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A TERMINOLOGY LIST IN OLD UIGUR

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The fragment we are publishing here is preserved in the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage (the former China Institute of Cultural Relics). It is a single leaf of an Uigur manuscript originally attached to a Chinese passage of the *Lotus sūtra*. The Old Uigur text is a kind of terminology list containing some hitherto not or seldom attested words.

Key words: Old Uigur, terminology, semantic groups, rare words.

Introduction

The fragment we are going to publish here is now preserved in the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage (the former China Institute of Cultural Relics), its shelf number is xj.006-0662.6, but there is no information when the fragment was found and who has brought it to the Institute. Originally two separate fragments were mounted together in 2009. The size of the joined fragment is 26.5 × 28 cm. The left side bears the Old Uigur text while the right side contains a part of the Chinese *Lotus sūtra* in Kumārajīva's translation corresponding to T. 262, 16c26–17a14.

The Old Uigur Text

Already the dots between words or word groups show that this fragment does not contain a continuous text. We think that the author intended to arrange the words/expressions according to semantic groups. It is according to our understanding a list of terms of different content. The entries consist either of single words or word groups. As the beginning of the fragment is rather damaged, we can hardly say how many

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and/or what kind of groups the lines 1 to 5 covered. On the other hand, in the subsequent lines the following groups are discernible: (A) protectors, (B) warriors, (C) waters, (D) minds, (E) washing people, (F) fragrances, (G) cloths, (H) high and big, (I) food, (J) drinks, (K) wreaths, (L) buildings, (M) dwellings, (N) treasurers, (O) grandees and tax payers, (P) Buddhist terms (?). There is no formal distinction between the groups. For a better survey, in the transcription and translation section we introduced the mentioned subtitles. Although it is obvious that within such a group the items have something in common, we cannot see any reason for the sequence of the groups. As a whole, the manuscript probably was a private exercise. Nevertheless it can be regarded as a trial for a grouping of semantically similar words. It remains unclear whether or not these categories reflect a specific text. We think that the fragment can best be explained as a kind of a terminology list.

Transliteration of the Old Uigur Text

01 [ ] l'r ///[ ]
02 [ ]y twyyn . twy[ ]
03 [ ]wr l'r tytyp "y[ ]
04 [ ] knt l[//] q't' . y'q. qylyčy s'[ ]
05 [...]'r'nčyqlyq čykyn qlyr . 'wyz 't'wyzyn kwys'[...]
06 [....]w twtm'q pwlw[.] . "nt'q ywryq lyq kwys'tyčyl'r [...] l[..] [...] l[ ]
07 [...]dyny k' . s[....] kwys'tčy kyšy {l'r} l'r . kwys'tynm'k . kwys'tynm'k ly[ ]
08 l'r k' . 'wrwnkwt l'r . pwylwp 'wsd'čy . kwyny 'wynk pwlwr . kwys'tčy . l'r 'dy
09 [...]qwlwq ywwl l'r ywwl l'r "ryq swyzwk twq twlw . 'wyz kwnkwl l'r pwlwr 'wz
10 [...]nkwl l'r . ywwl l'r . ywt'čy "rytd'čy kyšy l'r . 'wz'ty ywd'čy "ryt d'čy
11 "dy pylyš pwyšwk l'r . kyšy l'r . [...]'wyzynk' twyrtkwlwk yyd yyp'r l'r k'py[ ]
12 [///]yrwz čynt'n s'qpwč t's q'sy t'qyqw tyly . 'dkw l'r . twyrtkwlwk
13 [//]tym l'r q'pqyr (twn) šwnkym twn ywrwnk pwyz 'wys'ky twn k'lynk 'ylt[...]
14 [...]s'q 'ynčk' pwyz twn . 'yy't pwlwr twn l'r . 'ytyz 'wlwq . 'wrwn l'r 'wqwq
15 [..]r k'lpykysy . "rytd'čy . 'wyk t'tyq lyq 'š l'r . 'wynky t'tyq lyq . 'wykrwnč
16 [ ]wk 'š q' . 'yčkw l'r 'lyml'lyq 'yčkwsy . { } č'mp'k lyq š'k'r lyq 'wyswm lwk
17 t'yt lyq . nwmlwq {t'tyq} t'tyq . yyk swq'nčyq qw' lyq ps'k l'r kwyk lynq
18 w ' č'č'klyk ps'ky . č'mp'k . swm'n y'š'r [...]symwkdyk t'nk l'r . plkwrm'
19 [//]q . q'lyq y syns'sy kwrk'r kwyrwnčlwky . 'ryk l'r . twyzwn l'r nynk 'ryky 't
20 {'ty} "qyčy l'r 'wl q'yw 'wl tys'r 'v kwys'd'čy kyšy l'r 'rwr . 'wlwq l'r twyrt
21 twyrlwk 'wyz' 'yrt pyrt pyrt'čy pyr 'wylwš wn t'pynw pyrt'čy 'ylyk l'r
22 [/////]r k' 'wl'ty t'pynw pyrt'čy qwryq q'twn l'r k' 'wrdw t'qy nynk 'ysyl'r
23 [.....] k' . pyrt'čy pwqwn q' . 'wyk twrwq y 'wrwn l'r pwlwr
24 [.....]l'r 'wnk'rw q'tyql'nm'q l'r . č'ryky q'tyq[ ]

