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## Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom

Peter ZIEME\*

### Introduction

An Old Uyghur inscription engraved on a stone from the town of Toyoq has aroused great interest because its contents promised to be a source for the study of religious, cultural and historical faces of the Turfan oasis.<sup>1</sup> Of course one cannot expect too much from such a document. After all, it's all about the repair of a temple. Since the stone comes from the surroundings of Toyok, one can be sure that it is a monastery or temple of the extensive temple complexes there, still even the name of the temple is not given. But not least because of the final part about the transfer of merit, the inscription deserves more attention than it has received so far. In the past two decades new excavations have started in newly found or undiscovered caves. These reports<sup>2</sup> are very promising to new results from the studies of the found materials as well as from the study of wall paintings and wall inscriptions.

### 1. The stone

Huang Wenbi writes about this inscription: “This stone was discovered 1912 in T'u yü-kou (吐峪溝). Later the engraved stone was transported to Ti-hua (Urumtschi) and deposited in the bureau of Public affairs (of that city), and was used as a stone holder for a mimeograph machine. In 1928 when I went to Ti-hua, I took it out from the mimeograph machine and made a few rubbings. We do not know where the original stone is today located. On one surface of the stone was engraved the Old Uighur language, totalling 24 lines; the first line has deflections; in the middle, there were breakages; in general the text is clean<sup>3</sup> and readable. After I

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<sup>1</sup> Here I would like to express my sincere thanks to Takao Moriyasu who read a first version of my paper and gave me valuable notes, to Dai Matsui for his suggestions and helpful notes as well as for accepting my paper for the issue, to Kōichi Kitsudō for a discussion about the objects of the donation. Li Xiao & Abdurishid Yakup, and Tursunjan Imin have already published editions of wall inscriptions or scribbles in the newly excavated caves of Toyok (Li & Yakup 2019; Imin 2020b), while Fu Ma and Xia Lidong prepare editions of others. These inscriptions have no direct relation to the stone inscription discussed here, but as a whole all these materials together with the newly found book fragments in a great number of languages are testimonies of the great history of Toyok as one cultural centre of the West Uyghur Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Joint TEAM 2012.

<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps a misprint for clear.

returned to Peking, I inquired about it A. von Gabain, according to her comments, the text is about *Pu-ha-li Iduqu's* rebuilding of the temple *K'o-tzu-erh* in *Kaoch'ang*. I do not know whether her comments are correct or not. This should, again be waited until further studies! - The stone is 72 x 54 cm.”<sup>4</sup>

In his paper about Huang Wenbi's achievements Rong Xinjiang included a note written by Annemarie v. Gabain in 1931 after her examining the stone. She mentions some details of the inscription, but in her works she did not edit the text nor referred to it.<sup>5</sup>

The whereabouts of this inscription are unknown. Up to this day the inscription has not been re-found. Thus all information and decipherments depend either on the rubbings or on the photographs made from the rubbings. The rubbing of the stone inscription is now preserved in the National Museum of China 中國國家博物館 (or the former Historical Museum of China 中國歷史博物館), Beijing. The museum had given the rubbing an inventory number “K 7708” before 1987–1988,<sup>6</sup> while recently Tursunjan Imin informs of the new inventory number “1,3.767.”<sup>7</sup>

After the publication of a facsimile by Huang Wenbi the inscription was edited independently by Şinasi Tekin<sup>8</sup> and by Geng Shimin.<sup>9</sup> A new edition was recently published by Tursunjan Imin in 2020.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. *Tiyok*

The place name appears in the inscription itself as Tyywq which can be read in no other way than Tiyok (or Tiyuk). This spelling reoccurs in other old documents, while the modern form of the name may go back to some more recent sources. Here the study by P. Pelliot should be mentioned. Old Uyghur Tiyok is obviously derived from Chinese *dinggu* 丁谷.<sup>11</sup>

## 3. Date

J. Wilkens follows T. Moriyasu's dating with the statement “around the 11<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>12</sup> From his recent email I understand that T. Moriyasu is inclined to change the date rather to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, there are no

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<sup>4</sup> Translation of Huang 1954, p. 64 by C. Yen in Tekin 1976, p. 225. Facsimile of the inscription in Tekin 1976 between pp. 228 and 229 after Huang 1954, pl. 110, fig. 99. Such a photograph was added in Tekin 1976 as well as in the publications by Geng Shimin.

<sup>5</sup> Rong 2014, pp. 254–255. Rong's other book (Rong 2013) contains the Chinese article by Geng Shimin about the Toyok inscription as well as a Chinese translation of Ş. Tekin's German paper (Tekin 1976) by Li Xue.

<sup>6</sup> Umemura 1990, p. 239; Umemura 1991, pp. 157, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Tekin 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Geng 1981.

<sup>10</sup> Imin 2020a.

<sup>11</sup> Pelliot 2002, p. 135; Matsui 2015, p. 276 with fn. 8. *Toyog* = *Tu-yu-gou* 吐峪溝, earlier *Tu-yu* 吐峪 < *Toyog* < Uig. *Tiyog* < Chin. *Ding-yu* 丁谷.

<sup>12</sup> Wilkens 2015, p. 201.

exact criteria for a definite solution. In line 24 of the inscription there is preserved only *yunt yil* “year of horse” being possibly a part of an original date which is lost, however.

#### 4. Buddhism at Toyok

Following the research of N. Yamabe<sup>13</sup> J. Wilkens holds the view that Pure Land Buddhism was flourishing at Toyok already since the 6<sup>th</sup> or the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Later, Uighurs on the other hand translated texts of Pure Land Buddhism not earlier than 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but the fragment of the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* from Dunhuang may point to an earlier adaptation. If the manuscript stems from Cave 17 or the Library Cave (*Zang-jing-dong* 藏經洞), and there is no doubt on it, it is possible that, as K. Kudara suggested, the translation of the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* was made already during the 10<sup>th</sup> century and would thus belong to the eldest stratum of Buddhist translations from Chinese.<sup>15</sup>

#### 5. Repair of temples and/or monasteries

Construction and/or repair of temples, monasteries and religious edifices belong to the things by which one gets *punya* as it is taught in many Buddhist sūtra texts. The history of the spread of Buddhism goes along with foundations of new monasteries. It was often the case that inscriptions or memoranda were written when new temples or monasteries were constructed or when rebuilding projects were started. The document S. 6719<sup>16</sup> is a record of donations for repair of the Kai-yuan 開元 monastery. Investigating the Monastic Circulars (*dang-si zhuan-tie* 當寺轉帖) from Dunhuang, Hao Chunwen highlights the document P. 4981: “To the aforementioned members of the assembly (*zhong-tu* 眾徒): Because our [word missing] temple was recently damaged by flood, the effort of the assembly is urgently needed to renovate it. Monastic officers (*seng-guan* 僧官) should bring an axe and basin; the dispersed assembly (*san-zhong* 散眾) should bring a shovel or pick; and it falls to the other two people to bring a dustpan.”<sup>17</sup> And there is ample evidence for this kind of engagement in the Chinese sources, but much less is available for the history of monasteries in the Uyghur lands.

#### 6. Text and translation of the Toyok stone inscription

As the Toyok inscription was edited already several times, I give here a transcription only, arranged according to the sections one can establish on the basis of the contents.

