

Peter Zieme

An Old Uyghur Translation of the 開蒙要訓 *Kaimeng yaoxun*

DOI 10.17816/wmo71595

Abstract: The verso of a scroll of the Old Uyghur version of the *Säkiz yükmäk yaruk sudur* contains an Old Uyghur translation of the *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓, a textbook for learning Chinese which is known from the Dunhuang finds only. The Uyghur fragments of this version are preserved in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences as well as in the Turfan Collection of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. In this paper one section is given in transliteration, transcription and in translation based on the Chinese Vorlage.

Key words: *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓, Turfan, Dunhuang, Chinese teaching books, Old Uyghur translation

Introduction

The verso of a scroll of the Old Uyghur version of the *Säkiz yükmäk yaruk sudur*¹ contains an Old Uyghur translation of the *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓 (hereafter: KMYX). Here, I would like to express my thanks to Rong Xinjiang, who drew my attention to the possibility that the Old Uyghur text could be a translation of the KMYX. I am also grateful to Takata Tokio for reading an earlier draft of this paper and giving some amendments.

The KMYX is a textbook which is known from the Dunhuang finds. It consists of about 350 four-character lines for learning and memorising Chinese characters.² The better known *Qianziwen* 千字文 has a similar structure but without repetition of characters. It is written in a more elaborate style. The striking is that the KMYX contains many very rare characters.

© Peter Zieme, Senior researcher at the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

¹ Translation of the *Tiandi bayang jing*, cp. ODA 2010; ODA 2015; RASCHMANN 2012.

² More details in Nugent 2018: 163.

Several fragments of translations of the *Qianziwen* are already edited enriching the knowledge of Old Uyghur.

Now, with the help of the equations between Chinese and Old Uyghur words of the KMYX there is hope for a further enrichment. Unfortunately, the scroll is broken into a large number of small fragments. Thanks to the recto sides it is possible to bring all these small remnants into the correct sequence and order so that some lines are even complete. In contrast to the *Qianziwen*, the Chinese characters are not quoted. Instead of the 4 characters per unit 4 slashes are used substituting them.³ The lexical material obtained from the parallels is nevertheless considerable, since it makes it possible to give exact Chinese meanings for a number of words. However, since the Chinese sentences also contain words that are very rare, the question is to what extent the translator has always hit the right note.

Chinese version of the Kaimeng yaoxun

A. Pissin characterizes the text as follows: “Lei Qiaoyun divides children’s literature, as she names it, which she has collected from among the Dunhuang material, into six categories. One category contains texts that ought to be studied in order to learn characters, such as the One Thousand Character Text (*Qianziwen* 千字文), the Important Instructions to Open Up the Bemuddled Minds (*Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓), and the One Hundred Household Names (*Baijiaxing* 百家姓)”.⁴

The KMYX is a rhymed work which consists of 350 phrases of 4 words. The contents comprise a wide range of topics which are presented in these four words phrases like general knowledge on astronomy, geography, seasons, mountains, rivers; human relations, human qualities; topic of housing and decoration; human body and illnesses; jewels and treasures, arts and fieldworks; kitchen and eating; plants and animals, writing utensils and books etc. It is important because many vernacular words are used in contrast to the similar *Qianziwen*⁵. It was used for children and adults. The book is known only from Dunhuang and Turfan. After the Yuan dynasty it went lost.

³ RASCHMANN 2012: 105: “The individual text sections are separated from each other by four slashes and indicate omissions (in a translation?)”.

⁴ PISSIN 2009: 257.

⁵ ZHENG & ZHU 2007: 29 sqq.

Rong Xinjiang mentions the KMYX as one of the teaching books in semantic exegesis and orthography.⁶

Chinese edition of the Kaimeng yaoxun

The numbers given to the entries by Ma⁷ differ slightly from those by Zhang.⁸ From 1 to 44 there is no difference. Usually, the units of 4 words are strictly considered, number 46 contains two units of 4 words thus all following numbers in Ma 2008 differ by -1.

Book	Article
45	45
46	46/1
47	46/2
48	47
100	99
200	199
300	299
340	341
341	342

Old Uyghur version of the Kaimeng yaoxun

I. Galambos has started to investigate the influence of Chinese teaching books in the cultures of the neighbouring countries, inter alia in the states of the Uyghurs. As up to now only fragments of the *Qianziwen* translations were edited, he had to concentrate on this topic and discussed e.g. the question why Uyghurs regarded it necessary to translate the *Qianziwen*.⁹ With the new materials presented here we gain a larger understanding of the requirements for teaching and learning Chinese.

⁶ RONG 2013: 394.

⁷ MA 2008.

⁸ ZHANG 2013.

⁹ GALAMBOS (in print).

The fragments¹⁰

For marking the four Chinese characters four small strokes are used, similar to the method in the *Qianziwen* translation. In the latter one usually the first character of a four words unit is written as Chinese character and only the following ones are given as slashes.

One scroll very fragmentarily preserved today, was reused for writing the KMYX. Judging from the existent fragments, the scribe used about one third of the scroll, because the first fragment starts on the opposite of recto line 253 and the last one ends on line 88. This means that the new scroll (KMYX) was cut from the old one (SYX).

From U7138 it is clear that the fragments belong to the finds in Dakianusšahri during the second Turfan expedition. The Germans obtained only one third of all fragments, two thirds are preserved in the IOM Collection in St. Petersburg. They were collected by Nikolai Krotkov and handed over to the Committee in 1911 as parts of Kr IV.

Concordance

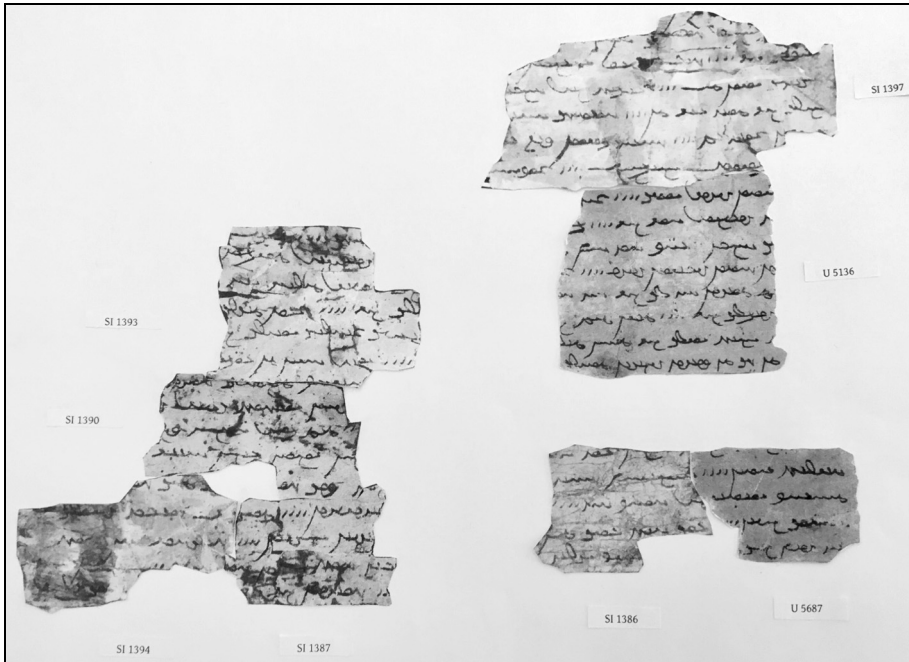
IOM/RAS	BBAW	
SI 1243 (Kr IV/10)	U3407 (T II T)	Kat.-Nr. 116
SI 1362 (Kr IV/142)	U4958 (T II Y 14)	Not in Kat.
SI 1384 (Kr IV/171+172)	U5136 (no old signature)	Not in Kat.
SI 1385 (Kr IV/172)	U5686 (T II T)	Kat.-Nr. 085
SI 1386 (Kr IV/173)	U5687 (T II T)	Kat.-Nr. 067
SI 1387 (Kr IV/174)	U5698 (T II T 554)	Kat.-Nr. 101
SI 1390 (Kr IV/178)	U7138 (T II D 213)	Kat.-Nr. 057
SI 1391 (Kr IV/179)	U7191 (T II T)	Kat.-Nr. 101
SI 1392 (Kr IV/180)		
SI 1393 (Kr IV/181)		
SI 1394 (Kr IV/182)		
SI 1395 (Kr IV/183)		

