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Osaka University

# “Toyın körklüg”

## An Old Uigur Buddha Poem

Peter ZIEME

### Introduction

Among the still unpublished manuscripts of Old Uigur alliterative poetry there is one remarkable text which is preserved in more or less damaged fragments of several manuscripts. When in 1937 Annemarie v. Gabain was working at the National Library of Beijing she transcribed the Old Uigur text of a version<sup>(1)</sup> kept there. Recently this manuscript was published as facsimile by the National Library of Beijing<sup>(2)</sup>: BD15375 (here ms. A). Fragments of four other manuscripts are preserved in the collections of Berlin and St. Petersburg. Judging from the names occurring in this poem one can surely conclude that this is an original work, not a translation. On the other hand, the author, of course, based his composition on Buddhist sources whichever. As the manuscripts show slightly differing types of cursive Uigur script, the texts were probably all written only in the late period (13th to 14th centuries). Although they might have been composed already earlier, no data are at hand to prove one or the other possibility.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Before her death Annemarie v. Gabain gave me a copy of her transcript. As now the original text is well preserved in the National Library of Beijing, it is not necessary to refer to her readings which to a small extent could be corrected according to the now published good facsimile.

<sup>(2)</sup> BD 2012, pp. 199-201.

## Outline of the poem

While the text starts just with the beginning of the poem, it remains an open question, how long the original text was. The structure of the poem is rather clear. Mostly a pair of two stanzas refers first to the past, then to the contemporary situation.

Following this pattern stanza I gives a very short account on the places where Buddha was born and where he died: Kapilavastu and Kuśinagara. As an antipode in stanza II the contemporary situation of the Uigur Kingdom and China is referred to.

Stanza III gives a report on the tragedy of King Bimbisāra, and stanza IV emphasises that our deeds are responsible for our destiny.

While the life of the very first king Mūrdaghata is the theme of stanza V, one can assume that stanza VI refers to the (first?) Uigur king.

In stanza VII we encounter the lives of three famous disciples: Ānanda, Maudgalyāyana, and Śāriputra. The stanzas VIII, IX and X refer to the contemporary situation as the following ones do, too, but deviate from the scheme.

An exception is stanza XIV where probably a goddess is evoked.

## Poetical structure

Most of the stanzas follow the traditional pattern of four lines in strophic alliteration. But after having arranged the stanzas according to their semantic contents it became obvious that stanza VII has 3 subunits consisting of each two lines devoted to one person.

## The manuscripts

All fragments of this poem were written in different types of Uigur cursive script on verso sides of Chinese Buddhist scrolls. Beside the large fragment of the National Library of China (ms. A) there are six fragments of four other manuscripts of the collections of Berlin (ms. B, ms. C) and St. Petersburg (ms. D, ms. E)<sup>(3)</sup>.

### ms. A

Beijing National Library: BD15375. The Old Uigur text is written on the verso side of a segment from a scroll of the Chinese *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*<sup>(4)</sup>. Due to the damage of the manuscript the lower sections of lines 1 to 16 are missing but can be supplemented by the other manuscripts, mainly by ms. D. The script is a type of a well-executed cursive form. From some examples of dental confusion one is inclined to suppose that the manuscript was written in the Yuan period<sup>(5)</sup>.

Transliteration of the text lines of the poem (cp. stanzas I-XVI, 01-60):

01	twyyn kwyrklwk kys'ry 'rsl' [	]
02	k'nt 's'n 'ryp . twnk' l' [	]
03	t'kyrmy y'rwqy p'dm'ty mw . [	]
04	p'lyqlyq . twlp q'm'q t'vq'č [	]
05	pwlmys . twrytm'qsyz k'd kwqw l [	]

<sup>(3)</sup> Here I would like to express my gratitude to the responsible persons who edited the 146 volumes of all the Dunhuang texts possessed by the National Library in Beijing (see BD 2012). The digital images of the fragments of the Turfan Collection in Berlin can be found under <http://www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/turfanforschung/de/DigitalesTurfanArchiv>. I also thank Irina F. Popova, the director of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg for permitting me to include the manuscripts kept there.

<sup>(4)</sup> T. 262, p. 47c15-48a20, cp. also BD 2012, p. 10.

<sup>(5)</sup> In BD 2012, p. 10 the Old Uigur text is dated to 9th to 10th centuries (period of 歸義軍 Guiyijun).

- 06 typ twtwrq'nm'qyl ''mw . y'qyz y[ ]
- 07 y'lnkwq l'r nynk y'nk'zy pypm'[ ]
- 08 pwq'qwlwq t' 'wylwyp . y't kysy k'[ ]
- 09 y'qyn t' 'yr'q t' q'yw d' 'rs'r yrsm'l's[ ]
- 10 tynk 'rty . y'rwqw t' q'r'rqw pyzynk qylyn[ ]
- 11 t' y'typ 'wyltwym typ y'vyzl'nm'qyl y'mw . twypwyd' [ ]
- 12 mwrđ'k'ty 'ylyk . twyrt dyvyp yyrtyńčwk twyzw k'[ ]
- 13 'ryp mynk twnk' kwyčłwk 'wql'n l'ry twywmswzyn [ ]
- 14 nynk 'lkynd' twtswqm'dy mw . 'lp ywr'klyk t'rynk [ ]
- 15 ''qt'rdynk 'rty ''qyr 'wlwq ''t' t' ywl t' twrdwn[ ]
- 16 twqm' q't's l'rynk 's'n 'ryp . ''nyty'dq' s'ndw[ ]
- 17 l'nm' y'mw . 'ynčk'd' p'rmys kwnkwllwk ''n'nt 'rq'nt q' y[ ]
- 18 twyrlwyk y'zwq l'r k'lm'dy mw . t'nk'rkwlwkszw 'dkw lwk mwtk'l'y'ny
- 19 'rq'nt yq trs nwmlwq tyrtu l'r q'vysyp twqym'dy mw. 'wq's'q'w
- 20 lwqszw 'dkwlwk s'rypwdry 'rq'nt yq . 'wp'kwpsy y'k k'lyp p'sq'
- 21 swqm'dymw . t'nk'rkwlwkszw 'dkwlwk trk'n tykyn tkry pwkw tkryk'nymz
- 22 k' kwyrws'lym tywy . tkry yry t'k k'vs'n pwr q' t'kw 'wm'dyn .
- 23 *tnkryk*'n t'q qyrynt' t'ksylm'dymw . q'nky 'wyčwn ywlwq p'rmys
- 24 [ ]t'sym syny . q'dyr m'r' q'twn l'ry q'vs'yw pyryp . q'dyr qwz
- 25 [ ]s p'lyqq' 's'n t'kwrmys 'rs'r . q'rynt'synk kwypyn k' kwyrws
- 26 twrmys 'rs'r . q'č pwyłwk s'sdyr l'r q'lm'q'y 'rty . kwnkwłwmwzd'ky
- 27 [ ]rwm s'v l'ryq y'sys q'y 'rty m'z q'č yyltyn p'rw 'mk'nyp
- 28 ''lmys . q'č pwyłwk s'sdyr l'r nynk ''ty q'lm'q'y 'rty q'dyr
- 29 q'n tkryk'nymz tsywrq'q'y 'rty . q'r' pwdwn pyr'rw twrwp
- 30 'syryk'k'y 'rty . twlp q'm'q t'vq'č twyyn nynk pwykwnky kwyn
- 31 [ ] . kwyswy q'nq'y 'rty . q'pyntyn ywr'kym 'wynm'k'y 'rty .
- 32 [ ]skwt wmwz ym' pyzynk' y'ntwrrw y'qy pwlđy . [ ]
- 33 [ ]q'pdy . ''dynčyq 'ydwk s'twm'dy tkry nynk 't[ ]ld[ ]
- 34 [ ]s'wrrw k'lyr 'rs'r . 'wtrw 'wynwp qwčwq'y mn