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<sup>13</sup> Yamabe 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Wilkens 2015, p. 224 (n. 134).

<sup>15</sup> Kudara 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Giles 1957, p. 214.

<sup>17</sup> Hao 2010, p. 84.

**A) [Headline?]***Text*

01 mn

*Comments*

It is uncertain whether there was a first line or not, wherefore one can also not determine whether the inscription had a title or not.

The only visible word is mn which can be interpreted as the pronoun *mān* “I.”

**B) [The primitive state of flourishing Buddhism]***Text*

02 ymä törümiš-lär-niḡ eligi<sup>18</sup> hanı burhan-lıḡ ıduḡ kün t(ä)ḡri madyadeš<sup>19</sup> ulušta<sup>20</sup> 03 änätkäk elindä tuga b(ä)lgürä yarlıkap yarlıkančuı köñüllüḡ<sup>21</sup> bilgä biliglig nomlug 04 yarukın<sup>22</sup> yaltruk-ların<sup>23</sup> tolḡ yertinču yer suvda yada yaltırtı<sup>24</sup> yarlıkap imäriḡmä sayu<sup>25</sup> tınl(ı)ḡ-larıḡ 05 yertinčülüḡ kertü tegli etiḡlig iz<sup>26</sup> oruk-ka tayanturu y(a)rlıkamakı üzä yertinču-lüḡdä 06 yeg tetmä ıduḡ mäñü mäñi tüškä<sup>27</sup> uduzu yerčiläyü yarlıkadı

*Translation*

And the holy sun, i.e. Buddha, the King and Lord of the creatures, graciously rose and appeared in the Madhyadeśa land on Indian soil; being merciful and wise he graciously spread and let shine the dharma light and splendour throughout the earthly world; by graciously supporting<sup>28</sup> the surrounding living beings to the track and lane<sup>29</sup> equipped by the worldly truth he graciously led and guided them to the holy eternal joyful fruit called (truth) better than the worldly truth.

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<sup>18</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 reads *ilki*.

<sup>19</sup> m'ty'dys.

<sup>20</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 reads *elintä* as already Geng did.

<sup>21</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 reads *köngü(li)n*.

<sup>22</sup> Imin 2002, p. 2 reads *yaruḡinī*.

<sup>23</sup> This word is rather damaged, my reading is not more than a guess, but I doubt that Imin's proposal *yanqu tǎḡ* (Imin 2020a, p. 2) “like echo” (*hui-xiang* 回響) can fit into the context.

<sup>24</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 reads *yaltırtıu*.

<sup>25</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 *imräskänläyü*.

<sup>26</sup> Imin's spelling is *az oruḡ* is doubtful, and he gives no translation for *az*.

<sup>27</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 also has *tüškä*.

<sup>28</sup> Cp. HT IX, 2016 *sakinčig dyan kapıḡlarıña tayanturup* “supporting the thought by the *dhyāna* gates”; OTWF, p. 823.

<sup>29</sup> For the word pair cp. HT VII 35 *iz oruk*; Wilkens 2017, p. 216 13r06 必入于死徑 = *oḡgurak* [必] *kirür* [入] *ölümlüḡ* [死] *iz oruk* [徑] *ka* [于]; Zieme 2017: 定法心 *kä barguluk iz oruk* (153)-lar.

*Comments***burhan-ıg iduk kün t(ä)ñri**

The compound used here is *kün täñri*, word by word “sun god,” but in the metaphorical sense the sun is the Buddha. Probably in Buddhist terminology the compound never denotes a Sun God, but in the religious context the word *täñri* was simply added to sun or moon.

The Pāli text *Buddhapādamāṅgala* expresses it in this way: “The sun is a name of the Blessed One himself. Just as the Blessed One, destroying the mass of darkness represented by all the dark defilements of the three worlds through [his teachings] the nature of the Four Truths, leads to the attainment of Nibbāna, [that is an object to] the paths and fruitions and [the condition marked by] the absence of the dark defilements, and offers to them perfect deliverance from the sufferings of saṃsāra, in the same way the sun eliminates the darkness of all beings, so that they have light to distinguish between what is good and what is not good. Therefore the sun is called the Buddha-jewel.”<sup>30</sup> The comparison of Buddha with the sun is one of the stock epithets, i.e. the Buddha-sun which drives away the darkness of ignorance (Skt. *buddha-sūrya*, *sambuddha-sūrya*, *ārya-sūrya*, *jina-sūrya*, *tathāgatāditya*)<sup>31</sup>. One example may be quoted: *fo-ri chu-xian* 佛日出現 “the Buddha-sun erased and appeared” (T.IV.193.58c09). The Old Uyghur equivalent inserts *iduk* “holy.”

**törümišläрниң eligi hanı**

“King of the creatures” can be equated with *ren-wang* 人王 “king of men,” an epithet of a Buddha in T. 360 (*Sukhāvātīvyūhasūtra*, *Sūtra of Immeasurable Life*) (cp. Skt. *narapati*).<sup>32</sup> It is suggested here that it might have been used also as a general epithet of the Buddha, but it is also one of the King of the East in Jambudvīpa.<sup>33</sup>

**madyadeš ulušta ānātkāk elindä**

The inscription starts with mentioning the birth of the Buddha in India. For “India” the text uses two designations, Madhyadeśa and India. The first name meaning “middle country” is used in the geographical literature to designate one of the five parts of India that extended from the upper reaches of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā to the confluence of the two rivers at Prayaga. There are some data in Old Uyghur. Besides here, the word is attested in Maitr X4r *čambudvip otra yerintä matyadeš uluš turur, matyadeš uluš otrasınta ketumati balık ärür* “In the middle of Jambudvīpa there is the the country of Madhyadeśa, in the middle of the country of Madhyadeśa there is the city of Ketumatī.”<sup>34</sup> In the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* : *matyadeš ulušta*.<sup>35</sup> It

<sup>30</sup> Cicuzza 2011, 150–151. The Pāli text on p. 50.

<sup>31</sup> DDB; SH, p. 228a.

<sup>32</sup> DDB (sub *ren-wang* 人王).

<sup>33</sup> HN 283.

<sup>34</sup> BT 9, I, 104; cp. Laut & Wilkens 2017, No. 73 (p. 109).

<sup>35</sup> BT 37.03851.

is noteworthy that in all these three different texts the middle dental is spelled *-t-*, not *-d-*. The term is not attested in Sogdian. In Tokharian A there are some data; all of them reflect the Sanskrit spelling *madhyadeśa*.<sup>36</sup>

The second term *änātkāk* is the Old Uyghur word for India borrowed from Sogdian.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the whole expression *matyadeš ulušta änātkāk elindä* may simply mean “in the country of Madhyadeśa, in the Indian realm.”

