, of **sangsāric** existence are (1) the deva-worlds, (2) the **asura-** (or titan) world, (3) the human world, (4) the brute-world, (5) the **preta-** (or unhappy ghost) world, and (6) the hell-worlds" (Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga, 90, n.2), of which "the latter three are called 'the three lower paths'" (Eitel, loc.cit.).

According to Kern, "the hells, together with the next three worlds, constitute the four Apāyalokas, places of suffering. Adding to them the state of man, we get the 5 Gatis or states of existence" (Manual of Indian Buddhism, 59), which differs from the prior mention of 6 **gatis** in that the **devaloka** or realm of the gods is excluded entirely. Describing these "next three worlds," Kern further stated, "above the hells is placed the animal kingdom or brute creation. Not unlikely we have to see in this notion the survival of ancient myths, for real animals are living on our planet, the world of men. Higher than the animal kingdom is the abode of Pretas, ghosts, spectres, those being are also placed in the Lokantarika hell. Still higher is the domain of Asuras, demons, among whom ranks foremost Rāhu, the personified eclipse" (loc. cit.).

In the Sanksrit parallel to the present text (cf. supra), the third of these three lower **gati**, beside **tiryagyoni** (lit. 'the womb of animals'), 'animal creation, organic nature (including plants); born of or as an animal' (M-W 447c); 'the animal path, that of rebirth as an animal, one of the six gati' (S-H 367a) and **Yamaloka**, is **naraka** 'hell, place of torment' (M-W 529c). "The very lowest of the thirtyone [**sic**] abodes of living beings are the hells or places of punishment (**naraka, niraya**). The principal hells are eight in number and known by the names of Sanjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghata, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tāpana, Pratāpana, and the very deepest, Avīci. Apart from these hells there is the Lokāntarika hell . . . and many minor hells. In the old system of the N[orthern] Buddhists there are besides the eight hot hells just enumerated as many cold hells . . . . In later N. works the number of hells is still greater" (Kern, 58); we have seen above, however, that **Yamaloka** should be identified with **naraka**, since Yama is the regent of hell.

In the Mahavyutpatti, there are listed seven **durgatyas**; the first of these may be discounted, however, since it is simply the word **durgati**, as well as the next two, which are not names for a sort of **durgati**, but synonyms of the word, viz. **apāya** 'destruction, death, annihilation; injury, loss; misfortune, evil, calamity' (M-W 56b), cf. 'the four **apāya**, or evil destinies: the hells, as hungry ghosts, animals, or asuras. The asuras are sometimes evil, sometimes good, hence the term 三 惡 道 "three evil destinies" excepts the asuras' (S-H 175b), and **vinipāta** 'a great fall, ruin, loss, calamity; death' (M-W 970b) = Tib. **log-par ltuṅ-ba** 'downfall, perversity.' The four remaining terms are types of **durgati**, and include, beside **naraka**, Tib. **dmyal-ba, sems-can-dmyal-ba**, Chin. 有情地獄 , 地獄 (Mvy. 4749); **preta-viṣaya (pitṛiviṣaya)**, Tib. **yi-dbags (dags)-kyi yul**, Chin. 惡 境 , 餓 鬼 (Mvy. 4751), and **tiryag-yoni-gata**, Tib. **dud-ḥgroi skyes-su soṅ-ba ham skye-ba, skye-gnas-su skyes-pa ham soṅ-ba**, Chin. 傍 趣 (Mvy. 4752), not the term **asuraloka**, but rather **yamaloka**, Tib. **gśin-rjei ḥjig-rten**, Chin. 捺 世 間 (Mvy. 4750). The origin of this juxtaposition of **yamaloka** beside **náraka** 'earth-person; 冥 府 the shades, or departments of darkness. Earth-person is generally intp. as hell or the hells; it may also be termed purgatory; one of the six gati or ways of transmigration' (S-H 207) is possibly due to the interpretation of **náraka** 'hell' as derived from **nára**, 'a man, male, a person' (M-W 528c). This is not to suggest that in Mahayana Buddhism the 3rd **gati**, that of man (**nara**), was ever thought of as one of the **apāyalokas**, since it is one of the three superior worlds (cf. Evans-Wentz, 102), but the similarity of the two forms may have given rise to confusion or to the need for clarification, as evidenced by the Tib. **sems-can** 'being, man,' in the term **sems-can-dmyal-ba** and Chin. 有 情 'being' in 有 情 地 獄 , both thus literally 'man-hell.'

514.16 The Chinese here has 速 (439A9) "schnell"; Tib. **myur-du** (115r3) "quickly," Mo. **ödter** (146r27), id.

514.16 **"nk kynynt'**. In TT IV B 54 **angkinintä** was translated by Bang and von Gabain as "schließlich'; again in TT I, 154, n. the meaning of **kin** is 'danach, später, hinger.' Although it is not possible to insist on a one-to-one relationship between I-tsing's text and the Uighur translation, the fact that, on the one hand, there is not apparent equivalent in the Chinese text to this phrase and, on the other, no apparent translation to Chin. 無 上 in the Uighur, the question arises whether it is possible to equate **"nk kynynt'** with the latter.

The principal difficulty with the above equation, other than the meaning of **kin**, is that **"nk kynynt'** occurs where we would expect an adjectival or attributive construction, such as **"nk kynynt'ky** (or possibly **"nk kynky**), and unless it can be demonstrated that **"nk kynynt'** in fact could have the meaning 'in the very highest,' it is unlikely that Sïngqu Säli could have interpreted 無 上 (= Skr. **anuttara**) "höchste" as meaning 'schließlich.' The only other possible explanation for its presence here is that **"nk kynynt'** in conjunction with **pwrq'n qwty** was a literary cliché (from whatever origin) which was frequent in the literature and was adopted by the translator purely as a matter of convention.

514.16 **pwrq'n qwtyn pwlqwlwq twys 'wtly** ← Chin. (大) 菩 提 果(439A9) "grosse bodhi-Frucht"; Tib. **byaṅ-chub (chen-poi) ḥbras-bu** (115r3) "the fruit of (supreme) **bodhi (samyaksaṃbodhi)**," Mo. **(ycke) bodhi qutuġ-un ür-e** (146r27) id.; the Sanskrit has simply **(samyaksaṃ) bodhi** (113.11) "(perfect) enlightenment."

That the verb **pwl-** here is **bul-** and not bol- is attested by the presence of the accusative. The phrase **pwrq'n qwtyn pwl-** is found inter alia in **tüz kärinčsiz burxan qutïn bultunguz** (TT III, 66) "und erlangst [Du] die vollkommen unvergleichliche burchanwürde"; **tüz kärinčsiz yig üẓ-tünki burxan qutïn** bulup (TT IV B 57) "und die vollkomene, höchste Buddha-Wurde erlangt haben werden"; **aŋ kinintä burqan yolïŋa kirür, burqan qutïn bulur** (USp S.14 Z.32 **apud** TT I, 154,n.) "Schließlich wird er den Buddha-Weg beschreiten und die Buddha-Würde erlangen"; this last is particularly close to the present example. The meaning 'bekommen' (AI) or 'erlangen' (as in all the above quotations), is hardly suitable in this context; it is not the fruits which will attain to **bodhi** but rather the fruits which are a result of **bodhi**. In the present example we might venture to translate **pwl-** as 'to belong to' or 'to be proper to,' and the entire phrase **pwrq'n qwtyn pwlqwlwq twys 'wtly** as "the fruits which will belong to (will be proper to) **bodhi**."

514.17 **t'kwr-** translates Chin. 證 (439A9) "erlangen"; Tib. **ḥthob-pa** (115r7) "attain," Mo. **ol-** (146r27), id.; where Uig. et al. mean "attain ultimate **Bodhi** (-fruit), the Sanskrit has **samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyeran** (113.11) "[they] may awaken to . . . perfect enlightenment."

514.18 **n' 'wycwn typ tys'r**. An interpolation lacking in all the other texts.

514.22 **r'tn' pwspy**. The original form of this name in Sanskrit is **Ratnakusumaguṇasāgaravaiḍūr-yakanakagirisuvarṇakāñcanaprabhāsaśrī**; the Chinese has 琉 璃 金 山 寶 花 光 照 吉 祥 功 德 海(439A10) '**Vaiḍūryakanakagiriratnakusumaprabhāsaśrīguṇasāgara**'; the Tibetan has **bai-ḍū-rya-daṅ-gser-gyi-ri-bo-rin-po-chei-me-tog-snaṅ-ba-dpal-gyi-yon-tan-rgya-mthso** (115r5), id., Mo. **vidury-a kiged : altan aġulan-u erdeni čečeg kemen čoġtu erdem-ün dalai** (146v2) "'**vaiḍūryakanaka-giriratnakusuma" prabhāsaguṇa-sāgara**.' Although the elements of the original name in Sanskrit are rearranged in I-tsing's translation, it is not completely at random; there are five distinct syntagmatic units: 1) **ratnakusuma** (寶 花); 2) **guṇasāgara** (功 德 海); 3) **vaiḍūryakanakagiri** (琉 璃 金 山);4) **suvarṇakāñcana** (no equivalent); 5) **prabhāsaśrī** (光 照 吉 祥), which -> Chin. 3, 1, 5, 2. The reason, apparently, that **suvarṇakāñcana** is left untranslated is because both **suvarṇa** and **kāñcana** are synonyms of **kanak** and would all be translated into Chinese as 金- **chin** 'gold'; **suvarṇa** is the usual term.

What is of particular interest here is the Uighur term. It is an abbreviation, of course, but precisely of what? If the name in the present text had been abbreviated, we might expect some such form as **b'ytwry swb'rn'** or **b'ytwry "ltwn** (cf. 515.16). It is not from Sanskrit, since ***puṣpa** does not occur in the Sanskrit text, but is a reconstruction of Sanskrit through Chinese, since 花, which translated Skr. **kusuma**, was interpreted as representing the more usual word **puṣpa**. This would seem to be evidence that the translator was using some multi-lingual dictionary such as the Mahāvyutpatti, rather than that he consulted the Sanskrit text on this point.

515.1 **'dkw yyltyz-lyq 'wrwq**, lit. "seeds having good roots"; this translates Chin. 善 根 (439A11) "die Wurzeln der guten (Werke)"; Tib. **dge-bai rtsa-ba** (115r6) "roots of merit," Mo. **buyan-u ündüsün** (146v5) "roots of **puṇya** (merit)"; Sak.Suv.I **puña haṃjsaund{ai}m{ā}** (53r1) "accumulated (?) **puṇya**." These all translate the **termus technicus kuśalamūla** which occurs in the corresponding place in the Skr.Suv.I (113.15).

515.2 **r'tn' pwspy**. Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian have only the term for 'tathāgata' here without the proper name.

515.5 **yrlyq'ncwcy kwnkwl-y** The phrase **'wlwq yrlwq'ncwcy kwnkwl-y 'wyz'** appears to translate Chin. 慜 念 (439A12) "des barmherzigen Gedenkens"; **yrlyq'ncwcy** has the same meaning as Chin. 慜 'barmherzig' (AI); the Tibetan has **brtse-bar dgoṅs-par gyur-pai slad-du** (115r6) "because of his charity (charitable thoughts)," Mo. **nigülesün duradqui boluġsan-u tulada** (146v7) "because of his compassion (compassionate thoughts)." In this instance there is a structural parallel between Uig. **'wyz' (özä)**, here 'durch' (AI), Tib. **slad-du** 'wegen' (= Skr. °**arthāya**), and Mo. **tulada**.

This same phrase **uluġ yrlïqančučïï köngülüng özä** was translated by Bang and von Gabain, "mit Deinen erhabenen, barmherzigen Herzen" (TT III, 99), **uluġ yrlïqančučï köngül özä** (TT IV B 46) "allbarmherziger" and **yrlïqančučï köngüllärin** (TT IV B 35) "ihre barmherzige Gesinnung." In the present context, the meaning 'Sinn' or 'Gesinnung' exactly corresponds to Chin. 念 'recollection, memory, think on, reflect; thought,' which is equivalent to Skr. **smṛti** (S-H 258a); however, **köŋül** is also used to form abstract nouns from adjectives, so that rather than translate **yrlyq'ncwcy kwnkwl-y** as 'compassionate thoughts (feelings)' we may also render it simply 'compassion.' As far as **uluġ** is concerned, the translation 'erhaben,' which appears in the quotations above, would seem to be ad hoc, since no such gloss is registered for **uluġ** in the Analytischer Index; it is, of course, entirely a propos when referring to the activities of a Buddha or Bodhisattva, as in the present context, but the translation 'all-' in 'allbarmherzig' would seem to be more accurate.

515.7 **pwrq'n-l'r-nynk 'wlwq kwycy 'wyz'**. There is no equivalent in any of the other texts for Uighur **pwrq'n-l'r**; the Chinese has 神 力 故(439A13) "because of the superhuman strength (of that Tathāgatha)," where Tathāgatha corresponds to Ratnapuṣpa mentioned in the Uighur in line 515.2. The Tibetan hsa **mthus** (115r6) "by means of the power (of that Tathāgata)," Mo. **küčün-iyer**, id.

515.8 **myny**. The word **myny**, in the clause beginning with **kym**, is pivotal to the understanding of the entire construct, which ends in line 515.20, **'wlwq kwyck' kwyswnk' t'kwrw yrlyq'dy** with the finite verb **yrlyq'dy**. I take the subject of this verb to be **r'tn' pwspy** in line 515.3, and **myny**, the object of this verb. The verb **t'kwr-** in this context has a causative meaning, viz. 'berühren lassen' (AI) or ägelangen lassen' **täg-** 'berühren, gelangen zu' with **-GUr**, factitive (AGr 155). The passage may be construed as follows: "Ratnapuṣpa . . . through his great compassion (**'wlwq yrlyq'n-cwcy kwnkwl-y 'wyz'**) took mercy upon me (**myny 'yrync-k'yw tswywr-q'yw yrlyq'p**) (and) through the great might of the Buddhas (**pwrq'n-l'r'nynk 'wlwq kwycy 'wyz'**) he (kym) . . . deigned (**yrlyq'dy**, 515.21) to let me (**myny**, 515.8) attain the great power (**'wlwq kwyck' kwyswnk' t'kwrw**, 515.20-21)."

The corresponding passage in the Chinese is 由 彼 如 來 慈 愍 念 威 神 力 故 . 令 我 . . . 能 令 . . . 受 諸 快 樂 . (439A12-15), which Nobel

translated "und kraft des Segens des Mitgefühls und des barmherzigen Gedenkens werde ich . . . veranlassen, dass . . . die . . . (Wesen) Freuden empfangen"; he neglected to translate 彼如來 in the first sentence, which should be, "because of the power and superhuman strength of that Tathāgata's sympathetic thoughts, his compassion and pity" and in the next phrase, it is not "werde **ich** [italics mine] veranlassen" but "**he** induced (i.e., enabled) me (令我) . . . to be able to cause (能令) (those creatures) . . . to obtain all joys." The Tibetan differs somewhat from this: **de-bzin-gśegs-pa des byams-pa daṅ thugs-rjei byin-gyi rlabs-kyi mthus brtse-bar dgoṅs-par gyur-pai slad-du** (115r6) "because the Tathagata thinks of (all sentient beings) in that state of sympathy, by means of the power of mercy and compassionate blessing . . . "; the structure of the rest of the passage is not so complicated as in the Chinese and the Uighur, and the subjects of the next two clauses are **bdag** ('I') and **sems-can** ('creatures').

515.9 Emmerick translated Skr.Suv.I **yenaitarhi yāṃ yāṃ diśaṃ sa samanvāharati / yāṃ yāṃ diśam avalokayati / yāṃ yāṃ diśaṃ upasaṃkramati** (114.1) "Where now (the preacher of the Law) watches over any direction, surveys any direction, approaches any direction . . . ," adding in a footnote that "Sanskrit has only **sā** 'he,' which is ambiguous here. The context was not clear to the editors of the Sanskrit MSS" (Sūtra of Golden Light, 48). The context here controverts the interpretation of **sa** as "the preacher of the Law"; it must refer back to the Tathāgata, who is omniscient and omnipresent. The Uighur **'mty-q' d'ky q'yw 'wrwn'l'ryq 'wys'r mn : q'yw yynk'q-t' kwyrs'r mn : q'yw p'lyq 'wlwa-q' t'ks'r mn**, following the Chinese (我 . . ., 439A13) is unambiguous here; the subject is "I," i.e., Śrī. This differs from the **Suvarnabhāsottama-sūtra** (Suv.I) in that, as we have seen in note 515.8, Śrī has been entrusted and delegated with the power of the Tathāgata to realize the wishes of the suppliant.

515.10 **t'k-** translates Chin. 至 (439A14) "gelangen." In the Tibetan sentence **gaṅ-du mchis-pai yul de** (115r7) "that country where I come," the verb **mchis-pa**, pf. **mchi-ba** 'kommen, gehen,' has apparently been misunderstood by the Mongolian translator as the verb **mchis-pa** 'sein, da sein' (Nob.Wb.) and rendered by **bu-** rather than **ire-**.

515.11 **'wl 'wrwn-t'qy 'wl- yynk'q-t'qy : 'wl 'wlws-t'qy**, "(all being) in that place, in that direction, and in that country." The structure of the sentence is different in Chinese: "Because that Tathāgata . . . enabled me now, on whatever place I think, in whatever direction I look, and in whatever country I arrive, to be able to . . . ." There is no equivalent to this passage in Uighur in the Chinese original. The Tibetan, however, has a resumptive construction: **de-dag-tu** (115r7) "in those (places; there)," Mo. **tende terc oron-a** (146v11) "there in that place"; Skr.Suv.I **tasyām tasyām diśi** (114.3) "in that direction" Sak.Suv.I **ttye diśe** (53r2), id.

515.13 **q'm'q tynlq 'wql'n-l'r.** The Uighur omits entirely the numerals of the Chinese 無量百千萬億衆生 (439A14) "die unermesslich (vielen) Hundertausend von Milliarden von Wesen," which would be the same as in line 514.4, viz. **'wylkwswz s'nsyz . . . ywz mynk kwlt**. Here we have an example of Sïngqu Säli's avoidance of repetition.

515.14 The Chinese here has 受諸快樂 (439A14), which Nobel translates, "Freuden empfangen" (better, "allerlei Freuden empfangen") Tib. **śin-tu bde-bai loṅs-spyod myoṅ-žiṅ** (115r7) "will experience the enjoyment of the greatest felicity"; the Mongolian, confronted by the nearly-synonymous **bde-ba** 'Glück, Wohlbehagen' and **loṅs-spyod** 'Genuss,' has the oddly redundant phrase **maši jirġalang-tu tegüs jirġalang-i üǰeǰü** (146v12), lit. "(shall) experience the most joyful perfect joy"; Skr.Suv.I **sarvasukhopadhānena sukhitāni bhaviṣyanti** (114.3) "Will be blessed with the supply of every excellent blessing," Sak.Suv.I **biśśūnyau {suha}vatānyau {jsa} hāmāre** (53r3) "they will be (endowed) with an abundance of all joys."

The present passage in the Chinese is virtually identical with that in line 439A8 恒受安樂, "werden beständig Wohlergehen erlangen" and 439A5 當受 . . . 勝樂 "und . . . werden sie . . . die [ausgezeichneteste] Freuden erlangen." As in the previous line, this is an example of Sïngqu Säli's avoidance of repetition.

515.16-18 This list of precious metals and precious gems is meant to represent the **saptaratna**, the 'seven treasures': **suvarṇa** 'gold,' **rūpya** 'silver,' **vaiḍūrya** 'beryl,' **sphaṭika** 'crystal,' **lohitamukti** or **rohitamukti** 'red pearls,' **aśmagarbha** 'diamonds,' **musāragalva** 'coral' (Hackman, **Erklärendes Wörterbuch**, 64a; Eitel, **A Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary**, 148a), but the list in the Sanskrit text (Skr.Suv.I) includes nine terms, two of which are synonymous for two others on the list and only two others of which may be identified with gems on the usual list; these are: **hiranya** 'silver,' **suvarna** 'gold,' **mani** 'jewels,' **muktā** 'pearls,' **vaiḍūrya** 'beryl,' **śaṅkhaśilā** 'conch,' **pravāda** 'coral,' **jātarūpa** 'gold,' **rajata** 'silver.' The attempt to reconcile this list with the standard list has resulted in some confusion in the various translations.

515.16 **"ltwn [altun]** 'gold' = Mo. **altan** = Ma. **aisin**, Tg. ***aysïn** (< ***alʸsïn** < ***altïn** < ***altun**, Tsintsius, T-M 1.22b; Poppe, VG 52, §35) < a root ***al** found in OT **al** 'red,' Mo. al 'red, scarlet,' **alirsun** 'red bilberry, **vaccinium vitis**,' Kor. **alkayngi** 'berry' (the connection with Kor. **palk-** 'be bright,' **palkah-** 'be bright red' would seem to be controverted by the absence of a reflex of ***p-** for the words in the other languages), Jap. **aka** (< ***al-ġa-**) 'red,' **akari** (< ***al-ġa-lïġ**), 'light; lamp,' with specific meanings of 'red with blood': Ev., Lam. **almat** 'placenta,' Lam. **alta** 'the flesh side of a skin,' Jap. **ara** (< *al-a) 'bony parts, offal' and 'red with cold, heat, or irritation'; Kor. **al-** 'naked, bare; tingling, biting; benumbed,' **alla** 'baby,' **allak** 'spots,' Jap. **akambo** (< ***aka**) 'baby,' **are** (< ***al**) 'chapping'; it is the Korean form **allïn allïn** 'sparkling, glittering' (< **ali-** 'burn; hurt; smart, tingle') which is most descriptive of gold, and if such a form is at the base of OT **altun**, Mo. **altan**, Ma. **aysin**, it would explain the palatalization of the Manchu-Tungus forms (***aysïn** < ***alʸ-sin** < ***allïn-tun**).

Pelliot raises the question of the possible relation of Tk. **altïn** (~ **altun**), Mo. **altan** to the name Altai (Altaï), the 'Gold mountains' which were the source of the gold used for the golden treasure of the Oxus from Bactria, which dates from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and for "the mass of Siberian and South Russian gold-work which is the glory of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad" (Tarn, **The Greeks in Bactria and India**, 105); he suggests that "the phonetic relation of Altai to **altan** might be of the same order as that of Alasai to Alasan," with the comment that the Chinese texts sometimes have 'Altan' for 'Altai' (**Notes on Marco Polo**, 31), and in fact this is the very alternation found in the suffix of possession or appurtenance /-tAi/ ~ /-tAn/ (pl.), which further alternates with /-tU/ (Poppe, GWM 44, §§138; 139; 140), an alternation (in part dialectal) which may be observed in the Old Turkic endings /-DIn/ ~ /-DUn/ ~ /-DAn/ (which have a wide range of function, adjectival, local, and distributive, AG 88, §183, 150, §335; 165, §387; 171, §408). OT **altun**, Mo. **altan** might be either < ***al-tu-n**, ***al-ta-n**, meaning 'something possessing a red quality' (where /-n/ is a nominalizer equivalent to Jap. /-no/) or ***allïn-tu-n**, ***allïn-ta-n** 'something having a glittering quality.' Another possibility is that OT **-tUn**, Mo. **-tAn** here have their origin in an indepenent word ***ton** found in Kor. **tōn** 'money, cash; currency; coin, gold' (not = **tong** < Chin. 銅 **t'ung**, though it may be an ancient loanword), in which case ***al** would be used adjectivally, as in Kor. **al-** 'tingling, biting.'

515.16 **kwymwš [kümüš]** 'silver': cognates for this word in other Altaic languages are lacking because the original Altaic word has been largely replaced by borrowings; the root of **kümüš** (< ***kümül-s(üN)** or ***kömül-s(üN)**) may be attested in Mo. **kömerge** 'storehouse; treasury; coffer, chest' (< ***kömül-ge**), but this is possibly a borrowing from an eastern Turkic dialect (with initial **k-** against the expected **g-** corresponding to g- in Tk. **gümüş**, e.g.: Mo. **güǰege** (< ***güǰige** < ***güdige**) 'stomach of an animal' = Ev. **gudi-gē** 'id.' (Poppe, VG 24, §16) = Tk. **güden** (~ **göden** < ***güdegen**) 'large intestine; rectum'; MO. **görügesün** 'antilope; wild animal; game,' MMo. **gör'e** 'wild animal' = Ma. **gurgu** 'animal' (VG 25, §16) = Tk. **güre** (< *gürege) 'wild; unbroken'; Mo. **gübi-** 'beat' = Ev., Lam. **giw-** (< *gügi-) 'beat out dust' = Chuf. **kiv-** 'wash (by beating)' (VG, loc. cit.), Tk. **givür-** 'drive into'; Mo. **gere** 'proof' = OT **kirt-** (~ **kert-**) 'believe' (VG, loc. cit.), Tk. **gereçek** 'real, true'; Mo. **gendüN** 'male of certain animals' = Tk. **genc-** [genǰ-] (< ***gendi** < ***gendü**) 'young man; young, in the prime of youth'); Votyak **azveś** 'silver' (= 'white copper,'

Laufer, "The Si-Hia Language," 16) suggests that the same semantic compound may be at the root of OT **kümüš**, the first element (?***kün**) possibly cognate with Ma. **gulu** 'white, plain in color,' the second originally ***wäš** or ***wäz** (< ***wäž**) = Fin. **vaski** 'copper, bronze,' Mord. **viśkä** (~ **viśkä** (~ **uśke**) 'wire,' Voty, **-veś**, Zir. **-yś** in **ezyś** 'silver,' Hg. **vas**, Yur. **yeese** (~ **wese**), Sam. **bäsá**, Kam. **baza** (~ **basa**) 'iron' (Collinder, FUV, 66) = OT **yäz** 'copper alloy, brass' (but to Sam. **basa**. cf. OT **bas** 'rust'), Mo. **jes** (~ **ǰis** ~ **ǰed**, the alternation **-s-** ~ **-d-** indicating original **-z-**) < Tokh. **wās** 'gold' (Ramst. EAS, 1.106), **wsi** 'golden; yellow' (but cf. Vog. **-wōs**, Ost. **wăg**, Selk. **kɔɔzy** (~ **kuōsɔ**) which, if cognate with the other Fenno-Ugric forms quoted above, must go back to a proto-form ***kwaŋzɔ** or ***kwaŋžɔ**, and this recalls Chin. 鑛 **k'uang** (OC ***k'wâng**, cf. GS 707, perhaps the origin, also, of Jap. **kane** 'metal; money; gold'); otherwise OT **kümüš** may be < ***gümül-s(üN)** = Kor. **kumil**, v.n. < **kumi-** 'ornament, decorate' (= ?Ma. **goimara-** 'adorn oneself,' a back vowel variant) or a root meaning 'dig out and cover' found in OT **köm-**, Tk. **göm-** 'bury,' Mo. **gün** 'depth,'**köndei** (~ **köndüi** < ***köm-kür**) 'sunken, deep-set,' also **kömüri-** (~ **kömeri-**) 'overturn; cover with a bowl or other concave object,' **köser** (< ***köm-se-r**) 'soil; floor,' Ma. **kumdu** 'empty, hollow,' Kor. **komul** 'a covering or coating for rice cakes,' Jap. **kum-** 'ladle up,' ?**kumo** 'cloud' (= 'cloud cover').