- 35 [ ]qy 'lty ykrmy kyč' . 'wmwqwm wyz twr[ ]  
 36 [ ]s' r nynk 'wzwnyn twts' r p' s ynt[ ]  
 37 [ ]ytklyk mw . l' r nynk 'wylwkswzyn  
 38 [ ] pwlw'qw twrwr . dy' n'ğ'n  
 39 [ ] mw [ ]yksyz twžyt ' wrdw  
 40 [ ]wyrwsk' y sn .

ms. B

Turfan Collection of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities:  
 Ch/U 8089 verso. The recto side is part of a Chinese scroll of the *Mahāyāna  
 Mahāparinirvānasūtra*<sup>(6)</sup>.

Transliteration of the text lines of the poem (cp. stanzas I-II, 01-07):

- 01 q' nymz nynk twqmys p'lyqy k' plv' s dw ::  
 02 k' nt ' s' n ' ryp twnk' l' r<sup>(7)</sup> nynk p'lyqy  
 03 k' vs' n' k' r p'lyq t' twlw t' kyrmy y' rw[ ]  
 04 y p' dm' dy mw tw[ ] q' [ ] wz pys p' [ ] yq  
 05 twlp q' m' q tv[ ] rwp [ ]  
 06 swv' py pwq[ ]

ms. C

Turfan Collection of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities:  
 Ch/U 7009 + Ch/U 6870 verso. The recto side contains a passage from a Chinese  
 version of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā[mahā]prajñāpāramitāsūtra*<sup>(8)</sup>.

The first entry is on the margin of the recto side of Ch/U 7009 (cp. stanza I, 01-03):

<sup>(6)</sup> T. 374, p. 551c23-28.

<sup>(7)</sup> l' r was added later between the lines.

<sup>(8)</sup> T. 223, p. 276a2-6; cp. for further information about this manuscript Raschmann 2009, cat.-no. 509.

- 01 [     ]k kys'ry ' 'rsl'n q'ny nynk [     ] ]  
 02 [     ]nk' l'r nynk p'ly qy

The verso side of Ch/U 7009 contains a sketch of a head of a figure and a few remnants of different content. The second line in large letters contains two words which are the beginning of the poem: twyyn kwyrklwk. Line 3 has t'r'ny = *dhārāṇī*. Above the figure left and right we see words of a *dhāraṇī*: (left) q'rt'y s''v' (right) r'tny sv'q' t'n pyr' y'nt = *hrdaya sarva ratna svāhā* ? ?.

ms. D

The Turfan Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg has two fragments from a Chinese scroll of the Chinese *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*: a) SI 3Kr 1/2<sup>(9)</sup> and b) SI 4bKr 10<sup>(10)</sup>. They cannot be joined directly. Probably the scribe used first a) and then b) because he starts again from the beginning.

a) SI 3Kr 1/2

Transliteration of the text lines (cp. stanza I, 01-03):

- 01 twyyn kwyrk lwk kys'ry 'rsl'n q'nynynk  
 02 twyyn kwyrk lw k kys'ry 'rsl'n q'ny nynk  
 03 twqmys p'lyqy k'pyl v'z tw knt<sup>(11)</sup> 's'n 'ryp twnk' l'r nynk ::

b) SI 4bKr 10

Some exercises, probably written into the left space of the paper (cp. stanza I, 01-02):

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<sup>(9)</sup> T. 220, p. 633a16-28.

<sup>(10)</sup> T. 220, p. 634a4-22.

<sup>(11)</sup> k'pyl v'z tw knt in smaller script added between the lines.