### **mängü mäñi tüš**

As suggested by K. Kitsudō, this expression seems to paraphrase *nirvāṇa*, the highest goal of Buddhist belief. A similar example is seen in the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* : Maitr XVI.04r11-13 *amtı sizlär ädgü tunlaqlar ol ädgü nomug işidiñlär mänjülüg mänikä täggäysizlär* “Now, you good living beings, listen to the good dharma, you shall reach the everlasting joy!”<sup>38</sup> In a Chan text we read:

175 yok mäñi mäñi ärür : 無<sup>536e5</sup> 樂可樂是常樂

176 mäñü mäñi ol tutar : “There is not joy which can be enjoyed, this is the eternal joy.”<sup>39</sup>

*Chang* 常 and *le* 樂 “eternity and bliss” are the first two of the four transcendental realities in *nirvāṇa*, while *chang-ji* 常寂 “eternal piece” is a term for *nirvāṇa* itself.<sup>40</sup>

### **C) [Buddhist life in China]**

#### *Text*

bo munılayu (q<sup>41</sup>) nomlug noš arisayan<sup>42</sup> 07 tamız-lar akılıp yadılıp<sup>43</sup> kutrultaçı tep äymänč korkinč köñjülüg hu-a-ları čäčäk-läri açılıur 08 yaşarur üdtä aglatı yana ulug tavgaç elintä säkiz y(i)g(i)rmi liv<sup>44</sup> bag-lug han-lar b(ä)lgürüp iduk burhan 09 šazının kök-dä kö[zünü]r tuš-lar-da ärtürü<sup>45</sup> ymä üç ärdini-kä kertgünč-lüg burhan šazınıña tartınčl(ı)g 10 buyan algalı küsüş-lüg ädgü kutlug tınl(ı)g-lar üküš tälim bolup .. kočo uluš-nuñ basrukı tıyok 11 kısıl-ta kašinčıg ulug v(a)rhar-lar säñräm-lär etip yaratıp bütürmiş-lär

#### *Translation*

As at the time when drops of the Dharma-Rasāyana poured out and expanded as Liberator and the flowers of fear and trembling opened and blossomed, and also when the eighteen kings of the *liv* clan appeared in the Great Chinese Empire, (there are now) numerous and many good and happy (beings) providing the discipline

<sup>36</sup> Cp. [https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?A\\_madhyade%C5%9B%C3%A4%E1%B9%A3](https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?A_madhyade%C5%9B%C3%A4%E1%B9%A3).

<sup>37</sup> UWN II.2, p. 199.

<sup>38</sup> Geng & Klimkeit 1985, pp. 76, 98.

<sup>39</sup> Zieme 2020 (forthcoming).

<sup>40</sup> SH, p. 349a.

<sup>41</sup> The transliterated word stands between the lines.

<sup>42</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 *az išänč?* The spelling of the first word for which I propose *noš* is problematic.

<sup>43</sup> Written: y'tylyp.

<sup>44</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2: *liy*.

<sup>45</sup> Geschrieben 'rdwrw.

of the holy Buddha in heaven and in the pr[esen]t times, believing in the Three Jewels, being attracted about the discipline of the Buddha, and having the desire to attain merit, (who) build, erect and complete precious and large Vihāras and Saṃghārāmas in the Tiyok valley the stabiliser of the Kočo Realm.

#### Comments

##### **nomlug noš arsayan tamız-lar**

The Uyghur word *tamız* “drop” is a noun derived from the verb *tam-* “to drip”,<sup>46</sup> but more often attested is the noun *tamızım* from the augmented verb *tamız-*.<sup>47</sup>

*arisayan* or *arsayan* is one of the spellings attested for the loan-word *rasāyana*, not included in the UWN.<sup>48</sup> The Persian word *nwš* an equivalent of Skt. *rasāyana* is well attested in Old Uyghur texts, too. This compound underlines the majesty and glory of Buddha’s teaching, the *dharma* as always expressed by *nom* from Sogdian *nwm*.

##### **ulug tavgáč elintä**

From colophons terms like *kutlug öndün ulug tavgáč eli* “The majestic eastern great Chinese Realm” and *kutlug ulug tavgáč eli* “the majestic great Chinese Realm”, *kutlug ulug tavgáč eli* “The majestic great Chinese Realm” are known,<sup>49</sup> or shortly *ulug tavgáč eli* “The majestic Chinese Realm.”<sup>50</sup>

##### **säkiz y(i)g(i)rmi liv baglı hanlar**

Geng Shimin compared the word *lyv* of line 08 to the word *lyv* in line 14.<sup>51</sup> Although the spellings are nearly identical, the *lyv* of line 14 has a different meaning as part of the word pair of “food” and should present thus a different character. Imin proposed instead a spelling *liy* equal to Chinese *Li* 李,<sup>52</sup> but he gave no reason for it. This *li* 李 has no final consonant<sup>53</sup> wherefore it cannot be meant here.

According to the *Avalambana-sūtra* (T. 685, *Fo-shuo yu-lan-pen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經) Maudgalyāyana enters the samādhi state called *shi-ba-wang san-mei ding* 十八王三昧定.<sup>54</sup> J. Jaworski suggested that this phrase refers to the 18 kings of the 18 hells (Skt. *naraka*) mentioned later in the text.<sup>55</sup> But this allusion makes no sense in this inscription here. We have to try to find some phrase in the historical sources of China. As *baglı* is added after Chinese family names, one has to look for a possible word of this category. What

<sup>46</sup> ED, p. 503a.

<sup>47</sup> For other examples of the noun *tamız* cp. Zieme 2021 (forthcoming).

<sup>48</sup> UWN II.1, p. 261.

<sup>49</sup> BT 26, 306. Cp. BT 25, l. 1342.

<sup>50</sup> U 3363 + U 3364 verso 04; U 2301 recto 02.

<sup>51</sup> Geng 2006, p. 428.

<sup>52</sup> Imin 2020a, p. 2 translates it as 李姓皇帝 “the emperor of the Li clan.”

<sup>53</sup> Pulleyblank 1991, p. 186.

<sup>54</sup> Jaworski 1935, p. 94.

<sup>55</sup> Jaworski 1935, p. 101. T. 731 (*Fo-shuo shi-ba ni-li jing* 佛說十八泥犁經, Vol. 17) extolls the characteristics of these hells, cp. Goodrich 1981, p. 128.



comes to the fore, is *liu* 劉 (< *liw* ).<sup>56</sup> During the Han dynasties there were many kings of the *liu* 劉 family, in any case more than 18. But nevertheless it is not excluded that the 18 kings refer here to that family. This is a kind of historical reminiscence what again shows that the author was quite familiar not only with the history of the Uyghurs but also with China's past. In an Uyghur text on the netherworld a girl's name *liu*<sup>57</sup> is encountered which I tried to explain as *liu* 劉,<sup>58</sup> too. This solution was confirmed when K. Kitsudō identified the Uyghur story with a Chinese original where this girl is called *liu-shi nu-zi* 劉氏奴子.<sup>59</sup>

### šazınıña tartınčlıg

In the passage *ymä üç ärdini-kä kertgünč-lüg burhan šazınıña tartınčlıg 10 buyan algalı küsüş-lüg ädgü kutlug tnl(i)g-lar üküš tälim bolup* one observes an evident parallelism:

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>üč ärdini-kä kirtgünčlüg</i>   | endowed with the faith in the Three Jewels |
| <i>burhan šazınıña tartınčlıg</i> | drawn to the discipline of the Buddha      |

Other examples of *tartınčlıg* can be found in verse texts:

*tartınčlıg kañımka yükünürmän* “Drawn to my father I venerate,”<sup>60</sup>

or:

*tugmıšıña kadašıña tartınčlıg*  
*tušmıšıña yolukmıšıña açıgılıg.*<sup>61</sup>

### kočo ulušnuñ basrukı tıyok kısıl-ta

“In the Tıyok valley<sup>62</sup> the stabilizer of the Kočo Realm.” In a Bözäklik inscription there is a similar expression: *on uygur el ulušnuñ ugrayu soka basrukı una bo nižünj aryadan kısılta* “Just in this Nižünj (= Bözäklik) temple valley which is the sure and exact stabiliser of the Realm of the Ten Uyghurs.”<sup>63</sup> In HT IX the *dharma* texts are compared to a sea of the *dharma* gates and the passage continues with the statement that people in West India call them *el basrukı* translated by H. Aydemir “Stabilisatoren des Landes.”<sup>64</sup> As explained by M. Erdal, the word *basruk* (*basrok*) has no negative connotation, thus one can translate by stabiliser.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Pulleyblank 1991, p. 197.

