

Olga Lundysheva, Dieter Maue, Klaus Wille

**Miscellanea in the Brāhmī Script  
from the Berezovsky and Krotkov Collections (IOM, RAS)  
with an appendix: BΦ-4190 (Part II)<sup>1</sup>**

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*Abstract:* The main part of this article provides a complete edition (description, transliteration, transcription, preliminary translation, annotation as well as the reproduction of the photographs) of forty-two fragments in different literary languages, circulated along the northern Silk Road, today in the territory of modern Xinjiang (PR China) in pre-Mongolian times: Sanskrit, Tocharian A/B, Old Uyghur [hereafter: Uyghur]. Their common feature is the use of the standard North Turkestan Brāhmī and its Tocharian and Uyghur varieties. In terms of content, the fragments include extracts from Buddhist texts such as Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti, Prajñāpāramitā, Prasādapratibhodbhava, Prātimokṣasūtra, Pravāraṇasūtra, Saṃyuktāgama, Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, Udānavarga. There are also some Tocharian B document fragments. Several of these texts are found on the back of Chinese scrolls. The Chinese texts have been identified. Where possible, a reconstruction of the relevant section of the scroll has been added. An introduction provides general background information. The lexis of the edited manuscripts is given in concordances.

*Key words:* Sanskrit, Tocharian A, Tocharian B, Uyghur, North Turkestan Brāhmī, Buddhist literature, Mātṛceṭa, Prasādapratibhodbhava, bilinguals (Sanskrit — Tocharian A, Sanskrit — Tocharian B, Sanskrit — Uyghur, Tocharian B — Uyghur).

© Olga Lundysheva, junior researcher of the Laboratoria Serindica, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences; Russian Federation, Saint Petersburg (olga-vecholga@gmail.com)

© Dieter Maue, Dr. phil., independent scholar (dmaue@t-online.de)

© Klaus Wille, Dr. phil., retired, formerly research fellow, Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities (k.wille@t-online.de)

<sup>1</sup> Since, according to the requirements of the journal, the paper should not exceed a certain size, the article has been divided into two parts. The first one includes monolingual manuscripts (nos. 1 to 25), the second one includes bilingual manuscripts (nos. 26 to 38), manuscripts in unidentified language(s) (nos. 39 to 42), an appendix containing a Sanskrit fragment of the Prasādapratibhodbhava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa with scribal notes in Uyghur and Tocharian B, now kept in the State Hermitage (no. 43) as well as concordances.

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<sup>2</sup> Part I has been published in WMO, 1(13).

## 2.2 Bilingual

### 2.2.1 Sanskrit — Tocharian A

#### 26 SI 6378/13 (B/без шифра)

Part of a folio of unknown format, inscribed on both sides apparently by two different scribes with (a) Tocharian A text(s), of which remains of 5 to 6 lines are preserved. The scribe of side A used a calamus, that of side B a brush.

**Provenance:** Tajik Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

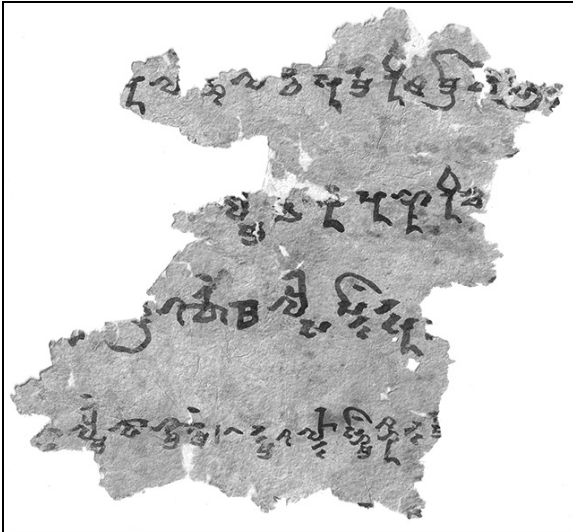
**Size:** 12.8 cm × 13.8 cm.

**Language:** Tocharian A<sup>3</sup> with a quotation in Sanskrit<sup>4</sup>.

#### Undetermined

#### A

Pl. 26-1: SI 6378/13 A



<sup>3</sup> Partly in verses.

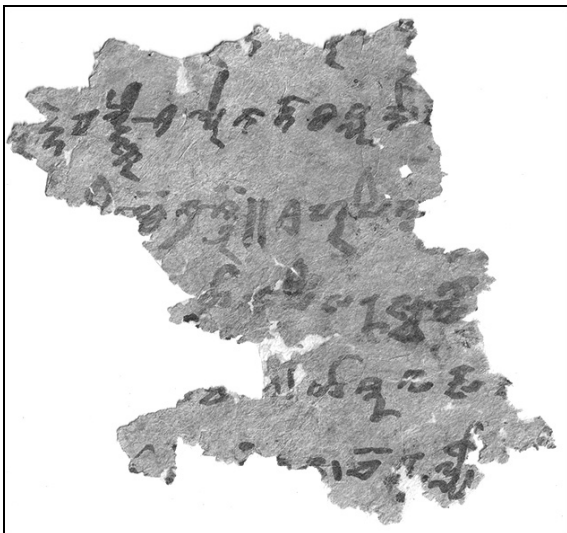
<sup>4</sup> S. B 04.

### Transliteration

- 01 [...] ʃu l[ ]<sup>5</sup> ×ś[ ] l[ ]<sup>6</sup> nt<sup>7</sup> su rma ri-s mrā cam ×ñ[ ] × [...]  
 02 [...] lme<sup>8</sup> e ka pu ṇḍa<sup>9</sup> ri-k [...]  
 03 [...] × [ + ] ×r[ ] ga-rb<sup>h</sup> ma lse pnām<sup>10</sup> tsu • [...]  
 04 [...] ×pā lmeṃ wā kma-t<sub>s</sub> • 1 tma<sup>11</sup>śa ltā<sup>12</sup>skmām śka ta rm[ ] [...]  
 05 [...] ...<sup>13</sup> [...]

### B

Pl. 26-2: SI 6378/13 B



<sup>5</sup> Or: o.

<sup>6</sup> Or: o.

<sup>7</sup> l[ā]nt is also possible to form l[ā]nt Sumeris mrācam ‘on the head of King Sumeru’ (in TUMSHUKESÉ & KONOW 1935: Text VIII, there is mentioned the coronation of King Meru = Sumeru).

<sup>8</sup> Or: lm[o].

<sup>9</sup> The akšara is misshapen.

<sup>10</sup> Or: ptām.

<sup>11</sup> Or: nma.

<sup>12</sup> Or: lnā.

<sup>13</sup> Unusable traces.

### Transliteration

- 01 [...] ...<sup>14</sup> [...]  
 02 [...] × nt[ ] pa ltske-ṣ lyu tā rtā<sup>15</sup> ka ṣlu ne × [...]  
 03 [...] × i<sup>16</sup> -ñc<sup>17</sup> kra-ś<sup>18</sup> || 20 8 pi n × [ ]<sup>19</sup> [...]  
 04 [...] × ye nā<sup>20</sup> pi sa ra svatī [...]  
 05 [...] × [ ]v[ ] [+ ] yā mu warsa × [...]  
 06 [...] ... • cā × llyī × [...]

### Commentary

A 01 **su rma ri-ṣ nrā caṃ**: Erroneously for Sumeris mrācaṃ ‘on the summit of Sumeru’. However, the presumed superscript r- in rma might be a very idiosyncratic diacritic -e, cf. line 4. Accordingly, ṣul[áś]ś[i] l[ā]nt ‘king of the mountains’ can be restored from the preceding remains.

A 02 [ ]**lme**: Probably [śpā]lme or [śpā]lme[ṃ] ‘superior, excellent’ as in A 04.

**e ka pu nḍa ri-k**: ekapuṇḍarik is also attested in A156 (=THT 789) a1, where it is supposed to mean ‘very best’;<sup>21</sup> if so, equivalent to preceding śpālme(ṃ). But due to the lacking context the elephant of king Prasenajit cannot be excluded here.<sup>22</sup>

A 03 [+ ] × r[ ] **ga-rb<sup>h</sup>**: Perhaps [ca]nḍr[a]garbh or [va]j[r]a]garbh, both are names of a Bodhisatva.

**pnām tsu**: Perhaps °p nām̐tsu, PPP of nas- ‘to be’. Preceding mālsep is unclear.

A 04 × **pā lmeṃ wā kma-tṣ**: Certainly [ś]pālmeṃ wākmats, both meaning ‘superior, excellent’, s. A 02.

**tma śa ltā skmām**: tmaśal tāskmām, inferior spelling of tmaśśal tāskmām ‘comparable to this’, attested several times.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Unusable traces.

<sup>15</sup> Or: rnā.

<sup>16</sup> Or: [ ]i ×.

<sup>17</sup> Virāma with trema.

<sup>18</sup> Virāma with trema; the sibilant not written through the special sign. Below, a sign looking like the numeral ‘9’.

<sup>19</sup> Or: t×.

<sup>20</sup> Or: tā.

<sup>21</sup> DHTA 2009: 71a.

<sup>22</sup> BHS-D 1953: 153b.

<sup>23</sup> S. CEToM. Words s.v. tāskmām.

**śka ta rm[ ]**: Should rm[ ] stand for m[ ]e (see line 1 above), śka-tampeyum or śka-tampeṣi (~ Skt. daśabala-) ‘possessing the ten strengths’ would be an obvious restoration.

B 02 **pa ltske-s**: pältskes, gen. sing. of pältsäk ‘thought, mind’.

**lyu tā rtā ka šlu ne**: lyutār tākāṣlune represents the well attested syntagm lyutār nas-/tāk- ‘to be superior’ which excludes the possible reading nākāṣlune, nāk- ‘to blame’. Lyutār tākāṣlune is the causative counterpart of lyutār naslune ‘the being superior, superiority’ and is attested here for the first time.<sup>24</sup>

B 03 **×i-ñc kra-ś || 28**: Obviously the end of a verse. The additional subscript numeral ‘9’ might be a separate numbering of verses within a chapter while 28 could refer to the number of verses from the beginning of the text. Kraś is variant of or mistake for kraṃś ‘the good ones’, nom. pl. m. of kāsu ‘good’. The preceding [ ]iñc is most probably 3rd pl. prs., e.g. trānkiñc ‘(they) say’. The same sequence, verb + kraṃś, in the end of a pāda also occurs in A 2 (= THT 635) a 1 ktānkeñc kraṃś : ‘the good ones traverse’; A 9 (= THT 642) a2 pālkāc kraṃś : 1 || ‘look, o good ones’.

**pi n× [ ]**: Most likely pintwat or a derivative of it is to be restored.

B 04 **yenāpi sarasvatī** ‘whereby even Sarasvatī’: The only occurrence of Sanskrit in the text and no evidence for a true bilingual text; perhaps an isolated quotation.

B 05 **yā mu**: yāmu ‘(having) done’, nom. sg. m. PPP of yām- ‘to do’

**wa rsa**: warsa[ ], case form of or adjective (-ṣi) derived from wars ‘dirt, impurity’.

## 2.2.2 Sanskrit — Tocharian B

### 27 SI 6378/12 (B/без шифра)

SI 6378/12 continues immediately the lines r01–r03 and v05–v07 respectively of the bigger fragment SI 2996/1, s. pl. 26-1 and 26-2. It is now clear that the preserved fragments form part of the folio left to the string-hole area which interrupts the lines 03–05 and a major part of which is broken away.

<sup>24</sup> A 54 (=THT 687) b 2.

SI 2996/1 (B/120-1) has been edited in CEToM.<sup>25</sup> The edition comprises transliteration, transcription, English translation of the Tocharian part, philological and linguistic comments. Another edition (transcription, notes and full Sanskrit text) was published by H. Ogihara.<sup>26</sup> Therefore we can limit the editing of SI 2996/1 to the transcription of those lines to which the so far unpublished SI 6378/12 contributes. The text of the latter is highlighted in the transcription.

**Provenance:** Tajik Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

**Size:** SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1 8.1 cm × 10.3 cm.

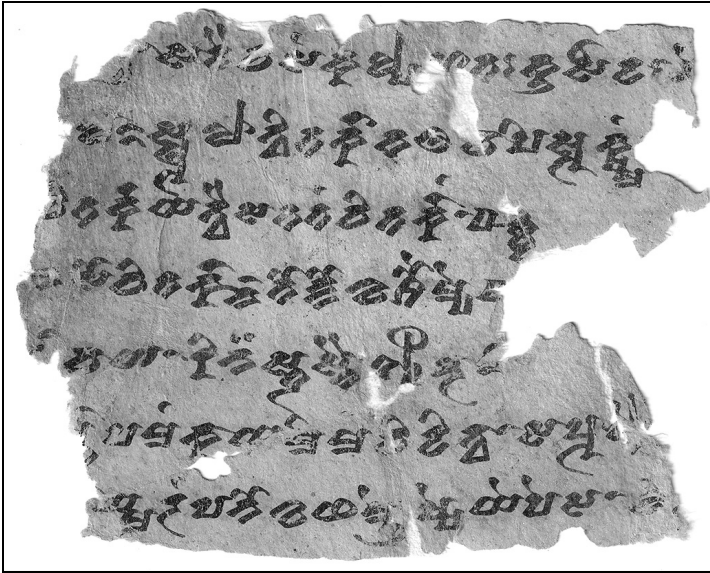
**Joining:** SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1.

**Language:** Sanskrit — Tocharian B bilingual.

Udānavarga, cf. UVSKT (ED. B) XXXI 32b–39d

**Recto**

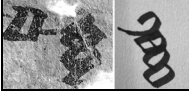
Pl. 27–1: SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1 R



<sup>25</sup> <https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?m-sib1201>. CEToM uses the older press mark SI B 120(1).

<sup>26</sup> OGIHARA 2016: 232–234.

Pl. 27-2: lska (a) from the manuscript (b) as drawing



### Transliteration

SI 6378/12

r01 [...] *ha taḥ ku sī da* : ×e [...]

r02 [...] *vā<sup>27</sup> pi sū kṣmaṃ × ×<sup>28</sup>* [...]

r03 [...] *lska<sup>29</sup>* ⊙ [...]

### Transcription

r01 [...] ]ñ[ ] • sadaiva saṃkalpa*hataḥ kusīda*<ḥ> : *ṣe*[k ...]

r02 [...] 32 sthūlān vitarkān atha *vāpi sūkṣm ā ṃ* [...]

r03 [...] vitarkayan vai satataṃ vitarkāṃ • *pālskā*-⊙ [namane ...]

### Commentary

r01 [ ]ñ[ ]: So maybe with Ogihara (2016: 232) or else [ ]k[?], certainly not with CEToM [ ]y[ ] and tentative restoration of *snai maiyya* ‘without strength, energy’ as inconvincing translation of Skt. *nirāśaḥ* ‘without (false) hope, expectation’. In case of [ ]ñ[ ] one might consider \**snai-pākwalñe* ‘without confidence’, in case of [ ]k[?] \**snai-pārmañk* ‘without hope’.

**sadaiva**: CEToM has *sadaivaṃ*. There is no *anusvāra* visible, Bernhard<sup>30</sup> also reads *sadaiva*.

**kusīda**<ḥ>: Principally <: > could represent *visarga* or punctuation. We decided for *pausa* form (with restored *visarga*<sup>31</sup>) followed by the punctuation mark at the end of the *pāda*. Bernhard<sup>32</sup> has adopted the *sandhi* form *kusīdo*.

*ṣe*[k] ‘always’, translation of Skt. *sadā* ‘id.’.

<sup>27</sup> The akṣara is partially preserved on SI 2996/1. The diacritic <-ā> seems to be added by another hand.

<sup>28</sup> Traces of one or two akṣara-s.

<sup>29</sup> The akṣara is partially preserved on SI 2996/1 (s. Pl. 27-2). The readings *lsk* (CEToM l. c.) and uncertain *lks* (Ogihara l. c., with note: “scribal error”) are outdated. The ligature *lska* is only found here.

<sup>30</sup> UVSKT (ED. B) 1965-1968: XXXI 32c.

<sup>31</sup> *Visarga* is often omitted in Central Asian manuscripts.

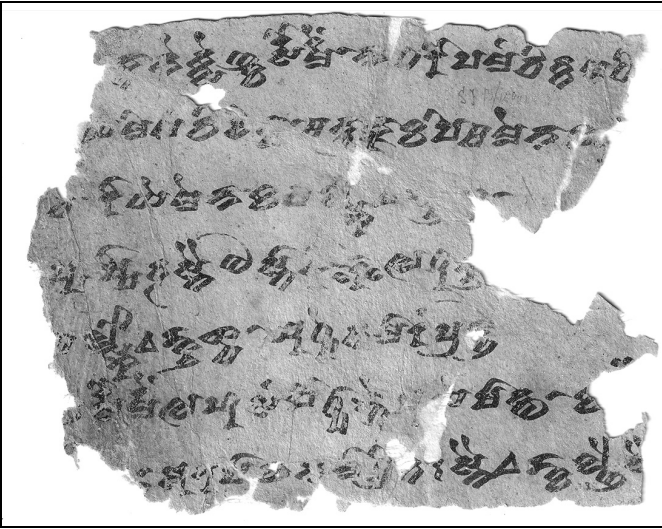
<sup>32</sup> UVSKT (ED. B) 1965-1968: XXXI 32c.



r03 **pālskū**[namane]: As translation of Skt. vitarkayan ‘thinking, reflecting’ Ogihara's restoration of pālskānamane<sup>33</sup> ‘id.’ is certainly correct, while CEToM suggests ungrammatical pālskemane.

### Verso

Pl. 27-3: SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1 V



### Transliteration

SI 6378/12

v05[...] jñ[ ]<sup>34</sup> [...]

v06[...] ye<sup>35</sup> śā ntu • ka [ ]ä [...]

v07[...] ta : snai e ñka lñe sai [...]

### Transcription

v05[...] pālsko eñku śāp • yudhyeta māraṃ prajñā- o [yudhena...]

v06[...] kārsormem 38 saṃbodhya<sup>36</sup> Ņgeṣu yeṣān tu • kāk [ ]ä [...]

v07[...] •<sup>37</sup> anupādānam āsrit<sup><a></sup> <ḥ>.<sup>38</sup> snai-eñkālñe sai [...]

<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere attested pālskānamane, KRAUSE 1952: 261; MALZAHN 2010: 721.

<sup>34</sup> The main part of <j> is on SI 2996/1.

<sup>35</sup> Part of <y> and trace of <e> on SI 2996/1.

<sup>36</sup> The ms reads °dhyā.

<sup>37</sup> Or virāma dot as Ogihara (o.c. note 7) takes it, in any case the end of the TochB translation. According to Bernhard's edition the following Skt. excerpt should read cānu° (ca+anu°), not anu°. The main function of ca was to prevent sandhi between the preceding °jya and anu°

### Commentary

06 **kä[ ]ä[...]** Here one expects the translation of *saṃbodhyaṅga-* ‘member of enlightenment’. Perhaps *kä[rs]ä[lñeṣṣe]* ‘pertaining to knowledge’ might be restored.

07 **snai-enkälñe** ‘without grasping or clinging to existence’ corresponds to Skt. *anupādāna-* ‘the non-clinging to existence’. Bernhard's edition had accepted *anupādāyam* against the *varia lectio anupādānam* of ms AD61 (SHT 449 fol. 61r5 = idp SHT 449/11). The “sonst nirgends belegte” (elsewhere not attested) substantive *anupādāya-* was questioned in SWTF 1994–2018 (I 65) and even “should be abandoned” according to Ogihara.<sup>39</sup> As to *anupādāyam*, M. Balk,<sup>40</sup> like Pauly before him<sup>41</sup>, convincingly advocates the well attested negative gerund *an-upādāya* ‘not taking up, not clinging to’;<sup>42</sup> the following nasal *m* is used in prevocalic position to avoid a hiatus or *sandhi*<sup>43</sup> and was later misunderstood as case ending. Thus, a new noun *anupādāya-* was born, which was mostly replaced by the usual *anupādāna-*.

**sai[...]** The TochB verb translating Skt. *ā-śri* ‘to betake one's self, resort to’ may have been *saim yām-* ‘to take refuge’.

## 28 SI 3717/4 (Kr VII/1)

Tiny fragment of a folio, presumably of *poṭhī* format, just big enough to recognize traces of carefully written Tocharian B. But the sequence of *akṣara-s* in A01 can hardly be TochB, but easily Sanskrit, which leads us to suspect that the text is bilingual. The mention of the *Gautama* indicates a Buddhist topic.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

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(> °*yānu*°) resulting in metrically unwelcome loss of a syllable. It is not clear whether *ca* was forgotten here or was part of the preceding excerpt or we are dealing with a text variant without *ca* implying, however, hiatus without *sandhi*. The latter is attested by ms AD61 (SHT 449 fol. 61r5 = idp SHT 449/11) *-jya an-* (not quoted by Bernhard).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. above comm. on r01 *kusīda<ḥ> :.*

<sup>39</sup> OGIHARA 2016: 233 note 8.

<sup>40</sup> UV (BALK) 1988: 471.

<sup>41</sup> UVSKT (ED. P) 1960: 248 note 6.

<sup>42</sup> <sup>2</sup>*an-upādāya*, SWTF 1994–2018: I 65b.

<sup>43</sup> BHS-GR 1953: 35b § 4.59.

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**Size:** 3.5 cm × 2.8 cm.

**Language:** Bilingual(?) Sanskrit(?)<sup>44</sup> and Tocharian B.

Undetermined **Buddhist** text

**A**

Pl. 28-1: SI 3717/4 A

**Transliteration**

01 [...] × s[ ] ti me [...]

02 [...] ne ntse gau ta [...]

**Transcription**

01 [...] s[a]ti me [...]

02 [...]nentse gauta[m- ...]



**B**

Pl. 28-2: SI 3717/4 B

**Transliteration**

01 [...] × • ai śamñe [...]

02 [...] yī • klā [...]

**Transcription**

01 [...] × • aiśamñe [...]

02 [...] yī • klā [...]



**Commentary**

A 02 contains some case form or derivation of Gautame\*, preceded by a genitive on -ntse (ṣamānentse?).

B 01 aiśamñe ‘wisdom’ is the only complete form.

B 03 klā[ ] might be part of klāwi ‘fame’, but there are other options.

<sup>44</sup> A 01 is rather Skt. than TochB.

## 29 SI 3717/6 (Kr VII/1)

Fragment whose bizarre shape is similar to that of no. 22, which allows the conclusion that they were deposited together at the same site. Both sides are carefully inscribed with formal NTB, alternating between Sanskrit and Tocharian B translation; remains of five to six lines are preserved.

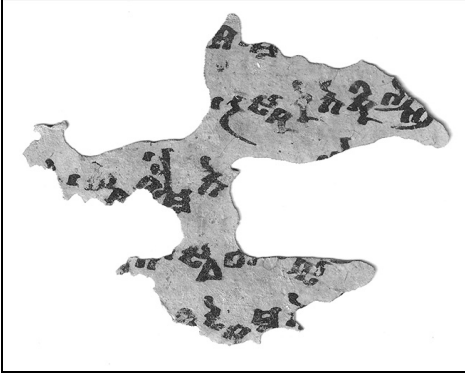
**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size:** 4.4 cm × 5.7 cm.

**Language:** Sanskrit — Tocharian B bilingual.

**Buddhist****A**

Pl. 29-1: SI 3717/6 A

**Transliteration**

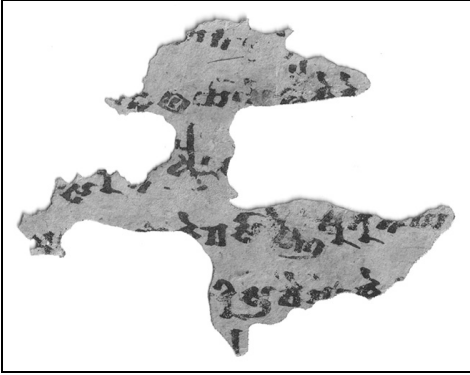
- 01 [...] ś× ×m[ ] [...]  
 02 [...] • ra ska re te ki ññe [...]  
 03 [...] × • yśe lmem ne [ + + ] l[?]e [...]  
 04 [...] × t[ ] • sva b<sup>h</sup>[ ] [ ] ts[ ] × [...]  
 05 [...] × i ske ma ne [...]

**Transcription**

- 01 [...] ś× ×m[ ] [...]  
 02 [...] • räskare tekiññe [...]  
 03 [...] × • yśelmenne [ + + ] l[?]e [...]  
 04 [...] × t[ ] • svabh[āp]ts[a] × [...]  
 05 [...] × iskemane [...]

**B**

Pl. 29-2: SI 3717/6 B

**Transliteration**

- 01 [...] × t[ ] × [...]  
 02 [...] • ka t<sup>h</sup>a yā • pe lai k[ ]e × e [...]  
 03 [...] × s[ ] r[ ] [ ] t[ ]<sup>45</sup>lñe • × [...]  
 04 [...] × [ + + ] × × e pa rsā tsñe •<sup>?</sup> a nu n[ ] ya [...]  
 05 [...] × ri sra ve<sup>46</sup> ṣ[ ] • k[?]e × [...]  
 06 [...] l[ ] [...]

**Transcription**

- 01 [...] × t[ ] × [...]  
 02 [...] • kathayā • pelaik[n]e[ṣṣ]e [...]  
 03 [...] × s[ ] r[ ] [ ] t[ ]<sup>47</sup>lñe • × [...]  
 04 [...] × [ + + ] × × e pārsā(n)tsñe •<sup>?</sup> anun[a]ya[...]  
 05 [... pa]risraveṣ[u] • k[?]e × [...]  
 06 [...] l[ ] [...]

**Commentary**

A 02 **rāskare tekiññe** ‘vehemently sick’, both lexemes well attested.<sup>48</sup>

A 03 **yśelmenne**: Loc. pl. of yśelme ‘(sexual) pleasure’.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Or: [ ]n[ ].

<sup>46</sup> Or: vai.

<sup>47</sup> Or: [ ]n[ ].

<sup>48</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 578 and 321.

<sup>49</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 564.

A 04 **svabh[āp]ts[a]**: ‘by self-nature’, Perlative of the loan word svabhāp < Skt. svabhāva.<sup>50</sup> Only one loop of the following grapheme is visible, which, however, could belong to an <u>. This recalls the word sequence THT 197a2 svabhāpṣa upekṣ warpalñe ‘by self-nature, the sensation (Skt. vedanā-) of indifference (Skt. upekṣā-)’. There it is about the status of indifference in relation to the sensations of happiness and sorrow. This problem might also have been dealt with here, which could speak for an Abhidharma text.

A 05 ×**iskemane**: PPrMP of an \*-sk-stem, the root is unclear.

B 02 **kathayā • pelaiḱ[n]eṣ[ṣ]e** [...]: TochB ‘dharma-’ clarifies that kathā- (here instr. sg.) ‘telling’ is shortened from or stands for dharmakathā- ‘dharma preaching’.