The Mongolian text here has **kümüš**, an unexpected borrowing from Uighur; the usual word for 'silver' in Mongolian is **mönggüN**, the second syllable of which Laufer reconstructs as ***ŋün**, ***ŋö**, and connects with Cant. **ŋön**, Fukien **ŋüŋ**; Thai **ŋön**, Shan **nün** and the like ("The Si-Hia Language," 15-16), and to Chin. 金艮 **yin** < MC ***ŋi̯ĕn** (AD 312); the element of the first syllable is not ***mö** in Mongolian and ***me** in Manchu, however, as Laufer suggests, but Mo. **mön** 'real, true' in Mo. **mönggüN** and ***men** in Ma. **mene** 'truly' in Ma. and Jür. **menggün** 'silver,' and the second element may be an Altaic root found in Tk. **gönç** 'prosperous; wealthy,' Tat. **kün** 'die Seite der Münze wo der Adler sich befindet' (Rad. Wb. 2.1438), Mo. **küder** 'ore,' Kor. **kün** 'extra; excess; luxury' as in **kün ton** 'money spent unnecessarily,' possibly also Jür. **gun** 'gem.'

515.16 **v'ytwry [vaiduri]** 'beryl' < Khot. < Skr. **vai-ḍūrya** 'cat's-eye' (M-W 1021b) translates Chin. 瑠璃 **liu-li** 'nom d'une pierre de prix; nom d'une espèce de verre; lapis lazuli' (Couv. 583b), which translates Skr. **vaiḍūrya**; the Mo. text has **vidury-a** 'lapis lazuli' (**biiduriy-a**, Kow. 1130b), which translates Tib. **bai-ḍū-rya**.

In his account of the Province of Badakhshan, Marco Polo speaks of gems called **balasci**, "which are very beautiful and of great value . . . called balasci from Badascian, that is from the province or from that kingdom where they are found," from mines "in a particular mountain which is called Sighinan," as well as sapphires and "the stones from which one makes ultramarine azure . . . from a vein of earth which is produced in mountains like other veins; and that vein is called lapis laçul" (Moule and Pelliot, **Marco Polo: The Description of the World**, 136-137, italics suppressed). The curious statement that the name **balasci** or balas rubies ('pietre rubini del Badakshan,' 'varietà preziosa di spinello trasparente e di colore rosso' (Marco Polo, **Il Milione**, 141, n.8) derives from the name of the country Badascian, is made clear by the manuscript variants Badascian ~ Balascia ~ Baldasciam for the name of the country Badaxšān (~ Baḍaxšān); Pelliot admits the possibility of an eastern Persian dialect form *Balaxšān, but he attributes the discrepancy of **balasci : Badascian** to Marco Polo's use of the term **balasci**, already familiar to Europeans, for the gem, in face of the term Badascian, for the country, the latter of which was made to agree with the former by learned copyists, on the basis of the form Balacxan given in the Relation of Hethum, prince of Armenia, a work also familiar to Europeans (**Notes on Marco Polo**, 64), and the same discrepancy occurs in Ibn Batuta, who gives Badaxsān as the name of the country and **al-balakš** or **balahš** as the name of the gem (trans. by Defremery, 59; 86, quoted apud de Backer, 372; Yule, **Marco Polo**, 161), but Pelliot's explanation does not account for the forms Baldascia and Baldasciam. In any case, the word **balasci** must ultimately derive from a name such as the *Balaxsān proposed by Pelliot.

Marco Polo did not specify the location of the lapis lazuli mines, but Yule places them "in the Upper Valley of the Kokcha, called Korán, within the tract called **Yamgán**" (**Marco Polo**, 1.162, n.3) but Elphinstone, in his account of Badaxšān (which he calls Budukhshaun) says the mines are in a mountain called 'Beloot Taugh' (Marsden, **The Travels of Marco Polo**, 83, n.2). This Beloot Taugh (Belūt Tag or, more properly, Belur Tag; cf. Pelliot, **Notes on Marco Polo**, 92) may be identified with the Belor that

Marco Polo traversed on his way from Badaxšān to Cascar (Kašgār) after passing through Vocan (Waxān) and Pamier (the Pamirs) (Moule and Pelliot, 143). Minorsky reads the name Bulūr of the **Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam** as 'Bolor' and refers to it as 'Lesser Bolor' to distinguish it from 'Great Bolor' or 'Bolorian Tibet,' which he identifies as Baltistān (258: 369). Pelliot, too, differentiates Marco Polo's Belor (the Balūr or Balōr of the Arabic sources) from Baltistān, though "it might also be supposed that the very name of Balti is connected with that of Balūr," weighing against Cunningham's observation that the Dards of Gilgit use the name 'Balor' to designate Balti, the fact that Tibetan texts distinguish sBal-ti from ḫBru-śal or Bru-za, "and it is Bru-za which is likely to be the same name as [Chin.] Pol-lü or Balūr" (Notes, 92). Mirza Haidar is specific in locating Balūr or Baluristān; he says, "Baluristán is bounded on the east by the provinces of Káshgar and Yárkand; on the north by Badakhshán; on the west by Kábul and Lumghán; and on the south by the dependencies of Káshmir." Elias emends this by stating that Yarkand and Baltistán, but not Kashgar, formed the eastern boundary of Balūr and adds that the country of Balūr would have included Hunza, Nagar, possibly Tash-Kurghan, Gilgit, Panyal, Yasin, Chitral, probably the area now known as Kafiristan, as well as some of the small states south of Gilgit and Yasin (Tarikh-i-Rashidi, 385 and n.1). If Balūr stretched as far east as Lumghan (Lamghān or Laghmān, **Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam**, 251-252), it would have comprised the southern portion of the Pamir plateau, including the areas of Shighnan and Wakhan, as well as the tract of Yamgān (or Yumgān, **Ḥudūd**, 367-368), where the lapis lazuli mines mentioned by Marco Polo were located. This coincides for the most part with the great mountain range of the Hindu Kush, and the name Balūr (Balōr) or Belor may have at one time applied to this mountain range; Mo. **bolor** or **bolur** (Khal. **bolor**), Kom. **bolor** (~ **bolor**) 'crystal; rock crystal' < Pers. **bolur** (Ramstedt, **Kalm. Wb.**, 50b) may have originally derived from the place name Balūr (Balōr) or Belor, later in a purely descriptive sense, as in Belur Tagh or 'Crystal Mountains' in Benedetto's **Il Libro di Messer Marco Polo** (Pelliot, **Notes**, 92); this would explain why as a geographical term the name is so evanescent, surviving as recently as the late 1800's in the form Bolor or Balor or Palor only for the area north of Chitral or for Baltistan (Paquier, **Le Pamir**, 145-146; Yule, **Marco Polo**, 178, n.3; Tarikh-i Rashidi, 385).

The Pali form of Skr. **vaiḍūrya** 'cat's-eye' is **veluriya** and the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form is **veruliya**. Hirth and Rockhill derive Ar. **ballūr** (~ **billaur**) ' stal; glass' (Wehr, 175b) and Gr. *βήρυλλος* 'Beryll' (M-G 134b) from Skr. **vaiḍūrya**, which, they say, originally meant 'lapis lazuli' or 'rock crystal' (**Chau Ju-Kua**, 227, n.). Sims-Williams also derives Manichaean Parthian **bylwr** 'crystal' from Skr. **vaiḍūrya** ("Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian," 139); the prevalent meaning 'crystal' or 'beryl' or 'glass' of these words said to derive from Sanskrit throw some light on the probable original meaning of **vaiḍūrya** but it is more likely that all of these words, as well as Mandaic **bilaur**, bilaura 'crystal' (Drower and Machuch, **A Mandaic Dictionary**, 60b) and Syriac **berūlā** 'beryl' (Smith, **A Compendious Syriac Dictionary**, 55a) come directly from the place name Belor (Balor) or Belur (Balur) itself.

In the Mahābhārata, Vaiḍūrya is also the name of a mountain (M-W 1012b). Pāṇini cites a form **vaidūrya** (iv, 3, 84) with the meaning 'brought from Vidūra.' The name Vidūra breaks down into **vi-dūra** 'very remote or distant; of a mountain or town or any locality' (M-W 966a), but a foreign place name may underlie the Sanskrit forms Vidūra and *Viḍūra, a place name such as Marco Polo's Belor or the mountains of Bilauristān mentioned in a Pashto poem of the seventeenth century translated by Raverty (Yule, **Marco Polo**, 178, n.3); the **vṛddhi** form **-ai-** of the first syllable of **vaiḍūrya** indicates that the hypothetical place name from which it is derived is either *Viḍūra or *Veḍūra, and this accords with Pali **veluriya**, Parthian **bylwr**, and Marco Polo's Belor, and the transcription 勃律 Po-lü (MC ***buɔt-li̯uĕt** > Northern MC ***buər-li̯uĕr**) of eighth-century Chinese historical texts might represent *Belūr or *Belor as readily as the *Balūr or *Palūr tentatively proposed by Pelliot (**Notes**, 92). Gr. *βήρυλλος* and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit **veruliya** derive from a metathesized form *Berul of this place name Belūr or Belor.

515.17 **s'b'ryr**, which Radloff also read as **s'b'ryr** in Suv.X.30b.13, should be read **s'b'ryk [saparik]** < a Prakrit from ***sphalika**; cf. attested Pkr. **phaliha, phaliya** (Gray, **Indo-Iranian Phonology**, 52, §125), **phalika, phaḍiha**, Pāli **phalika** (Gray, 72, §197), Newari **phaṭaki** (~ **phatka** ~ **phatakir**) 'crystal' (Jørgensen, **A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī**, 118), ultimately < Skr. **sphaṭika** 'crystal, quartz' (M-W 1269c), where the lingual **-ṭ-** indicates the word is of possible foreign origin and may arise from a constant cluster, thus , ***sphaltika** < **sBal-ti** 'Balti' or 'Baltistān.' Another name for Baltistān is Great Bolor or 'Bolorian Tibet,'

Lesser Bolor being Gilgit and the adjacent areas (Minorsky, **Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam**, 258), and it is this name Bolor (< *Balur or *Belur) which has passed into Mongolian as **bolor** (or **bolur**) 'crystal; rock crystal.'

Crystal or rock crystal was known in China during T'ang times as a product of the West; Pliny mentions several sources of crystal including Cyprus, but Syria seems to have been one of the most important sources (Hirth, **China and the Roman Orient**, 239). During the eighth century, objects made of rock crystal were sent to the T'ang court from Samarkand and Kapiśa (ancient Gandhara) as gifts (Schafer, **The Golden Peaches of Samarkand**, 227).

At the time of its incorporation into British India, the Kingdom of Baltistān comprised a mountainous region between Kashmir, to the west, and Ladakh, to the east, and was bound on the north by Yashin, Hunza, Nagar, and the Territories of Atālīq Ghāzī, or the "Amīr of Kāshgar" (Drew, **The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories**, 493-498; political map). Minorsky identifies the Bolorian (**B.lūrī**) Tibet or Great Bolor of the **Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam** as Baltistān (93; 258), but 'Bolorian Tibet' on his map is centered on the city Leh and corresponds rather to Ladakh; Baltistān is the area between this and 'Bolor,' which centers on the cities of Gilgit and Astor (Hasora) (map iv, p. 261). Mirza Muhammad Haidar states that Baltistān or Balti is a province of Tibet and comprises Purik ("which is one of the most important [provinces] in Tibet," but hardly = Pu-rańs or Pu-hrańs, one of the three Mña-ris districts which border on Nepal), Khāpula (= Khapālū, Baltistān), Ashigār(= Shigar, Baltistān), Askārdu (= Skārdu, Baltistān), and Ladak (or La-dvags) (**Tarikh-i-Rashidi**, 410; 442). According to Mirza Haidar, Balti included both Baltistān and Ladakh and possibly other portions of Western Tibet and, as Elias and Ross point out, was distinct from Balur or Bolur (**Tarikh-i-Rashidi**, 385, n.1). Baltistān has not been mentioned as a source of rock crystal or other gems by medieval travelers but, if Balur or Bolor was only a mythical name applied vaguely to areas in the vicinity of Baltistān (cf. Paquin, **Le Pamir**, 146), associated at different periods with Chin. 玻瓈 **p'o-li** 'glass' and Mo. **bolor** 'crystal,' and referred as well to Wakhan, Shignan, and part of Badakhshan, any gems from this general area might have been attributed to the Balur Mountains or 'Crystal Mountains.' At the root of these various place names in Baltistān and other areas to the west of Tibet, including Balti (Tib. sBal-te), Balur, Bāltoro (glacier and river), Bāsha (river, perhaps < *Bal-ša), possibly even Marco Polo's Badascian ~ Balascian ~ Baldascia ~ Baldasciam for Badakhshan (Pelliot), **Notes on Marco Polo**, 63-64), may be the same root ***bal** found in the name Nepal (Tib. Bal-po), if originally < ***bral**, then also at the base of the name of the valley of Brāldūi (cf. Lepcha **bral** 'spur mountain or pit of land,' (Burm. **mran** in **mran-mā** 'Burmese').

515.17 **šyšyr [šišir]** 'crystal' (Claus. 868b, following Radloff) or 'emerald' < EMC (northern cialect) 瑟瑟 ***ṣiet-ṣiet** (for the passage of final **-t** > **-d** > **-r** in certain northern dialects, see Karlgren's discussion of Edkins' and Pelliot's theories, **Études sur la phonologie chinoise**, 603-604): Kor. 瑟 **sil** in **pipha sil** 'a kind of stringed musical instrument' (also Kor. **sil-sil** '(blowing) gently': MC 瑟 **ṣiet** 'rustling of the wind,' GS 411a). This word is possibly in the text only by way of clarification of the preceding word, **s'b'ryr** (= **s'b'ryk**), since there is no equivalent in the Chinese text or the Sanskrit text; one of the **saptaratna** is **aśmagarbha** 'emerald' (M-W 114a), 'diamond' (**Erklärendes Wörterbuch**, 64a), or 'amber' (Eitel, 20a), lit. 'stonewomb,' and the Tibetan text has **rdoi sniṅ-po**, translated by Nobel as 'Jaspis' (**rdo-sniṅ** 'jasper,' Jäs. 287a) but glossed in the **Bod-sog gso-rig brda-yig** as **marġad erdeni** (316a): **marġad** 'émeraude, pierre précieuse d'un beau vert' (Kow. 2000b) < Tib. **mar-gad** (~ **ma-rgad**) < Skr. **marakata** 'emerald' (M-W 789c; cf. Gr. *σμάραγδος*, Lat. **smaragdus** 'amerald'), and the Mongolian text has **asmagarbi** (= **asam-a garbhi**) < Uig. < Khot. < Skr. **aśmagarbha.**

Laufer believes that the origin of Chin. 瑟瑟 **sê-sê** is an Iranian (probably Sogdian) word (**Sino-Iranica**, 516); if so, it might be cognate to Skr. **śilā** 'stone' (Prak. **silā**, Pali **silā**, Gray, **Indo-Iranian Phonology**, 129, §400), probably the origin of Tib. **śel** 'rock-crystal; glass > Mo. **šil** 'glass' (Laufer, "Loan-words in Tibetan," 545, No.70).

Laufer recognizes two varieties of 碧瑟 **sê-sê**, both green, one a precious stone prized as highly as pearls, lapis lazuli, and diamonds, and ranking in Tibet above gold, the other a building material used for

columns and for the decoration of the interior of Nestorian churches; the first he identifies as emerald, the second as malachite. Chinese sources list **sê-sê** as one of the precious stones of Persia and Sogdiana and the T'ang Annals specify that **sê-sê** mines are located to the southeast of the Jaxartes River in Sogdiana and that these gems were brought into China through Khotan (**Sino-Iranica**, 516-518), though emeralds may have also come by the same route from Syria, from mines near the city of Koptos or from the markets of Syria (Hirth, **China and the Roman Orient**, 243-244). Schafer, too, names Khotan, the mercantile center of the jade-producing area, as the immediate source of other gemstones for the Chinese, including **sê-sê**, but he states that this name generally designated lapis lazuli or lazurite, which derived from mines in Badakhshan, though the name might also occasionally refer to sapphires (**Golden Peaches**, 231). Badakhshan itself was a mercantile center, due to the presence of gold, silver, garnet (**bī-jādha**), and lapis lazuli mines there (**Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam**, 112); Marco Polo mentions lapis lazuli as a product of Badakhshan (Yule, **Marco Polo**, 157; 162) under the name of **açur** (ultimately < Pers. **lajvard**), but Pelliot believes that, in his chapter on Tenduc, Polo has mistaken malachite for lapis lazuli (**Notes on Marco Polo**, 60-61). In the present text, Uig. šyšyr šišir, Chin. 瑟瑟 sê-sê must refer to emerald, and not lapis lazuli, which in Uighur would have been **ražwart** or **aržwart** (not **aržwrt**, as Pelliot suggests, **Notes**, 58; for **arz-awrt**, Müller and von Gabain, Uig.IV, 702.49; 703, n.) < Skr. **rājāvarta** (~ **rājavarta**) = Tib. **mu-men** 'a precious stone of a dark blue' (Jäs. 416a), Mo. **nomin** 'lapis lazuli' or **rašivar** (**čilaġu**) 'id.'

515.17 **b'tw [badu]** 'carnelian' < Ch'ang-an 瑪瑙 ***mbà-ndàu** (Karlgren, **Phonologie chinoise**, 481; 578; Pulleyblank, "Stages in the transcription of Indian words in Chinese from Han to Tang," 96) < EMC ***mà-nàu**: 馬 **mà**, phonetic in 瑪 **mà** (Wieger, Phon. 541; MC ***ma** GS 40a), 腦, phonetic value **nào** in 瑙 **nào** (Wieger, Phon. 455; MC 腦 (= 𠙵 = 𡇙) ***nàu**, GS 1244f), Mand. 瑪瑙 **mą-nao** 'agate ou autres minéraux qui ont la couleur de la cervelle du cheval' (Couv. 586a) for 馬腦 **ma-nao**, lit. 'horse brain,' usually translated 'agate,' a banded or clouded form of chalcedony, a crypto-crystalline quartz, possibly on account of its designation as 'brain.' But Schafer has shown that carnelian, a semi-transparent orange-red variety of chalcedony is meant from references during the T'ang which describe **ma-nao** as a madder color and which compare the stone to pomegranate seeds or to blood (**The Golden Peaches of Samarkand**, 228). Uig. **b'tw** may be an orthographical or phonological reduction of ***b't'w [*badau]** or **b'tw** may be < ***bato** from a northwestern (Kansu) dialect that underwent a prenasalized obstruent phase from nasal initials, as the Ch'ang-an dialect did, but with monophthongizaton of **-au** > **-o**; cf. Lan-chou 惱 **no**: Wen-shui, Hsing-hsien (Shanhsi dialects) **ndau**, Hsi-an **nau** (**Phonologie chinoise**, 818); Chin. 𠙵奴 **nao** (MC ***ńau**, GS 1244a) is used to transcribe the Sanskrit syllable **ṇu** (Julien, **Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits**, 1225), but 𠙵奴 here is probably for 奴 **nu** (MC nuo, GS 941).

515.17 **syt' [sita** or **sita]**, possibly for **syrw [sirü]** or **syrw [sirü]** (or **?s'nta [santa]**) translates Chin. 珊瑚 **shan-hu** 'corail' (Couf. 580b): if the word is to be read **syrw**, it is, like Ma. **šuru** < Mo. **širu** (~ **bširu**) 'corail' (Kow. 1526a), Kitan **širu** (~ **šuru**) (Laufer, "Loan-Words in Tibetan," 465), Hsia-hsia 79), Mo-So **šo-lo** (Bacot, **Les Mo-so**, 36), Lepcha **p'yi-ru**, from Tib. **byi-ru** (~ **byu-ru**), ultimately from Skr. **vidruma** 'coral' (Laufer, "Loan-words in Tibetan," loc.cit.), lit., 'peculiar tree' (M-W 951a), also the source of the learned borrowing **bidarum** in Manchu. In support of the reading **syt'** is Chag. **sitük** 'Koralle' (Radl.Wb. 4.719), of unexplained origin; both this and the Uighur word may ultimately derive from Burm. **θadā** (Lane, 83b), **θaddā** < **θantā** 'coral' (Jud. 1112) < ***sam-tā** , ***sam-tag** (or ***sam-tsyag**): the final element in this compound is undoubtedly **tā** 'very red' (cf. Garo **gittśak** 'red,' Dimasa **gadzau** < ***gadzak** 'red; gold,' Lushei **ran-ka-tśak** 'gold,' Kachin **dza** 'gold' , Tib.-Burm. ***tsyak**, Benedict, **Sino-Tibetan**, 46, No.184), and the first element may be **θaṁ** (<***sam**) 'a certain class of shells,' identical with ***ṣan** in OChin. 珊瑚 ***ṣan-go** (AD 852; GS 49i'). Schafer, following Su Kung, derives OChin. ***ṣan-go** from

O.Pers. ***sanga** 'stone' (**Golden Peaches**, 246) but, although coral was known to the early Chinese as of great value in Persia and although a certain amount of coral was imported by way of Persia (Laufer, **Sino-Iranica**, 524; Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, 246), important sources of coral in the East were India, Formosa, and Japan, and in the T'ang Dynasty coral was also known to derive from the South Seas, which points to the prospect of a borrowing from Skr. **śankha** 'shell, (esp.) the conch-shell' (M-W 1047b) for the first part of the compound ***ṣan-go**, possibly through a language of the East Indies (e.g., OJav. **çanka** 'conch'); the second element of 珊瑚 ***ṣan-go** originally meant 'vase dans lequel on offrait du millet aux défunts' (Couv. 585a) and is a loan character for an undetermined word.

The Mongolian text here has **byiru**, a transliteration of the Tibetan in place of the usual loanword **širu** or **bširu**. In addition, the Mo. text has another word, **musaraki** (= **musaraka**), in Kowalewski of 'signification inconnue' (2037a), as the translation of Tib. **spug** 'a precious stone' (Jäs. 330b); this renders Skr. **musāragalva** 'a kind of coral' (M-W 824c). The Sanskrit text has, not **musāragalva**, the usual word for 'coral' among the **saptaratna**, but **pravāḍa** (= **pravāla**) 'coral' (M-W 691b), the presence of the retroflex **-ḍ-** and alternation with **-l-** suggesting a Dravidian origin for this word (Tamil **pavaṛam** ~ **pavaḷam**, Tulu **pakaḷa** ~ pavaḷa ***pagaḷa**, Tel. pagaḍamu ~ **pavaḍamu**). But, even though the Sanskrit word is of obscure derivation, there is a word **vāla**, said to be equivalent to **parvan** 'knot, joint; limb' (cf. M-W 946b), an apt description of coral.

In reference to Marco Polo's observation that European coral was in great demand in Kashmir, Yule adds that even now coral is a very popular stone in Assam, Tibet, and other Himalayan countries (Yule, **Marco Polo**, 1.167; 170, n.), but the spread of the Tibetan word for coral into neighboring languages is due less to the activity of Tibetan merchants than to the frequent mention of coral in Buddhist texts and the spread of Lamaism. Judging from Bacot's examples of Mo-so jewelry (a brooch in gold, turquoise, and coral, and earrings in silver and coral; **Les Mo-So**, Pl.xiii), coral was also popular in western Yün-nan. Though the Mo-so word for it, **šo-lo**, is apprently an old borrowing from Tibetan, the product itself would have made its way there more easily from the south.

515.18 **qwbyq [xobïq** or **qobïq]** 'amber' (< ***xobaq**), Kor. **hōpak** 'amber' < MC 琥 珀 ***huo-p'^{b}k** (GS 57f; AD 685), Mo. **quba** (Kalm. **xuwa**, Ord. **xuwa**), Ma. **hûba** < OM **hu-p'a?**: Mand. **hu-p'o** 'ambre rouge' (Couv. 583c), though the second element of MC ***huo-p'^{b}k** may have been pronounced as 碧 ***pi̯äk** 'green or blue precious stone' (GS 782s), 'green or blue jade' (AD 685), which would better account for the high vowel in the second syllable of Uig. **xobïq**.

Laufer rejects Klaproth's suggestion that Chin. 琥 珀 **hu-p'o** is from the Uighur, as well as Jacob's suggestion that it is ultimately derived from Pahlavi **kahrapāī** (Pers. **kāhrubā** , **kāh** 'straw' + **rubā** 'lift; attract'), though he notes that Chinese sources as early as the Wei Dynasty mention Sasanian Persia as a source of amber (**Sino-Iranica**, 521; 523); if amber was imported into China from Kashmir, Ta ts'in (the Hellenistic Orient), or Persia, it must have been imported by way of Central Asia, as Hirth suggests, and the name is likely to have been transmitted through some Central Asian language; Hirth endorses Klaproth's derivation of Chin. 琥 珀 **hu-p'o** from Uighur and cites as 'Bokharic' word **keherbaï** (= Pahl. **kahrupāī**) in Klaproth's **Asia Polyglottica** as a possible source for either the Chinese or the Uighur (**China and the Roman Orient**, 245, n.1). He also suggests a possible connection with the **harpax** ('robber,' M-G 108b) mentioned by Pliny as the name used in Syria for a spindle-whirl (**verticillus**) made of amber. Laufer also rejects this connection, preferring as a source for the word an ancient Shan or T'ai language of Yün-nan, "whence the Chinese received a kind of amber as early as the first century A.D." (op.cit., 523), though Schafer maintains the connection with Gr. **harpax** and traces MC ***xuo-p'^{b}k** to an original form ***xarupah** in "some language of western or southern Asia" (**The Golden Peaches of Samarkand**, 247).

