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Three languages on one leaf: on IOL Toch 81 with special regard to the Turkic part*

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Abstract

In this article I edit and comment on the Hoernle manuscript IOL Toch 81 (H 149.292) with fragmentary texts in three languages, Sanskrit (6 lines) TocharianB (1 line) and Turkic (15 lines). The primary interest is in the Turkic text, which probably forms part of an upāsaka's vow. Its orthography, morphology and lexis, perceptibly different from standard Uighur, show features which point to high antiquity and perhaps to non-Uighur provenance. Some Buddhist terms seem to be deliberately designed on a Manichaean foil. Thus the Turkic part of the manuscript may date back to the second half of the ninth century, or, if non-Uighur, to an even earlier period.

I. The manuscript

It was J. W. Broomhead who, in the 1960s, described the manuscript H.149.292 as "Uigur/Sanskrit" without mentioning the third language, "Kuchean", which would have at least partially justified its later being labelled "IOL Toch 81". But his observation was so well concealed[1] that it seems to have escaped the attention of Hartmann and Wille (1992: 52).[2] The paper fragment belongs to the Hoernle collection. Its place of discovery is unknown. According to the International Dunhuang Project database[3], where digitized photos are available under "IOL Toch 81", the dimensions are 17.4 × 7.4 cm. One side bears fourteen lines of an Old Turkic text. There is a fifteenth line (r7) on the other side, which in turn also has a Sanskrit passage (r2–4) by another hand and two lines by a third hand, beginning with TochB, possibly a note by the owner, followed by a Sanskrit *namaskāra* (r5–6). The first line (r1) is so badly damaged that no intellegible

* I would like to express my gratitude to Ursula Sims-Williams for helping me in administrative and logistic matters, to Professor Dr P. Zieme for stimulating discussions, and to Dr J. P. C. Toalster, who kindly polished my English. The responsibility is mine, of course.

1 J. W. Broomhead, "A textual edition of the British Hoernle, Stein, and Weber Kuchean manuscripts with transliteration, translation, grammatical commentary, and vocabulary", DPhil Thesis, University of Cambridge (submitted, 1962/ approved 1964), p. X. (It has never been published, and it seems that only a few copies were distributed.)

2 They do not refer to Broomhead.

3 http://idp.bl.uk/



Plate 1. IOL Toch 81 (recto). (Courtesy of the British Library Board.)

reading is possible. The legible syllables could form or be parts of Sanskrit words. All texts are written in Brāhmī type u.[4] The Sanskrit text (r2–4) was identified by Hartmann and Wille (1992). Thanks to H. Härtel[5] we can say that in r2 and r3 about twenty akṣaras are lost; in other words, that the leaf was once twice as wide. Later, after what is presumably a string-hole had become considerably enlarged, the Tocharian note was added. The leaf was finally reduced to about half its original size and the blank verso was used to write down the Turkic text, this time in upright format. It is the Turkic part which makes the manuscript valuable. Plates 1 and 2 show the manuscript.

II. Recto

II.1. Transliteration, transcription and translation

r1 | hā yi × *p*ā *k*i + × | u[6] []i + [+] + m[] t/ni ×[] m[] ×[] ×i | i lā

r2 ‖ sa ma nvā ha rā yu ṣmaṃ a ×[] [+] *gh*a *s*ya pra va ra ṇa pā ñca da ś[] k[] […]
samanvāharāyuṣman a[dya saṃ]ghasya pravāraṇā[7] pāñcadaś[i]k[ā.[8] mamāpy adya pravāraṇā[7] pāñcadaśikā[8]. aham itthaṃnāma[9]]

4 Lore Sander (1968: pl. 29 ff.). For a more detailed analysis see below.
5 Härtel (1956: 122 f.).
6 Or: ru.
7 Or: °ṇa<ṃ>.
8 Or: °aṃ.
9 Or an individual name instead.