B 03 ... **lñe**: The preserved graphemes point to rittālñe, abstr. of the verb ritt-, here because of the presumably preceding genitive (-[nt]s[e]) meaning ‘to be suitable for’.<sup>51</sup>

B 04 **pārsā(n)tsñe**: First attested nomen abstracti from pārsāntse ‘resplendent’,<sup>52</sup> type astarñe ‘purity’ ← astare ‘pure’.

**anun[a]ya**[...]: A form of the verb anu-nī ‘to bring near, to conciliate’<sup>53</sup> or the derived noun anunaya- ‘conciliatory; conciliation, friendliness and sim.’.<sup>54</sup>

B 05 **[pa]risraveṣ[u]**: Etymologically parisrava- means ‘flowing, streaming’, but in Buddhist Sanskrit “it seems used in the sense of pariśraya = Pali pariṣsaya, *difficulty, trouble*”.<sup>55</sup> In this sense and in the same case as in our manuscript, viz. loc. pl., the word is attested in AVDH 1992: 31.9 [a]ntarāya-parisraveṣu vya[thā] ‘pain on the occasion of obstacles and troubles’.<sup>56</sup> It is even tempting to consider whether the fragment contains excerpts from the cited sūtra since B 04 anunaya- also belongs to its lexis.

<sup>50</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 794. CEToM s.v.

<sup>51</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: II 580.

<sup>52</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 402.

<sup>53</sup> MW 1899: 34a.

<sup>54</sup> MW 1899: 34a; BHS-D 1953: 28a; SWTF 1994–2018: I 63a.

<sup>55</sup> BHS-D 1953: 332a; cf. SWTF 1994–2018: III 99a.

<sup>56</sup> Likewise, but largely restored, in o.c. 33.9 in connection with avyathā- ‘absence of tremor’. — Interestingly, the Tibetan translation has thos na ‘on hearing,’ indicating that the Sanskrit original read pariśraya- or that parisrava- was interpreted as pariśraya-.

### 30 SI 3716/3 (Kr VII/1)

Left upper/lower corner of a folio, presumably of poṭhī format. Traces of two lines on A and one line on B.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size:** 2.5 cm × 5.5 cm.

**Language:** Sanskrit — Tocharian B.

#### Undetermined

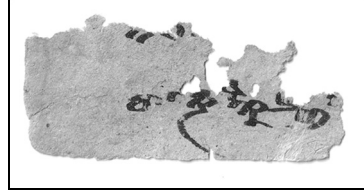
##### A

Pl. 30-1: SI 3716/3 A

##### Transliteration

-02 [?]t[ ]<sup>57</sup> × [...]

-01 vā • kra ŋkai ṅṅ[ ] × [...]

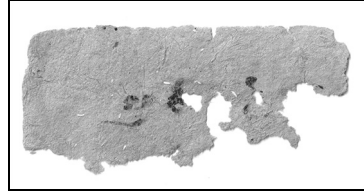


##### B

Pl. 30-2: SI 3716/3 B

##### Transliteration

01 pra ×ā [+ ] ×e [...]



#### Commentary

The only certainly identifiable word is TochB krāṅkaiṅṅ[ ] ‘pertaining to a chicken’, so far only attested as an attribute of weṃṣṣiye ‘excrement, dung’.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately the qualified substantive is lost. A-01 vā can not be or belong to a TochB word. It is Skt. vā ‘or’ or the end of a word which points to a bilingual text. Another Skt. word might be B01 prasā[+]×e though a loan word is not excluded here.

<sup>57</sup> Or: [?]n[ ].

<sup>58</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 229; CEToM s.v.

## 31 SI 3717/5 (Kr VII/1)

Fragment with similar damage as no. 22 and no. 29 and therefore from the same place of discovery as the latter. Both sides are carefully inscribed with formal NTB, alternating between Sanskrit and Tocharian B translation; remains of four to five lines are preserved.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size:** 4.0 cm × 4.2 cm.

**Language:** Sanskrit — Tocharian B bilingual

**Undetermined****A**

Pl. 31-1: SI 3717/5 A

**Transliteration**

- 01 [...] [ ]du × [+] × [...]  
 02 [...] × na • ṣa me m× [...]  
 03 [...] × • p̄a ly×[ ] [+] ykām [...]  
 04 [...] × lai<sup>59</sup>[...]  
 05 [...] × [...]

**Transcription**

- 01 [...] [ ]du × [+] × [...]  
 02 [...] × na • ṣamem× [...]  
 03 [...] × • p̄āly×[ ] [+] ykām[ṣ- ...]  
 04 [...] × lai<sup>60</sup>[...]  
 05 [...] × [...]

<sup>59</sup> Or to be read after 90° with clockwise rotation: × [ ]ai.

<sup>60</sup> Or to be read after 90° with clockwise rotation: × [ ]ai.



**B**

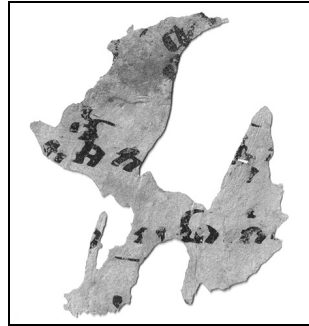
Pl. 31-2: SI 3717/5 B

**Transliteration**

- 01 [...] × ×<sup>61</sup> [...]  
 02 [...] ta rśau na [++ ] × × [...]  
 03 [...] × pra hā ṇaṃ [...]  
 04 [...] [ ]e [...]

**Transcription**

- 01 [...] × × [...]  
 02 [...] tarśauna [++ ] × × [...]  
 03 [...] × prahāṇaṃ [...]  
 04 [...] [ ]e [...]

**Commentary**

A 01 Probably Skt.

A 02 TochB **ṣamem**× makes no sense; if -e was corrected to -r-, one could suppose ṣarmampa (for ṣārmampa), comitative of ṣarm, ‘(together) with the cause’, which would be in accord with restored Skt. [pratya]**yena**.

A 03 While the restoration of TochB **pālys**[alñe] ‘(lit.) burning, torture, ascetic’,<sup>62</sup> is relatively clear, TochB **ykām**[ṣ-] may be part of a form of the substantive ykāmṣe ‘aversion’ or of the verb ykāmṣaññ- ‘to be disgusted’.<sup>63</sup>

B 02 TochB **tarśauna** ‘deceptions’.<sup>64</sup>B 03 Skt. **prahāṇaṃ** ‘abandonment; exertion’.**32 SI 3717/7 (Kr VII/1)**

Fragment of a folio of poṭhī format. Part of the upper/lower edge has been preserved, as well as part of the string-hole area that interrupts the second and third lines from the top/bottom. The number of lines should have been four.

<sup>61</sup> To be read after 90° counterclockwise rotation.

<sup>62</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: I 404; CEToM s.v.

<sup>63</sup> For both s. DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 558.

<sup>64</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 303 s.v. tārśi\*.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size:** 4.8 cm × 5.7 cm.

**Language:** Sanskrit — Tocharian B bilingual.

### Undetermined

#### A

Pl. 32-1: SI 3717/7 A

#### Transliteration

01 [...] × ma sa lle • na<sup>65</sup> pa [...]

02 [...] ⊙ smī ti [...]

03 [...] ⊙ ma 2 [...]

#### Transcription

01 [...]maṣālle • na pa[...]

02 [...] ⊙ smīti [...]

03 [...] ⊙ ma 2 [...]



#### B

Pl. 32-2: SI 3717/7 B

#### Transliteration

01 [...] ⊙ ×py[ ] [...]

02 [...] [ ]sa ⊙ lñe • p[ ] [...]

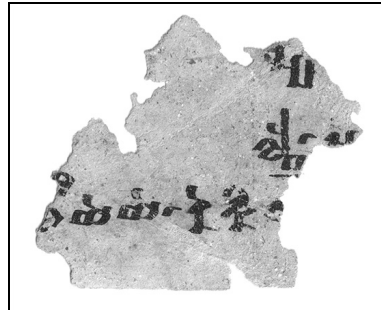
03 [...] t<sup>h</sup>[ ] ye yaṃ<sup>66</sup> • re ki ×[...]

#### Transcription

01 [...] ×py[ ] [...]

02 [...]lñe • p[ ] [...]

03 [...]t<sup>h</sup>[ ]yeyam • reki ×[...]



<sup>65</sup> Or: ta?

<sup>66</sup> Or: ye.

### Commentary

A 01 [ ]**maṣālle**: Restoration to ger.I of yām- ‘to do, make’, yamaṣālle, is trivial.

**na pa**[ ]: Negation na and an undeterminable subsequent word. In case of reading ta instead of na almost certainly a form of tap- ‘to heat etc.’ or some deverbal noun from this root.

A 02 [ ]**smīti**: [a]smīti ‘I am’ (asmi) followed by the particle iti marking the end of direct speech.

B 02 [ ]**sālñe**: TochB abstract noun of some verb.

B 03 [ ]<sup>h</sup>[ ]**yeyam**: Probably 1st sing. opt. prs. act. **kathayeyam** ‘I might tell’ which is well compatible with the beginning of the TochB rendering.

**reki** ‘word, command’<sup>67</sup> translates a lost Skt. word.

### 2.2.3. Sanskrit — Uyghur

#### 33 SI 3715/3; SI 3715/7 (Kr VII/1)

Two matching fragments from a Chinese scroll with the text of Bodhiruci’s translation of the [Mahā]ratnakūṭa (T 310). The right end forms a gluing edge. The gluing must have been intact when a piece of unknown width was cut out of the scroll to write on the blank reverse. For this purpose, the sheet leaf was turned over the lower / upper edge and rotated 90° clockwise. After the Varṇārḥavarṇa<sup>68</sup> another work of the famous Buddhist poet Mātr̥ceṭa,<sup>69</sup> Prasādapratibhodbhava,<sup>70</sup> is now attested in the Uyghur literature.

**Provenance**: Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size(s)**: SI 3715/3 3.8 cm × 5.0 cm; SI 3715/7 3.9 cm × 8.0 cm.

**Joining**: SI 3715/3 ∞ SI 3715/7.

**Language(s)**: Chinese (recto), Sanskrit — Old Uyghur bilingual (verso).

<sup>67</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 585.

<sup>68</sup> On Varṇārḥavarṇa HARTMANN & MAUE 1991; MAUE 2002B.

<sup>69</sup> On Mātr̥ceṭa HARTMANN 1987: 12ff.

<sup>70</sup> On the Prasādapratibhodbhava HARTMANN 1987: 23ff.

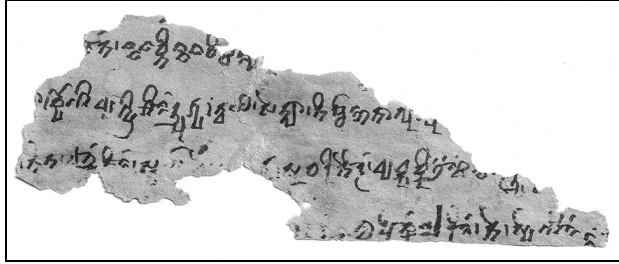
**Recto**

Pl. 33-1: SI 3715/3 ∞ SI 3715/7 R  
(reconstruction)

2	1
至命難諸 所受用終 無愛染於 諸惱辱具 忍	綺繪異詞 構飾文句 於他則物 不起貪著 乃

**Verso**

Pl. 33-2: SI 3715/3 ∞ SI 3715/7



T 310 XI 260c17-18.

**Prasādapratibhodbhava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa  
verses 28-29 (= 2.2-3)**

**Transliteration**

01 [...] *b<sup>h</sup>ū*<sup>71</sup>-t • i ctiṃ i ci ka my[ ] × [...]

02 [...] [ ]ā • kyo ṇi eya wri śi-ñ uyu zyā • tva yi • se ntyā • ni ṣṭ<sup>h</sup>ā ṅga tā  
tyu ×yu [...]

03 [...] × ni ta • e-l ti-ñ • stva yā ×e × [+ ] ×yā • su ca ri tai-r • eya d<sup>h</sup>g<sub>1</sub>yu  
kī lā-ñc lā[ ] ruy[ ] × [...]

04 [...] × tu p×ā-k la ri<sup>72</sup>-ñ • te • syā ṇi-ñ 3 × [...]

<sup>71</sup> The shape and position of the <-ū> leave no doubt about <b<sup>h</sup>->.

<sup>72</sup> Or: r[r]i.

### Transcription

- 01 [...']*bhūt* • iĉtin iĉikm[äk ...]  
 02 [...]*ā* • köni ävriſiſiſ üzä • tvayi • sentä • niſthāṅgatā tü[z]ü [...]  
 03 [...] n<sup><</sup>*t* ta- • el(t)iſiſ • -s *tvayā se*[ni ü]zä • *sucaritair* • ädgü kılınĉlar  
 ü[zä ...]  
 04 [...]*si*• tupraklarıſiſ • te • säniſiſ 3 × [...]

### Translation

- 01 (Skt.) was • (Uygh.) the entering inside  
 02 (Skt.) ... (Uygh.) by your honest conduct • (Skt.) in you, (Uygh.) in you • (Skt.) having arrived (Uygh.) complete...  
 03 (Skt.) (was) lead (Uygh.) you carried • (Skt.) by you (Uygh.) by you • (Skt.) by good actions, (Uygh.) by good actions  
 04 (Skt.)..., (Uygh.) your impurities • (Skt.) your, (Uygh.) your 3

### Sanskrit text with translation

For convenience and better understanding of the fragment the complete text and translation of the two śloka are presented.<sup>73</sup> The preserved parts of our ms. are marked as follows:

<b>bold</b>	Sanskrit only
<u>underlined</u>	Uyghur only
<b><u>bold underlined</u></b>	Sanskrit and Uyghur.

- (a) hetuſv abhiniveſo **'bhūt** (b) guṅānāṃ na phaleſu te |  
 (c) tena samyakpratipadā (d) **tvayi niſthāṅ gatā**<sup>74</sup> guṅāḥ || [2] (=28)

(d) ShB: tvayi niſthāṅ guṅā gatāḥ (Ms. A); SHT 709v1: [...] + guṅā gatāḥ 28; SHT 224rx (IDP 224/1): [...] ſ[th]āṅ gatā guṅā [...]; SHT 440v5: niſthāṅ ga[t]ā g[u ...]; Pell. Skt. bleu 168vc [...] niſthāṅ gatāṃ [...]; SHT 519 fol. 3r4

<sup>73</sup> Underlying text established by Shackleton Bailey=ShB [PPUSKT (ED. SHACKLETON BAILEY) 1951: 54f.], various readings provided by K. Wille. The translation is by Shackleton Bailey (PPUSKT (ED. SHACKLETON BAILEY) 1951: 157).

<sup>74</sup> Or: *niſthāṅgatā*. For the interpretation as compound may speak the inner sandhi (m+g>ṅg), parallel formations of the type pāramita- 'gone to the opposite shore' and perhaps also the exception as a unit by the Uyghur translator. But the text variant niſthāṅ guṅā gatāḥ could only arise from the interpretation as syntagma niſthāṅ gatā.

(IDP 519/2): niṣṭhāgatā ((gu)ṇāḥ 2 (read niṣṭhā<ṃ>gatā?); ShB Ms. H (= H.149.x.17 = Or.15011/13r5; ed. Hoernle in Hoernle, MR: 64): niṣṭhāṃ gat[ā] guṇā 28; Or.15004/42v3: [...] × yi niṣṭhāṃ gat[ ] + [...]; SHT 356v2 (IDP 356/1): niṣṭhā + + guṇā 28.

(b-) Your (a) devotion was to the causes (-b) of virtue[s], not to their results. (c) Therefore, by means of your perfect way of conduct (d) the virtues attained in you their culmination.

\*

(a) tathātmā pracayaṃ **nītas** (b) **tvayā sucaritair** yathā |  
(c) puṇyāyatanatām prāptāny (d) api pādarajāmsi **te** || 3 (=29)

(a–b) You raised yourself to such a height by good actions that (d) even the dust of your feet (c) became a receptacle of merit.

\*

### Commentary

01 **ičtin ičikm**[äk] is a felicitous rendering of the not preserved Skt. abhiniveśa- liter. ‘entering’, usually metaphorically ‘devotion, adherence’, accordingly Uygh. ičik- ‘to enter’ and especially ‘to capitulate, submit’.<sup>75</sup> Uygh. ičtin ‘inside’ reflects the Skt. preverbs abhi-ni-.

02 **köni ävrišij üzä**: köni ‘upright, honest’ renders Skt. samyak- as in köni tüz(üni) tuymak ~ Skt. samyaksambodhi-. Ävriš ‘behaviour, conduct’<sup>76</sup>, here equivalent of the rather sophisticated Skt. pratipad-, is possibly a calque of TochA spärtwlune (~ TochB spärttalyñe) ‘conduct’ from spärtw- (~ TochB spärtt-) ‘to turn, behave’, as Uygh. ävriš from ävir- ‘to turn’, cf. also the parallel syntagmata ‘conduct’ + ‘make, do’ A (= THT 886) 253 a 5 spärtw-lune yatär<sup>77</sup> ‘leads his life’ — MaitrUigT I p.112 l.17 ädgü ävriš kılur ‘leads a good life’. The Tocharian for its part imitates the Indian pattern vṛtti- et al. ‘conduct’ ~ vṛt- ‘to turn’.<sup>78</sup>

**sentä**: The Brāhmī spelling confirms -e-<sup>79</sup> as against -i-;<sup>80</sup> also acc. seni in l. 03.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. GOT 2004: 495.

<sup>76</sup> Not in ED 1972; cf. GOT 2004: 271; UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: II.2, 347.

<sup>77</sup> In a passage from the end of chapter 11 of the Maitreyasamitināṭaka.

<sup>78</sup> Another calque based on the (artificial) equivalence of the roots Skt. vṛt- and Uygh. ävir- is Uygh. **ävriš** as rendering of Skt. itivṛttaka-, a literary genre of stories (virtually) ending with the words itivṛttam ‘thus it happened’.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. ED 1972: 831b.

**tü[z]ü** ‘complete’ is the beginning of the translation of Skt. niṣṭhā- ‘completion, perfection’.

03 **elt(t)iṅ**: From the Sanskrit it is clear that elt(i)ṅ can not be imperative pl., but must be the preterit form elt(t)iṅ ‘you (sing.) carried’. The Uygh. translator has transformed the Skt. passive sentence ‘your self was lead’ into ‘you carried yourself’. The Skt. agentive instrum. tvayā ‘by you’ survived in the Uygh. seni<sup>81</sup> üzä ‘by you(rself)’, beyond the Sanskrit emphasizing that the action happened without outside help.

04 **tupraklarıṅ**: tuprak ‘dust’, rendering the Skt. equivalent rajas-, here not used metaphorically as e.g. in TT VIII A 7 f. Skt. vigatarajā(h), Uygh. tar[1]k[m]iṣ toz tupraklıḡlar ‘those whose (moral) impurities<sub>2</sub> have gone away’.

**säniṅ**: The gen. has -ä- as usual, opposed to acc. and loc. s. above l. 02 ad sentä.

#### 34 SI 2965/1 (B/29-1); SI 2965/2 (B/29-2)

Two perfectly fitting fragments (s. pl. 34-2) are part of a Chinese scroll containing Kumārajīva’s Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāmahāprajñāpāramitā (T 223) or his Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa (T 1509), for the reconstruction s. pl. 34-1. Of the height of the scroll, whose upper edge is almost reached at the highest preserved point, 15 of about 26 cm remain, from which it can be concluded that the scroll has not been cut in half horizontally before being re-used, as is often the case. The scroll or a piece of unknown width was turned over the upper/lower edge and rotated 90° clockwise. The blank reverse was used to write on a bilingual Sanskrit — Uyghur text which presents excerpts from Sūtra-s of the Saṃyuktāgama.

**Provenance:** On baš Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

**Size(s):** SI 2965/1 11.5 cm × 8.6 cm; SI 2965/2 10.2 cm × 8.1 cm; after joining: 15 cm × 15.4 cm.

**Joining:** SI 2965/1∞ 2965/2.

**Language(s):** Chinese (recto), Sanskrit — Uyghur bilingual (verso).

<sup>80</sup> E.g. ATÜGR 1974: § 189; GOT 2004: 192.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. l. 02 ad sentä.

## Saṃyuktāgama

## Recto

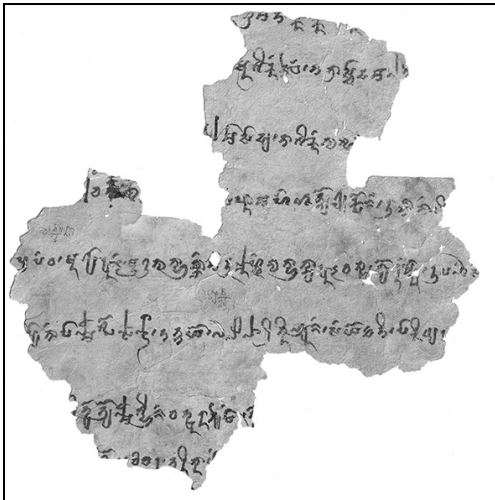
Pl. 34-1: SI 2965/1 ∞ 2965/2 R (reconstruction)



T 223 VIII 18a8-12 or T 1509 XXV 735a18-23 (with var.)

## Verso

Pl. 34-2: SI 2965/1 ∞ 2965/2 V





### Transliteration

- 01 [...] kr[ ] m[ ] t[ ] k[ ] [?]g<sub>1</sub>[ ]<sup>82</sup> [+ ] × [...]  
 02 [...] a śi-g<sub>1</sub> te-p • ta trā svā da ma la ×e<sup>83</sup> [...]  
 03 [...] × la mā sā dya • tā śi-g<sub>1</sub> tu śu- × [...]  
 04 [...] ×<sup>84</sup> va<sup>85</sup> ×<sup>86</sup> tu [ + + + ] × ?<sup>87</sup> ma hā b<sup>h</sup>ū ttyo zly[ ] g<sub>1</sub>yo ṅ<sup>88</sup> • ū  
 ktā nām • ×i [...]  
 05 [...] pra paṃ ca • a zyā ryu-<sub>r</sub> • ā zu tu tñā klām mā rū<sup>89</sup> lū-hk<sup>h</sup> tu tñā  
 qyā ryu-<sub>r</sub><sup>90</sup> ca kṣ[ ] • kyo-z myo<sup>91</sup> • ru pa nām s[ ]<sub>m</sub> [...] ]  
 06 [...] pyo tām pā lmī śpo lsā rlā-<sub>r</sub> • ta<sup>92</sup> tta<sup>93</sup>yo • o lo lā rri<sup>94</sup> ki ṅyu-ṅ •  
 saṃ yo ja ti • pā g<sub>1</sub>i eya r[ ] [...] ]  
 07 [...] ×i kyo tryo lmī śñi-ṅ<sup>95</sup> ca kṣu rā nye śām • k[?]o [...]  
 08 [...] l<sup>96</sup> ×o ×<sup>97</sup> vi ca<sup>98</sup> rā n[ ]a<sup>99</sup> ri kā yām [...]

### Transcription

- 1 [...]kr[a]m[ ]t k[ar]g[a] [ + ] × [...]  
 2 [...] aśiḡ tep • tatrāsvādam alab[dhv]ai[va ...]  
 3 [...] śailam āśadya • taśiḡ tuśu[p ...]  
 4 [...] × catu[r- + + + ] × <4> mahabut tōzl[ō]ḡ ṅ • <ū>ktānām • ×i [...]

<sup>82</sup> Or: [?]k[ ].

<sup>83</sup> Or: incomplete -ai.

<sup>84</sup> Vertical stroke as separator?

<sup>85</sup> Or: ca? If so, clearly different from ca in l. 05 prapaṃca, cakṣu[ ], l. 07 cakṣur; s. comm.

<sup>86</sup> Blurred, possibly crossed out: [ + ].

<sup>87</sup> The perfectly preserved akṣara is ambiguous. It might be p<sup>h</sup>u or hu, which are, however, meaningless in this context, or else the improperly executed number 6, or a misshaped 4.

<sup>88</sup> Without virāma stroke.

<sup>89</sup> Error for: g,u.

<sup>90</sup> Virāma dot lacking or lost.

<sup>91</sup> The form of <m> is unusual.-Original <-u> has been subsequently changed to <-y>. So perhaps <mu> corrected to <myo>? The dot above could be part of the vowel diacritic -o or the virama dot belonging to the preceding -z.

<sup>92</sup> Or: na.

<sup>93</sup> Or: nna, tna, nta.

<sup>94</sup> Certainly, incomplete rr- because simple r- can be excluded.

<sup>95</sup> The presence of the virāma stroke is uncertain though.

<sup>96</sup> Only a small but significant remainder: the long hasta represents <|>, the slash branching off from it <-|>, cf. <lm̄> in the preceding line.

<sup>97</sup> Two options: p- or ṣ-.

<sup>98</sup> Or: ci va.

<sup>99</sup> Or: t[ ]a.

5 [...] prapaṃca<ḥ> • az ärür • azu tutñaklanma<g>uluk tutñak ärür  
caḥs[u]<ḥ> • köz mö • r<sup>u</sup>p<sup>a</sup>ñāṃs[a]ṃ[...]

6 [... tō]pōtan balmiṣ bolsarlar • tat tayo(ḥ) • ol olar ikinüḥ • saṃyojati •  
baḡi är[ür ...]

7 [... at]<sub>i</sub> kötrölmüṣniḡ caḥsur anyeṣāṃ • k<sup>l</sup>ö<sup>l</sup>[zi ...]

8 [... Ka]<sub>i</sub><sup>u</sup>[ṃ]gop[a]vic<sup>a</sup>rān[t]arikāyāṃ [...]

### Commentary

The manuscript shows some remarkable features. Regarding paleography, it should be noted that the virāma dot and virāma line are sometimes lacking. As a result of scriptio continua words appear connected, 04 mahabut tōzl[ö]g öḡ, 05 az ärür, tutñak ärür, 06 balmiṣ bolsarlar, ol olar ikinüḥ. The linguistic characteristics are as follows: There is met with (1) persevering vowel assimilation in 05 köz mö, 07 kötröl- and (2) the unusual genet. suffix -nUḡ after unrounded vocalism, 06 ikinüḥ. Tutñak versus usual tutyak and abl. suffix +tAn vs. +tIn count as archaisms.<sup>100</sup>

1–3 The first three lines of our ms. belong to the final stanzas of the Sūtra, which survives under number 246 in Guṇabhadra's Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama [= SĀ] (T 99 II 59a3-b7), 59b2–7.<sup>101</sup> The notoriously free Chinese rendering does not reflect the wording of the original and is therefore text-critically irrelevant. It is supplemented by two Pali stanzas<sup>102</sup> which, although belonging to a different tradition, harmonise better in wording with the fragmentary Sanskrit version:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | medavaṇṇañ ca (va Sn) pāsāṇaṃ vāyaso anupariyagā                           |
| 2 | ap' ettha mudu vindema                      apī assādanā siyā              |
| 3 | aladdhā tattha assādaṃ                      vāyas' etto apakkame (°mi Sn)  |
| 4 | kāko va selam āsajja                      nibbijjāpema Gotamā (°maṃ Sn) ti |

(1) A crow circled a stone which looked like fat (2a) (thinking:) “Perhaps we shall find something soft here; (2b) perhaps there may be (something) sweet.” (3a) Not obtaining (anything) sweet, (3b) the crow went away from there. (4a) Like the crow having attacked the rock (went away disappointed), (4b) we (i.e. Māra) will go away from Gautama (after having unsuccessfully attacked him).<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Cf. GOT 2004: 174.

