

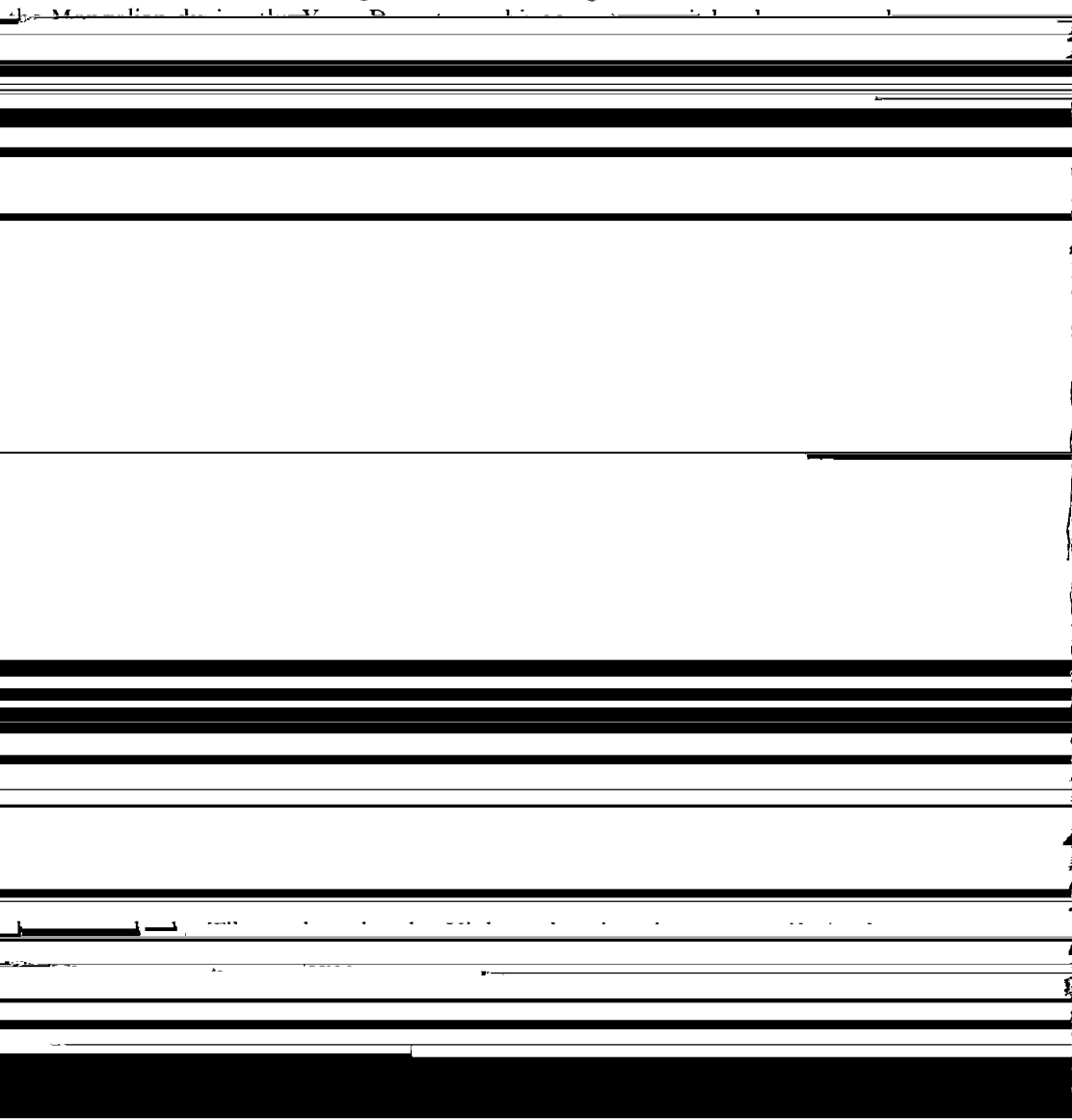
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On Uighur elements in Buddhist Mongolian Texts