The popular etymology of Chin. 琥 珀 **hu-p'o** is that it stands for the homophonous 虎 魄 **hu-p'o** 'tiger's soul' (or 'tiger's essence'), a notion related to that of the Greeks, who thought amber was crystallized lynx urine. It was also believed in China that amber was formed when the blood of a dragon was shed on the ground, though T'ang pharmacologists came close to the truth when they stated that

amber was the sap of a tree absorbed by the earth and transformed after a thousand years (Schafer, loc.cit.).

The Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian texts have no word for 'amber' in this list of jewels.

515.18 **č'č [čač]**, possibly for **č'čw [čačü]** or **č'kw [čakü]** 'mother-of-pearl or other nacreous shell' < MC 砗 磲 ***tśi̯a-gi̯wo** (GS 74a; 95g): Mand. **ch'ê-ch'ü** 'nom d'une belle pierre qui venait de l'Inde' (Couv. 112c) or **č'č** is part of a compound **č'č q'š [čač qaš]** 'Chāch jade, lapis lazuli,' from the name of the town Chāch, written by Hsüan-tsang as 赤 時 **che-shih** (Watters, **On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India**, 85-87), MC ***tśi̯a-źi** (GS 45d; 961z, reconstructed by Hirth as Tjadj [Chaj]), which has been identified as Tashkent (originally Shash or Chach, Bretschneider, **Mediaeval Researches**, 2.55, the name evolved from Shāsh-kand or Chāch-kand > Tāsh-kand under the influence of the Turkic **taš** 'stone,' Minorsky, **Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam**, 357), one of the mercantile sources of lapis lazuli (the other was Khotan, important source of jade and, in fact, lapis lazuli was known to the Chinese as 'stone of Khotan' (Schafer, **The Golden Peaches of Samarkand**, 231).

There is of course no resemblance between lapis lazuli and mother-of-pearl, and an inland city such as Chāch was surely not thought the source of mother-of-pearl; but shells for jewelry or decorative objects, such as the shell of the giant clam, must have reached the marketplace already cut, for they were commonly considered gemstones, and originally Chāch may have been the source of Chin. 砗 磲 ***tś'i̯a-gi̯wo**, a name which was applied in the fourth century to carnelian or to some violet-colored gem (**Chau Ju-Kua**, 231). In the T'ang-shu the name Chāch is rendered 木 石 拆 ***tśi̯a-tśi̯ät** (GS 7951; 287a) or 木 石 支 ***tśi̯a-tśie** (--; GS 864a) (Chavannes, **Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux**, 140; index, 366a), the first of which recalls the form **Seket** used by some Western writers for the capital of the district Chāch (Watters, 85), and the final element ***-tśi̯ät** may be meant to transcribe **-kent**.

Klaproth gives a word **tscheku [čekü]** in his **Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren**, 22 (cited apud Hirth and Rockhill, **Chau Ju-Kua**, 231), with the meaning 'a large spiral shell, prized as a jewel' (perhaps the chambered nautilus, **Nautilus pompilus**, which in the Ming Dynasty was carved with designs in relief and exported to Europe for use as drinking vessels), but the nearest word to this in the Radloff **Wörterbuch** is Kir. **čökö** 'die Kugelknöpfe auf den Mützen der chinesischen Beamten' (Wb. 3.2036); Alt., Tel. **čaq** 'Puschel, Franzen,' Tat. **čačaq** 'ein Kopfschmuck der Frauer' (Rad. Wb. 3.1906) would seem to be connected rather with OT **saču** 'fringe' < **sač-** 'scatter.'

Nobel glosses Chin. 砗 磲 **ch'ê-ch'ü** as 'Perlmutter; Pirophylliten' and gives as textual equivalent Tib. **spug** 'name of a precious stone' (Jäs. 330b); he cites Skr. **musālagalva** from Mvy. 5956 as the meaning of Tib. **spug** and further states that Tib. **spug** (not registered in his own **Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanksrit**) should be the equivalent of Chin. 琥 珀 **hu-p'o** 'amber,' but the Tibetan word for 'amber' is **spos-śel**, lit., 'incense crystal'. Early Chinese Buddhist writers used 砗 磲 **ch'ê-ch'ü** (in the fourth century A.D. applied to the carnelian or to violet colored gems) to translate Skr. **musāragalva** (~ **musālagalva**) 'a sort of cat's-eye' (Childers, **Pali Dictionary**, 241) or 'a kind of coral' (M-W, 824c), and Hsüan-tsang writes the word 車 渠 to translate Skr. **musāragalva** (**Chau Ju-kua**, 231, n.).

In the Mongolian text, there occurs the word **musaraki**, for **musaraka**, which Kowalewski registers with 'signification inconnue' as a loanword < Tib. **mu.sa.la.gar.ba** < Skr. **musāragalva** (2037a), but **musaraki** here translates Tib. **spug**, in Mongolian **čaġan širu** 'white coral' or **usun šil** 'water glass' (**Bod-sog gso-rig brda-yig**, 361a). The first of these acceptations would fit Skr. **musāragalva** 'a kind of coral,' but the Sanskrit text does not have **musāragalva**; the second acceptation corresponds in the Uighur text to **šyšyr**

[šišir] 'crystal.' Although the various texts differ in the order of elements in this passage, all texts have a word from Skr. **vaiḍūrya** or a word corresponding to **vaiḍūrya** immediately following the words for 'gold' and 'silver.' The next word in sequence is Skr. **śaṅkhaśilā**, Chin. 車 渠 **ch'ê-ch'ü**, Uig. **s'b'ryr [s'b'ryk]** **šyšyr**, Tib. **spug**, Mo. **musaraki**. Obviously, Chin. 車 渠 **ch'ê-ch'ü** is meant to translate Skr. **śaṅkhaśilā** 'a kind of stone' (M-W 1048a) < **śaṅkha** 'conch shell' + **śilā** 'stone, rock,' and if Uig. **šyšyr [šišir]** is not simply an interpolation, it might be a rendering of Chin. 硨磲 **ch'ê-ch'ü** in its earlier designation of a violet-colored gem. In all of the texts, there is a word for Skr. **muktā** 'pearl,' in all but the Sanskrit text at the end of the list. In the Tibetan text, the word before **mu-tig** 'pearl' is **hgron-bu** 'kleine Muschel' (Nob.Wb.38), 'small shell, cowry' (Jäs. 102b), equivalent to Mo. **ibuuqai**, and in the Mongolian text, the word before **subud** 'pearl' is **ibuu** (for **ibaġu** ~ **ibau**) 'petite coquille.' Nobel gives Skr. **kapardikā** = **kapardaka** 'cowrie shell' (M-W 250a) for Tib. **hgron-bu**, and Kowalewski gives Skr. **kārṣāpaṇa** 'weighing a **karsha** (a coin or weight of different values)' as the equivalent for Mo. **ibaġu**, but **kārṣāpaṇa** may be a misunderstanding for **kṛśana** 'pearl, mother-of-pearl' (adj. form **kārśana**). In the Chinese text, 虎 珀 'amber' occurs before the word for 'pearl,' but Sïngqu Säli has inserted in his Uighur translation two words, **č'č [čač]** and **q'š [qaš]** between the words for 'amber' and 'pearl,' possibly on the authority of a parallel text (the Sanskrit text has **maṇi** 'jewel' but also 'pearl' before **muktā** 'pearl').

Nobel mentions the difficulty attending the definition of the word 車 硨磲 **ch'ê-ch'ü**. As one of the **saptaratna** or 'seven precious gems,' the Sanskrit equivalent **musāragalva** has been translated variously as 'amber' (Julien), 'mother-of-pearl' (Watters) or 'coral.' In the Mahāvyutpatti, **musāragalva** has been described as a 'dark red or violet gem' or 'a gem resembling carnelian'; according to the Tz'u-yüan, 車 渠 **ch'ê-ch'ü** is a large shell, as large as the felly (渠 **ch'ü**) of a cart (車 **ch'ê**) (**Erklärendes Wörterbuch**, 43a-b) which, if **ch'ê-ch'ü** is the transcription of a foreign word, is only an attempt to explain by folk etymology its origin, but this accords with the usage of the word during the Sung for a very large cockle shell or other bivalve shell with a scalloped surface, from one to three feet in diameter, from which cups and vases were made (**Chau Ju-Kua**, loc.cit.). Schafer identifies this shell as 'Neptune's cradle' (**Tridaena gigas**), a giant clam, and states that in ancient China this 'mother-of-pearl' shell was regarded as a stone and was polished like jade (**Gold Peaches**, 245), and its resemblance to jade explains why there has been some confusion as to the identification of the gem and why Sïngqu Säli would have added the word **q'š [qaš]** 'jade' after **č'č [čač]** by way of specification.

515.18 **yynčw [yinčü]** 'pearl,' ostensibly < Chin. 真 珠 **chen-chu** (MC tśi̯ĕn-tśi̯u, GS 375a; 128e), lit. 'real pearl' (a connection suggested by Radloff, Wb. 3.334; also Hirth and Rockhill, **Chau Ju-Kua**, 230, n.1, where they point out that in the Old Turkic inscriptions **yänčü ögüz** translates Chin. 真 珠 河 **chen-chu ho** 'Pearl River') here translates the same term 真 珠 **chen-chu** 'pearl' of the Chinese text.

Though the Karakalpak form **xiŋji** and the Türkmen form **xüŋji** (~ **īŋji**) that Clauson quotes (Claus. 944b) are, because of their initial velar spirant **x-**, problematic, there are not "insuperable phonetic objections" to the derivation of OT **yänčü** (~ **yinčü**) from Chin. 真 珠 **chen-chu**; Turkic initial **y-** may arise from any yodized initial, whether from pre-Turkic or from other languages, and there is a range of forms from yodized dental stop t^{y}- in Soyot t^{y}**ind**^{y}**i** (Castrén, **Koibalischen und Karagassischen Sprachlehre**, 115a < ***t**^{y}**ind**^{y}**ü** , ***t**^{y}**en-t**^{y}**u**) through š- in Shor. **šinjä** and **y-** in ET **yunje** (~ **yünjü** ~ ünjä) to 0- in Kom. **inčü**, Tk. **inci**, which is precisely the type of evolution we might expect if the word was borrowed from MC tśi̯ĕn-tśi̯u. The initial palatal consonants in all the Altaic languages are of complex development, and we find frequent alternation of **y-** ~ **j-** ~ **š-** ~ **s-** < **y-** both among the dialects and in borrowings within the Altaic group from one language to the other, e.g. OT **yïpar** 'musk' > Mo. **jiġar** ~ **jaġar** (Claus. 878b); OT **yaqa** 'edge, border' > Mo. **jaqa** (Claus. 898a); OT ***yoġdu** 'hair under a camel's chin': Mo.

joġdur (Claus. 899a) < OT ***yoġdur**; OT **yägän** 'son of a younger sister or daughter' > MMo. ***jegeN** > **je'e** (Claus. 912b); OT **yäl** (< ***syäl**, cf. Chuv. **śil** < ***syil**) 'wind' > Hg. **szel** (Claus. 916b); OT **yïl** 'year' > Mo. **jil** (Claus. 917a); OT **yula** 'torch, lamp' > Mo. **jula** (Claus. 919a); OT **yälvi** 'sorcery, witchcraft' > Mo. **jilbi** (~ **jilvi** ~ **ilbi**) (Claus. 919b); OT yam (< MC 站 ***ʈi̯ɑm**) 'relay station' > Mo. **jam** (Claus. 933b), OT **yämiš** (< ***d**^{y}**ämil-s(üN)**) 'fruit' > Hg. **gyümölcs [d**^{y}**ümölč]** (Claus. 938b), Mo. **jimis**. Koib. **nind**^{y}**i** and Salb. **ñend**^{y}**i** 'pearl' suggest a different derivation, possibly < MC 念 珠 ***niem-tśi̯u**, Chin. **nien-chu** 'chapelet sur lequel on récite des prières' (Couv. 582a) rather than spontaneous nasalization of initial **t-** in ***t**^{y}**än-** or ***ts**^{y}**än-** < MC ***tśi̯ĕn**, but the Karakalpak and Türkmen forms with initial **x-** are probably < ***s-** < ***ts-** in ***ts**^{y}**än** < ***tśi̯ĕn** (cf. Dag. **xita-** 'burn' < **sita-**).

The Mongolian text has **subud**, in fact a plural form, 'pearls,' of the collective **subusun** attested in Karagas (Castrén, **Koib. und Kar. Sprachlehre**, 153a) perhaps < **subu-** (~ **suba-**) 'unravel, unstring' (= Ma. **subu-** 'put off, remove; absolve') as a calque on Skr. **muktā** 'pearl' = **mukta** 'loosened, let loose, set free,' in this case, from the oyster; this translates Tib. **mu-tig** 'pearl' < an Apabramśa form ***muktik** (Laufer, "Loan-Words in Tibetan," 454, No.30) < Skr. **muktikā** < **muktā**; though **muktā** is at the base of most modern dialects: Prk., Pāli **mutta**, Urd. **mōti**, Hind. **mōtī** (Gray, **Indo-Iranian Phonology**, 146, No.464), and as a loan in Tam., Kan. **muttu**, Koḍ. **muttï**.

Pearls are a frequent item of personal adornment in the Buddhist paintings from Eastern Turkestan, either strung in ropes as, for example, twisted in the hair of the divine musician Pañchaśikha in a fragment from Balawaste (Andrews, **Wall Paintings**, 21-22 and Plate V) or suspended in swags from the waist of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in a fragment of a painting from Kara-Khōja (Andrews, 30-31 and Plate VII); otherwise sewn on cloth in a network, as on the narrow red taenia around the head of the Bodhisattva Hāritī in another fragment (Andrews, 24 and Plate VI). Lavish use was made of pearls, too, in Mongolia, for women's dress, and may be seen in extant examples either suspended in long, sweeping tassels at front on both sides of the headdress (Tsultem, **Dekorativno-Prikladnoye Iskusstvo** Mongolii, 84; 87; 94) or sewn on cloth in linear designs, usually to outline lozenges, discs, ovals, and other shapes made up of other gems (Tsultem, 86; 87; 88; 94); some of these pearls are ocean pearls, but others are clearly freshwater pearls. In Tibet, freshwater pearls are obtained from rivers in southern Tibet, while saltwater pearls come from the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Among all the peoples of Himalayan countries, pearls are restricted to use by women (Weihreter, **Schmuck aus dem Himalaja**, 23), but there is a magnificent example in the State Fund of Precious Metals and Depository of Mongolia of pearls sewn in an elaborate knot design on a man's knife pendant and the case of a steel drill (Tsultem, 67).

515.22 **swyswk kyrtkwnc kwnkwl-lwk**, "with a pure heart," translates Chin. 全 心 (439A17) "von ganzem Herzen"; Tib. **sems rtse gcig-tu** (115v1) "single-mindedly (with his thoughts on a single object)," Mo. **nigen üjügür-tü sedkil-iyer**, "with his thoughts on a single point (i.e., single-mindedly)." In line 513.10 Uig. **gwp kwnkwl-yn** translated Chin. 專 心 (438C29) "mit ganzem Herzen," where the Tibetan and Mongolian had the same phrases as in the present passage: **sems rtse gcig-tu** and **nigen üjügür-tü sedkil-iyer**, resp.

516.5 **s'c'-**. The Uighur has **qw-' c'c'k s'cyp**, "strewing flowers," while the Chinese has 及 諸 女少 花 (439A18) "und mit wunderbaren Blumen"; Tib. **me-tog dam-pa-rnams-kyis** (115v1) "with excellent flowers," Mo. **degedü čečeg-üd-iyer** (146v21), id.; the Sanskrit Suv.I has **puṣpāś ca . . . [dātauyās]** (115.13) "flowers . . . (must be offered)," while the word for 'flower' does not occur at this point in the corresponding place in the Saka text.

516.5 **kwywr-**, **köyür-** 'verbrennen' (AI), factitive in **-r-** < **köy-** 'brennen, verbrannt werden' (AI), 'yanmak; yakmak' (Kāšġ.) translates Chin. 燒 **chao** (439A18) "abbrennen"; Tib. **tsregs-nas** (115v1) "burning," Mo. **tülejü** (146v20), id. The Sanskrit has no equivalent for this verb, but says **gandhāś ca puṣpāś ca dhūpāś ca dātavyāḥ** (115.3) "Perfumes, flowers and incense must be offered"; however, the Saka

translation does have a verb 'to burn': **bū' vara paṭhāñä** (53r6) "incense should there be burned," suggesting that either the recension from which the Saka was translated possessed this verb, or else the Saka translator added it on the strength of the context.

516.6 **myny 'wycwn** "on my behalf," translates Chin. 為 我 (439A18) "um meinetwillen"; Tib. **bdag-gi ched-du** (115v2) "on my behalf"; the Skr.Suv.I here has **Śriyā mahādevyāh prabhāvena** (115.2) "By the power of the great goddess Śrī," while the Saka has **śśaṃdremāte miśtä gyaste prabhāvāna tty vastāna (sc. dastāna)** (53r5) "by the power of the great goddess Śrī and her might."

516.10 **'wyc q't'** Chin. 於 三 時 中 (439A20) "zu den drei Zeiten"; Tib. **dus gsum-du** (115v3) "at the three times." Mo. **ġurban cag̈-tur** (146v26), id.; Skr.Suv.I **trişkṛtva** (115.4) "thrice," Sak.Suv.I **drai jūna** (53r6), id. These three times are, according to the definition for Tib. **dus gsum trişkāla**, 'zu den drei Zeiten (morgens, mittags, abends).'

The word **qata** 'mal' (AI), 'kere, defa, gez' (Kāšġ) < **qat-** 'ajouter' with the gerund in -A (CDP) occurs with the cardinal numeral **yiti** in **yanar ārngäk yiti qata käli barī qīlīp** (TT V A 58) "muß man die Zeichenfinger siebenmal auf und ab bewegen"; **bu tarni yiti qata söz-läz-ūn** (TT V A 60) "Diese **dhāraṇī** spreche man siebenmal aus"; **yiti qata tarni ạrwïš** sözlämiš **krgäk** (op.cit., 129) "muß er . . . siebenmal die **dhāraṇī**-Zauberformel aussprechen."

516.15 **pw nwm 'rtyny** Where the Chinese has 此 妙 經 王 (439A21) "diesen wunderbaren **Sūtra**-König," Tib. **mdo-sdei rgyal-po dam-pa ḫdi** (115v3) "this excellent king of **sutras**," Uighur had simply **pw nwm 'rtyny** "this jewel of **sūtras**" beside Mo. **ene sudur-nuġud-un qaġan** (146v29) "this khan (king) of **sūtras**."

516.16 **pwy'n twys**, "the fruits of merit (**puṇya**)"; this translates Chin. 福 (439A22) "verdienste"; 福 'blessing, happiness, felicity, good fortune,' together with 德 , signifies '**puṇya**' (S-H 426a). The Tibetan has **bsod-nams** (115v4) '**puṇya** (merit),' Mo. **buyan** (146v31), id. The sense of the Sanskrit Suv.I is quite otherwise: if one does the various things mentioned in the text, then **tasya mahādhānyarāsirvivardhate** (115.6) "For him there will grow a great heap of corn," Sak.Suv.I **[mäst]-ā j{s}ārīṇei haṃbīśā h{u}ş{ş}āt{e}** (53r7) "a great heap of grain will grow.

517.2 **'wyzy y'sy 'wysd'lwr, özi yašï üstälür** "und sein Leben wird verlängert werden" (Uig.I, 26.11), the Chinese expresses this in a negative manner: 壽 命 難 窮 盡 (439A24) "die Lebenszeit ist schwer zu erschöpfen"; Tib. **thse dan dpag-par dka** (115v5) "it is difficult to measure their lifetime," Mo. **nasun-i ber uqaqui-a berke** (147r5) "as for their life, it is difficult to comprehend."

517.3 **kwyc't-, küčät-** 'start werden' has no exact parallel in the Chinese text; the closest meaning is that of 增 **tsêng**, 'augmenter, accroître, accumuler' (Cor. 182), but Nobel interprets this as part of a compound 增 長 (439A25), which he translates "sich mehrt"; the Tibetan has **ḫphel-bar ḫgyur** (115v28) "increase," Mo. **arbidqu bolun** (147r6) "will increase."

517.6 **qwvr'q. q'm'q tnkry-l'r qwvr'q-y, qamag̈ tngri-lär quvragï** "aller Götter Schar" translates Chin. 諸 天 衆 (439A26) "die Götterscharen"; the Tibetan has **de-dag** 'those,' pl., rather than 諸 **chu** 'all': **lha ḫkhor de-dag** (115v5) "those gods and their followers, that company of gods," while in the Mongolian, because of the possessive construction, it would appear that only the followers of the gods are referred to: **tedeger tngri-ner-ün nökōd** (147r8) "those companions of the gods."

Instead of the word **nökōd** in the Mongolian, we might in fact expect **quwrag̈**, which "is a Uighur Turkish word in origin . . . as such, it appears to be the Uighur Turkish equivalent of the Sanskrit **saṃgha**" (Cleaves, BCA, 100, n.118). This latter equation is correct where **quwrag̈** is used in combination with **bursang**, as in **bursang quwrag̈-lar ymä kšanti birdilär** (TT IV A 7) "und wie die (jeweiligen) Gemeinden

kšanti gaben"; **ymä yana bursang quwrag̈ üskintä bag̈rïn yatïp** (TT IV A 12) "und vor der Gemeinde auf dem Bauche lagen"; **bursong quwrag̈ïg̈ iki yartïm qïltïmz ärsär** (TT IV A 28) "wenn wir die Gemeinde in zwei Parteien gespalten haben sollten"; **tüz köñüllüg bursang quwrag̈-larïg̈ iki arqa qïltïm ärsär** (USt 13) "wenn ich die einmütigen (einträchtigen) Gemeinden entzweit haben sollte"; **bursong quwrag̈ öz-ä ärksintimz ärsär** (TT IV A 45) "wenn wir uns über die Gemeinde die Gewalt (die Führerschaft) angemaßt haben sollten," but this is by no means always the case.

It may mean simply 'assembly' or 'gathering,' as in **ötrü ol ö-dün minglig tü-mänlig quwrag̈ ///d/n//// tirilti** (TT II A 56) "Zu jener Zeit versammelten sich Scharen von Tausenden und Zehntausenden"; **ol ö-dün tngri i-lig bögü xan kntü dïndarlar ärigli quwrag̈-ġaru klti** (TT II A 33) "Da kam der göttliche König Bögü Qan (auch) seinerseits zu der Versammlung"; **frištilar quwrag̈inga** (TT IX, 95) "der Apostelschar"; a 'herd' or 'flock,' as in **yont tag̈taqï quwraqïñïz barča** (Suv. 490.17 apud TT I, n.91) "alle Deine Pferdescharen im Gebirge," or **quwrāhig utuzmāq ūzā** (TT VIII, Sanskrit-Uighur Vocabulary, C 5) "durch das Verlieren der Schar," which refers to a 'herd' in the immediately preceding phrase **sürügindim** "aus ihrer Herde," or even 'constllation,' as in **altï yuduz-lar quvrag̈ï** (TT VII, Index) "the constellation of the six stars" (the phrase does not occur in line 15.21 as indicated in the Index). The closest paralle to our present esample **tnkry-l'r qwbr'q-y** is to be found in TT X 312: **yäklär quvrag̈** "die Versammlung der Dämonen"; this very meaning 'Versammlung' is secured by the definition of the Sanskrit word **gaṇá**, for which Uig. **quwrag̈** is a gloss in the example from TT VIII cited above: 'a flock, troop, multitude, number, tribe, series, class (of animate or inanimate beings), body of followers or attendants; troops or classes of inferior deities" (M-W 343a).

In his Bodistw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312, Cleaves translated **Bodistw quwrag̈-ud-un kücün-iyer** (164a2-3) "By the might of the Bodistw (Bodhisattvas) and the **quwrag̈-ud** ('monks')" and **Bodistw quwrag̈-ud-un tus-a-tu kücün-iyer** (164b6) "By the helpful might of the **Bodistw** and **quwrag̈-ud** ('monks')." As amply demonstrated above by the examples drawn from Uighur, when **quwrag̈** is coupled with another word, it most frequently does not form a **Nominalkomposita** with the 'Artikel' +**SIN** (cf. Grönbech, Der türkisch Sprachbau, §142, 143), thus **bursong quwrag̈** (not **bursong quwrag̈ï**), **bursong quwrag̈ïg̈** (not **bursong quwrag̈în**), **bursañ quwrag̈-larïg̈** (not **bursañ quwrag̈-larïn**), but is a 'deskriptive Nominalgruppe,' without +**SIN** (op.cit., §121), a construction which is particularly frequent with **collectiva**, e.g. **türk budun** "das Türkenvolk, das Volk, welches die Türken heisst," **onoq budun** "das Zehn-Pfeilenvolk." The same situation obtains in Mongolian; the words **Bodistw quwrag̈** is therefore not necessarily a coordinate compound, but "juxtaposed nouns constituting a compound word" (Poppe, Gramm.Writ.Mo., §419) to be translated as "the company of Bodhisattvas" (as we say 'host of angels' or 'assembly of saints').

The Uighur text in the present instance has **q'm'q tnkry-l'r qwvr'q-y**, however, rather than **q'm'q tnkry-l'r qwvr'q**, and, as is clearly indicated in the parallel example **tedeger tngri-ner-ün nökōd** in the Mongolian version, it is not the "company of gods," but the "companions of the gods" (exclusive of the gods themselves).

517.7 **ywmqy pyrt'k. yumqï-ï bir täg sävinür**, "insgesamt (wie einer) alles wird sich freuen" Chin. 咸 歡 悅 (439A26) "sich alle freuen"; Chin. 咸 **hsien** 'together, all, completely,' is translated in Uigur by **ywmqy** (**yomqï**) 'alle' (AI), 'toplu, cok' (Kāšġ) and **pyrt'k**, **bir täg** 'gleichermaßen' in **alquġun bir täg bilü yarlïqazunlar, alquġun bir täg körü yarlïqazunlar** (USt., 30) "so mögen [sic] . . . alle gleichermaßen zu wissen geruhn und alle gleichermaßen zu sehn geruhn!" The Tibetan takes 咸 in the sense of 'completely' with **rab-tu** 'sehr' (Nob.Wb.): **rab-tu dga-bar gyur** (115v6) "they will greatly rejoice," which is echoed by Mongolian **sayitur** 'well' in **sayitur bayasqui bolun** (147r8) "they will greatly rejoice." The Skr.Suv.I has **praharşitā** (115.8) "(The deities) rejoice."