<sup>101</sup> Another shorter variant is found in Sūtra 1092 T 99 II 286c17–19, cf. CHUNG 2008: 77.

<sup>102</sup> SN (ED. PTS) Vol. I 1884–1898: 124<sub>5-8</sub>; SN (RE-ED. PTS) Vol. I 1998: 272 verses 504–505; SN (ED. PTS) 1913: verses 447–448.

<sup>103</sup> Tr. after Norman SN (TR. PTS) 2001: 53.

1 [...]**kr[a]m[ ]t k[ar]g[a]**: At the beginning of the Sanskrit part must have been excerpted the equivalent of Uygh. k[ ]g[ ], the completion of which to karga ‘crow’ only became evident after the identification. Coincidentally, the relevant passage is completely preserved in SHT V 1441r1: vāyaso ’nuparākrame, which according to the editors is to be completed to anuparākramet. The combined preverb anu-parā-, however, is rarely used and never attested with kram or any other verb meaning ‘to go’, while anupari-kram-/gam-/gā-/i- ‘to go around’ occur regularly, so too in the parallel Pāli versions, anupariyagā ‘went around’. Doubts are also expressed by SWTF,<sup>104</sup> which tries to do justice to anu-parā- with the translation “zufliegen auf [fly towards](?), drauflosgehen [go at](?)”. Another difference is the hypothetical optative compared to the narrative aorist in Pāli, which might have a good equivalent in Skt. \*anuparyakramīt, for example. Neither the Chinese while paraphrasing nor our manuscript, which has been destroyed at the crucial parts, are informative on these points.

2 **aṣig tep**: Uygh. tep ‘(literally) saying’ marks the end of direct speech act or thought and often corresponds to the Skt. iti (Pā. iti, ti). In our case, the thought of the crow remains unmarked in the Pāli text (l. 2). Assuming the same in the Skt. version, Uygh. tep is added for clarification; the same effect is achieved by the Chinese translator through 想 ‘think’. Uygh. aṣig ‘food (acc.)’ may also be explanatory, since at least in Pāli such a noun is missing. The Chinese translator has 食 ‘food’, but before and not within the quotation of the crow’s thought. Without the Skt. original, we cannot know whether with Uygh. tep the thought of the crow is completed as a whole or only the first part of his reflection. In the first case, the accusative aṣig as object of a transitive verb would indicate that Pā. 1. 2 pāda b (with the intransitive verb as- ‘to be’) would not be present in the Skt. original or would have exchanged places with pāda a.

**tatrāsvādam alab[dhv]ai[va]**: The excerpt is undoubtedly the equivalent of Pā. 1. 3 pāda a: aladdhā tattha assādam ‘without getting/having got an agreeable taste’; accordingly, the restoration of alabdhvā (Pā. aladdhā) ‘without taking, or getting/ having taken, or got’ is certain. To complete the pāda, it must have been followed by a two-syllable word beginning with i or e, the initial sound of which is contracted with the final ā of alabdhvā to e (ā+i) or ai (ā+e). The reinforcing particle eva is the most likely candidate.

<sup>104</sup> SWTF 1994–2018: I 502b.

3 [ś] **ailam āsādyā**: Equivalent of Pā. I. 4 pāda a: *selam āsajja*. The restoration of śaila- ‘stone, rock’ had already succeeded with the help of Uygh. **tašig** ‘stone (acc.)’ before the parallel was found. The trace of diacritic upon the akṣara preceding la could easily be part of <-ai>. Āsādyā is formally the absolutivum (or gerund) of the causativum ā-sādaya- from ā-sad- ‘to sit (down)’, often like the causative in the meaning ‘to meet, to approach (also: with physical or verbal violence)’. The context shows that ‘having attacked (with the beak)’ is meant, which the Uygh. translator renders by the neutral **tušup** ‘meeting with’. The accusative (tašig) in place of the usual dative (taška) is seemingly due to the Sanskrit model.

4 **catu[r-]**: The first akṣara looks more like va, but the only way to make a meaningful connection with the Uygh. rendering is ca. If read and completed correctly and taking into account the Uygh. text, this should be an excerpt from Sūtra 248, the equivalent of 四大色 (59b24). In consequence, the numeral 4 was also conjectured for the Uygh.:

<4> **mahabut tözl[ö]g öñ** ‘the form having the 4 great elements as basis’.

<ü> **ktanām**: ‘of the said (pl.)’ without an obvious localisation of the excerpt. No presumption about the Uygh. equivalent is possible since no word with the meaning ‘to say’ has an i/i in the first syllable.

5 **prapañca**<ḥ>: On a secure basis rests the assumption that this excerpt is connected with the Chin. Sūtra 249. The Pāli parallel<sup>105</sup> proves this with the several times occurring papañca-. Edgerton remarks that “papañca ... is a word which in Pali and BHS is very hard to define ... Northern translations are unusually bewildering.”<sup>106</sup> The Uygh. translation **az ärür** ‘is greed’, though somewhat surprising because commonly used to render Skt. *ṛṣṇā* ‘(lit.:) thirst; craving’ and *rāga* ‘(lit.:) colour; passion’,<sup>107</sup> may be connected with an exegetical tradition which perhaps also appears in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (ed. Suzuki) 186.8f. *jalpaprapaṅcābhiratā hi bālās ... jalpo hi traidhātukaduḥkhayonis* ‘fools delight in jalpa and idle fancies (?...) ... for jalpa is the source of the misery of the universe’.<sup>108</sup> When agreeing with Edgerton (l. c.) that “[t]his [i.e. jalpa-] seems more naturally to mean desire

<sup>105</sup> AN (ED. PTS) 1885–1900: 161ff.

<sup>106</sup> BHS-D 1953: 380b.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: II.2, 103ff.

<sup>108</sup> Tr. Edgerton BHS-D 1953: 239b.

than (idle) talk”<sup>109</sup> one is inclined to think that the same is true for prapañca- which then would form together with jalpa- a synonym dvandva comparable with lobha-jalpa- “greed<sub>2</sub>” (l.c.). The Uygh. translator continues with an alternative rendering:

**azu tutñaklanma<g>uluk tutñak ärür.** There is undoubtedly a reference to Pa. appapañcaṃ papañceti<sup>110</sup> (nominalized \*appapañco papañco), which e.g., Bhikkhu Bodhi<sup>111</sup> renders by “one proliferates that which is not to be proliferated” and further explains (o.c. 1710 fn. 881): “The Pali word papañca suggests mental fabrication, obsessive mental construction, and deluded conceptualization, which the commentaries say arise from craving, conceit, and wrong views (taṇhā, māna, diṭṭhi)”. The Chinese translator Guṇabhadra takes a similar view, using 虚言 ‘empty words’ (60a19) and 虚僞<sup>112</sup> ‘(lit.:) empty (and) false (scil. concepts, words)’ (60a20). As expected, due to the preceding az ‘greed’, the Uyghur gives a different interpretation for \*aprapañcaḥ prapañcaḥ. Tutñak and the denominative verb tutñaklan- are obviously corresponding with elsewhere attested tutyak<sup>113</sup> and tutyaklan-. Tutyak seems to be a nominal derivation from tut- ‘to hold, grasp, seize’ and is understood as ‘grasping, Skt. upādāna-; grahaṇa-’.<sup>114</sup> Clauson<sup>115</sup> took the extraordinary suffix -yak as “[s]ec(ondary) f(orm) of ... -yok” “with an early example of the sound change -o- > -a-”. But the per se artificial derivation cannot ex-

<sup>109</sup> SUZUKI 1932 — Internet versions: [http://lirs.ru/do/lanka\\_eng/lanka-contents.htm](http://lirs.ru/do/lanka_eng/lanka-contents.htm), <http://www.buddhistische-gesellschaft-berlin.de/downloads/lankavatarasuzuki.pdf>, however, translates: “The ignorant are delighted with discoursing and false reasoning [but] they are unable to raise any great intelligence towards truth (*tattva*), discoursing is a source of suffering in the triple world, while truth is the extinguisher of suffering.” jalpaprapañcābhiratā hi bālās tattve na kurvanti matim viśālām | jalpo hi traidhātukaduḥkhyonīs, tattvaṃ hi duḥkhasya vināśahetuḥ || The Chinese translation supports Suzuki, s. the following fn.

<sup>110</sup> AN (ED. PTS) 1885–1900: 161<sub>28</sub>.

<sup>111</sup> SN (TR. PTS) 2000: 540.

<sup>112</sup> “Appears in the Chinese renditions of *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra* attributed to Guṇabhadra [T 670] and Śikṣānanda [T 672] as a translation of the Sanskrit word *prapañca*” (DDB s.v.).

<sup>113</sup> M. Erdal (p.c. 20.12.2019) invitingly considers that what was read tutyak (U II 1911: 6, 9–10) so far and declared “mis-spelt (or mistranscribed)” by Clauson (ED 1972: 462b) might be read tutnyak thus being directly comparable with the Brāhmī spelling. Accordingly, WILKENS (2021: 763b) with “tutayag† → tutñak → tutyak”.

<sup>114</sup> ED 1972: 462b; OTWF 1991: 515; UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: II.1, 47 s.v. adkanmak: Abhi a 41b4 tutyak tegüci savta adkanmak tutyaklanmak tep yörüg ol “im Wort ‘tutyak’ liegt die Bedeutung das ‘Greifen’, das ‘Nehmen’” (tr. UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: l.c.). Tutyak is elsewhere also dyadically connected to az ‘greed’, as in our manuscript, cf. WILKENS 2021: 93b seq.

<sup>115</sup> ED 1972: 462b.

plain ñ (> y). The word remains morphologically obscure. The form *tutyaklanmak* of the denominative verb *tutyaklan-* stands for Skt. *upādāna* as well.<sup>116</sup> The rendition of *tutñaklanmaguluk* *tutñak* would then be ‘the grasping of what should not be grasped’.

**cakş[u]<ḥ> • köz mö:** The combination of the partly preserved Skt. and Uygh. parts lead to the respective lexemes for ‘eye’. Uygh. *mö*, if read correctly, can hardly be anything other than the enclitic interrogative particle *mU*, which is subject to synharmonisation and appears here fully assimilated to the *-ö-* of *köz*.

**r<sup><ü></sup> p<sup><ä></sup> nām s[a]m[yogaḥ]** ‘the bond of the forms (visible objects)’. It is tempting to restore *saṃyogaḥ* and connect this excerpt with the previous one: ‘is the eye the connection to the forms?’ If so, we can see in it the correspondence to the initial question of Sūtra 250: 眼繫色耶 (60a29) ‘is the eye connected to the form?’ or vice versa. Then the same is asked for the other 5 senses and their objects.

6 Properly understood, the connection between sense organs and their objects can be compared to that which exists in a team of two oxen: What is ‘yoke and harness’ (軛鞅 60b6) in the latter is ‘longing and desire’ (欲貪 60b5) in the former. The excerpts of line 6 belong to the oxen simile.

**[tö]pötan balmış bolsarlar** ‘when they are attached from the head’. The restoration of *töpö-* ‘top; head’ is certain because there is no other noun ending in *-öpö*. The preclassic abl. suffix *+tAn* does not show the expected front vocalism.

**ol olar ikinüñ** ‘that, of these two’: The Uyghur disambiguates the ambiguous Skt. spelling which must accordingly be read **tat tayo(h)** ‘id.’. — Noticeable is the rare realization *+nünñ* of the genitive morpheme *+nXñ* in unrounded milieu.<sup>117</sup>

**saṃyojati • bağı är[ür ...]** (Skt.) ‘binds together’; (Uygh.) ‘is the bond of’. The Uygh. part could be united with the previous phrase: ‘that is the bond of these two’, but the Skt. syntax contradicts because in this case ‘these two’ would have to be in the accusative as the object of *saṃyojati*.

<sup>116</sup> For the equivalence cf. U II 1911: 11,2–4 az kılınč tıltagınta **tutyaklanmak** bolur. **tutyak** tıltagınta kılınč bolur. “From *tṛṣṇā-* comes *upādāna-*. From *upādāna-* comes *bhava-* (Uygh. liter. ‘action’).” Erdal (OTWF 1991: 515) tries to do justice to the intransitive value of the composite suffix *+lan-* by translating ‘to get befallen by *upādāna*’.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. GOT 2004: 169.

7 At the end of the short Sūtra (60b17ff.) it is said that the eye of the **Exalted One** does not give rise to longing and desire when seeing forms, unlike the eye of other beings, which is why the Exalted One teaches liberation from longing and desire.

[at]r kötrölmīṣṇiṅ ‘of the Bhagavant’, liter. ‘of the one whose name is exalted’.

**caḅṣur anyeṣām** • k<sup>l</sup>ō<sup>l</sup>[zi ...] (Skt.) ‘eye of others’; (Uygh.) ‘eye of’.

8 [Ka]r̄i [m]gop[a]vic̄ā rān[t]arikāyām: ‘in the Kaliṅgopavicāra’<sup>118</sup>  
From the beginning of the Sūtra 252, the Upasenasūtra, which was apparently very popular in Central Asia and has also been transmitted separately,<sup>119</sup> part of the very detailed indication of the Upasena’s whereabouts. Here and in the British Library fragment Or. 15009/662 a3<sup>120</sup> its spelling is Kaliṅgo°, which is preferable to Kalimko° in Waldschmidt’s manuscript, 1423, 1.3: kalimko° (= idp SHT 61/1 r3).

### 35 SI 2965/3 (B/29-3)

Fragment from a scroll with the Chinese translation of the Saddharmapuṅḍarīka by Kumārajīva (T 262) or Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (T 264). The free reverse was used to write a bilingual Sanskrit — Old Uyghur text on containing a piece of grammar, possibly on sandhi rules.

**Provenance:** On baš Ming Öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

**Size:** 6.0 cm × 5.7 cm.

**Language:** Chinese (recto), Sanskrit — Old Uyghur bilingual (verso).

<sup>118</sup> The exact meaning and closer localisation of the place, which has so far only been documented in the Upasena-Sūtra, is unknown. The Chin. has 迦陵伽行處 according to WALDSCHMIDT 1967: 334 ‘im Spazierbereich von Kaliṅka / 1989: 186 ‘at the walking place of Kaliṅka’.

<sup>119</sup> On the Central Asian Skt. manuscripts and the parallels in other languages and their editions, see CHUNG 2008: 77–79. On p. 78 l.14, entry Sūtra 252 BL Or.: 15009/662 (= H.149.x.11) verso.

<sup>120</sup> Digital photo sub: <http://idp.bl.uk>, search value: Or. 15009/662.

## Grammar

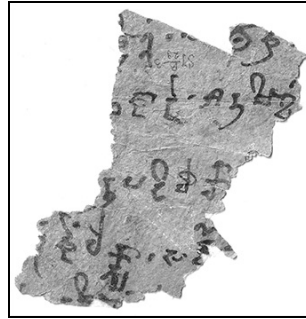
## Recto

Pl. 35-1: SI 2965/3 R (reconstruction)

4	3	2	1
者 豈 異 人 乎 今 此 妙 音 菩薩 摩訶 薩 是 華 德	雷 音 王 佛 所 妙 音 菩薩 支 樂 供 養 奉 上 寶 器	智 佛 國 有 是 神 華 德 於 汝 意 云 何 爾 時 雲	四 千 七 寶 鉢 以 是 因 緣 果 報 今 生 淨 華 宿 王

## Verso

Pl. 35-2: SI 2965/3 V



T 262 IX 56a8-11 or T 264 IX 191a2-5

## Transliteration

- 01 [...] × *nI*-ñ • *y*[ ] t<sup>h</sup>ā kr[ ] [...]  
 02 [...] × *kā* re • śa u ṣi-k [...]  
 03 [...] u pa di li g<sub>1</sub>lā [ ] *i* [...]  
 04 [...] r̄ keṃ le g<sub>1</sub>tyā • sa [?]v[ ] [...]  
 05 [...] × × ṣi-× × [...]

## Transcription

- 01 [...] *nI*ḥ • *y*[a]thākr[amaṃ ...]  
 02 [...] × *kā*re • śa uṣik [...]  
 03 [...] upadilīgla[r]i [...]  
 04 [...] r̄ kenleṅtā • sa[r]v[a- ...]  
 05 [...] × [u]ṣi[k] × [...]



### Commentary

01 The Uygh. gen. is certain, the restoration of Skt. *yathākramaṃ*, or *yathākramaṇa* ‘in due succession’ quite likely.

02 × **kāre • śa użik**: (Skt.) ‘before the letter [ ]’, (Uygh.) ‘the letter, or akṣara śa’. × is definitely not part of <ś> and thus Uygh. *śa użik* does not translate × *kāre*. The *sūtra* could have been something like ‘before the letter (-*kāre*) [X the letter Y changes into] the letter ś’. This sandhi rule would be of the type *Kātantra* I 5,1 *visarjanīyaś ce che vā śam* ‘visarga (changes) into ś before c or ch’. × might in fact be the right loop of <c<sup>h</sup>>.

03 **upadihḡla[r]** ‘those of [ ] which have [...] upadi’. The loanword *upadi* is a crux. Under the premise that we are concerned with a grammatical text on sandhi, borrowing from *upadhi*- BS ‘fundament (of the worldly existence)’<sup>121</sup> is out of place as well as *upādhi*- ‘specification’ which is used as grammatical *terminus technicus*,<sup>122</sup> but not in the context of sandhi rules. A suitable etymon, but formally difficult because of the final -i, would be *upadhā*- ‘the penultimate letter, or sound’.

04 **r kenlegtä** ‘in [...] with final r’. The interpretation is hypothetical.

05 The preserved traces are well compatible with < u ṣi-k > in line 2.

## 36 SI 3716/7 (Kr VII/1)

Fragment from a scroll with Saṅghabhadra’s Chinese translation of either *Nyāyānusāraśāstra*[?] (T 1562) or *Abhidharmapiṭakaprakaraṇaśāśanaśāstra* (T 1563). The free reverse was used to write on a Sanskrit — Old Uyghur bilingual text.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size:** 3.2. cm × 8.2 cm.

**Language(s):** Chinese (recto), Sanskrit (?) — Uyghur bilingual (verso).

<sup>121</sup> SWTF 1994–2018: I 384.

<sup>122</sup> RENO 1957: 109.

## Undetermined

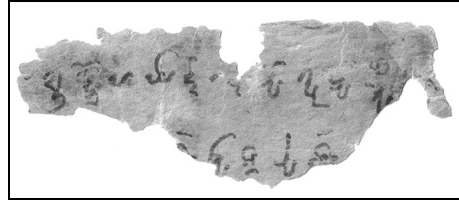
## Recto

Pl. 36-1: SI 3716/7 R  
(reconstruction)

2	1
名色界又於彼觸有成外用謂成宮殿及衣	大種應元則諸所造亦應非有便同无色何

## Verso

Pl. 36-2: SI 3716/7 V



T 1562 XXIX 349b17-18 or T1563 XXIX 788a11-12.

## Transliteration

01 [...] • ā tmo pa<sup>123</sup> yā te<sup>124</sup> • × tyo zyu<sup>125</sup> myo ltyo × [...]

02 [...] [ ] āṃ • myā ñi lya yiṃ [...]

<sup>123</sup> Or: ha?

<sup>124</sup> Or: ne.

<sup>125</sup> Or: zyuṃ.

**Transcription**

01 [...] • *ātmopāyāt*<i> • *ātözüm öltö* [...]

02 [...] *ām* • *māñiläyin* [...]

**Translation**

01 (Skt.) the self approaches, (Uygh.) my self died

02 (Skt.) may I [...], (Uygh.) may I be happy!

**Commentary**

01 Skt. excerpt and Uygh. translation individually are not clear, the combination of both helps to exclude some readings, but leads to no conclusive understanding. After Uygh. ‘my self died’<sup>126</sup> one would expect something like Skt. *\*ātmāpayātaḥ* ‘the self has gone away’. But *o* in *ātmo°* only admits of *upāyā-* ‘to approach (scil. death?)’. Next difficulty is final <te> which cannot be taken as PPt., but must be 3rd sing. Pr. middle, maybe erroneously for act. -ti.

02 From the Uygh. it appears that Skt. [...] *ām* is the remainder of the 1st sing. opt. prs. act. on -yām (athematic) or -eyām (thematic). Several verbs come into question, *tuṣ-*, and inter alia.

**2.2.4 Tocharian B — Uyghur****37 SI 3715/1; SI 3716/4; SI 3717/1 (Kr VII/1);  
SI 3754 (Kr VIII/6-3)**

It was Ogihara who established that the fragments listed were taken from a Chinese scroll with Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (T 222). The first three fragments form an almost complete series; the fourth fragment follows at a greater distance (see pl. 37–1). A longer strip was cut from the lower edge of the scroll. Length and width cannot be determined. Nothing indicates that this strip was cut up any further; it served as a scroll again. After it had been turned over the long

<sup>126</sup> *öltö*, usually *ölti*, with persevering assimilation *ö - i> ö - ö*.

edge and rotated 90° counterclockwise, the blank reverse was used to write a bilingual on, in which individual words from a Tocharian B text were translated into Uyghur. So far, no text known from elsewhere could be recognized in the incoherent words; preterital verb forms might indicate a narrative text.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size(s):** SI 3715/1 15.1 cm × 7.8 cm; SI 3716/4 8.8 cm × 6.9 cm; SI 3717/1 3.6 cm × 4.7 cm; SI 3754 8.7 cm × 8.7 cm.

**Joining:** SI 3715/1 + 3716/4 + 3754 + 3717/1

**Language(s):** Chinese (recto), Tocharian B — Old Uyghur bilingual (verso).

**Published in:** OGIHARA 2018: e31–e35.

### Narrative text?

### Recto

Pl. 37-1: SI 3715/1 + 3716/4 + 3754 + 3717/1 R (reconstruction)

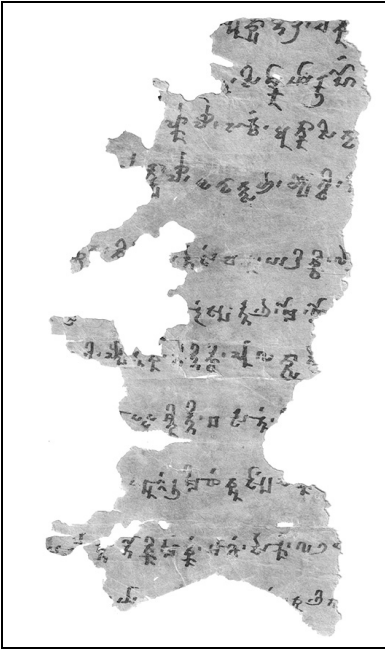
何色爲菩薩乎痛痒思想生死識爲菩薩	色不痛痒思想生死識不痛於眼耳鼻舌	身意亦不痛眼色識不痛耳聲識不痛鼻香	識不痛舌味識不痛身細滑識不痛身重識	不痛眼習五陰之事而无所痛不痛痛痒无	苦无樂无不苦樂乃至意識所習痛痒痛者	痛痒及與苦樂不苦不樂行者於彼無死	痛亦不痛著於有爲界亦不痛著於死後	亦不痛著檀波羅蜜亦不痛著尸盧羅蜜	亦不痛著禪波羅蜜亦不痛著般若波羅蜜	亦不痛著瞋提波羅蜜亦不痛著惟逮波羅蜜	亦不痛著相亦不痛著菩薩之身不痛著	於肉眼亦不痛著天眼慧眼法眼佛眼二	痛著慧度无極亦不痛著神通之空際无	極亦不痛著内外亦不痛著處於兩間亦不	痛著於内之空亦不痛著於外之空亦不	痛著于自然之緣亦不痛著自然之緣	不痛著開化衆生亦不痛著佛土淨土不	痛著温口拘舍羅所以者何用一如法无	口有故當所著者亦无所著亦无所著	持者如是須菩提菩薩摩訶薩於一切法而	無所著爲行般若波羅蜜檀波羅蜜尸波羅	蜜羅提波羅蜜惟逮波羅蜜禪波羅蜜般若	波羅蜜便得長益入于寂然得菩薩道入于	阿惟越致神通具足神通以具遊佛國教	化衆生已化衆生則便供養諸佛世尊則能嚴	淨諸佛國土已能嚴淨諸佛國土諸佛世尊	皆親見於時菩薩亦復遙見諸佛大聖亦欲	速得功德善本便當供養諸佛世尊禮首歸	命則速自然无量之德親近諸佛便得從聞	所說經典已速聞法未嘗斷絕速得阿耨多	羅三藐三菩提惟三佛諸總持門諸三昧門	如是須菩提菩薩摩訶薩行般若波羅蜜行分	別曉了一切諸法因緣假號於須菩提意云	何色爲菩薩乎痛痒思想生死識爲菩薩
34	33	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	

T 222 VIII 163b12ff. [b11–c17, DM] (Ogih.)

## Verso

## 37.1 SI 3715/1

Pl. 37-2: SI 3715/1 V



## Transliteration

- 01 [...] ×yu kyā<sup>127</sup> nī<sup>128</sup> ×r[ ]<sup>129</sup> • e k[ ]<sup>130</sup> [...]  
 02 [...] × • si śgīā<sup>131</sup> yā g<sub>1</sub>u hoṃ [...]  
 03 [...] lg<sub>1</sub>ā li • sa-rk • a rkā si ndā [...]  
 04 [...] l[ ] rtg<sub>1</sub>yā<sup>132</sup> li • wa wā ntsa ñe • b<sup>h</sup>yo zci<sup>133</sup> • × [...]

<sup>127</sup> Or: rkyā.<sup>128</sup> Or ti.<sup>129</sup> Or: rr[ ]; rri O.<sup>130</sup> Or: rk[ ] O.<sup>131</sup> Or: mg<sub>1</sub>ā O, śg<sub>1</sub>ā, bg<sub>1</sub>ā.<sup>132</sup> rkyā O.<sup>133</sup> gci O.

- 05 [...] *k*[ ] ×<sup>134</sup> *ki* [ ] *i* [ + ] • *te saṃ va*<sup>135</sup> *ra*<sup>136</sup> • *ya rri kci*<sup>137</sup> • *o* × [...]   
 06 [...] [ ] *s*[ ] [ca. 5 akṣ. ] -*r* *spa rta ñe* • *mo ño*-<sup>138</sup> [...]   
 07 [...] × *i* • *lyo*<sup>139</sup> × *u*<sup>140</sup> [?] *k* × • *t*<sup>141</sup> *tti g<sub>1</sub> ci* • *lu wa kwā t* × *e*<sup>142</sup> [...]   
 08 [...] [ ] *ā*<sup>143</sup> *i śki rtti* • *pa rsa-nt* • × [...]   
 09 [...] • *yyu*<sup>144</sup> -*ñ u*<sup>145</sup> *rmi-ṣ kyu syāṃ sa*<sup>146</sup> *g<sub>1</sub>* [ ]<sup>147</sup> [...]   
 10 [...] *pa*<sup>148</sup> [?] *e tt* [ ]<sup>149</sup> • *to ki mā-k* • *śā-k*<sup>150</sup> • *se*<sup>151</sup> -*g<sub>1</sub>* • *wa la* × [...]   
 11 [...] <sup>152</sup> *yā* [ca. 6 akṣ. ] × × *ka ñi n* [ ]<sup>153</sup> [...]