- 1) twyyn
- 2) kwyrk twyyn twyyn kwyrk lwk t'vysq'n yył
- 3) twyyn kwyrk twyyn kwyrlwk twyyn
- 4) twyyn twyyn twyyn pytydym
- 5) t'vysq'n
- 6) twyyn kwyrk pysynč
- 7) mn 'wyz
- 8) tw kwyrk kwyrk twyyn
- 9) kysy l'r twyyn kysy pysynč 'y l'p yyz[ ]

Transliteration of the text lines of the poem (cp. stanzas I-IV, 01-15):

- 01 twyyn kwyrk kys'ry 'rsl'n q'ny nynk twq̄mys p'lyqy
- 02 k'pyl'v'zwtw k'nt 's'n 'ryp twnk' l'r nynk p'lyqy
- 03 k'vš'nkырwn k'nt t' :: twlw t'kyrmy y'rwqy p'tm'tymw
- 04 twq qwz . kyčyk 'wydyk'n pyš p'lyq lyq twlp q'm'q tvqč
- 05 swqpy pwqsy pwlmys twrytm'q syz . yty k'd kwplwnksy
- 06 twt'ywq y'typ 'wltwm typ twtwr q'nmqyl ymw y'qyz yyr
- 07 'rq'synt' 'ty p'rmys y'lnkwq l'r nynk ynk'sy pypm's'ry
- 08 q'n y'rsyn čyq y'vyz pwq' qwlwq t' y'typ 'wlwp
- 09 y'd kysy l'r k'lyp 'wylwykyn twd'm'tymw
- 10 y'qyn t' 'yrq t' q'yw t' 'rs'r . yrsm'l'sw č'
- 11 t'kyp 'wk y'qyl'ryq y'nčtymyz . 'wq 'rty
- 12 y'rwq t' q'r'nkqw t' pyz t'k 'wk qylynčymyz



ms. E

Turfan Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg: SI Kr I 124.

The verso side of this small fragment contains also the beginning of the text, while the recto side is a section of a Chinese scroll of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*<sup>(12)</sup>.

Transliteration of the text lines of the poem (cp. stanza I, 01-03):

02 [        ]n kwyrklwk kys'ry [        ]sl'n [        ]  
 03 [        ]t 's'n 'ryp twnk' l'r ny[        ]  
 04 [        ]kyrmy [        ]dm'dy tw[        ]

The Tianjin manuscript 58.5.669 ⑤ verso side<sup>(13)</sup> contains the beginning of the text, too. After three lines from *toyın* till *tolu* the scribe apparently was not satisfied with his work and inserted the following line: bo toyın körklüg tapıntım uz mu ärki tep m(ā)n ol “I venerated (with) this (stanza) ‘Of monk's appearance’. Is it well (written)? I, this (?)”. And he started to write the text again: from *toyın körklüg* till *öltüm* (more is not preserved).

## Text and translation

Here I give the text of the poem according to a reconstruction of verses. It has to be remarked that a few lines do not follow the metrical pattern.

The basic version is ms. A. As mentioned above the lower sections of the ms. A lines 1 to 16 (= verses 1-24) are missing. Therefore as basic text for verses 1-15 I take ms. D lines 01-12 (more is not preserved). For ms. A lines 31 to 40 much damaged in the upper section no parallel text exists.

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<sup>(12)</sup> T. 665, p. 433c17-21.

<sup>(13)</sup> Edited in Niu/Zieme 1996. Recto side: 合部金光明經陀羅尼最淨地品第六.

stanza I

- 01<sup>(14)</sup> D01 toyın körk<sup>(15)</sup> kesari arslan hanı-nıñ<sup>(16)</sup>  
 02 tugmış balıķı D02 kapilavastu<sup>(17)</sup> kǎnt<sup>(18)</sup> ǎsǎn ǎrip  
 03 toña-lar-nıñ balıķı D03 kavşangirun<sup>(19)</sup> kǎnt-tǎ<sup>(20)</sup>  
 04 tolu tǎgirmi yarukı batmatımu<sup>(21)</sup>

Is it not (true) that the town of Kapilavastu where the Lion king of monk’s appearance<sup>(22)</sup> was born was sane, while his full round radiance sank down in the town of Kuşınagara, the city of leopards?<sup>(23)</sup>

stanza II

- 05 D04 tug kuz kiçig ötikǎn beş balıķ-lıg  
 06 tolp kamag t(a)vg(a)ç<sup>(24)</sup> D05 swqpy pwqsy bolmış  
 07 turıtmak-sız y(i)ti kǎd<sup>(25)</sup> kwplwnksy

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<sup>(14)</sup> The number of the lines of the ms. is indicated by index numerals.

<sup>(15)</sup> Ms. A: *körklüg*. This variant demanded by the context, too, seems to be the “correct” one, as it also appears in ms. C just like a title.

<sup>(16)</sup> Ms. C: *hanım(i)z-nıñ*.

<sup>(17)</sup> Tianjin manuscript 58.5.669 ⑤ verso side l. 08 *kapilavasdu*, l. 12 *kapilavadu*. This may simply be a mistake and not reflect the Pāli form Kapilavatthu.

<sup>(18)</sup> Tianjin manuscript 58.5.669 ⑤ verso side ll. 08, 12 *k(ä)nt-tä*.

<sup>(19)</sup> Ms. C: *kavsanagar*.

<sup>(20)</sup> Ms. C: *balıķ-ta*.

<sup>(21)</sup> Ms. A: *badmatı mu*; ms. C: *b(a)dm(a)dı mu*. In ms. D *badmatımu* the interrogative suffix *mU* is joint to the preceding verbal form. Therefore one may think that there was a tendency to subdue this suffix to vowel harmony (*mu* or *mü*).

<sup>(22)</sup> Cp. *Buyan ävirmäk* to the Old Uigur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, Zieme 1991, p. 288: *yavaş särimlig toyın körklüg*.

<sup>(23)</sup> Cp. Maue/Röhrborn 1979, p. 294: *toñalar äriği* “Wohnort der Mallas”, p. 307 link to HT *toñalar kǎnti*.

<sup>(24)</sup> Ms. A: *tavgač*.

<sup>(25)</sup> Ms. A: *turıtmaksız kǎd*.

08 <sup>D06</sup>tutayuk yatıp öltüm<sup>(26)</sup> tep tutur-kanm(a)gıl<sup>(27)</sup> yamu

The (people) of Tug Kuz, of Kičig Ötikän, (and) of Bešbalık, altogether all have become Chinese *swqpy* and *pwqsy*. Uninhibited<sup>(28)</sup>, sharp, and wise *kwpwlwnksy*, do not claim: “Disparaged<sup>(29)</sup> I lay down and died!”<sup>(30)</sup>

stanza III

09 yagız yer <sup>D07</sup>arkasınta atı barmış  
 10 yal(a)ñuk-lar-nıñ y(a)ñası<sup>(31)</sup> bimbasare<sup>(32)</sup> <sup>D08</sup>han  
 11 yarsın-çig yavız buka-guluk-ta<sup>(33)</sup> yatıp ölüp<sup>(34)</sup>  
 12 <sup>D09</sup>yad<sup>(35)</sup> kişi-lär<sup>(36)</sup> kälip ölügin tutamatımu

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<sup>(26)</sup> Spelled 'wltwm.

