Altorientalische Forschungen	12	1985	2	301–308

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Uighur *karti**

In Buddhist Uighur texts a large number of loan words, derived from non-Turkic languages is extant. The loan word *karti* has been discussed by several Turcologists.

In the facsimile edition of the Uigh. *Maitrisimit*-fragments[1], A. von Gabain quotes the word *karti*[2]. Origin and meaning of the word are obscure. Because a non-Turkic origin is assumed a reconstruction of some phonemes is attempted. A possible connection with Uigh. *igäl* ~ *igil*, as adjective to *kiši* "man" is hinted at. The word is translated as "Laie" with a question-mark.

According to A. Caferoğlu[3] *kärti* is borrowed directly from Skt. *kṛta*, and translated as „yapılmış, sunî, dünyevi". This is also the meaning adopted by Ş. Tekin in his edition and translation of the first part of the *Maitrisimit.*[4] In the complete edition *Maitrisimit nom bitig*[5] Ş. Tekin's analysis has not changed: *k'rty* is derived from Skt. *kṛta* and translated as „gemacht, künstlich; irdisch". As it is derived from the Skt. root 1. *kṛ*. "to do, make, perform", the past participle *kṛta-* means "done, made, accomplished" and is used as a masculine for different proper names. As a neutral noun it can be translated as "deed, action" and even "aim" or "magic". However the meaning "worldly" is completely unknown to any lexicographer.

In the glossary of the *Insadi Sūtra* edition[6], S. Tezcan considers the term to be a borrowing from Buddhist Hybrid Skt. *kṛtya*[7], which appears once in a list of demons in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*[8]. He assumes that this word came from Skt. via Toch. and he proposes the translation „unnütze Person". It is to be doubted, however, that this word, having only occurred once in Buddhist Hybrid

* This paper was presented at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (May 28—May 31, 1979), in Ghent, Belgium.

[1] Maitrisimit. Faksimile der alttürkischen Version eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhā ṣika-Schule, I. Wiesbaden 1957, II. Berlin 1961.

[2] Beiheft II, p. 59.

[3] Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü, Istanbul 1968, p. 107.

[4] Maytrisimit. Burkancıların mehdîsi Maitreya ile buluşma Uygurca iptidaî bir dram (Uygurca Metinler II), Ankara 1976, p. 311, 407.

[5] Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule, 2 Tle, Berlin 1980 (Berliner Turfantexte IX).

[6] Berliner Turfantexte III, Berlin 1974.

[7] F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Delhi 1970, p. 190b.

[8] H. Kern—B. Nanjio (eds.), St.-Pétersbourg 1912, 401.5.

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, ***Uighur "karti"*** , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

Skt., should be the origin of the Uigh. word. And when we take the context into consideration, it cannot be explained as being derived from classical Skt. *kṛtyā* "a female demon".

Phonetically above mentioned explanations are possible, if the ressemblance is based on phonemes and on terms out of context. Though many Skt. loan words in Buddhist Uigh. texts are borrowed through Toch., the borrowing of Uigh. *karti* from Pkt. via Sogd. is evident.

The word *karti* does not occur in Sir Clauson's Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish[9] nor in the Russian Drevnetjurkskij Slovar'[10], because at the time of their publication they were not able to include the two works in which the word is extant, viz. *Maitrisimit* (only in facsimile-edition) and *Insadi Sūtra* (not yet published).

At the origin of Uigh. *karti* stands Sogd. *k'rt'k* ~ *k'rtk*, of which a feminine form *k'rty'nč*[11] is also extant. These Sogd. terms come from a Pkt. equivalent of Skt. *gṛhastha* meaning "remaining in the house, a householder". A comparison of different Pkt. forms shows that GPkt. **ghahaṭha* is, phonologically, the most acceptable form. This term is to be found in J. Brough's edition of the Gāndhārī Dhammapada[12] in the instrumental plural *ghahaṭhehi*[13].

The Sogd. adaptation *k'rt'k* of GPkt. **ghahaṭha* can be explained as follows:

According to O. Hansen[14] and I. Gershevitch[15] Skt. and Pkt. cerebral consonants are rendered as *r* + dental consonant in Sogd. As a result GPkt. *ṭh* is represented as *rt*.