### Transcription

- 01 [...] *ü kā ni* × *r* [ ]<sup>154</sup> • *ek*[...]   
 02 [...] × [ + ] × × • *sī ṣga*<sup>155</sup> *ya gu hon* [...]   
 03 [...] *lgaḷi* • *sark* • *arkasinda* [...]   
 04 [...] *l*[ ] *rtgāli* • *wawāntsaṅe* • *bözči* • × [...]   
 05 [...] × × *ki* [ + + ] • *te saṃvara* • *yarıkçı* • *o* [...]   
 06 [...] *s*[ ca. 5 akṣ. ] *r sparttaṅe* • *mono*[ ] [...]

<sup>134</sup> Or: × •; *s*[?][ ] O.

<sup>135</sup> ṣa O.

<sup>136</sup> Or: *nu*?

<sup>137</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>ci* O; misreading.

<sup>138</sup> ñ[ ]o O. No trace of a subscript; the virāma stroke is well visible.

<sup>139</sup> Or: *lpo* O.

<sup>140</sup> *tt*[ ] or *nt*[ ] O.

<sup>141</sup> *tai* O.

<sup>142</sup> Or *n*[ ]e, *n*[ ]*ai*, *t*[ ]*ai* O. The second consonant of the ligature may be *s*.

<sup>143</sup> + O.

<sup>144</sup> Though only a small loop of the basis sign is preserved Ogihara was most probably right to determine it as *y*- If need be, *s*- would be another, but fruitless option.

<sup>145</sup> Or: *ru* (only theoretically as initial *r*- “was a sound entirely foreign to the Turkish language”, ED 1972: 780a).

<sup>146</sup> *ca* not excluded, cf. comm.

<sup>147</sup> Or: [-]*g<sub>1</sub>*, *k*[ ], [-]*k*.

<sup>148</sup> Or: *ya*?

<sup>149</sup> Or: *nt*[ ]. The vowel is -*a* or -[*ā*].

<sup>150</sup> Or: *śā-k*; *śā-k* O. A vowel diacritic, either -*ā* or -*ī*, is sufficiently clear as well as -*k* though it is different from that in l. 03 (*sark*); the rival -*ñ* can be excluded.

<sup>151</sup> *sā* not excluded.

<sup>152</sup> + O.

<sup>153</sup> Or: *t*[ ] O.

<sup>154</sup> For possible alternative readings s. translit.

<sup>155</sup> Or: *mga*, *bga*.

- 07 [...] ×i • lyo[ ]uk[ ]<sup>156</sup> • t[i]tigči • luwa kwātse[...]  
 08 [...]ā išKirti • pärsant • × [...]  
 09 [...] yüñ urmiš kūsän sag<sup>157</sup> [...]  
 10 [...] pa l[?]e tta • tokımak • śāk<sup>158</sup> • sıg<sup>159</sup> • walā × [...]  
 11 [...] yā [ ca. 6 akş.] × × kañi n[ ]<sup>160</sup> [...]

### Commentary

01 [ ]ü kã ni ×r[ ]: Unclear.

**ek[ ... ]** or **er[k[...]]**: Both alternatives admit of various restorations.

02 **sı ŝga ya gu hon** [...]: One could try to analyse the series of akşara-s into sıŝgay<sup>161</sup> ‘will swell’, agug (acc.) ‘poison’, on ‘ten’. But the resulting sequence of words appears to be senseless.

03 [...]lgalı: Converb on +gAll<sup>162</sup> from any verb stem with final l and back vocalism, e.g. kılğalı, kıl- ‘to do’.

**sark • arkasında**: Uygh. ‘on (+da) the back (arka) of (+ın)’ clarifies that TochB sark<sup>163</sup> represents the obl. used in local sense. By and large in accordance with Ogihara.

04 [...]l[ ]rtgäli: Again (s. l. 03) converb on +gAll, this time better determinable; there are only three verbs attested which match the preserved sequence of consonants, viz. bälğürt- ‘make manifest’, kälürt- ‘to bring’, ölürt- ‘to get so. killed’.

**wawāntsañe • bözçi**: Uygh. bözçi<sup>164</sup>, nomen actoris (+čI)<sup>165</sup> from böz ‘cotton’, means ‘weaver of cotton cloth’<sup>166</sup> and would perfectly correspond with TochB wawāntsa (younger variant of wapāntsa<sup>167</sup>) ‘weaver’. The

<sup>156</sup> Ogihara reads uninterpreted lpo tt[ ] [?][k[ ].

<sup>157</sup> Or: čag, č/sag[ ], č/sak, č/sak[ ].

<sup>158</sup> Or: śtk.

<sup>159</sup> Or: sag?

<sup>160</sup> Or: t[ ] O.

<sup>161</sup> The alternative readings, sımga°, sıbga°, are completely uninterpretable.

<sup>162</sup> ATÜGR 1974: § 233.

<sup>163</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 740.

<sup>164</sup> Ogihara's reading böğči and his attempt of interpretation can be discarded without discussion.

<sup>165</sup> For the productive suffix and its semantics s. GOT 2004: 110ff.

<sup>166</sup> Or ‘seller of cotton cloth’, ED 1972: 390a.

<sup>167</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 626.

TochB derivation on -ññe, either abstract formation<sup>168</sup> or adjective, is not included in the Uygh. rendering.

05 **te saṃvara • yarıǵçı**: As already seen by Ogihara, the Uygh. *yarıǵçı* is nomen agentis (+ǵI) from *yarıǵ* ‘(body) armour’<sup>169</sup>, thus meaning ‘armourer’.<sup>170</sup> The TochB part is difficult in itself. Ogihara acceptably defined *te* as nom./obl. ntr. of the pronoun *se* ‘this’ and did not try to make sense out of what he read *saṃṣara*. The here favoured reading *saṃvara* looks like the Skt. lexeme ‘restraint, control, discipline’. Admittedly, it would be surprising to see the word in its Skt. form while it occurs elsewhere in TochB habit as *saṃvār*;<sup>171</sup> therefore, perhaps *saṃvar a°*, <-a> belonging to the following word.<sup>172</sup> In addition, there is an obvious asymmetry between the TochB excerpt and the Uygh. rendering. If at all, *saṃvar* and *yarıǵ* are connected by the way of allegory, ‘armour’ standing metaphorically for ‘discipline’ just as for ‘endurance’ in the “Gleichnis vom Wagen (chariot-simile)”.<sup>173</sup> *Yarıǵçı* might accordingly be abridged from \**sanvarlıǵ yarıǵçı* ‘someone who makes discipline his armour’. If so, the adjective TochB *saṃvar<ä>[ṣṣe-]* “consisting of discipline” might be considered.

06 [...]**r sparttañe • mono**[ṅ ...]: Both phrases are incomplete. In TochB *sparttañe* (<°alñe)<sup>174</sup> one recognizes *spārttalñe*<sup>175</sup> ‘behaviour’, without the correct *ā*-diacritic in the first syllable. The Uygh. equivalent is lost. Slightly damaged, but easily restorable is Uygh. *monuṅ*, the gen. sing. of *bo* ‘this’, *monuṅ*<sup>176</sup>, here with persevering assimilation *o-u > o-o*. The TochB counterpart is lacking.

<sup>168</sup> Thus Ogihara; DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 627 refers to parallel abstract *wāpām̐tsune* in TochA s. OGIHARA 2010: 866.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. n. 173.

<sup>170</sup> ED 1972: 962 b provides evidence from non-Uygh. texts.

<sup>171</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 733.

<sup>172</sup> For an alternative see below.

<sup>173</sup> The chariot simile, belonging to the *Saṃyuktāgama*, is attested in the Skt.-Uygh. bilingual TT VIII A 32–37, analysed by WALDSCHMIDT 1955: 10ff. The parts of the *brahmayāna* ‘the best of the (wordly) cars’ are compared with the constituents of the *dharmayāna* ‘the car, or vehicle of doctrine’. Inter alia, the latter is described in l. 35f. as *titikṣā-varma-sannāho* ‘whose coat of mail is endurance’, Uygh. *sārinmäklig yarıǵ üzä yarıklanmış ärür* ‘it is armoured by the armour consisting of endurance’.

<sup>174</sup> On this development PEYROT 2008: 64–65, referred to by Ogihara.

<sup>175</sup> The formation is described by Ogihara as *gerundive* II (corr.: I) of *spārt-* ‘to turn (itr.)’.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. <mo ṅu-ṅ> in TTVIII G 59, remarkably also spelled with *ñ*.



07 **lyo**[ ]**uk**[ ] • **t[i]tigči**: The Uygh. nomen actoris (+čI)<sup>177</sup> from titig ‘mud, clay’ occurs in a list of workmen and may mean “Ziegelhersteller”<sup>178</sup> (brickmaker) or “a man who makes mud walls”<sup>179</sup> or generally ‘someone working with clay’. For the restoration of the TochB part it is no help that kārkkälle is known as equivalent of Uygh. titig.<sup>180</sup> As to our -uk-, deverbal nomen agentis on -uki comes to mind, which would perfectly correspond with Uygh. +čI. Since the -uki-formation is derived exclusively from \*-s- and -sk-presents, the suffix should be preceded by -(š)š-.<sup>181</sup> Palaeographically justifiable is lyo[pš]uk[i] from lup-, laup- which forms the -s- present lup-s/š-. Thus \*lupšuki would be expected from which the attested form deviates in the root vowel and in the palatalization of the l-. The former, -o < -au-, could be transferred from the causative, the latter could be due to the influence of the semantically similar lyu- ‘to rub’.<sup>182</sup> The semantic side is relatively unproblematic: ‘one who smears (scil. clay)’ can very well be someone ‘who works with clay’. The close relationship between ‘clay’ and ‘to smear’ is based on the matter and is linguistically shown by the fact that words for clay can be derived from a root ‘to smear’, such as the Germanic \*laima/ōn > German Lehm, English loam from \*h<sub>2</sub>leǵH- ‘to smear’, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> 277.

**luwa** looks like the obl. sing. of luwo ‘animal’. The rest is unclear; kwāts (cf. DTB2 I 254) e[...] is too uncertain. But if kwātsi could be read, perhaps nebenform of kautsi, infin. of kau- ‘to kill’.

08 **iškirti**: Principally possible iš kirti ‘work entered’ makes poor sense. Therefore, the word for ‘a kind of Chinese embroidered silk brocade’<sup>183</sup> is preferable, as was proposed by Ogihara. The latest publication<sup>184</sup> has the lemma ešgirti. In the Orkhon inscriptions, according to the kind information

<sup>177</sup> The derivation suffix was also recognized by Ogihara, but he could not interpret the basis word which he read taytig.

<sup>178</sup> UW<sup>2</sup> 2010-2021: II.2: 46 (s.v. atsiz); WILKENS 2021: 723b.

<sup>179</sup> ED 1972: 455b.

<sup>180</sup> MAUE GLOSSEN I 2009: 22f.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. KRAUSE 1952: 45, SCHÄFER 1997. “The suffix was rare in the archaic and classical language, but became productive in the late language”. PEYROT 2008: 96.

<sup>182</sup> The word initial lyo reminds strongly of TochA lyom whose meaning ‘mud’ was determined by means of a Chinese parallel: špät koṃsā lyomaṃ kälk (A 1 (= THT 634) b 1), 泥(ni)中行七日 (T 1509 XXV 151 c 14) ‘he (the Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddha) went seven days in mud (泥)’, SIEG 1944: 4; DSCHI 1943: 308.

<sup>183</sup> ED 1972: 261a.

<sup>184</sup> WILKENS 2021: 4.

of M. Ölmez (p.c.), the initial sound is always written with the i-rune; the Uygh. Script has <y> without exception. This tends to argue for /i/ which is confirmed now by the present manuscript. The only counter-instance occurs in Kashgari's Divan, <'škurty>, which is transcribed by the editors — omitting the -r- which disturbs the systematics — as ešgūti, DLT (ed. D&K) I 164. In this the e- is a compromise owing to Old Uygh. testimonies; for \*äšGü(r)ti would be the first choice. However, since Kashgari's lexeme is probably taken from Karakhanid, its value for the Uyghur is less than that of the Brāhmī spelling. The Brāhmī middle -k- is also to be taken seriously: in our manuscript it stands for the voiceless palatal velar, while its voiced counterpart is represented by g<sub>1</sub>(y). However, it cannot be ruled out that the k spelling comes from another orthographic tradition where <k> ⇒ /k', g'/; in this case, the g of the Orkhon inscriptions would also apply to the Uygh. Thus, it is advisable to keep the question of velar open in Uyghur for the time being.

**pärsant** (read: pärsānt) appears to be the basis substantive of the adjective (-tstse<sup>185</sup>) pärsāntse 'resplendent'. Ogihara refers to the verb pärs- 'to sprinkle, splash', but does not interpret the word.

09 **yüñ urmiš**: 'on which a wool (or: feathers) is/are placed, or who has placed wool (or: feathers)'. Yüñ seems to be the palatal variant of yuñ 'wool, feathers'<sup>186</sup>; urmiš '(having) put, or placed', deverbative noun on -mīš from ur- 'to put, place' was also recognized by Ogihara while he left yūñ uninterpreted.

**küsän s/čak/g[?]**<sup>187</sup>: The first obvious idea was küsäncig<sup>188</sup> 'desirable'. But there is no trace of -i (or any other) diacritic connected with s- or c- so that only inherent -a is possible. Consequently, there must be a word boundary after küsän which is known as name of Kucha; a place name would be odd at this point, though. The following (part of a) word is too uncertain for a reasonable guess.

10 **tokimak** 'to hit, knock'<sup>189</sup> or as substantive 'club, mallet'.<sup>190</sup> The TochB word is obscure.

<sup>185</sup> TEB I 1960: § 222.

<sup>186</sup> ED 1972: 941b.

<sup>187</sup> Or variants (s. transcr.). Ogihara reads küsäns[ ], without interpretation.

<sup>188</sup> ED 1972: 751b. For the suffix -(X)nčig s. GOT 2004: 363ff.

<sup>189</sup> ED 1972: 467a

<sup>190</sup> ED 1972: 470b.

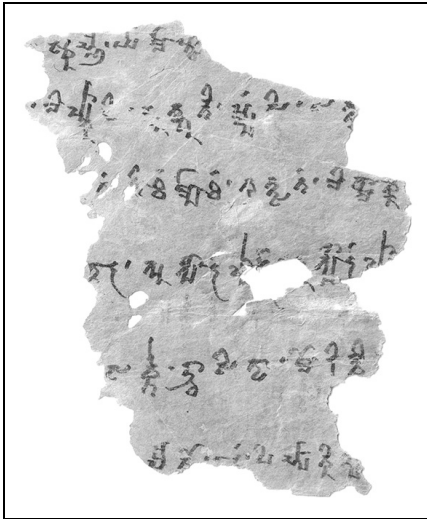
**śā/īk • sī/ag:** Ogihara inacceptably thinks that TochB śāk stands for śak ‘ten’; for it is unconceivable that a common word like ‘ten’ could have been misspelled and misunderstood by the translator. Uygh. sig, with /i/ written through <e>, could be ‘shallow’ or ‘stalk(?)’.<sup>191</sup> The former is well attested in Uyghur, for the latter Clauson (l.c.) has only a single instance from a medical text, kántir sīgnī üč öñi käsip ‘cutting a stalk of hemp into three pieces’.<sup>192</sup> A second instance comes from a collection of excerpts from the Samyuktāgama, kāmā sīg ‘cut branche(s)’.<sup>193</sup> If the present manuscript contains the third instance of this word, we can explain TochB śāk as a loanword from Skt. śākhā- ‘branch’.

**walā × [...]:** Ogihara suggests derivation from wāl- ‘to curl’.

11 [...]**e[+]kañi:** Unclear.

## 37.2 SI 3716/4

Pl. 37-3: SI 3716/4 V



<sup>191</sup> ED 1972: 804 s.v. 1 sī:k and 2 sīk.

<sup>192</sup> Hk I 1930: 122.

<sup>193</sup> MAUE 2015: 59: no. 89 r3 with comm. and addendum.

**Transliteration**

- 01 [...] ska lñe • yā<sup>194</sup> rmā<sup>195</sup>-hk<sup>196</sup> [...]  
 02 [...] • bi lykā<sup>197</sup> ñi<sup>198</sup> • uyu ndyu rti • plyam si • s[ ] tk[ ]<sup>199</sup> [...]  
 03 [...] tam<sup>200</sup> ti-k myā-k • kra<sup>201</sup> tsa<sup>202</sup> nam<sup>203</sup> • bi cmā-k [...]  
 04 [...] ntā<sup>204</sup>-r<sup>205</sup> • tyu rtyā-r lyā-r × rtyā-r l[ ] ā- [...]  
 05 [...] sa rkne • ucā si ndā • mo ri ñk[?]i [...]  
 06 [...] lai k[?]o<sup>206</sup> ×<sup>207</sup>-r • pi lyā ki ñy[ ] [...]

**Transcription**

- 01 [...]skalñe • yarmak [...]  
 02 [...] • bilgāni • üntürti • plyamsi • s[a]tg[...]  
 03 [...] <sup>t</sup>/<sub>n</sub>am<sup>208</sup> tikmäk • kra<sup>t</sup>/<sub>n</sub>tsa<sup>n</sup>/<sub>i</sub>am • bičmak [...]  
 04 [...]ntār • türtär<sup>[ä]</sup>r [sü]rtär<sup>[ä]</sup>[r ...]  
 05 [...] sarkne • ucasında • mo ri ñk[?]i [...]  
 06 [...]lai<sup>ko</sup> şar • biläkiñ[ä] [...]

**Commentary**

01 [ ]skalñe • yarmak: Ogihara had no explanation for Uygh. yamak (his reading) and had to limit himself to determining the incomplete TochB word as abstract noun from a gerundive. The by him ignored yamaG<sup>209</sup> ‘patch’ is thereby excluded. The reading yarmak would be nomen actionis on -mAk (~TochB -lñe) from yar- ‘to split, cleave’. Among the attested gerundives with middle -skal- it is trāskalye ‘chewable, edible’ (Skt. khādanīya-) which is semantically closest to the Uygh., but by no means convincing.

<sup>194</sup> Or: ye.

<sup>195</sup> Or: mā O.

<sup>196</sup> Virāma dot lost.

<sup>197</sup> Misspelling for lkyā.

<sup>198</sup> mi O.

<sup>199</sup> [?]tk[?][ ] O.

<sup>200</sup> Or: nam. šam O.

<sup>201</sup> ka O. -r- seems to be sufficiently sensible.

<sup>202</sup> Or: ntsa.

<sup>203</sup> Or: tam, thus O without alternative reading.

<sup>204</sup> Thus O as alternative, in the text: n[ ][ ].

<sup>205</sup> Without virāma dot.

<sup>206</sup> t[?]o O.

<sup>207</sup> Possibly p[ ] or ş[ ].

<sup>208</sup> Or: nam. šam O.

<sup>209</sup> ED 1972: 935b; OTWF 1991: 345.

02 **bilgäni üntürti** ‘brought forth knowledge’: While Ogihara understood *üntürti* correctly as 3rd sing. perf. of *üntür-* ‘to bring forth, produce (liter. to cause to rise)’, he could make nothing out of <bi lkyā mi>. The situation changes when *ñi* is accepted instead of *mi*. *Bilgäni* is the acc. sing. of *bilgä* ‘wise’ with the late originally pronominal ending +nI.<sup>210</sup> What is striking is *bilgä* instead of the usual dyadic *bilgä bilig*; but it does exist, albeit rarely, for instance *v(a)žir bilgä nom içintä* ‘within the Vajra-wisdom-sūtra’<sup>211</sup> (p.c. J. Wilkens and P. Zieme).

**plyaṃsi • s[a]tg[ ]**: Ogihara's accurate definition of TochB *plyaṃsi* as infin. K of *plänk-* K. ‘to sell’<sup>212</sup> clarifies that the mutilated Uygh. word must be some formation (e.g. -gAll, -gU, -gUIUk) of *sat-* ‘to sell’.

03 [...]’*ṃaṃ iḱmāk*: Ogihara's *šamntikmāk* [sic!] is an impossible chimaera and requires no discussion. *ṃaṃ* belongs to the TochB part, cf. the following excerpt; the interpunction is lacking or lost. Uygh. *tik-* ‘to insert (in the ground)’ “with a wide range of specialised meanings”<sup>213</sup> is no sound basis for suggestions on the underlying TochB word.

**kra t<sub>n</sub>tsa<sup>n</sup>/ṃaṃ • bičmak**: Uygh. ‘cutting’ is as clear as the TochB excerpt is obscure. Ogihara's attempts at explanation are based on presumably inaccurate reading.<sup>214</sup> Expected would be a form of *kärst-* ‘to cut off’.

04 [...]’*ntär • türtärlär* [sü]rtärl[ä]’[r] ‘they rub<sub>2</sub>’, 3rd pl. aor. of partly synonymous *türt-*<sup>215</sup> and *sürt-*.<sup>216</sup> Of the TochB excerpt the medio-passive personal ending of the 3rd pl. is preserved, obviously the end of [sonopa]’*ntär* from *sanāp-* ‘to rub in, anoint’<sup>217</sup> with medio-passive inflection. The corresponding 3rd. sing., *sonoptär*, is attested. If reflexivity is a permanent feature of the medio-passive forms<sup>218</sup> it is not expressed in Uygh. A few words must be said on Ogihara's proposal. Palaeographically his *tütörlär tütörlä[r]* is not really excluded even though the alleged -o-diacritics look sensibly different

<sup>210</sup> ATÜGR 1974: § 181.

<sup>211</sup> BT XXIX 2011: 138 l. 504.

<sup>212</sup> MAHLZAHN 2010: 742f.

<sup>213</sup> ED 1972: 476b.

<sup>214</sup> Ex con. *kantsate* from *känts-* ‘to sharpen’.

<sup>215</sup> ED 1972: 535a.

<sup>216</sup> ED 1972: 846b. — *sürt-* seems to be less striking than the mere repetition of the preceding *türtärlär*.

<sup>217</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 737; or *sanāp-* Malzahn 2010: 934. Alternatively, *kantanantär* could be restored, s. 38 v06.

<sup>218</sup> S. MALZAHN 2010. 934.

from that in *mo* of the next line and the first syllable of the second form is rather guesswork. Definitely impossible is his analysis of *tütörlär* as 3rd pl. prs. of *tütür-* ‘to fight’<sup>219</sup> without a temporal affix.

05 [...] **sarkne • ucasında**: The correspondence between TochB ‘on the back’ and Uygh. ‘on one's back’ is perfect, as was already seen by Oghihara. Uygh. *uça* occurs alone<sup>220</sup> or connected with *arka* ‘back’.<sup>221</sup>

**mo ri ñk[?]i**: Unknown. A certain similarity with *murañgī-*, *murungī-* ‘Moringa oleifera (syn. *M. pterygosperma*) may be accidental.

06 [...] **laiko şar • biläkiñ[ä ...]**: Completely uninterpreted by Oghihara. Uygh. *biläkiñä* ‘to one's wrist (*biläk*)’ raises no difficulties. TochB. *laiko* if seems to be derived from *lik-* ‘to wash’ either as the noun *laiko* ‘bath, washing’(?) or ‘lotion(?)’<sup>222</sup> or as part of the PPT nom. sing. *m.*, provided that *la-laiko* stands for the classical *lalaikau*. If the latter applies, *şar* ‘hand’ might be the object, while the TochB excerpt corresponding with Uygh. *biläkiñä* is lost. Presumably, the phrase was as follows: ‘he washed his hand up to the wrist’.

### 37.3 SI 3754

Pl. 37–4: SI 3754 V



<sup>219</sup> Thus, Oghihara referring to Russ. *натравлять* which, however, means ‘to incite’. From the Russian verb it becomes apparent that his source was DTS 1969: 602. There is quoted a sentence from the DLT 1982: 306: *olañ arit tütürdi* ‘he set the dog on him to catch him’. The non-Uygh. *ἄπαξ λεγ.* is highly problematic, cf. e.g. GOT 2004: 723, and just for that reason not suitable to throw light on another unclear context.

<sup>220</sup> E.g. TT VII 1937: text 20 l. 7.

<sup>221</sup> E.g. BT XIII 1985: text 1 l. 74.

<sup>222</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 600.

### Transliteration

- 01 [...] × [ ]ky[ ] × [ ]yu ×y[ ] × [...]  
 02 [...] ×u ci • ka rṣa lya na • yyo lyā ṅyo • ke ś[ ]<sup>223</sup> [...]  
 03 [...] l[?]ā l[ ]<sup>224</sup> • [ + + + ] × • syu ṅyu pa śim • śu tka ske [...]  
 04 [...] lñe wa [ ]×ai • tu tmā-hk d<sup>h</sup>ā ulā d<sup>h</sup>i • ś[ ] [...]  
 05 [...] lko • tyu ṅyu-ṛ pyu śyo-k<sup>225</sup> • e<sup>226</sup> pe-s<sup>227</sup> ya × [...]  
 06 [...] × yu rlyā-ṛ • pra mā nta • kī zhu<sup>228</sup>-t • yā ṣa<sup>229</sup> ñe • [...]

### Transcription

- 01 [...] × [ ]ky[ ] × [ ]yu ×y[ ] × [...]  
 02 [...]UčI • kārṣālyana • yōlāṅō • keś[...]  
 03 [...] l[?]ā l[ ] • [ + + + ] × • sūṅū bašin • śutkaske[...]  
 04 [...]lñe wa[r]ñai • tutmakta ulatī • ś[...]  
 05 [...]lko • tūṅūr büšök<sup>230</sup> • epes ya × [...]  
 06 [...] ...ürlär • pramānta • kızıgut • yāṣañe • [...]

### Commentary

02 **kārṣālyana** • **yōlāṅō**: Following Adams<sup>231</sup>, Ogihara interpreted the TochB word as *gdv. nom./obl. pl. fem. of kārsk-* ‘to throw, spread, shoot’; for *yōlāṅō* he gave ‘rest’. The latter is undocumented, the former anything but certain. Certain is that both forms are gerundives on TochB -lye and

<sup>223</sup> Or: g[ ].

<sup>224</sup> [ ]: [?]p[ ] lyā lya O, does not represent the present state of the fragment.

<sup>225</sup> -z O (misread).

<sup>226</sup> Or: ca O.

<sup>227</sup> Or: -m O. -s of the manuscript is not inclined, but more rounded than m should be.

<sup>228</sup> ghu O (misread).

<sup>229</sup> Or: pā O.

<sup>230</sup> püšöz O.