<sup>(27)</sup> Ms. A: *tuturkanmagıl*. Apparently a new example of a verb to which the derivational suffix {Urka} is attached, the only other example known so far is *tuy-urkan-*, cp. OTWF, p. 465.

<sup>(28)</sup> Derived from *turıt-* “to inhibit”, cp. *turıtmaksız* (Wilkens 2007, ll. 2837-2838; OTWF pp. 515, 790). The poem on Buddhist preaching and priests (Mogao B 128:18; cp. Peng & Wang II, p. 188) contains the following stanza (ll. 084-086): *tuyunmuşlar eliginiñ nomında / turıtmaksız yanmaksız kertgüñlüg / tuguşsuz çarısız [ö]l[ümsü]z / tu[rulmuş] baksäm (?) aşaylıg* “Having an uninhibited and irreversible belief / in the Law of the King of the Enlightened Ones (i.e. Buddha); / With an unborn (?), actionless (?), deathless (?), / appeased, and firm (?) mind”.

<sup>(29)</sup> The word *tutayuk* contains the {yUk} participle from *tuta-* “to disparage”, cp. OTWF pp. 425-426.

<sup>(30)</sup> The sense of this stanza as a whole remains enigmatic.

<sup>(31)</sup> Ms. A: *yañazi*.

<sup>(32)</sup> Ms. A: *bimbas[are]*.

<sup>(33)</sup> Ms. A: *bukaguluk-ta*.

<sup>(34)</sup> Spelled 'wlwp; ms. A 'wylwp.

<sup>(35)</sup> Ms. A: *yat*.

<sup>(36)</sup> Ms. A: *kişi-kä*.

Did not king Bimbisāra whose fame spread on the ridge of the brown earth and who was the elephant of the people lay in the awful and bad prison<sup>(37)</sup> and died, did not foreign people come to disparage the dead?

stanza IV

- 13 <sup>D10</sup>yakın-ta ır(a)k-ta<sup>(38)</sup> kayu-ta<sup>(39)</sup> ärsär  
 14 y(a)ršmalašu-ča <sup>D11</sup>tägiþ ök yağılarıg y(a)nçtıımız ok ärti<sup>(40)</sup>  
 15 <sup>D12</sup>yaruk-ta karaŋgu-ta<sup>(41)</sup> biziþ<sup>(42)</sup> ök<sup>(43)</sup> kılınçımız [ugrıñ]-<sup>A11</sup>ta  
 16 yatıp öltüm tep yavızlanmagıl yamu

Near or far wherever, helping each other we attacked and destroyed the enemies. Do not feel bad (saying) “[Because] of our deeds in bright or dark I lay down and died”!

stanza V

- 17 töpüdä [tuğmıš] <sup>A12</sup>murdagati elig  
 18 tört divip yertinçüg tüzü kâ[////] <sup>A13</sup>ärip  
 19 miñ toña küçlüg oğlan-ları  
 20 tuyumsuzın [///] <sup>A14</sup>-niñ älgindä tutsukmadı mu

(Although) the king Mürdhagata [born] from the head [conquered?] the world of the four continents completely, were not the thousand heroes and their powerful sons taken immediately by the hand [of ...]?

<sup>(37)</sup> Cp. *bukagulukçi* “gaoler”.

<sup>(38)</sup> Ms. A: *ırak-ta*.

<sup>(39)</sup> Ms. A: *kayu-da*.

<sup>(40)</sup> Ms. A: The verb is missing, but it ends (on the beginning of line 10) in *-tiñ ärti*.

<sup>(41)</sup> Ms. A: *yarugu-ta karargu*. The second suffix *+ta* is missing.

<sup>(42)</sup> Spelled *pyz t'k*. According to ms. A: *biziñ* which seems to be the original and correct form.

<sup>(43)</sup> Deest ms. A.

## stanza VI

- 21 alp yüräklig täriñ [///] <sup>A15</sup>agtardıñ ärti  
 22 ağır ulug at-ta yol-ta turdun[g ärti]  
 23 [///] <sup>A16</sup>tugma kadaş-larıñ äsän ärip  
 24 anityatka sandu[/////] <sup>A17</sup>-lanma yamu

You have turned the brave and deep [...], you were in very great fame and fortune. Your [...] born family members are sane, do not [lament (?)] that they are subject to *anityatā*!

## stanza VII

- 25 inčgädä barmış köñüllüg anant arhant-ka  
 26 yeti <sup>A18</sup>türlüg yazuk-lar kälmädi mü  
 27 täñärgülüksüz ädgü-lüg motgalayani <sup>A19</sup>arhant-ıg  
 28 t(ä)rs nomlug tirti-lar kavışıp tokımadı mu  
 29 okşatgu-<sup>A20</sup>-luksuz ädgülüg şaripudri arhant-ıg  
 30 upagupdi yäk kälip başka <sup>A21</sup>sokmadı mu

Did not come even to the Arhat Ānanda with his fine heart the seven kinds of sins? Did not the heretics with wrong teachings surround the unsurpassable good Arhat Maudgalyāyana and slew him? Did not come the demon (*yakṣa*) Upagupta and struck the incomparable good Arhat Śāriputra on his head?

