<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title</strong></th>
<th>Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author(s)</strong></td>
<td>Zieme, Peter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Citation</strong></td>
<td>内陸アジア言語の研究. 35 P.1–P.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issue Date</strong></td>
<td>2020-10-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text Version</strong></td>
<td>publisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>URL</strong></td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/11094/78218">http://hdl.handle.net/11094/78218</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rights</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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 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 defections; in the middle, there were breakages; in general the text is clean and readable. After I

* Senior Researcher at the Project Turfanforschung, Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities
1 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.
2 E.g. Joint TEAM 2012.
3 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.«4

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.5

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 (or the former Historical Museum of China, Beijing). The museum had given the rubbing an inventory number “K 7708” before 1987–1988,6 while recently Tursunjan Imin informs of the new inventory number “1,3.767.”7

After the publication of a facsimile by Huang Wenbi the inscription was edited independently by Şinasi Tekin8 and by Geng Shimin.9 A new edition was recently published by Tursunjan Imin in 2020.10

2. *Tıyoq*

The place name appears in the inscription itself as Tyywq which can be read in no other way than Tıyoq (or Tıyuk). 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 Tıyoq is obviously derived from Chinese *dinggu* 丁谷.11

3. Date

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

---

4 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.


7 Imin 2020a, p. 1.

8 Tekin 1976.

9 Geng 1981.

10 Imin 2020a.


12 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\(^\text{13}\) J. Wilkens holds the view that Pure Land Buddhism was flourishing at Toyok already since the 6\(^{th}\) or the 7\(^{th}\) century.\(^\text{14}\) Later, Uighurs on the other hand translated texts of Pure Land Buddhism not earlier than 11\(^{th}\)-12\(^{th}\) centuries, but the fragment of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* 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 *Sukhāvatīvyūha* was made already during the 10\(^{th}\) century and would thus belong to the eldest stratum of Buddhist translations from Chinese.\(^\text{15}\)

### 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 *puṇya* 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\(^\text{16}\) 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* 釩徒): 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.”\(^\text{17}\) 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.

---

14 Wilkens 2015, p. 224 (n. 134).
15 Kudara 1995.
16 Giles 1957, p. 214.
17 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 män “I.”

B) [The primitive state of flourishing Buddhism]  
Text  
02 ymä törümış-lär-niŋ eligi  
03 änätkää elindä tuga b(ä)lgürä yarlıkap yarlıkančući köŋüllüg  
04 yarlıkap imärigmä sayu  
05 yertinčü yer suvda yada yalturu  
06 yeg tetmä  

Translation  
And the holy sun, i.e. Buddha, the King and Lord of the creatures, graciously rose and appeared in the Madhyadesa 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 the surrounding living beings to the track and lane equipped by the worldly truth he graciously led and guided them to the holy eternal joyful fruit called (truth) better than the worldly truth.
**Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom**

**Comments**

**burhan-lıg ıduk kün t(ä)ŋri**

The compound used here is *kün täŋri*, 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 *täŋri* was simply added to sun or moon.

The Pāli text *Buddhapādaamaṅgala* 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.”

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*). One example may be quoted: *fo-ri chu-xian* 佛陀現出 “the Buddha-sun erased and appeared” (T.IV.193.58c09). The Old Uyghur equivalent inserts *ıduk* “holy.”

**törümıšlärniŋ eligi hani**

“King of the creatures” can be equated with *ren-wang* 人民 “king of men,” an epithet of a Buddha in T. 360 (*Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra, Sūtra of Immeasurable Life*) (cp. Skt. *narapati*). 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.

**madyadeš ulušta änätkāk 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 otrusunta 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 Ketumati.” In the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā: matyadeš ulušta.*

---

31 DDB; SH, p. 228a.
32 DDB (sub *ren-wang* 人民).
33 HN 283.
34 BT 9, I, 104; cp. Laut & Wilkens 2017, No. 73 (p. 109).
35 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.  

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

mäŋgü mäŋi 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 amti sızlär ädgü tınlaglar ol ädgü nomug isidìnłär mänjilüg mänjikä täggäysizlär “Now, you good living beings, listen to the good dharma, you shall reach the everlasting joy!” In a Chan text we read:

175 yok mänji mänji ärür :
176 mänjü mänji ol tutar :

“Now, you good living beings, listen to the good dharma, you shall reach the everlasting joy!”

In a Chan text we read:

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.