<sup>57</sup>  (U 5058)

<sup>58</sup> Zieme 2011, p. 158.

<sup>59</sup> Kitsudō & Zieme 2017, p. 79.

<sup>60</sup> ETŞ 10/119.

<sup>61</sup> Dunhuang B 464:128. ll. 149–150.

<sup>62</sup> Cp. BT 46, 104, *tıyok-nuñ kısıl-takı ayag-ka tägimlig*; Fu Ma (forthcoming), inscription I-5, *tıyok kısıl[tı]*.

<sup>63</sup> BT XIII.59.3-5. Cp. Matsui 2015, pp. 283–288.

<sup>64</sup> HT IX, p. 228 (ll. 1976–1977).

<sup>65</sup> OTWF, pp. 229–230.

**D) [Decline of the Vaunted Age of Splendour]***Text*

üküş tälim 12 üd-lär-niñ kolu-lar-nıñ ärtmäkiñä etiglig nomlar-nıñ ornagsızıña bo v(a)rhar 13 säñräm buzulup artap idisiz igäsiz bolup turmış-ıña m(ä)n an bag-lıg toyın ((m(ä)n tudam šäli)) buzulmışın 14 etip oprakın sapıp yañırdı len paryan etdi[m]

*Translation*

Because many and numerous times and epochs have passed and because of the disorder of the established laws these Vihāras and Saṃghārāmas have been destroyed and have become masterless, I, the monk from the clan An, Tudum Šäli, constructed what was destroyed, repaired what was broken and set up again cells.

*Comments***m(ä)n an bag-lıg toyın m(ä)n tudam šäli**

If the name An is of Sogdian origin one can think of the clan-name An 𐰽𐰺 designating people of Bukhara.<sup>66</sup> From Dunhuang in the Sogdian text A 8 'yw 'n cwr't n n'm swlmy "a certain (person from) Solmi named An Cwr't n"<sup>67</sup> occurs. P. Lurje mentions the Uyghur example attested in a Dunhuang text: An Tiräk.<sup>68</sup> He, but surely not the same person, is a slave buyer in an Uyghur document.<sup>69</sup> A further An person is An Totok.<sup>70</sup> Such personal names original borne by Sogdians were later also used by Sogdo-Uyghur people, as T. Moriyasu<sup>71</sup> concluded.

Usually, the personal name of a šäli or monk has a Chinese origin spelled in Uyghur script. But there are also rare cases where a name of Turkic origin occurs. Therefore we have to search in this case in both directions. For the second solution one can refer to the Uyghur name Tutum (> Tutam) with the meaning "handful" or "an act of grasping". Already G. Clauson mentions the change *tutum* to *tutam* in the Čagatay language.<sup>72</sup> Examples of the name Tutum are recorded in the Onomasticon Turcicum.<sup>73</sup> The spelling here is not very clear. T. Imin read *tudum*. This is possible, but *tudam*, too. This would reflect the change *tutum* > *tutam* as mentioned above. But here we should not expect an example of the dental confusion t/d which is typical for the later period but very rare in the early period, but during the 12<sup>th</sup> century it might have been the case.

<sup>66</sup> Lurje 2010, pp. 69–70.

<sup>67</sup> Sims-Williams & Hamilton 2015, p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> Lurje 2010, p. 70 after MOTH 15.2' (Hamilton 1986, p. 83 sqq).

<sup>69</sup> Zieme 1977, p. 153; SUK Sa19.

<sup>70</sup> KP 99, cp. UWN II.1., p. 142.

<sup>71</sup> Moriyasu 1997, pp. 108–111; Moriyasu 2015, pp. 423–425.

<sup>72</sup> ED, p. 457a.

<sup>73</sup> Rásonyi & Baski 2010, , p. 804b: Totam-bay / Tutam-bay.

On the other hand, a Chinese origin is not excluded. For the reading *tw't'm*, D. Matsui suggests *dao-tan* 道潭, which could be transcribed as *tw-t'm* > *totam* in Sino-Uyghur.<sup>74</sup> If we can slightly modify the reading, there could be other options of potential monastic names: e.g. *tw'tym* = *todem* < Chin. *dao-nian* 道念 “attitude seeking the truth”<sup>75</sup>; *w'tym* = *wudem* < *wu-nian* 無念 (= Skt. *asmṛta*), which is attested as a monastic name in the Uyghur version of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-tīkā tattvārthā*.<sup>76</sup>

### len paryan

The word pair is directly borrowed from Tokharian *leṃ paryāṃ* (< Skt. *leṇa pariyāna*) as mentioned in an earlier paper.<sup>77</sup> Of course, already H. Lüders gave an explanation for the Tokharian pair *leṃ paryāṃ*.<sup>78</sup>

### E) [Monk's donations to the monastery]

#### Text

bo v(a)rhar sāṃrām-tā olurtači bursaṇ 15 kuvrag-ka liv-k(i)yä ašk(i)y-a bolzun s[akı]nıp öz ašaniš-k(i)y-am lükčün-tä tsati ögän-tä 16 iki šig beš küri yer-k(i)yä yana bo ok ögän-tä ulug yol-ta bir šig urug 17 kirgü bir adız yer k(i)y-ä tört töšäk iki \*tauma bir orunluk tört ulug küp 18 bir \*oyçınlık beš küpçük iki ulug kiçig işiç bir sa[ç] . bo munča-k(i)y-a tapınu 19 ötünü täğindim bo säñjklärig bo ok v(a)rhar-ta olurguči bursaṇ kuvrag ärksinip oprak-in s[apa] 20 y(a)rlikazun-lar .

#### Translation

So (for the purpose) that food and nutrition can be available to the communities living in the Vihāras and Saṃghārāmas, I have donated my own possession (food) a field of 2 *šig* 5 *küri* (located) at the brook Tsati in Lükčün and then an *adız* field (located) at this brook and at the Great Street, for which 1 *šig* of seed is necessary, (and) 4 mattresses, 2 \**tauma*, a seat cushion, 4 large jugs, 1 \**oyçınlık*, 5 jugs, 2 cauldrons — one large, one small —, 1 bowl, all of this together. May the communities located in this Vihāra possess these *sāṃghika* items and repair what is broken!<sup>79</sup>

~~Because many and numerous times and epochs have passed and because of the disorder of the established laws these Vihāras and Saṃghārāmas have been destroyed and have become masterless, I, the monk from the~~

<sup>74</sup> For Chin. *dao* 道 > *tw* = *to*, see BT 34, p. 179; for *ding* 定 initial and *tan* 覃 rhyme of *tan* 潭 (< *tham*, Pulleyblank 1991, p. 300), see BT 34, pp. 94, 128. In place of *tan* 潭, we might suppose *dan* 淡 > *t'm*, see BT 34, p. 181. *Dao-tan* 道潭 is attested as a Buddhist name in medieval Japan.

