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Uighur influence on Indian words in Mongolian Buddhist texts

MASAHIRO SHŌGAITO (Kyoto)

The Mongols introduced Tibetan Buddhism in the second half of the 13th century. But, it is also known that Mongolian Buddhism was greatly influenced by Uighur Buddhism. This fact can be seen by the Buddhist technical terms in Mongolian Buddhist texts. As argued in SHŌGAITO (1990), Mongolian Buddhist texts include many Uighur-derived terms.

In this paper, I consider through Sanskrit loan words how Mongolian Buddhist texts were influenced by Uighur, by focusing on the Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara.[1]

1. Buddhist terms in Uighur Buddhist texts

There are a lot of Buddhist terms derived from Sanskrit by way of Tocharian in Uighur Buddhist texts, since Uighur culture was greatly influenced by Tocharian Buddhism. On the other hand, there are a few Buddhist terms which were introduced from Sogdian by way of Manichaeism. Therefore the Buddhist terms in the early Uighur Buddhist texts preserve Sogdian peculiarities.[2]

Skt.	*bodhisattva* a) *bodisvt*	*kiṃnara* b) *kntr*	*asura* c) *asur*	*śākyamuni* d) *šakimun*	*saṃsāra* e) *sangsar*	*samādhi* f) *samar*	*arhant* g) *rxant*
SY	+ (KL)	+ (KL)	+		+ (L)		+ (L)
QP	+	+	+	+			
MSH	+	+					
MST	+	+	+	+		+	
Suv	*bodisatv*	*kinari*	*asuri*	*šakimuni*	*sansar*	*samadi*	*arxant*

All seven Buddhist terms a)–g) given above are derived from Sanskrit. The forms in the bottom line designated by Suv of the table are established in Uighur and the forms at the top of the table appear only in earlier texts. The latter were all introduced from Sogdian. The word *bodisvt* is from the plural form of Sogd. *pwdystβ*, that is, Sogd. *pwdysβt*.[3] The word *kintri* appears in HANEDA (1915)

[1] I use POPPE (1967), and complementarily LIGETI (1974).
[2] See SHŌGAITO (1978) and LAUT (1986).
[3] Cf. SHŌGAITO (1978) p. 103.

first, and he translated it as 乾闥婆 (*gandharva*). Instead of corresponding to Skt. *gandharva* it is a borrowed word from Sogdian *kyntry* and corresponds to *kiṃnara*.[4] The word *kintri* was replaced by *kinari* which was borrowed from Tocharian *kinnare* (AB), and the form was established in Uighur. The words *asur*, *šakimun*, and *samar* are from Sogdian *"sw'r*, *š'kymwn*, and *s'm"r*. They were later replaced by *asuri*, *šakimuni*, and *samadi*, adopted from Tocharian *asure* (B), *śākyamuni* (AB), and *samādhi* (B).[5] The word *sangsar* seems to have been introduced from Sogdian *snks"r* and replaced by *sansar*. It is difficult to decide whether *sansar* was borrowed by way of another Sogdian form *sns"r* or by way of Tocharian *saṃsār* (AB). The word *rxant* is directly from Sogdian *rγ'nt* while the form *arxant* which results from prothesis, is established.[6] I give the forms in Suv as the data in the texts which does not belong to the early Buddhist texts, which are established forms in Uighur.

Most of the established terms derived from Sanskrit in Uighur were borrowed by way of Tocharian. They have certain characteristics in regard to their word-endings as shown in the following table.[7]

Table 1

	Skt.	Uig.	Toch.		Skt.	Uig.	Toch.
R1)	-a	-i	-e/-ā	/animate	*śāriputra*	*šariputri*	*śāriputre* (B)
R2)	-ā	-a/(i)	-ā/a	/animate	*mālīkā*	*maliki*	*mālīkā* (A)
R3)	-a/ā	-#	-#	/inanimate	*abhiṣeka*	*abišik*	*abhiṣek* (AB)
					pāramitā	*paramit*	*pāramit* (AB)
R4)	-i/ī	-i	-i/e		*vaiśālī*	*vaišali*	*vaiśāli* (B)
R5)	-u/ū	-u	-u		*rāhu*	*raxu*	*rāhu* (B)
R6)	-C	-C	-C		*himavat*	*himavant*	*himavant* (B)
R7)	-in	-i	-i/ī		*śikhin*	*šiki*	*śikhi*
R8)	-jit	-či	-ji/cī		*prasenajit*	*pirasenči*	*prasenaji* (AB)

The prevailing Buddhist terms undergo some phonetic modification such as epenthesis, in accordance with Uighur structure:[8] Skt. *cakravartin* >> Uig. *čkravrt* > *čakiravart*, Skt. *preta* >> Uig. *prit* > *pirit*, Skt. *brāhmaṇa* >> Uig. *braman* > *biraman*, *pratyekabuddha* >> Uig. *pratikabut* > *piratikabud*.

In addition, in Later Uighur some terms were directly introduced from Sanskrit. It is obvious from the following sentence that in the Yuan dynasty Uighur monks had knowledge of Sanskrit:

> *sizlär toyïnlar-a nätägin biläyin tesär sizlär nomuγ sizlär-kä tägimlig ol muntaγ bergäli* 所謂契経 *qaltï sudur-aa sudur-uγ* 応頌 *giyaa taqšut-uγ* 記別 *vyakarana adïr-a yrlïqamaq-ïγ* 諷誦 *gata šlok-uγ* 自説 *idivridaka ävriš-ig* 縁起 *udana ävdimäk-ig* 譬喩 *avadana yölägürügüg* 本事 *nidana bašlaγ-ïγ* 本生 *čadaka čadik-ïg* 希法 *adbuda-darma mungadïnčïγ nomlar-ïγ* 方広 *vaypulïya kingürmäkig* 論義経等 *upadiša yörä sözlämäkig tep* (Tattv. p. 170 ll. 2330–2338).

> "You, monks! If you say you want to know the dharma, then it is right that you should give it these names: sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa, gāthā, itivṛttaka, udāna, avadāna, nidāna, jātaka, adbhutadharma, vaipulya, upadeśa."

This is the explanation of "the twelve types of scripture" in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārthā, one of the Buddhist texts that was translated from Chinese into Uighur in the Yuan dynasty. The above sentence provides the Chinese terms with the original Sanskrit, and the Uighur translations. The three underlined words *sudur*, *šlok*, and *čadik* are forms derived from Sanskrit although they are treated as Uighur, since these words were already completely established in Uighur. However, not only these three words have forms derived from Sanskrit. Actually, similar cases can be found in other parts of this text, such as Uig. *viyakirt* (< Toch(AB) *vyākarit* < Skt. *vyākṛta*. II l. 611) and *udan* (< Toch.(B) *udāṃ* < Skt. *udāna*. I ll. 2129, 2140 etc.).[9]

2. The characteristics of the Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara and Uighur

The diachronic character of Buddhist terms in Mongolian Buddhist text is similar to that of Uighur. Early Mongolian Buddhist texts contained many forms that were introduced from Uighur in the Yuan dynasty. Later, the Mongols coined terms by translating Tibetan Buddhist texts. While we have few Mongolian Buddhist texts which were written or printed in the Yuan dynasty, many works of later periods survive.

The Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara is one of those few early texts. It was translated from Tibetan by Šes-rab seṅge in the first half of the 14th cen-

[4] As pointed out by Shōgaito (1978 p. 101, note 37). Later, Oda (1983 p. 67) made a similar description.

[5] Cf. Shōgaito (1978) pp. 105–106.

[6] Cf. Shōgaito (1978) p. 106. Sogdian representations like these can also be found in the Manichean texts and the texts written in Sogdian script: UWb 6 p. 418 *ärdini*, Fedakar (1994) p. 145 l. 217 *rši* (> *irši* ~ *arši*), p. 152 l. 388 *zrua* (> *äzrua*).

[7] Cf. Radloff/Staël-Holstein (1910), Mironov (1928), Shōgaito (1978, 1982), Moerloose (1980). Uighur *i* in R1) and R2) is phonemically ė and phonetically [e].

[8] Cf. Shōgaito (1990) p. 166–169.