<sup>231</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 177. The lemma *kārsk-* (practically unchanged reproduced from DTB<sup>1</sup> 1999: 167f.) is full of inaccuracies: instead of *sumāna* one should read (Skt.) *sumanā* or (TochB) *sumān*, on p. 762 correctly translated through ‘great flowering jasmine’ but provided with the wrong botanical name ‘*Chrysanthemum indicum* Linn.’ instead of ‘*Jasminum grandiflorum* L.’. Next is the word of unknown meaning, which Adams misspells as “Mālaṅḍi” (against *māladaṅḍi* of the ms.) in the first TochB quotation and as “Mālaṅḍika” in the translation of the second quotation from M-3a5/PK-AS-8Ca5 (not °8Ga5 with Adams), while the (perhaps) correct, but unattested form Skt. \**māladaṅḍikā* is found on p. 482. An even more serious shortcoming is the lack of an indication that the lemma form and the meaning of the verb which underlies *kārṣālyana* are disputed.

Uygh. +gU resp. The Uygh. form is derived from *yöläŋ*- ‘to lean on’<sup>232</sup>, *yöläŋgü*, with crasis *ng > ŋ* and perseverative assimilation *ö-ü > ö-ö*. It is semantically incompatible with \**kärşalye* whichever of the proposed interpretations one would accept. They were shortly presented by M. Malzahn<sup>233</sup>: Filliozat’s ‘à reconnaître’<sup>234</sup> from the root *kärs*- ‘to know’ (formally excluded), Sieg’s derivation from *kärk*- ‘binden (to bind)’<sup>235</sup> Adams’ aforementioned view. She herself refrained from any semantic determination, setting a second root *kärsk*- with unknown meaning. Recently G.-J. Pinault, M. Malzahn and M. Peyrot returned to Sieg’s ‘to bind’.<sup>236</sup> Provided that *kärşalye* means ‘to be bound’ in our ms., the same could be expressed by Uygh. *ulangu* from *ulan*- ‘to be joined or attached to’.<sup>237</sup> Spelled in cursive Sogdo-Uygh. script, *’wl’nkw*, it would be confusable with *ywl’nkw*, *yöläŋgü*.<sup>238</sup> Thus it is conceivable that the scribe of our ms. had a draft before his eyes where the Uyghur part was written in informal Sogdo-Uyghur script and he — unaware of the TochB — misread *’wl’nkw* as *ywl’nkw*. But it may be wise to wait for a simpler solution.

03 **süñü bařm** ‘spearhead or top of a banner (Skt. *dhvajāgra*-) (acc. or instr.)’.<sup>239</sup>

**śutkaske**[...]: With Ogihara probably an incomplete form of the so far unattested causativum of *kutk*- ‘± to give substance to, cast in a mold; embody, incarnate’<sup>240</sup> though *śutka* (3. sing. pret. I) with following e.g. *ske*[*ye*] ‘zeal, or sim.’<sup>241</sup> cannot be excluded.

04 [...]**lñe wa[r]ñai • tutmakta ulatı** ‘grasping, or holding etc.’ As was pointed out by Ogihara Uygh. +*ta ulatı* helps to restore TochB *warñai* ‘etc.’ as well as Uygh. *tutmak* points to TochB *eñkalñe* ‘grasping’.

<sup>232</sup> OTWF 1991: 630.

<sup>233</sup> MALZAHN 2010: 582.

<sup>234</sup> FILLIOZAT 1948: 101 and 114.

<sup>235</sup> SIEG 1955: 81; KRAUSE 1952: 230. In DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013:171 it is <sup>2</sup>*kärk*-, one of four homonym verbs.

<sup>236</sup> <https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?m-pkas8c> (Date of online publication: February 2014. Date of access: 2019-12-28.): a5 text and translation.

<sup>237</sup> OTWF 1991: 623.

<sup>238</sup> “generally written as *YWL’N’*” (OTWF 1991: 630) without the elsewhere usual palatal marker *y*.

<sup>239</sup> No interpretation by Ogihara.

<sup>240</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 194.

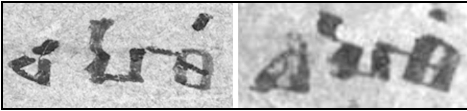
<sup>241</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 773.



05 [...]lko • tüñür büšök: Each of the Uyghur words<sup>242</sup> stands for a special “relation by marriage”, the difference discussed by Clauson<sup>243</sup> s.v. böšük. Noticable is the erroneous(?) metathesis of the vowels in büšök. A corresponding TochB word ending in lko is unknown.

**epes:** Ogihara tries to connect his reading capem with cämp- ‘to be able’. The 1. pl. prs.I/II act. would be \*campem; lacking -m- is unexplained. The here accepted epes has a parallel in THT 110 a 9 (s. pl. 37–5) which, however, was disqualified in the edition<sup>244</sup> as mistake for eše ş ‘together’ + ‘and’. The conjecture is unconvincing as it implies that two ordinary lexemes (eše and ş) would have been substituted by an extraordinary word or even something meaningless (epes). Segmentation after epe ‘or, otherwise’ leaves -s unexplained. Due to the lacking context in THT 110 and missing Uygh. translation here, epes remains obscure.

Pl. 37–5: SI 3754 v05 (detail); THT 110 a9 (detail) © BBAW



06 **pramānta • kızıgut:** Uygh. ‘torment; punishment’<sup>245</sup> does not support Ogihara’s assumption that the TochB *pramātta* (his reading) represents borrowed Skt. *pramatta-* ‘careless’. Being certainly a loanword, *pramānta* appears to be the plural on -nta of *pramān* (<\**pramān-nta* <\**pramānānta*). Such a word is attested in THT 110 a 4 after *yarm* (ms.: *yarām*) ‘measure’ and is regarded as its synonym and borrowing from Skt. *pramāṇa-* ‘(right) measure’.<sup>246</sup> Uygh. ‘punishment’, though no obvious rendering of the TochB word, could be understood as the ‘right measure(s)’ against an evil-doer. Another conceivable homonymous *pramān*, borrowed from Iranian, cf. MPers. *pr̥m'n*, *framān* ‘command, injunction’, would not have the advantage to be semantically closer to Uygh. *kızıgut*.

<sup>242</sup> Ogihara identified the first and misread the second one.

<sup>243</sup> ED 1972: 380b.

<sup>244</sup> TochSprB I 1983: 133 n. 10. CEToM reproduces the spelling of the ms. without commentary.

<sup>245</sup> OTWF 1991: 313.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 444.

**yāṣaṇe** ‘the dressing, putting on a dress’: abstract noun (-ṇe) on the basis of *yāṣalle*, gdv. I of *wās* ‘to be, or get dressed, wear, put on’<sup>247</sup>, *yāṣaṇe* < \**yāṣalṇe*. Ogihara reads *yāpāṇe* instead which he identifies with *yapālṇe* ‘the entering’, verbal abstract from *yāp-* ‘to enter’.

### 37.4 SI 3717/1

Pl. 37–6: SI 3717/1 V



#### Transliteration

- 01 [...] × -g<sub>1</sub> • le *wlām̃*<sup>248</sup> × × [...]  
 02 [...] × ko • [ta rra]<sup>249</sup> *lmi* [+ ] [ ]u<sup>250</sup> [...]  
 03 [...] × [...]

#### Transcription

- 01 [...]g • le *wlām̃* × × [...]  
 02 [...]ko • *taralmi*[š + ] [ ]u [...]  
 03 [...] × [...]

#### Commentary<sup>251</sup>

01 **le *wlām̃*** ×: The only word which comes in mind is *wlaṃṣke* ‘soft, pliable’. × is part of a ligature which could have been *śke*. The crux is that the

<sup>247</sup> For the formation cf. TEB I 1960: § 319, for the verb cf. DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 649.

<sup>248</sup> Or: *wpām̃* O; -p- would be the prima facie option; by comparison with the preceding l, however, -l- is well conceivable and certainly preferable because p should be attached to the end of w.

<sup>249</sup> [ ]: *sya* O; misreading.

<sup>250</sup> The lost consonant being k, d, ḍ or r. Or else: u.

<sup>251</sup> No interpretations by Ogihara.

thus isolated *le* means nothing. Changing into *le(n)* ‘(monastic) cell, resting place’<sup>252</sup> would be a slight emendation, a more serious one *le(ke/i)* ‘bed, resting place’.<sup>253</sup>

02 [...]ko • *taralmi*[š]: Uygh. ‘dispersed; confused’.<sup>254</sup> The first meaning could point to ToChB *käskau*, PPT of *käsk-* ‘scatter’<sup>255</sup> which, however, cannot be represented by [ ]ko since the ligature *sk-* would be expected. The metaphorical meaning reminds of ToChB *triko-* ‘confused’ which has to be excluded because the trace of the *akṣara* preceding *ko* can’t be part of the ligature *tri*.

### 38 SI 3716/5-6; SI 3718 (Kr VII/1)

Three fragments, two fitting together, the third a little distant from them, were recognized by Ogihara as pieces of the same scroll containing a passage of T 220 (s. pl. 38–1). The blank verso was used for writing down excerpts from a ToChB text with added Uyghur translations. For that purpose, the piece was cut off the scroll, turned over the upper (or lower) edge and rotated by 90° counterclockwise.

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

**Size(s):** SI 3716/5 6.3 cm × 7.7 cm; SI 3716/6 10.5 cm × 9.0 cm; SI 3718 3.3 cm × 6.2 cm.

**Joining:** SI 3716/5 ∞ 3718 + 3716/6 ∞ “3718-(1)”<sup>256</sup>

**Language(s):** Chinese (recto), Tocharian B — Old Uyghur bilingual (verso).

**Published in:** OGIHARA 2018: e28–e31.

#### Narrative text?

<sup>252</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 608.

<sup>253</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 607.

<sup>254</sup> GOT 2004: 674.

<sup>255</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 189; MALZAHN 2010: 596.

<sup>256</sup> The fragment so designated by Ogihara is untraceable. The two *akṣara*-s it contains are given below as line 18 according to Ogihara's reading.

## Recto

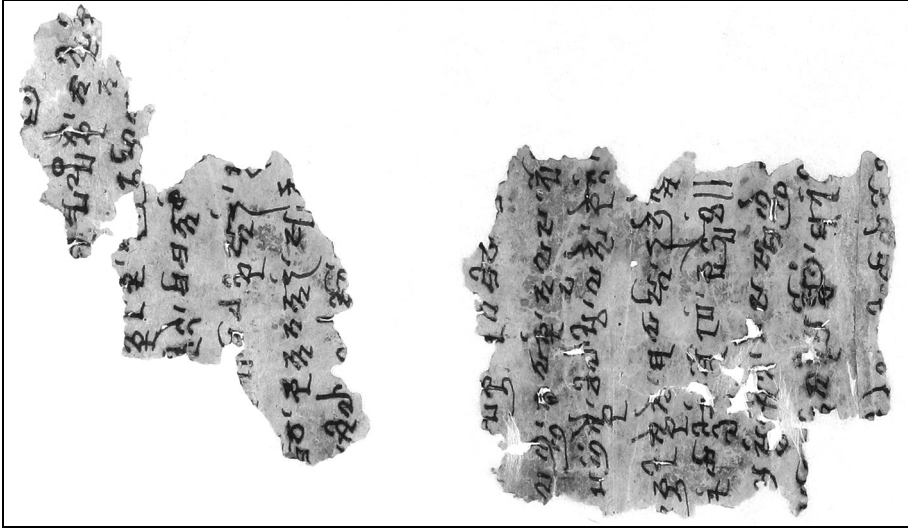
Pl. 38-1: SI 3716/5 ∞ 3718 + 3716/6 R (reconstruction)

13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
一切智智清淨若受想行識清淨若四无色	受想行識清淨故四无色定清淨何以故若	別无斷故一切智智清淨故受想行識清淨	若色清淨若四无色定清淨无二无二分无	故四无色定清淨何以故若一切智智清淨	復以善現一切智智清淨故色清淨色清淨	无二分无別无斷故	佛无上正等菩提清淨若四无量清淨无二	四无量清淨何以故若一切智智清淨若諸	正等菩提清淨諸佛无上正等菩提清淨故	別无斷故善現一切智智清淨故諸佛无上	訶薩行清淨若四无量清淨无二无二分无	淨何以故若一切智智清淨若一切菩薩摩

T 220 VI 345c8 ff. (Ogih.)

## Verso

Pl. 38-2: SI 3716/5 ∞ 3718 + 3716/6 V



## Transliteration

01 [...] × [ ]u<sup>257</sup> [...]02 [...] a mpa<sup>258</sup> lyi škai<sup>259</sup> • tā<sup>260</sup> ((ta))<sup>261</sup> wsi<sup>262</sup> ki[...]03 [...] ×k[ ]<sup>263</sup> rā<sup>264</sup> k[ ]<sup>265</sup> • [ × u ]<sup>266</sup> hrā y[ ] × [...]

<sup>257</sup> Alternatively, | after Ogihara; but the sign is written below the line which speaks against |.

<sup>258</sup> Or: mp[i], mp[e].

<sup>259</sup> Or: ške? The first bow of -ai is very faint but seems not to have been deleted.

<sup>260</sup> Or: nā O.

<sup>261</sup> na O, which Ogihara interprets as correction of nā; that could also apply to ta (for tā) although it is not clear what was intended by such a correction since vowel quantity has no relevance in Uyghur. A substantial reading aid would be: “read t(a), not n(ā)”. But for this purpose, the two akşaras are not distinct enough. Or else ta (or na) was omitted somewhere and had to be inserted there.

<sup>262</sup> + O, with note: perhaps w[?][ ], w[?]i or /[?]. There can be little doubt about wsi, however.

<sup>263</sup> Or: k×, with × = o or i. [?]k[ ] O.

<sup>264</sup> r[ ] O. The lower end of -ā is visible.

<sup>265</sup> [?]k[ ] O.

<sup>266</sup> | : a ru O.

- 04 [...] g i nā • mā ma nta-s [...]  
 05 [...] × y[ ]<sup>267</sup> •<sup>268</sup> mā e nka sta-r • pū<sup>269</sup> [...]  
 06 [...] [ ]mā-c<sup>270</sup> • ka nta na nta-r • sy[ ]<sup>271</sup> r×[ ]<sup>272</sup> [...]  
 07 [...] × śi lā × l[ ] × o<sup>273</sup> -l<sup>274</sup> [...]  
 [Two or three lines are lost:]  
 08 [...]  
 09 [...]  
 10 [...] × p[ ]<sup>275</sup> [?]ku<sup>276</sup> ×<sup>277</sup> [?]d<sup>h</sup>[ ] mi-s ×<sup>278</sup> [...]  
 11 [...] wa nñe • tu wā-k̄ • ta<sup>279</sup> (da)<sup>280</sup> wa sa • tyo × [...]  
 12 [...] pa nā śkai • vi<sup>281</sup> lā pci • wa rtse • ke-n̄ • [...]  
 13 [...] × ku ri śke ne • a wā stā<sup>282</sup> • ra tre × śe<sup>283</sup> [...]  
 14 [...] -g<sub>1</sub> yā n̄li-g<sub>1</sub> • muo<sup>284</sup> ra-p • kya n̄ryā-k̄ || || [...]  
 15 [...] pra st<sup>h</sup> aṃ • śi<sup>285</sup> n̄<sup>286</sup> • × e<sup>287</sup> sa sma nñe × [...]  
 16 [...] × [ ]o<sup>288</sup> × tam<sup>289</sup> tā ki<sup>290</sup> pra st<sup>h</sup> o-l • a-z × i [...]

<sup>267</sup> Or: ×p[ ], + O.

<sup>268</sup> Punctuation uncertain.

<sup>269</sup> ra O.

<sup>270</sup> Or: -v.

<sup>271</sup> Eligible vowel: a (inherent) or u.

<sup>272</sup> r[?][ ] or m[?][ ] O.

<sup>273</sup> Most likely × = k or k̄.

<sup>274</sup> ×o-l s[?]o-+ O.

<sup>275</sup> pi O. What is visible apart from p does not seem to be part of an -l, but of a consonant.

<sup>276</sup> The head of k is on the virtual writing line which would make only r an eligible superscript consonant.

<sup>277</sup> a O. In principle, [ ]u would also be possible.

<sup>278</sup> [?][ ]m[ ] O.

<sup>279</sup> Or: na, but cf. the following note.

<sup>280</sup> Or: ca. If da, possibly for disambiguation of the akṣara ta, s. note 261; if ca, unknown function. Not mentioned by O.

<sup>281</sup> Or: ci. O conversely.

<sup>282</sup> Or: snā.

<sup>283</sup> śśe O.

<sup>284</sup> mo O. Additional -u is clearly visible.

<sup>285</sup> ś[ ] O.

<sup>286</sup> Most probably virāma stroke lost.

<sup>287</sup> × = ś or p. se O.

<sup>288</sup> [ ] [?]o O.

<sup>289</sup> Or: nam, [-]t, not ta (pace O.).

<sup>290</sup> [ ] [ ]i O.

- 17 [...] × *i* × *ā* × *i* [+<sup>291</sup>] × *i*<sup>292</sup> • *yā ye* × *o* [ ] *i* [...]  
 18<sup>293</sup> [...] *si rki*<sup>294</sup>

### Transcription

- 01 [...] × [ ] *u*<sup>295</sup> [...]  
 02 [...] *ampalyiškai*<sup>296</sup> • *tavsıki*[*ya ...*]  
 03 [...] × *k* [ ] *rak* [ ] • × × *ugray*[*u*] + [...]  
 04 [...] *giŋa* • *māmantaş* [...]  
 05 [...] × × *y* [ ] • *mā eŋkastar* • *bu*[...]  
 06 [...] *mač*<sup>297</sup> • *kantanantar* • *süirt*[...]  
 07 [...] *šilā* [ ] [ ] *ol* [...]  
 08 [...]  
 09 [...]  
 10 [...] *p* [ ] *ku a*[?] *T*[ ] *miš* ×<sup>298</sup> [...]  
 11 [...] *waññe* • *tuvak* • <sup>1</sup>/<sub>n</sub> *awasa* • *tö*[...]  
 12 [...] *pañāškai* • *wilapči* • *wartse* • *keŋ* • [...]  
 13 [...] × *kuriškene* • *avazta* • *rätre* [ ] *še*<sup>299</sup> [...]  
 14 [...] *g* *yaŋlğ* • *muorap* • *käŋrāk* || [...]  
 15 [...] *prast*<sup>h</sup> *an* • *šij* • *šesa smaññe* • [...]  
 16 [...] × [ ] *o*<sup>300</sup> × *tam*<sup>301</sup> *taki* *prast ol* • *azki*[*ya ...*]  
 17 [...] × *i* × *ā* × *i* [+<sup>302</sup>] × *i*<sup>303</sup> • *yā ye* × *o* [ ] *i* [...]  
 18 [...] *sırki*

<sup>291</sup> Possibly two lost akşaras as O supposes.

<sup>292</sup> *s*[?] *i* O.

<sup>293</sup> Ogihara's reading, s. introduction to this item.

<sup>294</sup> Or: *rko*, *rkaui*.

<sup>295</sup> Alternatively, *ı* after Ogihara; but it is written below the line.

<sup>296</sup> Or: <sup>o</sup> *ške*?

<sup>297</sup> Or: <sup>o</sup> *w*.

<sup>298</sup> [?][ ] *m* [ ] O.

<sup>299</sup> *še* O.

<sup>300</sup> [ ] [?] *o* O.

<sup>301</sup> Or: *nam*, [-] *t*, not *ta* (pace O.).

<sup>302</sup> Possibly two lost akşaras as O supposes.

<sup>303</sup> *s*[?] *i* O.

### Commentary

02 **ampalyiskai • tavsıktı**[ya]: Ogihara determines the TochB form as obl. sing. fem. of a diminutivum on -ške, derived from so far unknown \*ampalyi. TochB -škai (or -ške) helps to restore the end of the Uygh. word as the semantically corresponding +kIyA. The remaining tawsı might be a borrowing from Chin. 桃子 táozı ‘peach’ (LMC<sup>304</sup> tʰaw tsz̥).<sup>305</sup> If so, TochB \*ampalyi could be associated with the first term of the compound ampalak-kesar,<sup>306</sup> which is itself an Indian loan word, cf. Pa. ambāṭaka- ‘Spondias mangifera (alias: pinnata) or hogplum’.<sup>307</sup> The material correspondence between the two fruits is very weak; but since neither the peach nor the hogplum were native to the Tarim basin, factual and linguistic inaccuracies must be viewed as possible.

03 **ugray**[u] ‘especially, particularly’.<sup>308</sup>

04 [...] **gıña**: Dat. sing. with preceding pron. suff. 3rd of a back vocalic noun on final g.

**māmantaş** ‘evil, malicious’; nom. pl. or obl. sing. masc. PpT mǎnt- MP ‘to be stirred, angry’;<sup>309</sup> with erroneous metathesis quantitatum for mamāntaş, as was observed by Ogihara.

05 **mā ɛnkastar • bu**[lmazsǎn]: TochB ‘you do not take’<sup>310</sup> which allows to restore the Uygh. form from bul- ‘to find, obtain’. As to the personal ending one can doubt whether °tar is used instead of °tǎr (3rd. sing.), cf. next line kantanantar.

06 [...] **mač**<sup>311</sup>: Unclear.

**kantanantar • s[ü]rt[ǎrlǎr...]**: TochB ‘they rub’ (3rd pl. Prs. MP)<sup>312</sup> of kǎnt-, with °ntar instead of °ntǎr. For sǎrt- cf. 37.2 v04.

07 [...] **šilǎ [ ]l[ ] ol**: It would be tempting to restore [Takşa]šilǎ [ba]l[ı]k ol ‘is the town Takşašilǎ’. But there is no clear evidence for that.

10 [ ]p[ ]ku a[?]T[ ]miš: Both parts are damaged; some relevant informations can be gathered nevertheless. Uygh. -miš points to TochB -u, mor-

<sup>304</sup> PULLEYBLANK 1992: 303 and 420.

<sup>305</sup> The fruit is also referred to by tǎlǎg ǎrǎk ‘hairy stone fruit’, ED 1972: 222a.

<sup>306</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: I 21.

<sup>307</sup> S. e.g. CDIAL 1966: no.1275.

<sup>308</sup> GOT 2004: 428. — Ogihara’s reading makes no sense.

<sup>309</sup> MALZAHN 2010: 753.

<sup>310</sup> Of course, also correctly seen by Ogihara.

<sup>311</sup> Or: °w.

<sup>312</sup> Ogihara erroneously 2nd. sing. which would be \*kantanatar.



pheme of PpT, and eo ipso to a verb stem with final k which also contains p. As no Uygh. verb with initial Cu is eligible, thus initial a is left with the following candidates: adın- (1) ‘to sober up’,<sup>313</sup> adın- (2) ‘to be overwhelmed (by joy or fear)’.<sup>314</sup> There is no attested TochB verb that formally and semantically matches Uygh. adın- (1) or (2).

11 [...] **waññe • tuvak**: TochB -ññe formations are very numerous, the ones preceded by wa are still half a dozen, the most prominent being on(u)waññe ‘immortal; immortality’.<sup>315</sup> Uygh. tuvak does not appear in the dictionaries. A back vocalic variant of tūvāk ‘a blow-pipe’<sup>316</sup> is not more than a vague possibility.<sup>317</sup> But if so, it would not translate the preceding TochB word which, however, could be a descriptive attribute (‘consisting of iron’??) of the lost TochB ‘blow-pipe’. Howsoever, Ogihara considers reading the word as TochB tuwak, tu (ntr. of su ‘this’) + enforcing enclitic particle -k.

<sup>1</sup>/<sub>n</sub>**awasa**<sup>318</sup> • **tö**[...]: The TochB excerpt possibly also occurs in THT 324 b4, read as nawasa and not interpreted so far.<sup>319</sup> The context there allows or even suggests the name of a part of the body in the perl. on -sa. It is preceded by the obl. tottemās ‘top of the head’. Both expressions could form a hendiadys so that the meaning of <sup>1</sup>/<sub>n</sub>awa would be ‘± crown of the head’. Its Uygh. equivalent töpö would be partly preserved in our manuscript. The whole chain of considerations is fragile and, of course, one can doubt whether there is room for a third ‘crown of the head’ beside tarne<sup>320</sup> and mrāce.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>313</sup> ED 1972: 61b; UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: I.1 8.

<sup>314</sup> ED 1972: 61b; UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: I.1 8.

<sup>315</sup> The others are: eñkwaññe ‘male’ ← eñkwe ‘man’; eñc(u)waññe ‘iron-’ ← eñcuwo ‘iron’; täñwaññe ‘loveliness’ <täñkwaññe ← täñk-waññ- ‘to love’; tañkwaññe ← tankw ‘love’; enaiwaññe ‘?’.

<sup>316</sup> ED 1972: 439a.

<sup>317</sup> The word can hardly be separated from Pers. tufak, tupak, tufang ‘musket’ and cognates, s. TMEN 1965–1975: II, no. 868. If Brockelmann's etymological derivation from Turkic \*top ‘ball’ with diminutive suffix +ak was correct, the searched for back vocalism would even be original. However, Doerfer refuted Brockelmann with strong arguments (unexplained o > u in the first syllable; late attestation in Turkic; -f- unusual in Turkic). His own explanation by onomatopoesis is all but convincing.

<sup>318</sup> Or: na°.

<sup>319</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 351.

<sup>320</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 298.

<sup>321</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 514. Mrāce is also attested in hendiadys with tarne in TT IX p. 12 l.25; the Uygh. translation is baš tüz töpö ‘Kopf-Scheitel’.

12 [ ] **pañāśkai • wilapči**: The Uygh. word is a nomen agentis on +čI. Residual *wilap*<sup>322</sup> must be a Tocharian style borrowing from Skt. *vilāpa-* ‘idle talk’.<sup>323</sup> The Uygh. translator could have built \**savıklatači* from *savıkla-* ‘to talk idly, or incoherently’.<sup>324</sup> The reason why he didn’t may perhaps be searched in the TochB excerpt if *p* represents the end of \**vilāp*. The rest is, however, morphologically unclear apart from the diminutive or adjectival suffix *-ške* (obl. fem. *-škai*), not rendered in Uygh.

**wartse • keŋ**: TochB<sup>325</sup>, Uygh.<sup>326</sup> ‘broad, wide’, already identified by Ogihara.

13 **kuriškene • avazta**: Ogihara convincingly analyses the TochB as locative (*-ne*) of the deminutive (*-ške*) of previously unattested \**kuri* of so far unknown meaning. The TochB locative should have prevented him from identifying the Uygh. word with Skt. *avasthā-* ‘state, position’ and could have led him to the Uygh. locative +*tA* from *avaz*.<sup>327</sup> This clarified, TochB *kuri* can be identified as Indian loan-word, corresponding with Skt. *kuṭī-* ‘hut, cell, esp. of a monk’<sup>328</sup> (For intervocalic Skt. *-ṭ-* ~TochB *-r-* cf. also Skt. *kūṭāgāra-* ‘roofed pavillion’<sup>329</sup> ~TochB *kwrakar*, TochA *kurekār*; \**kākoṭī-*<sup>330</sup> ‘Luvunga scandens (?)’<sup>331</sup> ~*kākori*;<sup>332</sup> Skt. *koṭi-* ‘a crore, ten millions’

<sup>322</sup> Alternative *čilap* is senseless.

<sup>323</sup> This meaning seems to prevail in the Buddhist language, cf. PED 1921–1925: 635b; SWTF 1994–2018: IV 132a *vilapita-* ‘dahergedet’, while elsewhere *vi-lap-* usually means ‘to lament, wail’.