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Remarks on the Old Uigur Text

Nothing can be said about the original composition of the text, as neither its beginning nor its end are preserved. While most lines are complete or rather complete, the first five lines have quite large lacunae.

The script is a type of old cursive, but rather distinctive Uigur script. The orthography shows some late characteristics like dental confusion and the use of diacritics what may suggest that the manuscript was written in the Yuan period. Although the script is generally clear, some words cannot be read properly because of lack of context or comparison. The manuscript may have been proof read as can be judged by a few corrections inserted left of the text lines. Text parts to be eliminated are marked by dots encircling the wrongly written word or letters.

Examples for two-dotted s = š: kyšy (11), šwnkym (13), š'k'r (16). No dot is used to mark the letter n. Only in one case there is a dot beside the letter q (q'pq̇yr in line 13).

The distinction between final -r and -k is sometimes problematic.

Arrangement of the Text in Transcription and Translation according to Semantic Groups

We do not re-arrange the first lines as there are too many lacunae for establishing a correct order.

01 [...] lar [ ]
02 [ ]y toyın . toy[ın]
03 [ ]ur-lar tetip ay[ ]
04 [ ]knt-lar kata yag kılıčı sa[...]
05 [...]arančlıg čikin k(a)lır .[1]

From here we introduce subtitles to the sections.

(A) Protectors and protection

öz ät'özin küsä[tči ... küyü] 06 *[küzäd]ü tutmak bolu[r] . antag yorıg-lıg küzätči-lär [...]-l[ar] [...]-l[ar]* 07 *[är]dini-kä*[2] *. s[...] küzätči kiši-{lär} lär . küzätinmäk . küzätinmäk-li[g]* 08 *-lär-kä .*

Protecting (protector)[3] one's own body. It is steady protecting. Protectors of such behaviour[4]. [...] People protecting jewel-[treasures]. To protect. To those who are protecting.

[1] In lines 1 to 5 there are only some clear words like *toyın* 'monk' in line 2, *kılıč* 'sword' in line 4.

[2] Perhaps for -lyk = *lig*?

[3] As the final part of the word is missing, we cannot define its true nature.

[4] See the expression recorded by Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī: *anıŋ yorıkı nätäg kiši bilä* 'how does he behave with other people?' (Clauson 1972, p. 963a).

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(B) Warriors[5]

uruŋut-lar . bölüp osdači . köni öŋ bolur . küzätči . lär adı
Warriors. Dividing (and) cutting[6]. There is true colour. Protectors. Their name[7].

(C) Waters

09 *[...]guluk yuul-lar yuul-lar arıg süzük tok*[8] *tolu .*
Brooks to pass[9]. Brooks[10]. Clear and pure. Very full.