¹⁰ Previous notes on the text of the verso side: ODA 2010, Facsimile Volume: 172–175: Text 222 verso (p. 175 “noch unentziffert” [未解讀]); RASCHMANN 2012: 11 (“unidentifizierter atü. (buddh.) Text bzw. Textteil”), 119 (Kat.-Nr. 116): “Neben 21 Fragmenten aus der St. Petersburger Sammlung gehören folgende Fragmente der Berliner Sammlung zu der Abschrift im Buchrollenformat (B 63): U7138 (Kat.-Nr. 057), U5687 (Kat.-Nr. 067), U5686 (Kat.-Nr. 085), U5698 [+Kr. IV/194+Kr. IV/189] + U7191 (Kat.-Nr. 101)”.

SI 1397 (Kr IV/185) SI 1398 (Kr IV/186) SI 1399 (Kr IV/187) SI 1400 (Kr IV/188) SI 1401 (Kr IV/188) SI 1403 (Kr IV/191) SI 1404 (Kr IV/192) SI 1405 (Kr IV/194) SI 1772 (Kr IV/177)	
---	--

Many of these 29 fragments of the two collections can be joined directly or indirectly resulting in six sections with some longer or shorter lacunae between them.

Section 01	SI 1391 (Kr IV/179)	SY Y, 250–253
lacuna of 9 lines of SY Y		
Section 02	SI 1362 (Kr IV/142)+U3407 (T II T)	SY Y, 237–241
lacuna of 10 lines of SY Y		
Section 03	U5698 (T II T 554)+SI 1405 (Kr IV/194)+ SI 1401 (Kr IV/189)+U7191 (T II T)	SY Y, 215–223
lacuna of 18 lines of SY Y		
Section 04	U4958 (T II Y 14)	SY Y, 190–193
lacuna of about 40 lines of SY Y		
Section 05	U5686 (T II T)+SI 1395 (Kr IV/183)+ SI 1385 (Kr IV/172)+ SI 1772 (Kr IV/177)+ SI 1392 (Kr IV/180)+SI 1243 (Kr IV/10)+ SI 1403 (Kr IV/191)+SI 1404 (Kr IV/192)+ SI 1384 (Kr IV/171+172)+SI 1398 (Kr IV/186)+ SI 1400 (Kr IV/188)	SY Y, 135–169
Section 06	SI 1397 (Kr IV/185)+SI 1393 (Kr IV/181)+ U 5136 (no old signature)+SI 1390 (Kr IV/178)+ SI 1394 (Kr IV/182)+SI 1387 (Kr IV/174)+ SI 1386 (Kr IV/173)+U 5687 (T II T)	SY Y, 117–134
Section 07	U7138 (T II D 213)	SY Y, 88–117
Section 08	SI 1399 (Kr IV/187)	?



In this paper, as an example, I would like to present **section 06** as a rather well preserved passage. Nevertheless, due to the state of preservation of the scroll, there are great difficulties in reading it for large parts. This passage joined from eight fragments comprises the SYU text of lines 117–134: SI 1397+U5136+SI 1393+SI 1390+U5687+SI 1386+SI 1387+SI 1394.

This passage (section 06) presents the vocabulary of different topics including plants and animals as well as practical matters like house construction etc. Because of several lacunae some units are left without Old Uyghur equivalents, and here are treated only shortly.

Transliteration of section 06

- 087 [xxxxxx]’lqw swv[xxxx] ”qy[]
- 088 []’p[] l’r //// swv [xxx]čyp y’vl’q []
- 089 t’kyrmy ’wrwn t’ //// yymyš lyk q’lv’[]
- 090 ”ldy l’r twyz yyr t’ //// qwytsty ”qy[]

- 091 [xxxx]n čwyžym /// s'ryq mwrwt pyl y[]
- 092 [xxxx] mwrwt "lyml' /// čwp'q[]
- 093 [xxx s]atun k'kwk 'wty /// č's[]
- 094 [xxx]z kwyčlwk 'rwr l'r /// m[]sy /// twrm' []
- 095 [xxx]y q'lv' []yq̄w qwzq'č [///] kwyv'rg' twrmwz []
- 096 [xxx]kwn s'twn k'vyrt' kyrkw /// č[]wyčyk t'dyq lyq []
- 097 [xxx]m twykwn q'zdy l'r q'zqw[]rdy-l'r/// čyt tykdy []
- 098 [xxxx] kwymdy l'r /// twr' t'm l[]ylynčy čysdyny 'wyrdy l[]
- 099 [xxxx] "lyš 'wrdy l'r tvr'q tyd[] /// 'wyk q'ryn t' ywmwr[]
- 100 [xxx] t' šy t' pwykwn k'lykyn twqdy []' tyl'qw qwnkwz []
- 101 []k'nt 'wyswš k'čyp k[]
- 102 [//]// tym mwnk "tlq p'l[]
- 103 []l'n 'wlwq yyl'n q'yyr []
- 104 []l[]n []l[]n ywz "[]l[]q pwy sw[]y t'ny sw[]
- 105 qyrdys yntyn /// q'rlyq'č s'qyz[xxx x]wykwrčkwn /// twry ' kwyvwz
k'rwdy
- 106 t'qyqw 'wytyr'k qwqw q'z /// [xxxxx x]wyklyn "nkyt /// synkqwr q'r
qwš
- 107 qyrqwy l'čyn /// ywy qwš ywry tyn [xxx] yyn qwš []t' qwš l'r ///
y'm'n 'k[xx]
- 108 [xx]yq kwyč l'ry [xxxxxx]wrw 'ydyz [] swykw t' l'r [] 'wy ' l'p

Text and interpretation

The text of section 06 corresponds to the four words units [261] to [301]. Each table starts with the unit number of the KMYX and the bold line number of the transliteration. In the first three columns Chinese characters, pinyin and translation are given, while columns 4 and 5 are reserved for the Uyghur equivalents in transcription and translation. It is clear that in the context of the units the sense can be different, and therefore, if there are no Uyghur parallels, further comments are not provided. Only when Uyghur matches are available, the meanings of the words and their Chinese equivalents are presented and discussed.