<sup>324</sup> Cf. MAUE 1996: 46 no. 64; MAUE 2008: 162.

<sup>325</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 139 s.v. *aurttse*.

<sup>326</sup> ED 1972: 724b.

<sup>327</sup> UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: II.2 53 s.v. *avaz*; KNÜPPEL 2002. The voiced sibilant was accepted there because of the consistent spelling with *z*. The word is of Indian origin and corresponding with Skt. *āvāsa-* ‘abode’ (UW<sup>1</sup> 2010: 299a s.v. *ayaz*); that it came to the Uygh. through TochA *āvās* ‘abode’ could have been known to Knüppel (through MAITR TOCHA 1998: p. 40 a3) and Röhrborn (also through DThTA 2009: 54a). /*z*/ is not contradicted by our ms., which uses <*s*> as phonetic variant before *t* or follows the TochA orthography. The meaning of the Uyghur word will be discussed below in the main text.

<sup>328</sup> BHS-D 1953: 184b; SWTF 1994–2018: II 82a. As to the TochB ‘little hut’ s. ROSEN 1959: 62f.

<sup>329</sup> SWTF 1994–2018: II 101a.

<sup>330</sup> Usually *kākoṭī-*, once *kākoṭi-* BOWERMS 1893: II 33 § 128.

<sup>331</sup> According to Hoernle (BOWERMS 1893: 259b), but the identity is not ascertained, cf. the following note.

<sup>332</sup> Beside *kākoṭi*, FILLIOZAT 1948: 112f. ‘*Gymnema balsamicum*’, thus also IMM 1954: I 596.

~TochA<sup>333</sup>/B<sup>334</sup> kor.). To translate the specific TochB ‘little hut’ the Uygh. uses the generic term Skt. *āvāsa-* ‘a monk’s abode’ or more detailed ‘a place which is suitable for temporary or permanent residence of religious persons’. It is advisable to start from this meaning when interpreting the instances. The Uygh. word was already known from the Uygh. version of Xuantsang’s biography. It occurs in two contexts<sup>335</sup> where the Chin. original has 龕 *kān* and 龕室 *kānshi*.<sup>336</sup> The former, 龕,<sup>337</sup> serves to designate niches on the outside of a *stūpa* base<sup>338</sup>, the latter, 龕室, niches on a sacred mountain where monks came to sit down for meditation. The Uyghur translator adds *ürüñ* ‘cave’ in the latter case; that is for explanation as it seemed plausible to him that the holy men resided in caves. Pace Knüppel and Röhrborn in both instances the primary meaning of *avaz* is sufficient, the specific semantic nuances are determined by the context.

**rätre×še:** Ogihara suggests derivation from *ratre* ‘red’ with suffix *-šce* which perhaps also appears in *wāntarešce~wāntare* ‘thing, affair etc.’<sup>339</sup> The meaning is unclear.

14 [...] **gyaṅḥg:** Ogihara plausibly proposes restoration of *montag*, or *antagyaṅḥg* ‘suchlike, of his sort’.

**muorap • kāṅrāk:** TochB, Uygh. ‘drum’, as Ogihara correctly saw, Uygh. *kāṅrāk* translates Skt. *murava-*, the etymon of TochB *muorap*. The double vocalisation *-uo-*,<sup>340</sup> overlooked by Ogihara, is still waiting for a convincing explanation.

15 [...] **prast<sup>h</sup>an • šīṅ:** Ogihara had no lucky hand in deriving TochB *prast<sup>h</sup>an* from Skt. *prasthāna-*. Correctly read and interpreted, Uygh. *šīṅ* points the right way. The word is long known<sup>341</sup> and was determined by

<sup>333</sup> DThTA 2009: 165a.

<sup>334</sup> Beside *koṭ*, DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 215.

<sup>335</sup> Ht III 2001: 240 and 243; Ht V 2015: 1870 and 1875. The passages were discussed in some detail by M. Knüppel (KNÜPPEL 2002).

<sup>336</sup> Remarkably they occur nowhere else in the biography.

<sup>337</sup> In the beginning of the 11th chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (T 262 IX 32b 19 = T 264 IX 167a 2) 龕室 is used instead. Interestingly the Sanskrit text (SPSKT (ED. K&N) 1908–1912: 239,3–4) reads *torāṇa-*, which was understood by the Chinese translators, Kumārajīva as well as Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, not in the original sense of ‘an arch, arched doorway, portal’, but of a niche which was shaped in form of a *torāṇa*.

<sup>338</sup> Not within a *stūpa* as said by Röhrborn, UW<sup>2</sup> 2010–2021: II.2 51.

<sup>339</sup> For both s. DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 643f.

<sup>340</sup> For more instances in Uygh. Brāhmī mss. s. MAUE 1996: XXIV.

<sup>341</sup> U II 1911: 77, l. 26.

F.W.K. Müller as Chinese measure of capacity and translated by “Scheffel” (bushel), until it was corrected by Bang & von Gabain<sup>342</sup> into šīṅ ‘Liter’ < Chin. 升 shēng. The Chin. word is also met with in the Khotanese as śīṅga- for which R.E. Emmerick has shown that its Indian (approximative) equivalent was *prastha-*.<sup>343</sup> The latter is the etymon of TochB \**prast*<sup>h</sup>, here in the form of the obl. sing.

**ṣesa smaññe** ‘together with, soup’. Ogihara is right that something is wrong with the excerpt. *ṣesa* requires the comitative. If used as postposition the antecedent is lacking; if used as preposition the comitative suffix *-mpa* was not excerpted together with *smaññe*.

16 [...] × [ ]o<sup>344</sup> × *taṃ*<sup>345</sup> **taki prast ol • azki**[ya ...]. Ogihara wrongly thinks that there is a choice between Uygh. *az* ‘greed’ and *az* ‘little’. The following *kı* decides clearly for the latter, *azkiya* ‘a little bit’. What precedes is not as obscure as Ogihara suspects: +*tAkI* forms denominal nouns meaning ‘being in’; <*prast*<sup>h</sup>-> is again *prastha-*, this time as Uyghur word and therefore transcribed *prast*; the pronoun *ol* forms together with *prast* the predicate of a nominal sentence.

## 2.3 Undetermined language

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### 39 SI 6378/11 (B/без шифра)

**Provenance:** Tajik Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

**Size:** 3.7 cm × 2.2 cm.

**Language:** Tocharian A or B.

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<sup>342</sup> BANG & VON GABAIN 1931: 500b.

<sup>343</sup> Final version in SVK 1982–1997: II 139f.

<sup>344</sup> [ ] [?] o O.

<sup>345</sup> Or: *nam*.

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**Undetermined****A**

Pl. 39-1: SI 6378/11 A

**Transliteration**01 [...] sa<sup>346</sup> || [...]02 [...] rwa şta<sup>347</sup> [...]**B**

Pl. 39-2: SI 6378/11 B

**Transliteration**

01 [...] × [...]

**40 SI 6378/6 (B/без шифра)****Provenance:** Tajik Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.**Size:** 2.1 cm × 1.3 cm.**Language:** Tocharian?**Undetermined****A**

Pl. 40-1: SI 6378/6 A

**Transliteration**01 [...] × • t[ ]<sup>348</sup> [...]

02 [...] × to × [...]

**B**

Pl. 40-2: SI 6378/6 B

**Transliteration**

01 [...] × ×k[ ] × [...]

02 [...] × w[ ] ×i [...]

<sup>346</sup> Or: [-]š.<sup>347</sup> Or: şwa. ş[u].<sup>348</sup> Or: n[ ].

**41 SI 6378/10 (B/без шифра)**

**Provenance:** Tajik Ming öy, coll. by Berezovsky, in 1905–1907.

**Size:** 2.5 cm × 2.2 cm.

**Language:** Unclear.

**Undetermined****A**

Pl. 41-1: SI 6378/10 A

**Transliteration**

01 [...] ×i škā [...]

02 [...] ×ā [...]

**Commentary**

Assuming that the reading 01 -iškā- is correct, it seems to be Skt., part of pariškāra-, niškāsa- etc. etc.

**B**

Pl. 41-2: SI 6378/10 B

**Transliteration**

01 [...] mi × [...]

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## 42 SI 3716/1 (Kr VII/1)

**Provenance:** Turfan, coll. by Krotkov around 1907.

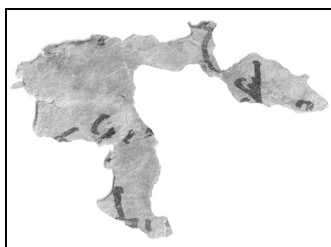
**Size:** 2.7 cm × 3.9 cm.

**Language:** Tocharian B(?), Old Uyghur(?).

### Undetermined

#### Recto

Pl. 42-1: SI 3716/1 R



Traces of three lines. Special sign <ṛ> in the first line might point to Tocharian or Uyghur; but it rarely occurs even in Skt. manuscripts, e.g. SHT VII 1642 Bl. 38r2 ṛddhi-. Other readable akṣaras *i*, *l*[?]e [ ]i in line 02 and ×e in line 03 are ambiguous as to the language.

#### Verso

Blank.

## 3.2 Literature and abbreviations (Part II)

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### Abbreviations

AAWG: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse

AKPAW: Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

APAW: Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BHS: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

BT: Berliner Turfantexte

CEToM: A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts, s. Electronic resources

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DDB: Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, s. Electronic resources  
DTA: Digitales Turfan-Archiv  
idp: International Dunhuang Project  
LMC: Late Middle Chinese after PULLEYBLANK 1991  
ms: manuscript  
NTB: North Turkestan Brāhmī  
Pa.: Pali  
r: recto  
SHT: Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden  
Skt.: Sanskrit  
s(ub) v(oce): under the specified word  
SPAW: Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.- hist. Klasse  
SWTF: Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden  
T (no.) (vol.) (p.): Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō (大正新脩大藏經), alias Taishō Issaikyō (大正一切經). I–C. Tōkyō 1924–1935, s. also Electronic resources  
THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Berlin, s. also Electronic resources  
TIES: Tocharian and Indo-European Studies  
TochA: Tocharian A  
TochB: Tocharian B  
TT: Türkische Turfan-Texte  
v: verso  
VOHD: Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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### Electronic resources (checked 09-17-2021)

CEToM: <https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?home>

DDB: <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>

DTA: <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta-i>

idp: <http://idp.bl.uk> or <http://idp.bbaw.de>

T: [https://21dzk.l.utokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index\\_en.html](https://21dzk.l.utokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html)

THT: The Berlin Tocharian manuscripts are accessible at the internet addresses of CEToM or DTA

WILKENS 2021 online version: [https://www.univerlag.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/3/isbn-978-3-86395-481-9/Wilkens\\_handwoerterbuch.pdf?sequence=4&](https://www.univerlag.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/3/isbn-978-3-86395-481-9/Wilkens_handwoerterbuch.pdf?sequence=4&)

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## 4 Appendix

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### 43 ВФ-4190 (Т II Y4/ ТII Y7)

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“Chinese manuscript of the 妙法蓮華經 Miao fa lianhuajing (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-Sūtra) on the recto (Taishō vol. 9, no.262). In addition, 3 lines in Brāhmī script are written on the upper margin of the Chinese manuscript. Different texts in Brāhmī script on the verso: ll. 6–32: Prasādapratibhod<b>hava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa (verse 1–13c, identified by Klaus Wille). Two fragments of a scroll.”<sup>349</sup> Mātṛceṭa's text is given in 43.1, the other Brāhmī inscriptions in 43.2.

**Provenance:** 2nd Prussian Turfan expedition, Yarkhoto.

**Size(s):** 71.5 cm × 26.6 cm; 13.1 cm × 26.1 cm.

**Language(s):** Sanskrit, Old Uyghur, Tocharian B.

#### 43.1. Sanskrit

**Verso**

**Prasādapratibhodbhava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa  
verses 41 (= 3.15) and 1–13c (= 1.1–2.3c)**

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<sup>349</sup> Pchelín & Raschmann 2016: 26.

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## Transliteration

**Preliminary remarks:** Mistakes concerning the quantity of vowels (a instead of ā or vice versa etc.), mostly missing visarga-s (ḥ) and anusvāra-s used against sandhi rules also for final n are not mentioned in the apparatus.

01 • || ā tme cc<sup>h</sup>a cc<sup>h</sup>a la mā tra [[toṃ<sup>350</sup>]] ntu<sup>351</sup> : sa (ma)) nyo pām śu kiṃ ca nā | pa<sup>352</sup> ya

02 tro pa ni kṣi pya ka ye ta : sa va ntu<sup>353</sup> ra di<sup>354</sup> lo la ta :

03 ki ri na<sup>355</sup> nā<sup>356</sup> raṃ yo-nt sa raṃ yo pra ta<sup>357</sup> yi ri a pi

04–05 The blank was used by other hands for various scribal notes,

### s. 43.2.4

06 || sa rva dā sa rva t<sup>h</sup>ā sa rve • ya sya do śā na sa ntī ha • sa rve sa rvā

### 06as. 43.2.4

07 b<sup>h</sup>i (b<sup>h</sup>i)<sup>358</sup> sā re ṇa ya tra cā va st<sup>h</sup>i tā gu ṇā : ta me va śa ra ṇaṃ ga

08 ntum taṃ sto tum ta mu pā si tum • ta syai va śā sa ne st<sup>h</sup>ā tum :

09 nyā yaṃ ya dya sti ce ta nā : sa vā sa na śca te do śāḥ •

10 na sa ntye ka sya tā yi nā • sa rve sa rva vi da sa nti gu ṇā

11 ste cā na pā yi na 3 na hi pra ti ni vi ṣṭo pi ma no vā [[kā

12 ya (ya)]<sup>359</sup> kā ya ka rma su • sa ha d<sup>h</sup>a rme ṇa la b<sup>h</sup>a te ka ci db<sup>h</sup>a

13 ga va to nta ra maṃ<sup>360</sup> 4 so haṃ pra pya ma nu ṣya tvaṃ : sa sa

14 dd<sup>h</sup>a rma ma ho tsa va-m ma hā ṇa va yu ga cc<sup>h</sup>i dra ku rma gri vā

15 rpā ṇo pa ma maṃ<sup>361</sup> 5 a ni tya tā vya nu ṣṭāṃ ka rma cc<sup>h</sup>i dra

16 sa saṃ śa yā-m ā tta sā raṃ ka ri pyā<sup>362</sup> mi : ka t<sup>h</sup>a nne māṃ

17 sa ra sva ti-m 6 i tya saṃ k<sup>h</sup>ye yā vi ṣa yā ma

18 vī<sup>363</sup> dyā<sup>364</sup> pi gu ṇāṃ mu ne ta de ka de śa pra ṇa ya kri ya

<sup>350</sup> Or: tau. Seems to be crossed out.

<sup>351</sup> -n t- from -m # t- according to the older sandhi rule, cf AIGR 1957–1975: I § 283b.

<sup>352</sup> Or unfinished ya.

<sup>353</sup> Or: ttu, wrong for: ktu.

<sup>354</sup> Wrong for: ti.

<sup>355</sup> Or: ta.

<sup>356</sup> Or: tā.

<sup>357</sup> Or: na.

<sup>358</sup> The reason why b<sup>h</sup>i is repeated is unclear.

<sup>359</sup> Dittographical kā ya (ya) has been crossed out.

<sup>360</sup> Instead of -m; the lacking virāma stroke makes an anusvāra out of the virāma dot.

<sup>361</sup> S. previous note.

<sup>362</sup> Wrong for similar: ṣyā.

<sup>363</sup> Wrong for: ve.

<sup>364</sup> Wrong for: tyā.

- 19 ti<sup>365</sup> sva rt<sup>h</sup>a gau ra va-t 7 sva yaṃ b<sup>h</sup>ū vi<sup>366</sup> na ma s×e s[ ]  
 20 pra b<sup>h</sup>ū tā db<sup>h</sup>ū ta ka rma ṇe ya sya saṃ k<sup>h</sup>yā pra b<sup>h</sup>[ ] [+]  
 21 b<sup>h</sup>yāṃ na gu ṇe ṣva sti ni śca ya : 8  
 22 i ya nta i ti nā stya nta i dī<sup>367</sup> śa i ti kā ka t<sup>h</sup>ā •  
 23 pu [[ya]]<sup>368</sup> ṇyā i tye va tu gu ṇāṃ pra ti te mu k<sup>h</sup>a rā vā ya  
 24 maṃ<sup>369</sup> 9 || a d<sup>h</sup>yā rd<sup>h</sup>a śa ta ki<sup>370</sup> bu dd<sup>h</sup>a sto tre ū po dg<sup>h</sup>ā ta sta va  
 25 ×o × [+ +] × × ri [ ]e × ||  
 (After a blank the text continues with the second Stava)  
 26 [16 akṣara-s<sup>371</sup>] × yaṃ a b<sup>h</sup>ya  
 27 [16 akṣara-s] [ ]ā [ ]i  
 28 [+ + +] [ ]v[ ] [15 akṣara-s]  
 29 a na va skṛ ta ba nd<sup>h</sup>a 2 × sva mā s[ ] [ ]y[ ] [+ + + +]  
 30 [+] stu ṣva nye ṣu kā ka t<sup>h</sup>ā : pra ṇai ra pi × [+ +]  
 31 [+ + + +] × ye ja na 3 svai śa ri rai śa ri rā ṇi  
 32 [+ + + + +] × i [ ]i [ ]ā × ji g<sup>h</sup>ā<sup>372</sup> su b<sup>h</sup>i ru pā

### Transcription

**Preliminary remarks:** Mistakes or idiosyncrasies mentioned in the preliminary remarks or apparatus to the transliteration are silently emended or normalized, except for -m # t- > -n t-, -m # n- > -n n-.

- 01 • || ātmecchācchalamātran tu | sāmānyopāṃśu kiṃcana | ya-  
 02 tropanikṣipya ka<th>yeta | sā vaktur atilolatā < || >  
 03 †ki ri na<sup>373</sup> nā<sup>374</sup> raṃ yo-nt sa raṃ yo pra ta<sup>375</sup> yi ri a pi†<sup>376</sup>

<sup>365</sup> Wrong for: te.

<sup>366</sup> Wrong for: ve.

<sup>367</sup> Corrected from: dra.

<sup>368</sup> The akṣara ya has been crossed out. While going to write puṇya the scribe might have thought the Uygh. equivalent buyan.

<sup>369</sup> Instead of: -m; s. above fn. 360.

<sup>370</sup> Wrong for: ke.

<sup>371</sup> The lost part of the line contained pāda a and b of str. 10 which must have been closely written.

<sup>372</sup> Wrong for: g<sup>h</sup>āṃ (lacking anusvāra).

<sup>373</sup> Or: ta.

<sup>374</sup> Or: tā.

<sup>375</sup> Or: na.

<sup>376</sup> † ... † not consistently understandable. After the previous strophe, the last one of the Nirupamastava, the colophon would be expected, cf. l. 24.



04-05 s. 43.2.4

06 || sarvadā sarvathā sarve • yasya doṣā na santi ha<sup>377</sup> • sarve sarvā-  
06as. 43.2.4

07 bhisāreṇa <•> yatra cāvasthitā guṇāḥ : (1) tam eva śaraṇaṃ ga-

08 ntum <•> tam stotum tam upāsītum • tasyaiva śāsane sthātum :

09 nyāy<y>aṃ yady asti cetanā : (2) savāsanās ca te doṣāḥ •

10 na santy ekasya tāyinaḥ • sarve sarvavidāḥ santi <•> guṇā-

11 s te cānapāyinaḥ 3 na hi pratiniviṣṭo 'pi manovākkā-

12 yakarmasu • saha dharmeṇa labhate <•> ka<ś>cid bha-

13 gavato 'ntaram 4 so 'haṃ prāpya manuṣyatvaṃ : sasa-

14 ddharmamahotsavam <•> mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvā-

15 rpāṇopamam 5 anityatāvyanusṛtāṃ <•> karmacchidra-

16 sasamśayām <•> āttasāraṃ kariṣyāmi : kathan nemāṃ

17 sarasvatīm 6 ity asaṃhyeyaviṣayā<n><sup>378</sup> <•> a-

18 vetyāpi guṇān muneh <•> tadekadeśapraṇayaḥ <•> kriya-

19 te svārthagauravāt 7 svayaṃbhuvē namas [t]e 's[tu] <•>

20 prabhūtādbhutakarmaṇe <•> yasya saṃkhyāprabh[āvā-]

21 bhyām <•> na guṇeṣv asti niścayaḥ : 8

22 iyanta iti nāsty anta <•> īdṛśā iti kā kathā •

23 puṇyā ity eva tu guṇān <•> prati te mukharā vaya-

24 m 9 || adhyardhaśatake buddhastotre upodghātastava

25 ×o × [+ +] × *pari*[cch]ed[a]ḥ ||

26 [16 akṣara-s<sup>379</sup>] s[va]yaṃ abhya-

27 [16 akṣara-s] [p]ā[r]i-

28 [+ + +] [t]v[am] [15 akṣara-s]

29 anavaskṛtabāndha<vaḥ> 2 × svamā<ṃ>s[ān]y[+ + + +]

30 [va]stuṣv anyeṣu kā kathā : prāṇair api [t]v[+ +]

31 [+ + + + +] *ṇayī* janaḥ 3 svaiḥ śārīraiḥ śārīrāṇi <•>

32 [+ + + + +] i[r]i[ṇ]ām <•> jighā<ṃ>subhir upā-

<sup>377</sup> The reading of the ms points to metrically abnormal santīha (santi + iha).

<sup>378</sup> om ms.

<sup>379</sup> The lost part of the line contained pāda a and b of str. 10 which must have been closely written.

In the following the text is presented in strophes according to the critical edition by Shackleton Bailey.<sup>380</sup> The line numbers of the ms are inserted and repeated on the left.

- 01 ātmecchācchalamātram tu sāmānyopāṃśu kiṃcana |  
 02 ya(2)tropakṣipya<sup>381</sup> kathyeta sā vaktur atilolatā || 41  
 nirupamastavo nāma tṛṭiyaḥ paricchedaḥ ||<sup>382</sup>
- 06 sarvadā sarvathā sarve yasya doṣā na santi ha |  
 07 sarve sarvā(7)bhisāreṇa yatra cāvasthitā guṇāḥ || 1  
 08 tam eva śaraṇaṃ ga(8)ntuṃ taṃ stotuṃ tam upāsituṃ |  
 09 tasyaiva śāsane sthātuṃ (9) nyāyayaṃ yady asti cetanā || 2  
 10 savāsanaś ca te doṣā (10) na santi ekasya tāyinaḥ |  
 11 sarve sarvavidāḥ santi guṇā(11)s te cānapāyinaḥ || 3  
 12 na hi pratiniṣṭo 'pi manovākkā(12)yakarmasu |  
 13 saha dharmeṇa labhate kaścid bha(13)gavato 'ntaram || 4  
 14 so 'ha ṃ prāpya manuṣyatvaṃ sasa(14)ddharmamahotsavam |  
 15 mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvā(15)rpaṇopamam || 5  
 16 anityatāvyanuṣṭāṃ karmacchidra(16)sasaṃśayām |  
 17 āttasārāṃ kariṣyāmi kathaṃ nemāṃ (17) sarasvatīm || 6  
 18 ity asaṃkhyeyaviṣayān a(18)vetyāpi guṇān muneḥ |  
 19 tadekadeśapraṇayaḥ kriya(19)te svārthagauravāt || 7  
 20 svayaṃbhuve namas te 'stu (20) prabhūtādbhutakarmaṇe |  
 21 yasya saṃkhyāprabhāvā(21)bhyāṃ na guṇeṣv asti niścayaḥ || 8  
 22 iyanta iti nāsty anta īdṛśā iti kā kathā |  
 23–24 puṇyā ity eva tu guṇān prati te mukharā vaya(24)m || 9  
 25<sup>383</sup> upodghātastavo nāma prathamaḥ **paricchedaḥ** ||<sup>384</sup>  
 26 viśahyam aviśahyaṃ vety avadhūya vicāraṇām |

<sup>380</sup> SHACKLETON BAILEY 1951: 64; 28–42.

<sup>381</sup> Our ms reads °panikṣipya which makes pāda c with nine syllables hypermetrical.

<sup>382</sup> Instead of the colophon the ms has a line which is not understood or identified.

<sup>383</sup> Lines 25–32 are incomplete in the ms. The passages attested there are marked in bold.

<sup>384</sup> The colophon of the ms is different: 'in the Buddhastotra consisting of 150 (strophes) [the first] section [named] Upodghātastava ('introduction')'. Cf. the colophon of Prasādapratibhodbhava (chapter 9) in SHT 519r5 (= idp SHT 519/4): 9 || varṇārharṇe buddhastotre harṣas[ta]vo nāma navama<h> pariccheda<h> ||.

- 27 **svayam abhy**<sup>385</sup>u(27)papannaṃ te nirākrandam idaṃ jagat || 10 (= 2.1)  
 28 avyāpāri(28)tasādhus tvam tvam akāraṇavatsalaḥ |  
 29 asaṃstutasakhaś ca tvam (29) **anavaskṛtabāndhavaḥ** || 11 (= 2.2)  
 30 **svamāṃsāny** api dattāni (30) **vastuṣv anyeṣu kā kathā** |  
 31 **prāṇair api** tvayā sā(31)dho mānitaḥ **praṇayī janaḥ** || 12 (=2.3)  
 32 **svaiḥ śārīraiḥ śārīraṇi** (32) prāṇaiḥ prāṇāḥ śārīriṇām |  
**jighāṃsubhir upāttānām** krītāni śataśas tvayā || 13 (=2.4)

## 43.2 Varia

### Recto

#### 43.2.1 Uyghur scribal note on the upper margin

[+ + <sup>386</sup>] × pra pta ti<sup>387</sup> (blank) ka • a cā<sup>388</sup> ryā ba le<sup>389</sup> ślā va nti pti-m pa la  
 cōk<sup>390</sup> da-s pa sa kai miś sa ṅ<sup>h</sup>a siṃ pa pa la pa la •  
 ... • ačaryabale š(i)lawanti b(i)t(t)im balačokdas basa kaymiś saṅasın...  
 ...I, the Śilavant Ācāryabala,<sup>391</sup> have written (that); Balačokdas<sup>392</sup> Basa<sup>393</sup>  
 Kaymiś<sup>394</sup> Saṅhasena...<sup>395</sup>

<sup>385</sup> The ms reads with Shackleton Bailey's ψ (s. his ed. p. IX) abhya[vapannaṃ].

<sup>386</sup> Maximal capacity of the lacuna is two akṣaras, but it is unclear whether anything was written there.

<sup>387</sup> Or: ni.

<sup>388</sup> Unusual form of -ā.

<sup>389</sup> The function of the final hook is unclear, marker of vowel length, lē?

<sup>390</sup> Or: voḥ. The usual reading would be cōk or vōk; but v 06a points into the other direction.

<sup>391</sup> Or perhaps: Ācāryapāla?

<sup>392</sup> Seemingly a hybrid compound of the vernacular pr. n. Balačok and das << Skt. dāsa- 'slave'.