[9] The parallel sentence to the Uighur sentence can be found in *Tattvārthā*, which was translated from Tibetan into Mongolian after 17th century.
egün-dür ayaγ-qa-tägimliγ nom-i medegsen inü ene metü buyu. sudur keged egesiglen ögülegsen ba **vivangirid**-*yi üǰegülegsen kiged silüglegsen ba tusγailan ögülegsen kiged siltaγan-i ögülegsen ba domoγ-i ögülegsen kiged tere metü boluγsan ba čadig kiged masi delgeregsen ba tangsaγ boluγsan kiged nudalan sigitdugsen* (= *sigidügsen*?) *nom-ud bolai kemen nomlaγsan buyu.* (*Abhidharma-yin sang-un udq-a-yin tere imaγta činar-un nomlalγ-a-yin aγui yeke tayilburi* 26–recto l. 26–verso l. 4. housed at the Library of The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)
"(The Buddha) said: 'Here, the monks knew the following dharmas: sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa, gāthā, itivṛttaka, udāna, avadāna, nidāna, jātaka, adbhutadharma, vaipulya, upadeśa.'"
The underlined three words interestingly appear in Mongolian version. They are also fixed in Mongolian. *Vivangirid* (given in bold script) was also introduced via Uighur *vyakrit* (Skt. *vyākṛta*). *Vyakrit* is used in Uighur for *vyākaraṇa*. In Uighur it was not considered as a pure Uighur word. The above mentioned Mongolian Tattvārthā, compared with the Uighur, expresses very well the situation of the later usage of Sanskrit words introduced via Uighur.

tury. Although the Buddhist terms in the Tibetan version were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, the Mongolian version contains many Sanskrit terms. Šes-rab seṅge must have had a deep knowledge of Uighur. One might claim that Šes-rab seṅge referred to the original Sanskrit text in translating into Mongolian, I assume that he had a deep knowledge of Uighur, because he adopted the Uighur buddhist terms derived from Sanskrit.[10] I argue this point in the following section. I mainly refer to POPPE's (1967) edition of the Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara, and complementarily to LIGETI (1974) and (1984).

2.1 Words equivalent or similar to original Uighur

POPPE (1967) notes that the Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara has a considerable number of words which are equivalent or similar to Uighur.

- *adaγ* 'foot' (f32v27): Uig. *adaq.*
- *al* 'red' (f7r15): Uig. *al.*
- *albaγud* 'hero' (f51r11): Uig. *alpaγut.*
- *aya* 'palm of the hand' (f49v23): Uig. *aya.*
- *ber-e* 'a measure of length' (f24r13 f7r6): Uig. *bėre.*
- *bičin* 'ape' (f4r20 Kow.): Uig. *bėčin.*
- *bilge bilig* 'wisdom' (f3r1 f25r27 f34v24 f41r20 f45r10)[11]: Uig. *bilgä bilig.*
- *ed tavar* 'property' (f5v2): Uig. *äd tavar.*
- *el ulus* (f13v5 f30v20) ~ *il ulus* (f59b5) 'people' : Uig. *él uluš* 'people, realm'.
- *erdem* 'virtue' (f36r14): Uig. *ärdäm* ~ *ädräm.*
- *erklig* (f5v3,9r6): Uig. *ärklig.*
- *gem* (f35r24,f57r26) 'defect': Uig. *käm* 'illness'.
- *kkir* (f48r26,f50r19) 'dirt': Uig. *kkir.*
- *köbseg* (f2r24) 'soft': Uig. *kövšäk.*
- *körüg* (f51v27) 'visible thing': Uig. *körüg.*
- *tabiγ* (f31v25), 'offering': Uig. *tapïγ.*
- *turγaru* (f40v2) 'always': Uig. *turqaru.*
- *yelvi* ~ *yerbi* (f5r16,20r14) 'illusion': Uig. *yėlvi.*

Some of the words above, such as *bilge bilig, ed tavar*, and *el ulus*, seem to be hendiadys. It is obvious that such words were borrowed from Uighur. It can be also considered words uncommon in Mongolian, like *aya*, are borrowed from Uighur. But, it is difficult to decide whether the words that are commonly used in Mongolian, like *bere, bičin*, and *gem*, are borrowed from Uighur or not. The Uighur origin of some words, however, can be definitely proven by examining the context. For example, *adaγ*, which means 'end, finish, extremity, lower part

[10] Pañcarakṣā, which was translated from Tibetan into Mongolian by Šes-rab seṅge, has a good number of Sanskrit words. Cf. AALTO (1961) SHŌGAITO (1990).

[11] Though f3r1 and f25r27 are transcribed as *belge bilig* in POPPE (1967), we can read *bilge bilig* through the facsimile.

or mouth of a river' (cf. LESSING p. 9b) in Mongolian, appears in the context similar to corresponding Uighur and means 'foot':

> *amdurin kölgen-ečegen bayuǰu adaγ-tur inu mörgübei bayasuγsan* (f32v ll. 26–28).
> "And he hastily alighted from his chariot and bowed to [the Bodhisattva's] feet." (p. 134)

We can find a similar phrase in Uighur:

> *tngri tngrisi burxan adaq-ïnta yinčürü töpün yükünüp* (Suv p. 378 ll. 10–12)
> "Bowing to the Buddha's feet"

As mentioned in POPPE (1967), the common Mongolian word for 'foot' is *köl.* On the other hand, *erdem* 'virtue' always appears in this form in all Mongolian Buddhist texts. In the times when Uighur Buddhism was in contact with Mongolian Buddhism, *rd* of *ärdäm* underwent a metathesis, thus changed to *ädräm.* The Mongolian form *erdem* is believed to have been borrowed from one of the Turkic languages before Mongolian Buddhism had contact with Uighur Buddhism. *Bičin* is the transcription of the Uighur spelling of *pyčyn*, as POPPE (1967 p. 74) pointed out. The common Mongolian form is *bečin* (*p'čyn*). A mid-close vowel *é* in Uighur, which is written with the letter *y*, usually corresponds to *e* in Mongolian; ex. Uig. *bėrä* (*pyr'*): Mong. *bere* (*p'r'*), Uig. *él* (*'yl*): Mong. *el* (*'l*), Uig. *éši* (*'ysy*): Mong. *eši* (*'sy*), Uig. *sėzig* (*sysyk*): Mong. *sesig* (*s'syk*). On the other hand, the forms appearing in early Mongolian texts often changed. *Bilge bilig* was introduced as a hendiadys from Uighur *bilgä bilig.* But except for some early texts, it was always written *belge bilig.* Uighur *bilgä* 'wise, wiseman' was replaced with Mongolian *belge* which means 'sign, mark'. *Ėrklig*, which also appeared in early Buddhist texts, such as Pañca and Ceren. (Nr. 43), turned into *erlig* in later texts. Besides *erketü* is used in place of *erklig.* This form occurs in the Lalitavistara: *erketü čakravarti qan* (f19v7).

2.2 Sogdian via Uighur

I would like to present the following examples of Sogdian via Uighur:

- *esru-a* (f4r19) < Uig. *äzrua* 'brahma' < Sogd. '*zrw*'.
- *nisvanis* (f4r26) 'illusion' < Uig. *nizvani* < Sogd. *nyzβ'ny.*
- *qormusda* (f42r14, 58r9) 'indra' < Uig. *xormuzta* < Sogd. *xwrmzt'.*
- *simnu* (f39v15)'māra' < Uig. *šmnu* < Sogd. *šmnw.*
- *titim* (f11v14) 'crown' < Uig. *didim* < Sogd. *didm.*

These forms are established in Mongolian.[12]

[12] Mong. *nisvanis* is the form with the plural suffix '*-s*' in Mongolian, and '*simnu*' was also used in the form '*simnu-s*' in the early texts (ex. Ceren. Nr. 10,v). The form '*simnu*' is very rare in Mongolian. Uig. *lū* (< Chin. 龍 'dragon') which belongs to 'Gods and Demons' has the form with *-s* in Mongolian. The form *lū-s* has been established.

2.3 Chinese via Uighur

The following are some examples of Chinese words via Uighur:

- *baysi* (f31a 34a) 'teacher' < Uig. *bayši* < 博士.
- *labai* (viii 43b, 59b) 'shell' < Uig. *labai* < 螺貝.
- *linqua* (passim) 'lotus' < Uig. *lėnxua* < 蓮華.
- *titsi* (f31r25) 'pupil' < Uig. *titsi* < 弟子.
- *toyin* (f10r10) 'monk' < Uig. *toyïn* < 道人.

These Chinese words were not only used widely in the Mongolian Buddhist texts but are also used in modern spoken Mongolian, like *baysi*.

2.3.1 Čai (f43r)

Čai is a very interesting word among Chinese loan words. It appears in the following contexts:

> *basa mön qatayu-ǰiqui čay-tur sildegen-ü kümün nandi nandibali ner-e-ten ökid edür-tür naiman ǰayun biraman-nuyud-ta čai bariǰu* ...
> "Also, at the time when he was bearing hardship, the maids Nandā and Nandabalā, village inhabitants, served tea daily to eight hundred brahmans," (Poppe (1967) pp. 51, 143).[13]

According to the translation by Poppe, this *čai* means 'tea'. It has often been argued when the word *čai* (< 茶葉 *cha ye* Middle Chin. *ɖa yɛp*) began being used. Assuming that the Lalitavistara was translated into Mongolian in the Yuan dynasty, it might be considered that the word *čai* already existed in Yuan times. The word *čai* in the Lalitavistara, however, does not mean 'tea' but 'monk's meal.' I have argued about this point in Shōgaito (1990 p. 172 note 20) by showing the similar use in Uighur:

> *irši-lär iligi burxan bašïn bursang quvrayïy čaiši-qa ötünsär män.*
> (Shōgaito [1976] p. 014 l. 7 Avalokiteśvara-avadāna)
> "If I offer the meal to Buddha as a king of immortals and to assembly of monks."