In Sogd. a very productive suffix *-'k* (< **-ăk*) forms nominal derivations, substantives as well as adjectives. But, as is explained by E. Benveniste[16], this suffix is also used to assimilate foreign words and to give them a Sogd. form. This Sogd. suffix *-'k* however does not appear as such in Uigh. *karti*. This phenomenon can be explained by a secondary formation in Sogd., whereby word

[9] Oxford 1972.
[10] Leningrad 1969.
[11] O. Hansen, Tocharisch-iranische Beziehungen, in: ZDMG 94 [1940], p. 147 n. 3.
[12] London 1962.
[13] J. Brough thus explains in § 43a Skt. *gṛhastha* > **gahaṭha* > GPkt. **ghahaṭha*.
This form occurs in verse 32 of the Gāndhārī Dhp.

asatsiṭha ghahaṭhehi	*aṇakarehi y-uhái* |
aṇova-sari apicha	*tam aho brommi brammaṇa* ||

Pāli Dhp. 404.

asaṃsaṭṭhaṃ gahaṭṭhehi	*anāgārehi c'ūbhayaṃ* |
anoka-sārim appiccham	*tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* ||

Skt. Udānavarga xxxiii, 20 (ed. F. Bernard, Göttingen 1965).

asaṃsṛṣṭaṃ gṛhasthebhir	*anagārais tathobhayam* |
anokasāriṇaṃ tuṣṭaṃ	*bravīmi brāhmaṇaṃ ji tam* ||

"Who is not mixed with both, nor with householders, nor with mendicants, contented being free from worldly attachment, this (man) I call a priest".

Interesting for comparison with the Chinese equivalent is stanza xxxiii, 53 of the Chin. Udānavarga *Fa chi yao sung ching* (Taishō 213), which is not a literal translation of the Skt. Udānavarga verse. *Gṛhastha* is rendered as 居家 *chü chia*. In stanza xiii, 4b Skt. synonym *gṛhin* is rendered as 在家 *tsai chia*.
[14] Sakische Etymologien, in: BSOAS 8.2/3 [1936], p. 579.
[15] A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, Oxford 1954, § 363.
[16] Essai de grammaire sogdienne, vol. II, Paris 1929, § 75.

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, ***Uighur "karti"*** , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

endings have gradually been eroded. As a result, this *-'k* (< **-ăk*) became *-'y* (< **-e* < **-āy* < **-āk*). Many adjectives and substantives do indeed appear with both endings during a whole period of transition.[17] This can even occur in the very same text, e.g. the Sogd. version of the *Vessantarajātaka*[18], where, within the space of ten lines, two different forms occur, viz. *pwny'nhkt'kw* and *pwny'nkt'y* "house of merits". This secondary derivation is also obvious in the feminine *k'rty'nč*. In Manichean and Christian texts this evolution is most common. The endings *-(')y*, *-'w*, *-k*, *-'k* and *-'kw* in Buddhist texts become *-(y)y(h)* in Manichean and *-y* in Christian texts.[19] Possibly the Uigh. Buddhists were influenced by the Manicheans and used the Manichean pronunciation *-e* of Sogd. Buddhist terms in *-'k*. Therefore, a transcription *karté* of Uigh. *k'rty* (transliteration) seems advisable. In this paper however, the transcription *karti* of the Berliner Turfantexte is used.

A similar evolution is obvious in other Sogd. loan words in Uigh.: Uigh. *kši* ~ *kšay* "teacher" < late Sogd. **kšy* ~ *kš'y* < early Sogd. **kš'k*. Uigh. *irzi* ~ *ärzi* "seer" < late Sogd. *rz'y* < early Sogd. *rš'k*.[20] Uigh. *Maitri* "Maitreya, the future Buddha" < late Sogd. *mytr'y* < early Sogd. *m'ytr'k* ~ *mytr'k*.[21]

Thus, etymologically *karti* is a loan word from Pkt. via Sogd. with the evolution GPkt. **ghahaṭha* > early Sogd. *k'rt'k* ~ *k'rtk* > late Sogd. **k'rty* > Uigh. *karti*.