[261] 087

窖窖圖倉			–	
窖	yìn	cave	–	
窖	jiào	cellar	–	
圖	chuán	storage	–	
倉	cāng	granary	–	

087 []'lqw swv[]'qy[].

The words of this line are difficult to read. I assume that they are the matching words of section 261, but no exact solution can be given.

[262] 087–088

泥鍤梯蹬			–	
泥	ní	mud	–	
鍤	màn	trowel	–	
梯	tī	step, ladder	–	
蹬	dēng	step	[]'p[]-lar	

Only some Uyghur letter remnants of the fourth item are preserved. One expects an equivalent for *dēng*, but a convincing emendation is nearly impossible. A candidate could be the word *yapgak* “a kind of trap”.¹¹

[263] 088

博壑壘墻			////	
博	zhuān	brick	suv [kǎ]čip	
壑	jī	unfired brick	yavlak (?)	
壘	lěi	rampart	–	
墻	qiáng	wall	–	

This section begins with an expression *suv [kǎ]čip* “crossing the water” which cannot be a correct translation of *zhuān* “brick”. It is possible that the

¹¹ ED: 874b.

author thought of another character consisting of the main part 專 or one combined with that.

If the reading *yavlak* “bad” is correct, the second word is not at the right place.

[264] 088–089

掃灑庭院			–	
掃	sǎo	sweep	–	
灑	sǎ	sprinkle	–	
庭	tíng yuàn	yard	–	
院			[t]ägirmi orun-ta	“at a round place”

Judging from the translation [*t*]ägirmi orun-ta, apparently the author translated *yuàn* separately without considering the compound *tíngyuàn* “yard”, whose single meanings are “court” and “courtyard”. The Uyghur translation suggests that the author rather thought of 圓 *yuán* “round”.

[265] 089

料理菌場				////	
料	liào	materials	to arrange, manage	yemiš-lik	orchard
理	lǐ	arrange		kalv[alík]	garden
菌	yuán	garden		–	
場	cháng	vegetable garden		–	

In this section one sees a disorder. In Chinese the two words for “garden” are 3 and 4, while in Uyghur they hold the positions 1 and 2.

[266] 089

畦苑種蒔				–	
畦	qí	field, plant		–	
苑	wǎn	luxuriant		–	
種	zhǒng	seed		–	
蒔	shí	plant, dill		–	

No Uyghur equivalent.

[267] 089–090

栽掐端行			–	
栽	zāi	particle	–	
掐	qiā	pinch	–	
端	duān	arrange	aldı-lar	
行	xíng, háng	line	tüz yer-tä	



P. 3189: 栽插端行.

Uyghur translates only two words, *duān* approximately by *aldılar* “they took” and *xíng* through *tüz yertä* “at a level place”. The character *zāi* 栽 with radical “hand” does not occur in Morohashi. Cp. Zhang’s explanation on p. 242.

[268] 090

槐[榆]椿楮			////	
槐	huái	Sophora japonica	hoysı	
[榆]	[yú]	elm (tree)	karı[]	
椿	chūn	long-lived tree	–	
楮	chǔ	paper mulberry	–	

Unit [268] lists tree names. The Uyghur equivalent of the first character reflects the pronunciation of 槐 *huái* (xwajʻ)¹² added by 子 *zi*. The Brāhmī-Uyghur bilingual text Mainz 684¹³ and Mainz 683 (T II S 52)¹⁴ have the pair

¹² PULLEYBLANK 1991: 129.

¹³ MAUE 1996: 4 with comments on p. 6.

¹⁴ TT VIII: A 39.

(Skt) *picumanda* = (Uygh.) *hoy ts[i]*. In both cases *hoytsı* is a substitute for the nimba tree. D. Maue was the first who explained origin and use of *hoytsı* as *Sophora japonica*.¹⁵ He suggested *qwytsty* for HT X 43, but the original spelling is *q'ytsky*¹⁶ as given by A. Mirsultan in her edition where she translated *kaytsi* or better *haytsi*¹⁷ by “Schnurbäume”,¹⁸ while Li¹⁹ translated 槐 as “locust trees”. The Uyghurs apparently had both transcriptions in their repertoire.

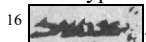
The same spelling *q'ytsky* is used in a different context for the plant name 芥(子) *jiè(zi)* (kʲaj)²⁰ translated in Li²¹ as “mustard”, thus also in Uyghur in HT IX 1850 quoting its Sanskrit equivalent *sarṣapa*. This word is attested in the same spelling also in the translation of the 千字文 *Qianziwen* 16/3, both in transcription of the Chinese entry 芥 as *kay* and in its translation as *kaytsi*.²²

A different *q'ytsky* = *kaytsi* or *haytsi* occurs in TT I 3 for which the first editors as well as the DTS give no etymology. S. Şen’s proposal to see here 槐子 of above cannot be accepted as one expects a word meaning “brightness, shine”.²³ Perhaps the underlying Chinese word could be 蓋子 *gàizi* “covercle, carapace”,²⁴ as suggested by Gülnisa Jamal, and the sentence could be understood: “The sun’s cover opened”.

Finally, there is one more *kaytsi*. It occurs in the *Uşnīṣavijayā-Dhāraṇī*: *yürünj kaitsi* “white bones” < Chin. 骸(xʲaj)²⁵ 子 *háizi*.²⁶

The second tree name if emended to *kari[gay]* can be equated with Kazak *karagay* “spruce”.²⁷

¹⁵ Or: *Styphnolobium japonicum* Schott.



¹⁷ Despite *q̣-*.

¹⁸ HT X: 76.

¹⁹ Li 1995: 325.

²⁰ PULLEYBLANK 1991: 155.

²¹ Li 1995: 312.

²² SHOGAITO 2003: 118.

²³ ŞEN 2017: 39, 106. In his long explanation he writes on p. 108 that “Ancak Türkçede ışığın açılıp parıldaması gibi bir kullanım yoktur”. In German, too, such an expression sounds strange but is at least not totally impossible. While in the first edition of UW K. Röhrborn had registered TT I 3 under “Unklarler Kont[ext]” (p. 42a), in the new edition it was omitted. Thus the search has to go on.

²⁴ RICCI 2014: 425b.

²⁵ PULLEYBLANK 1991: 118.

²⁶ DTS 408b. It was already the proposal by F.W.K. Müller in U II, 44 fn. 3. No equivalent in the Chinese text of the *Dhāraṇī* at this place.