517.8 **"ryq s'm'k.** The phrase **"ryq s'm'k twys yymys** translates Chin. 園 林 穀 果 (439A26) "der Parke und der Kornfrüchte"; Müller translated **arïg̈imāk** "der Wasserläufe, der Wälder (?)" (Uig. I, 27.2); he gives no note to his translation, but apparently 'Wasserläufe' for **"ryq** is won from Kāšġarī: **arïq** 'ırmak, ark, germeç, kaş, kanal.' The expression **"ryq s'm'k** is found in **arïg̈lar simäklär** (Suv.

529.2 apud Windgott, n.8) "Wälder (Hend.)." The Tibetan has **bskyed-mos-thsal dan hbru-yi** (115v6) "of the parks and the grain" with **bskyed-mos-thsal** for **skyed-mos-thsal** 'Hain, Park, **udyāna**' (Nob.Wb.).

According to Pelliot,

> Dans le Suvarṇaprabhāsa en ouïgour (éd. Radlov et Malov, par exemple 608.7 et 14, 615.17, 623.21) le mot pour 'forêt' (chin. 林 **lin**) est **arïq** ou **arïġ**, qui ne paraît pas attesté ailleurs dans ce sens. Dans son dictionnaire ouigour, dont l'impression a été interrompue et qui n'a pas été publié, Radlov (col. 114-115) a signalé quelques autres exemples provenant du même ouvrage, et a traduit **arïq** par 'der Wasserlauf, die mit Bäumen bewachsene Flussniederung, der Wald in der Niederung,' évidemment pour relier cet **arïq** à **arïq** 'canal d'irrigation'; mais rien ne garantit une telle évolution semantique. Toujour après le Suvarṇaprabhasa, Radlov rend en outre **arïq simäk** [ou **semäk**] **tüš yemiš** par 'die Früchte, die bei den künstlichen Wasserläufen (Bewässerungsgräben) wachsen'; mais, comme on peut le voir dans Müller, Uigurica, 27.1-2, ces termes traduisent simplement le chinois 園林穀果 **yuan-lin kou-kouo** 'les céréales et fruits des jardins et bois; dans le Suvarṇaprabhāsa, 608.20, **arïq sämäk** traduit le seul mot **lin**, 'forêt.' Dans le fragment bouddhique de Radlov et Malov, Uigur. Sprachdenkmäler, pp. 198-199, il est question du **bodhisattva** qui, d'après la traduction, se met 'an einem meinen **Semek**-Orte unter eine Weide'; le texte est **arïq sämäk orun-da sögüt altïn-ïnda**. 'Meinem' est une faute d'impression pour 'reinem,' et, dans le ouigour de ce temps, **sögüt** signifie 'arbre' en général, et non 'saule.' Mais surtout il est évident qu'**arïq** n'est pas ici **arïġ** 'pur' mais qu'il faut adopter le même sens que dans le **suvarṇaprabhāsa**, 'dans un bois, sous un arbre.' (Uğuz-Khan, 265, n.1)

The word **arïġ** (**arïq**) is also found alone in TT VIII C 4 **küzätiglig ärrigtā**, "geschützt im Walde" as a gloss on the Sanskrit **rakṣitā vanaṣaṇḍe** "geschutzte im einem Waldgebüsch." The Sanskrit parallel text to the present passage has no such general term as **vanashaṇḍa**, which is a variant of **vanakhaṇḍa** 'group of trees, copse, wood,' but rather an enumeration: °**viṭapadrumavṛkṣa**° (115.9) "shrubs, bushes, trees."

517.8 **'rlyk-l'r**. Müller translated this word "Herrscher"; however, it renders the Chin. 神 (439A26) "die Gottheiten," which is borne out by Tib. **lha-rnams** (115v6) "gods," Mo. **tngri-ner** (147r10) id.; the Sanskrit Suv.I has **devatā** (115.9) "the deities."

We find the word **ärklig** "der Machtvolle; ebenso Mo. Bl. 10v10 **baġatur**; Chin. 將軍 'Feldheer' " in TT VI, "damit ist wohl der Planet Venus gemeint" (n.92-97), and in line 91 there occurs a reference to **ärklig qan**: **ärklig qan süsin bašlaġucï qasïnčïġ qorqïnčïġ ärkliglärniñ atlarï bu** "Die Namen der schrecklichen (Hend.) Machthaber, welche des **Ärklig-Qans** (Skr. **Yama**) Heer befehligen, sind diese," while in TT VIII **ärklig qan** (13.51) is equated with Skr. **Yama** (13.57). This **Ärklig-Qan** must be one and the same with **Ärlik (Kān)** 'der Herrscher der Unterwelt, das böse Prinzip, ein böser Geist, der Teufel' (Wb.I, 789). Whether this equation is due to the fact that "Southern, and finally Indian, influence certainly must exist in Central Asian mythologies and folklores" or to the fact that Yama was identified with a pre-existing figure of Turkic mythology is not clear; the resemblance of Yama to Ärlik Kan, however, does not permit us to go so far as to say, "Probably Erlik's underworld had Irano-Indian models" (Eliade, Shamanism, 204), but must be based on a wider correspondence of details.

An exact parallel to the present text occurs in TT VI, 96 **iki yigirmi ärkligi** "die Zwolf Machthaber" or "die 12 Mächtigen," Chin. 十二諸神 " 'die 12 Geister,' das sind die Geister der 12 Paläste des Zodiakus" (op. cit., n.92-97, 13), and the list of 'Gestirnen' or 'Geistern' concludes with the statement **qamaġ yäklär yilpiglär adïrtačï ärkliglär alqu yašar-lar yoqadurlar** (op.cit., 97) "Alle Dämonen, **Yilpigs** und trennended Machthaber verkriechen sich alle und verschwinden." On the basis of the correspondence of Uig. **ärklig** to Chin 神 'inscrutable spiritual powers, or power; a spirit; a deva, god, or divinity' (S-H 334b), **'rklyk** in this context actually denotes 'spirit.'

517.9 **twyrw-**. Müller translated the phrase **i ïġač-da tōrümiš** "die an den Bäumen entstandenen

(Früchte)"; the word **tōrü-** 'geboren werden, geschaffen sein,' has no exact parallel in the Chinese, unless it is to be looked for in 榮 **yung** 'flourishing; prosperous - as vegetation' (Mat 7582).

517.11 **'wz pwyd-**. The germinal meaning of **uz** is 'usta' (Kāšġ), 'Handwerker' (TMEN 593), 'maître, artisan' (CDP), which von Gabain derived from **u-** 'können' (AGr 135); from this derives the meaning 'geschickt, sorgfältig' (AI), 'mahir' (Kāšġ), 'habile' (CDP). Finally, with semantic weakening, it comes to mean simply 'gut' in the examples **āv-täki iši uz bolur** (TT VII, 28.49) "In welcher anderen werden gut sein'; **adïn nägü iš-kā ïrqla-za uz büdär** (TT VII, 28.49) "In welcher anderen Angelegenheit man auch das Los befragt haben mag, alles wird gut gelingen"; Müller translated **uz** 'vortrefflich' in the present example **uz pütär** (Uig.I, 27.6) "vortrefflich werden sie reifen."

On the model of the compound verb 成就 'to fulfill,' it would appear that **uz** is employed here adverbially, as is Tib. **yoṅs-su** in **yoṅs-su smin-par bgyid** (115v6) "will be fully ripe," and Mo. **sayitur** in **sayitur bolbasun bolġan** (147r12) "becoming thoroughly ripe"; the Sanskrit Suv.I has **sucitrabhāva** (115.10) "in brilliant condition." According to Friedrich Weller, Mo. **sayitur** corresponds to Tib. **yoṅs-su**, which is in turn a **Wiedergabe** of the Sanskrit prepositions **pari-** and **sam-** (Skr.Präp., 15), and we find that **yoṅs-su smin** 'quite ripe' renders Skr. **paripāka** (Das 1146) 'ripening, maturity, perfection' (M-W 596c); however, there are undoubtedly instances where Tib. **yoṅs-su** must correspond to Skr. **su**°.

As to the derivation of **uz**, "Ramstedt und Poppe fassen Tk. **uz** und Mo. **uran** als urwerwandt auf . . . Ferner übersieht Poppe, daß sich Tk. uz 'Meister' recht gut als Ableitung von **u-** 'können, erklären läßt' " (TMEN 593). Doerfer, however, states that Tk. **uz** > Mo. **uran** and, to support his hypothesis, assertas that, "Da aber sowohl das Grundwort **u-** nur Tk. ist, nicht Mo., wie auch das Suffix **-z** nur Tk. ist, nicht Mo. (dort auch kein Suffix **-ran**) ist natürlich das ganze Wort Tk. und somit Mo. **uran** ein L[ehn]w[ort]" (loc.cit.); it is difficult to see how Doerfer could reach this conclusion in the face of the fact that the correspondence of Tk. **z** : Mo. **r** is one of the most secure evidences that a word is not in fact a borrowing from one of these languages into the other (cf. O. Pritsak, "Der 'Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus' " in UAJb 35 [1964], 340-342 et passim) and that Tk. **z** in loanwords into Mongolian becomes **s**.

517.13 **'rdyny yyncw 'd t'v'r**. The Uighur apparently has **yyncw** here for metrical reasons; the Chinese has 珍財 (439A28) "Kleinodien und Schätzen -> Tib **rin-chen nor** (115v6) "jewels and wealth," Mo. **erdeni ed** (147r12) "jewels and goods." Uig. **äd tawar**, translated variously by Bang and von Gabain as "Hab und Gut" (TT I 10, 74), "Habe" (TT I 50, 59, 99) or "Güter" (USt 30, 31), has passed into Mongolian in the form **ed tabar**, which "is glossed (YCPS 11.6a5) 財物 **(ts'ai-wu)** 'possessions.' The words are also attested three times in the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 . . . . In the first two instances they translate the word 財 **(ts'ai)** in the Chinese text" (Cleaves, BCA 88, n.7), which is precisely the equivalent we have here for Uig. **'d t'b'4**. In TT V B (Die zehnfache Auslegung des Glaubens) the term **ad tawar** translates Chin. 財 **ts'ai** as a **terminus technicus** for Skr. **dhanāni** in the phrase **yiti türlüg nomluġ äd tawar** = Skr **sapta dhanāni**.

While the words **äd** 'Habe, Reichtum, Dinge' (AI) and **tawar** 'Habe, Güter' (AI) have very general meanings, both alone and as a compound noun, in Uighur and in modern dialects, there are instances of a more particular meaning, e.g., **"tavar (t'a-wa'cul)** 'satin' [緞子 **tuan-tzŭ** 'satin,' Mat 6545] Tefs. **tevar, tïvar** 'bétail'; ET **tavar** 'satin' (Wb.II, 3151), Chag. **tavar** 'bête de somme' (PdC 219); **ET tavār, tava** 'silk-stuff, cloth' (Jar. 297)" (Ligeti, **Vocabulaire**, 261), Tar. **tabar** 'ein helles Seidenzeug mit Blumen' (Wb.III, 967); such a mening for **'d t'b'r** would in fact appear to be more appropriate in the present context, for it seems a little curious to couple two words with specific references like 'jewels' and 'pearls' with those having general meanings like 'goods' or 'possessions.'

517.14 **kwsws-l'ry trk q'n'r**, "their wishes will quickly be fulfilled," translates Chin. 皆滿願 (隨所念者), "in allem werden sie ihre Wünsche erfüllen (und gemäss ihrem Gedenken)";

Tib. **ci dan ci smon (bsams bžin) hgrub-par hgyur** (115v7) "and whatever they wish for will be accomplished (in accordance with their thoughts)," Mo. **ab ali küsegsen (sedkil-ün yosuġar) bütükü boluyu** (147r13), id. A phrase equivalent to 隨 所 念 者 is lacking in the Uighur.

The word **qan-** 'befriedigt werden, erfüllt werden' (AI), which translates Chin. 滿 **man** occurs frequently in conjunction with **kösüš**, as, e.g., in **timin ök anïng küčintä qop kösüšläri qanar** (TT V B 53) "alsbald werden durch seine Kraft alle ihre Wunsche erfüllt"; **kösämiš kösüšüng qantï** (TT VII, 30.13) "Dein Wunsch hat sich erfüllt"; **alqu türlüg kösüš-läri qanïp büdüp** (TT VII, 40.130) "ihre sämtliche Wünsche befriedigt und erfüllt werden"; **qop kösüš köngülčä qan[ar]** (TT VII, 28.25) "Seine sämtliche Wünsche werden sich in seinem Sinne erfüllen."

518.13 **'ync' typ 'wytwndy** translates Chin. 白 佛 言 (439B5) "sprach . . . wiederum zu Buddha." The structure of the Uighur **'ync' typ** is paralleled by the Tib. **hdi skad ces**, which is used "vor Verbum im Sinne von 'sagen, fragen' " (Nob.Wb.); **skad** 'Rede, Laut, **vacana**' is equivalent to **typ** and **ces** 'so, Wiedergabe von Skr. **iti**' to **'ync'**; the Mongolian has **eyin** as the equivalent to Uig. **'ync'** and **kemen**, a **converbum modale** < **keme-** to Uig. **typ**.

518.16. **t'qtyn yynk'q. taġdïn** 'im Norden' (TT VII) < **taġ** 'Berg, Norden' (TT VI) + **DIn**, ablative (AGr 335). On the basis of these two meanings of **taġ**, it is possible that the latter is a semantic development of the former because the sacred **refugium** of the Turks lay in the north or more specifically on the north side of the mountain; according to Kāšġarī, the royal residence, Balasaġun, was known by the designations Quz Ordu or Quz Uluš, the term **quz** (or **qoz**) meaning 'Berg im Norden, den die Sonne nicht bescheint' or 'die sonnlose, also nordliche Bergseite' (O. Pritsak, "Qara," in **Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan**, 250-253).

For the expression **t'qtyn yynk'q** cf. **küntin taġtïn yïñaq** (TT VI, 83) "Im Süden und im Norden." An exact parallel to the present text, indicating **Vaiśravaṇa** as the **lokapāla** of the north, is to be found in **taġdïn yïngaq-ïnta vaišravani mġarač** (TT VII, 16.5) "im Norden den Vaiśravaṇa Mahārāja." With the names of the directions, the ablative is always used, without, however, specifically ablative meaning; as Pelliot remarked, "on sait qu'en turc ancien les mots indiquant les directions se construisent précisement avec l'ablatif" (Uġuz Khan, 279).

518.17 **v'ysyr'v'ny.** Müller transcribed this name **vaiširvani** and translated it "Vaiśravaṇa" (Uig.I, 28.13). The Chinese has 薛 室 羅 末 拏 . This transcription is given by Soothill and Hodous beside 毘 沙 門 (天 王),

> one of the four Mahārājas, guardian of the North, king of the Yakṣas. Has the title 多 聞 ; 普 聞 ; universal or much hearing or learning, said to be so called because he heard the Buddha's preaching; but Vaiśravana was son of Viśravas, which is from viśru, to be heard of far and wide, celebrated, and should be understood in this sense. Vaiśravana is Kuvera or Kubera, the Indian Pluto; originally a chief of evil spirits,[60] afterwards the god of riches, and ruler of the northern quarter. Hsüan Tsung [sc. Tsang] built a temple to him in A.D. 753, since which he has been a god of wealth in China and guardian at the entrance of Buddhist temples. In his right hand he often holds a banner or a lance, in his left a pearl or shrine, or a mongoose out of whose mouth jewels are pouring; under his feet are two demons." (S-H 306a)

The Tibetan name for Vaiśravaṇa is **rnam-thos-kyi-bu** (116r2), which goes back to the roots **rnam-pa** 'that which is cognizable, can be measured, or conceived' (Das 757b) and **thos-pa** 'to hear' (Das 596a), based on the etymology of **Viśravas** from viśru, **vi-** /1. **śru** 'to hear distinctly,' pass. **-śrūyate** 'to be heard or

[60]Cf. **TTX yäklär bägi vayširvani türi**, "the god Vaiśravaṇa, chief of the **Yakṣas**; cf. also **Tišastvustik** 38b.

be heard of far and wide, become known or famous' (M-W 992b). Nobel gives the name **rnam-thos-kyi-bu** as '**Vaiśravaṇa**, Name des Weltenhüters der nördlichen Himmelsgegend' (Wb.); the name literally means 'the son of **rnam-thos**, which is the name 'of a **Sa-bdag** or demi-god' (Das 759b), who may thus be connected with **Viśravas**; cf. supra.

Another designation for **Vaiśravaṇa** in Tibetan is **Rnam-thos-sras**, "The king of the Noijin or mountain deities who guard the northern quarters. Is also, in a way, amalgamated with Kuvera or Vaisravana, the god and guardian of wealth, whom he is sometimes identical with and sometimes differentiated from. He is furthermore classed with the **drag-gšed** deities and also placed in the Yamantaka group. His Mongol designation seems to be **Bisaman-tegri** [sc. **tngri**]" (Das, loc.cit.).

The Mongolian has **wayisirawani-yin köbegün** (147r30), where **wayisirawani** is the correct reconstruction of the entire name, but **kobegun** a calque on Tib. **bu** 'son' in **rnam-thos-kyi-bu**. The form **Bisaman (bys'm'n)** cited by Das is actually a transcription of the Chinese 毘 沙 門 and owes its form to oral rather than written tradition.

"In Bauddha mythology, the mountain Meru, in the center of the universe, is guarded by four 'heroic like' kings of the demons," one of which is "Kubera, Kuvera, or **Vaiśrāvaṇa**, also called **Dhanada, Dhanapati, Yaksha-rāja**, &c., the Hindû Plutus or god of wealth," and the attributes that are cited agree substantially with those given by Soothill and Hodous. A statue representing Vaiśravana or Kubera is to be found in the Lahor Museum, the description of which is, according to Grünwedel, of

> a king sitting on a throne, wearing a richly ornamented turban; beside him is a smaller figure - a Yaksha. Further, at his feet is the tribute-bearer, who is emptying out a bag of gold. This sack with the gold rolling out is replaced, in modern pictures, by the rat, or rather ichneumon or mongoose . . . Kubera is by far the most prominent of the Lokapâlas . . . . Even in the **Aśoka** period he is represented, and at **Barâhat** he is named in the epigraph to a statue on a gate pillar, as a guardian Yaksha. (**Buddhist Art in India**, 136-137)

518.18 **t'n'v'ty, "Dhanavati"** (Müller); the Chinese has 有 財 **you ts'ai** (439B5) "die Schätze Habende," which corresponds to Tib. **nor-ldan** (116r2) "possessing wealth," Mo. **ed-tü** (147r29), id.; the Sanskrit Suv.I has **Aḍakāvatī**, and **aḍakavatī** is given as the name of 'a fabulous palace on Meru' (M-W 11c); the Saka has **aṭavakatta**.

Tibetan **nor** is generally a translation of Skr. **dhana** (Nob.Wb.); Chinese 財 'wealth, riches,' is also the equivalent of Skr. **dhana (as, for example, in the names of the sapta-dhanāni**, Mvy. 1566-1572). Thus the Uighur **t'n'b'ty** is a reconstruction of Skr. **dhanavatī** 'wealthy, rich' (M-W 508b), through the Chinese; **dhanavatī** is a feminine form of **dhanavat**, since it would modify **rājadhānī**, 'a king's residence; metropolis, capital, palace,' which occurs in the text of the Skr.Suv.I in the locative: **Aḍakāvatyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ** (loc.cit.) "in the palace **Aḍakāvatī**." Apparently the origin of the change in the name of this city or palace in the Chin.Suv.III is either due to the confusion of **dhānī** (in **rājadhānī**) 'the site of a habitation' (M-W 514b) with **dhana** 'wealth, riches' (M-W 508b) or through the association of the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) with his alias **Dhanapati**.

518.19 **swpwspy, "Supuṣpa."** The name of this garden in Chinese is 妙 華 福 光 (439B6), which Nobel reconstructs as **Puṇyakusumaprabhā** on the basis of the Sanskrit Suv.I; however, the Chin. is "wörtlich: **vara-kusuma** (oder **kusuma-vara**)-**puṇya-prabhā**" (Nob.Chin. 269, n.3); the Tibetan has **me-tog-dam-pai-bsod-nams-kyi-hod** (116r2), and the Mongolian, **degedü čečeg-ün buyan-u gerel** (147v1); the Saka Suv.I follows the Sanskrit: **puṇya-kusuma-prabhā** (53v3).

The origin of the Uighur **swpwspy** is a reconstruction of the Sanskrit through Chinese; **sw-** (= Skr. **su**^{o} 'well, good') is due to a reading of 女子 'good' for 妙 **miao** 'beautiful, excellent, wonderful,' which is generally equivalent to Skr. **vara**. Chin. 華 **hua** 'flowers,' which translates Skr. **kusuma** 'a flower, blossom' (M-W 298a), has been reconstructed as the more usual **puṣpa**.

518.20 **yymys-lyk** <- Chin. 園 (439B6) "ein Park"; Tib. **kun-dga-ra-ba** (116r2) "park." The Mo. **qotala bayasqulang-tu qoriyan** (147v2), lit. "the enclosure provided with all joys," is a calque on the Tib. **kun-dga-ra-ba**, 'an open ground with bushes or trees here and there enclosed by a fence; a park' (Das 1160a); **qotala** 'tout, tous' = Tib. **kun** 'all, entire, the whole'; **bayasqulang** 'joie' = Tib. **dga** 'delight, happiness, joy'; **qoriyan (qoriya)** 'enclos pour enfermer le bétail, enceinte, résidence de prince' = Tib. **ra-ba** 'enclosure, fence.' The parallel in the Sanskrit Suv.I is **udhyāna** (116) "park," and in the Saka, **uryānä** (53v3), id. < Skr. **udyāna**. Elsewhere as an equivalent for Tib. **kun-dga-ra-ba** is given Skr. **ārāma** and Chin. 共 喜 園 (Mvy. 5594), the latter of which is an exact parallel to the Tibetan.

> Concerning the Mongolian word **qoriyan**, Pelliot wrote,
> il y a aussi en mongol un autre mot signifiant 'camp,' **qorïya** ou **qorïyan**, dérivé de la racine **qorï-** 'enfermer,' laquelle existe aussi dans quelques dialectes turcs. Si, comme l'admet Radlov, la vraie forme ancienne de **qurġan** est à voyelle **o** dans la première syllable, il est possible que **qorġan** soit pour ***qorïġan**, forme à laquelle remonte également le mongol **qorïyan** . . . . Il résulterit toutefois de ces équivalences que **qorïġan** devrait singnifier 'camp' plutôt que 'tente' (Uġuz-Khan, 291),

and added in a note, "Le **Houa-yi yi-yu**, vocabulaire du début des Ming, rend **qüri'än** (= **küriyän**) par 'enclos' (圈 子) et **qorïyan** par 'cour' (院 落) (loc.cit., n.1).

The word **yymys-lyk** occurs with the meaning 'orchard' in **q(a)ltï yangï yimisl-ik äv barq y(a)ratïrča** (Man.I, 14.8) "gleich wie man einen neuen Fruchtgarten und Haus und Hausrat herrichtet" and 'garden' in **mini snng ïdlïġ yïparlïġ yimiš likingiz kä kigürüng** (Man.III, 25.11) "Du führe mich hinein in deinen duftenden, Moschus geruch ausströmenden Garten!" and a derivative, **yemišlikči**, 'préposé au jardin fruitier' is found in **ötrü yemiš-likči*** **är elitäyin tep tedi** (CDP 75.4) "Sur ce, l'homme préposé au jardin fruitier dit: 'Que je (vous y) amène!'" Although an orchard is not precisely a 'park' or 'an open ground with bushes or trees here and there,' the meaning of **yymyslyk** is properly the same as that of the Chinese word 園 **yüan** 'a garden; an orchard' which it translates.

518.20 **pwsp'k**. The name of this 'inconceivable castle' is not mentioned in the Chinese text, nor does it occur in the Tibetan or Mongolian translations. Sïngqu Säli has provided us with the correct identification, however, for **puṣpaka** is the name of 'the self-moving aerial car of Kubera (it was carried off by the demon **Rāvaṇa** and constantly used by him till he was slain by **Kāma-candra**, who then employed the car to transport himself and **Sitā** back to **Ayodhā**)' (M-W 640b).

518.22 **s'rv'q**. Translates Chin. 勝 殿 (439B7) "ein ausgezeichneter Palast." The exact nature of this "ausgezeichneter Palast" is provided by the Tibetan **gzal-med-khaṅ**, 'wörtl. Übersezung von **vimāna**, Bezeichnung des mythischen palastähnlichen Wagens der Götter, der durch die Luft fährt' (Nob.Wb.); the Mongolian has **uiliši ügei nigen qarši** (147v3) "an inconceivable castle." The definition of **vimāna** is

> a car or chariot of the gods, any mythical self-moving aerial car (sometimes serving as a seat or throne, sometimes self-moving and carrying its occupants through the air; other descriptions make the **Vimāna** more like a house or palace, and one kind is said to be 7 stories high; that of **Rāvana** was called **p u s h p a k a**, **q.v.**; the **nau-v**^{o} [Ragh. xvi, 68] is thought to resemble a ship); any care or vehicle (esp. a bier): the palace of an emperor or supreme monarch (sep. one with 7 stories). (M-W 980a).

519.1 **'d t'v'r**. The sentence **'d-ym t'v'r-ym 'wyklyswn, ädim tavarïm üklizün** (Uig.I, 29.2) "mein Hab und Gut möge groß werden," is lacking in the Chinese and other versions.

519.5 **y'nky**. The Radlov-Malov edition has **y'nky** in the phrase **pyr y'nky 'b 'ydyp**, "making a new house," where Müller's text has **arïġ yangï : bir arïġ yangï** äv itïp (Uig.I, 29.5) "ein sauberes, neues Haus errichten," and the Chinese has 淨 **ching** 'pure, clean; to cleanse' and 治 **ch'ih** 'to put in order': 淨 治 一 室 (439B9), which Nobel translated "ein Haus rein manchen." The Tib. has **khaṅ-pa gcig gtsan-mar byas-nas** (116r4) "purifying a house," Mo. **ger-iyen arïgun-a sayitur arčiju** (147v11)

"cleaning his house well until pure"; Skr.Suv.I **tena svagṛhaṃ suśodhayitavyam** (116) "he should thoroughly purify his house," Sak.Suv.I **ttye ṣa bäsa hugyastu gyehāña** (53v4) "he should cleanse his house (making it) purified."

