AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

Klaus Wille
in memoriam

Declaration of the Best: A Sanskrit-Uigur Commentary on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra* – Reedition of the Text TT VIII H

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ABSTRACT

The Brāhmī leaf in Sanskrit and Uigur (TT VIII H) from the Berlin Turfan collection, edited by A. von Gabain in 1954, suggests an Indian origin, although this cannot be definitively proven in its current form. The fragment appears to be a commentary on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*, the *sūtra* that declares the *triratna* (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha) as the best. The preserved part is about the question of its origin or occasion (*utpatti*). The present new edition includes an introduction on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra* (I), the text, translation, and comments (III), along with the description of the leaf, characteristic usage of the Uigur Brāhmī script and thoughts on dating (II) and three Appendices (IV) on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*, the **Ekāgrasūtra* in Uigur sources, and the interpretation of *etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu*. Additionally, three glossaries (V) (Sanskrit – English – Uigur; Uigur – English – Sanskrit; Uigur – English), abbreviations and bibliography (VI) and plates (VII) are provided.

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We dedicate this article to the memory of our friend and colleague Klaus Wille, an eminent authority in the study of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, whose unexpected death has robbed us of his extensive knowledge and always unstinting willingness to be of service to others.

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. General

Text H is a well-preserved *pustaka* leaf that was edited for the first time 70 years ago in the volume 'Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII' [TT VIII].[1] Unlike the bilingual Text D in the same volume, it did not have the privilege of being recognised as the first testimony of Uigur Brāhmī and of being repeatedly treated by Turkologists and Sanskritists.[2] Text H also stood in the shadow of the *sūtra* excerpts[3] and *Udānavarga* fragments;[4] it did neither turn out to be part of an important

[1] Gabain 1954: 54–56.
[2] For details see Hartmann & Maue 2022.
[3] Texts A and G, see Waldschmidt 1955a and 1955b and Hartmann & Maue 1996. An annotated edition of Text C, which belongs to the *Madhyama-Āgama*, with its parallel texts is in preparation.
[4] Texts B and E, already identified in TT VIII and used by F. Bernhard (1965-1968) for his monumental edition.

medical work[5] nor did it shine as a remnant of outstanding poetry.[6] In short, the fragmentary commentary on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra* [APS] has been denied closer attention, but wrongly so, as will be shown below. For this, the ætiological narrative in the *Avadānaśataka* will be presented which is not only important for understanding the structure of Text H and reconstructing part of the missing content, but also for an assessment of the place of the *sūtra* in Buddhist literature. This entails a brief consideration of the terminology. Next, the various versions of the APS and its Sanskrit witnesses will be introduced, which includes an edition of the Sanskrit text and a translation. After this, the function of the sūtra as a magical text will be briefly touched and the role of *sūtra* commentaries examined in connection with the APS. The structural analysis of Text H concludes the introduction.

I.2. The ætiological narrative

The *Agraprajñaptisūtra* must have been regarded as a particularly important text. It deals with the question of who is the best in a highly formalized way, a question that moved the followers of the Buddha when it came to comparing different preachers of salvation and religious-social ideas.[7] 'Who has the true teaching? Who is a charlatan?' The answer to such questions must have had a very practical consequence, as it also decided to whom laypeople would wish to provide material support on which all the religious teachers and their followers were dependent. The basic conflict situation is described in a story in the *Avadānaśataka*,[8] which serves as the ætiological narrative for preaching the *sūtra*. In Śrāvastī, we are told, a follower of Pūraṇa[9] and a follower of the Buddha quarreled over who was the more excellent, Pūraṇa or the Buddha. King Prasenajit ordered an enquiry (*mīmāṃsā*) into the case and had it announced in the city that anyone who wished to see something marvellous should congregate at a designated place in seven days. When the time came, a huge crowd of people and gods gathered there. The *tīrthika* devotee made the first move, but his attempt to have flowers, incense and water fly towards the *tīrthika* teachers by means of an appeal to truth (*satyopayācana*)[10] failed completely: the flowers immediately fell to the ground, the incense went out and the water seeped into the ground. The Buddha's follower then uttered his appeal to truth: 'Because of the truth that the Exalted One is the best among all beings, may flowers, incense and water go to the Exalted One!'[11] At the same moment, the flowers moved like a procession of geese, the incense like lapis lazuli sticks and the water like a cloud through the air to the Buddha who stayed in the Jetavana grove. In wonderment, the audience followed and sat down to listen to the Dharma. This gave the occasion for the Buddha to teach the *sūtra* of the three *agraprajñapti*s, the 'declarations of the (respective) best.'