<sup>75</sup> See BT 34, p. 182, for Chin. *nian* 念 > *tym* = *dem*.

<sup>76</sup> Shogaito 2008, pp. 166–167, *Wu-nian ben* 无念本 “(This is) Wu-nian’s book” = *uu dem atlig ačari tsopin-in kıldım* “I, a master named Uudem, made the copy (*tsopin* < Chin. *zao-ben* 造本).”

<sup>77</sup> Zieme 1981, p. 298.

<sup>78</sup> Lüders 1930 (cited after Lüders 1940, p. 615). Confirmed by M. Peyrot, who kindly sent me an additional note to the derivation: “TB *leṃ* kann eigentlich nicht direkt aus dem Skt. kommen. Wahrscheinlich ist es entlehnt aus einem Prakrit, auf Pali ist es *leṇa*.” He also gave me a hint to Chen 2018, p. 229.

<sup>79</sup> This sentence is explained by Matsui 2004, p. 67.

~~elan An, Tudum Šäli, removed what was destroyed, prepared what had fallen into disrepair and set up again  
eelle.~~

*Comments*

### Donations

Donations to the temple community are motivated by sustaining their living expressed by *liv-k(i)yä ašk(i)y-a bolzun*. In his paper about *lavaş* O. Sertkaya<sup>80</sup> did not quote the Toyok example, although it is important as it shows that the Uyghurs considered the two words as a word pair but not as a contracted word because they added the *+KlyA* suffix to both. According to him the entry in the DLT has to be read *liv*, not *liyü*,<sup>81</sup> but the meaning MK gives is “mud” while we expect a term for “food”. And this can be seen in Chinese *li* 粒 “grain”<sup>82</sup> as explained in earlier studies such as Moriyasu 2004, pp. 69–70 and Zieme 1981, p. 252. In the pair with *aş* “food, grain” it is a generalised term for “food”.<sup>83</sup>

This compound *liv aş* occurs also in other contexts. One poem from the Mogao Northern Grottoes is B464: 65. Apparently, the scribe started on the empty verso side of the Chinese scroll, and because of lack of space he continued his writing between the Chinese columns on the recto side. The poem is a praise of *Nīlakaṇṭha*, a special epithet of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.<sup>84</sup> The last part on the verso side reads as follows:

üč lükčüñ [at(ı)g] 12 [balık oru]nug küzädzün  
ač kız ig kigän-tin tıyok kısıl-ıg küzädinç  
13 [sizi]ñ kuvrag-ıñız birlä munda ok äriñ .  
tilik ol sizkä tözün-lär  
14 [munda t]ürmiş tözün-lärkä liv aş beriñ (end of line).

This can be translated into English as follows:

May he (i.e. the Bodhisattva) protect [the city named] Üč Lükčüñ!  
Protect the Tıyok valley from hunger, lack, and illness!  
Be here with your retinue!  
It is the wish to you, o noble men:  
Give food to the Noble Ones who live [here]!

<sup>80</sup> Sertkaya 2018, pp. 123-127.

<sup>81</sup> ED, p. 764b.

<sup>82</sup> Cp. Pulleyblank 1991, p. 190: *li*, *lip*.

<sup>83</sup> Buell & Anderson 2010, p. 586.

<sup>84</sup> For this poem cf. Zieme 2021, no. 41 where the fragment B464: 65 is not included yet. As far as I know it was not edited so far.

As shown by J. Gernet, the donations can be diverse. He writes: “The property of the *saṃgha*, however, could comprise all possessions that were effectively at the disposal of the community and, in particular, everything that was subject to being divided among the monks. It is thus that Daoxuan 道宣, in his commentary to the Vinaya of Dharmaguptaka, distinguished the following four types of property held by the *saṃgha*:

1. Estates
2. Victuals
3. Clothing, medicines, and utensils used in the cells
4. Light goods bequeathed by deceased monks.

The first category of property held by the *saṃgha*, according to Daoxuan, constituted the most permanent of possessions, namely the kitchens and stores, the monasteries and their buildings, miscellaneous objects, flowers and fruits, trees and woods, fields and gardens, as well as servants and domestic animals. Since these properties, by their very nature, extended to the “ten directions” (i.e., belonged to the universal *saṃgha*), they could neither be divided nor employed for personal use. Such goods could only be acquired and utilized; they could neither be divided nor sold.”<sup>85</sup>

These donations called *sāṅik*<sup>86</sup> consist of two parts, of immobile fields and of mobile objects for use of monks. The two fields are located in Lükčüŋ (< Liuzhong 柳中)<sup>87</sup> situated about 12 km south of Toyok. In the first case the location is specified by giving the name of the brook. It is difficult to establish a definite reading of its name.



<▷ of ts'ty  vs.  <▷ l. 05.

The name of the brook is supposedly a Chinese one, but an identification is not easy. While Imin read *tsar* 察里河 which is nothing else than a transcription of the Uyghur spelling, Geng Shimin more correctly proposed a spelling like *tsari*,<sup>88</sup> followed by D. Matsui.<sup>89</sup> Judging from the shape of the medial letter <▷ I would like to propose a transliteration ts'ty \**tsati*,<sup>90</sup> but this is as doubtful as \**tsari*, and we do not know of channel names in Lükčüŋ.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Gernet 1995, p. 68.

<sup>86</sup> *sāṅik* < Skt. *sāṃghika* “relating to a *saṃgha*; its property; articles belonging to the monastic community” (cp. DDB).

<sup>87</sup> For the name of Lükčüŋ cp. Pelliot 2002, p. 141, n. 141; Matsui 2015, p. 275, fn. 5; Zieme 1997.

<sup>88</sup> Geng 1981, pp. 80–81.

<sup>89</sup> Matsui 2004, p. 67: *tsari* (?). Accordingly, the name should be of Chinese origin, but the reconstruction is not possible.

<sup>90</sup> In a note D. Matsui pointed out that he does not accept the reading <▷ for the letter in question.

<sup>91</sup> On my request Yoko Nishimura kindly searched for names of water channels, but beside a *jiuquan* 酒泉 in the Toyok area she could not find any for Lükčüŋ.