[269] 090–091

桐梓柘桑			–	
桐	tóng	name of several trees	–	
梓	zǐ	Chinese catalpa	–	
柘	zhè	sugar cane	[]n	
桑	sāng	Morus alba, the white mulberry	čüžim	

This unit has four words for trees and plants, of which only the last one’s Uyghur translation is preserved. This time, the Uyghur word *čüžim* exactly matches Chinese “mulberry”.²⁸

[270] 091

榭查榭柿			////	
榭	míngzhá	quince	sarig murut	“yellow pear” = quince
查				
榭	bēi	persimmon	bil y[]	
柿	shì	persimmon	–	

The compound *míngzhá* means “quince”, but it is not clear how the Uyghur words are related to it. I suggest that *sarig murut* is the equivalent of this term.

So far I have no idea about *bil* (*bel?*). In Ottoman Turkish there is a plant name بلسان *belesan* a loan word from the Arabic form of *balsam*.

²⁷ For further data cp. DMITRIEVA 1972: 201.

²⁸ ED: 431b *čüšüm* “mulberry”. DTS: 158b gives as etymon 桑椹 *sāngshèn* [Pulleyblank: saŋ+ʃimʹ] “mulberry fruit”, the first syllable *čü* or *čö* is difficult to explain from the phonological point of view. For further data cp. LIGETI 1966: 155. While L. Ligeti does not offer an etymology, K.-H. MENGES 1952: 718 by connecting it to MK *üzmä* “mulberry” (ED: 27b, suggests an Iranian etymon) regards Modern Uyghur *džüdzäm* and its cognates as Turkic words.

[271] 091

柑橘檳榔			–	
柑	gān	citrus	–	
橘	jú	orange	–	
檳	bīn	name of an apple tree	–	
榔	láng	a kind of tree	–	

Nothing of the Uyghur translation is preserved.

[272] 091–092

菰桃李柰			[///]	
菰	gū	mushroom	–	
桃	táo	peach	–	
李	lǐ	plum	murut	pear
柰	nài	crab apple	alımla	apple

As suggested by T. Takata, 菰 is a variant of 瓜 guā “melon”. In this section there are two Uyghur words. The term *murut* is used mainly for “pear”,²⁹ and *alımla* is the common name of “apple”. The same equation of *lǐ* = *murut* is known from the *Qianziwen* translation.³⁰

[273] 092

棗杏梨窠			////	
棗	zǎo	jujube	čupag[an]	jujube
杏	xìng	apricot	–	
梨	lí	pear	–	
窠	tang	birch leaf pear	–	

The word *čupagan* “jujube” in different spellings (cp. ED 396; ZIEME 1999) is known from medical, commercial and other contexts and exactly matches Chinese *zǎo*.

²⁹ DMITRIEVA 1972: 185. Cp. the detailed study BLÄSING 2005.

³⁰ SHŌGAITO 2004: 323b.

[274] 092–093

葱(葱) 蒜韭薤			[////]	
葱(葱)	cōng	scallion	–	
蒜	suàn	garlic	–	
韭	jiǔ	chives	[s]atun	garlic
薤	xiè	shallot	käkük otı	thyme herb

Chin.: “Scallion, garlic Onions, chives, shallot”. There are only two Uyghur words for the last two items: *satun* “garlic”³¹ and *käkük otı* “thyme herb”.³³

[275] 093

茱萸椒鹽			////	
茱	zhūyú	“cornus officinalis”	č’s[]	
萸		“cornus officinalis”	–	
椒	jiāo	fagara	–	
薑	jiāng	ginger	–	

Chinese *zhūyú* is “cornus officinalis”, species of dogwood known also as Japanese cornel or Japanese cornelian cherry or Cornelian cherries. For *č’s[]* there is at least one Mongol word which resembles the preserved letters: *čiy* “vishnia stepnaia”.³⁴

[276] 093–094

芸薹薺蓼			[////]	
芸	yún	phaseolus vulgaris	–	
薹	tái	cyperus rotundus	–	
薺	qí	water-chestnut	[]z	
蓼	liǎo	smartweed	küčlüg ärür-lär	they are strong

³¹ ED: 802a.

³² ED: 710b “some kind of bird of prey”.

³³ In Modern Turkish *kekik otu* is “marjoram, oregano” etc.; HAUENSCHILD 1989: No. 809 *kekik otu* “origanum vulgare”, No. 981 “satureja”, No. 1090 “thymus”. ŞAHİN 2007: 584 “Origanum vulgare”.

³⁴ DIMITRIEVA 1972: 209.

One cannot determine to which word the Uyghur expression “they are strong” refers.

[277] 094

葫蘆芬芳			////	
葫	hú	calabash	m[]	
蘆	jùn	parsley	–	
芬	fēn	fragrance	–	
芳	fāng	fragrant	[]'sy	

The few letters are not enough to establish the meanings of Uyghur words.

[278a] 094–095

蔓菁葵芥			////	
蔓	màn	creeper	m[]	
菁	jīng	flower of leek family	[]y kalva	[] vegetable
葵	kuí	mallow, sunflower	[]yqw	
芥	jiè	mustard	kuzgač []	sparrow []

The second item is a special leek, of which Uyghur has only the general term “vegetable”, but apparently it was preceded by a specification. If the word *kalva* or *kavla* is a loan word from Chinese, the original Uyghur form should be *kavla* since there is no syllable final -l, but an etymon has not been found. As far as I see, there are no proposals in the relevant literature concerning its etymology.³⁵ The third Uyghur word could not be deciphered.

³⁵ ED: 584b *kavla* for Chinese 菜 *cai* “vegetables” (G. Clauson refers only to the data known at his time when *kalva* had not turned up in Old Uyghur texts). In several Siberian Turkic languages *kalba* or *kalma* is known as a name of the allium ursinum plant which is a kind of wild vegetable (RADLOFF Wb II: 270 *kalba* in Shor, Lebed, Sagay, Koybal; II, 272 *kalma* in Teleüt; weitere Belege i.a. in BASKAKOV 1985: 156 *kalba* for Kū-kiži; in RYUMINA-SIRKAŞEVA & KUÇIGAŞEVA 2000: 45 *kalba* “Yabanî soğan” for Teleüt). It is possible that this is the same word as Old Uyghur *kalva*. If this spelling is the original one, it is clear that *kavla* is a secondary form through metathesis. According to the Old Uyghur contexts *kalva/kavla* has a much broader connotation which becomes obvious from *kavlalık* “vegetable garden” (ED 585a). It is interesting to note even in a pilgrim inscription from Toyok (No. 40) the author mentions the vegetable *kalva* (LI & ZHANG 2021, pp. 157–158 (K10-B-Z2, line 7)).

The fourth item, the Chinese “mustard” is translated by another plant name of which the first element is “sparrow”.

[278b] 095

蘿蔔蘭香			[////]	
蘿	luó	turnip	–	
蔔	bo	roots (turnip)	kövärgä	wild onion
蘭	lán	orchid	turmuz	gherkin
香	xiāng	fragrant, incense	–	

The Chinese phrase may be translated as “turnips and other roots (are like) orchid fragrance”.