Although it seems less likely that the petitioner should be directed to 'make a new house' than 'newly prepare (decorate) a house' ('einrichten, schmücken, bereiten,' AI), a similar expression occurs in **äv idsär, od mandal qïlz-a, budar** (TT VII 28.35) "Wenn man ein Haus baut und ein ot mandal macht, so wird es gelingen."

When the verb **qïl-** is used to form a periphrastic causative with an adjective, the structure of the VP is N [+definitive] (+**SIN**) Adj. **qïl-**. In the examples **ädgü qïlïnčlïġ iš öküš qïl** (TT I, 53) "Fromme Taten tu viel" and **on ayaġ qïlïnčükäl qïltïmz ärsär** (TT IV A 75) "und die zehn Sünden insgesamt getan haben sollten," the adjectives **öküš** and **tükäl** may be interpreted as having adverbial function; here the noun object has **casus indefinitus**. Clearly adjectival are the following: **köngülüngin ögrünčlüg qïlġïl** (TT I, 12) "mache dein Herz froh"; **bu burqan ät'üz-in boš qïlmïšïn saqïn-miš krgäk** (TT V A 46) "Daß [sie] . . . diesen Buddha-Körper frei gemacht haben, muß man sich vorstellen"; **/////larïmïn ymä-ä irinč** qïlïp (TT II, B 1) ". . . meine [Eltern o.dgl.] habe ich unglücklich gemacht"; **künäyingi köngülngin inčkü-lüg qïlġïl** (TT I, 153) "Dein neidisches (eifersüchtiges) Herz mache ruhig." Deny calls 'verbes composés,' "les verbes formés d'un nom (turc ou étranger) suivi d'un verbe auxiliaire" (Gramm. §830), that is, a nominal (in the present case an adjective) and the verb **qïl-** (**et-** in Osmanli).

519.6 **'wd [ud]** 'ox' = Mo. **udus** 'wild yak; buffalo' = Ma. **ujima** 'livestock,' Ulc., Nan. **uǰiN** 'cattle' < **uǰi-** 'raise,' Ev. **irgī-**, Neg. **iggi-** (~ **idgi-**) 'raise' (< ***ud-gi-**) = Jap. **ushi** 'cattle; cow' (< ***uji** < ***udi**); the sound changes attested in Evenki and Negidal (with the passage of **u-** > fron vowel **i-** and **-d-** > **-r-** or **-g-** suggest the connection of OT **inän** 'female camel' (< ***id-gen** or ***id-ge-gen** < ***ud-GA-GAn**), **iŋäk** 'cow' (< ***id-ge-k** or ***id-ge-ge-k** < ***ud-GA-GA-K**), Mo. **inggen** 'female camel,' **üniyen** 'cow' (< *ünigen < ***üg-gi-gen** < ***ud-gi-GAn**), Ma. **uniyen** (< Mo.) 'female of certain animals; milk cow.'

The **-s** in Mo. **udus** 'wild yak; buffalo' is the same singulative suffix /-s/ in **ikes** (~ ***ikis**) 'caul, amnion; placenta' : **ikere** (~ **ikire**) 'twins' = OT **äkkiz** (~ **ikkiz**) 'twin' < **äkki** (~ikki) 'two,' used to refer to one member of a natural pair, to the pair itself, to one member of a natural set, or to the set itself; in Mongolian, this morpheme is most frequently a component of the suffix /s-UN/ (< */-s/ + **i-nu**, 3 pers.poss.), as in **adaġasuN** (< **aduġusuN**) 'animal' < **adaġuN** (~ **aduġuN**) 'herd of horses; horse' < **ada-ġu-N** < ***aġta-ġu-N** < **aġta** 'gelding' (= Tk. **at** 'horse'); **sormusun** (~ **sormuusun**) 'eyelash' < ***sormu-ġu-suN** < **sormuN** 'beard of an ear of grain' (cf. Tk. **sorguç** 'plume'), and in Turkish it is a component of the 3rd pers. possessive suffix /-(S)IN/ (< */-s/ + ***i-nu**, 3rd pers.poss.) and occurs by itself as the originally inflective singulative suffix /-z/ (possibly < */-s(UN)/ or */-s(IN)/). Words in Turkic with the suffix /-z/ often correspond to words in Mongolian ending in **-r** or having a root ending in **-r-**, as MMo. **hüker**, Mo. **üker** 'ox' : OT **öküz** 'ox'; Mo. **omuruġuN** (< ***omur-(u)-ġu-N**) 'sternum, clavicle; breast' : Tk. **omuz** 'shoulder,' but Mo. **-r** may also correspond to Tk. **-r**, as Mo. **bögere** (< ***bögər-ge**) 'kidney; testicle' : OT **bögür** 'kidney' (< ***bögər**, dim. **bögrek** < ***bög-ər-ek**) and words in Turkic with the suffix /-z/ may correspond to words without final **-r** in Mongolian, as Mo. **köküN** 'breast, nipple' (< **kökü-** 'suck the breast') : OT **kögüz** (< ***kökü-z** < ***kökü-s(üN)**) 'chest, breast'; it is probably the element **/-r/** in these words which indicates duality, as Mo. **bögere** (< ***bögər-ge** < ***bög-ər**), Tk. **bögür** (< *bög-ər) from the root *bög in Mo. bögem (~bögen) 'ball; lump' (and of **bögesüg** 'testicles' < *bög-ə-sü-g), and thus /-z/ in OT **äkkiz** 'twin; twins' corresponds to /-s/ in Mo. **ikes** 'caul' not to **-r-** in **ikere** (~ **ikire**) 'twins' < ***iki-r-ge**.

Tk. **-z-** may arise from *-s- after consonants other than **-r-**: OT **tuz** 'salt' (< ***tab-s(uN)**) = MO. **dabusuN**; OT **töz** 'root, origin' (< ***tög-s(üN)**) = Mo. **töb** 'center, middle' (cf. **törü-** 'be born'); OT **kez** 'notch of an arrow' (< ***keb-s(üN)**) = Mo. **köbči** (< ***keb-či**) 'bowstring'; OT **tüz** 'level, flat' (< ***teg-si** ***teb-si**) = Mo. **tegši** 'even, level,' **teg** in **teg ǧaǰar** 'level, desert place; field,' **tebši** 'platter, plate'; OT **köz** 'burning embers' (< ***kög-s(üN)**) = Mo. ***kög** in **kögǰi-** 'begin to flame'; the combination of **-s-** after **-l-** in Turkic results in **-š-**: Kir. **arïš** 'shaft (of a cart) (< ***parïl-s(uN)**) = MMo. **haral**, Mo. **aral** 'id.' (< ***paral**) = Ma. **fara** (< ***faral** < ***paral**) 'sleigh; shafts of a wagon'; OT **yaš** 'tears' (< ***ñal-s(uN)**) = Mo., MMo. **nilbusuN** (< ***ñal-bu-suN**) 'id.'; Yak. **īs** 'lynx' (< ***sïš** < *sïl-s(üN)) = Mo. **silügüsüN** (~ **silegüsüN**) = Ma. **silun** (cf. Poppe, VG 77-8, §61).

519.6 **m'y'q [mayaq]** 'excrement; dung' (< ***banaq** < ***ban-gi-ġa-q**) = Mo. **baġa-** 'excrete, have a bowel movement' (< ***baŋ-ġa**) = Ma. **bagiya-** 'hold a small child's legs while he defecates' (< ***baŋ-gi-ga-**); cf. **manggiyan** 'running nose (of horses or cattle)' = Kor. **pāngkwi** 'flatulence, fart.'

519.7 **swv'd-**. The phrase **yyr-yn 'wd m'y'qy 'wyz' swv'dyp, yirin ud mayaqī üzä suvatīp** (Uig.I, 29.6) "dessen Boden mit Kuhmist beschmieren" translates Chin. 膩 摩 塗 地 (439A10) "und mit Ochsen-Dung den Boden bestreichen." The verb **suvat-**, not attested elsewhere, is the causative of a verb **suva-**; in the tale of **Kalyāṇaṃkara** and **Pāpaṃkara**, this latter verb occurs with the meaning 'arroser': **quruġ yerig suvayu öl yerig tarïyu** (CDP 1.3) "Pendant qu'ils arrosent la terre sèche et cultivent la terre humide," and it is found in Suv. 477.1 in a context similar to the present one: **"ql'q yyrt' s'tq'qsyz "ryq 'wrwnt' 'wd m'y'qyn swv'p sykys cykyn twrqy m'nt'l qylswn**, "in a lonely place or in an unfrequented pure location let him spread ox-dung and make a **maṇḍala** in the size of eight **čikin** (shoulder-widths?)." In Kāšġarī we find the two verbs, **suval-** '-çamur veb. - sıvanmak' and **suwaš-** '- çamur veb. - sıvanmakta yardım ve yarış etmek' which are from the same root **swb'-** and which are apparently related to Osm **siva** 'plaster, stucco.' Chin. 塗 **t'u**, which signifies 'boue, limon; salir, souiller' (Cor 178b) also has the meaning 'to smear, to daub' (Mat 6525).

The Tibetan equivalent to the present passage is **ba-laṅ-gi lci-bas dog-sa-la žal-žal bgyis-te** (116r4) "he should daub the earth with ox-dung (**gomaya**)"; although the reduplicated verb **žal-žal** is not registered, the verb **žal-ba** or **žal bgyid-pa** means 'to plaster with lime or cement, to plaster or overlay with anything' and is related to **žal-la** 'clay, lime-wash, cement' (Das 1069b); the Mongolian has **üker-ün arġal-iyar dotoraki ġajar-i bilan üiledüged** (147v12) "after he smears the earth inside it with ox-dung," where the verb **bila-** 'enduire, salir' (Mos 68b) shows a similar semantic development as Chin. 塗 .

519.7 **"nynk 'ycynd', anïng** ičintä (Uig.I, 29.7) "in seinem Innern," lacking in the Chinese; presumably "seinem" refers here to the (**maṇḍala** made of) cow-dung. However, the Mongolian has **dotoraki ġajar-i bilan üiledüged**, "after smearing the earth inside (with ox dung)," and **dotoraki** can only refer to the inside of the house; this must have arisen as a translation of the Tib. locative particle **-la**, however, and cannot be traced back to a variant in the Chinese text - which would have been the source also of Uighur **"nynk 'ycynd'** - since the Tibetan text has no **variae lectiones** at this point.

519.11 **"nt' p's' 'wl kysy sw q'** kyryp, **anta basa ol kisi suvqa kirip** (Uig.I, 29.10) "Darauf möge wieder jener Mensch in das Wasser hineingehen." This is lacking in the Chinese and other versions.

519.15 **twyrd-**. The present text confirms Müller's reading of **t . . . [ür]d . . . [ü]p** (üig.I, 29.12) "einreiben." The Chinese has 塗 (439B11) "salben," the same word that appeared in line 439B10 in the context 膩 摩 塗 地 "und mit Ochsen-Dung den Boden bestreichen," and was translated by Uighur **swv't-**, 'beschmieren.' Nobel's edition of the Tibetan text has **bgyugs-te**, which is a mistake for **byugs-te**; **byugs**, pf. < **byug-pa** 'to anoint'; the Mongolian has **sürči-** id.

The verb **türt-** 'sürtmek, sıvamak, çalmak' (Kāšġ), 'auftragen' (TT VII) **türt-ün-** "Reflexivum von **türt-** 'einreiben, einsalben' " occurs in **bütün ät'özintä anta ötrü .... türtünüp** (TT X, 293) "An seinem ganzen Körper . . . dann salbte er sich" and in **qanlġ türtüñü üzä turqaru ät'özin türtünür ärdi** (Uig.IV, 34.52) "mit blutiger Salbe pflegte er stets seinen Körper zu salben" (quoted apud TT X, note to above); this secures the interpretation of **yïd yïpar** in the meaning 'ointment' as parallel to 'salve' in the latter passage.

519.16 The Uighur is lacking an equivalent to the Chin. 發 心 (439B12) "den Sinn darauf richtend"; Tib. **sems bskyed-de** (116r6) "he should concentrate (envisualize)"; Mo. **sedkil egüskejü** (147v18), id. The expression 發 心 has a number of meanings, including 'mental initiation or initiative, resolve, make up the mind to; to start out for bodhi, or perfect enlightenment; to show kindness of heart, give alms' (S-H 384a), as is the case with Tib. **sems bskyed-pa** 'to form one' mind; to have a conception of; also technically means purification of the heart' (Das 122b). In the present context, beside

Nobel's translation "concentrating on the meaning (of the name) of that Buddha and his **sutra**," the interpretation "he should resolve (to speak the name . . .)" is also possible.

519.18 **r'tn' pwspy**. The Chinese has only 彼 佛 名 (439B12) "den Namen jenes Buddha," and none of the other texts mentions him by name either.

520.5 **'srynkw**. The phrase **'wytrw 'srynkw qw-' c'c'kl'r "lyp, ötrü äšringü xu-a čäčäk-lär alïp** (Uig.I, 30.6) "Darauf (soll er) wohlriechend (?) Blumen nehmen" translates Chin. 持 諸 香 花 (439B14) "(Er soll) Wohlgerüche und Blumen . . . nehmen"; Tib. **me-tog dan / spos-rnams thogs-te** 116r7) "he should take flowers and incense," Mo. **čečeg kiged küji-nügüd-i barïju** (147v23), id.; Skr.Suv.I **puṣpadhūpagandhāś ca dātavyās** (116) "Flowers, incense and perfumes must be offered," Sak.Suv.I **spätyau buśśñyau** (53v7) "with flowers and perfumes."

The word that Müller associated with Chin. 香 'Wohlgerüche' and translated provisionally 'wohlriechende,' was correctly identified by von Gabain as derived from **äsri** 'zweifarbig' and related to **äsrilä-** 'bunt farben'; she added that in "U[ig.] 40.7 [sc. 30.7] **äsringü xua čäčäk** doch wohl (trotz des Chn. 香 'duften') 'bunte Blume' " (Uig.IV c 158, n.). Instead of the expected **yïd yïpar** for 香, the Uighur has **äšriñü**, which suggests that the copy of the Chinese text from which Sïngqu Säli translated possibly had a scribal error of 悉 **hsi** 'tout, entièrement' for 香 ; cf. 515.18 **'wl'ty 'srynkw 'rdyny-l'r** where the Chinese has 等 and 悉 ; Tib. **sogs-pa rin-po-che ci hthsal-ba thams-cad** "and all other such jewels he might want." Another possibility is that **'srynkw** renders Chin. 諸 'the diverse kinds, many, the many, all, every; used for sarva' (S-H 450a).

520.6 The Chinese here has 至 心 (439B15) "von ganzem Herzen"; Tib. **sems rtse gcig-tu** (11547) "with his mind concentrated upon a single object," Mo. **nigen üjügür-tü sedkil** (147v24) "(with) a mind having a single aim." The omission of this phrase in the Uighur at this point is not a unique occurrence; it happens again in line 525.8.

520.14 **p's'**. This word, which Müller transcribes **baša** and translates 'wieder' (Uig.I, 30.14) is elsewhere interpreted with **semkath** rather than **šïn**: **basa** (**s. bas-**) 'nachfolgend, dann' (AI). Concerning the etymology of **basa** < **bas-** as an **erstarrt** form of the converb **in -A**, Bang and von Gabain remarked, "Da nun **bas-** nach Thomsen (KSz III, 252) dem Gerundium **basa** zugrunde liegt, das nach dieser Erklärung bedeuten müßte: 'nachdrückend, nachschiebend, nachfolgend, folgend, darauf, dann' " (TT II B 26), adding in a footnote that "Zum Mo. **daru-** das ganz dem Tk. **bas-** entspricht, gehört wohl irgendwie **dara, daraġa, daraġar** (Kow 1663-64) 'l'un après l'autre, de suite, immédiatement'." The Mongolian word **basa** 'encore, de nouveau, aussi,' is apparently a borrowing from Turkic, the form of which in Mongolian weighs in favor of interpreting **p's'** as **basa**.

520.18 **qwt kwysws qwlwrmn**. The Berlin Ms. here has **qut qolurmn kösü-š kösäyürmn** (Uig.I 31.4) "Glück erflehe ich, einen Wunsch wünsche ich." The usual expression is **qut qol-**, as in **inčä tep qut qoltï** (CDP, 51.1) "Il implora le salut dans les termes que voici"; the reflexive form of the verb **qut qolun-** "d.h. den Wunsch aussprechen" is frequent in Röhrborn's **Eine uigurische Totenmesse**, e.g., **qut qolunu täginürbiz** (BT II, 68) "Wir flehen ergebenst um Heil"; **altï yoldaqï lar üčün qut qolunmaq bölük** (op.cit., 173) "Erflehen von Heil zugunsten derer, die sich in den 6 Existenzformen befinden"; the second expression, **kösüš kösä-**, is found in **kösämiš kösüšüng qanmaz** (TT I, 178) "Dein gewünschter Wunsch wird nicht erfüllt"; **kösämiš kösüšüng qantï** (TT VII, 42.13) "Dein Wunsch hat sich erfüllt"; **biz-ning qop qamaġ kösämiš kösüš-ümüz** (TT VI, 51.88) "unsere vielerlei ersehnten Wünsche"; **bo quvraġ alqu yorïQlarqa - küsüš lärkä - küsäyür biz** (BT II, 1245) "Diese Gemeinde soll mit allen Wandeln und Gelübden, so wünschen wir." Since these are both well-established expressions, it is likely that the Berlin Ms. is correct, and therefore I adopt that reading in my translation.

520.22 **ywkswz**. Müller correctly translated ths word "vergeblich" (Uig.I, 31.7), but offered no explanation for his interpretation; since it translates Chin. 空 (439B18) "vergeblich," there is no

problem in ascertaining the meaning, but the use of the privative suffix **-sUz** with the negative **yoq** 'nicht vorhanden, nichtig' (AI) would appear to be contradictory if we ascribe to Turkic **-sUz** strictly a privative function and equate it, for example, with the privative particle **a-** of Greek and Sanskrit.

According to von Gabain, "übrigens gibt es auch - ein scheinbarer Pleonasmus, in Wirklichkeit ein Synonym-Kompositum - **yoq+suz** (Uig.II 15.8; Uig.II, 31.7) 'vergeblich'; **yoqsuz qīl-** (Uig.III, 38.14) 'berauben' " (Agr. §213); the same view was held by Bang, who stated "Zeugen für die Richtigkeit dieser Auffassung scheinen mir zu sein: **yoqsïz** usw. 'arm,' in dem ich ein unverstandenes Hendiadyoin **yoq sïz** (vgl. Uig.[I] **yoq čïġai** 'arm') sehe, und das Kir. **üyü sïnïq** (!) **kisi** 'Witwer,' wörtl. 'Frau-seine gebrochen, abgebrochen Mensch' " (Tk.Br.IV, UJb 7, 40, n.2). If the suffix **-sUz** has its origin in an independent word ***suz** (or ***siz** ?), then it is very likely that the word had a similar meaning and function to **yoq** and that, therefore, the co-occurrence here of both words in hendiadyoin would be quite natural.

520.22 **qwrwq, quruġ** 'trocken, ohne etwas (Wesentliches), öde' (AI), 'kuru, asılsız' (Kāšġ), 'sec, vide' (CDP); in the present context, **qwrwq** in conjunction with **ywqswz** forms a compound which translates Chin. 空 **k'ung** 'vide, qui ne contient rien, qui n'a rien' (Cor 664C); this is reflected by Müller's translation 'leer' for **quruġ** (Uig.I, 31.6). According to Hamilton, this word, "anciennement **qūruġ**," had a long vowel in the first syllable, as attested by Turkmen and Yakut (op.cit.). The semantic association between **qwrwq** and **ywq** may be observed in **kirtgünč köngli yoq ärsär už-ik yörüg uqsar ymä tüssüz quruġqalir** (TT V B 95) "wenn er jedoch keine Gläubigkeit besitzt, so bleibt er, selbst wenn er den Buchstaben-Sinn versteht, ohne Frucht und geht leer aus," and in combination in **ädgü qutluġ yalañuqlar özä yoq quruġ yala urup mün qataġ** sözlädim **ärsär** (Uig.St., 21) "wenn ich auf gute, erleuchtete Menschen leeren Verdacht werfend Sündhafter geredet haben sollte."

The same **nomen compositum ywq qwrwq** occurs also as a **terminus technicus** in the title to the ninth and tenth chapters of the present text, in the notes to his edition of which Ş. Tekin remarked, "**yoq quruġ** wrtl. 'nichtig, leer,' wobei das zweite Glied heute im Osm. 'trocken' bedeutet (**kuru**). Die Wurzel ist **kuru-** (Uig. **qurï-, quru-**) 'trocknen, vertrocknen.' Daß das **quruġ** 'leer' bedeutet, ist speziell buddhistisch. Die Bedeutungsumwandlung ist sehr interessant. Zunächst 'etwas Trockenes, nicht Lebendiges,' dan 'das, was nicht da ist.' Also hier 'die Leere, leer' (= Skr. **śunyata, śunya**)" (Bewußt., Suv. 362.20, n.). There the Chinese equivalent is 空 性 '**śūnyatā**' (S-H 277a), synonymous with '**śūnya**, empty, void, hollow, vacant, non-existent; **śūnyatā**' (S-H 276a). Although **ywqswz qwrwq** in the present passage translates the same word 空, it is here not to be understood as a technical term.

521.2 **'y t'ryq 'd t'b'r "s 'yckw.** The Chinese has only 財 穀 (439B19) in 令其宅中 財 穀 增 長, "und in seinem Hause Schätze und Kornfrüchte sich mehren lassen"; Tib. **dei Khyim-du nor dań ḫbru-rnams rab-tu ḫphel-bar bgyid-do** (116v2) "[she] will cause the riches and grain in his house greatly to increase," Mo. **tegün-ü ger-tür ed kiged ür-e-nügüd-i sayitur delgeregül-ün üiledü-müi** (148r5), id.; Skr.Suv.I **taṃ gṛham samanvāharişyati / tasya ca mahādhānyarāśiṃ vivardhayişyati** (117) "[she] will watch over that house. And she will make increase the great heap of his corn"; Sak.Suv.I **tto bäso byäta yande. u ttye mästu jsärīṇau haṃbīsu huṣṣāñäte** (54r2) "she will watch over that house, and she will make his great heap of corn increase."

Where the present text has **'wl kysy-nynk 'b-ynt' 'ys-yn t'ryq-yn 'd-yn t'b'r-yn "s-yn 'yckw-syn "s' 'wyklydw t'kynk'y mn**, the Berlin manuscript, following the Chinese more closely, has **ol kiši-ning ävindä i-sin tarïġïn ädin tavarïn aša üklitü tägingäi-mn** (Uig.I, 31.10) "werde ich in jenes Menschen Hause seine Getreide, sein Hab und Gut vermehren und vergrößern (ehrerbietig)."

521.5 **'wyklyd-, öklit-** 'vermehren' (AI), 'çağaltmak' (Kāšġ); the **verbum compositum "s'- 'wyklyd-** is attested elsewhere in **ämrü ayïġ qïlïnčlarïġ oq aštïm öklittim ärsär** (Uig.St., 42) "wenn ich . . . **ämrü** die Sünden nur vermehrt haben sollte."

521.10 **"d: pw pwrq'n-l'r "dyn pw pwdystb-l'r "dyn "t'yw, bu burxan-lar** atïn **bu bodistv-lar** atïn atayu (Uig.I, 31.14) "mögen sie diser (folgenden) Buddhas Namen und dieser Bodhisattvas Namen

aussprechen," translates Chin. 稱 佛 名 及 菩 薩 名 字 (439B20), which Nobel translated, "(soll er) die Namen der Buddhas und die Namen der Bodhisattvas preisen"; Tib. **sańs-rgyas-kyi mthsan dań / byań-chub-sems-dpai miṅ-nas brjod-de** (116v3) "he should utter the appellations (**nāmadheya**) of the Buddhas and the names of the Bodhisattvas," Mo. **burqan-u ner-e kiged bodhi-sattva-nar-un ner-e-yi ügülejü** "(he should) utter the names of the Buddhas and the names of the Bodhisattvas."

Where the Uighur has **"d** with reference to both the **pwrq'n-l'r** and the **pwdystb-l'r**, the Chinese has 名 **ming**, '**naman**; a name' (S-H 204a) for the former, and 名字 **ming-tzŭ** 'name and description, name' (loc.cit.) for the latter. The Tibetan makes even greater a distinction with **mthsan**, '**nāmadheya**' (Nob.Wb.), resp[ectful] for **miṅ** 'name, esp. the new name which every one receives that takes orders' (Das 1036b) for the Buddhas and **miṅ**, '**nāma, abhidhā, lakṣana**, etc.; designation, name' (Das 965a), while the Mongolian, like the Uighur, makes no distinction and uses **ner-e** in both instances.

521.10 **swyzwk kwnkwl-yn.** The Berlin Ms. has **süzük kirtgünč köngülin** (Uig.I, 31.16) "mit lauterem, frommem Gemüt." The Chinese has 一心 (439B21) "mit ganzem Herzen"; Tib. **sems rtse gcig-tu** (116v3) "with his mind on a sole object (single-mindedly)," Mo. **nigen üjügür-tü** sedkil-iyer (148r10) "with his mind on a single aim."

521.12 **ywkwnwrmn 'wyc 'wytky 'wndwn synk'wr** (sic) **yyrtyncw-t' 'rykm' "lqw q'm'q pwrq'nl'r qwtynk', yükünürmn üč ödki öntün sïŋar yirtinčüdä ärigmä qamaġ burxan-lar qutïnga** (Uig.I, 31.18) "Ich verneige mich vor der Majestät der in den drei Zeiten lebenden, in den Welten der zehn Himmelsrichtungen!"; Tib. **phyogs bcu dus gsum-gyi sańs-rgyas thams-cad-la phyag ḫthsal-lo** (116v3) "Namas to all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times!" Mo. **arban jügün ġurban čaġ-un qamuġ burqad-tur mörgümü** (148r11), id.; the three times, or periods, are named in the Skr.Suv.I: **namaḥ sarvabuddhānām atītānāgatapratyutpannānāṃ** (117) "Homage to all the Buddhas, past, future and present," Sak.Suv.I **namasīmä biśśä gyasta balysa hatāḍar-āmjsya vaysñamjsya ustamāmjsya ustamāmjsya** (54v4) "I bow before all the Buddhas, past, present and future."