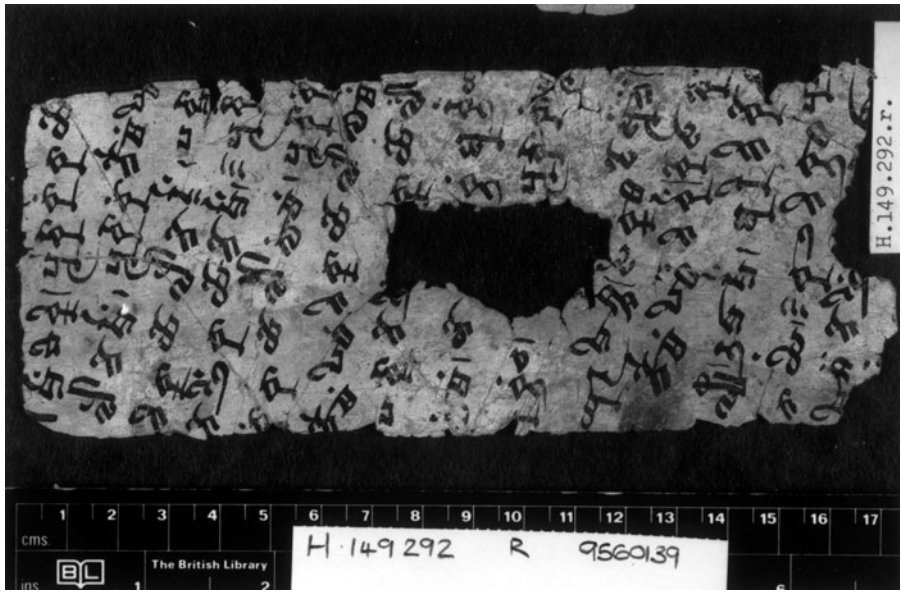


Plate 2. IOL Toch 81 (verso). (Courtesy of the British Library Board.)

r3 bhi kṣo bha da ntaṃ sa ṅgha kṛ te sthā ne p[]a *v*ā ra yā mi dṛ ṣṭe na śru te […]
bhikṣu<r> bhadanta saṅgha<ṃ> kṛte sthāne p[r]avārayāmi dṛṣṭena śrute[na pariśaṅkayā. avavadatu māṃ saṅgho 'nukampām upādāya.]

r4 jā naṃ pa śya ā pa t[]iṃ ya th[…] [ ]i × ṣyā mi +[?] × y × t/ne ṣtu[10] nu s [ ]
jānaṃ paśya<ṃ> āpat[t]iṃ yath[ādharmaṃ pratikar]iṣyāmi …

(r2) **Listen, venerable Sir. To**day (is) **prāvaraṇā, held on the fifteenth** (day), **for the** a**ssembly**. For me too today is pravāraṇā, held on the fifteenth. **I**, (r3) **the monk** nn, **invite**, **Sir**, **the assembly** (to instruct me) **at the prepared place according to what was seen, heard** or suspected. May the assembly instruct me out of mercy. (r4) **Knowing** (and) **seeing** (my) **sin**, **I shall** expiate (it) **according to the rule**. …

r5 se po sta-k̲ ka lyā na[…]
se postak kalyāna[…]
This book [belongs to?[11]] Kalyāṇa[…]

r6 aṃ a na ma sa rva jñā ya vi ga ta ma la pra jña ×[…]
aṃ a nama(ḥ) sarvajñāya vigatamalaprajña…[…]
aṃ a, homage to the omniscient, to […], whose knowledge is unstained […]

r7 = Turkic text (see below)

10 Or: ṣwa.
11 Or: was written by/is titled?

II.2. Remarks on the Sanskrit text

The Central Asian Sanskrit *karmavācanā* texts and the information regarding the ceremonies were collected and treated by H. Härtel. One of these is the *pravāraṇā*[12] to which our text belongs. Hartmann and Wille (1992) had already referred to Härtel's § 84, so it is necessary only to draw attention to variant readings. At the beginning of the formula our text has the second sg. imper. followed by the vocative of the person addressed; Härtel's reconstructed text, which follows his (almost completely preserved) ms no. 51, has the more formal third sg. imper., together with the nominative. Our text inserts *jānan* before *paśyan*, as do Härtel's nos 63–4 and 65,[13] and *kṛte sthāne* before *pravārayāmi*, for which no parallels so far exist. The distribution of the variants is shown in Table 1, where two *testimonia* are added which were not available to Härtel.

It seems that the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) the more or less formal opening clause divides the manuscripts into two groups: group A, Härtel nos 51 and 63–4; group B, the rest, except SHT VII 1655 (A or B); (2) the missing *jānan* in no. 51 is singular by error, particularly because nos 63–4 do not share this feature; (3) it is impossible to say whether *kṛte sthāne* is another distinctive feature of group B, since the corresponding passage is missing from all other members of group B.

After *pratikariṣyāmi*, we expect the stereotype that the preceding formula should be repeated a second and a third time (Skt. *evaṃ dvir api trir api*). But what is legible would indicate something different.