Considering the meaning of the word it is necessary to turn to the use of the word in Indian and in other Central Asian languages.

Apart from GPkt. **ghahaṭha*, forms of the Skt. appellative noun *gṛhastha* are extant in other Pkt. dialects, such as these of the Aśoka inscriptions, *grahatha* (Shahbazgarhi), *gihittha* ~ *gahattha* (Kalsi), *gharasta* (Girnar) and *gehatha* (Mansehra), the Niya Pkt. of the Kharoṣṭhī documents *grihasta* and Pāli *gahaṭṭha*. The Khot. *ggāṭhaa*[22], Toch. A *kātäk* and Toch. B *kattāke* have their origin in different Pkt. forms.

Beside the Indian loan word itself a literal translation of Skt. *gṛhastha* is often found in its place in different Central Asian languages: Sogd. *k'ty'kδ'r'y* and Khot. *bisadārai*, both meaning "householder", and Toch. A *waṣt lmo* and Toch. B *ostaṣmeñca* meaning "remaining in the house". In Uigh. a translation is also extant since *karti* is defined in *Insadi Sūtra* (BT III. 463) as *ävtä barqta ärdäči* "remaining in the house (Hend.)".

(460) *bu munḍağ osuğ-luğ ädgü-lär üzä*
(461) *bay-lar bu pïravran-lïğ yangï kün-tä*
(462) *yïğïl-ğ(a)y-lar* · ⁝ · *äv-tä barq-ta*
(463) *ärdäči karḍi-lar-nïng ymä bu y(a)ngï-ta buši*
(464) *par(a)mit-ta ul(a)tï ädgü-lär-tä yaraḍïnğuluq-*

[17] Cf. a list in Benveniste, op. cit., § 75, p. 92.
[18] E. Benveniste, Vessantara Jataka, Paris 1946, p. 4 (line 43 and 52).
[19] J. Gershevitch, op. cit., § 960.
[20] It is interesting to note that the early Sogd. *rš'k* predominates in the Sogd. Buddhist literature. Uigh. is possible a borrowing of the later Sogd. form or the result of oral borrowing from Manichean Sogd.
[21] Toch. A *Metrak* and Toch. B *Metrāk*, *Maitrāk* also seem to be borrowings from Sogd. *M'ytr'k*. A third Toch. B form *Maitreye* is a direct borrowing from Skt. *Maitreya*. Late Buddhist Sogd. *mytr'y* however seems to be the origin of the Uigh. form *Maitri*.
[22] O. Hansen, Sakische Etymologien, in: BSOS 8.2/3 [1936], pp. 579–580.

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, *Uighur "karti"* , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

(465) *lar-ïnga ärḍingü uluğ törlüg tïltağ*
(466) *b(a)suḍčï-sï bolğ(a)y* ·⁝· . . .

"During the day of the full moon of the *pravāraṇa* (-ceremony) people, in such a way rich in perfections, will assemble. And further, it will be for the *gṛhasthas*, remaining in the house, the supreme reason and their helper for the realisation of the perfections, beginning with *dānapāramitā*".

In the *Maitrisimit*-fragments a number of references of Uigh. *karti* are to be found. In one instance we have the Toch. fragment [23] in which the Toch. equivalent is extant. Although this fragment TSA 267+268 is very defective and the additions need qualifying, there is no doubt that Uigh. *karti* translates Toch. *kātku(neṣi)*.

(b7–8) *(täpreṃ we)wñuräṣ tmäk (cesmi) kātku(neṣiṃ weṣ näknäṣtär ṣā)mañi weṣyo pākär mäska(ntär)*

"(Having thus) spoken, at once (their) *gṛha(stha*-form disappears and they) are visible with a (mo)nk's form."

This is translated in Maitr 156r.:

(11) . . . *ol y(a)rl(ï)ğ y(a)rlïqaduq-ta olar-*
(12) *nang [kar]ti körkläri yitlinip toyin*
(13) *körkin b(ä)lgülüg bolur-lar* . . .

"After this preaching, their *gṛhastha*-forms disappear (and) they are visible with a monk's form."