C) [Buddhist life in China]

Text

bo munlayu (q) nomlug noš arisayan 07 tamız-lar akılıp yadılıp kutrultaçı tep āşmānē korkünē köjüllüg hu-a-ları čačäk-lari aČlur 08 yašarur ütdätä aglati yana ulug tavgač elinti sākiz y(ı)g(ı)rmı liv bag-ıg han-lar b(a)lgürüp iduk burhan 09 şazının kök-dår kö[zünü]r tuš-lar-da ārtürü ymā üč ārdini-kā kertgünčlüg burhan şazınına tartinl(ı)g 10 buyan algali küsūş-lüg ädgü kurtlug tınl(ı)g-lar üküš tälim bolup .. kočo uluş-nüŋ basruki tiyok 11 kışıl-ta kaśmıc ulug v(a)har-lar săŋräm-lär etip yaratıp bütürmiš-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 īv clan appeared in the Great Chinese Empire, (there are now) numerous and many good and happy (beings) providing the discipline

---

36 Cp. https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?A_madhyade%C5%9B%C3%A4%E1%B9%A3.
37 UWN II.2, p. 199.
38 Geng & Klimkeit 1985, pp. 76, 98.
40 SH, p. 349a.
41 The transliterated word stands between the lines.
42 Imin 2020a, p. 2 az īšānic? The spelling of the first word for which I propose noš is problematic.
43 Written: y bylyp.
44 Imin 2020a, p. 2: īy.
45 Geschrieben ‘rdwrw.
of the holy Buddha in heaven and in the present 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 Samghārāmas in the Tiyor 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”\(^{46}\), but more often attested is the noun *tamızım* from the augmented verb *tamız-*.\(^{47}\)

*arsayan* or *arsayan* is one of the spellings attested for the loan-word *rasāyana*, not included in the UWN.\(^{48}\) 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 tavgač elintä

From colophons terms like *kulug öjđin ulug tavgač eli* “The majestic eastern great Chinese Realm” and *kulug ulug tavgač eli* “the majestic great Chinese Realm”, *kulug ulug tavgač eli* “The majestic great Chinese Realm” are known,\(^{49}\) or shortly *ulug tavgač eli* “The majestic Chinese Realm.”\(^{50}\)

säkiz y(i)g(i)rmi liv baglıg hanlar

Geng Shimin compared the word *lyv* of line 08 to the word *lyv* in line 14.\(^{51}\) 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*,\(^{52}\) but he gave no reason for it. This *li* 李 has no final consonant\(^{53}\) wherefore it cannot be meant here.

According to the Avalambana-sūtra (T. 685, *Fo-shuo yu-lan-pen jing* 佛陀說盂蘭盆經) Maudgalyāyana enters the samādhi state called *shi-ba-wang san-mei ding* 十八王三味定.\(^{54}\) J. Jaworski suggested that this phrase refers to the 18 kings of the 18 hells (Skt. *naraka*) mentioned later in the text.\(^{55}\) 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 *baglıg* is added after Chinese family names, one has to look for a possible word of this category.

---

\(^{46}\) ED, p. 503a.

\(^{47}\) For other examples of the noun *tamız* cp. Zieme 2021 (forthcoming).

\(^{48}\) UWN II.1, p. 261.

\(^{49}\) BT 26, 306. Cp. BT 25, l. 1342.

\(^{50}\) U 3363 + U 3364 verso 04; U 2301 recto 02.

\(^{51}\) Geng 2006, p. 428.

\(^{52}\) Imin 2020a, p. 2 translates it as 李姓皇帝 “the emperor of the Li clan.”

\(^{53}\) Pulleyblank 1991, p. 186.

\(^{54}\) Jaworski 1935, p. 94.

comes to the fore, is liu 劍 (< liw). 56 During the Han dynasties there were many kings of the liu 劍 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 劍 57 is encountered which I tried to explain as liu 劍 too. This solution was confirmed when K. Kitsudô identified the Uyghur story with a Chinese original where this girl is called liu-shi nu-zi 劍氏奴子. 59

šažınıňa tartınınčlıg

In the passage ymä üč ärdini-kä kertgünč-lüg burhan šažınıňa tartınınčlıg 10 buyan algalı küsüš-lüg ädgü kutlug tnl(ı)g-lar iküš tälim bolup one observes an evident parallelism:

> üč ärdini-kä kirtgünčlüg  
endowed with the faith in the Three Jewels  

> burhan šažınıňa tartınınčlıg  
drawn to the discipline of the Buddha  

Other examples of tartınınčlıg can be found in verse texts:

> tartınınčlıg kanumka yükünürmän “Drawn to my father I venerate,” 60

or:

> tugmıšıŋa kadašıŋa tartınınčlıg
> tušmıšıŋa yolukmıšıŋa ačıglıg. 61

kočo uluşnuŋ basruki työk kısıl-ta

“In the Työk valley 62 the stabilizer of the Kočo Realm.” In a Bäzäklik inscription there is a similar expression: on uygur el uluşnuŋ ugrayu soka basruki una bo nižüŋ aryadan kısılta “Just in this Nižüŋ (= Bäzäklik) temple valley which is the sure and exact stabiliser of the Realm of the Ten Uyghurs.” 63 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 basruki translated by H. Aydemir “Stabilisatoren des Landes.” 64 As explained by M. Erdal, the word basrük (basrok) has no negative connotation, thus one can translate by stabiliser. 65

---

57 (U 5058)  
58 Zieme 2011, p. 158.  
59 Kitsudô & Zieme 2017, p. 79.  
60 ETŞ 10/119.  
61 Dunhuang B 464:128. ll. 149–150.  
62 Cp. BT 46, 104, työk-nuŋ kısıl-ta ayag-ka tägimlig ; Fu Ma (forthcoming), inscription I-5, työk kıs[dl].  
D) [Decline of the Vaunted Age of Splendour]

Text

üküš tälim 12 üd-lär-niŋ kolu-lar-niŋ ärtmäkiŋä etiglig nomlar-niŋ ornagsızıŋa bo v(a)rhar 13 säŋräm buzulup
artap idisiz igäsiz bolup turmuš-iŋa m(ä)n an bag-lıg toyn ((m(ä)n tudam šäli)) buzulmušın 14 etip oprakın
sapıp yaŋırdı 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 toyn m(ä)n tudam šäli

If the name An is of Sogdian origin one can think of the clan-name An ˁšē designating people of Bukhara.66

From Dunhuang in the Sogdian text A 8 ʾyw ʾʾn cwrtʾn nʾm swlmy “a certain (person from) Solmı named An
Cwrtʾn”67 occurs. P. Lurje mentions the Uyghur example attested in a Dunhuang text: An Tiräk.68 He, but
surely not the same person, is a slave buyer in an Uyghur document.69 A further An person is An Totok.70

Such personal names original borne by Sogdians were later also used by Sogdo-Uyghur people, as T.
Moriyasu71 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.72 Examples of the name Tutum are recorded in the Onomasticon Turcicum.73 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 12th century it might have been the
case.

---

66 Lurje 2010, pp. 69–70.
67 Sims-Williams & Hamilton 2015, p. 33.
68 Lurje 2010, p. 70 after MOTH 15.2’ (Hamilton 1986, p. 83 sqq).
70 KP 99, cp. UWN II.1., p. 142.
72 ED, p. 457a.
On the other hand, a Chinese origin is not excluded. For the reading tw’tʾm, D. Matsui suggests dao-tan 道潭, which could be transcribed as tw-tʾm > totam in Sino-Uyghur. If we can slightly modify the reading, there could be other options of potential monastic names: e.g. twtʾm = todem < Chin. dao-nian 道念 “attitude seeking the truth”; wwtʾm = wudem < wu-nian 無念 (= Skt. asmṛta), which is attested as a monastic name in the Uyghur version of Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā tattvārthā.

len paryan

The word pair is directly borrowed from Tokharian leṃ paryāṃ (< Skt. lena pariyāṇa) as mentioned in an earlier paper. Of course, already H. Lüders gave an explanation for the Tokharian pair leṃ paryāṃ.

E) [Monk’s donations to the monastery]

Text

bo v(a)hrhar säŋräm-tä olurtačı bursaŋ 15 kuvrag-ka liv-k(i)yā ašk(i)y-a bolzun s[akı]np öz ašamš-k(i)y-am lükčüŋ-tä tsati ögän-tä 16 iki šig beš küri yer-k(i)y-i yana bo ok ögän-tä ulug yol-ta bir şig urug 17 kirgů bir adiz yer k(i)y-ä tört töšäk iki *tauma bir orululuk tört ulug küp 18 bir *oyčıŋlık beš küpčük iki ulug kičig išič bir s[ač]. bo munča-k(i)y-a tapın 19 ötünü törtögin bo ok v(a)rharta olurgučı bursaŋ kuvrag ärksinip oprak-m s[apa] 20 y(a)rklkazun-lar.