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[5] Text I, see Maue 2008.
[6] Text N, see Hartmann & Maue 1991, and now also Text F, see Hartmann, Wille & Zieme 2022.
[7] In a broader sense, this also includes the discussion of the Brahmins' claim to the foremost position in society (*agravāda*); see Eltschinger 2017.
[8] Avś I 47 *seqq.* (no. 9 Dhūpa).
[9] One of the well-known six *tīrthika* teachers, *cf.* BHSD 351a, DPPN II 242.
[10] Better known are the terms *satyakriyā* or *satyavacana* for the powerful act or profession of truth; *cf.* Hinüber 2007: 70 *seqq.*, Holz 2021: 50, Skilling 1992: 146, note 3, Soni 2002: 193–202, Wakahara 2002, Wilkens 2016: 35, each with further literature; for an understanding of the idea, see also Hara 2009.
[11] Avś I 49,2–3: *yena satyena bhagavān sarvasattvānām agryo 'nena satyenemāni puṣpāṇi dhūpa udakaṃ bhagavantam upagacchantv iti.*

I.3. Excursus: The term *agr(y)a*

This important *sūtra* deals exclusively and very succinctly with the bestness not only of the Buddha, but of all the Three Jewels (*triratna*). Thus, it contains a fundamental statement, and it is not surprising that it has found wide currency in Buddhist literature. Beyond this *sūtra*, the term *agr(y)a* is often used in the canonical scriptures and in the commentary literature to characterize outstanding persons.[12] Here it is obvious to think of the biography of the Buddha as narrated in the various versions of the *Mahāvadānasūtra*, where the future Buddha immediately after his birth takes seven steps in each of the four cardinal directions and then proclaims, at least in the Pali version: *aggo 'ham asmi lokassa jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa settho 'ham asmi lokassa*,[13] 'Foremost am I in the world, best am I in the world, chief am I in the world.' The corresponding Sanskrit version of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins is only preserved in fragments,[14] so that it remains uncertain whether it contained the word *agra* at all or whether the term is a secondary addition in the Pali.[15] As an example of how later commentarial literature draws on such passages, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may be referred to. When its authors explain the well-known phrase *pariṣadi samyaksiṃhanādaṃ nadati*, 'he utters the true roar of a lion in an assembly,'[16] they take up the term *agryaprajñapti* and use it as a self-designation of the Buddha.[17] However, the use of this term is not at all confined to the Buddha or the *triratna*; examples of its use for other outstanding persons will be dealt with below in section IV.3 on the *etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu*.

I.4. Versions of the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*

Although the various versions of the *sūtra* differ in detail, they show a basic agreement in content and structure: in the first part, the bestness of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha is declared (*agraprajñapti*) and defined within a reference group; rebirth among gods or humans is promised as a reward for worshipping the best (*agraprasāda, aggapasāda*) in the second part. The latter is emphasized in the two versions of the Pali tradition, which are included in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Itivuttaka*, and not their declaration (*aggapaññatti*).[18] The version in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* is extended by one point and therefore introduced with the sentence *cattāro 'me bhikkhave aggapasādā*.[19]

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[12] An extensive explanation of the term *agra/agga* in the context of the *Agraprajñaptisūtra* is found in the commentary on the *Itivuttaka*, see Masefield 2008-2009: 644–661.

[13] Thus in the *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (DN II 15,10–12).

[14] Fukita 2003: 64; only *akṣara* remnants remain, which are apparently to be restored to *ś[r]e[ṣṭha-]*.

[15] A quotation in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* also refers to a version that contains *agra*, cf. KVU 155,13-15: *guṇapūrṇānāṃ tu buddhamāhātmyaṃ na kevalam Agratāsūtra uktaṃ ca yathā Brāhmaṇasūtre. agro 'haṃ hi brāhmaṇa śreṣṭho loke iti sūtraṃ yojyam*. See also Kudo 2010: 76–77.

[16] Engle 2016: 625.

[17] Wogihara 1930–1936: 386.1 *agryaprajñaptipatitasya* 'comprised in the declaration of the best'; Engle misunderstands the expression in his translation 'the one whose instruction is supreme' (*loc. cit.*), but the Tibetan rendering *mchog tu gdags par gtogs pa* does not support this interpretation either.