Table 1. Text variants and their distribution

Manuscript	samanvāharā°	+ jānan	+ kṛte sthāne
Härtel no. 51	–	–	–
Härtel nos 63–4	–	+	–
SHT VII 1655	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Härtel no. 67	[+][14]	[ ]	[ ]
SHT V 1027	+	[ ]	[ ]
Härtel no. 65	+	+	[ ]
IOL Toch 81	+	+	+

III. Verso

III.1. Transliteration, transcription and translation

v1 | meṃ bi[15] k̄i | pū rkā kāṃ kā yo män Bikki bur xaganka yö-

v2 lo no rmeṃ | pū rkā kāṃ nau-m̲ pi-t̲ lönörmän. bur xagan nom bi-

12 Härtel (1956: 113 ff.).

13 Mentioned by Härtel (1956: 123).

14 Not preserved, but can be inferred from the next formula.

15 Or: ṣi, as read by Maue (1996: 214). The form is <bi> rather than <ṣi>. Unfortunately there is no further <b> or <ṣ> in the text, so the decision in favour of one or the other cannot be substantiated, and the proper name is thus far unexplained.

v3	ti k̄ā yo lo no r*m*eṃ | pa rk*m*ā.[16]	tigkä yölönörmän. bar(ı)gma
v4	to ñiṃ kā yo no rmeṃ | 3 pū rkā	toñinka yö<lö>nörmän 3 bur xa-
v5	kāṃ kā yo loṃ tu-m̲ | pū rkā kāṃ	ganka yölöndüm. bur xagan
v6	nau-m̲ pi-ṯ ti k̄ā yo loṃ tuṃ-m̲	nom bitigkä yölöndüm
v7	pa rk*m*ā[17] to ñiṃ k̄ā yo loṃ	bar(ı)gma toñinka yölön-
v8	tuṃ-m̲ | bho ⊙ kuṃ a rkuṃ ya	düm. bo kün arkun ya-
v9	ra kuṃ ca | pū rkā kāṃ pū	ragunča bur xagan bu-
v10	yu-r̲ mi-śśe[18] | se k̄a[19]-s̲ do sū-n |	yurmıš säkkiz tözün
v11	nau-m̲ pi-ṯ ti keṃ[20] | ko sā tkā	nom bitigin közädgä-
v12	lyi | u mā rmeṃ | a ri tti ko ×ā	li umarmän. arıtı kö[z]ä-
v13	tā yiṃ | 3 ka-l̲ ti ku-ṯ pu [+]	däyin. 3 kaltı kut bu[l-]
v14	mi-śä to ñiṃ [+ + +] ×ā	mıš toñin […]A
r7	kā | k̲a ssā ko[21] | y*o*[22] lo ko | po lā yiṃ | mai tre ye | pū rka kaṃ *p*i l[?]ā |	
	…	yölögö bolayın. maitreye bur xagan …

(v1–2a) I, B., betake myself to the Lord Buddha. (v2b–3a) I betake myself to the law of the Lord Buddha. (v3b–4a) I betake myself to the monk(s)$_2$. 3 (times to repeat) (v4b–8a) I (now) have betaken myself to the Lord Buddha / to the law of the Lord Buddha / to the monk(s)$_2$. (v8b–13a) Henceforth (lit.: today (and) later[23]) I long[24] to watch suitably the eight good commandments ordered by the Lord Buddha; may I watch (them) completely. 3 (times to repeat) (v 13b–14) Just as a monk, who has attained the blessed stage[25] […]
(r7) … refuge may I become; the Lord Buddha Maitreya … […]

16 Or: rdhmā.
17 See note 16.
18 Erroneous vocalization.
19 Erroneously for: k̄i.
20 Erroneously for: kiṃ.
21 Or: k̄o.
22 Or: yā, erroneously instead of: yo.
23 For the extremely rare and not unproblematic *arkun*, see *UigWb* 199b. The syntagma *bo kün arkun* is perhaps the translation of Skt. *adyāgreṇa* "from now on, henceforth", less probably of *yāvajjīvam* "for the whole of life", though the meaning is more or less the same.
24 Or: hope; *cf. EtymDic* 156 b f.
25 The usual expression in Uighur is *X kut*(*ın*) *bul-* "to achieve the blessed state of an X", possibly designed after the model of TochA *X paräṃ kälp-*, TochB *X perne kälp-*. There are innumerable cases with X = *burxan,* but also with other ranks of the Buddhist way of salvation instead of the fill-in. In our text *kut* is not specified. To see what is meant, we may adduce Härtel's text 15 f. (p. 56) *yathārhanto yāvajjīvaṃ … prativiratā evam evāham … prativiramāmi* "as the Venerables are restrained throughout life…, I am going to restrain myself …". So *kut bulmıš* seems to be the translation of *arhant-* in a more general sense of "venerable, reverend", which is represented in standard Uighur by *ayagka tägimlig*; cf. *UigWb* 294.

III.2. Commentary

III.2.1. Spelling

In an earlier article[26] I stated that:

> there are only very few graphemic features which are met with in all the [Uighur Brāhmī] material. These are:
>
> - the two guttural graphemes <qa>[27] and <γa>[28] … ;
> - the marking of palatality [by means of <-y->] … ;
> - the "special signs"[29] [usually combined] with virāma;
> - the anusvāra representing the phoneme /n/.