The word *kövärgä* is a variant of *kövürgän* “wild onion” as recorded by Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī,³⁶ while *turmuz* is “gherkin” which is spelled in the DLT *tarmaz*³⁷ or *turmuz*.³⁸

[279] 095–096

藜蒿藜藿			[////]	
藜	xié	Artemisia	[]kwn	?
蒿	hāo	mugwort	satun	garlic
藜	lí	numerous, black	kävirtä	fragrant garlic (?)
藿	huò	wrinkled giant hyssop	kirgü	?

“Artemisia, black bishopwort, black, wrinkled giant hyssop.” The first Uyghur equivalent word cannot be emended. For Chinese *hāo* Uyghur has a substitute. The third word is not known, but it is surely a plant name.³⁹ The fourth word *huò* has a modern Uyghur equivalent *pinnä* which is given the same meaning “wrinkled giant hyssop”.⁴⁰ Old Uyghur **kirgü* is unknown.

³⁶ ED: 691b; LIGETI 1966: 172.

³⁷ DLT I: 343 (*tarmaz*); ED: 550a.

³⁸ DLT I: 270 (*tarmaz*); ED: 550a.

³⁹ *kävirtä* > **kävrtä* > **kärvtä* > **kärtvä* > *kävädä* > *küdä*, cp. Modern Uyghur *küdä* “fragrant-flowered garlic”. Also cp. Heilk II 2/78 *kävürän*.

⁴⁰ HUL: 360b; SCHWARZ 148b.

[280] 096

笋蕨尊攘			////	
笋	sǔn	bamboo shoot	č[]	?
蕨	jué	brake fern	–	
尊	zūn	revere	[s]üčig tatıg-lıg	sweet ²
攘	rǎng	seize	–	

Chin.: “Bamboo shoots flourish”. In modern Uyghur *sǔn* is “bambuk no-tisi”,⁴¹ but here the first word begins with č-. Perhaps the Uyghur equivalent is a loan word from Chinese 竹 *zhú* “bamboo”. The word *jué* is in modern Uyghur “qırıq qulaq”⁴² (brake fern⁴³). The compound *süčig tatıglıg* “sweet” can hardly be a good translation of *zūnrǎng* “honoured”. Since bamboo shoots have a soft texture with a slightly sweet flavour, possibly the Uyghur author has changed the Chinese phrase.

[281] 096–097

斫掘坑漚			[////]	
斫	zhǔ	cut	[]m	
掘	jué	dig	tügün kazdı-lar	
坑	kēng	pit	kazgu[k tokiyu ä]rdi-lär	
漚	qiàn	channel	–	

Chin.: “They dig pits and channels”.⁴⁴ Uyghur: “They dug a hole, they [drove] a peg”.

There are two words *tögün* “brand” and *tügün* “knot”,⁴⁵ but here it should mean a “hole”, which probably is the basis of *tügünük* “the smoke hole in the tent”.⁴⁶

⁴¹ HUL: 798b.

⁴² HUL: 441a.

⁴³ Schwarz 665a.

⁴⁴ The last word *qiàn* has the special meaning “moat around a city” (MATHEWS 1963: 926).

⁴⁵ ED: 484a.

⁴⁶ ED: 485a.

[282] 097–098

豎蕨埋槍			////	
豎	shù	plant	čit tikdi-[lär	
蕨	jí	hedge	–	
埋	mái	dig	–	
槍	qiāng	bamboo piece of which the tip is sharpened	kömdi-lär	

For 槍 cp. the remark by (ZHANG 2013: 246). Uyghur: “They planted a hedge,⁴⁷ they dug []”. Probably the Uyghur translator associated *tik-* “to erect” with the idea of a fence or a “hedge (e.g. of thorn bushes)”.⁴⁸ The object for the second half is missing.

[283] 098

堡壁籬柵			////	
堡	bǎo	earth-work	tura	
壁	bì	wall	tam-l[]	
籬	lí	bamboo fence	[]lylyčy čysdyny	
柵	shān	palisade	ördi-l[är]	

Uyghur: “They built⁴⁹ shelters,⁵⁰ walls,⁵¹ []lylyčy čysdyny”.⁵² A reconstruction of the unknown third term could be given, if one thinks of a phonetic variant of *alaču* “tent, hut”⁵³ and a noun from *čiz-* “to draw a line” > **čisdin/čizdin*. Thus the compound could be **ılači *čizdin* “line construction (fence) of a hut”, but this is more than doubtful.

⁴⁷ The word is not clear.

⁴⁸ ED: 401b.

⁴⁹ ED: 195b: “to plait; also used metaph[orically] for building a wall with bricks”.

⁵⁰ ED: 531a. This can be a shield to defend a person or a large construction like a garden wall or a fortress.

⁵¹ ED: 502–503.

⁵² Translation of *shān* or *zhà*, (RICCI 2014: 11708a) “palissade; barrière en bois ou en bambou”.

⁵³ ED: 129b.

[284] 098–099

周匝遮防			[////]	
周	zhōu	encircle, all	–	
匝	za	turn	–	
遮	zhē	cover, intercept	ališ urdı-lar	
防	fáng	to guard, protect	tugra tid[tılar]	

Uyghur: “[] they imposed taxes, they obstructed *tugra* (?)”. The word *ališ* has a wide range of meanings,⁵⁴ here it might be a kind of a tax. Of course, instead of *tugra* one should expect *tugrag* “royal sign”.⁵⁵

[285a] 099–100

胎卵濕化			////	
胎	tāi	womb	ög karın-ta	
卵	luǎn	egg	yumur[tga-ta]	
濕	shī	moist	[öl]-tä ši-tä	
化	huà	to transform	bügün käligin tugdı-[lar]	

Uyghur follows the Chinese phrase: “They were born from mother’s womb, from eggs, from moisture, through magical transformation”. Here, a perfect translation can be observed. The phrase is an explanation of the four birth forms established in the development of beings in Buddhism.

[285b] 100

蚰蜒蜚蝗			[////]	
蚰	yóu yán	scutigera frog	[]	
蜒			tıltagu	
蜚	qiāngláng	dung beetle	koñuz	
蝗			–	

Chinese *yóuyán* means “centipede” or “scutigera” and corresponds to Skt. *śatāpadīyo*. The Uyghur word **iltagu* is unknown, but it should mean a kind

⁵⁴ ED: 152a.

⁵⁵ ED: 471b.

of frog. The other word matches Chin. *qiāngláng* “dung chafer”, in Uyghur *koñuz* is the general name of “beetle”.⁵⁶

[286] 101

蚤盲蟻虱			–	
蚤	wén	mosquito	–	
虻	méng	horsefly	–	
蟻	jǐ	louse	–	
虱	shī	louse	–	

No Uyghur part.