[18] AN II 34-35, Itiv 87-89. A *sutta* that begins with the phrase *cattasso imā bhikkhave aggapaññattiyo* (AN II 17,11) declares the unexpected combination of Rāhu, Mandhātā and Māra to be the best of their respective kinds, and then exalts the Tathāgata over all beings in the cosmos.

[19] The passage referring to the Dharma is here divided into two parts, the eight-membered path (*saṅkhata* only) and dispassion (*virāga*, both *saṅkhata* and *asaṅkhata*).

The Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-Āgama* contains a tripartite version,[20] and the Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-Āgama* preserves a version that is divided into three individual *sūtra*s.[21] The corresponding texts in the Sanskrit canon of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins are almost completely lost, but a Sanskrit version that may be related to this school has been included in two places in the *Avadānaśataka* (Avś).[22] Moreover, the Tibetan Kanjur contains the translation of an *Agraprajñaptisūtra*.[23] As no translators' names are given, the work cannot be dated. It has recently been translated into English as part of the project '84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha,'[24] and the translators state in their introduction that the text is closely related to the Tibetan translation of the Avś (Derge no. 343).[25] This proximity could point to a translation as early as the 9th century or to a revision in the light of the earlier translation.

Finally, altogether nine fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia are currently known to contain or at least mention the *sūtra*.[26] One of them, a fragment assembled from SHT 1749 and 3423,[27] is particularly interesting; on the presumed recto side it contains parts of the declarations on Dharma and Saṃgha that correspond to the wording of the Avś, while the presumed verso side quite obviously preserves a parallel to the stanzas concluding the Pali texts:

> For line verso 1 [... prasa]nnānāṃ agradharmaṃ vijān[atām a]gr[e] buddhe prasann[ānāṃ ...] *cf.* the first Pali verse:
> *Aggato ve pasa****nnānaṃ aggaṃ dhammaṃ vijān****ataṃ*
> *Agg****e buddhe pasann****ānaṃ, dakkhiṇeyye anuttare* (AN II 35,3‑4)
> 'For those who are confident in regard to the foremost, knowing the foremost Dhamma, confident in the Buddha ‑ the foremost ‑ unsurpassed, worthy of offerings' (Bodhi 2012: 422).

> For line 2 [...]ṃ *puṇy*[a]kṣe○[t]r[e] anuttare × × [...] *cf.* the second verse
> *Agge dhamme pasannānaṃ, virāgūpasame sukhe;*
> *Agge saṅghe pasannāna****ṃ, puññakkhette anuttare*** (AN II 35,5‑6)
> 'for those confident in the foremost Dhamma, in the blissful peace of dispassion; for those confident in the Saṃgha, the unsurpassed field of merit' (ibid.).

[20] T02n0125p0601c24‑602b11. It is impossible to decide from which version of the *Ekottarika-Āgama* the quotation in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* is taken, *cf.* KVU 153.10‑13 *nanu Bhagavatā sūtram uktam Ekottarike yāvanto bhikṣavaḥ satvā apadā vā dvipadā vā catuṣpadā vā bahupadā vā Tathāgatas teṣāṃ satvānām agrata ākhyāyate yadidam arhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ iti vistaraḥ*; see also Kudo 2009b: 24.

[21] T02n0099p225c21‑226a7, *sūtra*s 902–904.

[22] While the first version (Avś A) is addressed to the laity, in the second (Avś B) the Buddha speaks to the monks (Avś I 329.13–330.8).

[23] The *mChog tu dgags pa'i mdo*, Derge no. 305, sa 130v4–131v1; Peking no. 971, śu 136r6–137r3.

[24] See https://read.84000.co/translation/toh305.html.

[25] *Ibidem*, Introduction i.6.

[26] In the German Turfan collection, these are the fragments SHT V 1318 (a parallel to narrative 9 in the Avś), SHT VI 1591 (mention of *agraprajñapti* in rc; context unclear) and SHT X 3423 (with SHT VII 1749); in the Pelliot collection in Paris, these are Pelliot sanscrit Stotra III.7 (ed. Pauly 1960: 522 *seq.*) and Pelliot sanscrit, petits fragments n° 83 (page A = verso), and in the Hoernle collection in London Or.15008/15 (ed. Wille 2015: 206–207), Or.15009/163 (ed. Melzer 2009: 208; it is apparently the beginning of a manuscript, because the front is blank) and Or.15014/50, page A (not yet edited; page A contains sentences from the first *prajñapti*, while page B contains phrases from the end of a *sūtra*. It is therefore almost certain that A is the reverse side).