(D) Minds

öz köŋül-lär bolur uz 10 *[kö]ŋül-lär .*
There are own minds. Perfect minds.

(E) Washing people

yuul-lar . yutači arıtdači kiši-lär . uzatı yudači arıt-dači 11 *adı biliš böšük-lär . kiši-lär .*
Brooks. Oneself washing and cleaning people. Long time oneself washing and cleaning. Their name is close relatives (cf. Clauson 1972, pp. 380–381). People.

(F) Fragrances

[ät]'öziŋä türtgülük yıd yıpar-lar käpi[r] 12 *[///]yrwz*[11] *čıntan sagpuč taš kası takıgu tili . ädgü-lär . türtgülük* 13 *[ol]*
Fragrances for rubbing one's body: Camphor (see *DTS*, p. 288a) . ? . Sandal. Liquidambar[12]. Stone flower[13]. Hen tongue. Good ones. To rub[14].

[5] But it is also possible that this group belongs to group (A).
[6] The verb *os-* 'to cut, carve' (Clauson 1972, p. 241a).
[7] Why this word is added here, is not clear to us. Is another spelling possible?
[8] Different spellings might be *töz, tüz* etc.
[9] Derived from the verb *aš-* 'to pass, to cross'.
[10] Unclear. The first letter is not clear, other spellings are possible.
[11] Apparently this word, too, should be an ingredient, not a verbal form, but we have no proposal how to emend it, two or three initial letters are missing.
[12] This word is known from the list of drugs in the Uigur *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, cf. Maue–Sertkaya (1986, p. 95, no. 25): 'liquidambar'.
[13] Probably the same drug as mentioned in the Uigur *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, cf. Maue–Sertkaya (1986, p. 95, no. 26): *taš huası* 'stone flower', *ka* < Chin. *hua* 'flower'.
[14] It is not possible to reconstruct the word.

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(G) Cloths

[kä]dim-lär kapgır (ton) šunkim ton yürüŋ böz üzäki ton kaliŋ elt[äki] 14 *[yum]šak inčgä böz ton . ıyat bolur ton-lar .*
Cloths: Yellow silk[15] dress. Brocade[16] dress. Dress of white cotton. Dress of soft, fine cotton of Kaliṅga[17] country. Cloths (for) covering the genitals[18].

(H) High and big

ediz[19] *ulug . orun-lar okuk*[20] 15 *-[la]r käl(ä)pi=kiši . arıtdačı .*
High and big. Thrones. ? . *Butterfly-person (?)[21]. Cleaning.

(I) Food

ög . tatıg-lıg aš-lar . öŋi tatıg-lıg . ögrünč 16 *-[l]üg aš-ka .*
Mind[22]. Tasteful dishes. Apart tasteful. For (?) joy-giving (?) dish.

(J) Drinks

ičgü-lär alımlalıg ičgüsi[23] *. {bo} čampak-lıg šäkär-lig üzüm-lüg* 17 *{tıt-lıg}*[24] *. nomlug {tatıg} tatıg .*

[15] We think that the word *kapgır* is equal to Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's entry *ka:fğar* 'yellow silk' (Clauson 1972, p. 584a). G. Clauson writes: "no doubt like other similar names of fabrics; a l[oan]-w[ord], of unknown (? Western) origin".

[16] Usually we find this word with the spelling *žünkim*, see Clauson (1972, p. 989b). It is surely of Chinese origin as assumed by several scholars, the correct derivation was given by T. Moriyasu (2004, pp. 112–113).

[17] *kaliŋ*: see Geng–Klimkeit (1988, I) (MaitrHami IV 2a 4 ff.) *bešinč körü kanınčsız tapınmıš täglig kaliŋ eltä ünmiš agınıŋ täg yumšak bürtüglüg kız ärdinisi bolur* "Fifth: it is the girl jewel insatiable to look at, as if to serve her, soft to touch like silk coming from the Kaliṅga country". The spelling k'lynk is rather clear, it is neither *kiliŋ* (Geng–Klimkeit 1988, I, p. 222) nor *kalinga* (Yüsüp–Ḫoja–Qambiri 1988, p. 194). On the other hand there is a suitable word: *kiliŋ* (*xiliŋ*), cf. Räsänen (1969, p. 270b): < mo. *kiliŋ* 'Samt, Plüsch' (see Lessing 1995, p. 466a).