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0

It is well-known that the Uighur exerted a strong cultural influence towards



ančulayu ok ontün sıjarkilī badīrakalptal
[alku adi kötr]ülmiš burhanlarnıj ymä k

ürgüt tınl(i)g oglanlar[in oz] gurda[či
öñlüg [no]ml[ug at'öz...şar]irlar
öñdün sıjarkī dartıraştire başlap m(a)
ülgülänčsiz uz ugurın ornatıltilar

The words with waved underlines, v
as follows:¹⁾

Mong.	Uig.
(1) aqşobi	akşobi <Skt
(2) sarvaviti	sarvavitñe <
(3) śagemuni	şakimuni <
(4) mandal	mantal <Sk
(5) batiragalb	badīrakalp
(6) śarir	şarir <Skt. :
(7) maqarač	maharač <S
(8) vač'irabani	vačirapani <
(9) purʔan	burhan <Cl
(10) abida	abita <Chin

vitñe of (2) Uig. *sarvavitñe* (2) is spelt
the Mongolian form in transliteration.
structed by Röhrborn from this spelling c
in Uighur to represent Sanskrit *jñ*. How
Sanskrit *sarva-vidya* (or *sarva-vidyā*) as the
sarvavityi, because, as T. Nishida correc
ponds to *pu ming fo* 普明佛 'god possessi
Skt. *sarva-vidya* (or *sarva-vidyā*) than *sa*

Apart from (2), the above-listed words
in Uighur before the Yuan Dynasty, and
borrowed from them. Though Uig. *sarva*
it shares the ending *-i* with the other a
most likely to be the etymon of Mong

The single-underlined terms, thoug
well attested in Uighur: *adişdid* (<Uig. *ad*

6) kanakamuni	kanakamuni	kanakamuni
7) śikhin	šiki	šiki
8) abhijit	abiči	abiči
prasenajit	pirsanči	—

After the fall of the Yuan Dynasty, translation of Buddhist Mongolian had been suspended until it was started again with the introduction of Lamaism from Tibet. It is generally assumed that the Buddhist texts were translated into Mongolian during the Yuan Dynasty. I suspect the existence of the Mongolian *Tripitaka* in the thirteenth century. A few texts are known to have originated from the Yuan Dynasty. The Buddhist Mongolian texts that we have today were translated in the thirteenth century, most of them being revised even later in the fourteenth century.

The Buddhist texts directly translated from Uighur date back to the Yuan Dynasty. However, no text has been found which the colophon clearly points to the Uighur or Chinese origin. I find intriguing colophons in the Mongolian version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* translated by Šes-rab seṅ-ge who introduced Mongolian Buddhism early in the fourteenth century. It reads as follows:

“...Later the monk Šes-rab seṅ-ge of the Śākyan lineage translated the powerful book (of) the holy and supreme Golden Land into Uigur scriptures into Mongolian, on the report of the Uigur said: Let it be ambrosia for the pure (hearted) people.”

As the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were written in Uigur, he wrote them according to the Uigur usage (youseq) with Bunya-širi sidü (i.e. Puṇyaśrī situ), a Chinese Uigur from Tibetan, he compared the Indian, the Tibetan and the Uigur. He translated the meanings and the words faithfully.

This colophon shows that Uighur as well as Tibetan were used as languages for translation. Since Puṇyaśrī is known to be a Tibetan text into Uighur, it can safely be supposed that the Mongolian texts were produced in the same background as that of the Uighur. If seṅ-ge translated another Mongolian text *Lalitavistara* from Uighur is not mentioned as its original, it contains many Uighur words. Uig. *adaq* ‘foot’ instead of Mong. *köl* ‘id.’⁹⁾ Therefore, the Mongolian version was also consulted for the translation of the Uighur text.

In fact, ‘the Indian (Sanskrit) forms’ of above-mentioned Uighur *Lalitavistara* agree with the Uighur-Tocharian rule.