The second field (*adtz*<sup>92</sup> *yer k(i)y-ä*) is located between the mentioned brook and the Great Street.<sup>93</sup> The size of the fields is measured by the amount of seed/grain to be used at the time of cultivation. The name is different from other canals' names occurring in the documents of the SUK where many of these names have as last syllable +kw borrowed from Chinese *qu* 渠 "canal."<sup>94</sup>

Donations of fields to monasteries are recorded in many Chinese documents found in Dunhuang and/or Turfan, but here it should be mentioned that J. Gernet quotes a document of donation of horses to the monastery of the seven-storied (*stūpa*) in Liuzhong (Lükčün) county.<sup>95</sup>

In the second part of the donations several mobile objects are enumerated of which some are unclear. One should expect objects determined for the monks,<sup>96</sup> but the list contains apparently also other things: *tört töšäk iki \*tauma bir orunluk tört ulug küp 18 bir \*oyčıñlk beš küpčük iki ulug kičig işič bir sač* "4 mattresses, 2 \*tauma, 1 seat cushion, 4 large jugs, 1 \*oyčıñlk, 5 jugs, 2 cauldrons - one large, one small -, 1 bowl."<sup>97</sup>

Of these objects two items are not known from other texts. The first word *t'wm'// t'wmn*<sup>98</sup> remains without explanation. Imin reads *tawma*, but he gives no meaning in his note. As the word stands between two objects of cover (mattress) or cushion, this one also should denote some similar object, as already suggested by Geng Shimin. I would like to refer here to Dunhuang documents quoted by J. Gernet where "gifts of cloth, brocade, oxen, gold, embossed silver dishes"<sup>99</sup> are mentioned. A nun presented "embossed kitchen utensils for the permanent assets of the Ling-hsiu monastery".<sup>100</sup> Among the Chinese Dunhuang texts there are many more examples, but all this material does not help us in finding a clear solution for the Uyghur word. From the structure of the word it is rather one of Chinese than one of Indoeuropean origin, but even that is not sure. D. Matsui advised me to consider several possibilities based on \**tau* and \**ma*. But it remains difficult, because

<sup>92</sup> As K. Röhrborn mentioned, in the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* we see the word written with <ϕ>, cp. UWN II.1, pp. 34–35.

<sup>93</sup> At least we know of the *ulug yol* in U 5241 (Sa04 in SUK, p. 10) or of *ulug kay* in the same meaning, but using the Chinese loan *kay* < 街 *jie* in U 5399+U 5367+U 6060+MIK III 4957a (Sa18 in SUK II, p. 40).

<sup>94</sup> SUK II, p. 320a.

<sup>95</sup> Gernet 1956, p. 121 (1995, p. 125). According to a Chinese document edited by Maspero 1954, p. 148 no. 311.

<sup>96</sup> The six things personal to a monk: *saṃghāṭī*, the patch robe; *uttarā-saṃghāṭī*, the stole of seven pieces; *antara-vāsaka*, the skirt or inner garment of five pieces (*san-yi* 三衣); *pātra*, begging bowl; *niṣīdana*, a stool; and a water-strainer: the six are also called the *liu-wu* 六物 (Skt. *ṣaḍ dravyāni*). [DDB, Charles Muller].



Although the spelling is not clear, an object like a *sač* "an iron plate for baking; a frying-pan" (ED 794a) is possible here.



<sup>99</sup> Gernet 1995, p. 204.

<sup>100</sup> Gernet 1995, p. 204.

a real counterpart for the two-syllable word *tau-ma* is not in sight.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, when I read of the kitchen utensils cited above I can also imagine a word which is attested in Chinese: *daoba* 刀吧 “handle of a knife”. Phonetically, these two syllables would correspond to usual loans from Chinese. The Chinese word for knife is 刀 *dao*, which corresponds very well to a spelling *tau*, as J. Hamilton and others have already shown. J. Hamilton discussed the loan *sindu* “scissors” from *\*tsian-taw*.<sup>102</sup>

The second unknown word is *'wyčynklyq//'wnčynklyq//'wnč'nklyq*.<sup>103</sup> Imin reads *oyčanliq*, but he gives no explanation. If one follows him, one should change the spelling to *oyčanlık* as there is a clear <k> after <n>. The letters 3 and 5 are the same, thus we should read *'wyčynklyq//'wncynklyq = \*oyčɨɳlık* or the like. As this word is among names of vessels, one can suppose that this word, too, is an object of such kind. Although it has the *+llk* suffix, the stem *\*oyčɨɳ* can be of foreign origin, most probably Chinese.

#### F) [Against unlawful appropriation]

*Text*

balık-ta olurur kuvrag ärksingäli ugrasar maitri t(ä)ñri burhan yüzin körmäzün 21 -lär ..

*Translation*

If the communities living in the city intend to appropriate it, they may not see the face of the divine Buddha Maitreya!

*Comments*

#### Monastery vs. City community

The seemingly opposition of the monasterial community and the city community deserves special attention. In some documents of exempting from taxes one can see a similar clause.

##### Monastery

bo ok v(a)rharta olurguči bursañ kuvrag ärksinip  
y(a)rlikazunlar .

##### City community

balıkta olurur kuvrag ärksingäli ugrasar

maitri t(ä)ñri burhan yüzin körmäzünlär ..

<sup>101</sup> I am grateful to D. Matsui who offered several possibilities, for t'w: transcription of Chinese *dao* 導 “to lead, instruct; leader” or *tao* 陶 “ceramic, porcelain”; for m': *mo* 摩, *ma* 麻, *meng* 猛. *Ma* 麻 “linen (cloth)” could be a donation, but I cannot find any attestation. Of these *tao* 陶 “ceramic, porcelain” and *ma* 麻 “linen (cloth)” are especially interesting, but in this case one had to suppose that two different objects were written as one word, which is not very convincing.

<sup>102</sup> Hamilton 1995, pp. 36–37.

<sup>103</sup>



This is — if understood correctly — a very fascinating statement. The people of the city who do not adhere to the monastery were not allowed to see Maitreya. It might be far-reaching to assume that there was a disharmony between lay people and monks.

In some documents exempting monasteries to pay tribute we may see a similar situation. I argued that such documents are from the Mongol period. A statement like *balıkta ulušta turgučı kuvrag katılmazun* “The community staying in the city and the realm should not take part in!”<sup>104</sup>

### Seeing the face of Maitreya

The encounter with Maitreya is one of the highest goals for the Uyghur Buddhists. Here, I quote only two examples. In the famous *Maitrisimit nom bitig* we read: *kim tamulug at`özün bärü kälip tükäl bilgä maitri burhanag körgäli boltuñuzlar* : “(By the reason of your *puñya*) you were able – after coming here in hellish bodies – to see the completely wise Buddha Maitreya!” (Maitr. Taf. 225 v 1 21-23). A hymn on Buddha Maitreya is written in verse: *körkünjüzni ... körälim* “We want to see ... your figure!”<sup>105</sup>

### G) [Transfer of Merit]

#### Text

bo buyan-ıg ävirä ötünü täginür-biz üstünki äzrua hormuzta tört maharaç t(ä)ñri-lär basa<sup>106</sup> 22 kamag kut vakşik t(ä)ñri-lärkä : yana ävirü ötünü täginürbiz bo buyan-ıg t(ä)ñri bögü t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z kut[lug] 23 bögülüg ulug iduk-kut kutña t(ä)ñrikän tegin kunçuy t(ä)ñrim kutña t(ä)rkän tegin t(ä)ñrim kutı 24 -ña alp sıñgur tegin t(ä)ñrim kutña kamag tört tugum beş aźunlug kadaş-larım(i)zka yunt yıl 25 [ ] bo tung .. sa[ ]kasar buzalmazun .. [ ]].

#### Translation

We devoutly dedicate this merit to (gods) Brahmā and Indra and the four Mahārājas above and then to all spirit gods.