[27] SHT X 3423 (p. 72); see also SHT XIII, additions and corrections to parts 1 to 12 (in print).

Line 3 [...] ○ taṃ sa labhate ×[...] lacks an equivalent, but line 4 [...] agradharmasa*m*anvitaḥ agraprajñāya pra[...] seems to correspond at least in part to verse 4:

Aggassa dātā medhāvī, **aggadhammasamāhito;**

Devabhūto manusso vā, aggappatto pamodatīti (AN II 35,9‑10)

'The wise one who gives to the foremost, concentrated upon the foremost Dhamma, having become a deva or a human being, rejoices, having attained the foremost' (Bodhi 2012: 422‑423).

This had so far not been recognised; it raises the currently unanswerable question of whether the SHT fragment represents a canonical version and, if so, which one it might be.

Overall, the transmission presents a confusing picture: Avś A and B do not contain a location in the introductory formula, but Śrāvastī can be reliably deduced from the context in both versions; the Hoernle fragment Or.15009/163 v1 names the Anāthapiṇḍadārāma in Jetavana at Śrāvastī;[28] the same is true for the Chinese version in T 125.[29] The three *sūtras* in the Chinese SĀ, on the other hand, localise the *sūtra* in the Kalandakanivāpa at Rājagṛha,[30] as does the individual Tibetan translation. The Pali version gives no location. Concluding stanzas are found in the Pali, the Chinese EĀ and in one of the Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia; the three abridged versions in the Chinese SĀ, however, do not contain any, nor do Avś A and B, Divy (see below) and the individual Tibetan translation.[31] This contradictory factual situation makes it difficult to address one of these texts as the canonical version of the (Mūla‑)Sarvāstivādins.

I.5. Text and translation of the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*

In the following, we present a Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* in standardized wording and in translation. As a basis, the second version of the Avś (Avś B) in which the Buddha speaks to the monks will be used.[32] For reasons of clarity, only the differences in the content of the other versions are noted; linguistic variants and the exact information on what is preserved of the text in the individual manuscripts can be seen below in the synopsis.

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[28] [...] *śrā*vastyāṃ viharati sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadā[rāme] '[... the Exalted One] stayed in Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, the park of Anāthapiṇḍada.'

[29] T02n0125p601c27-28: Shèwèiguó Qíshù Jǐgūdú yuán 舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園 'Śrāvastī Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍadārāma'.

[30] T02n0099p225c21-22/25-26/226a2-3: Wángshè chéng Jiālántuó zhúyuán 王舍城迦蘭陀竹園 'Rājagṛha Kalandaka bamboo garden'.

[31] The fluidity of the introductory location is known since Schopen 1997; verse parts, however, are much more stable.

[32] Avś I 329,13–330,8 (punctuation marks instead of *daṇḍa*s are inserted by us).

Text

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavāñ śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍa-dasyārame. tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma.[33]

tisra imā bhikṣavo[34] 'graprajñaptayaḥ. katamās tisraḥ? buddhe agraprajñaptir, dharme, saṅghe 'graprajñaptiḥ.

buddhe agraprajñaptiḥ katamā? ye kecit[35] sattvā apadā vā dvipadā vā[36] bahupadā vā, rūpiṇo vā 'rūpiṇo vā, saṃjñino vā 'saṃjñino vā, naivasaṃjñino nāsaṃjñinas, tathāgato 'rhan samyak-saṃbuddhas[37] teṣām[38] agra ākhyātaḥ. ye kecid buddhe 'bhiprasannā, agre te 'bhiprasannāḥ, teṣām agre 'bhiprasannānām agra eva vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyo deveṣu vā devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣyabhūtānām. iyam ucyate[39] buddhe 'graprajñaptiḥ[40].

dharme 'graprajñaptiḥ katamā? ye kecid dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā vā asaṃskṛtā vā, virāgo dharmas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ. ye kecid dharme 'bhiprasannā, agre te 'bhiprasannāḥ. teṣām agre 'bhipra-sannānām agra eva vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyo deveṣu vā devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣya-bhūtānām.[41] iyam ucyate[42] dharme agraprajñaptiḥ.[43]

saṅghe[44] 'graprajñaptiḥ katamā? ye kecit saṅghā vā gaṇā vā pūgā vā pariṣado vā, tathāgataśrā-vakasaṅghas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ. ye kecit saṅghe 'bhiprasannā, agre te 'bhiprasannāḥ. teṣām agre 'bhiprasannānām agra eva vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyo deveṣu vā devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣyabhūtānām. iyam ucyate[45] saṅghe 'graprajñaptiḥ.