According to this quotation the word *čaiši* corresponds to 斎食 *zhai shi* (Middle Chin. *tʂăi ziẹi*) and *čai* (斎) to *čai* in the Lalitavistara (f43r). This fact shows that the *čai* in the Lalitavistara cannot be related to 茶 (*cha*) but to 斎 (*zhai*) which also means 'monk's meal'.

In addition, *caiši* in Uighur also appears in the following instance:

> 薄食 *az qy-a* čaiši*m-in.*

[13] *čai* corresponds to Chin. '飲食' (food and drink) in the Chinsese version of the Lalitavistara. 然後乃往至其樹下。能成佛道。時有丘聚名曰修舍慢加。有長者女日日飲食八百梵志。見知菩薩造勤修行。常願奉供。大聖菩薩。 (Taisho No. 186 「普曜経」 Vol. 3 p. 511c ll. 22–25.)

> 'my poor meal' (Shōgaito [1982] p. 131 l. 121 Saṃyuktāgama).
> Chin. 唯願諸尊受我薄食 (Taisho Vol. 2 p. 150c)

> *bir* čaysï *ärtmišdä ikinti čung tokïgu üdtä bo iki üdtä kėngürü nomlayur ärdi.*
> "Einmal, wenn die Mönchsmahlzeit vorüber war, und zweitens zur Zeit, da die Glocke zu schlagen war (sc. in der Abenddämmerung) zu diesen beiden Zeiten predigte er ausführlich [über die neu übersetzten Lehrtexte]." (Röhrborn [1991] p. 119 ll. 1345–1346)
> Chin. 每日齋訖黃昏二時講新経論 (Taisho Vol. 50 p. 260a)

> [*aš a*]*šangu* čaiš[*i kälti kamag bodisatav*]*-lar* [*kuvra*]*gï ïnč*[*a k*]*ayu-da.*
> "Die Zeit des Essens ist gekommen. [Wo soll] die Schar aller Bodhisattvas [essen]?"
> 「此諸菩薩当於何食」 (Zieme [2000] p. 112 ll. 0728–0729 Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra).[14]

Čai appeared only once instead of *čaiši*.

> *bou küskü künkä tsiïnsi [s]ängrämdä t(ä)rkän tėgin kutï [a]tanu y(a)rlïkamiš üčün bėš ming [t]oyïnka čai kilïp bir toyïn[ka] üčär san t(a)var bušï bėrdi*
> "Am Tag von wu und Maus bereitete man im či-en-si-Kloster für 5000 Mönche eine Mahlzeit, weil seine Majestät der Kronprinz ernannt worden war, und gab jedem Mönch je drei Bahnen Stoff [als] Almosen" (Röhrborn [1996] p. 128–129 ll. 1429–1433 Xuanzang-Biographie VIIIc)
> Chin. 戊子就大慈恩寺為皇太子設五千僧斎 (Taisho Vol. 50 p. 266a)

Besides the Lalitavistara *čai* is contained in other Mongolian texts:

> *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ayay-qa tegimlig-ün quvray-ud-luy-a nigen-e qamtu-bar minu tende* čai*-yi iden soyurqabasu yayun kemebesü*
> (Higuchi [1994] p. 110 Āryaratnajāliparipṛcchānāmamahāyānasūtra)
> "Bhagavat! Will you deign to take meal in my place with the assembly of monks!"

Ayay-qa tegimlig 'worthy of respect' and *quvray* 'the group' of this Mongolian sentence were, as it is well known, also borrowed from Uighur. The existing Mongolian version of the "Āryaratnajāliparipṛcchānāmamahāyānasūtra"

[14] *čaiš*[*i kälti*] should be *čaiš*[*i qïlti*]. In Turfan dialect of New Uighur, '*čai qïl-*' still means "to hold a banquet" and *čа* (< Chin. 茶) means 'tea'. cf. Abdurishid Yakup: "Old Uighur words preserved in the Turfan-Qomul dialect of Uyghur" (Symposium "Field works of the Turkic languages located in Eurasian remote region" hand-out p. 14., 7 Dec. 2001 in The University of Tokyo).

was made after the 18th century. However, the original translation goes back to the 14th century.

The *čai* appearing in the Xuanzang-Biography is the only example in Uighur. But, at least two examples appear in Mongolian texts. So, we can presume that *čai* was generally also used in Uighur together with *čaišï*.

2.4 Sanskrit

As shown in section 2.1, there are numerous Sanskrit words in the Lalitavistara. Assuming that these words were borrowed from the established Uighur words by way of Tocharian, I classify them according to the word-ending form of Sanskrit (as shown in table 1) for analysis.

2.4.1 Skt. -a/-ā

2.4.1.1 Animate

a) Lalita. -i: Skt. -a

- *anandati* (f61r11 per. n.): Skt. *ānandita.*
- *aratakami* (f31r24 per. n.): Skt. *ārāḍa kālāma.*
- *asuri* (f6b,24a): Skt. *asura.*
- *bančaki* (f15r16 n. of yakṣa): Skt. *pañcika.*
- *binbisari* ~ *binbasari* (f32v13 per. n.): Skt. *bimbisāra.*
- *čandir-a birabi* (f3r10 per. n.): Skt. *candraprabha.*
- *čarumanti* (f3r25 per. n.): Skt. *cārumanta.*
- *dari* (f41v20 per. n.): Skt. *dhāra.*
- *darmarati* (f57v14 per. n.): Skt. *dharmarati.*
- *gandarvi* (f2v6,21v23): Skt. *gandharva.*[15]
- *kaliki* (f48v8 n. of nāga): Skt. *kālika.*
- *karkasundi* (f48v13 Buddh. n.): Skt. *krakucchanda.*
- *kinari* (f3v2): Skt. *kiṃnara.*
- *madunirgoši* (f57r6 per. n.): Skt. *madhuranirghoṣa.*[16]
- *maq-a nagni* (f14v5 'great man'): Skt. *mahā-nagna.*
- *maq-a nami* (f30v7 per. n.): Skt. *mahā-nāma.*
- *maq-a siramani* (f39v6 'great monk'): Skt. *mahāśramaṇa.*
- *mara bir-a mardaki* (f58v7 name of Māra): Skt. *māra pramardaka.*
- *radna-garbi* (f52r18 Bodh. n.): Skt. *ratnagarbha.*
- *sančodak-i* (f16r12 n. of god): Skt. *saṃcodaka.*
- *sartavaki* (f55r6 n. of Māra): Skt. *sārthavāha.*

[15] While in Poppe (1967), f2v6 is '*gandari*' and f21v23 is '*gandarï*', in Ligeti (1974b) both have the same form *gandarvi*. According to the facsimile in Poppe (1967), we can verify Ligeti's reading.

[16] This correspondence is according to Edgerton p. 417 (Poppe [1967] p. 106). Maybe, however, the original form of Lalita. *madunirgoši* is Skt. *madhu-nirghoṣa* "sweet-voice", similar to Skt. *madhura-nirghoṣa.*

- *sarva arta sidi* (f25v25,36v18 Buddh. n.): Skt. *sarvārthasiddha.*[17]
- *subrabodi* (f39v8 per. n.): Skt. *suprabuddha.*
- *sučati* (f41v19 per. n.): Skt. *sujāta.*
- *šudodani* (f7r13 per. n.): Skt. *śuddhodana.*
- *sumani* (f48r7 god n.): Skt. *sumana.*
- *suvarna birabi* (f48v25 per. n.): *suvarṇaprabha.*[18]
- *vairočani* (f31r16 per. n.): Skt. *vairocana.*
- *vaysiravani* (f32v1): Skt. *vaiśravaṇa.*
- *visvantari* (f3r11 per. n.): Skt. *viśvaṃtara.*