<sup>393</sup> As pr.n. cf. SUK 1993: II 246b; cf. next note.

<sup>394</sup> As pr.n. cf. SUK 1993: II 275a. We owe thanks to P. Zieme who refrained us from interpreting basa and kaymiś literally and pointed to CLEAVES 1977: 70, where a certain Basa(r) Kaymiś (八撒海迷失) occurs in a Chin. text.

<sup>395</sup> Perhaps also proper names, but the analysis is unclear.



### 43.2.2 Beginning of a syllabary on the lower margin

sidd<sup>h</sup>a-m<sup>396</sup> a ā i ī<sup>397</sup> ṛ × ×

### 43.2.3 Scribal note on the left margin

si ha gu pti kṣi a sam  
 si<n>hagupti<sup>398</sup> kṣi<sup>399</sup> asan  
 Siṃhagupta, the teacher,<sup>400</sup> Āsān(?)<sup>401</sup>

## Verso

### 43.2.4 Scribal notes in Uyghur and Tocharian B within the main text

04 mya myaṃ ā cā ryā dā-s ((śi)lā vā nti pti-p pa sa kai miś yima<sup>402</sup> +<sup>403</sup>  
 pa +<sup>404</sup> pa ca<sup>405</sup> hka ya sa ṅ<sup>h</sup> a sā ka mi le<sup>406</sup> ha<sup>?</sup>

<sup>396</sup> The final sign of siddham is unusually formed. Usually an anuṅāsika-like diacritic (◌̣) is placed above the -m; the diacritic has — according to ROTH 1986: 242 (cf. signs 36 and 37) — developed and transformed from virāma dot into a maṅgala symbol. Here the diacritic has the form of a circle with a central dot placed under the -m and connected with <dd<sup>h</sup>a> by a small line as if in virāma position. The circle with a central dot reminds one of being a part of the old maṅgala symbol “ma” found in inscriptions, for which cf. also ROTH 1986: 241 (sign 22) and 247 (sign 51). In an unpublished article (Die Maṅgala-Silbe *tha* in Verbindung mit *atha khalu*: Festgruß an Karl Hoffmann zur Vollendung seines achtzigsten Lebensjahres am 26. Februar 1995. Lengler 17.10.1994) Gustav Roth mentions G. Bühler (Indische Palaeographie, Strassburg 1896: 85), who views the akṣara *tha* — a circle with a central dot — in pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions as origin of the *tha*-symbol in later manuscripts. Bühler writes “In späterer Zeit kommen gleichfalls bisweilen im Texte, nach grösseren Abschnitten und öfter am Ende von Documenten, Symbole vor, die meist sehr abgeschliffene Formen haben. Das gewöhnlichste besteht aus einem grossen Kreise mit einem kleineren, oder auch mit mehreren Punkten in der Mitte. Diese kann entweder aus dem Dharmacakra entstanden sein, der sich noch vor CII, 3. Nr, 63, deutlich findet, oder aus dem Lotus, der auch vorkommt. Da der Kreis mit einem Punkte ☉ dem alten *tha* entspricht, so werden andere, späteren *tha* ähnliche, oder gleiche Zeichen dafür gebraucht und in den modernen MSS. erscheint schliesslich das dem *tha* sehr ähnliche *cha*”.

<sup>397</sup> u, ū erroneously left out.

<sup>398</sup> Missing or lost anusvāra above si leads to a n. pr. of Indian origin.

<sup>399</sup> TochB loanword kṣṣi ‘teacher, master’ (DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 187), pace Adams (l. c.) attested in Brāhmī (kṣṣi MAUE 2015: 170r1) and Uyghur script (e.g. MAITRUIGT 1980: Index 58a s.v. kṣ’y, kṣy).

<sup>400</sup> Or part of the name.

<sup>401</sup> Either Āsān (as part of proper names, cf. UW<sup>2</sup> 2010-2021: II.2 294) without marked front vocalism or an incomplete word.

<sup>402</sup> With incorrect -i, or ymā with wrong -ā.

<sup>403</sup> Unclear akṣara, perhaps incorrect ma.

<sup>404</sup> Perhaps deleted ra.

{mä} män ačaryadas<sup>407</sup> šilawantı b(i)t(t)i<m><sup>408</sup> basa kaymiš  
ymä(?)<sup>409</sup> + pa + bačak <k>aya saṅas<n>ka mileg

I, the Śīlavant Ācāryadāsa, have written (that), and(?) Basa Kaymiš ...  
Bačak Kaya(?)<sup>410</sup> for Saṅhasena ...<sup>411</sup>

05 ā || ā cā ryā ba le śi(la)<sup>412</sup> wnā skau || ā ×<sup>413</sup> ā cā rya ba le śla wnā  
skau ||

ā || ācāryābale śila(vānde)<sup>414</sup> w(i)nāskau || ā × ācāryābale  
ś(i)la(vānde) w(i)nāskau

(TochB) I, the Śīlavant Ācāryabala, venerate.

06a || pā la cau<sup>415</sup>-k<sup>416</sup> da tā-s<sup>417</sup> || pa ca<sup>418</sup>-<sup>419</sup>hka yā sa ṅ<sup>h</sup>a siṃ ka mi  
le-g<sub>1</sub>

|| balačokdas<sup>420</sup> || bačak <k>aya saṅasinka mileg

<sup>405</sup> Or: va.

<sup>406</sup> The function of the final hook is unclear, marker of vowel length, lē?

<sup>407</sup> Or unmarked spelling for °z.

<sup>408</sup> The ms reads rather b(i)tip, but certainly error for bittim 'I have written'.

<sup>409</sup> The following text is full of errors and needs l. 06a to be understood.

<sup>410</sup> Bačak and Kaya are used in proper names (e.g. SUK 1993: II 245a and 274b), perhaps spelled here in one; or else bačakaya stands for the diminutivum Bačakkyā.

<sup>411</sup> From v 06a it seems that the -a of ha is erroneous. It would be tempting to take mileg as spelling of 彌勒 mīlè, LMC mjiləšk 'Maitreya' with preserved final velar or rather accusative suffix -Xg.

<sup>412</sup> Or: śila, while the caret would point to <vānde> intended, however, not executed.

<sup>413</sup> Unclear sign.

<sup>414</sup> Rather an abbreviation (for śila cf. MORIYASU 2019: 229a) than an uncorrected mistake.

<sup>415</sup> Or: cō?

<sup>416</sup> Without dot above.

<sup>417</sup> Without dot above.

<sup>418</sup> Or: va.

<sup>419</sup> Erroneous virāma stroke.

<sup>420</sup> <da, tā> dittography for /da/. The name consists of Balačok and -das << Skt. dāsa-  
'slave'.

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## Concordances

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### 5.1. Concordance of the manuscripts

<b>Current shelf no.</b>	<b>Old shelf no.</b>	<b>Catalogue no.</b>
SI 2964	B/28	25
SI 2965/1	B/29-1	34
SI 2965/2	B/29-2	34
SI 2965/3	B/29-3	35
SI 2965/4	B/29-4	13
SI 2966	B/30a1	04
SI 3713/1-2	Kr XXXa/4-1	05
SI 3714	Kr XXXa/4-2	06
SI 3715/1	Kr VII/1	37.1
SI 3715/2	Kr VII/1	01.3
SI 3715/3	Kr VII/1	33
SI 3715/4	Kr VII/1	01.2
SI 3715/5	Kr VII/1	01.3
SI 3715/6	Kr VII/1	01.1
SI 3715/7	Kr VII/1	33
SI 3716/1	Kr VII/1	42
SI 3716/2	Kr VII/1	01.4
SI 3716/3	Kr VII/1	30
SI 3716/4	Kr VII/1	37.2
SI 3716/5	Kr VII/1	38
SI 3716/6	Kr VII/1	38
SI 3716/7	Kr VII/1	36
SI 3717/1	Kr VII/1	37.4
SI 3717/2	Kr VII/1	23
SI 3717/3	Kr VII/1	02
SI 3717/4	Kr VII/1	28
SI 3717/5	Kr VII/1	31
SI 3717/6	Kr VII/1	29
SI 3717/7	Kr VII/1	32
SI 3717/8	Kr VII/1	24
SI 3717/9	Kr VII/1	21
SI 3717/10	Kr VII/1	01.3
SI 3717/11	Kr VII/1	01.4

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SI 3717/12	Кр VII/1	22
SI 3717/13	Кр VII/1	03
SI 3717/14-1	Кр VII/1	14.1
SI 3717/14-2	Кр VII/1	14.2
SI 3718	Кр VII/1	38
SI 3722	Кр XIII/1a	07
SI 3726/1	Кр XIII/1д	08
SI 3726/2	Кр XIII/1д	08
SI 3728/1	Кр XIII/1ж	10
SI 3728/2	Кр XIII/1ж	09
SI 3754	Кр VIII/6-3	37.3
SI 6378/1	В/без шифра	15
SI 6378/2	В/без шифра	16
SI 6378/3	В/без шифра	17
SI 6378/4	В/без шифра	12
SI 6378/5	В/без шифра	18
SI 6378/6	В/без шифра	40
SI 6378/7	В/без шифра	11
SI 6378/8	В/без шифра	19
SI 6378/9-1	В/без шифра	20.1
SI 6378/9-2	В/без шифра	20.2
SI 6378/10	В/без шифра	41
SI 6378/11	В/без шифра	39
SI 6378/12 <sup>421</sup>	В/без шифра	27
SI 6378/13	В/без шифра	26
ВФ-4190	Т II Y4/ ТII Y7	43

<b>Old shelf no.</b>	<b>Current shelf no.</b>	<b>Old shelf no.</b>	<b>Current shelf no.</b>
Кр VII/1	SI 3715/1	В/28	SI 2964
	SI 3715/2	В/29-1	SI 2965/1
	SI 3715/3	В/29-2	SI 2965/2
	SI 3715/4	В/29-3	SI 2965/3
	SI 3715/5	В/29-4	SI 2965/4
	SI 3715/6	В/30a1	SI 2966
	SI 3715/7	Кр VIII/6-3	SI 3754
	SI 3716/1	Кр XIII/1a	SI 3722

<sup>421</sup> SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1 (В/120-1)



SI 3716/2	Кг XIII/1д	SI 3726/1
SI 3716/3		SI 3726/2
SI 3716/4	Кг XIII/1ж	SI 3728/1
SI 3716/6	Кг XXXa/4-1	SI 3713/1-2
SI 3716/7	Кг XXXa/4-2	SI 3714
SI 3717/1	В/без шифра	SI 6378/1
SI 3717/2		SI 6378/2
SI 3717/3		SI 6378/3
SI 3717/4		SI 6378/4
SI 3717/5		SI 6378/5
SI 3717/6		SI 6378/6
SI 3717/7		SI 6378/7
SI 3717/8		SI 6378/8
SI 3717/9		SI 6378/9-1
SI 3717/10		SI 6378/9-2
SI 3717/11		SI 6378/10
SI 3717/12		SI 6378/11
SI 3717/13		SI 6378/12 <sup>422</sup>
SI 3717/14-1		SI 6378/13
SI 3717/14-2	Т II Y4/ ТII Y7	ВФ-4190
SI 3718		

## 5.2 Concordance of the identified texts

### 5.2.1 Chinese

Taisho no.	Catalogue no.
T 220 VI 345c8ff.	38
T 223 VIII 18a8–12 <sup>423</sup>	34
T 222 VIII 163b12ff.	37
T 223 VIII 219b5–23	01
T 223 VIII 419a09–11	09
T 262 IX 17b03–06	10
T 262 IX 56a8–11 <sup>424</sup>	35

<sup>422</sup> SI 6378/12 ∞ SI 2996/1 (B/120-1)

<sup>423</sup> Or T 1509 XXV 735a18–23 (with var.).

<sup>424</sup> Or T 264 IX 191a2–5.

T 264 IX 191a2–5 <sup>425</sup>	35
T 310 XI 260c17–18	33
T 310 XI 666c25–667a03	06
T 374 XII 418b23–c01	07
T 374 XII 562a28–b1 <sup>426</sup>	13
T 375 XII 758a11–15	05
T 375 XII 808c2–5 <sup>427</sup>	13
T 664 XVI 368b6–7	21
T 1509 XXV 735a18–23 <sup>428</sup>	34
T 1562 XXIX 349b17–18 <sup>429</sup>	36
T 1563 XXIX 788a11–12 <sup>430</sup>	36

## 5.2.2 Sanskrit

Identified texts	cat. nos.
Abhidharmadīpavibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti	02
Prajñāpāramitā	04
Pravāraṇasūtra	08
Prasādapratibhodbhava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa verses 28–29	33
Prasādapratibhodbhava (= Śatapañcāśatka) of Mātṛceṭa verses 41 (= 3.15) and 1–13c (= 1.1–2.3c)	43
Prātimokṣasūtra	07
Samyuktāgama	34
Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, Deśanāparivarta (chapter 3)	09
Udānavarga?	11
Udānavarga	27

<sup>425</sup> Or T 262 IX 56a8–11.

<sup>426</sup> Or: T 375 XII 808c2–5.

<sup>427</sup> Or: T 374 XII 562a28–b1.

<sup>428</sup> Or: T 223 VIII 18a8–12.

<sup>429</sup> Or: T 1563 XXIX 788a11–12.

<sup>430</sup> Or: T 1562 XXIX 349b17–18.

### 5.3 Concordances of word forms<sup>431</sup>

#### 5.3.1 Sanskrit

...āṇām	]āṇām	03 A04
...dadhe	dadhe	03 A03
...graparyāpannatvāt	graparyāpannatvāt	01.1 02
...hṛdayam	]hṛdayam	10 v04
... kārasya	k[ā̃]r[a]sy[a]	05 (3713/2) v01
... kāre	kāre	35 v02
...lavṛkṣavat	lavṛ[kṣa]vat	01.4 02
...maye	maye	02 v05
...nayaḥ	naya	01.3 03
...rttimayam	rttimayam	02 v02

#### a, ā

abhūt	[']bhūt	33 v01
abhyavapannam	abhya[vapannam]	43.1 26f.
adhyardhaśatake	adhyardhaśatake	43.1 24
aham	aham	06 v02
aham	aha<ṁ>	06 v03
aham	aham	06 v06
aham	aham	06 v08
aham	aha<ṁ>	08 r03
aham	'ham	43.1 13
ajānanto	-m-ajān[ant]o	09 v03
ākrośet	ākrośed	04 r02
ākruṣya	-āk[ru]ṣ[ya]	04 r04
alabdhvā	alab[dhv]ai[va]	34 v02
alobhaḥ	alobhaḥ	02 r02
amūḍhavinayam	am<ū><ḍh>avinayam	07 v03
amūḍhavinayārhasya	am<ū><ḍh>avinayārhasya	07 v02f.
anapāyinaḥ	cānapāyinaḥ	43.1 11
anavaskṛtabāndhavaḥ	anavaskṛtabāndha<vaḥ>	43.1 29
anityatāvyanusṛtām	anityatāvyanusṛtām	43.1 15
antaḥ	anta	43.1 22
antaram	'ntaram	43.1 13
anunaya...	anun[a]ya...	29 B04

<sup>431</sup> The order is that of the Latin alphabet without regard to diacritics.

anupādānam	anupādānam	27 v07
anuparākramet(?)	[anuparā]kr[a]m[e]t(?)	34 v01
anyeṣām	anyeṣām	34 v07
anyeṣu	anyeṣu	43.1 30
api	apy	08 r03
api	-āpi	26 B04
api	-āpi	27 r02
api	‘pi	43.1 11
api	-āpi	43.1 18
api	api	43.1 30
ārūpyotpādanam	ārūpyotpād[anam]	02 r03f.
āsādya	āsādya	34 v03
asaṃkhyeyaviṣayān	asaṃkhyeyaviṣayā<n>	43.1 17
asmi	[a]smīti	32 A02
āśritāḥ	āśrit<ā><ḥ>	27 v07
aṣṭau	’ṣṭāv	02 r02
asti	nāsti	01.1 04
asti	asti	43.1 09
asti	asti	43.1 21
asti	nāsty	43.1 22
astu	’s[tu]	43.1 19
āsvādam	-āsvādam	34 v02
atha	atha	27 r02
atilolatā	atilolatā	43.1 02
ātmānām	ātmānām	02 v02
ātmecchācchalamātram	ātmecchācchalamātran	43.1 01
ātmā	ātmopāyāt<i>	36 v01
āttasāram	āttasāraṃ	43.1 16
āva...	āva...	01.1 01
avasthitāḥ	cāvasthitā	43.1 07
avaśyam	a[va]śyam	04 r03
avetya	avetyāpi	43.1 17f.
avicintya	avicintyoktam	01.1 03
āviśa	āviśa	10 v03
āviśa	āviś[a]	10 v03
avyāpāritasādhuḥ	[avyāp]ā[r]i[taśādhus]	43.1 27f.
ayam	ayaṃ	01.1 03

**b, bh**

bahuśrutaḥ	bahu[śruta]	08 r06
bhagavataḥ	bhagavato	43.1 12f.
bhikṣavaḥ	bhikṣava[ḥ]	01.4 04

bhūyaḥ	<i>bhūy[a]ś</i>	01.3 01
bodhisatvayānikānām	bodhisatvayānikānām	04 r01
brūmaḥ	brūmo	01.3 02
buddhastotre	buddhastotre	43.1 24
<b>c</b>		
ca	ca	03 A04
ca	ca	04 r01
ca	c[a]	09 v01a
ca	cā-	43.1 07
ca	ca	43.1 09
ca	cā-	43.1 11
caḥṣuḥ	cak[ṣu(h)]	34 v05
caḥṣuḥ	caḥṣur	34 v07
catur-	catu[r-]	34 v04
catvāraḥ	catv<ā>ra	01.3 04
cem...	cem...	01.3 01
cetanā	cetanā	43.1 09
<b>d, dh</b>		
daśabalāgrataḥ	daś[abalāgrataḥ]	09 v02
dāsyāmaḥ	dāsyāma<ḥ>	07 v02
dāsyāmaḥ	d<ā>syāma<ḥ>	07 v03
dāsyāmaḥ	dāsyāma<ḥ>	07 v06
deśaiṣyāmi	[de]śaiṣyāmi	09 v02
dharmā...	dharmā...	01.4 03
dharmāḥ	dharmā(h)	01.3 03
dharmāḥ	dharm<ā>	06 v02
dharmeṇa	dharmeṇa	43.1 12
dhyānādhyayanalakṣaṇam	dhyānāddhyayanalakṣa[ṇam]	02 r04f.
doṣāḥ	doṣā	43.1 06
doṣāḥ	doṣāḥ	43.1 09
dṛṣṭ...	dṛṣṭ...	01.1 03
durlabhā	durla[bhā]	02 r05f.
<b>e</b>		
ekasya	ekasya	43.1 10
etat	etad	02 r05
eva	eva	04 r03
eva	sadaiva	27 r01
eva	alab[dhv]ai[va]	34 v02
eva	eva	43.1 07
eva	tasyaiva	43.1 08
eva	eva	43.1 23

<b>g</b>		
gantum	gantum	43.1 07f.
gatāḥ	s. niṣṭhāṃgatāḥ	
gomān	gomān	05 (3713/2) v02
gomantau	go[mantau]	05 (3713/2) v02
guṇāḥ	guṇāḥ	43.1 07
guṇāḥ	guṇās	43.1 10f.
guṇān	guṇān	43.1 18
guṇān	guṇān	43.1 23
guṇeṣu	guṇeṣv	43.1 21
<b>h</b>		
ha	ha	43.1 06
hetoh	[dh]<e>[tos]	08 r05
hetuprabhāvāḥ	h<e>tupra[bhāvā]	06 v02
hi	hi	43.1 11
<b>i</b>		
īdṛśāḥ	īdṛśā	43.1 22
iha	ihā	01.1 05
iha	ihā-	02 v01
imām	nemām	43.1 16
iti	iti	01.3 02
iti	iti	01.3 04
iti	i[t]i	01.3 04
iti	it[i]	01.3 07
iti	iti	03 A03
iti	[a]smīti	32 A02
iti	ity	43.1 17
iti	iti	43.1 22
iti	iti	43.1 22
iti	ity	43.1 23
iyantaḥ	iyanta	43.1 22
<b>j</b>		
janaḥ	janaḥ	43.1 31
janmavṛkṣasya	janmavṛkṣasya	01.1 04
jighāṃsubhir	jīghā<ṃ>subhir	43.1 32
<b>k</b>		
kā	kā	43.1 22
kā	kā	43.1 30

kalahayitvā	ka <sup>h</sup> lahayitvā	04 r02
Kaliṅgopavicārāntarikāyāṃ	Ka]l̥i̇[m]gop[a]vic <sup>ā</sup> rān[t]arikāyāṃ	34 v08
kariṣyāmaḥ	kariṣyāma<ḥ>	07 v04f.
kariṣyāmi	kariṣyāmi	43.1 16
karma	ka[rma]	05 (3713/1) v01
karma	ka[r]ma	09 v01
karmabhiḥ	k[arma]bhi(ḥ)	05 (3713/1) v02
karmabhyaḥ	karmabhya(ḥ)	05 (3713/1) v03
karmabhyām	k[armabhyā]m	05 (3713/1) v02
karmabhyām	karmabhyā[m]	05 (3713/1) v03
karmacchidrasasaṃśayām	karmacchidrasasaṃśayām	43.1 15f.
karmaṇā	[karma]ṇ[ā]	05 (3713/1) v02
karmaṇaḥ	karmaṇa(ḥ)	05 (3713/1) v03
karmaṇām	k[a]rma[ṇā]m	05 (3713/1) v04
karmaṇi	karma[ṇi]	05 (3713/1) v04
karmaṇoḥ	karmaṇo(ḥ)	05 (3713/1) v04
kaścit	ka<ś>cid	43.1 12
kasmāt	kasmā[d]	08 r05
katame	katame	01.3 03
kathā	kathā	43.1 22
kathā	kathā	43.1 30
katham	kathan	43.1 16
kathayā	kathayā	29 B02
kathyeta	ka<th>yeta	43.1 02
kāyikam	[k]āyik <sup>ā</sup> ṃ	08 r02
kāyikam	k <sup>ā</sup> yikaṃ	08 r04
kiṃcana	kiṃcana	43.1 01
kriyate	kriyate	43.1 18f.
kṛtam	kṛtam	09 v01
kuśāstratimirotsādī	kuśāstr[a]ti[mirotsādī]	02 v04
kusīdaḥ	kusīda<ḥ>	27 r01
kutaḥ	kuto	02 v01
<b>l</b>		
labhate	labhate	43.1 12
<b>m</b>		
mā	mā	08 r01
mahārṇavayugacchidrakūr	mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvārpā	
ma-grīvārpāṇopamam	ṇopamam	43.1 14f.
manovākkāyakarmasu	manovākkāyakarmasu	43.1 11f.
manuṣyatvam	manuṣyatvaṃ	43.1 13
māram	māraṃ	27 v05
mātāpitr̥n	[mātāpi]tṛ-m-ajān[ant]o	09 v03

me	<i>m[e]</i>	09 v01
mukharāḥ	mukharā	43.1 23
muneḥ	muneḥ	43.1 18
<b>n</b>		
na	nāsti	01.1 04
na	na	01.1 05
na	na	43.1 06
na	na	43.1 10
na	na	43.1 11
na	nemāṃ	43.1 16
na	na	43.1 21
na	nāsty	43.1 22
namaḥ	namas	43.1 19
niḥsaraṇam	[niḥ]s[a]raṇam	04 r03
niścayaḥ	niścayaḥ	43.1 21
niṣṭhām	s. niṣṭhāmgatāḥ	
niṣṭhāmgatāḥ <sup>432</sup>	niṣṭhāngatā	33 v02
nītaḥ	n <sup>&lt;ī&gt;</sup> tas	33 v03
nūnam	n <sup>&lt;ū&gt;</sup> naṃ	01.3 02
nyāyāyam	nyāy<y>aṃ	43.1 09
<b>p</b>		
pādarajāṃsi	[pādarajāṃ]si	33 v04
paṇḍitopajātāḥ	pa]ṇḍitopajā[t]ā	01.3 04
pāpakam	pāpaka[m]	09 v01
pāra...	pāra...	01.4 03
paribhāṣeta	paribhāṣ<e>ta	04 r02
paricchedaḥ	pari[cch]ed[a]ḥ	43.1 25
parisraveṣu	[pa]risraveṣ[u]	29 B05
prabhūtādbhutakarmaṇe	prabhūtādbhutakarmaṇe	43.1 20
prahāṇam	prahāṇam	31 B03
prajñāyudhena	prajñā[yudhena]	27 v05
prāṇaiḥ	prāṇair	43.1 30
praṇayī	[pra]ṇayī	43.1 31
prapañcaḥ	prapañca<ḥ>	34 v05
prāptatvam	[p]rāptatv[aṃ]	01.4 03
prāpya	prāpya	43.1 13
praśāstā	praśās[t]ā	01.3 08
prathamadhyānabhaumena	[pra]thamadhyānabhaumena	01.2 03
prathamadhyānalābhina	prathamaddhyānalābhina(ḥ)	01.2 02

<sup>432</sup> Or: niṣṭhāṃ gatāḥ.



prati	prati	43.1 23
pratijñāvinayam	pratijñāvinayaṃ	07 v04
pratijñāvinayārhasya	pratijñāvinayārhasy <sup>{ā}</sup>	07 v03f.
pratiniviṣṭaḥ	pratiniviṣṭo	43.1 11
pratyekabuddhayānikānām	pratyekabuddhayānikānām	04 r01
pravārayāmi	[pravāra]yāmi	08 r01
praviviktaḥ	pravivi[ktaḥ]	08 r07
pudgalānām	pudgalān[ā]ṃ	04 r01
pudgalena	pudgalena	04 r03
punaḥ	puna<ḥ>	01.1 04
puṇyāḥ	puṇyā	43.1 23
pūrvam	pūrv[am]	09 v01
	<b>r</b>	
rūpāṇām	r <sup>&lt;ū&gt;</sup> p <sup>&lt;ā&gt;</sup> ṇāṃ	34 v05
	<b>ś, s</b>	
sā	sā	43.1 02
sadā	sadaiva	27 r01
saḥ	so	43.1 13
saha	saha	43.1 12
śailam	[ś]ailam	34 v03
sajjanaprasāstāḥ	sajjanapr[a]śāsā	01.3 03
saṃ...	saṃ...	01.1 04
saṃ...	saṃ...	01.4 02
sāmānyopāṃśu	sāmānyopāṃśu	43.1 01
samāptam	samāpta<ṃ>	10 v04
saṃbandhaḥ	saṃbandho	01.1 05
saṃbodhyaṅgeṣu	saṃbodhy <sup>{ā}</sup> ṅgeṣu	27 v06
saṃkalpahataḥ	saṃkalpahataḥ	27 r01
saṃkhyāprabhāvābhyām	saṃkhyāprabh[āvā]bhyām	43.1 20f.
saṃtuṣṭaḥ	sa<ṃ>tuṣ[ta]ḥ	08 r07
samyakpratipadā	[samyakpratipad]ā	33 v02
saṃyogaḥ	s[a]ṃ[yogaḥ]	34v 05
saṃyojati	saṃyojati	34 v06
santi	santi	43.1 06
santi	santy	43.1 10
santi	santi	43.1 10
śaraṇam	śaraṇam	43.1 07
sarasvatī	sarasvatī	26 B04
sarasvatīm	sarasvatīm	43.1 17
śāriputra	ś[āri]putra]	08 r03
śāriputra	[śāri]putra	08 r06