Translation

So (for the purpose) that food and nutrition can be available to the communities living in the Vihāras and Samghārāmas, I have donated my own possession (food) a field of 2 šig 5 küri (located) at the brook Tsati in Lükčüŋ and then an adiz 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 *oyčıŋlık, 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!

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

---

74 For Chin. dao 道 > tw = to, see BT 34, p. 179; for ding 定 initial and tan 塘 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 > tʾm, see BT 34, p. 181. Dao-tan 道潭 is attested as a Buddhist name in medieval Japan.
75 See BT 34, p. 182, for Chin. nian 念 > tym = dem.
76 Shogaito 2008, pp. 166–167, Wu-nian ben 无念本 “(This is) Wu-nian’s book” = uu dem atlig ačari tsopın-m kldum “I, a master named Uudem, made the copy (tsopın < Chin. zao-ben 造本).”
78 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 lena-.” He also gave me a hint to Chen 2018, p. 229.
79 This sentence is explained by Matsui 2004, p. 67.
elân An, Tudum Šäli, removed what was destroyed, prepared what had fallen into disrepair and set up again a cella.

Comments

Donations

Donations to the temple community are motivated by sustaining their living expressed by liv-k(i)yä aš(k)i)y-a bolzun. In his paper about lavaş O. Sertkaya 80 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 +KIyA suffix to both. According to him the entry in the DLT has to be read liv, not liyü, 81 but the meaning MK gives is “mud” while we expect a term for “food”. And this can be seen in Chinese li 82 “grain” as explained in earlier studies such as Moriyasu 2004, pp. 69–70 and Zieme 1981, p. 252. In the pair with aš “food, grain” it is a generalised term for “food”. 83

This compound liv aš 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. 84 The last part on the verso side reads as follows:

üč lükčüŋ [atl(ı)g] 12 [bałık oru]nug küzādzün
ač kiz ig kigān-tin tryok kısıl-ıg küzādūn
13 [sizi]ŋ kuvarγ-uŋz birlā munda ok āriŋ.
   tilik ol sizkā tözün-lār
14 [munda t]urmış tözün-lārkā liv aš beriŋ (end of line).

This can be translated into English as follows:

May he (i.e. the Bodhisattva) protect [the city named] Üč Lükčüŋ!
Protect the Tryok 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]!

81 ED, p. 764b.
83 Buell & Anderson 2010, p. 586.
84 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.”

These donations called sāṇīk 86 consist of two parts, of immobile fields and of mobile objects for use of monks. The two fields are located in Lükčün (< Liuzhong 柳中) 87 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.

The name of the brook is supposedly a Chinese one, but an identification is not easy. While Imin read tsʾty 88 vs. l. 05. The name of the brook is supposedly a Chinese one, but an identification is not easy. While Imin read tsʾty vs. l. 05.

Judging from the shape of the medial letter <t> I would like to propose a transliteration tsʾty *tsati, 90 but this is as doubtful as *tsari, and we do not know of channel names in Lükčün. 91

---

85 Gernet 1995, p. 68.
86 sāṇīk < Skt. sāṃghīka “relating to a saṃgha ; its property; articles belonging to the monastic community” (cp. DDB).
87 For the name of Lükčün cp. Pelliot 2002, p. 141, n. 141; Matsui 2015, p. 275, fn. 5; Zieme 1997.
89 Matsui 2004, p. 67: tsarı (?). Accordingly, the name should be of Chinese origin, but the reconstruction is not possible.
90 In a note D. Matsui pointed out that he does not accept the reading <t> for the letter in question.
91 On my request Yoko Nishimura kindly searched for names of water channels, but beside a jiūquan 酒泉 in the Toyok area she could not find any for Lükčün.
The second field (adż92 yer k(i)y-ä) is located between the mentioned brook and the Great Street.93 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 ㄑ“canal.”94

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.95

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,96 but the list contains apparently also other things: tört tőšäk iki *tauma bir oranlık tört ulug küp 18 bir *oyčıŋlık beş küpečük iki ulug kičig išič bir sač “4 mattresses, 2 *tauma, 1 seat cushion, 4 large jugs, 1 *oyčıŋlık, 5 jugs, 2 cauldrons - one large, one small -, 1 bowl.”97