The correspondence of Skt. *-a* to Lalita. *-i* is equivalent to the correspondence of Skt. *-a* to Uig. *-i* (animate), shown in R1 in table 1. This correspondence is characteristic to Uighur words borrowed by way of Tocharian. Most of the Lalita. forms above can be found in Uighur; ex. Lalita. *asuri* < Uig. *asuri* < Toch.(B) *asure*, Lalita. *binbasari* < Uig. *binbasari* < Toch.(B) *binbasāre*, Lalita. *čandir-a birabi* < Uig. *čandraprabi*, Lalita. *gandarvi* < Uig. *gandarvi* < Toch.(B) *gandharve*, Lalita. *kinari* < Uig. *kinari* < Toch.(AB) *kinnare*, Lalita. *sartavaki* < Uig. *sartavaxi* < Toch. *sārthavāhe*, Lalita. *sumani* < Uig. *sumani.*

In particular, Lalita. *karkasundi* (f48v13), which corresponds to Skt. *krakucchanda*, can be considered as the typical form borrowed by way of Tocharian, for not only its *-i* corresponds to Skt. *-a* but its *-su-* to Skt. *-ccha-*. Moreover, both correspondences are the same as that of Toch. to Skt.; Mong. *karkasundi* < Uig. *krakasundi* < Toch.(AB) *krakasundi* < Skt. *krakucchanda.*

There are, however, some examples difficult to judge whether they succeeded in Uighur form or not, e. g. the correspondence *vairočani* (f31r16) to Skt. *vairocana.* In Mongolian Buddhist texts, *vayiročana* (Heissig [1976]) or *biročana* (Less.) is generally used and *vairočana* is always used in Uighur. But, these forms of Uighur and Mongolian with *-a* stand for the name of a 'Tathāgata', and in Uighur we have not found any examples that the Uighur form from Skt. *vairocana* means the name of a 'brāhmaṇa' as in the Lalitavistara. But it is still possible that Uighur had *vairočani* and then Mongolian introduced it.

b) Lalita.-# : Skt.-a

- *alokakar* (f3r5): Skt. *ālokakara* (Buddh. n.).
- *biraman* (f19v5): *brāhmaṇa.*
- *bodistv* (passim): *bodhisattva.*
- *čivačivak* (f46v21): Skt. *jīvakajīvaka* (name of a bird).
- *gasib* (f48v14): Skt. *kāśyapa.*
- *gautam* (f31v5,34r19,v1): *gautama.*
- *kandik* (f19r7): Skt. *kaṇṭhaka* (name of a horse).

[17] Actually, instead of Poppe's "*sayin arta sidi*" (f36v18) I write "*sarva arta sidi*" according to Ligeti's (1984) correction.

[18] According to Poppe (1967) "*suvarna birabi*" corresponds to Skt. *suvarṇaprabhāsa.* Agreeing with Ligeti (1984 p. 44) I consider, however, *suvarṇaprabha* to be more appropriate.

- *mal* (f24r11): Skt. *malla* (per. n.).
- *matar* (f55v11): Skt. *makara* 'sea monster'.[19]
- *siravak* (f31r25): Skt. *śrāvaka*.
- *suvastik* (f49r22): Skt. *svastika* (per. n.).

These examples don't follow R1 in table 1. But the words listed below have the same form in Uighur, so it can be said that they were introduced via Uighur after all:

- *biraman* (f19v5) < Uig. *biraman* < Toch.(A) *brāmaṃ* < Skt. *brāhmaṇa*.
- *bodistv* (passim) < Uig. *bodistv* < Sogd. *pwdystβ* < Skt. *bodhisattva*.
- *gasib* (f48v14) < Uig. *kašip* <Toch.(AB) *kāśyap* < Skt. *kāśyapa*.
- *gautam* (f31v5,34r19,v1) < Uig. *gautam* < Toch.(AB) *gautam* < Skt. *gautama*.
- *matar* (f55v11) < Uig. *matar* < Toch.(B) *mātar* < Skt. *makara*.
- *siravak* (f31r25) < Uig. *širavak* << Skt. *śrāvaka*.

Especially, *matar* is characteristic in that it inherited Toch. *-t-* which came from Skt. *-k-*.

c) Lalita. -i: Skt. -ā

- *badmi* (f31r16): Skt. *padmā* (per. n.).
- *maqamayi* (f37r6,7): Skt. *mahāmāyā* (per. n.).
- *nandabali* (f42v23) ~ *nandibali* (f43r5,44v1): Skt. *nandabalā* (per. n.).
- *nandi* (f43v23): Skt. *nandā*.
- *utari* (f43v15): Skt. *uttarā* (per. n.).
- *yašodari* (f11v26,60r7 per. n.): Skt. *yaśodharā*.

R2 in table 1 generally shows the correspondence of Skt. *-ā* to Uig. *-a*. For instance, the Uighur word which corresponds to Skt. *mahāmāyā* appears regularly as *maxamaya* (Suv. 642 l. 21 < Toch.(A) *mahāmāyā*). There are, however, some exceptions which have final *-i* in Uighur. Skt. *nandā nandabalā* relates not only to Uig. *nanta nantabala* (MSH p. 108 1376) but to '*nante nandabali*' (TTVIII H8 written in Brāhmī), as well. And Skt. *uttarā* corresponds to Uig. *utari* 'name of Vivabhu's mother' (Shōgaito [2000] p. 161), which is the same as Mongolian. These correspondences of Skt. *-ā* to Uig. *-i* may have resulted from borrowed forms introduced from Skt. which are the same forms except for endings as in *nanda* ~ *nandī*, *uttara*. For example, Uig. *yašotari* (TTX) came from Skt. *yaśodharā* by way of Tocharian(A) *yaśottare*. This Uighur form can be used in the Lalitavistara as shown above. The Tocharian(B) form corresponding to Skt. *yaśodharā* is *yaśodhara*.

[19] Poppe only translated 'sea monster', and did not mention the Skt. form.

d) Lalita. -a: Skt. -a

- *badir-a sin-a* (f58r5): Skt. *bhadrasena* (name of a demon).
- *dibangkara* (f3r8 ***): Skt. *dīpaṃkara*.
- *kalabingga* (f61v23): Skt. *kalaviṅka* (name of bird).
- *karkata* (f38v16): Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab'.
- *koroda* (f24r11): Skt. *koḍya* ~ *kroḍya* (per. n.).
- *lalita viyuq-a* (f15v22): Skt. *lalitavyūha* (god n.).
- *maqarača* (f21v16): Skt. *mahārāja* (name of a god).
- *raquli badir-a* (f24r7): Skt. *rāhulabhadra* (per. n.).
- *sagar-a* (f44v22): Skt. *sāgara* (god n.).

Of this list, Skt. *mahārāja* corresponds to Uig. *maxarač* (< Sogd. *mx'r'č* < Skt.), Skt. *dīpaṃkara* to Uig. *dipankari* (Uig. I << Skt.), and Skt. *sāgara* to Uig. *sagari* (< Toch., < Skt.). The forms showing correspondence Skt. *-a* to Lalita. *-a*, which I listed here, were probably introduced directly from Skt. to Lalita.

2.4.1.2 Inanimate

a) Lalita. -#: Skt. -a ~ -ā

This correspondence follows R3 in table 1: the correspondence of Skt. *-a* ~ *-ā*: Uig. *-#*: Toch. *-#*. In fact, however, some forms are assumed to have been borrowed by way of Sogdian, so it is difficult to decide whether the word was borrowed by way of Tocharian or Sogdian. The languages shown in 'cf.' below are considered as the transit languages, and are arranged according to their possible origination:

- *adistid* (f2v11) 'to bestow upon and embrace' < Uig. *adištit* << Skt. *adhiṣṭhita* cf. Toch.(AB) *adhiṣthit*.
- *akas* (f27v12 f53r7) 'region, place' < Uig. *akaš* << Skt. *ākāśa* cf. Toch.(A) *akāś* ~ (B) *akāśe*.
- *amanggal* (f7v27) 'antonym of maṅgala': Skt. *amaṅgala* cf. *manggal* < Uig. *mangal* 'happiness'.
- *asanki* (f19r24) 'innumerable' < Uig. *asanki* << Skt. *asaṃkhyeya* cf. Toch.(A) *asaṃkhe*.
- *badir* (f10r17 f32r14) 'bowl' < Uig. *patir* << Skt. *pātra* cf. Toch.(A) *pātär* Sogd. *p'ttr*.
- *bandab* (f32r8 n. of a mountain): Skt. *pāṇḍava*.
- *baramid* (f19r25) 'ultimate truth' < Uig. *paramit* << Skt. *pāramitā* cf. Toch.(AB) *pāramit*.
- *bayomāk* (f52r7) 'kind of ornaments': Skt. *vyomaka*.
- *binvad* (f10r25) 'giving alms' < Uig. *pinvat* << Skt. *piṇḍapāta* cf. Toch.(B) *pintwāt*, Sogd. *pyntp't*.
- *bus* (f21v1 n. of the asterism) < Uig. *puš* << Skt. *puṣya*.
- *buyan* (viii 45a vii 40a) 'virtue' < Uig. *buyan* << Skt. *puṇya* cf. Sogd. *pwny'n*.