In Maitr 18r. Maitreya's consecration as a monk is related:

(12) . . . *ötrü tüzün Maitri bodisvt-*
(13) *n(ï)ng karti körki yitlinip toyin*
(14) *dintar körki b(ä)lgülüg boltï* ·· . . .

"Then the *gṛhastha*-form of the noble Maitreya, the bodhisattva, disappeared (and) a monk's form was visible."

Another episode of the sudden metamorphosis of laymen is found in Maitr 162r.:

(1) *ol y(a)rl(ï)ğ y(a)rlïqaduq-ta (Braxmayu)*
(2) *(puroxit) bašlayu säkiz tümä[n] (tört)*
(3) *ming puroxit-lar karti körk[l](äri)*
(4) *mängizläṙi yitlinip toyin körkin*
(5) *(bälgü)[l]üg bolur-lar* . . .

"After this preaching, the *gṛhastha*-forms of 8(4) 000 *purohitas* led by (the *purohita* Brahmāyu) disappear (and) they are (visible) with a monk's form."

In TSA 260b2 286 only traces are left:

(okät) tm(āṃ) ṡtwa(r wäl)ts (pu)rohi(tāśśi) /// (pākär mäskantä)[r]

". . . of (8) 4 000 *(pu)rohi(tas)* . . . (appea)r."

In Maitr 156r. king Śaṅkha's wish to become a monk is formulated:

(1) . . . *inčä körür m(ä)n karti bolmaq-*
(2) *ağ anïn manga inčgülüg mängikä*
(3) *tägindäči toyin bolmaq [tüz birü] y(a)rlï-*
(4) *qang* . . .

"Thus I see the *gṛhastha*-condition. Therefore, deign to give me impartially the monk's condition, reaching peaceful joy."

[23] Ed. in: E. Sieg – W. Siegling, Tocharische Sprachreste [A], Berlin–Leipzig 1921.

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, ***Uighur "karti"*** , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

The Toch. parallel fragment TSA 267+268a6 is defective, but it is obvious that the prose of the Uigh. version is not a word for word translation of the Toch. verse:

anityāt lkā(m) – – – – – – – – – ( )
– – – – – – *ntāṃ p[a]ṣm āṣānik [ṣā](mnune 2)*

"(I) see impermanence . . .
. . . give us, o worthy one, the mo(nk's condition. 2)."

In a Toch. colophon the 21st chapter is called *gṛhasthapravrajitanarakad(arśaṃ)* "the vision of the hells of laymen and monks (TSA 294b4). In the Uigh. version the lost fragment No. 115[24] of this chapter deals with the hell creatures in *gṛhastha*-form:

(v. 1) *ymä karti körklüg tamuluğ-lar toyin*
(2) *šmnanč-lar-nang körmiš išidmiš siz-*
(3) *inmiš münlärin yazuqlarïn köngülčä*
(4) *tïdïğsïz tutuğsuz köngülin turqaru*
(5) *toyin šmnanč-lar münin qadağïn*
(6) *sözlädi-lär . . .*

"And the hell creatures in *gṛhastha*-form, with relish, unhampered and without ever stopping, described as sins of monks and nuns, the monk's and nuns' sins they had seen, heard and suspected."

In chapter 23 a description of the small hells, where monks and nuns are punished for having defalcated property of the monasteries, is found.

(73r.22) . . . *sangik*
(23) *sangram sanlïğ sočusï az ärdi m(an)čak*
(24) *sunčuq kidiz töšäk-dä ulatï idišin*
(25) *tavarïn yalïnguz angsïp*[25] *mäning*
(26) *ol išl(ä)tdim andïn adïn karti-lar-*
(27) *qa ymä ök tartïp birür ärdim(i)z*

"Property (?) belonging to a monastery of the congregation is scanty. Having taken away vessels and household property, such as a bed, a begging bowl, a felt, a mattress, etc., (thinking) 'It is mine, I used (it)'. Thereafter we dragged it away and gave it to the other *gṛhasthas*."

No context is extant for (63r.3) ///*miš karti* and (101v.8) *karti*///.