Further we turn this merit devoutly to the majesty of our Divine Wise ruler, Kut[lug] Bögülüg Ulug Idukkut; the majesty of T(ä)ngrikän T(ä)rkän(?) Qu[nçu]y T(ä)ngrim; the majesty of Tärkän Tegin Täñrim; the majesty of Alp Sıñgur Tegin Täñrim, all our companions of the four birth forms and the five forms of existence!

Horse Year (...)

#### Comments

As observed by Ş. Tekin,<sup>107</sup> the transfer of merit is divided in two groups, one for the divine beings, the second for the living beings on earth.

<sup>104</sup> Zieme 1981, p. 245.

<sup>105</sup> Zieme 2013, p. 405.

<sup>106</sup> I owe this reading to T. Moriyasu.

<sup>107</sup> Tekin 1976, p. 226, the *puñyamodāna* (transfer of merit) part is divided into two sections, first to the heavenly beings



*üstünki (transcendental)* – (*on earth*)

äzrua hormuzta

tört maharač t(ä)ñrilär t(ä)ñri bögü t(ä)ñrikänim(i)z kut[lug] bögülüg ulug ıdukkut kutıña  
t(ä)ñrikän tegin kunčuy t(ä)ñrim kutıña  
t(ä)rkän tegin t(ä)ñrim kutıña  
alp sıngur tegin t(ä)ñrim kutıña

basa

kamag kut vakşik t(ä)ñrilärkä kamag tört tugum beš ažunlug kadašlarım(ı)zka

### äzrua hormuzta tört maharač t(ä)ñrilär

These are Brahmā, Indra, the two highest gods, and the four lokapālas. One finds this sequence often, but here it is noteworthy to mention examples of *triratna* formulas,<sup>108</sup> among which also the fragment Pelliot divers No. 3 is mentioned.<sup>109</sup>

### alp sıngur tegin t(ä)ñrim

This person is on the lowest rank of nobility, as the before-mentioned three ranks have either the kingly titles *täñrikän* or *tärkän*. All words are usual name elements. But as far as I see there is no exact match in other sources. A very similar name is among the pilgrims in Dunhuang collected by D. Matsui: Alp Sıngur Tarqan,<sup>110</sup> and he pointed also to Alp Sıngur Tarqan Vap Čaņši in Stake Inscription III, 20.<sup>111</sup>

## 7. Index

The index contains all word forms of the Old Uyghur text, those in bold characters are persons and places.

The asterisk means that the word is difficult to read or to explain.

|            |                              |                |                                      |         |   |
|------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|---------|---|
| ačıl-      | to be opened<br>a.-ur 07     | arisayan       | rasāyana<br>a. 06                    | ārdini  | jewel<br>ä.+kā 09                       |
| adız       | field<br>a. 17               | arta-          | to putrefy<br>a.-p 13                | ārksin- | to have power<br>ä.-gāli 20<br>ä.-ip 19 |
| agladi     | further, and<br>a. 08        | ašanış         | food-possession (?)<br>a.+k(i)yam 15 | ärtmāk  | passing<br>ä.+iñä 12                    |
| akıl-      | to be poured out<br>a.-ıp 07 | aš             | food<br>a.+k(i)ya 15                 | ärtür-  | to pass<br>ä.-ü 09                      |
| al-        | to take<br>a.-gali 10        | ažunlug        | existence-<br>a. 24                  | āvır-   | to dedicate<br>ä.-ä 21<br>ä.-ü 22       |
| <b>alp</b> | PN<br>a. 24                  | ädgü           | good<br>ä. 10                        |         |   |
| <b>an</b>  | PN<br>a. 13                  | <b>änätkäk</b> | Indian<br>ä. 03                      | äymänč  | fear<br>ä. 07                           |

and then to the earthly beings.

<sup>108</sup> Zieme 2020, 162.

<sup>109</sup> In Zieme 2020 I did not mention that the text was already edited by Niu Ruji 2001.

<sup>110</sup> Matsui 2017, p. 59.

<sup>111</sup> Moriyasu 2001, p. 187.

|           |   |                 |                               |                 |  |
|-----------|---|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| äzrua     | Brahma<br>ä. 21   | etiglig         | equipped<br>e. 05, 12         | kut             | majesty<br>k. 22                                     |
| baglıg    | of a clan<br>b. 08, 13                                    | han             | ruler<br>h.+ı 02<br>h.+lar 08 | kutlug          | k.+ııa 23, 23, 23, 24<br>majestic<br>k. 10, 22       |
| balık     | city<br>b.+ta 20  | <b>hormuzta</b> | <b>Indra</b><br>h. 21         | kutrul-         | to be released<br>k.-taçı 07                         |
| basa      | then<br>b. 21   | hua             | flower<br>h.+ları 07          | kuvrag          | community<br>k. 19, 20<br>k.+ka 15                   |
| basruk    | stabilizer<br>b.+ı 10                                     | ıduk            | holy<br>ı. 02, 06, 08         | kün             | sun<br>k. 02   |
| b(ä)lgür- | to appear<br>b.-ä 03<br>b.-üp 08                          | ıdukkut         | Holy Majesty<br>ı. 23         | küp             | jug<br>k. 17   |
| beş       | five<br>b. 16, 18, 24                                     | ıdisiz          | masterless<br>ı. 13           | küpçük          | (small) jug<br>k. 18                                 |
| bilgä     | wise<br>b. 03   | ıgäsiz          | masterless<br>ı. 13           | küri            | measure<br>k. 16                                     |
| biliglig  | having wisdom<br>b. 03                                    | iki             | two<br>ı. 16, 17, 18          | küsüslüg        | having a wish<br>k. 10                               |
| bir       | one<br>b. 16, 17, 17, 18, 18                              | ımärigmä        | surrounding<br>ı. 04          | len             | cell<br>ı. 14  |
| biz       | we<br>b. 21, 22   | ışiç            | cauldron<br>ı. 18             | <b>liv</b>      | name of a Chinese<br>clan<br>ı. 08                   |
| bo        | this<br>b. 06, 12, 14, 16, 18,<br>19, 19, 21, 22, 25      | iz              | trace<br>ı. 05                | liv+k(i)yä      | nutrition<br>ı. 15                                   |
| bol-      | to become<br>b.-zun 15<br>b.-up 10, 13                    | kadaş           | companion<br>k.+larımzka 24   | <b>lükčüñ</b>   | Lükčüñ, Lükchün<br>ı.+tä 15                          |
| burhan    | the Buddha<br>b. 08, 09, 20                               | kamag           | all<br>k. 22, 24              | <b>madyadeş</b> | Madhyadeśa<br>m. 02                                  |
| burhanlıg | of the Buddha<br>b. 02                                    | kaşınçig        | precious<br>k. 11             | maharaç         | mahārāja<br>m. 21                                    |
| bursañ    | community<br>b. 14, 19                                    | kertgünçlüg     | of belief<br>k. 09            | <b>maitri</b>   | <b>Maitreya</b><br>m. 20                             |
| buyan     | merit<br>b. 10<br>b.+ıg 21, 22                            | kertü           | true<br>k. 05                 | m(ä)n           | I<br>m. 01, 13                                       |
| buzul-    | to be destroyed<br>b.-mazun 25<br>b.-mişın 13<br>b.-up 13 | kıstıl          | valley<br>k.+ta 11            | māñi            | joy<br>m. 06   |
| bügü      | wise<br>b. 22   | kiçig           | small<br>k. 18                | māñü            | eternal<br>m. 06                                     |
| bügülüg   | wise<br>b. 23   | kir-            | to enter<br>k.-gü 17          | munča           | such<br>m+k(i)ya 18                                  |
| bütür-    | to accomplish<br>b.-mişlär 11                             | <b>koço</b>     | Koço<br>k.10                  | munılayu        | in this way<br>m. 06                                 |
| čäčäk     | flower<br>č.+läri 07                                      | kolu            | period<br>k.+larını 12        | nom             | dharma, teaching<br>n.+larını 12                     |
| el        | realm<br>e.+indä 03<br>e.+intä 08                         | korkınč         | fear<br>k. 07                 | nomlug          | of a dharma<br>n. 03, 06                             |
| elig      | king<br>e.+ı 02   | kök             | heaven<br>k.+dä 09            | noş             | ambrosia<br>n. 06                                    |
| et-       | to make<br>e.-dı[m] 14<br>e.-tip 11, 14                   | köñüllüg        | of a mind<br>k. 03, 07        | ok              | particle of strengtheing<br>the meaning<br>o. 16, 19 |
|           |   | kör-            | to see<br>k.-müzünlär 20      | olur-           | to sit<br>o.-guçı 19<br>o.-taçı 14<br>o.-ur 20       |
|           |   | közün-          | to appear<br>kö[zün-ü]r 09    |                 |  |
|           |   | kunçuy          | lady<br>k. 23                 |                 |  |