To which should be added:

- the grapheme <w>, which stands for /v/.

The manuscript under consideration makes use of the anusvāra → /n/ and of the non-obligatory special signs <-l̲, -m̲, -r̲, -s̲, -ṯ>,[30] both in accordance with Tocharian.[31] But it does not in general share the first two features. These were specially invented or developed for the codification of Uighur.

The palatalizing <-y-> is generally not used. The only case of an explicit[32] palatal marker being attached to a consonant is encountered in line 12 <lyi>, whereas palatality of *l* before *i* is not normally expressed in Uighur, unlike Tocharian. But the scribe does not completely dispense with marking palatality. To distinguish /ä/ from /a/ he sometimes uses <e>,[33] accepting that eventually the phonemic distinction between /e/ and /ä/ was graphematically neutralized in these cases.

Everywhere in the Uighuria, and independently of the alphabets in use, the distinction between palatal and non-palatal gutturals[34] is strictly observed. For this purpose the Uighur Brāhmī has available, besides <k>, the consistently used graphemes <g$_1$, g$_2$>[35] and <k̄>. The former are absent from our ms; the latter needs some discussion because of its ambiguity. The sign <k̄>, which in Uighur Brāhmī mss always stands for

26 Maue (1997: 7). (The paper was read at the London conference "Languages and Scripts of Central Asia" in early April 1990 and submitted for publication without substantial changes.)

27 Recently <k̄a>, see below.

28 Recently <g$_1$, g$_2$>, see below.

29 Among Tocharianists these are called "Fremdkonsonanten"(foreign consonants), cp. e.g. *TEB I* §7.2, a term which I do not use to avoid the confusion with Konow's "Fremdzeichen" (foreign characters).

30 In both cases, where a final <s̲> or <-ś> would be in place, the scribe prefers to write the non-final form <-ś>.

31 The absence of <w> in our text is explained by the absence of words with /v/.

32 As opposed to implicit palatality in the grapheme <ñ>, which is used in *toñin.*

33 <meṃ> *män* "I" *pass.*, v10 <se k̄a-s̲> *säkkiz* "eight"; but: v2–3.6 <pi-ṯ ti k̄ā> *bitigkä* "to the writing", v11–12 <ko sā tkā lyi> *közädgäli* "watching, respecting", v12–3 <ko × ā tā yiṃ> *kö*[*z*]*ädäyin* "may I watch, respect". It should be mentioned that the Čağatay also has *men, sek(k)iz*, but *közäd-*.

34 For the Uighur Brāhmī see Maue (1984).

35 These symbols are substitutes for undifferentiated <γ> in earlier publications, cf. Maue, forthcoming.

the non-voiced non-palatal guttural,[36] has the shape of <k> with an additional horizontal stroke through the middle of the downstroke. This sign occurs also in Sanskrit and Tocharian texts; there, however, it serves as an abbreviation of double *k*. Our manuscript follows just this practice,[37] as can be seen from v2–3.6 <pi-ṯ ti k̄ā> *bitigkä* and perhaps also from v10 <se k̄a-ṣ> *säkkiz*.[38]

There is perhaps one counter-example. In v7, after the hole, we read <kā>, with an additional horizontal one-armed middle stroke to the right. Whether or not there was a left arm to form <k̄> is open to question. If not, we are confronted with a new sign, say <ꝁ>, which, optionally used, serves as a marked grapheme for non-palatal *k*, because it follows the non-palatal lexeme *toñin*. At first glance a further instance seems to be <pa rꝁā> at the beginning of v7, but this reading cannot be upheld as the same word is obviously spelled <pa rk*m*ā> or <pa rdh*m*ā> in v3, see below. I therefore prefer to assume that in fact <to yiṃ k̄a> was intended. Because, in this case, <k̄> does not designate a guttural cluster as it does in *bitigkä*, its special function must be defined. In addition to <k̄> some further double consonants are present in the text: double *t* in <piṯ ti k̄ā> *bitigkä* (v2/3.6), <piṯ ti keṃ> *bitigin* (v11), <a ri tti> *arıtı* (v12) and double *ś* in <pū yu-ṛ mi-śś> *buyurmıš* (v9/10). These can best be explained by the hypothesis that double consonants are marked spellings for the respective surds. And this holds good also for <to yiṃ k̄ā> *toyinka*. Accordingly, <se k̄a-ṣ> (v8) could represent *säkiz,* unless *säkkiz*, proposed above, seems to be preferable. To conclude, there is no evidence even of a slight differentiation between palatal and non-palatal gutturals in our text.

The plosives and sibilants are generally *more Tocharico* represented by (non-aspirate) surd consonant graphemes. Exceptions to the rule are rare in our ms: <do suṃ> represents *tözün*,[39] /b/ is written once as <b> in <bi k̄i>[40] *Bikki* and once as <bh> in <bho> *bo*.