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Names of yoginīs

Skt.	Uig.	Mong.
cakravegā	čakir-a-vigi	cagr-a-bigi
khaṇḍarohā	kanta-roxi	khaṇḍarohi
mahāvīryā	maxa-viry-a	mahā-biry-a
suvirā	suviri	subiri, sur-a-bir-a

The Uighur forms are cited from BTT 7 (pp. 104–112) corresponding Mongolian are those found in the Mongolian *Tan* names of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and yoginīs ending with *-i* may not be borrowed from Tocharian, but were so formed by Puṇyaśrī, who conformed from the Sanskrit forms in accordance with the Uighur-Tocharian important point is, however, that no inanimate noun is found to take *-i*. Therefore, it is hard to imagine that Puṇyaśrī advised Šes-rab sṅ translating the *Pañcarakṣā* into Mongolian, to add *-i* to the names of yōgi places. Probably this was done later by another person, who followed Uighur-Tocharian rules only partially, and added *-i* even to inanimat

2

The colophon of the *Pañcarakṣā* showed that the Uighur exerted influence to Mongolian Buddhism; Mongolian people took these Uighur forms as their model for translation, and in particular, they tried to follow the Tocharian rules when introducing terms from Sanskrit, the sacred language of Buddhism. It was with this background that the 'hypercorrection' in question was executed.

Even in the sixteenth century when Lamaism was introduced from Tibet, many Buddhist terms still remained to be those which had been borrowed from Uighur earlier in the fourteenth century. However, as an enormous amount of Buddhist Tibetan texts started to be translated, these settled forms began to be replaced by new ones borrowed or translated from Tibetan. The 16th-century version of the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* contains a large amount of Mongolian vocabulary, presumably employed in the period of the Ching Dynasty.¹⁶⁾ The following words denoting 'eight heavenly gods' and 'pretas,' found in the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* and in the *Pañcarakṣā*, together with the corresponding Sanskrit, Uighur, and Chinese forms.

Skt.	Uig.	Pañca.	Mahāvīryut.
deva	tāgri	tegrī	tegrī (3045)
nāga	luu	luus	luus (3046)

5) punar-vasu	punarvasu	bunarvasu
6) puṣya	puš	bus
7) a-ślesā	ašliš	aslis
8) maghā	mag	mag
9) pūrva-phalgunī	purvapalguni	burvabalguni
10) uttara-phalgunī	utrapalguni	uuirabalguni
11) hastā	qast	qasda
12) citrā/caitra	čaitir	čaidir
13) svātī	suvati	suvadi
14) viśākhā	sušak ¹⁹⁾	šusaq
15) anurādhā	anurat	anurat
16) jyesthā	čišť	čisda
17) mūla	mul	mul
18) pūrvāsādhā	purvašat	burvasat
19) uttarāsādhā	utrasat	udirasat
20) śravaṇā	širavan	siravan
21) abhijit	abiči	abiči
22) śata-bhiśā	satabis	sadabis
23) dhaniṣṭhā	daniš/taništa	tanis
24) pūrva-bhadra-padā	purvabadirabat	purvabadirabat
25) uttara-bhadra-padā	utrabadirabat	udirabadirabat
26) revatī	rivati	rivadi
27) aśvinī	ašvini	asuvani
28) bharanī	barani	brani

With the exception of 2), 3), 11) and 16), the Mongolian forms are almost the same as the Uighur. Moreover, the forms radically different from Sanskrit, such as 6), 14), 21) and 23), are common to the both languages. Therefore, it is certain that these names were introduced into Mongolian collectively as a set. It is also to be noted that the endings of these words follow the Uighur-Tocharian rules discussed above, and they are most likely to be borrowed via Tocharian.

3

It has been emphasized so far that Sanskrit forms were introduced into Uighur through Tocharian and then taken over by Mongolian. However, an

unexpected number of Sogdian elements are also met with in Mongolian, again borrowed through the Uighur intermediary:

Skt. ratna>Sogd. rṭny>Uig. ärdini>Mong. erdini/erdeni

Skt. koti>Sogd. kwrty>Uig. kolti>Mong. költi

Skt. puṇya>Sogd. pwny'n>Uig. buyan>Mong. buyan

Skt. cakravartin>Sogd. ckrβrt>Uig. čakiravrt>Mong. čakiravard

Skt. śikṣāpada>Sogd. šks'pt>Uig. čixšapat>Mong. čiyšabad

Beside the preceding examples of Sanskrit origin, one also finds the following genuine Sogdian forms settled in Mongolian:

Mong. esrua (Pañca. Lalita. Mp. Kandj.)<Uig. äzrua<Sogd. 'zrw'

Mong. kebid (Lalita.)/kebid (Hp. 2-19)<Uig. kibit<Sogd. kpyδ

Mong. nisvanis (Prajña. Lalita. Mp.)<Uig. nizvani<Sogd. nyzβny

Mong. nom<Uig. nom<Sogd. nwm

Mong. qormusda (Pañca. Subhā. Lalita. Mp.)<Uig. xormuzta<Sogd. xwrmzt'

Mong. tamu (Expiation. Mp.)<Uig. tamu<Sogd. tmw

Mong. titim<Uig. diδim, <Sogd. dyδm

In addition to these Sogdian elements, Chinese loan words, including those of Indian origin such as *šabi*, also find a place in Buddhist Mongolian texts.

Mong. šabi (Mp.)<Uig. šabi<沙彌<<Skt. śrāmaṇera

Mong. čai (Lalita.)<Uig. čai<齋²⁰⁾

Mong. qonsi-im (H. Zwei. Bhadra.)/qonsim (Kandj.)/yuan ši yim (Hp.

p. 20)<Uig qonši-im/ quansī-im<觀世音

Mong. baʔši (Lalita. Bodhi. Hp. 10-6 Subhā. Mp. Kandj.)<Uig. baxši<博士

Mong. biba (Mp.)<Uig. biba<琵琶

Mong. bisamun (H. Zwei.)/bisman (Kandj.)<Uig. bišaman/bišamin<毘沙門

<Skt. vaiśravaṇa²¹⁾

Mong. purʔan (Hp. 12-6)/burqan (Mp. Kandj.)<Uig. burxan<佛 (-xan)

<Skt. buddha

Mong. labai (Lalita. Subhā. Mp.)<Uig. labai<螺貝

Mong. lénʔua (Hp. 12-6)/linqu-a (Lalita. Subhā.)/lingqu-a (Kandj. Bhadra.)

<Uig. linxu-a<蓮華

Mong. lu (Hp. h3-42)/luu (Mp.)<Uig. lu/luu<龍

Mong. titsi (Lalita. Mp.) <Uig. titsi <弟子

Mong. toyin (Lalita. Bodhi. Mp. Kandj.) <Uig. toyin <道人

Of course there are loan words from the Turkic languages, but to put them in the proper historical context is difficult in two respects. First, it is not easy to distinguish Turkic (Uighur) loan words settled in Mongolian from foreign forms which happen to appear in texts translated from Uighur or in texts made by the translators whose mother tongue was Turkic. To the latter may belong *sariy* (<Uig. *sariy* 'yellow' Subhā.), *tay* (<Uig. *tay* 'mountain' H. Zwei.), etc., as well as above-mentioned *adaq* of the *Lalitavistara*. Secondly, it is sometimes impossible to tell whether they had been borrowed before the introduction of Buddhism, through the contact of the two languages, or whether they came from Buddhist Uighur as cultural words. For example, there is no telling when *bölüg* 'chapter, section' (Mp. Kandj.), no doubt from Uig. *bölük* (<*böl* 'divide' + *-ük* (suffix of deverbal noun)), was introduced. In the case of *erdem* 'virtue' (Lalita. Subhā. Mp. Kandj.), it is certain that this word had originated from the period well before the Buddhist influence, because of the two corresponding Uighur words, *ärdäm* and *ädräm*, which was derived from *ärdäm* through metathesis, the latter was prevalent in the Buddhist Uighur texts in the Yuan Dynasty. For Uig. *ärk* 'might, power,' there is a similar Mongolian word *erke*, which already appears in the *Secret History of Mongols* of the thirteenth century, while one finds *erklig* (Lalita. Subhā.) accompanied by the Turkic possessive suffix *-lig* in the early Buddhist texts. This *erklig* can safely be taken to have been borrowed from Uig. *ärklig*. Later *erklig* developed into *erlig* (Mp.), and was used side by side with *erke-tü*. Likewise, it is clear, because of its peculiar spelling, that Mong. *kkir* (Lalita. Subhā. Pañca. Mp. Kandj.) faithfully reflects Uig. *kkir* 'dirty, firth.' In addition to them, the following expressions settled as set phrases are also certain to have been borrowed from Uighur:²²⁾