## stanza VIII

- 31 täñärgülüksüz ädgülüg tärkän tegin  
 32 t(ä)ñri bögü t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z <sup>A22</sup>-kä körüşälim teyü  
 33 t(ä)ñri yeri täg gavsarapur-ka tägü umadın  
 34 <sup>A23</sup>t(ä)ñrikän tag kırınta tägşilmädimü

We want to meet our unequalled good Majesty, the heavenly and wise Lord. Not being able to reach Gavsarapur<sup>(44)</sup> which is like the heaven’s land: has it not changed on the peak<sup>(45)</sup> of the Heavenly Mountains?

stanza XI

- 35 kaŋı üçün yolug barmış <sup>A24</sup>[karın]taşım sini  
 36 kadır mara hatun-ları kavşayu berip  
 37 kadır kuz <sup>A25</sup>beş balıkka äsän tägürmiş ärsär  
 38 karıntaşıŋ köpin-gä körüş <sup>A26</sup>-türmiş ärsär  
 39 kaç bölük şasdir-lar kalmagay ärti  
 40 könjülümüzdäki <sup>A27</sup>körüm savlarıg yazış-gay ärtim(i)z

My [bro]ther who went the way for his father! The cruel Māra ladies surround you. If he lets one reach Kadır Kuz (or) Beşbalık safely, if he lets you meet the crowd of your brother, (but) how many *śāstra* chapters will not persist, had we all failed the views and words in our hearts!

stanza XII

- 41 kaç yıltın-bärü ämgänip <sup>A28</sup>almış  
 42 kaç bölük şasdir-lar-nıŋ atı kalmagay ärti  
 43 kadır <sup>A29</sup>han t(ä)ŋrikänim(i)z tsuyurkagay ärti  
 44 kara bodun birgärü turup <sup>A30</sup>äsirgişgäy ärti

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<sup>(44)</sup> The name of the city of \*Gavsarapura may be explained from Sanskrit \*Gosārapura “Sandal city (a general Sanskrit name could be *candanapura*)” (?). For the first element cp. Zieme 1984. Wilkens 2007, p. 319 gives a different derivation via Middle Iranian, but this is also not without problems.

<sup>(45)</sup> Cp. *kır* “an isolated mountain or block of mountains” (ED p. 641).

The names of how many *śāstra* chapters for which since many years you plagued yourself will not persist! May our Majesty Kadir Han be gracious! May he stay with the people and be merciful!

## stanza XIII

- 45 tolp kamağ tavgaç toyın-nıñ  
 46 bükünki kün <sup>A31</sup>[///] . küsüşi kangay ärti  
 47 kapıntın yüräkim ünmgäy ärti  
 48 <sup>A32</sup>[//// bo]şgüt-umuz ymä biziñä yanturu yağı boldı

May the wishes of all Chinese monks of today's [time] be fulfilled! May my heart not go out from its container! Our [... tea]chings have become again adverse to us.

## stanza XIV

- 49 a[///] <sup>A33</sup>[/// ///] kapdı  
 50 adnıçığ ıduk sadumati t(ä)ñri-niñ at[...]]ld[..  
 51 <sup>A34</sup>[/// ///]şuru kälir ärsär  
 52 utru ünüp kuçuşgay-m(ä)n

A[...] has seized [...]. The name (?) of the exceptional holy God Sādhumatī [...]. [...] if comes, I go to meet and embrace him.

## stanza XV

- 53 <sup>A35</sup>[/// /// ///]kı altı y(i)g(i)rmi kečä  
 54 umugum öz twr[//] <sup>A36</sup>[/// /// ///]  
 55 [udun san]sar-ning uzunın tutsar  
 56 baş-inta <sup>A37</sup>[/// /// /// ///]

[...] sixteen nights, my hope self [...]. If one considers the length of the [vile Sam]sāra, on one’s head [...]

stanza XVI

- 57 [//] etiglig nom-lar-nıñ ürlügsüzin  
 58 <sup>A38</sup>[/// /// ///] bulmagu turur  
 59 dyanaşan <sup>A39</sup>[/// /// /// üzäl]liksiz tužit ordu  
 60 <sup>A40</sup>[/// /// /// /// k]örüşgäy-s(ä)n

[Considering] the transitoriness of the *saṃskṛta dharmas* [...] is not seizable. Dy’n’s’n (?)<sup>(46)</sup> [...] the unsurpassable Tuṣita palace, [there ...] you will meet [Maitreya (?)]

## Commentary

This poem offers an interesting insight how Buddhism was adopted by and for the royal house. The contemporary situation is embedded into an historical context. First let us have a look at the contemporary names.

## Place names

In stanza II three place names are mentioned.

1) To give a correct spelling of the first place name is not easy. It is given only in D (Fig. 1) and B (Fig. 2). In both cases the name can be read as twq qwz *Tug Kuz*<sup>(47)</sup>. One can compare it to the place name *tuvγan quz* in line 2 of the verso side of T II D 62<sup>(48)</sup> edited by A. v. Le Coq<sup>(49)</sup>. In this Manichaean text the guardian spirit

<sup>(46)</sup> Spelled dy’n’s’n.

<sup>(47)</sup> Tianjin manuscript 58.5.669 ⑤ verso side l. 14 qyz against qwz of the other manuscripts.

<sup>(48)</sup> Lost item of the Turfan Collection in Berlin.

<sup>(49)</sup> M III no. 25.



(w'xšyk) of the place is evoked. The identity of the place name cannot be established with certainty as no further data are known. The second element of the name, *kuz*, was familiar in MK's time. He translates *kuz tag* as "the shady side of a mountain"<sup>(50)</sup>. In some modern languages the word for "north" still contains this element<sup>(51)</sup>.

Fig. 1

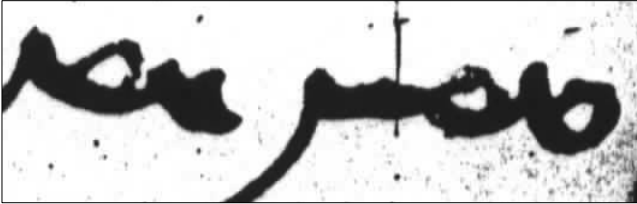


Fig. 2



2) The second place name is *kycyk 'wydyk'n Kičig Ötikän* in line 5, mentioned only in ms. D. Ms. B has only two names: *Tug Kuz* and *Bešbalık*. Whether ms. A had it or not, is not clear because there is a lacuna<sup>(52)</sup>. The second name element, this time with a correct -t- ('*wytk'n*), is also found in SI D 17<sup>(53)</sup>. There can be no doubt that the name is identical with the famous *Ötükän* known

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<sup>(50)</sup> ED 680b.

<sup>(51)</sup> See e.g. Republican Turkish *kuzey*.

<sup>(52)</sup> Tianjin manuscript 58.5.669 ⑤ verso side l. 14 '*wydk'n*.