|               |  |                                 |  |              |  |
|---------------|--|---------------------------------|--|--------------|--|
| oprak         | broken<br>o.+ın 14, 19                                       | tayantur-                       | to support<br>t.-u 05                                    | ugra-        | to intend<br>u.-sar 20                                   |
| ornagsız      | disorder<br>o.+ıña 12  | tägin-                          | to venture<br>t.-dim 19<br>t.-ürbiz 21, 22               | ulug         | large<br>u. 08, 11, 16, 17, 18,<br>23                    |
| oruk          | lane<br>o.+ka 05   | tälim                           | many<br>t. 10, 11  | uluş         | realm, country<br>u.+nuñ 10<br>u.+ta 02                  |
| orunluk       | seat cushion<br>o. 17  | t(ä)ñri                         | God, divine<br>t. 02, 20, 22<br>t.+lär 21<br>t.+lärkä 22 | urug         | seed<br>u. 16  |
| *oyçıñlık     | ?<br>o. 18   | <b>t(ä)ñrikän ruler</b>         | t. 23<br>t.+im(i)z 22                                    | üç           | three<br>ü. 09   |
| ögän          | brook<br>ö.+tä 15, 16  | <b>t(ä)ñrim My lord (title)</b> | t. 23, 23, 24  | üd           | time<br>ü.+läriñ 12<br>ü.+tä 08                          |
| ötün-         | to beg<br>ö.-ü 19, 21, 22                                    | <b>tärkän title</b>             | t. 23  | üküş         | many<br>ü. 10, 11  |
| öz            | self<br>ö.15   | <b>tegin prince</b>             | t. 23, 23, 24  | üstünki      | being above<br>ü. 21                                     |
| paryan        | cell<br>p. 14  | te-                             | to say<br>t.-gli 05<br>t.-p 07                           | üzä          | upon<br>ü. 05  |
| saç           | bowl<br>s. 18  | tetmä                           | called<br>t. 06  | vakşik       | spirit<br>v. 22  |
| sakın-        | to think<br>sa[kı]n-ıp 14                                    | tun(i)g                         | living being<br>t.+lar 10<br>t.+larıg 04                 | v(a)rhar     | monastery (vihāra)<br>v. 12, 14<br>v.+ta 19<br>v.+lar 11 |
| sap-          | to repair<br>s[ap-a] 19<br>sap-ıp 14                         | <b>tyok Tıyok</b>               | t. 10  | yad-         | to spread<br>y-a 04                                      |
| sayu          | each<br>s. 04  | tolp                            | entire, all<br>t. 04                                     | yadıl-       | to be spreaded<br>y.-ıp 07                               |
| säkiz         | eight<br>s. 08   | toyın                           | monk<br>t. 13  | yaltruk      | splendor<br>y.+ların 04                                  |
| sänjik        | belonging to a<br>community ( <i>saṃgha</i> )<br>s.+läriğ 19 | tört                            | four<br>t. 17, 17, 21, 24                                | yalturt-     | to let shine<br>y.-u 04                                  |
| sänjräm       | monastery<br>s. 13<br>s.+lär 11<br>s.+tä 14                  | törü-                           | to be created<br>t.-mişläriñ 02                          | yana         | again<br>y. 08, 16, 22                                   |
| <b>sıñgur</b> | PN<br>s. 24  | töşäk                           | mattress<br>t. 17  | yañırdı      | again<br>y. 14   |
| suv           | water<br>s.+da 04  | <b>*tsati</b>                   | ?<br>t. 15   | yarat-       | to create<br>y.-ıp 11                                    |
| şazın         | discipline<br>ş.+ın 09<br>ş.+ıña 09                          | <b>*tudam</b>                   | ?<br>t. 13   | yarlıka-     | to deign<br>y.-dı 06<br>y.-zunlar 20<br>y.-p 03, 04      |
| şäli          | title of a monk<br>ş. 13                                     | tug-                            | to be born<br>t.-a 03                                    | yarlıkamak   | deigning<br>y.+ı 05                                      |
| şıg           | measure<br>ş. 16, 16   | tugum                           | birth<br>t. 24   | yarlıkançuçı | merciful<br>y. 03  |
| tamız         | drop<br>t.+lar 07  | tung (?)                        | ?<br>t. 25   | yaruk        | light<br>y.+ın 04  |
| tapın-        | to offer<br>t.-u 18  | tur-                            | to stand, to be<br>t.-mişıña 13                          | yaşar-       | to blossom<br>y.-ur 08                                   |
| tartınçlıg    | being attracted<br>t. 09                                     | tuş                             | time<br>t.+larda 09                                      | yeg          | good, best<br>y. 06                                      |
| *tauma        | ?<br>t. 17   | tüş                             | fruit<br>t.+kä 06  | yer          | earth<br>y. 04   |
| <b>tavgáč</b> | <b>Chinese</b><br>t. 08                                      | uduz-                           | to lead<br>u.-u 06                                       | yerçilä-     | to guide<br>y.-yü 06                                     |

|             |                                   |             |                  |      |                     |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|------------------|------|---------------------|
| yerk(i)yä   | field<br>y. 16, 17                | yıl         | year<br>y. 24    | yol  | way<br>y.+ta 16     |
| yertinčü    | world<br>y. 04                    | y(i)g(i)rmi | twenty<br>y. 08  | yunt | horse<br>y. 24      |
| yertinčülüg | of the world<br>y. 05<br>y.+dä 05 | ymä         | and<br>y. 02, 09 | yüz  | hundred<br>y.+in 20 |

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### Errata [2020/12/15]

Last two lines of p. 10 and first two lines of p. 11 should have been removed but remain by editorial mistake.  
The four lines are crossed off on the online version.

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*Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*





**Rubbing of the Toyok Inscription**

(after Huang 1954, pl. 110, fig. 99)