- Mong. ayaγ-qa tegimlig <Uig. ayaγ-qa tägimlig 'worthy of respect'
- Mong. bilge bilig <Uig. bilgä bilig 'wisdom'
- Mong. ed tavar <Uig. äd tavar 'property'
- Mong. el ulus (Lalita.) <Uig. il ulus 'state'
- Mong. ordu qarsi <Uig. ordu qarši 'royal place'
- Mong. yirdinčü-deki <Uig. yirtinčü-täki '(in this) world'
- Mong. bursaq quvray <Uig. bursaq quvray 'monastic community'

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Skt.

Skt. koṭi>>Uig. kolti Mong. költi (Lalita. Subhā. H.Zwei. Mp.)

Skt. sumeru>>Uig. sumir/sumur Mong. sümer (Pañca. Subhā)/sümür (Subhā.)

Skt. tuṣita>>Uig. tužit Mong. tüsid (Lalita. Mp.)

Skt. ratna>>Uig. ärdini Mong. erdini (Lalita.) ärdini (Hp. a2-4) erdeni (Subhā.
Kandj. Mp. Bhadra.)

Mong. *költi*, *sümer* and *tüsid* underwent regressive assimilation, while *silüg* and *erdeni*, progressive. The *e* of Mong. *sümer*, as well as that of *erdeni*, is lowered from *i*. There are other cases where Mong. *e* corresponds to Uig. *i*:

Uig. bilgä (bilig) 'wisdom': Mong. bilge (bilig) (Oug.-mong. Bhaga. Lalita.) belge
(bilig) (Pañca. Bhadra. Kandj. Less.)

Uig. sizik/säzik (Or. 109) 'doubt': Mong. sezig/sesig (Bhadra. Mp.)

Uig. yilvi>Mong. yelvi (Lalita. Mp.) 'illusion'

Uig. birä (measure of length): Mong. bere

Uig. bičin 'monkey': Mong. bečin

In view of its occurrence in texts written before the Buddhist influence, Mong. *belge* is hardly a loan word from Uig. *bilgä*, from which Mong. *bilge* apparently originates. As a matter of fact, Uig. *i* in the first syllable of the other four examples was pronounced as [ɛ], i. e., a closed variant of *e*. However, since this *e* (i. e. [ɛ]) otherwise corresponds to Mong. *i*, they may also be regarded as cases where the Uighur high vowels correspond to the Mongolian non-high. Uig. *säzik*, which contradicts this correspondence, is known to have been re-borrowed from Mong. *sezig*. Incidentally, *birä* and *bičin* are also loan words in Uighur but it is generally assumed that they were introduced into Mongolian via Uighur.

4.3 Uvularization of Consonants

Some Sanskrit velar stops become uvularized when adjoined by back vowels (here Mong. γ standing for [G]):

Skt. kalpa>>Uig. kalp Mong. galb (Lalita. Subhā.) galab (H. Zwei. Mp. Kandj. Less.)
 γ alb (Cause.) γ alab (Less.)

Skt. aṅgāraka>>Uig. angarak Mong. aṅgara γ (Mp. Kandj.)

Skt. pādaka>>Uig. padak Mong. badag (Bodhi.) bada γ (Less.)

Skt. kalmāṣapāda>>Uig. kalmaṣapadi Mong. kalmaṣabadi (Subhā.) qalmasbadi
(Subhā.)

4.4 Insertion of Consonants

Skt. sumeru>>Uig. sumir/sumur Mong.
sümbür (Mp.)