[18] Or: 'waist cloth', in Ottoman Turkish *peştemal* (< Persian). The usual meaning of *ıyat* is 'shame', but as the other element of the pair *uvut ıyat* (no example for the opposite combination is known) *ıyat* may also be an equivalent of 'genitals'.

[19] The -t- of 'ytyz can be influenced by dental confusion.

[20] The spelling is unclear, the long tail suggests rather a final '/n.

[21] Adopting two words jointly written one could explain k'lpykysy as *käl(ä)pi kiši* 'butterfly-person', although we are well aware that this is a very hypothetical solution as long as we cannot find a parallel expression.

[22] Reading and meaning of 'wyk are not clear, the spelling *ög* is only a tentative one, it remains unclear whether it is related to the taste or not. The dot after the word is not decisive as we saw in other instances.

[23] This compound can easily be explained by 'apple drink (or juice)', but we cannot explain the possessive suffix. One also has to remark that the letter *-č-* is not typical.

[24] While it is rather clear that the suffix is encircled by dots to mark its elimination, it remains whether these dots extend to the body of the word, too. The investigation of a possible word

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Drinks. Apple drink. Taste of *campaka*[25], sugar[26], grape,?, *nom*[27].

(K) Wreaths

yeg sukančıg xua-lıg psak-lar kök lenx-18 *-u-a čäčäklig psakı*[28] *. čampak . suman yašar [...]symwkdyk täŋ-lär .*
Beautiful wreaths. Wreath of blue lotus flower. Likewise (wreaths) of *campaka*[29], *sumana*[30], *yašar*[31] . [...]*symwkdyk*[32].

(L) Buildings (?)

b(ä)lgürmä 19 *[//]g . kalık-ı šınsası. kurkar körünčlüki .*
Appearing [...]. balcony[33]. *šınsa*[34]. *kūṭāgāra*[35]-platform.[36]

(M) Dwellings

ärig-lär . tözün-lär-niŋ ärigi at[ı] 20 *{atı}*
Dwellings. Dwelling of noble men.[37]

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for t'yt yielded no positive result. One could suggest a spelling *tıt* 'lark', but we do not know whether this is good for drinking or not.

[25] *čampak* < Skt. *campaka* is mainly known because of its yellow flower, not as a drink. The botanical name is *Michelia champaca, Magnoliaceae* 'Golden or Yellow Champa', it was cultivated in India from a very early date; it has many synonyms expressing praise of its delicate form, golden colour and intoxicating perfume. It is used as a medicine, too. For further data see Kara (2000, pp. 88–89).

[26] The word *šäkär*, its spelling with front *-ä-* is supported by the suffix *+lig*, is derived rather from New Persian شکر *šekār* (cf. *DTS*, p. 522a) than from Sanskrit *śarkara*.

[27] We cannot explain the religious word *nom* as a part of drinks unless one thinks of the *amṛta* or *noš* (< Middle Persian *nwš* 'eternal') drink, e.g. MaitrHami XIII 8 verso 21–23 *ärüš üküš tınl(ı)glarka nomlug noš suvsuš ičürmäkiŋiz bolzun* "You may give many people the *dharma* drink!"

[28] Like in "apple juice" (cf. fn. 25) the possessive suffix is strange.

[29] Cf. fn. 27, but here the plant is used for a different purpose.

[30] Old Uigur *suman* < Skt. *sumanā* 'Jasminum grandiflorum' (cf. Laufer 1919, p. 332).

[31] Probably the word in question ends in *-r*, but we cannot be sure. Anyhow, one expects the name of another plant. The whole word could also be read with initial *v-*.

[32] We have no plausible explanation of this word.

[33] The word *kalık* has a possessive suffix.