<sup>(53)</sup> Edited by Tugusheva 1996, p. 356 (line 9).

from the Runic inscriptions<sup>(54)</sup>. Y. Yoshida recognised the name in the Karabalgasun inscription<sup>(55)</sup>. Further examples are known from M 919 verso 14: ’yl ’wytwk’n *El Ötükän*<sup>(56)</sup>, Mainz 345<sup>(57)</sup> as well as from the so-called Memorandum Text<sup>(58)</sup>: ’wytwk’n *Ötükän*.

3) The third name is the well-known name of the capital Bešbalık<sup>(59)</sup>.

In stanza XI (verse 37) the whole region is mentioned once more, this time under the name Kadir Kuz Bešbalık “From (the region of) Kadir Kuz (till) Bešbalık”. Thus one may conclude that Tuvgan Kuz and Kadir Kuz are similar names for denoting one point of the region while Bešbalık is the other. If this is true, Kičig Ötikän is rather an addition in ms. D than omitted in other manuscripts.

Stanza VIII (verse 34) contains the name of the mountain chain *T(ä)ñrikän Tag kırnta* “on the peak of the Heavenly Mountain”. Probably this refers to the famous 天山 Tianshan, the Heavenly Mountains north of the Taklamakan.

As the counterpart on the other side Tavgač as the usual name of China<sup>(60)</sup> is mentioned in stanza II (verse 6).

## Peoples and persons

Contemporary rulers of the West Uigur Kingdom are mentioned in stanza VIII. The ruler’s title is given as Tärkän Tegin T(ä)ñri Bögü T(ä)ñrikän suffixed by the possessive plural like in “Our Majesty”.

The following data refer likewise to persons. In verse 37 *Kadır Kuz*, in verse 38 *karıntašıñ* “your brother”, in verse 43 *Kadır han t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z* “Our

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<sup>(54)</sup> Şirin User 2009, p. 142.

<sup>(55)</sup> Yoshida 2011, pp. 79-80.

<sup>(56)</sup> M III no. 15. As in our first example a spirit (this time *kut*) is evoked.

<sup>(57)</sup> Edited by Moriyasu 2002.

<sup>(58)</sup> Edited Zhang/Zieme 2011.

<sup>(59)</sup> For some references see Zieme 2009.

<sup>(60)</sup> Şirin User 2009, pp. 150, 162.



06 käyik-kä 'd's[ ]ydyl kynk {...}<sup>(68)</sup> 'ysyrqyr'n  
 07 [ ]d[ ]k]äyik alturdı-l[ar]  
 08 [ ]ögüp . kadır xan [///]  
 09 [ ]n ög . '[ ]y  
 10 [ ]

Preliminary translation

(side A)

... we had many ... (bad) deeds that we did in previous (?) existences. In the evening of the third day of the last month our Lord Täñrikän Bars Togrıl Tegin T(ä)ñrim became ill and without further increasing ... he graciously died and went up to [Hea]ven's land. ...

(side B)

... A master preached the teaching. He graciously gave ...<sup>(69)</sup> and thus honoured the Buddha convent. To Kadır Xan ... a hunter brought many falcons<sup>(70)</sup>, nine white horses , ..., s'p'r<sup>(71)</sup> and appeared inside (?). The next day he graciously departed ...

I mention here some other examples found in the manuscripts.

In a colophon to a version of the *Kšanti kılmak nom*<sup>(72)</sup>: [bo buyan] ädgü kılınč t(ä)ñrikän kutlug bars teginkä tägmäki [bolzu]n “[This *punya*], the good deed, may be transferred to the Majesty Kutlug Bars Tegin!”.

<sup>(68)</sup> One word seems to be erased.

<sup>(69)</sup> Perhaps to emend to [alms].

<sup>(70)</sup> A kind of falcon, cp. the text “Three goldsmiths” (U 5656 recto l. 08) where a long list of birds is given, i. a. s'p'r tälgüy.

<sup>(71)</sup> Cp. preceding footnote.

<sup>(72)</sup> Mainz 0709a (Wilkens 2003, p. 315).

The verso side of Ch/U 8188<sup>(73)</sup> contains a passage introduced by *kim ol* that refers to the royal house in which the origin of the Uigur Realm is stated (ll. 08-11): *kim ol (: ur<sup>(74)</sup> uguš-lug udan bag-lıg uygur el-niñ [...]) čindamani ärdinisi tegli tägimlig bolmış t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z [...]) bo buyannıy ok<sup>(75)</sup> otuz tegit oğlanları tokuz [...]) t(ä)ñri mäñisin mäñiläyü burhan kutılıg küsü[š ...]<sup>(76)</sup> “Our Majesty worthy to be called ‘Cintāmani jewel<sup>(77)</sup> [...] of the Uigur realm of the Ur generation and the Udan clan’ [...] By power (?) of this *punya* his thirty princely sons and the nine [ministers ...] may enjoy heavenly pleasures and [their] wish for Buddhahood [may be fulfilled!]”*

From this text we have to conclude that the dynasty’s origin is related to Ur and Udan. While Udan is already known from other sources<sup>(78)</sup>, the name Ur is enigmatic. MK has a colour name *or* used for horses (“between chestnut and bay”)<sup>(79)</sup> but whether this was a tribe’s name or not remains unsettled. In the introduction to the *Hami Maitrisimit* the 30 princes and the 9 ministers are mentioned, too: (ll. 22-27): *t(ä)ñri bögü el bilgä arslan t(ä)ñri uygur tärkänim(i)z kutıña alkatmış on uygur eli : otuz tegit oğlanı : tokuz elči bilgäsi : miñ tapınur tımän içräki-läri birlä miñ tımän yulka tägi el ašayu y(a)rılıkamak-ları bolzunlar* “To the majesty of Our Heavenly Uigur Prince Täñri Bögü El Bilgä Arslan: May he together with the realm of the On Uigur, the thirty princely sons, the nine envoys and wise men, thousand servants, ten thousand inner servants for thousand and ten

<sup>(73)</sup> Recto: passage of a Chinese block print of T. 212 (“Sūtra of the Appearance of Light”), pp. 744c19-745a1.