[287] 101

蜂蝶螳螂			–	
蜂	fēng	bees	–	
蝶	dié	butterfly	–	
螳	tángláng	mantis	–	
螂			–	

The Chin. section has a sequence of insect terms. As a whole, the following explanation of the Uyghur phrase [*jkärän (?) üsüs káčig*] is difficult to arrange as equivalents to the Chinese words. If *üsüs* is derived from *üš-* (ED 256a) a noun **üsüs* “assembling” could be admitted. Two other verbs are known: *üš-* “to perforate” (ED 256a) or *üsä-* “to scrape” (ED 256b), but for all these verbs deverbal {Xš} nouns are not recorded. The last word *káčig* has the meaning “crossing place”.⁵⁷ Probably, either the order was wrong or the discussed words have to be explained in a different manner.

[288] 102

蝦蟆蚌蛤			–	
蝦	há	mussel	–	
蟆	má		–	
蚌	bàng	clam	–	
蛤	gé, há	clam	–	

No Uyghur part.

⁵⁶ ED: 641a.

⁵⁷ ED: 696a.

[289] 102

龜鰲鯊[魚堂]			–	
龜	guī	turtle	–	
鰲	biē	water turtle	–	
鯊	shā	shark	–	
[魚堂]	huàn	grass carp	–	

No Uyghur part.

[290] 102–103

鮎鯉鱧鱣			[//]//	
鮎	nián	siluroid (fish), catfish	tim muŋ atl(1)g bal[ɪk]	fish called tim muŋ
鯉	lǐ	carp	–	
鱧	lǐ	snakehead mullet	–	
鱣	jié	a kind of fish	–	

There is no fish name like *tim* in Uyghur. It can be a loan word from Chinese *nián* (njem⁵⁸) if one takes into account the change n-/t- like in 奴 *nu* “slave” which is in OUP *tu*. The spelling is comparable to 念 *niàn* <niem3> /dem/ dym A6; tym.⁵⁹ There is no solution for *muŋ*.

[291] 103

鯨蜩鱒魴			–	
鯨	jīng	whale, big	–	
蜩	ní	cicada	–	
鱒	zūn	brown trout (Forelle)	–	
魴	fáng	bream	–	

No Uyghur equivalents.

⁵⁸ PULLEYBLANK 1991: 225.

⁵⁹ Examples in SHŌGAI TO 2003.

292 103–104

蜿蛇蝮蝎			[////]	
蜿	yuán	viper	[yɪ]lan	[sn]ake
蛇	shé	snake	ulug yılan	large snake
蝮	fù	poisonous snake	kayır [yılan]	viper
蝎	xiē	scorpion	[yılan]	

[////]l'n 'wlvq yy'l'n q'yyr []. Thereafter perhaps one or two other snake names can be inserted, but it remains unclear, because only some traces of words are visible.

In Suv 299/15 the same sequence of *kayır yılan böy tilär* is given as *böy tilär kayır yılan* without Chinese parallel.⁶⁰

According to the data of MK *kayır* is a secretion of the beaver (*kunduz*).⁶¹ It is not clear how these two words are related, because from the data above *kayır* itself is the name of a snake or a similar animal. Other occurrences of *kayır* [with or without *yılan*] are known from the DKPAM.⁶² An exact equivalence to Chinese T.XX.1060.107b04–05 六者，不為毒蛇蝮蠍所中死 “6. nor die poisoned by snakes, vipers, and scorpions”⁶³ = SI 1602 (Kr II/30–16) *altınč kayır yılan böy tilär ulatı agulug t[unl(i)glar agus]ı üzä ölmägäy* “Sixth: One will not die through [the poison of beings like] poisonous snakes or gadflies”.⁶⁴

From the same text T.XX.1060.108c06: 蛇妖精魅魍魎鬼 聞誦此呪莫能害 “Or snakes, spirits, fiends, ghouls, or phantoms, [When] they hear this mantra recited, no harm can they do”.⁶⁵ The Old Uyghur equivalent has the following text: *kayırığ yılanıg poo sikšil altaçı oñžin yelpik yäk içgäklärig äšidsärlär* “when they hear vipers, snakes, spirits ghosts and emons who take one’s living spirit”.⁶⁶ One can see that *kayır* is not (only) an adjective as one could think from the data above, but a word by itself, it has the accusative suffix as the following *yılan* “snake”.

⁶⁰ SHOGAITO 2003: 191.

⁶¹ ED: 635b.

⁶² BT: 37, III, 613, n. to l. (07500).

⁶³ GIDDINGS 2017: 255.

⁶⁴ SHOGAITO 2003: 190.

⁶⁵ GIDDINGS 2017: 264.

⁶⁶ MIK III (D 93) ed. by RÖHRBORN 1976.

[293] 104–105

蟒蝮身腔			–	
蟒	mǎng	python	bö sw[]y	
蝮	fù	Siberian pit viper	–	
身	shēn	body	tanı	its body
腔	qiāng	cavity, manner	kırdış-ıntın	from the surface of

In the Uyghur passage [////] *yüz a[dak][l][g koñuz bö sw[]y tanı sw[] kirdış-ıntın* it is not clear to which Chinese word *yüz a[dak][l][g koñuz* “centipede beetle” belongs. The second half can be understood in the following way: “The body [of the snakes] is from a surface [of bones].

[294] 105

鸚鵡鳩鴿			////	
鸚	yàn	swallow	karlıgaç	swallow
鵲	què	magpie	sakız[gan]	magpie
鳩	jiū	dove	[k]ögürçgün	dove
鴿	gē	pigeon	–	

The line consists of four words, but it can be understood as two pairs, 鸚鵲 “magpie” and 鳩鴿 “dove”. While the translator chose two different bird names for the first pair, he has only one Uyghur equivalent for the second one.⁶⁷

[295] 105

鴻鶴鳳凰			////	
鴻	hóng	crane	tury-a	crane
鶴	hè		küvüz	crane
鳳	fèng	phoenix	garudi	garuda
凰	huáng		–	

⁶⁷ Ross 1909: 297, No. 180.

The compound *hóngghè* is split into two words with the same meaning “crane”. The first one is known from a late text of 1277/1278 in Brāhmī script which also has *turya*.⁶⁸

The second term is in Old Uyghur *küvüz* which has the same meaning as *turya* according to some occurrences in the Old Uyghur Xuanzang Biography. In HT IX 2076 the text uses as a symbol of loneliness the phrase *ödräk küvüz kuvragım(i)z bolzun* “Ducks and cranes may be our companions!”. 鶴書 “crane wood” is translated by *küvüzlüg sögüt* “crane tree”. H. Aydemir refers to *küvüzlüg arıg* as equivalent of 鶴林 in other places of the Biography.⁶⁹

The phoenix *fēnghuáng* is a special case. The translator has chosen a substitute or better to say an equivalent for it, that is Garuda. According to Hirakawa 4274 the Sanskrit equivalent is *krauñca*. The DDB calls it “An auspicious mythic bird, commonly invoked in China a metaphor for greatness, thus associated with the emperor.”