[34] Assuming that *šınsa* makes a pair with the preceding *kalık*, we encounter again the unusual possessive suffix. The word *šınsa* seems to be of Chinese origin. Cf. *šın* 'postel', lože' (Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, see *DTS*, p. 524a) + 子 *zi*. As 苫 'A straw mat' (Mathews, No. 5641) had a final *-m*, this word cannot be the origin. The Chinese 禪 *chan* is usually *šin* in Uigur which shows that the vowel *ı/i* can go back to a Chinese *-a-*.

[35] Known from Buddhist texts.

[36] As there is no punctuation mark between the two words, the possessive suffix of *körünčlük* may here refer to the *izafet* construction.

[37] At the end there is again the word *atı*.

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(N) Treasurers

agıčı-lar ol kayu ol tesär äv küzädäči kiši-lär ärür .
Treasure keepers. Who are they? These are people protecting the house.

(O) Grandees and tax payers

ulug-lar tört 21 *türlüg üzä ert bert bertäči*
(1) *bir ülüš-ün tapınu bertäči*
(2) *elig-lär* 22 *[lä]r-kä ulatı tapınu bertäči*
(3) *korıg xatun-lar-ka ordu-takı eši-lär-* 23 *[-kä]-kä .*
(4) *bertäči bokun-ka .*
Grandees[38]. Tax-payers[39] of four kinds:
(1) Payers by serving in one part[40].
(2) Payers by serving kings, [...] etc.
(3) Payers by serving harem ladies, ladies in the palace, and [...].
(4) To the giving people[41] (...).

(P) Buddhist terms (?)

ög turug-ı orun-lar bolur [...] 24 *[ ]lar oŋaru katıglanmak-lar . čärigi katıgl[anmak]*
Mind place[42] are the places. [...] correct strivings. His army[43] striv[ing ...].

Word index

agıčı+lar 20
alımlalıg 16
antag 6
arıg 9
arıt-dačı 10, 15
aš+lar 15; aš+ka 16
at: ad+ı 8, 11; at+[ı] 19
ay[...] 3
ädgü+lär 12
är-ür 20
[är]dini+kä 7
ärig+i 19; ärig+lär 19
ät'öz+in 5; [ät]'öz+iŋä 11
äv 20
b(ä)lgürmä 18

[38] The word *ulug* refers here to a high-ranking person: great one, notable, grandee.
[39] The old term *ert bert* is used in Uigur documents (cf. Clauson 1972, p. 201a).
[40] The word group *bir ülüšün* remains unclear.
[41] Although the dots seem to mark the two words *bertäči bokun-ka* as a unit, it is not sure that this was meant. One may assume that here for the first time the word *bokun* appears without its preceding counterpart *bodun*. This fact is also of interest for the interpretation of the compound as both partners must have special meanings.
[42] The group *ög turugı* has a special Buddhist meaning: 四念住, Skt. *catvāri-smṛty-upasthānāni*, *catuḥ-smṛty-upasthāna*, *smṛti-vibhāga*; Pāli *cattāro sati-paṭṭhānā* (*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, Charles Mueller).
[43] This translation remains dubious.

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ber-täči 21, 21, 22, 23
bert 21
biliš 11
bir 21
bokun+ka 23
bol-ur 8, 9, 14, 23; bol-u[r] 6
böl-üp 8
bösük+lär 11
böz 13, 14

čampak 18
čampaklıg 16
čäčäklig 18
čärig+i 24
čıntan 12
čikin 5

ediz 14
el+t[äki] 13
elig+lär 21
ert 21
eši+lär 22

xatun+larka 22
xualıg 17

ıyat 14

ičgü+lär 16; ičgü+si 16
inčgä 14

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k(a)l-ır 5
kalık+ı 19
kaliŋ 13
kapgır 13
kata 4
katıglanmak+lar 24
kayu 20
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käpi[r] 11
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kiši 15; kiši+lär 7, 11, 20
korıg 22
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[küzäd]-ü 6
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küzätči 7
küzätči+lär 6
küzätinmäk 7
küzätinmäkli[g]lärkä 7