The 三 世, 'the three periods, 過去, 現在, 未來 past [**atīta**], present [**pratyutpanna**], and future [**ānāgata**] is referred to again in **qamaġ üč ödki burxanlar** (TT IV A 16) "aller Buddhas der drei Zeiten" and **qama üč ödki kang ögüz ičintäki qum sanï** //////////**lig burxan-lar** (TT IV B 28) "aller Buddhas der drei Zeiten, der Zahl groß (?) ist wie der Sand im Ganges-Flusse."

522.17 The sentence **"nt'-t' p's' drny swyz-l'p 'wytwnw 'wqy-ywr mn** translates Chin. 次當 誦 呪 請 召 (439C2) "soll er . . . mit dem Zauberspruch herbeirufen"; the **mn** of the Uighur ostensibly derives from the 我 of the following phrase. It is, however, the object of the verb 令 **ts'ing chao**, and it is difficult to believe that Sïngqu Säli could have interpreted 我 as the subject of the present sentence. It might have been possible that this was a mistake for **myny**, but the Berlin Ms. is unequivocal on this point, since it repeats **mn** twice: **antada baša timin darnï sözläp ötünür-mn oqïyurmn** (Uig.I, 33.12) "Darauf wieder sogleich die Beschwörungsformel sprechend: 'Ich bitte, ich rufe herbei . . . .' " With 我 as the object the sentence in Chinese reads, "woll er mich, die grosse Göttin Sri mit dem Zauberspruch herbeirufen."

This reading is secured by the Tibetan, with **snags bzlas-te dpal-gyi lha-mo chen-mo bdat gyar-ḫdren-par bgyid-na** (117r1) "After reciting this mantra and invoking me, the great goddess of Fortune," and particularly by the Mongolian, with the accusative **namayi : tegün-ü qoyin-a darni uriġad sirigini yeke ökin tngri namayi ügedegsen.**

522.22 The Chinese here has 南 謨 室 利 莫 訶 天 女(439C5), which is part transcription and part translation, thus: "namas Śrī mahā goddess"; the Tibetan translates the entire phrase, **dpal-gyi lha-mo chen-mo-la phyag ḫthsal-lo** (117r2) "reverence (**namas**) to the great goddess of

Fortune," followed by the Mongolian **yeke sirigini ökin tngri-dür mörgümü** (148v3) "(I) bow to the great goddess Śrī."

The present Uighur text includes the phrase **n'mw syry m'q'-dy y-ny** as part of the **dhāranī**; it occurs after the phrase **drny-sy pw 'rwr** "the dharani is this," and after the Sanskrit word **t'ty'd' (tadyathā)**, which signals the beginning of a **dhāraṇī**. In the Berlin Ms., this latter phrase occurs before **darnī-sï bu ärür** (Uig.I, 33.16).

523.1-11 A careful study of the **dhāraṇī** from Chapter XVII of the **Altun Yaruq** reveals several important textological facts: the first is that, in spite of long-standing traditions for the transcription of Sanskrit names and terms into Chinese, Sïngqu Säli could not have based his Uighur transcription on the Chinese text alone but must have had at his disposal a text in Sanskrit (or possibly Khotanese Saka or Kuchean) for greater accuracy in the transcription of Sanskrit names and technical terms. The second fact is that, because of certain discrepancies between Sïngqu Säli's transcription and the Chinese transcription of I-tsing (as represented in the Taishō Issaikyō edition), the Chinese text that Sïngqu Säli used or the Sanskrit text upon which it was based differed slightly from the published form of I-tsing's translation and the Sanskrit version (*Skr.Suv.III) on which that translation is based; in certain instances, Sïngqu Säli's transcripton more closely resembles the Narthang xylograph (N) or the Lhasa xylograph (Lh) of the Tibetan version (Tib.III, translated from I-tsing's Chinese version), and it may be hypothesized that the Tibetan translators of these versions used a Sanskrit by-text similar to the one used by Sïngqu Säli. The frequent discrepancies between Sïngqu Säli's transcription and the restoration of the Sanskrit given by the Taishō Issaikyō editors derives from the fact that the latter have not attempted to reconstruct the Sanskrit text from the Chinese transcription but have relied on other sources.

In his reconstruction of the Old Mandarin language of the **Chung-yüan Yin-yün** (中原音韻) and in his reinterpretation of Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction of Middle Chinese, Stimson advocated a phonemic approach rather than a phonetic approach (**The Jongyuan in yunn**, 25-27). Karlgren's reconstruction is characterized by a separate treatment of initial sounds and final sounds, but an examination of co-occurrence restrictions between initials and finals will reveal that the tone color of finals affects that of initials and the tone color of initials affects that of finals and that the whole system may be greatly simplified by taking this into account. The values of Chinese characters when used to transcribe syllables and individual consonants of Sanskrit may differ, of course, from their values as Chinese words. Pulleyblank has made considerable headway in the reconstruction of Old Chinese and Middle Chinese by taking into account these transcriptional values of Chinese characters for Sanskrit words ("The transcription of Sanskrit **k** and **kh** in Chinese"; "Stages in the transcription of Indian words in Chinese from Han to Tang"), and with an even more definite more in the dirction of phonemicization, the similarity between actual values and transcriptional values shold be clearer. A phonemic approach has been used in the following reconstruction of the Chinese transcriptionof the Sanskrit **dhāranī** from Chapter XVII of the **Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra** in an attempt to reconcile real and transcriptional values. This is followed by the reconstructed Sanskrit form given in the Taishō Issaikyō edition, together with the Uighur, Tibetan (diplomatic edition and Narthang and Lhasa version variants, where applicable), and Sanskrit (Skr.Suv.I) parallels.

Because the present passage is a **dhāraṇī**, it may be assumed that the orthography of the Uighur script is meant to represent as accurately as possible the original Sanskrit pronunciation and will be transcribed accordingly. To be noted particularly is the use of **yudh (y)** to represent the vocalic values of both **i** and **e** and the use of **heth** (q, sometimes pointed, q̈) to represent both **q** and **h**.

Transcription: Uighur, Middle Chinese (reconstructed), Tibetan (Berlin manuscript and Peking, Narthang and Lhasa xylographs, after Johannes Nobel), and Sanskrit versions.

Uig.	t'-	ty'-	d'	b-	ry-	ty	bw-	r'	n'	c'-	ry
Chin.	tât	d̨at	t'â	pat	rât	tei	p'u	rut	na	z̨ɛt	riɛ
Tib.B	ta-	dya-	thā	pa-	ri-		pu-	r^	ṇa-	tsa-	ri
Tib.P	ta-	dya-	thā	pa-	ri-		pu-	r^	ṇa-	tsa-	re
Tib.N	ta-	dya-	thā	p-	ra-	ti-	pu-	r^	ṇa-	tsa-	re

Tib.Lh	syā-	dya-	the-	dan	pa-	ri-			pu-	r	ṇa-	tsa-	re		
Skr.					p-	ra-	.ti-		pū-	r-	ṇa-	pā-	re		
Uig.	s'-	m'n-	d'	d'-	r-		s['-	n]y							
Chin.	sâm	mân	tâ	dât	rât		ś̨at	nei							
Tib.B	sa-	nan-		dha-	ra-		śa-	ni							
Tib.P	sa-	nan-		dha-	ra-		śa-	ni							
Tib.N	sa-	man-	ta	da^	r-		śa-	ni							
Tib.Lh	sa-	man-	ta	da^	r-		śa-	ṇe							
Skr.	sa-	man-	ta-	da-	r-		śa-	ne							
Uig.	m[']-	q'	vy-	q'-	r-'	k'-	ty	s'-	m'n-	t'					
Chin.	mâk	xâ	bi	xâ	râ	g̨iæt	tei	sâm	mân	tâ					
Tib.B	ma-	hā-	bi-	śa-	ra-	ga-	te	sa-	man-	te					
Tib.P	ma-	hā-	bi-	ha-	ra-	ga-	te	sa-	man-	te					
Tib.N	ma-	hā-	bi-	hā-	ra-	ga-	ti	sa-	man-	te					
Tib.Lh	ma-	hā-	bi-	hā-	ra-	ga-	ti	sa-	man-	te					
Skr.	ma-	hā-	bi-	hā-	ra-	ga-	te	sa-	man-	ta					
Uig.	vy-	ty-	m-	b'-			ry								
Chin.	bi	dəm	mât		nei										
Tib.B	bi-	ta-	ma-	ma-			ni								
Tib.P	bi-	ta-	ma-	ma-			ni								
Tib.N	bi-	ta-	ma-	ma-			ni								
Tib.Lh	pi-		ma-	ma-	na-	ga-	ti								
Skr.	be-	da-			na-	ga-	te								
Uig.	m[']-	q'	k'-	r-	y-'	b-	r'-	ty-	s-	t'					
Chin.	mâk	xâ	ka	li	g̨a	pat	rât	tei	ṣit	ṭ'a					
Tib.B	ma-	hā-	kā-	li-	ye	p	ra-	ti-	bi-	ṣ^	ṭha-				
Tib.P	ma-	hā-	kā-	li-	ye	p	ra-	ti-	bi-	ṣ^	ṭha-				
Tib.N	ma-	hā-	kā-	ra-	ye	pa-		ti-	bi-	ś^	tha-				
Tib.Lh	ma-	hā-	kā-	r-	ya	p	ra-	ti-	bi-						
Skr.	ma-	hā-	kā-	r-	ya-	p-	ra-	ti							
Uig.	b-r'-	v'-	ny	s'r-	v'	"r-	t'-	s'-		t'-	ny				
Chin.		pat	nei	sât	bâ	âr	tâ	sâ		dân	nei				
Tib.B		pā-	ni	sar-	ba-	ar-	tha-	sā		dha-	ni-				
Tib.P		pa-	ni	sar-	ba-	ar-	tha-	sā-		dha-	ni-				
Tib.N		pa-	ni	sar-	ba-	ar-	tha-	sa-	man-	ta-	nu				
Tib.Lh	p-rā-	pa-	ṇe	sar-	ba-	ar-	tha-	sa-	ma-	tā-	nu-				
Skr.		pa-	ṇe	sat-	t-	va-	ar-	tha-	sa-	man-	tā	nu-			
Uig.	sw-	b-	r'-	ty	bw-	ry	"r-	y-'	[n']	d'r-	m-'-	t'			
Chin.	su	pat	rât	tei	p'u	riɛ	â	g̨a	nâ	dât	mâ	tâ			
Tib.B	su-	pa-	ri-	te	pu-	re	a-	ya-	na	dha-	rma-	te			
Tib.P	su-	pa-	ri-	te	pu-	re	a-	ya-	na	dha-	rma-	te			
Tib.N		p-	ra-		pu-	re	a-	yā-	na-	dha-	rma-	tā-			
Tib.Lh		p-	ra-		pū-	re	a-	yā-	na-	dha-	rma-	tā			
Skr.		p-	ra-		pu-	re	ā-	yā-	na-	dhar-	ma-	tā			
Uig.	m'-	q̈'	vy-	kw-	by-	ty	m'-		q'	m'y-	t-	r'-	(b')		
Chin.	mâk	xâ	bi	ku	pi	tei	mâk		xâ	mei	twət	ro			
Tib.B	ma-	hā-	bi-	ku-	pi-	te	ma-		hā-	mu-	d-	ra			
Tib.P	ma-	hā-	bi-	ku^	b-	te	ma-		hā-	mu-	d-	ra			
Tib.N	ma-	hā-	bho-		ge-	na	ma-		hā-	mai-	t-	ri			
Tib.Lh	ma-	hā-	bho-		gi-	ni	ma-		hā-	mai-	t-	ri			

Skr.	ma-	hā-bho-			gi-ne		ma-		hā-mai-t-		ri
Uig.	'w-b'	s'n-qy-ty		m'-	q'	qy-	[t'y]	sy			
Chin.	u	pa	səŋ	xi	tei	mâk	xâ	ġit	(t'âi)	ṣi	
Tib.B	u-	pa-saṃ-hi-ti		ma-	hā-	k-	rin-		śi		
Tib.P	u-	pa-saṃ-hi-te		ma-	hā-	k-	rin-		śi		
Tib.N	u-	pa-śiṅ-	ha-te	ma-	hā-	k-	le-		śa		
Tib.Lh	u-	pa-saṃ-hi-te		ma-	hā-	hi-	tai-		ṣi		
Skr.	u-	pa-saṃ-hi-te				hi-	tai-		ṣi		

Uig.	sw	s'n-	ky-	r[y]-	qy-ty						
Chin.	su	səŋ	gi̯ət	ri	xi	tei					
Tib.B	u-	saṃ-gi-		ri-	hi-te						
Tib.P	u-	saṃ-gi-		ri-	hi-te						
Tib.N	su-	saṅ-	g-	ri-	hi-te						
Tib.Lh	su-	sa-	g-	ri-	hī-te						
Skr.		saṃ-g-		ri-	hī-te						

Uig.		s'-	m'n-	t'	'r-	t'	"-	nw	b'-l'-	ny	sv'-q'
Chin.		sâm	mân	tâ	âr	t'â	â	nu	pâ	lât	nei suâ xâ
Tib.B		sa-	man-ta-			dhi	a-	na-u-pa-ri-		ṇi	svā-hā
Tib.P		sa-	man-ta-			dhi	a-	na-u-pa-ri-		ṇi	svā-hā
Tib.N		sa-	mā-		r^	tha	a-	nu-	pā-la-	ni	svā-hā
Tib.Lh		sa-	mā-		r^	tha	a-	nu-	pa-li-	ne	svā-hā
Skr.	te-	sam-			ar-	thā-		nu-	pā-la-	ni	

523.1 **t'ty'd' [tadyathā]** = Chin. 怛 姪 他 ***tât-di̯at-t'â** : Karlgren's value *di̯ĕt for 姪 (GS 413b) is a conceivable transcription for the syllable **-ya-** in **tadyathā**, but Pulleyblank's reconstruction of this final as **-ʳit, -it** ("Stages in the transcription of Indian words in Chinese from Han to Tang," 94) would make this transcription unlikely; the character 姪 might, however, be for 敎 *di̯at (in Karlgren's system ***di̯ăt** and in Pulleyblank's system ***driăt**).

523.1 **bryty** for **br'ty [prati-]** = Chin. 鉢 唎 [底] ***pat-rât- [tei]**; here the Uighur agrees with Tib.N. **pra-ti-** and Skr. **prati-**; the combination 鉢 唎 (or 唎) often renders Skr. **pra-** (Jul. 1479), but these two characters might also be read as separate syllables.

523.2 **d'ršy**: this must be a scribal error for **d'rš['n]y [darśane]** = Chin. 達 唎 設 泥 ***dât-rât-śi̯at-nei** = Tib. **darśa-ṇe** = Skr. **darśane**. Uig. final **-y** corresponds in this **dhāraṇī** to the Chinese final **-ei**, and this final renders either Skr. **-i** or **-e**; the value of **-y** in Uighur can only be determined in this case by comparison with the Sanskrit.

523.2 **vyq'r-' [vihāra]** = Chin. 毘 訶 羅 ***bi-xâ-râ** : Chin. 毘 ***bi** may transcribe **vi** as well as **pi**, **bi**, or **bhi** (Jul. 1372). The Uighur text here clearly has **v-**, and it is more likely that this word in **vihāra** 'monastery or temple' (M-W 1003c) than a nonsense word ***bihāra**.

523.3 **vytymb'ry** for **vytym(b)'ny [viḍmane]** = Chin. 毘 曇 末 泥 ***bi-dəm-mât-nei**: the texts vary significantly at this point, but none of them support a reading **vytymb'ry** for Uighur. In this case the Uighur most closely follows the Chinese (possibly with **b-** for **m-** in 末 ***mât**), and this seems to be a rendering of **viḍmane** (for 曇 + 末 - **-dma-**; cf. Julien, 1719) 'to know' (M-W 963c).

523.4 **br'tyst' br'v'ny [pratiṣṭhaprāvane]** = Chin. 鉢 唎 底 瑟 侘 鉢 [囉 鉢] 泥 ***pat-rât-tei-ṣit-ṭ'a-pat [-râ-pat]-nei**: the Tibetan texts have **pra-ti-bi-ṣṭha**, but the Uighur text does not have

-by-, and there is no character to correspond to **-bi-** in the Chinese. On the other hand, Tib.Lh. has **-prā-pa-ṇe** corresponding to Uig. **-br'v'ny**, and it is likely that the two characters 囉 鉢 ***râ-pat-** were dropped out.

523.7 **vykwbyty [vikupite]** = Chin. 毘 俱 比 諦 ***bi-ku-pi-tei**: only the Uighur here has **v-** instead of **b-**, but it is likely that here again **vy-** represents the Skr. prefix **vi-**.

523.8 **m(')ytr'(b') [mitra(bha) or maitra(bha)]** = Chin. 迷 唎 嚕 [婆] ***mei-twət-ro [-bâ]**: only the Uighur here has the final syllable **-b'** but, if **-bha** or **-bhā** belongs in the Sanskrit text, it probably would have been rendered by Chin. 婆 ***bâ**. Chin. mm ***mei** suggests **mi-** rather than **mai-** for Uighur, although Tib. and Skr. here have **maitri**.

523.9 **qyn'r'sy** for **qyt'ysy [hitaiṣi]** or **qyrysy [kleśe]** = Chin. 頡 [太] 使 ***ġit-t'âi-ṣi** or 頡 唎 使 for 吉 利 使 **kit-li-ṣi**: the Tibetan and Sanskrit both have **hitaiṣi**; the Taishō Issaikyō editors give **kleśa** but this would be in Chinese 吉 利 沙 ***kit-li-ṣa**.

523.22 The phrase **pw drny 'rs'r "pysyk qylm'g-lyq p't'k 'wl, bu darnī ārsār abiẓik qīlmaqlġ pdāk ol** (Uig.I, 341.16) "Was dies Formel anbetrifft, so ist sie ein Abhiseka verleihender Vers" translates Chin. 是 灌 頂 法 句 (439C14) "dieses ist der Satz der Methode der Weihe"; Tib. **ḥdi ni dban-bskur-bai cho-pai thsig** (117r6) "This is the formula (**pada**) of (used in) the ceremony for consecrating a king," Skr.Suv.I **ime mūrdhābhiṣekadharmatāmantrapadā** (117) "These are the magic words for lawful consecration of the head," Sak.Suv.I **ttätä t teru rätä aviṣijata dätīnā man{dra}-pata** (54r7) "These are the magic verses (**mantrapadā**) for anointing the forehead in accordance with sacred law."

The Tib. **dbaṅ-bskur-ba** is equivalent to Skr. **abhiṣeka** (Mvy. 4256); the Chin. 灌 頂 , which is given by Soothill and Hodous as the equivalent of Skr. **abhiṣecana** or **mūrdhābhiṣikta**, "inauguration or consecration by sprinkling, or pouring water on the head; an Indian custom on the investiture of a king, whose head was baptized with water from the four seas and from the rivers in his domain; in China it is administered as a Buddhist rite chiefly to high personages, and for ordination purposes"(484b).

524.10 **s'qyn-**. In the Chinese 若 有 受 持 讀 誦 呪 者 (439C16) "Wenn (daher) (jemand) den Zauberspruch annimmt, festhält, liest und rezitiert," there is no parallel to Uighur **s'qyn-**. The same phrase 受 持 讀 誦 in line 513.7 was translated **pws- qwn- twt- 'wqy-**. The Tibetan has **ḥdzin-pa, klog-pa**, and **ḥdon-pa** in both cases, and the Mongolian has **bari-, uri-** and **ungši-**. It may be seen from this example that, where the Chinese has a stereotyped stylistic convention, the Uighur is prone to a greater degree of freedom, to the point of interpolating words which have no equivalent in the original text, as in the case of **s'qyn-** in the present instance or **pyty- pytyt-** in line 513.7.

524.14 **'rt', ärtä** 'früh' (TT VII), 'erte' (Kāšġ); in Osmanli, " 'Lendmain' se dit ايرته **erte**" (Deny, Grmm., 400, Rem.3). The expression **tang ärtä** is attested with the meaning 'früh morgens' in TT VII, 1.31 and **tang ertä caġda** 'à l'aube (mot-à-mot "au moment du matin-aube")' in the legend of Uġuz-Khan, in his notes to which Pelliot further remarked that "**Tang ertä** 'aube' est une expession toute faite qui est donnée, entre autres, dans le vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Bureau des Interprètes" (Uġuz-Khan, 270).

According to Rachmati, "In **ärtä** muß das Lokativsuffix stecken zu **är** (Osm., Chag.) 'am frühen Morgen, frühzeitig.' Das Lokativsuffix wurde später zum Bestandteil des Wortes: **ärta, irtä** 'früh' usw.; **ärtä čaqta** 'früher, einstmals,' **ärta käč** (Kar.T.) 'der Nachmittag' " (TT VII, 1.24).

524.14 **t'l čybyq (tal čïbïq)** translates Chin. 齒 木 'Zahnholtz,' a compound of **tal**: Kāšġ. **tal** 'brand, bough; twig, green twig' (I 412.21; II 105.8; III 156.22, 23) and **čïbïq**: Kašġ. **čïbïq** 'rod, wand, stick; green twig' (I 318.21, 381.2; II 3.16). The Tibetan text has **so-śin** 'tooth-pick; n. of a plant the twigs of

which are used for cleansing the teeth' (D 1281b), and the Mongolian text has šige **modun** 'tooth wood.' Mostaert has identified the word **šige** (or šigi) at the base of **šigeči** in **šigeči quruġu** 'le petit doigt,' **šigečile-** 'se curer (les dents, les oreilles)' and **šigečilegür** 'cure-dent' (M 614b) from an entry in the **Manju ügen-ü toli bičig** (vol.5, f.59r), which defines **šigi** as **šidün-ü qoġorundu-dur urġuġsan miqa-yi šigi miqa kememüi**, 'La chair qui croît dans les interstices des dents, on l'appele **sigi miqa**,' **Sur quelques passages**, p.330).

Clauson gives 'branch, twig' as the earliest meaning of Uig. **tal** (ED 489a), but the word is common to many Turkic languages in the sense of 'willow,' and specific varieties are: Uig. **aq tal** 'salix alba,' **qara tal** 'salix nigricans,' **sarï tal** 'salix vitellina,' **qua tal** 'salix cinerea,' Alt. **qïrčïn tal**, Kaz. **qïzïl tal** 'salix centifolia, salix purpurea,' (Uig.) **äčki tal** 'salix capraea.' In Uighur (**Qutadġu Bilig**) **tal** also has the meaning 'eine Ruthe, ein junger Baum' (**Rad.Wb.**3.875), and this corresponds to Tel., Alt. **čāl** 'ein junger Baum, niedriges Gestrüpp, Stauchwerk' (**Rad.Wb.**3.1875). Mo. **salaġan** 'branch. twig; offshoot; space between the fingers or the toes' < **sal-** 'separate, branch off,' Ma. salja 'a fork in the road' are possible cognates and, if so, Uig. **tal** and Mo. **sal-**, Ma. ***sal** in **salja** may go back to a form ***čāl** whence, according to Doerfer (**TMEN** 1018), may derive Pers. **jāl** 'arbre à épines, arbuste épineux' (Sa.179f), 'the toothpick tree' (St.350); but cf. also Skr. **śala** 'the quill of a porcupine' (MW 1058c), **śalākā** 'any small stake or stick, rod, twig; a sprout, sprig, shoot of any kind; a toothpick or tooth-brush; a partic. thorny shrub, **Vanguieria spinosa**' (MW 1059a).

524.17 **qw-' y'vysqwn**. The Chinese has 花 (439C18) "mit . . . Blumen," Tib. **me-tog-gis** (117r7) "with flowers," Mo. **čečeg-üd-iyer** (148r26), id.; Skr.Suv.I **puṣpa^{O}-is** (118) "with flowers," Sak.Suv.I **spätyau** (54v2), id. The Uighur signifies "with flower petals."

The meaning given for **yawisġu** is 'Blatt' (AI), as in **suw tmïrï qurïsar yaš yawišġu qurïyur** (TT I 55) "Wenn die Wasseradern austrocknen, so vertrocknen die grünen (frischen) Blätter." In conjunction with **qu-a, yawisġu** is glossed 'Guirlande' in TT VI and occurs in line 55, **qamaġ yaruq täŋrilär qutlar waqšiklar turqaru qua yawišġun yïdïn yïparïn inčä ayayur aġïrlayurlar tapïnur udunur-lar**, "alle strahlenden Götter und guten Geister (Hend.) stets es mit Blumen-gewinden und Wohlgerüchen so verehren (Hend.Hend.)." The same phrase is also found in Uig.II, 40.105, **xu-a yavïsqu : küsi tütsük : xu-a-lïġ psak türtüngü sïlïp** "Blumengirlanden, Werrauch-Räucherstäbchen, Blumenkrone, Salbe einreibt." It is difficult to see what the basis might be for adopting the meaning 'garland' for **qu-a yawïšġu**; it would seem more likely to assume that a flower 'leaf' is a petal. The same expression occurs again in line 525.7.

525.2 **čynt'n [čïntan ~ čïndan]** 'sandalwood' < Toch. **candaṃ** < Skr. **candana** 'sandal (**Sirium myrtifolium**, either the tree, wood, or the unctuous preparation of the wood held in high estimation as perfumes)' (M-W 386b) translates Chin. 栴檀 **chen-t'an** 'santal rouge' (Couv. 454a), later known simply as 檀 **t'an** 'sandalwood' 檀香 **t'an-hsiang** 'sandalwood incense.' The tree "resembles the lichee of China, even the leaves are like it. The natives fell the tree and dry it in the shade. Its aroma is pure and strong and apt to evaporate; in burning it surpasses all other incenses . . . . The best quality is that derived from old trees when the bark is thin and the full proportion of fragrance is contained in it" (**Chau Ju-Kua**, 208).