In a few cases *karti* occurs with the adjective *igil* meaning "common, ordinary". The meaning of *igil* is certified in the Ṣine-usu inscription, where it is a synonym of *qara*. It is also used as such in Mongolian *egel* (Khalkha эгэл) *kümün*. This meaning corresponds with Chin. 俗人 *su jen* "an ordinary person, a layman" which in Buddhist texts is sometimes used as an equivalent of Skt. *gṛhin*[26], a synonym of *gṛhastha*. More frequent in Chin. however, is the literal translation 在家 *tsai chia* or 在居家 *tsai chü chia* "remaining in the house".[27]

[24] A. von Le Coq's transcription is given as printed in Beiheft II, p. 58 of A. von Gabain's facsimile edition.

[25] Probably a miswriting for *ärksinip*; cf. Maitr 73 v. 10.

[26] A. Hirakawa, Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya. II. Chinese-Sanskrit, Tokyo 1977, p. 312a.

[27] Cf. Mahāvyutpatti (ed. R. Sakaki, 2 vol., Kyoto 1916–1925). In the list of 185 *manuṣyakramāḥ* (3669) or "order of men" see 3844 Skt. *gṛhin*, Chin. 在家人 *tsai chia jen*, and 3845 *gṛhastha* 居家人 *chü chia jen* as in the *Fa chi yao sung ching* (note 12).

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, *Uighur "karti"* , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

(19r. 14) *. . . anta ötrü (bu)*
(15) *(i)[k]i urï sortapan qutïn bulup ulu(ğ)*
(16) *ağar ayamaqïn t(ä)ngri t(ä)ngrisi burx(an)-*
(17) *[t](ï)[n] bošuğ y(a)rlïqap karti igil ät'öz-*
(18) *in baxši-sï Badari-qa ol sav-*
(19) *larağ ögrünčü ištürgäli D(a)kšanp(a)t*
(20) *ilkä ünüp bardï . . .*

"Then, these two boys received the *srotaāpanna*-dignity and with a profound respect they received from the Buddha, the god of the gods, permission to leave. They arose and went to the Dakṣiṇāpatha-country to inform joyfully of these words their teacher Bādhari with his *gṛhastha*-form."

(58r. 8) *. . . anï körünglär ol an-*
(9) *tağ biš čöbik y(a)vlaq ödtäki*
(10) *ävdin barqtïn ünmiš toyin-lar*
(11) *antağ körksüz qïlïnč-l(ï)ğ ärsär-lär taqï*
(12) *nä ayïtmïṣ k(ä)rgäk igil karti-larïğ*

"See this! If the monks, who are leaving home at the period of the five impurities *(kaṣāyakalpa)*, are having such formless *karma*, what should be asked about the *gṛhasthas*."

(63v. 22) *. . . igil karti kiši-lär*
(23) *(körklüg) kičig tamu-luğ ät'öz-lär[i]*
(24) *(g kör)mäk atl(ï)ğ y(i)grminč (ülüš)*
(25) *(tükädi)*

"The 20th (chapter), viz. "The (vision) of the bodies in the small hells, (bodies in the form of) *gṛhasthas* (is completed)."

(73v. 7) *. . . sangik*
(8) *sangram sanl(ï)ğ tarïğ-lağ yirin*
(9) *qalïnlïğ-larïn borluq-larïn sög-*
(10) *ütin yimišin ärksinip adïn igil*
(11) *karti-lar-qa birdim(i)z . . .*

"We took away arable land, vine tendrils, vine-yards, trees and fruit belonging to the monastery of the congregation (and) we gave it to other *gṛhasthas*".

No context is extant for (208r.10) *///irgäk igil ka(rti)///*

In the 25th chapter[28] of the Uigh. version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, i.e. the Uigh. *Kuanši-im Pusar*[29], Uigh. *igil* also occurs in another context, viz. as an adjective to *nomči* and *törüči*:

U II 19.9 *igil nomči qarï törüči qarï qïlï bilgälär*
U II 19.10 *igil bilgä törüči*
Kuan 126 and 128 *igil nomči törüči.*

This translates Chin. 居士 *chü shih*[30] meaning "a retired scholar, a Buddhist devotee" and also "householder" (Skt *gṛhapati*, a synonym of *gṛhastha*)[31]. Although Sogd. *k'rt'k* and the identical *kty'kδ'r'y* generally translate Chin. 在家人

[28] 24th chapter of the Skt. version.
[29] Ed. and trsl. F. W. K. Müller, Uigurica II, APAW 1910, Nr. 3, pp. 14–20 and W. Radloff, Kuan-ši-im Pusar, St.-Petersbourg, 1911 (Kuan).
[30] This term is added to the Chin. version, since it does not occur in the Skt. version.
[31] Trsl. by S. Beal, A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, London 1871, p. 392.