I list here some disparate features: in the verbal root *yöläṅ-* the codification of perseverative assimilation (*yölönör, yölöntüm*) is noteworthy. <naum> stands for *nom* and requires explanation. There are several errors (see notes 18–20).

The main finding of the above analysis is that the scribe of our ms stands in the tradition of the Tocharian writing norm to which, in my opinion, the

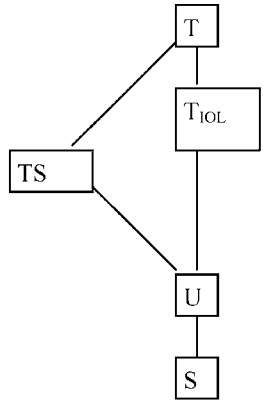
36 It is due to this circumstance that, on the analogy of the transliteration of the Uighur script, *q* was used as a transliteration symbol. The motivation for the re-interpretation within Uighur has not been finally explained – various explanations have been proposed (cf. Maue 1997: 5).

37 For this reason I decided on a new transliteration symbol k̄, which is open to both interpretations, double *k* or non-palatal *k*, and avoids the ambiguity of <kk>, which should be limited to the real ligature of two <k>.

38 Cf. *EtymDic* 823 b, *-kk-* not attested in Uighur. For an alternative interpretation see below.

39 That the scribe deliberately chose <d> to represent initial /d/ cannot be substantiated. Clauson's etymology (*EtymDic* 576 b: **tüzü:n (d-)**) could favour this hypothesis, but must be given up. The radical vowel *-ö-*, which was known from *TT VIII* A 15 though questioned by Clauson, is now corroborated by our ms.

40 If not <ṣi k̄i>.



Key: **S**(ogdian Brāhmī), **T**(ocharian Brāhmī), $\mathbf{T_{IOL}}$ (Turkic Brāhmī of the type IOL Toch 81), **TS** (Tumshuqese Brāhmī),[41] **U**(ighur Brāhmī).

Figure 1. Stemma of the non-Sanskrit Brāhmī scripts along the Northern Silk Road

doubling of consonant graphemes to specify surds belongs. A certain licence in the use of consonant graphemes gives only a slight non-Tocharian touch. No efforts were made to transform the script so that it would better reproduce a Turkic language. No doubt, the position of our Brāhmī variant (T_{IOL}) within the stemma[42] shown in Figure 1 is directly below T. For the present I assume that we have here the initial stage in the development of the Turkic Brāhmī. But without further evidence we cannot rule out the possibility that our ms was the result of an ephemeral experiment.[43]

III.2.2. Morphology, lexis and semantics

Elsewhere[44] I quoted a passage from our text in order to show its archaic character. The chief reasons for this were *xagan* in *bur xagan*, the usual Uighur form being *burxan*, and *toñin*, which resulted in the only thus far attested *toyin*.[45]

With respect to *xagan*, it must be conceded that the development leading to *xan* by loss of intervocal *-g-* and subsequent contraction *aa* > *a* cannot be ascribed to Early Old Turkic. Clauson's conjecture that *xagan* and *xan* "may have been alternative forms in the languages from which they passed

41 In earlier publications (see n. 43) I used "M".

42 It was outlined to demonstrate the interrelation between the non-Sanskrit Brāhmī scripts along the Northern Silk Road, see Maue (1981: XXXIII) or, more accessibly, Maue (1996: XVIII and 1997: 8).

43 In this case T_{IOL} would form a dead branch of the diagram.

44 Maue (1996: 214).

45 Again in favour of borrowing from Chinese 道 人 *dao$_4$ ren$_2$* (Yoshida 2000: 3 ff.). The etymology has at times been questioned because of the unexpected transcription of 人 ren$_2$. Yoshida "tried to explain the anomaly by assuming that it was borrowed … when the initial of the character 人 was still pronounced with a palatal consonant ń-" (p. 4). He therefore welcomed the form *toñin* in our ms as proof of his assumption.

to Turkish"[46] is well justified, though an earlier borrowing, *xagan*, alongside a later one, *xan*, cannot be denied. But as matters stand *bur xagan* alone does not prove the high antiquity of our text. *Bur xagan* might have been felt to be more honorific[47] than *burxan*, and at the same time distinctive, as will be proposed later. In view of its use in a formal text[48] I would not think of an invention *ad hoc*.

As for *toñin*, however, there is no doubt that it is genetically older than *toyin* and was replaced by the latter.[49] This fact plays a certain role in the (relative) chronology of Turkic writings.[50] According to Doerfer[51] texts with <ñ, n> range from the seventh to the first half of the eleventh centuries CE.