śarīraiḥ	śarīraiḥ	43.1 31
śarīrāṇi	śarīrāṇi	43.1 31
śarīriṇām	[śar]i[r]i[ṇ]ām	43.1 32
sarvā...	sarvā...	01.4 05
sarva-	sa[r]v[	35 v04
sarvābhisāreṇa	sarvābhisāreṇa	43.1 06f.
sarvadā	sarvadā	43.1 06
sarvadharmā	sarvadharmā	01.3 08
sarvajñāḥ	[sarvaj]ñ[ah]	02 v03
sarvathā	sarvathā	43.1 06
sarvavidaḥ	sarvavidaḥ	43.1 10
sarve	sarve	43.1 06
sarve	sarve	43.1 06
sarve	sarve	43.1 10
sasaddharmamahotsavam	sasaddharmamahotsavam	43.1 13f.
śāsane	śāsane	43.1 08
śāstrajñānamaye	[śāstrajñāna]maye	02 v05
satatam	satatam	27 r03
satyatvāt	satyatvād	01.4 04
savāsanāḥ	savāsanāś	43.1 09
śīlavān	śī <sup>~</sup> lavām	08 r06
smṛtivinayam	smṛti(vina)y[am]	07 v01f.
smṛtivinayārhasya	[smṛtivinayārhas]y[a]	07 v01
śreyasī	ś[r]e[yasī]	02 v02
sthāpayitvā	sthāpayit[v]ā	01.4 02
sthātum	sthātum	43.1 08
sthītaḥ	sth <sup>ī</sup> to	09 v02
sthūlān	sthūlān	27 r02
stotum	stotum	43.1 08
sucaritaiḥ	sucaritair	33 v03
sūkṣmān	sūkṣm <sup>ā</sup> ṇ	27 r02
sūtracandramāḥ	[s]ūtracandramā<ḥ>	02 v03
sūtram	[s]ū[tram]	03 A01
sūtram	sūtram	03 A02
sūtram	[sū]tram	03 A05
svāhā	sv[ā]hā	10 v02
svaiḥ	svaiḥ	43.1 31
svamāṃsāni	svamā<ṃ>s[ān]y	43.1 29
svārthagauravāt	svārthagauravāt	43.1 19
svayam	s[va]yam	43.1 26
svayambhuve	svayambhuve	43.1 19
syāt	syād	01.1 05

## t

tadekadeśapraṇayaḥ	tadekadeśapraṇayaḥ	43.1 18
tadyathā	ta[d]y[athā]	10 v02
tam	tam	43.1 07
tam	taṃ	43.1 08
tam	tam	43.1 08
tasmāt	tasmād	01.1 03
tasya	tasyaiva	43.1 08
tat	tad	01.3 02
tat	tat	08 r05
tat	tat	34 v06
tatra	tatra	01.3 04
tatra	tatrā-	34 v02
tatsvabhāvaiṣīyam	tatsv <sup>ā</sup> bh <sup>ā</sup> vaiṣ <sup>ī</sup> yam	07 v05f.
tatsvabhāvaiṣīyārhasya	tatsvabh <sup>ā</sup> vaiṣ <sup>ī</sup> y[ā]rh[a]sy <sup>ā</sup>	07 v05
tava	tavā-	08 r03
tāvataḥ	tāvata[ta]	04 r03
tāyinaḥ	tāyinaḥ	43.1 10
tayoḥ	tayo<ḥ>	34 v06
te	te	33 v04
te	te	43.1 09
te	te	43.1 11
te	[t]e	43.1 19
te	te	43.1 23
tebhyaḥ	tebhyo	02 r02
tena	tena	04 r03
tu...	tu...	07 v03a
tu	tu	27 v06
tu	tu	43.1 01
tu	tu	43.1 23
tvam	[t]v[am]	43.1 28
tvayā	tvayā	33 v03
tvayā	[t]v[ayā]	43.1 30
tvayi	tvayi	33 v02

## u

ucyatām	ucyatām	01.3 02
uktam	avicintyoktam	01.1 03
uktānām	<u>ktānām	34 v04
upanikṣipya	yatropanikṣipya	43.1 02
upāsitum	upāsitum	43.1 08
upāttānām	upā[ttānām]	43.1 32
upāyāti	ātmopāyāt<i>	36 v01

upodghāstavaḥ ūrdhv...	upodghāstava... ūrdhv...	43.1 24 01.2 02
v		
vā	[v]ā	04 r02
vā	vā	04 r02
vā	vā	04 r02
vā	vā	08 r02
vā	vā	08 r04
vā	vāpi	27 r02
vacanāt	[va]canāt	01.3 07
vadāmi	[vadā]mi	04 r03
vai	vai	27 r03
vaktuḥ	vaktur	43.1 02
vāmam	vāma<ṃ>	02 v03
vastuṣu	[va]stuṣv	43.1 30
vayam	vayam	02 v01
vayam	vayam	43.1 23f.
vigarhāmi	vigarh<ā> m<i>	08 r04
vinayam	vinayaṃ	07 v03a
vineyāḥ	vineyā	01.3 02
vitarkān	vitarkān	27 r02
vitarkān	vitarkāṃ	27 r03
vitarkayan	vitarkayan	27 r03
vivādya	vivādya	04 r02
vivādya	[v]i[v]ādya-	04 r04
y		
yadbhūyaiṣīyārhasya	[ya]ḍbhūyaiṣī yā[rhasya]	07 v06f.
yadi	yady	43.1 09
yasya	yasya	43.1 06
yasya	yasya	43.1 20
yathābalaṃ	yathābalaṃ	02 r05
yathākramam	y[a]thākr[amam]	35 v01
yathoktam	[ya]tho[ktam]	01.3 08
yathoktam	yatho[kta]ṃ	01.4 04
yatra	yatropanikṣipya	43.1 01f.
yatra	yatra	43.1 07
yāvat	yāvad	02 r04
ye	ye	06 v02
yena	yenā-	26 B04
yeṣāṃ	yeṣān	27 v06
yudhyeta	yudhyeta	27 v05

## 5.3.2 Tocharian B

...×iskemane	...×iskemane	29 A05
...kañi	...kañi	37.1 v11
...ko	...ko	37.4 v02
...laiko	...lai <sup>ko</sup>	37.2 v06
...lko	...l <sup>ko</sup>	37.3 v05
...lñe	...lñe	37.3 v04
...n	...n	11 A01
...ñc or ...ñcam	...ñc or ...ñcam	18 r 02
...ñ[ ]ntä	...ñ[ ]ntä	11 B01
...nentse	...nentse	28 A02
...nt	...nt	13 v01
...psā	...psā	16 r01
...sālñe	...sālñe	32 B02
...skalñe	...skalñe	37.2 v01
... <sup>t</sup> / <sub>n</sub> am	... <sup>t</sup> / <sub>n</sub> am	37.2 v03
...waññe	...waññe	38 v11
	<b>a, ā</b>	
aiśamñe	aiśamñe	28 B01
aknātsa	aknā[tsa]	12 A02
alyenkām	<sup>{</sup> ā <sup>1</sup> lyenzkā[m]	11 B01
ampalyiśkai <sup>433</sup>	ampalyiśkai <sup>434</sup>	38 v02
āyor	āyor	11 A01
	<b>c</b>	
Caitike or Caiyitiśka <sup>435</sup>	cai...	15 r02
	<b>e</b>	
ekaññe	ekaññe	13 v01
empelye	[e]mpelye	11 A02
eñkastar	eñkastar	38 v05
epes	epes	37.3 v05
	<b>g</b>	
Gautam...	gauta[m- ...]	28 A02

<sup>433</sup> Or: °śke?<sup>434</sup> Or: °śke?<sup>435</sup> DTB<sup>2</sup> 2013: 275.

<b>k</b>		
kantanantar	kantanantar	38 v06
kärsälñeşşe	kä[rs]ä[lñeşşe]	27 v06
kärşälyana	kärşälyana	37.3 v02
keş...	keş...	37.3 v02
klä...	klä...	28 B02
kränkaiññ...	kränkaiññ...	30 A-01
<i>kra</i> <sup>l</sup> / <sub>n</sub> <i>tsa</i> <sup>n</sup> / <sub>i</sub> <i>aṃ</i>	<i>kra</i> <sup>l</sup> / <sub>n</sub> <i>tsa</i> <sup>n</sup> / <sub>i</sub> <i>aṃ</i>	37.2 v03
kuriškene	kuriškene	38 v13
kuse	kuse	12 B01
kwätse...	kwätse...	37.1 v07
<b>l</b>		
le⟨n⟩ <sup>436</sup>	le⟨n⟩ <sup>437</sup>	37.4 v01
*lupşuki	lyo[ps]uk[i]	37.1 v07
luwa	luwa	37.1 v07
<b>m</b>		
mā	mā	11 B-02
mā	mā	38 v05
māmantaş	māmantaş	38 v04
mo ri ñk[?]i	mo ri ñk[?]i	37.2 v05
muorap	muorap	38 v14
<b>n</b>		
nawasa <sup>438</sup>	nawasa <sup>439</sup>	38 v11
<b>o</b>		
o...	o...	11 B-02
ol	ol	38 v16
<b>p</b>		
pa...	pa...	12 B02
pa l[?]e tta	pa l[?]e tta	37.1 10
pälyşalñe	pälyş[alñe]	31 A03
pälskänamane	pälskä[namane]	27 r03
pañäşkai	pañäşkai	38 v12
pärsänt	pärsänt	37.1 v08

<sup>436</sup> Or: le⟨ke/i⟩.

<sup>437</sup> Or: le⟨ke/i⟩.

<sup>438</sup> Or: tawasa.

<sup>439</sup> Or: tawasa.

pärsāntsñe	pärsā(n)tsñe	29 B04
pelaikneṣṣe	pelaik[n]e[ṣṣ]e	29 B02
pkānte	pkānte	12 B02
plyaṃsi	plyaṃsi	37.2 v02
plyecyem	plyecyem	11 A01
po	po	11 B01
pramānta	pramānta	37.3 v06
prast	prast	38 v16
prast <sup>h</sup> an	prast <sup>h</sup> an	38 v15

## r

rāskare	rāskare	29 A02
rātre[ ]še	rātre[ ]še	38 v13
reki	reki	32 B03
rittālñe	r[i][t][ā]lñe	29 B03

## ś, ṣ, s

ś...	ś...	37.3 v04
śāk <sup>440</sup>	śāk <sup>441</sup>	37.1 v10
ṣamem×...	ṣamem×...	31 A02
ṣaṃvarāṣṣe...	ṣaṃvar<ä>[ṣṣe-]	37.1 v05
ṣanmirentse	ṣanmire[nts]e	12 B03
ṣanmirentse	[ṣa]ṇmir[e]ntse	12 A01
ṣar	ṣar	37.2 v06
sark	sark	37.1 v03
sarkne	sarkne	37.2 v05
śarsa	śarsa	18 r01
saim yām-?	sai[m yām-]?	27 v07
ṣek	ṣe[k]	27 r01
ṣesa	ṣesa	38 v15
śle	śl<e>	13 v01
smaññe	smaññe	38 v15
snai-eñkālñe	snai-eñkālñe	27 v07
sonopantār	[sonopa]ntār	37.2 v04
spārttalñe	sparttañe	37.1 v06
spe...	spe...	14.1 A02
śutkaske...	śutkaske...	37.3 v03
svabhāpṭsa	svabh[āp]ṭs[a]	29 A04

<sup>440</sup> Or: śīk.

<sup>441</sup> Or: śīk.

t		
taršauna	taršauna	31 B02
tawasa <sup>442</sup>	tawasa <sup>443</sup>	38 v11
te	te	37.1 v05
tekiññe	tekiññe	29 A02
tu	tw	11 B01
w		
walä...	walä...	37.1 v10
Waṃṣi	wa[ṃṣ]i	16 r01
wapāntsañe	wawāntsañe	37.1 v04
warñai	wa[r]ñai	37.3 v04
wartse	wartse	38 v12
wasto	[wa]sto	12 A02
wlām...	wlām...	37.4 v01
y		
ya...	ya...	37.3 v05
yamašälle	[ya]mašälle	32 A01
yarponta	yarponta	13 v01
yäšañe	yäšañe	37.3 v06
yirmakkai	yirmaḱai	15 r01
yirmakkai	yirmaḱai	16 r02
yirpṣuki	[y]irp[ṣu]ki	15 r02
yirpṣuki	yirpṣ[uk]i	16 r03
yirpṣuki	[y]i[rpṣuk]i	17 r02
ykāmṣ...	ykām[ṣ-...]	31 A03
yšelme?	yše[lme]?	12 B01
yšelmenne	yšelmenne	29 A03

### 5.3.3 Tocharian A

...iñc	...iñc	26 B03
...nt	...nt	19 A01
...yā	...yā	19 B01
...yme	[y]m	19 A02

<sup>442</sup> Or: nawasa.

<sup>443</sup> Or: nawasa.



	<b>a</b>	
āñcām	ā[ñcām]	20.2 A02
	<b>c</b>	
Candragarbh <sup>444</sup>	[ca]ndr[a]garbh <sup>445</sup>	26 A03
cemäk	cemä[k]	19 A02
	<b>e</b>	
ekapuṇḍarik	ekapuṇḍarik	26 A02
	<b>k</b>	
kalkar	kalkar	19 A02
kapśāññāṣ?	[kapśāñ]ñ[ā]ṣ?	20.1 A01
klopant	klopant	19 B01
kraś	kraś	26 B03
	<b>l</b>	
lānt	l[ā]nt	26 A01
lyutār	lyutār	26 B02
	<b>m</b>	
mā	mā	19 B02
mrācam	mrācam	26 A01
mälsep ?	mälsep ?	26 A03
	<b>ñ, n</b>	
nākām	nākām	19 A03
nākām <sup>446</sup>	nā[kā]m <sup>447</sup>	19 B02
nāmṭsu?	nāmṭsu?	26 A03
ñareyaṃ	ñareyaṃ	19 B03
nāṣ	nāṣ	19 A04
neṣiṃ	neṣiṃ	19 A04
nunak	nunak	19 A03
	<b>p</b>	
pālk...	pā[l]k ...	19 A03
pālkāt	pālkāt	19 B02
pālke	pāl[k]e	19 B04
pālkoraṣ	pālkoraṣ	19 A04
pāltskes	pāltskes	26 B02
pin×...	pin×...	26 B03

<sup>444</sup> Or: Vajragarbh.

<sup>445</sup> Or: [va]jr[a]garbh.

<sup>446</sup> Or: nā × m.

<sup>447</sup> Or: nā × m.

ś, ṣ, s		
sārki	s[ārki]	19 A04
sumeris	sum<e>ris	26 A01
ṣulaśsi	ṣul[as]ś[i]	26 A01
śka-tampe	śka-ta[m]p<e>	26 A04
ṣñi	ṣñi	20.2 A02
śpālme <sup>448</sup>	[śpā]lme <sup>449</sup>	26 A02
śpālmeṃ	[ś]pālmeṃ	26 A04
t		
tākāṣlune	tākāṣlune	26 B02
tāskmām	tāskmām	26 A04
tmaṃ	[t]m[a]ṃ	19 A03
tmaṃ	tmaṃ	19 B02
tmaśal	tmaśal	26 A04
v		
Vajragarbh <sup>450</sup>	[va]jr[a]garbh <sup>451</sup>	26 A03
w		
wākmats	wākmats	26 A04
wārpñāntrā	wārpñāntrā	19 B01
warsa...?	Warsa...?	26 B05
y		
yāmu	yāmu	26 B05
yok	yok	20.1 A01

### 5.3.4 Uyghur

...gay	...gay	23 A
...gıja	...gıja	38 v04
...k[ ]rak[ ]	...k[ ]rak[ ]	38 v03
...l[ ]rtgäli	...l[ ]rtgäli	37.1 v04
...ları	...ları	22 A02
...lgalı	...lgalı	37.1 v03
...mač	...mač	38 v06
...nduka...	...nduka...	22 A03
...nIṅ	...nIṅ	35 v01

<sup>448</sup> Or: śpālmeṃ.

<sup>449</sup> Or: śpālmeṃ.

<sup>450</sup> Or: Candragarbh.

<sup>451</sup> Or: [ca]ndr[a]garbh.

...önläri	... <sup>[ü]</sup> nlär[i]	22 A03
...or	...or	24 A04
...rip	...rip	24 B02
...tantakı	...tantakı	38 v16
...ükät[ ]r[ ]	...ükät[ ]r[ ]	37.1 v01
...ürlär	...ürlär	37.3 v06
...yü	...yü	25 A02
<b>a, ä</b>		
a[?]T[ ]mıš	a[?]T[ ]mıš	38 v10
Ačaryabale	Ačaryabale	43.2.1
Ačaryadas	Ačaryadas	43.2.4 04
ädgü	ädgü	25 A02
ädgü	ädgü	33 v03
Amogašri	Amo<g>ašr[i]	04 v interlinear note
antapurike	[anta]puri[k]e	22 B03
ärdäni	[ä]rdäni	22 B02
ärdni	[ä]rdni	24 A03
ärdni	ä[r]dni	22 B02
arkasında	arkasında	37.1 v03
artokı	artokı	21 v04
ärür	ärür	22 A02
ärür	ärür	34 v05
ärür	ärür	34 v05
ärür	är[ür]	34 v06
Äsän(?)	Äsän(?)	43.2.3
aşıg	aşıg	34 v02
atı	[at]ı	34 v07
atlıg	atlıg	22 A02
atlıg	[atlı]g	22 B03
ätözüm	ätözüm	36 v01
avazta	avazta	38 v13
ävrišij	ävrišij	33 v02
az	az	34 v05
azkıya	azkı[ya]	38 v16
azu	azu	34 v05
ažun	a[žun]	21 v02
<b>b</b>		
Bačak	Bačak	43.2.4 04
Bačak	Bačak	43.2.4 06a

bağı	bağı	34 v06
Balačokdas	Balačokdas	43.2.1
Balačokdas	Balačokdas	43.2.4 06a
balmiš	balmiš	34 v06
Basa	Basa	43.2.1
Basa	Basa	43.2.4 04
bašin	bašin	37.3 v03
biläkiñä	biläkiñ[ä]	37.2 v06
bilgäni	bilgäni	37.2 v02
bittim	b(i)t(t)im	43.2.1
bittim	b(i)t(t)im	43.2.4 04
bıçmak	bıçmak	37.2 v03
bo	bo	04 v interlinear note
bo	b[o]	21 v02
bo	bo	24 A04
bolsarlar	bolsarlar	34 v06
bözçi	bözçi	37.1 v04
bulmazsän	bu[lmazsän]	38 v05
büşök	büşök	37.3 v05
	<b>d</b>	
darani	[dara]ni	04 v interlinear note
Dritaraştırı	[D]rı[ta]raştırı	22 B04
	<b>e</b>	
elttiñ	el(t)iñ	33 v03
	<b>g</b>	
gandarwılar	gandarwılar	22 A04
gandarwılar	[ga]ndar[w]ı[la]r	22 B04
	<b>i, ı</b>	
içikmäk	içikm[äk]	33 v01
içtin	içtin	33 v01
ikinüñ	ikinüñ	34 v06
işKirti	işKirti	37.1 v08
	<b>k</b>	
käñräk	käñräk	38 v14
karga	k[ar]g[a]	34 v01
kata	kata	04 v interlinear note
Kaya	K(a)ya	43.2.4 04
Kaya	<K>aya	43.2.4 06a
Kaymiş	Kaymiş	43.2.1

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Kaymiš	Kaymiš	43.2.4 04
käzigčä	[kã]zigčä	24 A02
kenlegtä	kenlegtä	35 v04
keŋ	keŋ	38 v12
kim	kim	21 v02
kiši	kši	43.2.3
kılınč	kılı[nč]	23 B01
kılınčlar	kılınčlar	33 v03
kızgut	kızgut	37.3 v06
köni	köni	33 v02
kötrölmüšniŋ	kötrölmüšniŋ	34 v07
köz	köz	34 v05
közi	k <sup>[ö]</sup> [zi]	34 v07
küsän	küsän	37.1 v09
	<b>m</b>	
mahabut	mahabut	34 v04
maharaĵ	ma[haraĵ]	22 B04
män	män	04 v interlinear note
män	män	06 v05
män	män	06 v06
män	män	21 v02
män	män	43.2.4 04
mänĵiläyin	mänĵiläyin	36 v02
Mileg	Mileg	43.2.4 04
Mileg	Mileg	43.2.4 06a
mö	mö	34 v05
monoŋ	mono[ŋ]	37.1 v06
munta[g]	munda[g]	24 A04
	<b>n</b>	
nizvanelarıg	nizvanelarıg	21 v04
	<b>o, ö</b>	
ol	ol	21 v02
ol	ol	34 v06
ol	ol	38 v07
ol	ol	38 v16
olar	olar	34 v06
öltö	öltö	36 v01
on	o[n]	21 v04
öŋ	öŋ	34 v04
öŋrä	öŋrä	21 v02

		P	
prast	prast		38 v16
		S, Š	
s/čag...	s/čag...		37.1 v09
šabı	šab<ı>		06 v02
šabı	šabı		06 v06
sadu sadu	sadu sadu		25 A02
säkiz	säkiz		21 v04
säniñ	säniñ		33 v04
Saņasın	Saņasın		43.2.1
Saņasınka	Saņas<ın>ka		43.2.4 04
Saņasınka	Saņasınka		43.2.4 06a
satg...	s[a]tg...		37.2 v02
sävinčtä	sävinčtä		21 v03
seni	se[ni]		33 v03
sentä	sentä		33 v02
šilawantı	š(i)lawantı		43.2.1
šilawantı	šilawantı		43.2.4 04
Sinhaguptı	Si<n>haguptı		43.2.3
šıñ	šıñ		38 v15
sıg	sıg		37.1 v10
sudur	sud[u]r		22 A02
süñü	süñü		37.3 v03
sürtärlär	[sü]rtär[ä][r]		37.2 v04
sürtärlär	sü]r[r][ärlär]		38 v06
		T	
tägindim	tägindim		25 A02
täñri	[t]ä]ñri		21 v03
taralmış	taralmı[š]		37.4 v02
tarkarıp	tarkarıp		21 v04
taşıg	taşıg		34 v03
tavsı	tavsı kı[ya]		38 v02
tep	tep		34 v02
tikmäk	tikmäk		37.2 v03
titiğči	t[i]tiğči		37.1 v07
tokımak	tokımak		37.1 v10
töpö	tö[pö]		38 v11
töpötan	[tö]pötan		34 v06
tözlög	tözl[ög]		34 v04

tüŋür	tüŋür	37.3 v05
tupraklarıŋ	tupraklarıŋ	33 v04
türtärlär	türtäri <sup>l</sup> ä <sup>r</sup>	37.2 v04
tušup	tušu[p]	34 v03
tutmakta	tutmakta	37.3 v04
tutñak	tutñak	34 v05
tutñaklanmaguluk	tutñaklanma<g>uluk	34 v05
tuvak	<i>tuvak</i>	38 v11
tüzü	tü[z]ü	33 v02
<b>u, ü</b>		
učasında	učasında	37.2 v05
ugrayu	ugrayu	38 v03
ukıdım	ukıdım	04 v interlinear note
uladı	uladı	37.3 v04
üntürti	üntürti	37.2 v02
upadiligları	upadiligla[r]ı	35 v03
urmiš	urmiš	37.1 v09
utlı	utlı	21 v03
utun	utun	21 v04
üzä	üzä	33 v02
üzä	[ü]zä	33 v03
üzä	ü[zä]	33 v03
užik	užik	24 B03
užik	užik	35 v02
užik	[u]ži[k]	35 v05
<b>w</b>		
wilapçı	wilapçı	38 v12
<b>y</b>		
yaŋlıg	yaŋlıg	38 v14
yarıkçı	yarıkçı	37.1 v05
yarmak	yarmak	37.1 v01
yerindin	yerindin	21 v03
yimä(?)	yimä(?)	43.2.4 04
yme	yme	21 v03
yöläŋö	yöläŋö	37.3 v02
yüŋ	yüŋ	37.1 v09

## 6 Addenda et corrigenda to Part I

- p. 20 Transcription: l. 01 ihā > ihā-; l.02 ś[r]e > ś[r]e-
- p. 24.19–20: Delete: and the minimal width of the folio (38–40 cm)
- p. 26.5: [v]i[v]ā dyāk[ru],ś[ya] > [v]i[v]ādyāk[ru],ś[ya]
- p. 26.6: Delete: + fn.: =
- p. 26.12: **bodhi[satva**(ed. °ttva) > **bodhi[satva**-(ed. °ttva-)
- p. 26 footnote 35: PVSP(K) 2006. > PVSP(K) 1992.
- p. 27 Transcription: Amogaśr[i] > Amo<g>aśr[i]
- p. 31.13: Add after the Transcription:

### Commentary

In l. 01 the accusative sing. is preserved. L. 02 contains the instrumental forms. L. 03 shows the dative pl., ablative sing. and dual, l. 04 the genitive dual and plur., followed by the locative sing.

- p. 32.6: Sanskrit > Sanskrit and Uyghur
- p. 39.10: dh]<e>[tos ...] > dh]<e>[tos ...] or: dh]<e>[t]o[s ...]
- p. 41.5 Transliteration: 01° > 01a
- p. 41.12 Transcription l. 02: sth{ī}to > sth{ī}to
- p. 51.10 and 11: (SI 6378/1) > **15** (SI 6378/1)
- p. 54 Transliteration l. 04: spa > spa
- p. 54 Transcription l. 04: pā[l]ke > pälke
- p. 58.27: biligsizbilig > biligsiz bilig
- p. 64 note 111 l.3 ff.: The first to determine ... (through the end) > The first to determine the figure of the South Turkestan Brāhmī (s. pl. 24-4) was VOROBIOV-DESIATOVSKII (1958: 283 and 288), while K.T. SCHMIDT (2001: 23 fn.19; 2021: 111 f.) identified that of the NTB (s. pl. 24-3). SCHMIDT (2021: 111 f.) and CHING & OGIHARA (2010: 108) described its distinctive feature.
- p. 66.5: Abbreviation > Abbreviations
- p. 66.32: Abhisamaya. > Abhisamaya. Ed. and tr. by E. Conze.
- p. 68.25: *AlttürkischeHandschriften* > *Alttürkische Handschriften*
- p. 68.35: manuscript > manuscripts
- p. 69.9: PVSP(K) 2006: *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā V–VIII*. Ed. by T. Kimura. Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin Publishing Co. > PVSP(K) 1992: *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā V*. Ed. by T. Kimura. Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin Publishing Co.
- p. 69.12: Kaiserlichen > Kaiserliche
- p. 70.5–9: For the correct bibliographic data of UW<sup>1</sup> and UW<sup>2</sup> see the references of this article.