- *čindan* (f16r21) 'sandal-wood' < Uig. čintan << Skt. *candana* cf. Toch.(AB) *cantāṃ* Sogd. *čntn'*.
- *diyan* (f4r16 f18v1) 'meditation' < Uig. *dyan* << Skt. *dhyāna* cf. Toch.(AB) *dhyāṃ* ~ Sogd. *dy"n*.
- *dvib* (f19v7) 'continent' < Uig. *divip* << Skt. *dvīpa* cf. Toch.(A) *dvip* ~ (B) *dvīp*.
- *galb* (f3r20) 'fabulous period of time' < Uig. *kalp* << Skt. *kalpa* cf. Toch.(A) *kalp* ~ (B) *kālp* ~ Sogd. *klp*.
- *irsibdan* (f41r24 n. of the deer-park) < Uig. *iršividan* ~ *aršivadan* << Skt. *ṛṣipatana* ~ *ṛṣivatana* cf. Toch.(A) *rṣivataṃ* ~ Toch.(B) *ṛṣivataṃ*.
- *istiriyastiriš* (f15v7 n. of heaven) < Uig. *strayastriš* ~ *astrayastriš* << Skt. *trāyastriṃśa* 'a class of gods' cf. Toch. *strāyastriṃś*.
- *kisar* (f53r18) 'filament of the lotus' < Uig. *kisar* (MST) << Skt. *kesara* cf. Toch.(AB) *kesār*.
- *koros* (f46r3 n. of measurelength) < Uig. *koroš* << Skt. *krośa* cf. Toch.(AB) *kroś*.
- *gšan* (f17r12) 'a measure of time' < Uig. *kšan* << Skt. *kṣaṇa* cf. Toch.(AB) *kṣaṃ* ~ Sogd. *kšn*.
- *lab* (f42v23) 'alms' < Uig. *lab* << Skt. *lābha*.[20]
- *lakšan* (f54v23) 'character' < Uig. *lakšan* << Skt. *lakṣaṇa* cf. Toch(A) *lakṣaṃ* ~ (B) *lakṣāṃ*.
- *mandal* (f36r1) < Uig. *mandal* << Skt. *maṇḍala* cf. Toch.(A) *maṇḍal* ~ (B) *maṇḍāl*.
- *mandarik* (f37v28 n. of a flower) < Uig. *mandarik* ~ *mandarak* << Skt. *mandāraka* cf. Toch.(A) *mantārak*.
- *manggal* (f7v10 59v21) 'happiness' < Uig. *mangal* << Skt. *maṅgala* cf. Toch.(A) *maṅkal* (*maṅgal*) ~ (B) *maṅkāl*.
- *nirvan* (viii 45b) < Uig. *nirvan* << Skt. *nirvāṇa* cf. Sogd. *nyrβ'n*.
- *raǰagraγ* (f34v8 n. of a town) < Uig. *račagarx* ~ *račagrx* << Skt. *rājagṛha* cf. Toch.(AB) *rājagri*, Sogd. *r'čkry*.
- *rasiyan* (f19v1) 'nectar' < Uig. *rasayan* << Skt. *rasāyana*.
- *šaγšabad* (f3v10) 'moral commandment' < Uig. *čxšaput* << Skt. *śikṣāpada* cf. Sogd. *čxš'pd* Toch.(A) *śikṣāpat* (B) *śikṣapāt*.
- *sansar* (f4r8) 'transmigration' < Uig. *sansar* << Skt. *saṃsāra* cf. Toch.(AB) *saṃsār* ~ Sogd. *sns"r*.
- *sanvar* (f17r21) 'restraint' < Uig. *sanvar* << Skt. *saṃvara* cf. Toch.(AB) *saṃvar*.
- *šasin* (f65r12) 'disciplined observance' < Uig. *šazin* ~ *šasin* << Skt. *śāsana* cf. Toch(AB) *śāsaṃ*.
- *silüg* (f6v1, 2 *sylwk*) 'stanza' < Uig. *šlok* << Skt. *śloka* cf. Toch.(AB) *ślok*, Sogd. *šr'wk* ~ *šl'wk*.
- *tüsid* (f6v7 n. of a heaven) < Uig. *tužit* ~ *tusit* << Skt. *tuṣita* cf. Toch(AB) *tuṣit*.

[20] *arča-yin ür-e terigüten-i lab barin aγsan* 'had presented juniper berries and other kinds [of food]' (pp. 50,143). '*lab bari-*' is a calque of Uig. *lab tut-* '(als) Spenden darbringen': see Zieme (1979) p. 277, Ligeti (1984) p. 42 note 51.

- *ubadis* (f34r12) 'teaching' < Uig. *upadiš* << Skt. *upadeśa* cf. Toch.(AB) *upadeś*.
- *urugasari čindan* (f52r12) 'a kind of sandalwood': Skt. *urgasāra-candana*.
- *urun* (f54r16) 'a white curl between the eyebrows' < Uig. *urun* << Skt. *ūrṇā*.
- *usnir* (f28v22) 'fleshy excrescence on the skull' < Uig. *ušnir* << Skt. *uṣṇīṣa* cf. Toch(AB) *uṣnīr*.
- *vayduri* (f46r20) 'beryl' < Uig. *vaiduri* << Skt. *vaiḍūrya* cf. Toch.(A) *vaiḍuri*.
- *včir* (f20v23) 'diamond' < Uig. *vačir* << Skt. *vajra* cf. Sogd. *βž'yr* ~ *βč'yr* Toch.(A) *vājar* ~ *vājär* (B) *wājrä*.
- *vinai* (f10v11) 'the rules of discipline' < Uig. *vinai* << Skt. *vinaya* cf. Toch(B) *vinai* ~ (A) *vine*.
- *visai* (f21r14) 'scope or reach of the sense-organs' < Uig. *višai* << Skt. *viṣaya* cf. Toch.(A) *viṣay* ~ (B) *viṣai*.
- *viyakirid* (f3r8) 'prediction of future enlightenment' < Uig. *viyakirt* << Skt. *vyākṛta* cf. Toch.(AB) *vyākarit*.

Šaγšabad (f3v10) resulted from a contamination of Uig. *čxšaput* (< Sogd. *čxš'pd*) and Skt. *śikṣāpada*: *čiγšabd* (Ceren. 13r–6, 7 14v–2) ~ *čaγšabad* (Ceren. 43–4 Boss. 257) ~ *šaγšabad* (Less. p. 748a).

Poppe (1967 p. 104 note f54r–16) explains *urun* (f54r16) as follows: "*anisq-a ǰaγuraki urun laksan*, lit. 'the urun lakṣaṇa which is between the eyelids' corresponds to Skr. *ūrṇā-kośa* 'the circle of hair between the eyebrows of Buddha', Edgerton, p. 150." On the other hand, Ligeti (1984) points out that the interpretation of Poppe is not appropriate and explains it as follows: "Mong. *urun* < Skr. *ūrṇā* s'explique phonétiquement mal ... . Or le mong. *lagšan* n'a rien à voir avec le skr. *keśa*, il signifie simplement qu'il s'agit d'un des lakṣaṇa du Bouddha et en effet le 4^{e} s'appelle en skr. *ūrṇā-keśa*, en tib. *mjod-spu* (Mvp. p. 22. n^{o} 239)." So, Ligeti replaces *anisq-a ǰaγuraki urun laksan* by *anisq-a ǰaγuraki oron lagšan* (*oron* is a Mongolian word, which means 'place').

However, *urun* appears with *lakšan* in the Uighur text and is a valid form from the phonetic point of view. Note the Uighur text below:

> *yaqïn barïp körälim tözün maytri bodistv(-nïng) urun lakšan-ïn urun lakšan-ïntaqï yaruqï biz-kä ätözümüzkä bürütülmäk ayïγ qïlïnčlarïmz qalmatïn tarïqzun anta basa üzülzün*
> "We want to approach the holy Maitreya-bodhisattva and see the urun lakšan. When the light from the urun lakšan touches us, it must remove our evil deeds completely." (Shōgaito [2000] p. 163)

In this Uighur text, *urun lakšan* means the white curl between the eyebrows, which is one of the thirty-two distinguishing marks on the body of a Buddha. *urun* of *urun lakšan* corresponds to Skt. *ūrṇā* 'white curl between the eyebrows', *lakšan* corresponds to Skt. *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'. *urun lakšan* shows the

clear correspondence to Chin.'白毫相 (*ūrṇā-lakṣaṇa*)'. Consequently, it can be said that the explanation of POPPE is appropriate.

b) Lalita. -i: Skt. -a ~ -ā

- *bančaki* (f34r26) 'a group consisting of five': Skt. *pañcaka.*
- *čitiri* (f29v6): Skt. *citra.*
- *čitiri* (f61v2): Skt. *citrā.*
- *erdini* (f4r4): Skt. *ratna.*
- *kakubi* (f42v2 n. of a tree): Skt. *kakubha.*
- *maidari* (f57r26) 'love, benevolence': Skt. *maitryā/maitrā/maitrī.*

The correspondence above does not follow R3 in table 1. It is assumed that *bančaki* is the form from Tocharian(A) *pañcake* (< Skt. *pañcaka*, POUCHA [1955] p. 158) via Uighur.