<sup>(74)</sup> As there is in this type of script nearly no difference between final -y and -r, it is also possible to read *oy*.

<sup>(75)</sup> Probably misspelled for *küčintä* “by power of”.

<sup>(76)</sup> If this part is not written in alliterative verses it is at any rate characterised by full use of inner alliteration.

<sup>(77)</sup> This comparison is used also in the 1334 inscription, cp. Geng/Hamilton 1981, V, l. 08: *čintamani täg t(ä)ñrikänimiz*.

<sup>(78)</sup> Cp. Zhang/Zieme 2011, p. 145.

<sup>(79)</sup> ED pp. 192-193.

thousand years graciously rule the Realm!”<sup>(80)</sup>

In stanza XII the whole people (*kara bodun*) is mentioned (verse 44) while the following stanza XIII (verse 45) mentions the Chinese monks as a unity.

### Buddhist names

In stanza II some unidentified words appear which can be regarded as transcriptions of Chinese names: swqpy pwqsy (Fig. 3) in ms. D, swv'py pwq[...] (Fig. 4) in ms. B. Judging from the preceding word *tavgač* “Chinese” one can assume that these are names of Chinese origin. One would expect that the names should be identical but the spellings are not. In the first case (ms. D) there are two syllables: swq + py, but the possibilities for an underlying Chinese name are too many as to be able to give an exact derivation. The second name can be analysed in the same way: pwq + sy (or: sr?).

Fig. 3

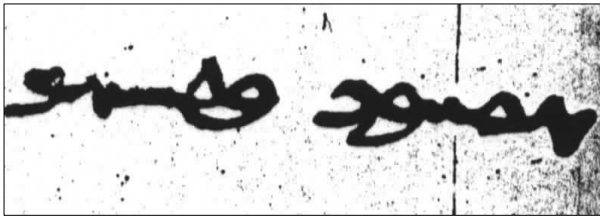


Fig. 4




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<sup>(80)</sup> Geng/Klimkeit 1988, pp. 10-13.

In ms. B the names look similar, but against the letter -q- in ms. D ms. B has -v'-. The first syllable of the second name is identical, the remainder is unclear.

In the third line of the same stanza in one manuscript (D) four syllables are written in one unit (Fig. 5: kwpwlwinksy), while in the other (ms. A) the same group is written as two units incompletely preserved due to the lacuna in this line (Fig. 6): kwqw-l[...]. Thus one can compare only the first unit, where the third letter is written in a different spelling: ms. A q against ms. D p: kwqw against kwpw. But despite the different spellings the name for which one can surely suppose a Chinese origin should be the same. For the second name lwnksy preserved only in ms. D one can refer to other data of the same spelling. One is the Old Uigur document U 5485<sup>(81)</sup> line 1 *lwnksy-ka* “to Lwnksy (Loŋši < Chinese ?)”, the other one the Qaraqoto Mongol document G 118, line 6<sup>(82)</sup>.

Fig. 5

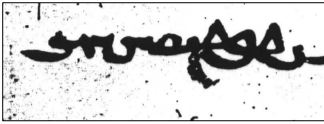


Fig. 6



## Kings

Mūrdhagata (< Sanskrit “Born from the crown of the head”): “The king born from the crown of the head, name of the first *cakravartī* ancestors of the Śākya clan” (DDB). He is also known as Mandhātā/Mandhātṛ. Cp. Laut/Wilkens DKPAM Hami: 412 *murdagateta [u]lati č(a)kr(a)v(a)rt elig 413 -lār hanlar* “the *cakravartin* kings beginning with Mūrdhagata”; Kudara/Zieme Agama 3, p. 134.

Bimbisāra or Bimbasāra. He was a king of Magadha who died during his

<sup>(81)</sup> Raschmann 2009, cat.-no. 279.

<sup>(82)</sup> Kara 2003, p. 14.

imprisonment imposed by his son Ajātaśatru. His wife Vaidehī saved him from early dying, and the story is very familiar in the Pure Land Buddhism, because it is incorporated into the 觀無量壽經 *Guanwuliangshoujing* / *Kammuryōjukyō*.

## Saints

Stanza VII mentions the three arhats Ānanda, Maudgalyāyana, and Śāriputra who despite their sainthood were overcome by sins, by heretics, or by a demon.

In the case of Ānanda *yeti türlüg yazuk-lar* (line 26) “seven kinds of sins” are mentioned. In Buddhism there are several lists of “seven sins”: 七使 *qi shi* “The seven messengers, agents, or *kleśas* — desire 欲愛; anger, or hate 瞋恚; attachment, or clinging 有愛; pride or arrogance 慢; ignorance, or unenlightenment 無明; false views 見; and doubt 疑.”<sup>(83)</sup>; “七垢 The seven defilements — desire 欲, false views 見, doubt 疑, pride 慢, arrogance 憍 torpor 隨眠, and 慳 stinginess; cf. 七使”<sup>(84)</sup>; “七逆 (七逆罪) The seven rebellious acts, or deadly sins — shedding a Buddha’s blood, killing father, mother, monk, teacher, subverting or disrupting monks, killing an arhat. V. 梵網經下.”<sup>(85)</sup>

In the confession text T. 1910 which was translated into Old Uigur we read: “For all kinds of sins committed since the beginninglessness up to this day through the seven influences, for sins committed through the seven kinds of *kleśas*, for sins and wrong deeds committed through wrong views, for sins committed through the eight kinds of sufferings, for sins committed through the *kleśas* by which we were bound to the six ways (*gati*) and the four birth forms, for all these sins bringing them to light we ask for remission.” In the next passage the *kleśas* are made responsible for our ill-being: “Silig Ogul Hatun, Tatar Tārimčük and all others who committed sins due to the *kleśas* which became deeper from one day to the other,

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<sup>(83)</sup> SH 10.

<sup>(84)</sup> SH 11.

<sup>(85)</sup> SH 15.



heavier from one day to the other and more from one day to the other, which took roots and greened. Our eyes of wisdom became covered and disguised. We did not see the Buddha, we did not listen to his teaching. We did not meet the wise communities. It were the *kleśas* that hindered us.”<sup>(86)</sup> Here we encounter the term 七使 *qi shi* which is equivalent to 七隨眠 *qi suimian* “seven latent afflictive tendencies”.