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, *Uighur "karti"* , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

tsai chia jen[32], it is interesting to note that Sogd. *kty'kδ'r'y* also translates Chin. 居士 *chü shih*[33].

Considering the references, Uigh. *karti* is always found where Skt. *gṛhastha* is meant and thus an identical meaning can be assumed. If it is accepted that *karti* is equal of *gṛhastha*, then the meaning „unnütze Person" is dropped and A. van Gabain's assumption „Laie" is now certified.

Who were those *gṛhasthas* and what was their function in the Indian and Central Asian religious societies?

In Brahmanism *gṛhastha* is the 2nd stage or *āśrama* in a Brahmin's life; the first being *brahmacārin* "the student (who has been invested with the triple chord)", the third *vanaprastha* "the hermit (who dwells in the jungle with his wife)" and the fourth, *saṃnyāsin* "the ascetic (who lives in complete solitude, far from his wife)".[34] The Brahmin enters the second stage when he has married and begotten a son—which means, that he has paid his duty to his ancestors. According to some Hindu law treatises this status is even the best one, for the other *āśramas* derive from that of the householder, who is the only one to beget children.

In Buddhism however, the householder does not necessarily belong to the Brahmin's caste. He leads a layman's life and is only concerned with worldly matters. The term no longer refers to a stage in a Brahmin's religious life, but to a man belonging to a certain social status.

In Skt. the distinction between "householder" and "wandering ascetic" or "monk" is obvious in the compound *gṛhasthapravrājaka*, which is also to be found in the title of the 21th chapter of the Toch. *Maitreyesamitināṭaka*.

The Pāli term *gahaṭṭa* is opposed to *anagāra*, *pabbajita* or *paribbājaka* "a homeless wanderer (mendicant)". The synonym *gahapati* (Skt. *gṛhapati*) "the head of the household" is also used in the meaning of "layman" as opposed to *brāhmaṇa* "priest". The word *gahapati* frequently appears with *seṭṭhi* (Skt. *śreṣṭhin*), "a wealthy merchant" or "a banker". An important example is Anāthapiṇḍika, a banker of Sāvatthi, who showed great generosity to the Buddha.

The *gṛhastha* was a very appreciated and esteemed[35] devotee. His social status, his profession and the wealth he acquired made it possible for him to support the monasteries, to build sanctuaries, to lay out gardens and parks for the Buddhist community and to pay scribes for the copying of sacred texts.

Abbreviations and signs

Dhp.	Dhammapada.
GPkt.	Gāndhārī Prākrit.
Hend.	Hendiadyoin.
Khot.	Khotanese.

[32] D. N. MacKenzie, The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library, Téhéran—Liège 1976, Dhu 206, Dhy 6.
[33] D. N. MacKenzie, op. cit. Vim 60,126.
[34] J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens I, Stuttgart 1960, pp. 119—129, 283—288.
[35] Cf. TSA 304b2 *kātkuneṣiṃ kärparäṃ* "householder-dignity".

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MOERLOOSE, EDDY, *Uighur "karti"* , Altorientalische Forschungen, 12 (1985) p.301

Maitr	Maitrisimit (facsimile ed. A. von Gabain)
Pkt.	Prākrit.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Sogd.	Sogdian.
Toch. A/B	Tocharian A/B.
TSA	Tocharische Sprachreste [A] (ed. E. Sieg – W. Siegling).
Uigh.	Uighur.
( )	Additions to the text.
[ ]	Difficult reading.
///	Lacuna in the MS.
. . .	Untranscribed part of the MS.

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