POPPE (1967 p. 92) argues about *čitiri* (f29v6) as following: "*čitiri* is a distorted Sanskrit word which can be identified tentatively with Skt. *citra* 'conspicuous, evident, bright, light, of light color, variegated, many-colored', BÖHTLINGK 2, 228." And he says that *čitiri* (f61v2) corresponds to Skt. *citrā* (various, different) (p. 108). Both of the words *čitiri*, however, are assumed to have been borrowed from Sanskrit from the fact that they modify *erdini* (jewel), e. g. *čitiri erdinis.* The same form *čitiri* appears in Uighur which also modifies 'jewel':

> Lalita. *čitiri erdinis-iyer čimegten* (f61v3)
> "Decorated with various jewels" (p. 158)
>
> Lalita. *čitiri erdinis-ün čimeg-ten qatud-un* (f29v6)
> "(The adornments) of the women who wear decorations of many jewels" (p. 131)
>
> Uig. *čitiri äsri ärdini-lärin etilmiš*
> "Decorated with various jewels" (SHŌGAITO [1976] l. 255)

The fact above shows that *čitiri* was borrowed from Uighur as the word that modifies *erdini* (< Uig. *ärdini* < Sogd. *rtny* < Skt. *ratna*).

The form corresponding to '*maidari*' also exists in Uighur: *maytrï* < Toch. < Skt. *maitrā, matryā, maitrī* 'Liebe, Wohlwollen' (BTT3 p. 92b). It is considered that this form came to Uighur by way of Tocharian (A) *maiträ* 'amicus' (friendly) < Skt. *maitri* ~ *maitrī* (cf. POUCHA [1955] p. 231).

c) Lalita. -a: Skt. -a ~ -ā

- *akaništa* (f26r1 n. of a heaven): Skt. *akaniṣṭha.*
- *bimba* (f28v24 n. of a fruit): Skt. *bimba.*

- *duvaǰa* (f2r5) 'banner': Skt. *dhuvaja.*
- *gay-a* (f34v11 n. of a mountain): Skt. *gayā.*
- *kačalindika* (f2r23) 'kind of soft textile': Skt. *kācilindika.*
- *kars-a* (f7r16) 'the Buddhist surplice': Skt. *kāṣāya.*
- *kumuda* (f19r14) 'white lotus': Skt. *kumuda.*
- *magada* (f32r7 n. of a country): Skt. *magadha.*
- *tal-a* (f46r5) 'palm tree': Skt. *tāla.*
- *urubilu-a* (f35r22 n. of a village): Skt. *uruvilvā.*

The correspondence above does not follow R3 in table 1. The same forms as Lalita. *bimba* also exists in Uighur: *bimba altγ yėmiš* (Suv. p. 348 ll. 20–21) 'fruit named bimba'. Lalita. *kars-a*, which corresponds to Skt. *kāṣāya*, derives from Uig. *karaža* (*k'r's'* < Sogd. *kr'z'(kh)*). Some of the instances above are assumed to be loanwords from Tocharian: Uig. *akaništ* << Skt. *akaniṣṭha*, Uig. *magat* < Toch.(AB) *māgat* < Skt. *magadha*, Uig. *tal* (< Toch.(B) *tāl*) whereas Lalita. *akaništa, magada*, and *tal-a* are directly borrowed from Sanskrit.[21]

2.4.2 Skt. final forms other than -a/-ā

2.4.2.1 Lalita. -i: Skt. -in

- *amoga-darši* (f3r4): Skt. *amoghadarśi* ~ *amoghadarśin.*
- *anivarti* (f57v5): Skt. *anivartin.*
- *čakravarti* (+*qan, qaγan* f19v7, 20r1, 23r11 f37r21 f41v27): Skt. *cakravartin.*
- *darm-a čari* (f16r7): Skt. *dharmacārin.*
- *mudkali* (f47v14): Skt. *mutkhalin.*
- *udkali* (f47v14): Skt. *utkhalin.*

The correspondence above follows R7 Skt. *-in*: Uig. *-i*: Toch. *-i/ī.* The same form of *amoga-darši* (Buddha n.) also exists in Uighur. *Čakravrt* ~ *čakravrt* ~ *čakiravrt*, which is borrowed by way of Sogd. *čkrβrt*, is used for the Uighur form that corresponds to Lalita. *čakravarti* (+*qan, qaγan* (king)). *Čakiravard* (Boss. 16) ~ *č'akiravard* (Hp 13–2) is used in also Mongolian. The same form as *čakravarti* appears in Pañca (14v). This form can be the result of hypercorrection, or, it can also be considered as an epithetic form since written Mongolian does not have *-rt* in the word-ending. Later, the word *kürdün-iyer orčiγuluγči qaγan* (MP 3548) which is translated into Mongolian, came to be used for Skt. *cakravartin.*

2.4.2.2 Skt. -i ~ -ī ~ -e

a) Lalita. -i: Skt. -i ~ ī

- *adakavati* (f32r26): Skt. *aṭakāvatī.*

[21] There is a correspondence between *nairanča* (f35v11,44a16) ~ *nayiranča* (45b27) and *nairañjanā* 'a river in Magadha'. This *nairanča* (*nayiranča*) is, I think, a distorted form of *nairančan.*

- *adakavanti* (f15r25): Skt. *aḍakavatī*.
- *arsi* (f4r14 f2v25): Skt. *ṛṣi*.
- *biračabadi gotami* (f14v17) ~ *bračabati gautami* (f26v12): Skt. *prajāpatī Gautamī*.
- *durmati* (f56v27): Skt. *durmati*.
- *gunamati* (f52r1): Skt. *guṇamati*.
- *kanakamuni* (f48v13): Skt. *kanakamuni*.
- *kasi* (f3r25): Skt. *kāśi*.
- *költi* (f3r19 *kwyldy*): Skt. *koṭi*.
- *lumbini* (f37r14): Skt. *lumbinī*.
- *očomati* (f48r7): Skt. *ojopati*.
- *qarini* (f15r19): Skt. *hārītī*.
- *ridi* (f53v26): Skt. *riddhi*.
- *saki* (f31r13): Skt. *śākī*.
- *samadi* (f36r10): Skt. *samādhi*.
- *šanta-mati* (f15v18): Skt. *śāntamati*.
- *sarati* ~ *sariti* (f7v24): Skt. *sārathi*.
- *subudi* (f57r18): Skt. *subuddhi*.
- *tarni* (f35v19): Skt. *dhāraṇī*.
- *vaysali* (f31r22): Skt. *vaiśālī*.
- *viyuq-a mati* (f15v25): Skt. *vyūhamati*.

The correspondence above follows R4 in table 1, but has some examples via Sogdian, like *költi* (< Uig. *kolti* < Sogd. *kwrty* < Skt. *koṭi*) 'a very large number', of which *ö* is the assimilated form of *o* to the final *i*. The form *arsi* 'an immortal' came from Skt. *ṛṣi* by way of Uighur. Uighur has the prothetic forms of Skt. *ṛṣi* as following: *arši* ~ *irži* ~ *ärži* ~ *arži* ~ *irši*. It is considered that both *adakavati* (f32r26) and *adakavanti* (f15r25), denote place names deriving from the same Sanskrit form. The latter is the form that LIGETI uses, while POPPE uses *adakavāti*. The *-n-* of *adakavanti* was probably added in Mongolian. We can see the same addition of *-n-* in RAGHU (p. 781).[22]

b) Lalita. -a: Skt. -i ~ ī

- *asitaka* (f38v14): Skt. *āśītakī*.
- *varanaša* (f41r23): Skt. *vārāṇasī*.

Lalita. *asitaka* (name of a plant) is considered to go back to Skt. *aśītaka* (cf. Edg. p. 109b), though POPPE (1967 p. 98) uses Skt. *āśītakī* (Edg. p. 109b). *baranas* (MSH 614, 717, SHŌGAITO [2000] p. 162, ZIEME-KARA [1978]) is always used for Skt. *vārāṇasī* (place name) in Uighur. So an Uighur origin of Mongolian *baranas* is highly probable: cf. Pañca. The same form as Lalita. *varanaša* also appears in MP (4090).