The semantics of *toñin* require attention. Normally the word stands for "Buddhist monk", but here it should denote the Buddhist assembly,[52] the *saṅgha*, the usual expressions for which in Uighur are *bursaŋ, kuvrag* and the hendiadys *bursaŋ kuvrag*. To achieve this meaning we must assume a non-marked plural instead of *toñinlar*. The preceding word is far from being clear. The alternative readings are either <pa rdhmā> or <pa rkmā>. <pa rdhmā> could represent *bärTmä* or *barTma*, both being nominal derivatives in *–ma*[53] from verbal stems. The first, from *bärt-* "to injure, to hurt",[54] can be discarded for semantic reasons. As for the second, *bartma,* I tend to derive it from **barıt-*, causative of *bar-* "to go out, to leave". We have to contend with two difficulties here: (1) the expected form would be **barıtma*; but by Erdal's statement that "with one-syllable verbs ending in /r/, the formative vowel [of the causative morpheme -(X)*t*-, DM] is usually retained but may also be syncopated",[55] *bartma*[56] could be justified; (2) the second and more serious problem – that the causative of *bar-* is not attested – can only be described, but not solved. Given that *bar(ı)tma* was correctly analysed, its meaning should be "caused to go out, leave", which does not seem obvious at first glance. But when we translate it into Sanskrit, we get *pravrājita-* "induced to leave (the home)" > "introduced to ascetic life, induced to enter the Buddha's order" or simply

46 *EtymDic* 611a.

47 The opposite intention seems to appear in a pilgrim's inscription from the Kuča area, where we encounter a decomposed *bur* in the formula *bur bolayın* "I want to become a buddha", which I tried to explain as an "Ausdruck der Bescheidenheit" (expression of modesty) (Maue 1996: 203 n. 3).

48 See below para. III.3.

49 As the shift VñV > VyV took some time and may not have happened everywhere in the Turkic language area simultaneously, both forms may have co-existed for a while, diachronically and diatopically.

50 Doerfer (1993, especially 128 ff.), with older literature.

51 Doerfer (1993 with fig. 38 on p. 86).

52 To my knowledge, there is no refuge formula with "monk" instead of "assembly".

53 Cp. *OTWF* 316 ff.

54 *EtymDic* 358 b.

55 *OTWF* 799.

56 According to Erdal (*OTWF* 317) only non-causative *barma* in *barma yıl* "last year" (*Ht VII* 1912) is attested in Uighur, whereas Röhrborn (*Ht VII* p. 255 comm. ad 1912) less convincingly proposes: "*barma* ist viell(eicht) Krasis aus *bar ymä*, so daß *barma yıl* bedeuten würde: 'es ist ein Jahr her'".

"monk".[57] So *bar(ı)tma* would appear to be a calque.[58] This result seems satisfactory, but the alternative reading <pa rkmā> must not be ignored. Possible interpretations are *barKma or bärKmä*; but only *bargma* seems plausible. If syncopated from *barıgma*, it is a derivative of *-XgmA* from *bar-* "to go away". *bar(ı)gma* would also be a calque, this time on the non-causative Skt. *pravrajita-* "who left (the home)" > "monk".[59] In the same way the Tocharians say TochB (*ostmeṃ*) *lät-* and TochA (*waṣtäṣ*) *lät-* "to leave (home), to become a monk". Thus it would not be improbable that *bar(ı)gma* was formed on the Tocharian pattern, and not directly on Sanskrit. And indeed *bar(ı)gma* is preferable to *bar(ı)tma*, as we thereby get rid of the difficult causative **barıt-*. A possible objection, that the morpheme *-(X)gma* was no more productive in Uighur, would not be valid for the pre-κοινή language represented by the Manichaean texts.[60] It should not go unremarked that in standard Uighur the verb used to translate Skt. *pra-vraj-* is not *bar-,* but *ün-*, in full *ävtin barktın ün-* "to leave house and home" or simply *toyin bol-* "to become a monk".[61]

Further on, the verb <yolon->, representing either *yolon-* or *yölön-*, has no exact counterpart in Uighur. For obvious reasons the first idea that arises is that we are concerned with a denominative verb from *yol* "way", against which Zieme,[62] referring to Erdal,[63] argued that one had to expect *yolan-* "to go in a certain direction", instead of *yolon-*.[64] The same argument, of course, can be advanced against *yölön-* instead of *yöläṅ-* (fig.) "to rely on",[65] which would fit the Sanskrit phrase *śaraṇaṃ gam-* "to take refuge" even better than *yolan-*. As there is no more convincing interpretation available, we must postulate either *yolon-* < *yolan-* or *yölön-* < *yöläṅ-*, a case of early perseverative assimilation. Zieme[66] supplied *yolo-* < *yola-* "to come near" from the modern language of the Lopnor area. Be that as it may, neither *yolon-* nor *yölön-*, which I settled on because of its

57 At the last stage of semantic development there is no sensible difference from the more current non-causative *pravrajita-* "having left (the home) > … > monk". Edgerton (*BHS-D*387 b) shows that even in the range of finite forms, causative and non-causative meaning are not distinct.