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psak+ı 18; psak+lar 17

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sukančıg 17
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yorıglıg 6
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yuul+lar 9, 9, 10
[yum]šak 14
yıd 11
yıpar+lar 11
yürüŋ 13

[...]guluk 9
[...]symwkdyk 18
[...]arančıglıg 5
[...]knt 4
[...]urlar 3
[...]yrwz 1

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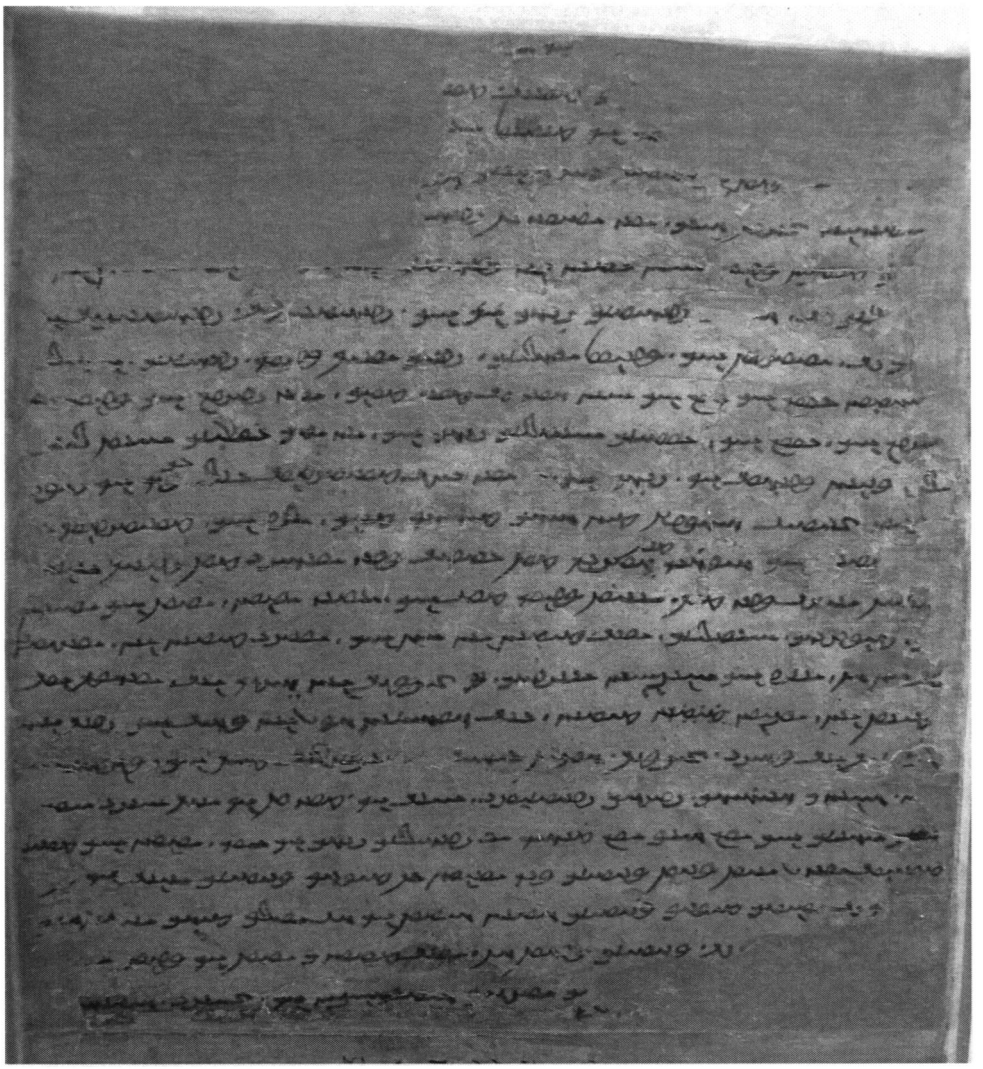


Fig. 1. xj.006-0662.6 Detail

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