[22] There are parallel instances of the insertion of a nasal in front of a plosive: Skt. *vyākṛta* > Toch. *vyākarit* > Uig. *vyakrit* > Mong. > *viyakirid* (Lalita.) > *vivanggirid* (MP).

2.4.2.3 Skt. -u

a) Lalita. -u: Skt. -u

- *agaru* (f46v4): Skt. *agaru*.
- *balgu* (f48r6): Skt. *valgu*.
- *čambu* (f40v24): Skt. *jambu*.
- *kabalvas-tu* (f23r14): Skt. *kapilavastu*.
- *šatabaqu* (f57r13): Skt. *śatabāhu*.
- *vinu* (f48r6): Skt. *veṇu*.

The correspondence above follows R5 in table 1. *agaru* (~ *agar*)' aloe', *čambu* (the name of a tree), *kapilavatu* (place name), and *vėnu* (name of a god) appears in Uighur.

b) Lalita. -# : Skt. -u

- *sümir* (f12v3 *swymyr*): Skt. *sumeru*.

Lalita. *sümir* (name of a mountain) derives from Uig. *šumėr* (< Toch.(AB) *sumer* < Skt. *sumeru*). Mongolian has a lot of variants; *sümir* (Lalita., Pañca.) ~ *sümer* (Pañca., Boss.) ~ *sümür* (Boss.) ~ *sümbür* (MP) ~ *sumur* (hymne). The first vowel *ü* is a fronting vowel and the second *ü* is a rounding vowel; the former results from a regressive assimilation and the latter from a progressive one. The changes occured in Mongolian, but it can be considered that *sumur* came from Uighur since there is the same form in Later Uighur (BTTVIII, KARA/ZIEME [1977]). *-b-* of *sümbür* is added in Mongolian.[23]

2.4.3 Buddhist terms in the Lalitavistara with uncertain origin

The origin of some forms has not been identified yet, though they are assumed to be Sanskrit. In this section four such words are discussed.

2.4.3.1 rasivar (f25r12)

This form is also given in a dictionary.[24] POPPE (1967 p. 90) says "This word is certainly not of Mongolian origin and might be a distorted Sanskrit word." I consider that this form came from Uighur *ražavrt* (Daśa., Maitri, < Skt. *rājāvarta*) by comparing both forms in context.

> Lalita. (f25r ll. 12–13, p. 127)
> *rasivar-un öngge-tü üǰes-küleng-tü γū-a üsün-iyen*
> "his beautiful hair – which was the color of lapis lazuli"

[23] Mongolian has parallel instances such as *yamar* > *yambar* 'what'.

[24] *rasivar čilaγun* 'pierre d'azur, lapis lazuli' (Kow. III p. 2659b), *rasivar čilaγu* 'Lapis-lazuli' (Less. p. 651b).

Uig.
yulaq saqïnčlïγ čantal-lar ėlig bäg-ning kök ražavrt önglüg bir ümüg sačïn tutup (Daśa p. 121 ll. 975–976)
"The evil-minded Caṇḍālas hold a bunch of the monarch's lapis lazuli colored hair ..."

The difference between the Uighur and Mongolian forms is that *rasivar* has a genitive suffix *-un* in the Mongolian version. A color noun usually does not have a genitive suffix when it modifies a noun, e. g. *altan öngge* 'gold color', *mönggün öngge* 'silver color'. *r'syv'r-wn* (*rasivar-un*) was probably spelled *r'syv'rt* originally. It is assumed that *-t* was treated as a genitive suffix *-wn*, since *-t* is easily mistaken for *-wn* in the Mongolian script.[25]

2.4.3.2 bertegčin (f20r17)

Poppe (1967 p. 88 note 17) comments on *bertegčin* (f20r17): "'stupid', Kowalewski II, 1128". *bertegčin* is the established form in Mongolian.[26] One might claim that the Mongolian suffix *-gčin* which is the plural form of *-gči* (the person acting and sometimes the process of an action (Poppe [1954] p. 93)) was added to Mong. *berte-* 'to be injured, hurt, crippled or maimed' (Less. p. 100b).

It is, however, argued in Mironov (1929 p. 167) that *bertegčin* is related to Skt. *pṛthagjana* 'a man of lower caste or character or profession' (Monier-Williams p. 646a).[27] In Türkische Turfan-Texte IV (p. 445 note A21) *bertegčin* is compared with Uig. *partagčan*. Kara (1998 p. 90b) mentions that *bertegčin* was borrowed from Uighur. In fact, Mong. *bertegčin* appears in a similar context to the one in which Uig. *partagčan* appears:

Lalita.
quǰir-tu usun-dur adali ülü qanaγaγči buyu bertegčin amitan-a degeǰilen sitügdegsen qutuγ-tan mergedte maγusiyan gegegdegsen buyu kemen ögüleǰü
"Like salty water they do not quench the thirst. They are given preference by, and attract [only], foolish beings, [but] they are condemned and rejected by the holy wise men." (Poppe p. 123)

The Chinese version of the Lalitavistara:
凡夫於此妄生貪愛 (Taisho Vol. 3. no. 187 p. 573c l. 21).
凡夫 (= *pṛthagjana*) corresponds to *bertegčin amitan*. *Amitan* means 'living beings'.)

[25] The forms introduced from Uighur produced other forms because of misreadings as can be considered from *bodistv* (*pwdystv*) → *bodisung* (*pwdystwnk* MP p. 34 no. 624).
[26] Cf. *bertegčin* "Stupidity, ignorance; narrow-minded or unenlightened person; stupid, ignorant" (Less. p. 100b).
[27] Mironov (1929) uses *bartagčin* not *bertegčin*. While he thinks it is connected with Sogd. *prtkčn*, this form has never been traced in Sogdian.

Uig.
qaltï pardagčan tuš-ïnda ärkän nizvanïlar basa basa turup quruldurur örlädür öng yükmäkig (Tattv. p. 296 ll. 4397–4398)
"In the position of a *pṛthagjana*, *kleśa* (illusion) dwells continuously and disturbs the *rūpa-skandha* (physical element)."
pardagčan tuš-ï = *pṛthagjanāvasthā* = 凡夫位 (position of pṛthagjana)

Uig.
inčä qaltï iki törlüg kičig kölüklüglärkä qut bulmaduq midik partagčan tïnlylar-qa šakimuni tngri tngrisi burxan altï ygirmi čïγ bïš tsun ät'öz bėlgürtüp (Suv. p. 41 ll. 8–12)
midik < Sogd. *myd'kk* 'lay', *tïnlylar* = 'living beings'.

Both Uig. *partagčan* and *midik partagčan tïnlylar* correspond to Chin. 凡夫. This fact shows that both Mong. *bertegčin* and Uig. *partagčan* came from Skt. *pṛthagjana* and the Mongolian form is borrowed from Uighur. Uig. *partagčan* changed to a front vowel word in Mongolian, since it contains *g*, and has been reanalysed as *berte-gčin*: Skt. *pṛthagjana* >> Uig. *partagčan* > Mong. *partagčan* > *pertegčen* > *bertegčin*.

2.4.3.3 isburir (f16r1)

Poppe (1967 p. 86) says: "As for *isburi(r)*, it must be a distorted Sanskrit name of a precious stone which cannot be identified with certainty, Foucaux, p. 178, has *sūryakānta*." Lalita. *isburir* resembles Uig. *sparir* conspicuously.

Lalita.
viyuq-a mati neretü tngri-yin köbegün bi odqui mör deger-e erdini keyid-ün dotor-a isburir erdini-yin gerel bolyasuγai kemebe (f15v25 ~ 16r3)
"The son of god Vyūhamati said: 'I will cause the light of the *isburir* jewel in the precious dwelling [to shine] on the road by which he will go!'" (p. 121)

Uig.
yürüng ud tartar ulug [ka]nglïg kämišmišingizkä ärtingü sävinip šutsi mončukug titmiš [ï]dalamiš ärür siz sparir ärdini täg y(a)rokta y(a)rok ulug ädrämligä nägülük muntag yangïlmak üzä tïdïltïngïz ärki
"Weil Ihr das vom Weißen Stier gezogene Fahrzeug (sc. das Mahāyāna) verwerft, habt Ihr – sehr bereitwillig (?) – das Bergkristall-Juwel aufgegeben. O Bhadanta, höchst glanzvoll wie das Sphaṭika-Juwel! Wie habt Ihr euch aufhalten lassen durch solchen Irrtum! (Röhrborn [1991] p. 181–182 ll. 2146–2152)
棄彼白牛賞愛水精捨頗胝寶明明大德 何此惑之滯歟 (Taisho Vol. 50 p. 262a ll. 20–22)

qaltï kün tngri yruqï yadïlur täg tolp yėrtinčüg yrutur siz öngüngüz kïrtïšïngüz süzüki vaiḍurï ärdini täg kkirsiz tapčasïz tėtir azu ymä qaltï tolu tägirmi ay tngri kök qalïqda turur täg siz süzük körklä sïparur ärdinilig toortïn yaltrïyur täg [al]tun [önglüg] ät'özüngüz (Suv. p. 111 l. 21–p. 112 l. 7)

"You light up all over the world as the sun light spreads out. The purity of your expression is pure like the vaiḍūrya-jewel. And your golden body looks like a shining net decorated with sphaṭika-jewels which is clear and beautiful as the full moon in the sky"

如日流光照世間　色如瑠璃淨無垢　猶如滿月處虛空　妙頗梨網映金軀 (Taisho Vol. 16 p. 412c ll. 9–11).