58 The intention to copy the model as exactly as possible would be a good motivation for minting an isolated *bar(ı)tma* without a *barıt-*.

59 Strictly speaking a *pravrajita-* is someone "who has passed the *pravrajyā*-ceremony, the minor ordination, a novice" (cf. *Buddh. I* 372 ff.). If this is what was meant in our text, one has to interpret *bar(ı)gma toyin* in the sense of an *asyndeton* "novice(s and) monks", which is impossible, however, on material grounds.

60 Özertural (2004) with literature.

61 E.g. in the colophon of the second chapter of the Maitrismit, *Maitri bodisvt*[*nıŋ*] ***toyin*** [***b***]***olmak*** rendering TochA [*Maī*]*treya****pravrajaṃ***.

62 Letter dated 8 December 1994.

63 Erdal, *OTWF*, 630.

64 Zieme himself proposed *yulun-* and recalled Kirg. *žulun-* "vorwärtsstreben (to strive after)" to bridge the semantic difficulties. But the difference between the stem vowels is difficult to explain.

65 *OTWF* 630, where Erdal also draws attention to the fact that *yolan-* and *yöläṅ-* are homographs in Uighur script and have sometimes been confused by modern editors.

66 Letter dated 9 May 2006.

semantic pregnancy, are common in the Uighur refuge formula, where we normally meet *ınan-* "to rely on, take refuge with".[67]

It is also worth mentioning the semantics of *nom bitig*. This appears in two different contexts: (a) in the refuge formula, *bur xagan nom bitig* "the written law (preached by) the Lord Buddha"; (b) in the vow that the eight good precepts, commandments will be observed. For the first Uighur has simply *nom*, for the second a completely different expression, *čıxšapat*, whereas *nom bitig* means any "Buddhist writing".

A further problem[68] results from *buyur-* and is described by Erdal thus: "The original Proto-Turkic verb for 'to order, command' should be *buyur-* …; it became obsolete in all types of Old and Qarakhanid Turkic".[69] And: "*buyur-* is not attested in Old Turkic".[70] Contrary to this, the verb *buyur-* is alive in the language of our text.

The future Buddha Maitreya occurs in TochB form *maitreye*,[71] whereas in Uighur <m'ytry> *metre*[72] is prevalent.

III.2.3. Conclusions

It is most striking that in a text consisting of only about two dozen different words and with simple and well-known content, almost everything requires notes and comments, and that explanations can seldom be given by bare reference to literary Uighur. More often we have had to state that the language of our ms shows features, both linguistic and features of Buddhist terminology, which are completely or at least in detail different from the Uighur standard.

The terminological differences must not be underestimated. Our text is probably part of an *upāsaka*'s vow.[73] As such it belongs to the Acts of the Buddhist community (*karma*), which leave no room for individual wording. Unfortunately, however, we have no precisely comparable formulae together with their major contexts, which would allow us to say where our text stands. After all, it is remarkable that the Buddhist affiliation of the doctrine and the commandments (*bur xagan nom bitig; bur xagan buyurmıš säkkiz tözün nom bitigi*) is emphatically insisted on, as if an attempt was made to draw a line of demarcation. And against whom? The only serious rival to Buddhism on the Northern Silk Road was Manichaeism – the official religion of the Uighur steppe empire (from about 800 CE[74]), and certainly more threatening after the Uighurs had attained the suzerainty over parts of Xinjiang and Gansu provinces (840 CE). It is probable that the new political and religious situation gave rise to a Buddhist "Türkenmission" under the leadership of the Tocharians and

67 Niu and Zieme (1996).
68 First pointed out to me by P. Zieme (letter dated 26 January 2006).
69 *OTWF* 463, n. 67.
70 *OTWF* 231.
71 In TochB besides *maitrāk*.
72 Or less probable: *maytre*. The usual transcription *maytri* is less founded, as I shall show elsewhere.
73 See below para. III.3.
74 I adopt Moriyasu's chronology (Moriyasu 2004: 34 f.).

perhaps the Chinese. In this connection it was advisable to emphasize the distance from Manichaeism and to avoid such expressions as *burxan, čixšapat* and simple *nom,* which were used or even had been usurped by the Manichaeans. If Moriyasu's scenario is correct,[75] the struggle for the religious hegemony was decided in favour of Buddhism at the beginning of the eleventh century. The century and a half of the Buddhist reconquista is accordingly the most probable span within which our text was written. The undeveloped writing system and the linguistic peculiarities discussed would point to the beginning of this period, say the second half of the ninth century.