Skt. adakavati>>Mong. adakavati (Lalita. F

Skt. vyākṛta>>Uig. vyakrit Mong. viyakiri
vivangirid (Mp. Kandj.)

b of *sümbür* is an intrusive consonant in *ü*; *sümbür* then ousted *sümer* and *sümür* homoorganic nasals intruded before plos with in Uighur, e.g., Uig. *šilavandi* (<S *vairocana* BTT 8).

4.5 Other Consonant Changes

v>ö/o

Skt. vajra>>Uig. včir Mong. včir (Lalita.
öčir/očir (Ka

v>b

Skt. vasubandhu>>Uig. vasubandu Mon

Skt. virūpākṣa>>Uig. virupakši Mong. vi
bi

Skt. virūdhaka>>Uig. virudaki Mong. vir
bi

Uig. tavar>Mong. tavar (Pañca. Mp.)
tabar (Subhā. Expiation

v>u

Skt. tattva>>Mong. dadu (Kandj.)

Skt. ratnasambhava>>Uig. ratna-sanbavi
mong.

Skt. śrīdeva>>Mong. siri diu-a (Lalita.)

Skt. urubilvā>>Mong. urubilu-a (Lalita.)

Skt. mahādeva>>Uig. maxadivi Mong. m

y>v

Skt. maudgalyā-yana>>Uig. motgalayani

Skt. abhidharma>

Skt. abhijit>>Uig.

Skt. bodhisattva>

In spite of the later
still finds a considerable
classical (i.e. later) Bud
texts, on the other hand
very large in number a
Uighur can be reconstru
example, of the names
lacks could be restored

Skt. To

skandha > sk

unmada >

châyā >

In general, the Uigh
betrayed in their ending
structed, the numbers re
first section:

(1) Skt. cārumanta>T

(3) Skt. ālokakara>Tc

(3) Skt. āmaṅgala>To

(1) Skt. ānandita>To

dati

(1) Skt. ārāḍa-kālāma>

(3) Skt. ayuta>Toch.>

(7) Skt. vakkalin>Toch

(3) Skt. pāṇḍava>Toch

(3) Skt. karnikāra>Toch

18) See TT VII pp. 9–14 Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

19) Rachmeti gives *sušak* as the Uighur form corresponding to *vis* two texts (Nos. 1 and 2) edited in TT VII. In the case of text against the facsimile, which clearly shows SWS'K. Since the Uighur *š*, Rachmeti transcribed the second S as *š* in the face of the Mongolian form is transcribed as *šusak*, because the manuscript initial a letter *š* diacritically differentiated from S and an ambiguity. Therefore, it seems to me to be fit to transcribe the Uighur

I take this opportunity to cite the following names of the *nirvāṇa* *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Nos. 3008–3014. While the names for *āditya* translated into Mongolian and *śukra* 'Venus' is borrowed from Uighur forms.

Skt.	TT VII.	Mahāvīyut.	Chi
āditya	aditya	naran	日
soma	soma	saran	月
aṅgāraka	aṅgarak	aṅgraq	火星
budha	bud	bud	水星
brhaspati	barxasuvadi	briqasbadi	木星
śukra	šükür	šukra	金星
śaniścara	šaniščar	sanisčar	土星
rāhu	raxu	raqu	羅睺
ketu	kitu	kidu	計都

20) In the *Lalitavistara*, *čai* appears in the following context:

basa mön qatay-u-jiqui čay-tur sildegen-ü kümün nandi n
naiman jayun biraman-nuyud-ta čai bariju...

'Also, at the time when he was bearing hardship, the main inhabitants, served tea daily to eight hundred brahmins

However, *čai* 'tea,' though quite common in the modern language, has not been attested in the Uighur texts of the Yuan Dynasty, where the similar contexts:

irši-lār iligi burxan bašin bursaq quvray-ry čayši-qa ötünsär
'when I offered foods to the monastic community, beginning
(Shogaito 1982: 62, 63)

Therefore, it is advisable to consider *čai* of the *Lalitavistara* not as Chinese 齋.

21) For this word, see also Mong. *vaisiravani* (*Lalita*. Kandj.) borrowed from Uigh. *vaiširavani* < Skt. *vaiśravaṇa*.

22) One finds the following sentence in the *Lalitavistara* (52v.):

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