The instance above shows Lalita. *isburir erdini* corresponds well to Uig. *sparir ärdini* ~ *sparur ärdini*. These Uighur forms relate to Chin. 頗梨 ~ 頗胝(寶) and render Skt. *sphaṭika*. *Sparir* (~ *sparur*) is introduced via Toch.(B) *spharir* which originates from Skt. *sphaṭika*.[28] It is assumed that Mong. *isburir* results from a prothesis of *i* to Uig. *sparir*.

2.4.3.4 sinayani (f43r13)

Poppe (1967 p. 100) says: "*sinayani* = Pali *Senāni-nigama* or *Senā-nigama* corresponds to *Senāpati-maka*, the name of a village near Uruvilā, Edgerton p. 605. Cf. Thomas, p. 70, *Senānī*; Rockhill, p. 30, *Senani* = Tibetan *Sde-chan*".[29]

The same form *sinayani* exists in Uighur:

Lalita.

ali čaγ-tur bodisdv samdabs kiged kars-a degel-i emüsčü sinayani-yin balγasun-dur binvad γuyun oroγsan tere čaγ-tur olan tngri-ner nandi nandibali nereten ökid-te ögüler-ün (f43r ll. 11–17)

"And at that time when the Bodhisattva had put on the Sam-t'abs skirt and the yellow robe and had entered the city of Senānī, begging for alms food, numerous gods spoke to the maids Nandā and Nandabalā." (p. 143)

Uig.

anta sina[yani] brahman-nïng sozaqïntaqï nanta nantabala äkä baltïz-laraγ qutγarïp magit iltin yana pašan(a)k taγqa b(a)rdï. (MSH p. 108 ll. 1375–1378)

[28] For Uig. *sparir* < Toch.(B) *spharir* see Gabain (1938). Uighur *sparir* has several variations in Suv.: *sparïr* (p. 652 l. 16) ~ *saparïr(* pp. 119 l. 16, 515 l. 17, 658 l. 13) ~ *sïparïr* (p. 384 l. 17) ~ *sïparur* (p. 112 l. 6).

[29] "*sinayani*" was transcribed as *šinavani* in Ligeti (1974b p. 395) and "*sinavani*" in Ligeti (1984 p. 40 note 50).

"Dort erlöste er im Dorfe des Brahmanen (von) Senā[yāni] die Schwestern Nandā und Nandabalā und ging wiederum vom Reiche Magadha zum Berg Pāṣāṇaka." (p. 109)

mn ym' pwykwn 'wrpylβyny "tlq syn'y'ny pr'm'n nynk swz'qynk' pwrq'nl'r nwmyn 'yšl[']k(')ly p'ryr mn (MST pp. 42–43 ll. 27–30)

"Auch ich werde heute zum Dorf des Brahmanen Senāyāni namens Uruvilvā gehen, um (dort in der Lehre) des Buddha zu wirken." (p. 43)

This shows that Lalita. *sinayani* came from Uig. *sinayani*. The original Sanskrit form should be *senāyana* (= Chin. 斯那耶那) rather than *senāni*: cf. Akanuma (1967) pp. 610–611.

2.5

As shown in section 2.1 to 2.4, the Mongolian version of the Lalitvistara contains a considerable number of Sogdian, Chinese, Uighur and Sanskrit words via Uighur. As Sanskrit words in Uighur mostly follow certain rules of word-ending, the words in the Lalitavistara follow the same rules. The forms which deviate the rules resemble the Uighur forms.

3. Buddhist terms in Later Mongolian

As shown in chapter 2, the Mongolian version of the Lalitavistara has many loan words from Uighur which are mostly derived from Sanskrit. Some of them are used until Later Mongolian, others are replaced by the forms translated from Tibetan into Mongolian. I have chosen terms for gods and demons in order to compare Skt. and Uig. with the Mongolian forms of the two periods.

Skt.	**Uig.**	**Pañca**	**MP**
deva	*tängri*	*tengri*	*tengri*
nāga	*lū*	*lūs*	*lūs*
asura	*asuri*	*asuri*	*asuri*
garuḍa	*garudi*	*garudi*	*garudi*
gandharva	*gandarvi*	*gandarwi*	*gandaris*
kiṃnara	*kinari*	*kinari*	*kinari*
mahoraga	*maxoragi*	*maqoragi*	*mahoraga*
yakṣa	*yakša/yäk*	*yaksa*	*yakša*
preta	*prit*	*brid*	*birid*
piśāca	*pišači*	*bisači*	*miqa idesiten*
kumbhāṇḍa	*kumbandi*	*kumbandi*	*kumbandi*
pūtana	*putani*	*butani*	*nabtarqai*
kaṭapūtana	*kataputani*	*katabutani*	*nabtarqai beye-tü*
skandha	—	*iskandi*	*qatayirtaγuluγči*

unmada	—	*udmadi*	*yalǰayurayuluγči*
chāyā	—	*čai*	*següder daruγči*
apasmāra	*apasmari*	*abasmari*	*umartayuluγči*

It is evident that the forms of the Pañcarakṣā correspond well with the Uighur forms. The Mongolian words of the Mahāvyutpatti (= MP) were written in the 18th century. In the Mahāvyutpatti, the words below *piśāca* are completely translated into Mongolian except for *kumbhāṇḍa*. Moreover, *mahoraga* is a Sanskrit form introduced via Tibetan. However, we find rather strange forms in this Mongolian version of the Pañcarakṣā.

4. Concluding remarks

Mongolian was greatly influenced by Uighur Buddhism. This conclusion can be drawn from examining the Buddhist terms in the Early Mongolian Buddhist texts which have characteristics of Uighur. This fact shows that a knowledge of Uighur is essential for studying Mongolian Buddhist texts and that Mongolian Buddhist texts in turn are important for studies of Uighur. It is possible to find the forms borrowed from Uighur in Mongolian Buddhist texts, which are plentiful, and sometimes reconstruct the Uighur forms which are not found in the extant Uighur texts.

- Mong. Lalita. *aratakalmi* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *ārāḍa-kālāma* Uig. **aratakalmi*.
- Mong. Lalita. *čarumanti* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *cārumanta* Uig. **carumanti*.
- Mong. Lalita. *alokakar* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *ālokakara* Uig. **alokakar*.
- Mong. Lalita. *bandab* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *pāṇḍava* Uig. **pandap*.
- Cf. Skt. *anāsrava* > Toch.(AB) *anāsrap*; Skt. *svabhāva* > Toch(A) *svabhāp*.
- Mong. Lalita. *mudkali* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *mutkhalin* Uig. **mutkali*.
- Mong. Lalita. *udkali* < Uig. < Toch. < Skt. *utkhalin* Uig. **utkali*.

Abbreviations

Boss. = Bosson (1969)
Ceren. = Cerensodnom (1993)
Daśa. = Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā (Shōgaito [1998])
Edg. = Edgerton (1953)
Hp. = Ḥp'ags-pa (Poppe [1957])
K = Kyoto version of SY
Kow. = Kowalewski (1844–9)
L = London version of SY
Lalita. = Lalitavistara (Poppe [1967], Ligeti [1974])

Less. = Lessing (1960)
MP = Mahāvyutpatti (Ishihama [1989])
MSH = Maitrisimit (Hami version, Geng [1988])
MST = Maitrisimit (Turfan version, Tekin [1980])
Pañca. = Pañcarakṣā (Aalto [1954])
QP = Quan-si-im Pusar (Radloff [1911])
Suv. = *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (Radloff [1913–7])
SY = Säkiz Yükmäk (Haneda [1915], TTVI)
Tattv. = Tattvārthā (Shōgaito [1991b])
UWb = Uigurisches Wörterbuch (Röhrborn [1977–98])

Buddh. n. = name of a Buddha
Bodh. n. = name of a Bodhisattva
god n. = name of a god
per. n. = person's name
pl. n. = place-name

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