The perceptible linguistic distance from standard Uighur needs explanation. Some of the differences could be attributed to an earlier stage of the language. But *buyur-* is perhaps a kind of shibboleth which excludes Uighur, for this verb is absent from Uighur, but alive in West Turkic languages, including Xākānī.[76] And indeed a group of words in our text which are less common outside Uighur, viz. ***arkun,*** **nom**, **toyin**, *tözün, um-*[77], are shared with Xākānī, those in bold letters exclusively. So it may not be completely unreasonable to consider that the language of our manuscript is Old Xākānī or some related Western dialect. This would imply that the date of the ms is open again, because the reflections referring to the date were based on the Uighur–Manichaean hypothesis. Thus the ms could even belong to the pre-Uighur period. However, it is best not to rush to conclusions but to wait patiently for further material.

III.3. Remarks on the content

The text is probably a Turkic version of an *upāsaka*'s vow.[78] Next to the refuge formula and its confirmation (here: v 1–8 a) we find in the parallel texts two passages: one in which the candidate begs the community to accept him as *upāsaka* and vows lifelong adherence, and a second in which he promises *in extenso* to observe certain moral commandments. In our text the first passage is lacking. The second is reduced to or introduced by a general promise to watch "henceforth the eight dharma-writings ordered by the Lord Buddha", which is unattested in the Sanskrit tradition, fragmentary as it is. An abridgement would be very strange, though. So it is more natural to think that our text is incomplete and the detailed enumeration of the immoral acts is lost. Remarkably their number is given as eight, whereas an upāsaka normally abstains from only five evil actions.[79] But in the words of Lamotte "le laïc peut s'engager par un libre

75 A short and vivid summary is given in Moriyasu (2004: 183 f.; forthcoming).

76 Cp. Dankoff and Kelly (1982–85: 526); the reference is owed to Peter Zieme.

77 Peter Zieme informed me of a possible instance from the unpublished Berlin ms U 5290, *män saŋa sözläšgäli umdım* "'ich hoffte dich zu sprechen', es könnte aber auch *umadım* 'ich konnte nicht' gelesen werden". (P. Zieme, email dated 07 August 2006). Even if *um-* should not be attested in Uighur, derivatives such as *umug, umunč, umdu, umun-*, show that the case is different from that of the isolated *buyruk*.

78 Cp. Härtel (1956: 50 ff.). The *pravrajyā*-ceremony is excluded as there the candidate has to commit himself to observe the **ten** commandments.

79 For the eight commandments see Härtel (1956: 56 f.). Their contents and order were not always the same, as we can see from a Sogdian version, cp. Yoshida (1984: 160–64).

choix à observer les cinq règles de moralité (*pañcaśīla*) ou l'une d'entre elles, l'octuple moralité (*aṣṭāṅgaśīla*) ou encore les dix règles (*daśa śikṣāpada*)".[80] From the Aṅguttaranikāya (*AN I* 211 f.; *IV* 251 ff.) and Yijing's record one could get the impression that it is only on days of fasting that a lay devotee "should receive the eight precepts".[81] Härtel pointed out,[82] however, that *upāsaka-s*, especially those who were not bound to the duties of a householder, were free to observe the commandments throughout their lives. And this is what our *upāsaka* vows to do by saying "*bo kün arkun* …".

III.4. Glossary

arıtı v 12	carefully, completely
arkun v 8	later on
bar(ı)gma v 3. 7	leaving (home), monk
Bikki v 1	n. pr.
birlä r 7	with
bo kün v 8	today
bol- r 7	become
bul- v 13/14	to find
bur xagan v 1. 2. 4/5. 5. 9; r 7	Lord Buddha
buyur- v 9/10	to order, command
kaltı v 13	(just) as
közäd- v 11/12. 12/13	to guard, watch
kut v 13	the blessed state
Maitreye r 7	Maitreya
män v 1	I
nom bitig v 2/3. 6. 11	1. the Buddhist law 2. commandment
säkkiz v 10	eight
toñin v 4. 7. 14	monk
tözün v 10	noble, good
um- v 12	to hope
yaragunča v 7/8	seemly
yölögö r7	refuge, support (?)
yölön- v 1 /2. 3 4. 5. 6. 7/8	to betake o.s.

IV. Abbreviations and references

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80 Lamotte (1976: 76).
81 Yijing (I-Tsing) tr. by Takakusu, quoted from Härtel (1956: 56).
82 Härtel (1956: 56, n. 4).

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TEB I = Krause, W. and W. Thomas. 1960. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch. Bd. I: Grammatik*. Heidelberg.

TT VIII = von Gabain, A. 1954. *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII*. Berlin.

UigWb = K. Röhrborn. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*. Lfg. 1 ff. Wiesbaden, 1977–.

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