True sandalwood, which is native to the mountainous parts of the coast of Malabar and to Timur and the neighboring islands, is **Santalum album** and **Santalum myrtifolium**; **Santalum** myrtifolium was formerly known as **Sirium myrtifolium**, but the latter name now applies to a small tree of the same genus, the wood of which is not known to be used as a perfume (Roxburgh, **Flora Indica**, 148-149).

In Sanskrit, the name **candana** is also applied to an unrelated tree, **Pterocarpus santalinus**, a native of Coromandel (Roxburgh, 536); in Malay, the name **cendana** (< Skr. **candana**) may be applied to **Pterocarpus santalinus** (Schafer, **The Golden Peaches of Samarkand**, 310, n.30), but, properly speaking, Malay or Indonesian **cendana** 'yellow sandalwood' is **Santalum**.

525.3 **twytswk [tütsüg]** 'incense' translates Chin. 香 **hsiang** 'substance aromatique, encens' (Couv. 186a). This noun, from tütüz- 'fumigate' < ***tüt-** < ***tül-t-** = Mo. **tülc-** (~ **tüli-**) 'set on fire; burn; scorch' = Ma. ***tül** in **tulhun** 'cloudy, dark' or < ***tütü-** (cf. **tüte-** 'emit smoke') < ***tüg-t(ü)-** = Mo. ***tüg-** in **tügüdeg** 'campfire,' **tüimer** (< ***tüg-mer**) 'forest fire; wildfire,' possibly **tügüšig** 'twilight, dusk' = Ma. ***tüg**

in **tugi** 'cloud' (where ***tüg** is from ***tül-g**), is specifically 'incense,' whereas **yïd yïpar** means 'fragrance, perfume; incense; ointment.'

525.4 **swtsy [sutsï]: byr swtsyq 'wz 'ytyb y'r'tyb (bir sutsïġ uz itip yaratïp)** translates Chin. 置一月勝座 **chih yi shêng tsuo** '(er soll) einen einzigen ausgezeichneten Sitz herrichten' (Nob.Chin.271). The Tibetan has **stan mchog gcig btin-ste** (Suv.Tib.232.20) 'having spread out an excellent mat (to sit on).' Sïngqu Säli has translated Chin. 月勝 **shêng** 'excellent' (Couv.98c) as an adverb **'wz [uz]** modifying the compound verb **itip yarat-**, so it is doubtful that Chin. 月勝 **shêng** forms a part of this unknown Uighur word **swtsy [sutsï]**, if from Chinese. Chin. 座 **tsuo** also means 'base, piédestal' (Couv. 278c), so it is quite possible that **swtsy** [sutsï] is a transcription of MC 座 子 ***dzuâ-tsi** (GS 12a; 964a) 'a base, a plinth; a stand for a vase' (M 6779.3).

Tib. **stan** (= Skr. **āsana**) also means 'Teppich,' however, so **swtsy** here might be a misreading of **s'rky [särgi]** = ET **sergi** 'tapis d'une maison' (DTO 348), Chag. **särgi** 'der Teppich, auf dem die Speisen gestellt werden' (Rad.Wb.4.466).

525.5 **br'-kws'tyty** (T III 56.20r16 **br'-kws'try**) = **bt'kwnč'tyry (pata kün čatïrï)** translated Chin. 幡番蓋 **fan-kai** 'banners and parasols'; the Tibetan text has **ba-dan dań gdugs-kyis** 'with banners and parasols,' where **ba-dan dań gdugs** renders the Sanskrit **dvandva** compound **patākacchattra** 'banners and parasols.' Bagchi gives Kr. **patāka** as the equivalent for Chin. 幡番 **fan** (2.440) and **cchattra** (= **chattra**) as the equivalent of 蓋 **kai**; these words may have been registered in a Chinese-Sanskrit word list, possibly in compound as the source of Sïngqu Säli's rendering, but Skr. **chattra** has survived in several Turkic languages as a loanword, ultimately from Sanskrit, in the form **čatïr** or **čadïr**, and it appears in the fourteenth-century Chinese-Uighur Dictionary in the compound **kün cadïrï** 'Sonnenschirm' (Rad. Wb. 3.1904) and Skr. **patāka** may have been borrowed into certain Altaic languages at an early period; cf. Ma. **hata** 'a thin strip of cloth,' Jap. **hata** 'flag, banner' (but Mo. **badan** ~ **badang** 'flag, standard' < Tib. **ba-dan**).

525.6 **s'lyntur-**. A causative in **-TUr** < **salïn-** 'sarkmak' (Kāšġ) translates Chin. 莊嚴 (439C22) "ausschmucken"; Tib. **brgyan-pa** (117v1) "decorate," Mo. **čime-** (149r4), id. The Uighur phrase **'wyz'synt' pt"k'c'tyry s'lyntwrwp** "he should hang banners and parasols above it (i.e., the seat)" is more specific than the Chinese or the other versions.

525.10 **myny**. The phrase **myny k'lzwn typ kwys'zwn** translates Chin. 希望我全 (440A1) "und warten dass ich komme." Throughout this text, the 'vocative' verb-form **-zUn**, generally familiar as an imperative of the 3rd pers. sg. (AGr 215), or optative, has been utilized in a necessitative sense, thus: 'one should . . . .' In the present passage there are two occurrences of the verb-form **-zUn**; the second of these, **kwys'zwn**, is clear enough; it is again the necessitative, "he should wish . . . ." However, although the first verb in the passage, **k'lzwn**, appears as though it is an optative and that the phrase **myny k'lzwn** is a direct quote, as signalled by the word **typ**, there is a problem in interpreting the function and the form of the pronoun. From the meaning of the Chinese, we know that the referent of **myny** must = Śrī, and not the suppliant. Furthermore, even if Sïngqu Säli had interpreted the Chin. mm as referring to the suppliant, then the pronoun must be in the dative, thus: **m'nk' k'lzwn**, "may she come to me!" The pronoun, then, will have to be the object of the verb **kwys'-**, so that the literal meaning of the sentence is "he should wish for me, saying 'may she come!' " which may be better rendered in English as "he should wish that I should come," or "he should wish for me to come."

525.13 **'wl m'nd'l qylmys 'v 'wk 'ycynt'**, "in that house where the **maṇḍala** was made." The Chinese has simply 其室 (440A2), "in sein Haus"; Tib. **dei khaṅ-par** (117v2) "in his house," Mo. **tegün-ü ger-tür** (149r8), id.

525.18 **twyl (tül)** 'dream,' the usual form of this word in the Uighur of Turfan, distinct from the form

tüš in the Legend of Oğuz Khan (Pelliot, **Sur le légende d'Uğuz Khan**, p. 343, n.2), Maḥmūd al-Kāšġari, and the **Qatadğu Bilig**; the modern Turkic languages have **tüš** or **düš**.

The existence, in Uighur, of the noun **tül** 'dream' beside the verb **tüšä-** 'to dream' is uncontravertible evidence that the correspondence of Turkic **š** to **l** in the other Altaic languages is not a matter of unconditioned sound change, is not, in fact, a simple sound correspondence at all, but the product of the fusion of two phonemes across a morpheme boundary. The same holds true for the correspondence of Turkic **z** to Altaic **r**, as Pritsak has pointed out ("Der 'Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus'," **Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher**, Vol.35, Fasc.D, 1963, pp. 337-349).

Uig. **tüšä-** 'to dream' is from **tül** 'dream' plus the desiderative suffix /-sA-/, commonly used to derive verbs from nouns or other verbs. The origin of this suffix is an independent verb ***se-** 'do, make; try, try (to do); wish (to do)' which survives in this form in Ma. **se-** 'mean; say,' Kor. **ha-** (< ***hā-** < ***se-**) 'do' (Ramstedt, **Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft**, 2.187-9, §90), Jap. **su-** (~ **si-** ~ **se-** ' **sa-**) 'do,' not always desiderative in meaning but often simply factitive, thus: **āvsā-** 'long for a home' < **äv** 'home,' **suvsa-** 'be thirsty' (= 'want water') < **suv** 'water,' **qapsa-** 'wish to seize' < **qap-** 'seize,' **ögsā-** 'want to praise' < **ög** 'praise,' but here **tüšä-** 'have a dream.' The deverbal and denominal verb suffixes /-s-/ and /-si-/ of Turkic and other Altaic languages are from the same verb ***se-** and, given the co-occurrence restrictions of **s** as the second member of a consonant cluster (it occurs after a morpheme boundary in the combinations **-ps-**, **-vs-**, and **-gs-** and with the secondary development of **s** > **š** in **-kš-**, **-qš-**, and **-xš-**), the combination of other consonants with **s** would have resulted in fusions of the order of **l** + **s** = **š** and **r** + **s** = **z** which obscure their origin.

The root of Uig. **tül** 'dream' is found in Tk. **düş**, Karagas **tüiš** (< ***tül-s(UN)**, where **-i-** in the Karagas form is a reflex of **-l-**); Ma. **tolgi-** 'dream' < ***tül-ki-** < ***tül ki-**, Tg. ***tolkin** 'sleep' < ***tül-ki-n**; Kor. **tilcng tileng** 'snoring loudly' < ***tül-** (but **cal-** 'sleep,' **cōl-** 'doze, drowse'); Jap. **tsur-** 'have a cramp (in the leg)' < ***tül-**, **toro-toro** 'dropping off into a doze'; possibly also Mo. **tōlge** 'fortune-telling; omen,' **tösü-** 'presume, guess' (< ?***tül-s-**), Ma. **tulbi-** 'ponder, guess.' Jap. **yume** might be from a yodized form of this root (Jap. **y-** often corresponds to Tk. **y-**: OT **yaq-** 'burn,' Kar. **t^{y}ah-** (**t^{y}ak-**) 'light a fire' = Jap. **yak-** 'burn': Ma. **da-** 'burn, catch fire'; OT **yu-** 'wash,' **yul** 'spring; fountain,' Koib. **d^{y}u-** 'wash,' **d^{y}ul** 'spring' = Jap. **yu** 'hot water; hot spring' (< ***yul**): Mo. **dolgi-** 'splash out' (< ***dol-ki-** < ***dul-ki-**), Ma. **dolcin** 'ford; waves' (< ***dol-ki-n** < ***dul-ki-n**), but Ma. **jolho-** 'gush up' (< ***d^{y}ol-ga-** < ***d^{y}ul-ga-**, perh. a secondary development < ***dul-i-ga-**; cf. Ev. **joliko-** 'splash'; Kor. **cōl-col** ~ **ccōl-ccol** 'trickling; murmuring').

Mo. **dūli-** 'spend the night without sleep,' Ma. **duli-** 'stay up all night,' Or. **dule-**, Ud. **dulen-** 'pass (of time)' point to a group of words for 'night': Tk. **dün** (~ **tün**) 'night,' **dün** 'yesterday'; Ma. **dobon**, **dobori** 'night,' Lam. **dolba-** (~ **dolbo-**) 'become evening,' Tg. ***dolba** 'at night' (a corresponding initial **y-** in Japanese is confirmed by **yū** ~ **yūbe** 'evening,' **yo** 'evening, night,' **yoru** 'night'), as well as words for 'darkness': Mo. **tüneN** 'dark, obscure,' **tūgüsig** 'twilight'; Ma. **tulhun** 'cloudy, dark,' **dushun** 'dark in color' (< ***dül-s-kUN**), also Ma. **tugi** 'cloud' (< ***tül-gi** < ***tül-ki**, denominal noun with close juncture; cf. **tolgi-** < ***tül-ki-** < ***tül ki-**), Tg. ***tüksu** 'cloud' (< ***tül-k-sUN**); Kor. **culki** 'shower, downpour.' Ramstedt connected OT **tilkü**, Az. **tülkü**, Tk. **tilki** 'fox' with OT **tu** (tü:) 'hair (of the body)' (**Einführung**, 2.213, §100) < **tüg** (Tk. **tüy** < **tüg**, Koib. **tük** 'hair' and its yodized form, OT, Ott. **yüg** 'feathers,' Koib. **t^{y}üx**, Kar. **t^{y}üg**, cf. Jap. **tsubasa** 'wings, pinions' < ***tūg** + ***pasak** in **basa-basa** 'rustling,' Ma. **fasak** 'beating (of wings)'), but the phonological correspondence between Ma. **dobi** 'fox' (as well as **dobke** 'screech owl') and Ma. **dobon** and OT **tülkü** 'fox' and OT **tül** 'dream,' ***dül** in Mo. **düli-** 'spend the night without sleep' and Ma. **duli-** in **dobon dulin** 'midnight' and **dobori dulime** 'the whole night' suggests there is a semantic connection as well.

The occurrence of **l** in OT **tül** beside the supposedly derived form **š** in OT **tüš** is not an isolated example; there are numerous semantically related words in Turkic, one or more of which has **l** and one or more of which has **š**, and cognate words in the other Altaic languages have **l** and **s** or **š** (**č** and **ǰ** especially after **l**), or conditioned variants of these.

Examples are: OT **al** 'front, face; prior position': **ašnu** (< ***al-sïn-u**) 'previously, first of all'; Mo. **alus** 'farther; further; beyond,' **anggan** (< ***al-qan**) 'first'; Ma. **alan** 'shoulder and breast parts of armor,' **alja-** (< ***al-ǰa-**, for /-ǰa-/ continuative from originally independent verb; cf. Ramsted, **Einführung**, 2.193, 184, not ***ya-** in Tk. **yat-** 'lie down' but more likely in Mo. **yabu-** 'go, walk'), **asiha** (< ***al-si-ka**) 'young, small' **aji**,

Lam. **ājïn** 'first born'; the root ***al** in Tk. **alan** 'open space, plateau among mountains,' Mo. **ala** 'flat-topped hill,' Ma. **ala** 'hill with a level top,' **alin** 'mountain,' Ud. **ala** 'hollow; glen,' Nan. **ala** 'low mountain,' may be related to the previous root ***al** 'front; face' if Ma. **antu** 'south side of a mountain, sunny side of a mountain' is from ***al-tu** and Ev., Neg. **an-taġa** from ***al-taġa** (possibly a compound ***al** + **taġa**; cf. OT **taġ** 'mountain,' Jap. **take** 'peak; mountain'); verbal forms are OT **aš-** (< ***āš-** < ***al-s-**) 'cross (a mountain); pass (of time),' Mo. **asa-** (< ***al-sa-**) 'climb up,' Ev. **ala-**, Neg. **alan-** 'cross a mountain ridge'; also Mo. **alqu-** 'step, walk over,' Ma. **alkûn** 'gait of a horse' and Jap. **aruk-** (< ***al-k-**) may be from the same root. The root of OT **alt** 'bottom, lower part,' **ašaq** (< ***al-sa-q**) 'low,' Tk. **alçak** (< ***al-čaq**) 'low; vile,' **alu** 'miserable, base' is to be found in Kor. **al-** 'half; half-way' prefixed to nouns; in the sense of 'half the usual length' or 'half the usual size' it is found in Mo. **alčaġar** 'thickset, squat'; Ma. **alda** 'half-grown pig' **aldasi** (< ***al-da-si**) 'halfway, short-lived,' **andala** (< ***al-da-la**) 'midway, halfway,' **asikan** (< ***al-si-kan**, dim.) 'somewhat small,' var. **asihan** 'young'; Kor. **alay** (arch. **ala**) 'beneath, below,' in the sense of 'halfway between' is Orok., Ul. **aldan** 'interval, space'; Jap. **aida** 'interval, space' (< ***al-dan**; cf. Or. **agdaN** < ***al-dan** and Jap. **g** > **i(y)** before C: **isog-** 'hasten,' past **isoida**).

At the base of OT **baš** 'head' is a root ***bal** (~ ***mal**) ~ ***bel** (~ ***mel**) having to do with the (fore)head and eyes or with the head in a figurative sense either as a 'knob' or as 'beginning': OT **baltïr** 'calf of the leg' ("head" of the leg), ET **balsïr** (~ **baldï** ~ **baldur** ~ **baldu**) 'before; formerly,' Tk. **bačak** (~ **bal-čaq**) 'leg or shank,' OT **baq-** (< ***bal-q-**) 'look at,' **bat-** (< ***bal-t-**) 'be lost to sight, sink (from view),' perh. **balbal**, due to its knob-like top or the prominence of the head (cf. de Boullane de Lacoste, **Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs et des Mongols**, pl.50); Mo. **balda** 'knob,' **balbayi-** ~ **bambayi-** (< ***banbayi** < ***balbayi-**) 'swell, bulge' ~ **barbayi-** 'be broad and thick' (all perh. < ***bal-bal-ki-**), **maljan** 'bald spot,' **manglai** (< ***man-gu-lai** [but cf. Poppe, **VG** §58, p.73] < ***mal-gu-lai**) 'forehead,' **malaġa** (~ **malaġai**) 'hat, cap; head (of nail),' **melmei** 'eyes' (< ***mel-mel**), with front vocalism; Ma. **balba** 'having poor eyesight,' **balu**, Lam. **balï** 'blind,' **malhûn** 'thick at one end,' **mahû** 'leather hood,' **mahala** 'hat, cap' (evidently metathetical form of Mo. **malaġa** but cf. Ma. **mahatu** 'hat worn by high officials in ancient times'), Lam. **bak-** 'find,' **bad** 'eyesight'; Kor. **mali** 'head (counter for animals)' **malttong** 'rolling one's eyes; in a daze,' **mangul** (< ***mal-gul**) 'lump; ball, bulb,' **palk-** 'sharp, keen (eye or ear); well acquainted with,' **ppal-** 'look askance,' **pak-** 'fix one's eyes on'; Jap. **me** (< ***mel**) 'eye' ~ **ma-** in **mayu** 'eyebrow,' **mabataki** 'wink,' **mabushi** 'eyelid'; **mae** 'front,' **ma-** (< ***mal**) in **maguchi** 'front, frontage,' **matomo** 'front,' **mage** 'topknot' < **ma** + **ke** < ***mal** 'forehead' + ***kil** 'hair,' cf. OT **gïl** 'hair.' OT **čälpäk** 'mucus discharged by the eye' < a root ***čel** (~ ***šel**) appears to contain the same formative /-b(U)-/ present in Mo. **nilbusun** 'tears.' Poppe states that Kor. **nun mul** 'tears' (lit. 'eye water') is not connected to Mo. **nilbusun** < ***ñal-bu-sun** (**VG** 61, p.77); this may be true for the first part of the compound, **nun** 'eye,' but the second part is present again in Kor. **cin-mul** 'ooze from a sore,' **cinmul cinmul** 'all inflamed' < ***čil-mul** < **cil-** 'be watery, messy,' and if the formation of OT **čälpäk** is parallel to that of Kor. **cin-mul**, then it derives from ***čel-ber-k** < ***cel+bir-k** < ***bir** = ***mer** in Mo. **mör-en** 'river' = ***mür** < ***mir** in Ma. **muke** 'river' but also ***mer** in Ma. **mele-** (< ***mer-le-**) 'water livestock,' Kor. **mul** < ***mür** < ***mir**, Jap. **mizu** 'water' < ***mir-sUN**: **-i-** ~ **-e-** > **-ü-** ~ **-ö-** after a labial. The root ***čel** is at the base of OT **čiš** (< ***čel-s(UN)**) 'urine, faeces'; the alternation of initial **č-** ~ **š-** is common in most of the other Altaic languages, stem-final **-l** present in Mo. **šilüsün** 'saliva'; Ma. **silenggi** 'drivel'; Kor. **cili** 'smell of urine,' **cilkim** (~ **ccil-kkim**) 'trickling, dribbling,' **cōl-cōl** (~ **ccōl-ccōl**) 'trickling,' **cililï** (~ **ccililï**) 'dripping, dribbling' and in view of the semantic connection must be present also in Mo. **čer** (perh. = **čel**) 'phlegm,' **čičaġa** 'diarrhea,' **čigig** 'dampness,' **šige-** 'urinate'; Ma. **cacihiya-** 'drip, run (of the nose),' **cifenggu** (< ***čel-per-ku** < ***čel-bir-k(U)** < ***cel-mir-k(U)**, a direct correlate to OT **čälpäk**), **sike** 'urine,' **sitcku** 'bed wetter' (< **šel** 'wet' + **teku** 'seat'); Kor. **chim** (? < ***čil-m**) 'saliva, spittle'; Jap. **shimi** 'stain,' **shikko** 'piss.'

Poppe connects OT **yašur-** 'cover' with Mmo. **dalda** 'shelter,' Ma. **dali-**, Tg. ***dal-** 'cover' (**VG** §61, p.77), to which may be added Tk. **dalda** 'shadow; shelter' (prob. < Mo.), **yaşmak** 'veil'; Mo. **dal** 'shelter for cattle'; Ma. **dasi-** (< ***dal-si-**) 'cover,' and, in the sense of 'placing above or in a high place,' Kor. **tal-** 'hang, suspend,' **talak** 'upper story; loft over a kitchen'; Jap. **tare-** 'hang (a curtain),' **tarari** (~ **darari**) 'hanging, dangling,' **taruki** 'rafter,' and **das-** (< ***dal-s-**) 'hoist, put up.' OT **yarïq** 'armor,' **yalma** 'thick quilted coat'; Ma. **daniyan** 'cover'; Jap. **yoroi** 'armor' might be from the same root ***dal-** found in Ma. **dali-** 'cover, protect,' or they might be from the root ***dal** found in Tk. **dal** 'back, shoulder'; Mo. **dalu** 'shoulder blade,'

dalbiġar 'turned to one side,' **dalang** 'nape of the (of animals), withers'; Ma. **dalba**, Ud. **dalma** 'side,' Lam. **dalba** 'near,' Ma. **dara**, Tg. *__darama__ 'waist; loins; lower back,' and therefore grouped with such derivatives as Mo. **dalbaġa** 'wrestler's costume,' **dalubči** 'wrestler's costume' (lit. 'shoulder blade cover,' cf. Pavel Poucha, **Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen**, p.3; also **dalabčiN** 'wing,' lit. 'shoulder cover' or 'side cover'), and Ma. **daliyan** 'a kind of wrestler's garment.'

Poppe derives Ott. **äšäk** 'donkey' < *__äljäk__ (**VG** §114, p.140) on the basis of Mo. **eljigen**, but the Old Turkic form is **äšgäk** (Khal. **äšgä**) and the consonant cluster **-lj-** in Mongolian might just as well be a secondary development < *__-ls-__ before a consonant, thus: OT **äšgäk** < *__el-s-ge-k__, Mo. **eljigen** < *__el-s(i)-ge-n__ *__el-s-ge-n__; Ma. **eihen**, Neg., Ul., Nan. **eyxe** might be from either *__el-ge-n__ or* __el-s-ge-n__. This word appears to be connected with OT **älik** 'roebuck; female wild goat' and Mo. **išigen** (~ **ešigen**) 'kid, young goat,' both probably from a root *__el-__ (~ *__yel-__) present in OT **äš-** 'amble' (< *__el-s-__, desiderative, 'want to gallop, go to gallop'), Tk. **eş-** 'gallop,' **yel-** 'run swiftly'; Mo. **elde-** 'drive, chase' and possibly **eyil-** 'run away.' Mo. **egčis** 'quick,' Ma. **ekse-** (~ **ebse-**) 'hurry' appear to be from *__el-k-__, an intensive form of the root but the connection with Ma. **feksi-** 'run, gallop,' **fehun** 'pace,' Ev. **hēk-**, Or. **xeki-**, Orok **pekku-** (in contrast to Ma. **ekte-**) 'paw the ground,' Ev. **hokči-** (~ **hekči-**), Lam. **hēki-** 'kick,' Ma. **fiyokoco-** 'kick (of horses and mules)' is problematic because of the presence of a reflex of *__p-__ in these forms.

OT **iš** 'soot' appears to be a compound of the root *__pil__ (or *__pīl__) 'fire' found in OT **isig** 'hot,' Khal **hissī** 'warm,' Tk. **ılık** 'tepid,' **ılıca** 'hot sprint'; Mo. **ilčin** 'warmth, heat'; Ma. **file-** (~ **fiyele-**) 'warm oneself by the fire,' Tg. *__pulït-__ 'warm oneself'; Kor. **pul** 'fire'; Jap. **hi** (< *__pil__) 'fire,' **hir-** (< *__pil-le-__) 'parch' + a root *__su__ 'soot' in Mo. **isü** 'soot; black' (< *__pil-su__); Kor. **such** 'charcoal'; Jap. **susu** 'soot,' **sumi** 'charcoal.' OT **isig**, Ott. **ïssï** must be derived with the simulative suffix /-sIG/ from this root, but the double **-ss-** of many dialects is evidence of a second consonant in the stem (perhaps **-k-**, cf. Kor. **pulk-** 'be red' < **pul** 'fire') which prevented the passge of **-s-** to **-š-** after **-l-** in this word.