In other contexts the phoenix is translated by *yuy kuš* to mention here Qianziwen section 33⁷⁰ where other examples are quoted.⁷¹

[296] 106

鷄鴨鵝/鴈			[////]	
鷄	jī	chicken	takıgu	chicken
鴨	yā	duck	ödiräk	duck
鵝	é	swan	kugu	swan
鴈	yàn	goose	kaz	goose

In section 296 there are four different bird names with four Uyghur equivalents totally corresponding each other.

[297] 106

鶉鴉鴉				////	
鶉	chún	quailcall		–	
鴉	zhì	pheasant		–	
鴉	yuān	mandarin	male m.	[s]jüglin	pheasant
鴉	yāng	duck	female m.	aŋıt	ruddy goose

⁶⁸ MAUE 2002: 82.

⁶⁹ HT IX: 262.

⁷⁰ UMEMURA & ZIEME 2015: 9.

⁷¹ RYBATZKI 2008: 194.

The Uyghur equivalents for the first two items are missing. The third word is together with the fourth one 鴛鴦 a compound for the “mandarin duck”, *yuān* denotes the drake and *yāng* the female of the mandarin duck.⁷² The translator misunderstood apparently the word pair, because he chose two different bird names, for *yuān* “pheasant” and *aḡıt* “ruddy goose (*Anas casarca* or *Anas nigra*)” for *yāng*. According to the Sanglax *aḡıt* is “a kind of bird smaller than a goose and larger than a duck”.⁷³ I. Hauenschild translates its Arabic equivalent *an-nuḥām* recorded by al-Kāšgarī as “flamingo”: “er ist ein roter Vogel, der einer Ente ähnelt”.⁷⁴ She also provides several data about the bird whose homeland is supposed to be somewhere in Central Asia. Therefore, in Russian its name is *turpan*.⁷⁵

[298] 106–107

鷹鵬鷓鴣			////	
鷹	yīng	hawk	sıḡkur	gerfalcon
鵬	diāo	eagle	kara kuš	eagle
鷓	yào	sparrow-hawk	kırguy	sparrow-hawk
鴣	gú	falcon	lačın	falcon

The four bird names match in a perfect manner. Kazak translates also *yào* as *kırgıy*⁷⁶ slightly different from Old Uyghur *kırguy* “sparrow-hawk”.⁷⁷

[299] 107

翅翮翮翮			////	
翅	chì	wing	yuy kuš	peacock
翮	hé	feather		
翮	áoxiáng	fly	ywry tyn [kuš] yel kuš	
翮			[]t kušgačı	

⁷² MATHEWS 1963: No. 7717.

⁷³ ED: 176. UWN: II.1, 202.

⁷⁴ HAUENSCHILD 2003: 18.

⁷⁵ HAUENSCHILD 2003: 18. Cp. KÁROLY 2008.

⁷⁶ HKS 1309a.

⁷⁷ ED: 654b.

The first two Chinese words denote “wing, feather, quill”, often as a word pair. It is not clear why the Uyghur translator regarded it as a name of the peacock.⁷⁸ The third and fourth words form a biverb in Chinese: “to fly”. But in Uyghur there are three different bird names: (1) *ywry tyn* [*kuš*], no explanation. (2) *yel kuš*, cp. *yel kušu*⁷⁹, *yelguşu* “kırlangıç”.⁸⁰ (3) [*ıt kuşgači*]. Cp. Uyghur *kuşgač* “sparrow”.⁸¹

[300] 107–108

麝香麋鹿			////	
麝	shèxiāng	muskdeer’s fragrance	yaman (?)	
香			ag[]	
麋	mílù	elk and deer	[]yq küč-läri	
鹿			[]uru ediz	

All four translations are dubious, clear words are only in 3 *küčläri* “their powers” and in 4 *ediz* “high”. But it remains questionable how they relate to the Chinese words.

[301] 108

猿猴抱麋			[//]/	
猿	yuán	ape	sögüt-lär	
猴	hóu	monkey	–	
抱	bào	embrace, give birth	–	
麋	zhāng	roebuck	[] uy-a-lap	

Old Uyghur: If the last letters can be interpreted as *uyalap* “to nest, to build a nest” (ED 273a), the sentence could be suggested in the following way: “[On the] trees [the apes] have their home.” On the Uyghur side there is obviously a misunderstanding. Perhaps the character 猿 was misread as 椽 “a kind of beam for bells” (kindly suggested by Wang Ding), at least the meaning has something to do with a tree.

⁷⁸ RYBATZKI 2008.

⁷⁹ ÇINAR 2018: 17.

⁸⁰ TÜRKMEN & MUTLU 2017: 472.

⁸¹ ED 672a. Cp. ROSS 1909: No. 221 “A general name for small birds”; No. 226 *Uru-til qučqač*.

Abbreviation

BT 33: Oda
 BT 37: Wilkens
 DLT: Dankoff and Kelly
 DTS: Drevnetiurkskii slovar'
 ED: Clauson
 Heilk II: Rachmati
 HKS: Hanzuxa
 HT IX: Aydemir
 HT X: Mirsultan
 HUL: Hənzüqə
 TT I: Bang & Gabain
 TT VIII: Gabain
 U II: Müller
 UWN II.1: Röhrborn

References

- AYAN, Ahsen & KARPUZ, Hacı Ömer 2020: "Eski Bir Tıp El Yazması "Tabibnâme"de Bitki Adları". *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 67 (2020): 7–34.
- AYDEMİR, Hakan 2013: *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IX*. Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain. I–II, Wiesbaden.
- BANG, Willi & GABAIN, Annemarie v 1929: "Türkische Turfan-Texte. I". In: *Bruchstücke eines Wahrsagebuches, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1929: 241–268.
- BASKAKOV, Nikolai A. 1985: *Dialekt lebedinskikh Tatar-Chalkantsev* (kuu-Kizhi) [The dialect of the Tatar-Chalkantsi (kuu-Kizhi) from Lebedinsk]. Moscow: Nauka.
- BLÄSING, Uwe 2004: "Birnamenamen aus Hemşin. Vorarbeiten zur Feststellung und Beschreibung der Birnenarten und ihrer regionalen Namen im östlichen Schwarzmeergebiet". In: *Iran and the Caucasus* 8.1: 81–129.
- BLÄSING, Uwe 2005: "Turkish *armut* "pear". Remarks on the Etymology and Geo-Linguistic Distribution of an Oriental Fruit Name". *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 15 (2005): 5–18.
- ÇINAR, Ümüt 2018: *Türkmençe Kuş Adları* [Turkmen Ornithonyms]. Keçiören–Ankara.
- DANKOFF, Robert & KELLY, James 1982–1985. *Maḥmūd el-Kāşğarī (Dīvānū Luġāt-it-Türk)*. Türk Şiveleri Lügati. I–III, Harvard.
- DMITRIEVA, L.V. 1972: "Nazvaniia rastenii v tiurkskikh i drugikh altaiskikh iazykakh" [Plant names in the Turkic and other Altaic languages]. In: *Ocherki sravnitel'noi leksikologii altaiskikh iazykov* [Sketches on comparative lexicology of the Altaic languages]. Leningrad: Nauka: 151–223.
- Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* 1969: [Old-Turkish dictionary]. Leningrad: Nauka.
- CLAUSON, Gerard 1972: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford.
- GABAIN, Annemarie v. 1954: *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1952: No. 7)*.