Of these objects two items are not known from other texts. The first word tʾwmʾ// tʾwmn98 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”99 are mentioned. A nun presented “embossed kitchen utensils for the permanent assets of the Ling-hsiu monastery”.100 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

---

92 As K. Röhrborn mentioned, in the Maitrisimit nom bitig we see the word written with <$t$>, cp. UWN II.1, pp. 34–35.
93 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 < 邑 jie in U 5399+U 5367+U 6060+MIK III 4957a (Sa18 in SUK II, p. 40).
94 SUK II, p. 320a.
95 Gernet 1956, p. 121 (1995, p. 125). According to a Chinese document edited by Maspero 1954, p. 148 no. 311. The six things personal to a monk: samghāṭī, the patch robe; uttarā-samghāṭī, 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].
96 Although the spelling is not clear, an object like a sač “an iron plate for baking; a frying-pan” (ED 794a) is possible here.
97 Gernet 1995, p. 204.
98 Gernet 1995, p. 204.
99 Gernet 1995, p. 204.
a real counterpart for the two-syllable word *tau-ma* is not in sight. 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*.

The second unknown word is ṿwyčynklyq//ṿwnčynklyq//=ṿwnčʾnklyq. Imin reads oyčanlıq, but he gives no explanation. If one follows him, one should change the spelling to oyčaŋlık as there is a clear <k> after <n>. The letters 3 and 5 are the same, thus we should read ṿwyčynklyq//=ṿwcynklyq = *oyčıŋlık* 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 +lk suffix, the stem *oyčıŋ* can be of foreign origin, most probably Chinese.

F) [Against unlawful appropriation]

**Text**

balık-ta olurur kuvrag ārkṣingāli ugrasar maitri t(ā)ŋri burhan yüzin körṃāzūn 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monastery</th>
<th>City community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo ok v(a)harta olurguçı bursan kuvrag ārkṣinip y(a)ılkazunlar .</td>
<td>balıkta olurur kuvrag ārkṣingāli ugrasar maitri t(ā)ŋri burhan yüzin körṃāzūnlar ..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

101 I am greateful to D. Matsui who offered several possibilities, for tʾw: transcription of Chinese *dao* 刀 “to lead, instruct; leader” or *tao* 青 “ceramic, porcelain”; for mʾ: *mo* 摩, *ma* 麻, *meng* 猛. *Ma* 麻 “linen (cloth)” could be a donation, but I cannot find any attestation. Of these *tao* 青 “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.


103
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”

**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 ātʾözin bärü kälip tükäl bilgä maitri burhanag körgäli boltuŋuzlar* : “(By the reason of your *puṇya*) 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: *körkäňüzni ... körälim* “We want to see … your figure!”

**G) [Transfer of Merit]**

*Text*

bo buyan-ig ävirä ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut ; yana ävirü ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut; yana ävirü ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut: yana ävirü ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut; yana ävirü ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut; yana ävirü ötünü täginü Türk Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut;

*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] Bügülüg Ulug Idukkut; the majesty of T(ä)ngrikän T(ä)rkän(?) Qu[nču] T,egim; the majesty of Tärkän Tegin Tängrim; the majesty of Alp Sıŋgur Tegin Tängrim, all our companions of the four birth forms and the five forms of existence!

Horse Year (…)

*Comments*

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

---

105 Zieme 2013, p. 405.
106 I owe this reading to T. Moriyasu.
107 Tekin 1976, p. 226, the *puṇyamodāna* (transfer of merit) part is divided into two sections, first to the heavenly beings
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, among which also the fragment Pelliot divers No. 3 is mentioned.

This person is on the lowest rank of nobility, as the before-mentioned three ranks have either the kingly titles täŋrikän 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 Sıŋqur Tarqan, and he pointed also to Alp Sıŋgur Tarqan Vap Čaŋšı in Stake Inscription III, 20.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ačıl-</th>
<th>to be opened</th>
<th>a.-ur 07</th>
<th>ačıl-</th>
<th>to be poured out</th>
<th>a.-ip 07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adız</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>a. 17</td>
<td>adız</td>
<td>further, and</td>
<td>a. 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>further, and</td>
<td>a. 08</td>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>food-possession (?)</td>
<td>a.-p 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>a.-p 13</td>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>food-possession (?)</td>
<td>a.-p 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>a.-galı 10</td>
<td>ağıldı</td>
<td>existence-</td>
<td>a. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alp</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>a.-galı 10</td>
<td>alp</td>
<td>existence-</td>
<td>a. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>a. 03</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>a. 03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and then to the earthly beings.