Poppe connects OT **yaš** 'fresh, moist, green' to Mo. **nilqa** 'young, fresh,' **nilaġun** 'raw, tasting of raw fish'; Nan. **ñalun** 'fresh, uncooked'; Kor. **nal** 'raw, uncooked; green,' from a root *__ñal__ (**VG** §24, p.39), but this root can hardly be separated from OT **yaša-** 'live' (< *__ñal-sa-__), **yaš** 'year of one's life' (< *__ñal-s(UN)__); Mo. **nasun** 'year; age' (< *__ñal-sUN__); Kor. **na-** 'be born,' **nai** 'age, years,' **nalk-** (~ **nilk-**) 'grow old; age (of persons)'; Jap. **nar-** 'be, become, grow; grow (on a tree); bear fruit' (< *__ñal-__), also **iki-** 'live, exist' (< *__ilik-__ < *__ñil-k-__), as well as OT **yalŋuq** 'human being' < **yalïŋ** 'naked' (i.e., naked as a new-born child) , a root *__yal__ (< *__ñal__) found in **yalt** 'bare,' **yalïm** 'bare,' Tk. **yalïn** 'bare, stripped'; Mo. **nilqa** 'infant,' **nirai** (< *__nilai__ < *__ñal-la-ki__) 'new-born; fresh, new,' **niljarai** 'new-born'; Ma. **niyalma** (**ñal-ma**) 'man, person,' Ev. **nirawī** (~ **ñirawī** ~ **ñorawi**), Lam. **ñarï** 'man, male,' Nan. **nai** (< *__ñali__) 'man, person,' Neg. **ñolaxīn**, Or. **ñulaki**, Ud. **ñolo** 'naked,' Orok **nīlaw**, Nan. **ñīlaqo** 'naked'; Jap. **yarō** 'fellow, guy,' **yatsu** 'fellow' (both from the root *__ñal__), **nii-** 'new' (< *__ñil-i__). The situation is even more complex than this for, beside Tk. **yalïn** 'bare, naked' is **dal-** 'bare, naked,' a denasalized, non-yodized form of the root *__ñal__; from the denasalized but yodized form of the root *__dʸal__, come OT **yïl** 'year'; Mo. **jil** 'year,' **jiġa-** 'live' (perh. < *__dʸal-k-__, cf. Kor. **nalk** ~ **nilk-** 'grow old'), **jalaġu** 'youth' (< *__dʸal-a-gu__); Ma. **jalan** 'generation, age,' **jalgan** (< *__dʸal-ga-n__) 'length of life,' Ev. **julākin**, Sol **julāi** 'naked': Neg. **ñolaxīn**, Or. **ñulaki**, and there is a regular altenation **n-** ~ **s-** in Manchu, Korean, and Japanese (Ma. **sakda** 'old [of people]; old man': Kor. **nalk-** 'grow old'; Kor. **na-** 'be born,' **nai** 'age, years': **sal** 'years of age,' **sāl-** 'live, be alive,' **sālam** 'man, mankind'; Jap. **na** 'greens, vegetables,' **nama** 'raw': **sa-** 'early, young,' for **sa-** cf. Ikeda, **Classical Japanese Grammar**, 259), possibly a further development of this variation but not limited to this root (thus, Ma. **saka** 'raw meat or fish dish,' **sarga** 'Siberial salmon': Kor. **nakk-** 'fish with a hook,' **naks** 'fish hook': Jap. **sakana** 'fish,' **sake** 'salmon' = Mo. **jiġasuN** (< *__dʸal-ga-suN__) 'fish,' **jirġa** (< *__dʸal-ga__) 'salmon,' **jaġača** 'school of fish' = Ma. **nimaha** (< *__ñal-ma-ga__) 'fish,' **nisiha** (< *__ñal-si-ka__) 'small fish,' Ev. **lēmba** (< *__ñal-m(a)-ga__ < *__ñal-ma-ga__ < *__ñal+mer-ga__, lit. 'fresh water one'); also Ma. **salhû** 'plowshare': Kor. **nalphi** 'plowshare'; Ma. **saksari** 'falling onto ones' back': Kor. **nakcang keli** 'falling outstretched on one's back': Jap. **sasa** 'tipsy').

OT **taš** 'out, outside,' Ott. **dïš** 'outside' (< *__tal-si__, the suffix /-si/ here the same found in Mongolian adverbs of place: **qoyiši** 'backward,' **eyiši** 'hither,' **teyiši** 'thither'), the root *__tal__ at the base of ET **tala** 'field; out of doors'; Mo **tala** 'plain; steppe; side, direction'; Ev. **tala** 'saline soil,' **tallama** 'plain, prairie'; Kor. **ttalo** 'separately, apart,' **-thal** 'place; edge'; Jap. **ta** 'field' (< *__tal__), **taira** 'flat; prairie, plain'; also connected are: Tk. **tarla** 'arable field; garden bed'; Mo. **talangi** 'small strip of rice field,' **tari-** 'sow, plant'; Ma. **tari-** 'cultivate, farm'; Kor. **til** 'plain; uncultivated field.'

OT **tol-** 'be filled.' Tk. **dol-** 'become full' and OT **toš-** (< *__tol-s-__) 'fill' derive from a primitive root **to-** 'close, block'; the root *__tol__ is at the base of Lam. **tolī** 'full,' Ma. **dolmo-** 'add liquor to a cup' and, in the sense of 'fully round,' in Mo. **toliN** 'mirror; metal plate'; Ma. **toli** 'mirror,' Ev. **tōlēn** 'disk,' Ul. **tōlī** 'shaman's disk,' Orok **tolī** 'disk, pendant'; Kor. **tal** 'moon; month'; a yodized initial is at the base of Ma. **jalu**, Ev. **jalum** (but Orok **dalumjī**) 'full,' Ma. **jalu-** 'be full,' Nan. **jalpo-** 'fill.' Connected with this root are terms having to do with counting or measuring: Mo. **doluġan** 'seven; many,' **toġan** 'number; amount, quantity,' **tomu** 'great, big,' **tomši** 'number'; Ma. **to** 'span; a grain measure,' Ev. **toġor**, Lam. **toġor** (~ **towar**), Or. **tō** (< *__toġor__) 'span,' Nan. **tawar** 'one-fourth,' Ma. **ton** 'number'; Kor. **tal-** 'a measure'; Jap. **toki** 'time, hour; occasion; chance' (cf. Mo. **toki** 'decorum, good planning,' **tokiyal** 'chance, occasion'), **tokoro** 'place; time, moment; extent.'

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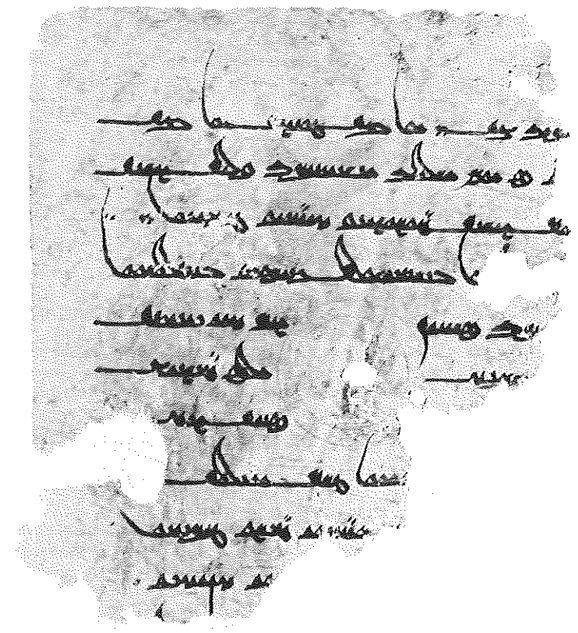
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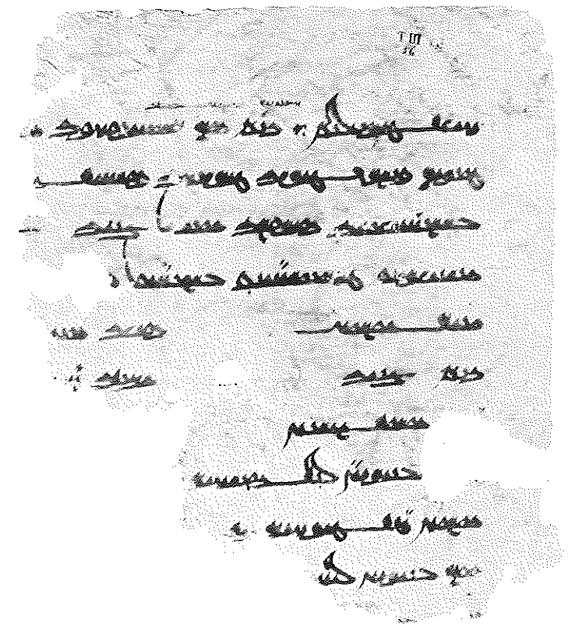
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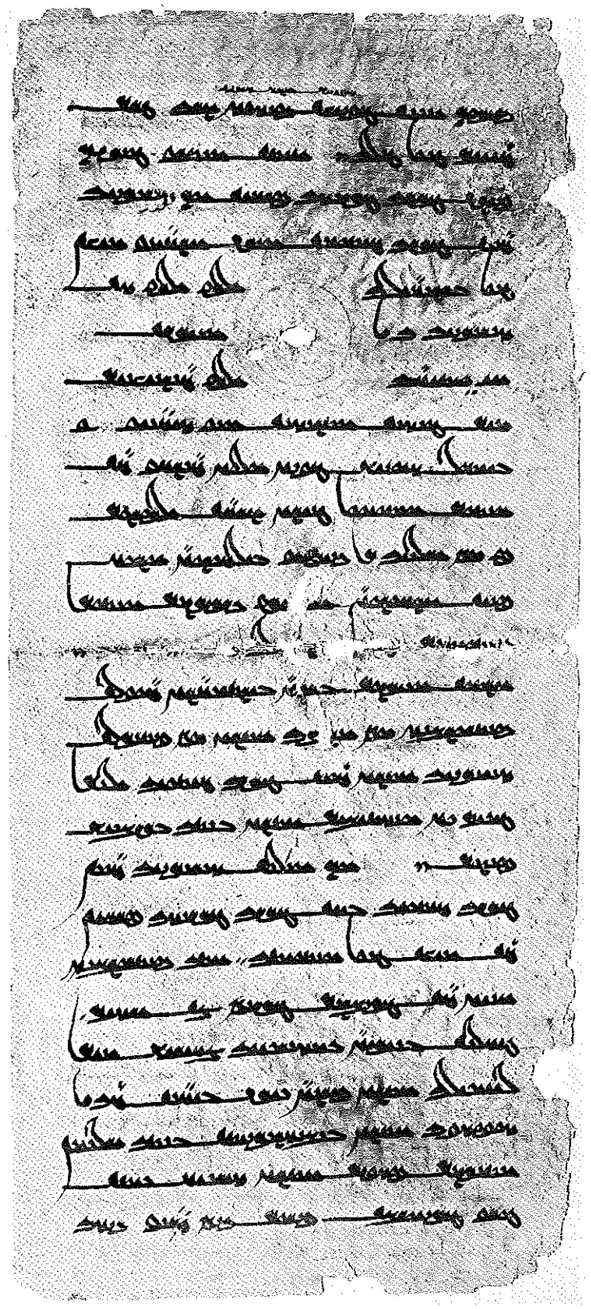




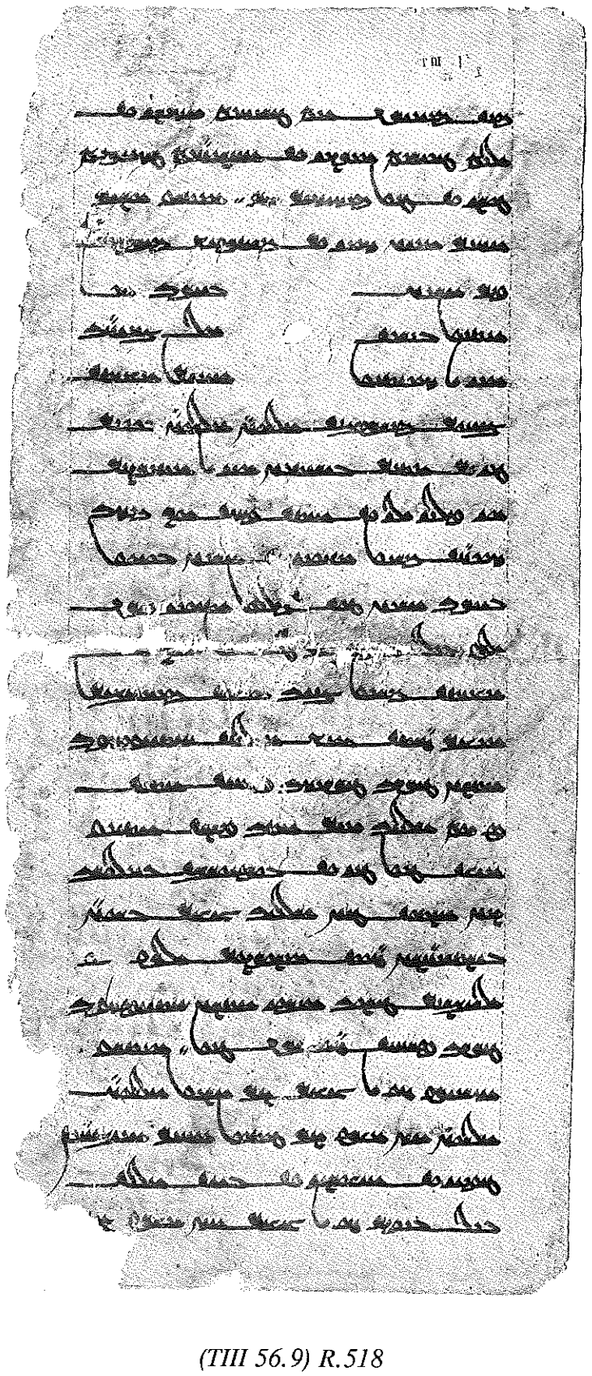
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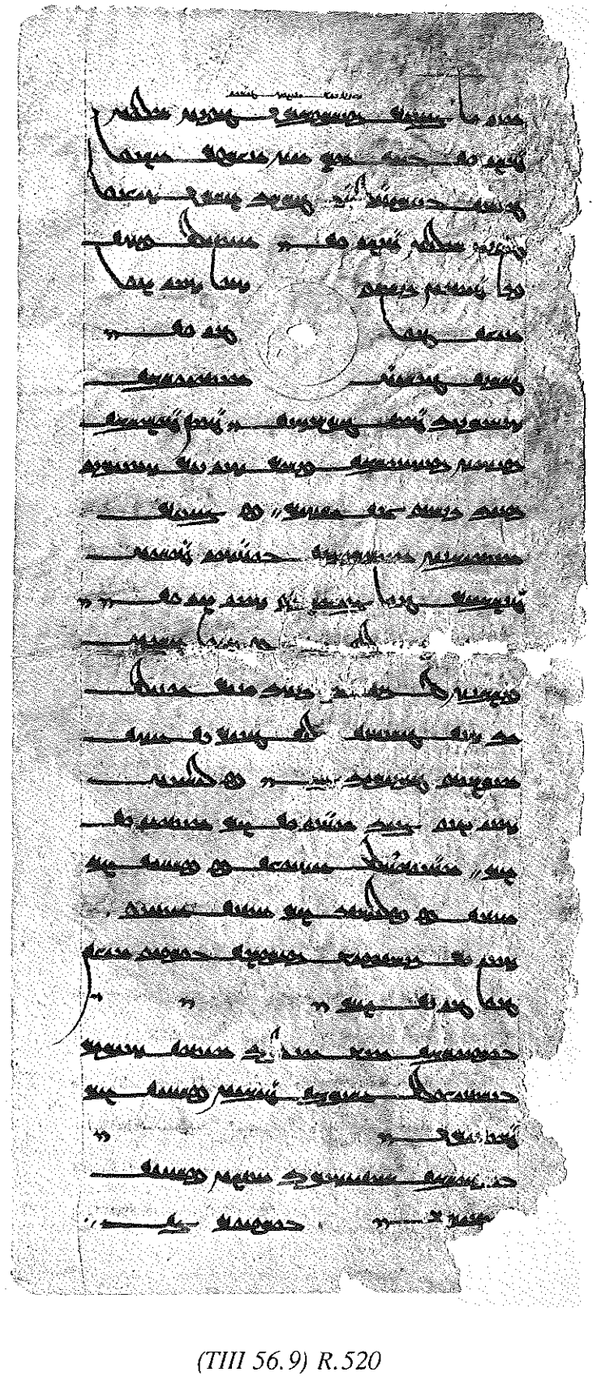


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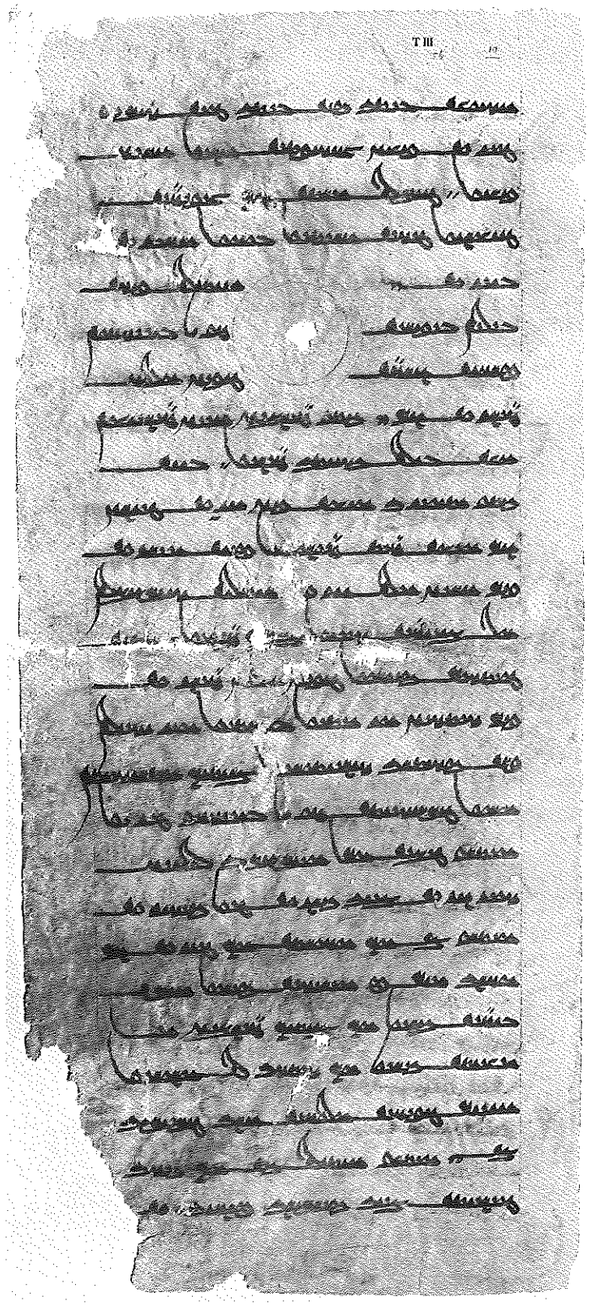


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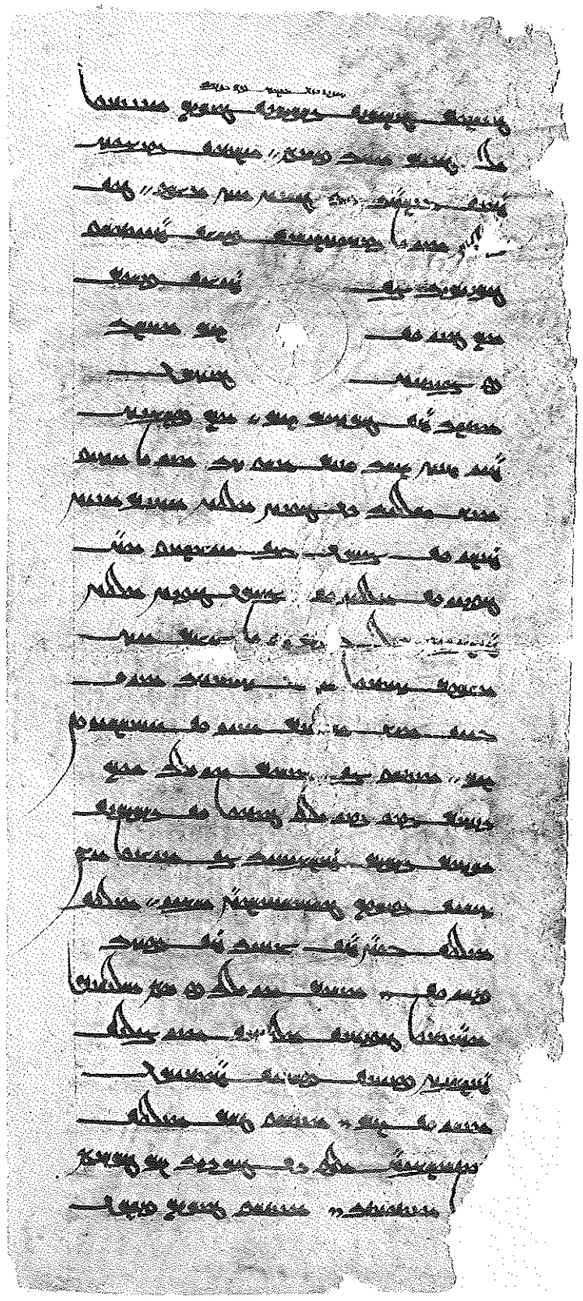
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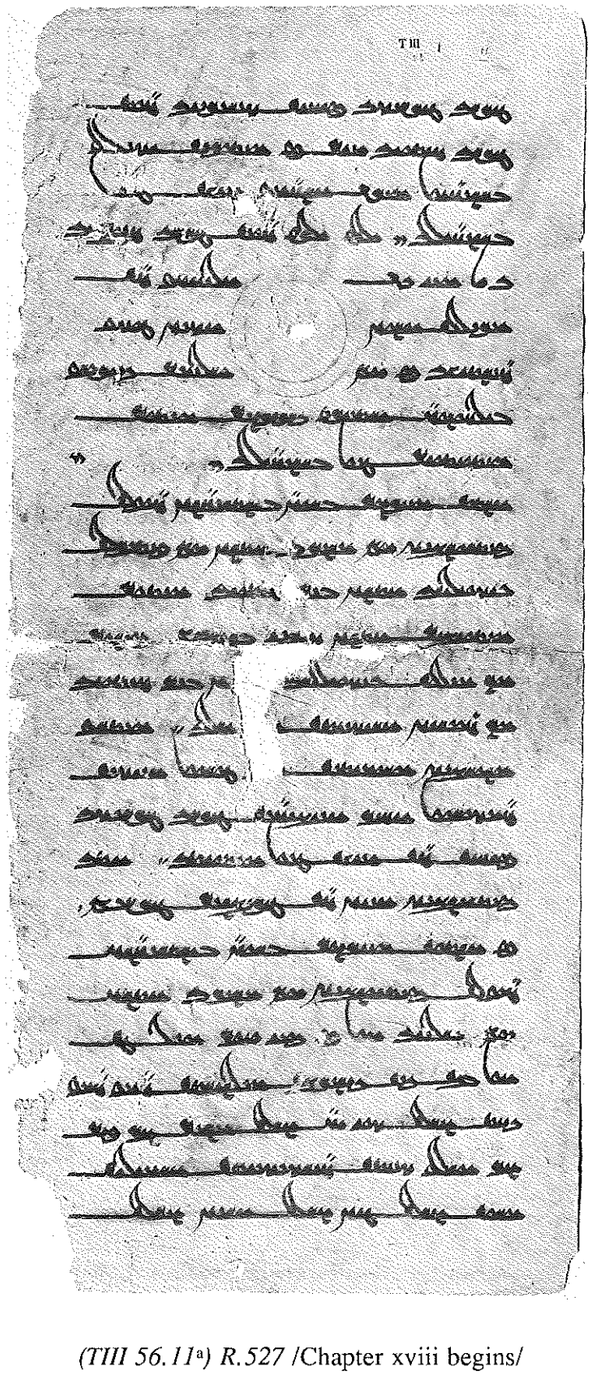
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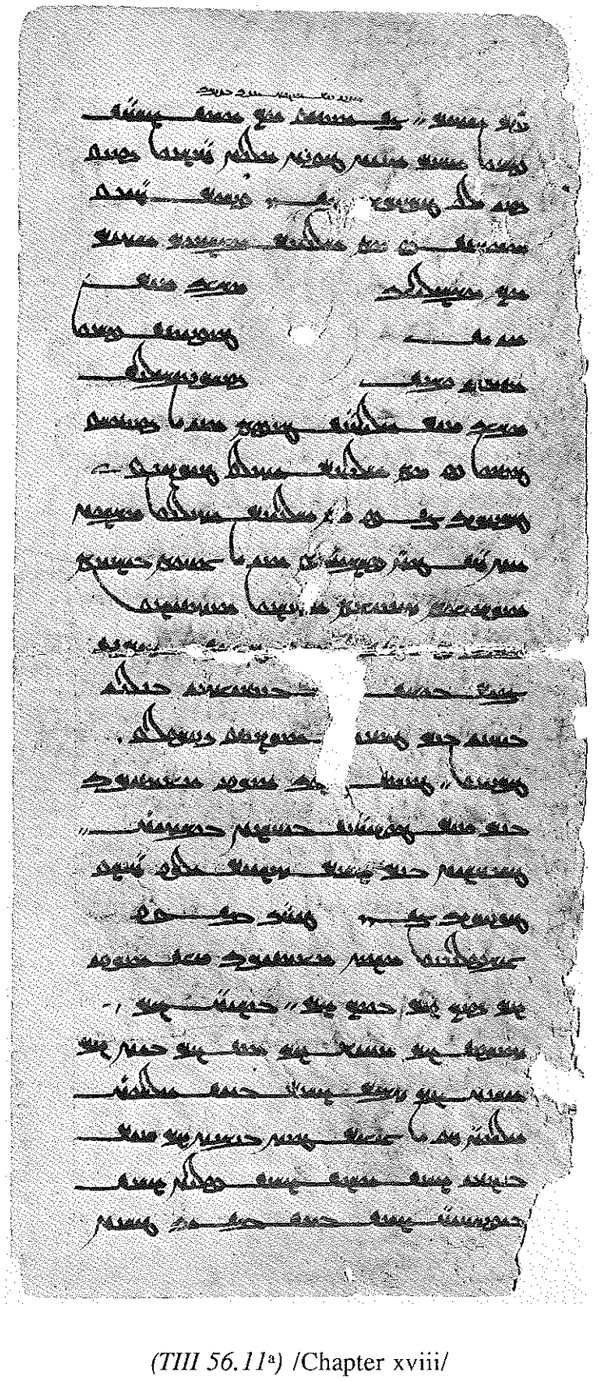
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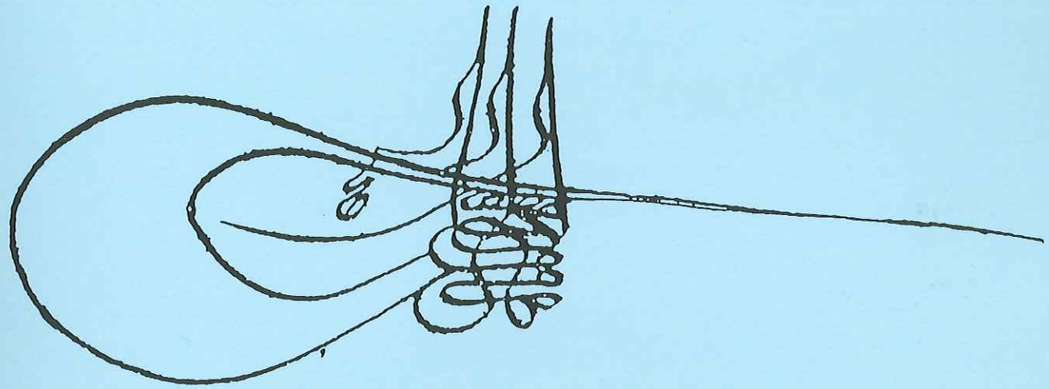
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