- GALAMBOS, Imre: Chinese Primers among China's Neighbours, (forthcoming).
- GIDDINGS, William J. 2017: "The Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī of the Vast, Complete, and Unobstructed Great Compassion of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with a Thousand Hands and a Thousand Eyes". In: C. Pierce Salguero, *Buddhism and Medicine. An anthology of pre-modern sources*. New York: 252–285.
- HAUENSCHILD, Ingeborg 1989: *Türksprachige Volksnamen für Kräuter und Stauden mit den deutschen, englischen und russischen Bezeichnungen*. Wiesbaden.
- HAUENSCHILD, Ingeborg 1994: "Botanica im *Dīwān luḡāt at-turk*". *Journal of Turkology* 2/1: 25–100.
- HAUENSCHILD, Ingeborg 2003: *Die Tierbezeichnungen bei Mahmud al-Kaschgari*. Eine Untersuchung aus sprach- und kulturhistorischer Sicht. Wiesbaden.
- KÁRÓLY, László 2008: "Yakut Names For Animals In Pallas's «Zoographia»". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61: 295–323.
- LI, Gang & ZHANG, Hailong: "Tulufan Tuyugou 10 hao ku xin faxian zhi huihuwen tiji kaoshi" 吐鲁番吐峪沟 10 号窟新发现之回鹘文题记考释 (A Philological Investigation of the Uyghur Inscriptions Newly Discovered in the Cave 10 in the Tuyuq Grottoes of Turfan). In: *Western Region Study 西域研究* 1/2021, 152–164.
- LI, Rongxi 1995: *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (BDK English Tripitaka 77). Berkeley, California.
- MA, Renshou 馬仁壽 2008: "Kaimeng yaoxun" 開蒙要訓. In: *Dunhuang jingbu wenxian heji*, 敦煌經部文獻合集. *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局: 4019–4044.
- Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*. Revised American Edition, Cambridge: Mass, 1963.
- MAUE, Dieter 1996: *Altürkische Handschriften Teil I. Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*. Stuttgart.
- MAUE, Dieter 2002: "Altbekanntes und Neues: Bruchstücke des uigurischen Almanachs von 1277/78". *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* XVII: 77–115.
- MIRSULTAN, Aysima 2010: *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie X. Nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- MÜLLER, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl 1910: *Uigurica II*. (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1910: No. 3).
- NUGENT, Christopher M.B. 2018: "Structurers Gaps: The Qianzi wen and Its Paratexts as Mnemotechnics". In: *Memory in Medieval China: Text, Ritual, and Community*. Ed. by Wendy Swartz and Robert Ford Campany. Leiden–Boston: 158–192.
- ODA, Juten 2010: 仏説天地八陽神呪經一卷トルコ語訳の研究. 図版資料編. *A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra Called Säkiz yükmäk yaruq or Säkiz törlügin yarumış yaltrimiş in Old Turkic*. Facsimile Vol. Kyoto.
- ODA, Juten 2015: *A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra called Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruq or Säkiz Törlügin Yarumış Yaltrimiş in Old Turkic*. Turnhout (BT 33).
- PISSIN, Annika 2009: *Elites and their Children. A Study in the Historical Anthropology in Medieval China, 500–1000 A.D.* Leiden (Dissertation).
- PULLEYBLANK, Edwin G. 1991: *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver.
- RACHMATI, Gabdul Rasid 1932: "Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren. II". *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*: 401–448.

- RASCHMANN, Simone-Christiane 2012: *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 18. Buddhica aus der Turfansammlung. Teil 1: Das apokryphe Sutra Säkiz yükmäk yaruk*. Stuttgart (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII, 26).
- RICCI 2014: *Dictionnaire Ricci Chinois-Français*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- RÖHRBORN, Klaus 1976: "Fragmente der uigurischen Version des "Dhāraṇī-Sūtras der großen Barmherzigkeit". In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126: 87–100.
- RÖHRBORN, Klaus 1977ff.: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*. Wiesbaden.
- RÖHRBORN, Klaus 2015: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien – Neubearbeitung – II. Nomina – Pronomina – Partikeln, Band 1: a -äzüik*. Stuttgart (UWN II.1).
- RONG, Xinjiang 2013: *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*. Tr. by Imre Galambos. Leiden–Boston.
- ROSS, Denison 1909: "A Polyglot List of Birds". *Asiatic Society of Bengal* II, No. 9: 230–253 + 14 pages Chinese index.
- RYBATZKI, Volker 2008: "Farbigkeit und Vielfalt. Einiges zum Pfau und seinen Bezeichnungen in den zentralasiatischen Sprachen". *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* XXIII: 187–207.
- RYMINA-SIKAŞEVA, L.T. & KUÇIĞAŞEVA, N.A. 2000: *Teleüt Ağzı Sözlüğü (Çevirenler: Akalın, Şükrü Halûk and Turgunbayev, Caştegin)*. Ankara.
- ŞAHİN, Hatice 2007: "Câmi 'ü'l-fürs örneğinde XVI. Yüzyıl Bitki İsimler". *Turkish Studies [Türkoloji Araştırmaları]* 2/2 (2007): 570–602.
- ŞEN, Serkan 2017: *Körüm bitig. Eski Uyğurca Fal Kitabı*. Istanbul.
- SHOGAITO, Masahiro 2004: "How Were Chinese Characters Red in Uighur?" In: *Turfan Revisited*. Berlin. Dietrich Reimer: 321–324.
- TÜRKMEN, Seyfullah & MUTLU, Emirhan 2017: "Derleme Sözlüğü'nde Kuş Adları". In: *Kuş Dili. Dilde, Edebiyatta ve Sanatta Kuşlar*. Ed. by E. Gürsoy Naskali and A. Şeker. Istanbul: 401–478.
- UMEMURA, Hiroshi & ZIEME, Peter 2015: "A Further Fragment of the Old Uighur Qianziwen". *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2: 3–13.
- WILKENS, Jens 2016: *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien: Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. Turnhout (Berliner Turfantexte 37, I–III).
- ZHANG, Xinpeng 張新朋 2013: *Dunhuang xieben "Kaimeng yaoxun" yanjiu* 敦煌寫本《開蒙要訓》研究. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- ZHENG, A-tsai 鄭阿財 & Zhu, Fengyu 朱凤玉 2007: *Dunhuang de xuexiao jiaoyu* 敦煌的學校教育 [School teaching in Dunhuang], Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe 甘肅教育出版社.
- ZIEME, Peter 1999: "Ein Zzyzphuskorn". In: *Festschrift für Arslan Terzioğlu Prof. Dr. Ing. Dr. med. habil. zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*. Istanbul: 83–92.