108 Zieme 2020, 162.
109 In Zieme 2020 I did not mention that the text was already edited by Niu Ruji 2001.
äzrua  Brahma
ä.  21
baglıg  of a clan
b.  08, 13
balık  city
b.+ta  20
bas  then
b.  21
basrük  stabilizer
b.+10
b(ä)lgür-  to appear
b.-ä  03
b.-üp  08
beš  five
b.  16, 18, 24
bilgä  wise
b.  03
bililig  having wisdom
b.  03
bir  one
b.  16, 17, 18, 18
biz  we
b.  21, 22
bo  this
b.  06, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25
bol-  to become
b.-zun  15
b.-üp  10, 13
burhan  the Buddha
b.  08, 09, 20
burhanlıg  of the Buddha
b.  02
bursaŋ  community
b.  14, 19
buyn  merit
b.  10
b.+ig  21, 22
buzul-  to be destroyed
b.-mazun  25
b.-mişın  13
b.-up  13
bügü  wise
b.  22
bügülüg  wise
b.  23
bütür-  to accomplish
b.-mişır  11
čäčäk  flower
č.+läri  07
el  realm
e.+inda  03
e.+intä  08
elig  king
e.+i  02
et-  to make
e.-di[m]  14
e.-tip  11, 14
etilig  equipped
e.  05, 12
han  ruler
h.+i  02
h.+lar  08
hormuzta  Indra
h.  21
hua  flower
h.+ları  07
iduk  holy
i.  02, 06, 08
idukkut  Holy Majesty
i.  23
iki  two
i.  16, 17, 18
imärigmä  surrounding
i.  04
išč  cauldron
i.  18
iz  trace
i.  05
kadaš  companion
k.+larmızka  24
kamag  all
k.  22, 24
kašınč  precious
k.  11
kertgünçlüg  of belief
k.  09
kertü  true
k.  05
kisıl  valley
k.+ta  11
kičig  small
k.  18
kir-  to enter
k.-gü  17
kočo  Kočo
k. 10
kolu  period
k.+larnaŋ  12
korkınč  fear
k.  07
kök  heaven
k.+da  09
köıtüllüg  of a mind
k.  03, 07
kör-  to see
k.-mazaŋlır  20
közün-  to appear
k.[ün-ü]r  09
kunčuy  lady
k.  23
kut  majesty
k.  22
kutlug  majestic
k.  10, 22
kutrug-  to be released
k.-tači  07
kuvrag  community
k.  19, 20
k. +ka  15
kün  sun
k.  02
küp  jug
k.  17
küpčük  (small) jug
k.  18
küri  measure
k.  16
kusūşlug  having a wish
k.  10
len  cell
l.  14
liv  name of a Chinese clan
l.  08
liv+k(i)yä  nutrition
l.  15
lükčiņ  Lükčiņ, Lükčün
l+tä  15
madyadeś  Madhyadeśa
m.  02
maharač  mahārāja
m.  21
mairi  Maitreya
m.  20
m(a)n  I
m.  01, 13
māni  joy
m.  06
mānju  eternal
m.  06
munča  such
m+k(i)yä  18
munilayu  in this way
m.  06
nom  dharma, teaching
n.+larnaŋ  12
nomlug  of a dharma
n.  03, 06
noś  ambrosia
n.  06
ok  particle of strengthening
the meaning
o.  16, 19
olur-  to sit
o.-gučı  19
o.-tačı  14
o.-ur  20
oprák broken
ornagsz disorder
oruk lane
orunluk seat cushion
*öyênjîk ?
öğân brook
öütün- to beg
öz self
paryan cell
saç bowl
sakin- to think
sap- to repair
sayu each
säkiz eight
sänjik belonging to a community (samgha)
sänrâm monastery
sëngur PN
suv water
šazn discipline
šëngur PN
šali title of a monk
šig measure
tamiz drop
tapin- to offer
tartunîch being attracted
*tauma ?
tavgæ Chinese