Despite these lists it remains questionable how Buddha’s foremost disciple Ānanda could be accused of “seven kinds of sins”. Kuo Li-ying mentions that “Ānanda, fut forcé par ses confrères, notamment par le grand disciple Kāśyapa, de confesser ses fautes en public afin de pouvoir assister au premier concile réuni à Rājagṛha pour transcrire les paroles de leur maître, le Buddha Śākyamuni, après son Nirvāṇa.”<sup>(87)</sup> But this is, of course, not an account of seven sins committed by Ānanda, thus this problem remains unsettled.

In Pāli texts some actions of Ānanda were regarded as offences: “Ānanda's popularity, however, did not save him from the recriminations of his fellows for some of his actions, which, in their eyes, constituted offences. Thus he was charged (Vin.ii.288-9) with: (1) having failed to find out from the Buddha which were the lesser and minor precepts which the Sangha were allowed to revoke if they thought fit (See D.ii.154); (2) with having stepped on the Buddha's rainy-season garment when sewing it; (3) with having allowed the Buddha's body to be first saluted by women (not mentioned elsewhere, but see Rockhill, op. cit., p.154); (4) with having omitted to ask the Buddha to live on for the space of a kappa (D.ii.115); and (5) with having exerted himself to procure the admission of women into the Order (Vin.ii.253). Ānanda's reply was that he himself saw no fault in any of these acts, but that he would confess them as faults out of faith in his colleagues. On another occasion he was found fault with (1) for having gone into the village to beg for alms, clothed in his waist-cloth and nether garment (Vin.i.298); (2) for having

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<sup>(86)</sup> Mainz 292 (= leaf 59).

<sup>(87)</sup> Kuo 1994, p. 7.

worn light garments which were blown about by the wind (Vin.ii.136).”<sup>(88)</sup>

Maudgalyāyana is said to have been beaten by heretics. The typical fighter against the heretics is not Maudgalyāyana, but rather Śāriputra. That legend is also known from an Old Uigur fragment which grosso modo coincides with the *Samghabhedavastu* version<sup>(89)</sup>. On the other hand, it is reported in Pāli texts that “Moggallana, who had always openly expounded the teachings of Shakyamuni and opposed other beliefs, was often the object of persecution. On one occasion members of a rival religious group plotted to disgrace Moggallana by having a prostitute named Uppalavanna seduce him. Uppalavanna had been through two unhappy marriages through no fault of her own. With his supernatural powers Moggallana perceived her desperation and led her to faith in the Buddha's teachings. In the end though, Moggallana was killed by his persecutors. Religious rivals hired ruffians to attack him as he meditated in the mountains. According to the scriptures, though stoned, until his bones were broken, he nonetheless managed to return to the Bamboo Grove Monastery, where he declared, ‘I can no longer tolerate this pain and will now enter nirvana.’ With these words he died.”<sup>(90)</sup>

The verses about Śāriputra are astonishing as his opponent is Upagupta who himself was a widely acknowledged saint (*arhat*). I cannot find him as a demon (or *yakṣa*), but it is known that the scriptures recount rival stories between the disciples. Upagupta does not appear among the earliest disciples, but is later well acknowledged<sup>(91)</sup>. In another Old Uigur text Upagupta acts as a famous meditation master<sup>(92)</sup>.

In a Manichaean homily addressed to laymen edited by W. B. Henning among previous sinners there are mentioned beside Devadatta also king Aśoka and

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<sup>(88)</sup> Cp. MPPN according to the website:

[http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali\\_names/aa/aaananda.htm](http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/aa/aaananda.htm).

<sup>(89)</sup> Zieme 1998.

<sup>(90)</sup> H. Hecker, cp. <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/hecker/wheel261.html>.

<sup>(91)</sup> Cp. Migot 1954, p. 477.

<sup>(92)</sup> Zieme 2008, p. 88.

the pious Upagupta<sup>(93)</sup>: “The third calumniator was *WPR'TT* (= Upagupta ?), the *śramaṇa*, – and King Śoka (= Aśoka) who slandered Buddha Śākman [i.e. Śākyamuni], and further the sinner Devadatta who spoilt Buddha’s religion.”<sup>(94)</sup> W. Sundermann commented on this fact: “A Buddhologist who is not so well versed in the Manichaeian missionary practice will be surprised to find Aśoka and perhaps also Upagupta accused of having calumniated Buddha. No Buddhist statement to this effect is known to me. As a matter of fact, Mani regarded his prophetic predecessors’ messages as distorted by their own disciples. He found the guilty parties among their prominent, close adherents, as well as among their real detractors.”<sup>(95)</sup> Following this conclusion one can assume that even among Uigur Buddhists this old tradition of Manichaeian origin was maintained.

## A Buddhist goddess

The third word of line 50 of stanza XIV (Fig. 7) is difficult to decipher, but probably one can simply read s'twm'dy as a transcription of Sanskrit *sādhumatī*. This is the term of the ninth stage of the Bodhisattva path, but in Vajrayāna Buddhism it is also recorded as the name of a goddess. She is the tenth in the series of Bhūmi goddesses: “Sādhumatī is white in colour and holds in her left hand the sword on a night lotus”<sup>(96)</sup>.

Fig. 7



<sup>(93)</sup> Reconstructed by W. B. Henning from the spelling *wpr'tt*, supported by Sundermann 2001, p. 447.

<sup>(94)</sup> Henning 1977, p. 147.

<sup>(95)</sup> Sundermann 2001, p. 443.

<sup>(96)</sup> Bhattacharyya 1958, p. 336.

## Buddhist terms

Among the Buddhist terms there is one which appears here for the first time. This is the word *dyanašan* (verse 59, stanza XVI). As it is spelled dy'n'š'n it should be read *dyanašan*. Unfortunately there is no context and no help to determine its exact meaning. Neither other examples are known. If there were not the dotted š, one could easily interpret it as the Sanskrit term *dhyānāsana* (< *dhyāna āsana*) “*dhyāna* sitting pose” (also known as *vajrāsana* or *padmāsana*), but this remains doubtful until we find other examples.

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