*oyčıŋlık  ?
*tauma  ?
tayantur- to support
tägin- to venture
tålim many
t(ä)¬grî God, divine
t(ä)¬grikän ruler
t(ä)¬grim My lord (title)
tärkän title
tegîn prince
t- to say
tetmä called
tnl(i)g living being
tiyok Tyok
tolp entire, all
toyn monk
tört four
törü- to be created
töšäk mattress
tëm* *tsati ?
t*cuda ?
šâli title of a monk
šëns title of a monk
tug- to be born
tugum birth
uduz- to lead
uğra- to intend
ulûg large
ulûs realm, country
urug seed
üç three
üd time
üküs many
ü. 10, 11
ïständ to support
yâdi- to be spreaded
yâltuk splendor
yâltu- to let shine
yana again
yëmjës again
yarat- to create
yartka- to deign
yëy- to earth
yèr earth
yèrcîla- to guide
yëyû to intend
Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom

8. References

Arat, Reşid Rahmeti

Aydemir, Hakan

BT 9 Tekin 1980.
BT 26 Kasai 2008.
BT 37 Wilkens 2016.
BT 46 Moriyasu 2019.
BT 47 Zieme 2021.

Buell, Paul D. & Anderson, Eugene N.

Chen, Ruixuan 陳瑞畓

Cicuzza, Claudio

Clauson, Gerard

DDB Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (Charles Muller).

ED Clauson.

ETŞ Arat 1965.

Fu, Ma & Xia, Lidong

Geng, Shimin 耿世民
2006. 維吾爾古代文獻研究 Reseaches in Old Uighur Literature, Beijing.

Geng, Shimin & Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim

Gernet, Jaques
1995. Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries, Translated by Franciscus Verellen, New York.
Giles, Lionel

Goodrich, Anne Swann

Hackmann, Heinrich & Nobel, Johannes

Hamilton, James

Hao, Chunwen
2010. The Social Life of Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Dunhuang during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties, and Early Song, in: Asia Major (3. s.) 23-2, pp. 77–95.

HN Hackmann & Nobel.


HT IX Aydemir 2013.

Huang, Wenbi 黃文錫

Imin, Tursunjan 吐送江・依明
2020b. 吐峪溝石窟佛教遺址新發現回鹘文題記釋讀 [A Reading of Newly Discovered Wall Inscriptions in Old Uighur from the Buddhist site at the Tuyuq Grottoes]. 敦煌研究 Dunhuang yanjiu 2020-5, 115–127.

Jarring, Gunnar

Jaworski, Jan

Joint Archaeological Team of Research Center for Frontier Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS, Academia Turfanica and Kizil Research Institute

Kasai, Yukiyo

Kitsudō, Kōichi & Zieme, Peter

KP Hamilton 1971.

Kudara, Kōgi 百濟康義
Laut, Jens Peter & Wilkens, Jens  

Li, Xiao & Yakup, Abdurishid  

Lüders, Heinrich  

Lurje, Pavel B.  

Maspero, Henri  

Matsui, Dai  


Moriyasu, Takao  
1997. The Uighur Merchants on the Silk Road: From the Sogdian Merchants to the Ortoq Merchants], in: M. Sugiyama (ed.), Chūō Yūriashi no tōgō, Tokyo, pp. 93–119.


2015. 東西ウイグルと中央ユーラシア Eastern and Western Uighurs and Central Eurasia, Nagoya.

2019. Corpus of the Old Uighur Letters from the Eastern Silk Road, Turnhout (Berliner Turfantexte XLVI).

Niu, Ruji  

Pelliot, Paul  

Pulleyblank, Edwin G.  
1991. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin, Vancouver.

Rásonyi, László & Baski, Imre  
Rong, Xinjiang 張新江

Röhrborn, Klaus

Sertkaya, Osman Fikri

SH Soothill & Hodous.

Shogaito, Masahiro 庄垣正弘

Sims-Williams, Nicholas & Hamilton, James

Soothill, William Edward & Hodous, Lewis

SUK Yamada.

Tekin, Şinasi

Umemura, Hiroshi 梅村坦

UWN II.1 Röhrborn 2015.
UWN II.2 Röhrborn 2017.

Wilkins, Jens
2015. Buddhism in the West Uyghur Kingdom and Beyond, in: Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries), ed by C. Meinert, Leiden/Boston, pp. 191–249.
Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom


Yamabe, Nobuyoshi

Yamada, Nobuo

Zieme, Peter

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.

Editorial Board

Studies on the Inner Asian Languages
Rubbing of the Toyok Inscription

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