idam avocad bhagavān; āttamanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan.[46]

Translation

Thus have I heard: On one occasion the Exalted One was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, the park of Anāthapiṇḍada.[47] There the Exalted One addressed the monks:

Three in number, monks, are these declarations of the best. Which three? The declaration of the best with regard to the Buddha (and) the declarations of the best with regard to the Dharma (and) the Saṃgha.

What is the declaration of the best with regard to the Buddha? Among all living beings, wheth-er footless, bipedal,[48] or many-footed, whether corporeal or incorporeal, whether with perception

[33] In Avś I 49:8–9, the *sūtra* is addressed to the audience of the contest with the follower of Pūraṇa, and hence it is introduced with the phrase *teṣāṃ bhagavān idam sūtraṃ bhāṣate sma* 'To them the Exalted One spoke this *sūtra*.'
[34] Avś I 49,10 *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo*.
[35] Avś I 49,11 *kecid brāhmaṇagṛhapatayaḥ*.
[36] Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v2 adds: ca[tu]ṣpadā *v*[ā].
[37] Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v3 and 15008/15 r1 omit *'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhas*.
[38] Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v3, Or.15008/15 r1 and Divy add *satvānām* after *teṣām*.
[39] Avś I 50,3 adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayaḥ*.
[40] agra° Avś I 50,3; SHT 1749 A2 agraprajñaptī :; Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v5: 1 iyaṃ prathamā a*g*raprajñapti :.
[41] Or.15008/15 v2: [...]ṣyabhūta, obvious error.
[42] Avś I 50,7 adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayaḥ*.
[43] Or.15008/15 v2: iyaṃ dvitī]*y*[ā ...].
[44] Avś I 50,7 *saṅgheṣu*.
[45] Avś I 50,10 adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayaḥ*.
[46] In Avś I 50,12–13 the final sentence reads *asmin khalu dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe teṣāṃ brāhmaṇagṛhapa-tīnāṃ kaiścid buddhadharmasaṅgheṣu prasādaḥ pratilabdhaḥ ...* 'When this discourse was spoken, some of the brahmins and householders gained faith in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, ...'
[47] For the different localisations see above the last paragraph of section I.4.
[48] Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v2 adds the word *catuṣpadā* (Tib. *rkang bzhi rnams*) 'four-footed,' as does the repetition of the phrase in the *Divyāvadāna* (see below) and the individual Tibetan translation.

or without perception, whether neither with perception nor with non-perception, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Rightly Awakened One, is declared to be the best among them. All those who trust in the Buddha trust in the best. They who trust in the best can also expect an excellent result, be it as a god among gods or as a human among humans. This is called the declaration of the best in relation to the Buddha.[49]

What is the declaration of the best with regard to the Dharma? Among all dharmas, whether conditioned or unconditioned, one dharma free from all passion is declared to be the best among them. All those who trust in (this) dharma, they trust in the best. They who trust in the best can also expect an excellent result, be it as a god among gods or as a human among humans. This is called the declaration of the best in relation to the Dharma.

What is the declaration of the best with regard to the community? Among all communities, associations, corporations or assemblies, the community of the followers of the Buddha is declared to be the best among them. All those who trust in (this) community trust in the best. They who trust in the best can also expect an excellent result, whether as a god among gods or as a human among humans. This is called the declaration of the best in relation to the community.

Thus spoke the Exalted One, and elated, the monks delighted in the Exalted One's words.[50]

I.6. The *Agraprajñaptisūtra* as a magical text

A version of the *sūtra* close to that of the Avś has also found its way, in an abridged form, into the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra*.[51] Although the *agraprajñapti* passage is not available in the surviving Sanskrit fragments of this *sūtra*, it is preserved in the version of this text that was inserted into the *Divyāvadana*.[52] Similar to the first version in the Avś, in the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* it is also used for an appeal to truth (*satyopayācana*): Here, by virtue of the truth contained in the three *agraprajñapti*s, Prince Kāla's severed hands and feet are rejoined to his body. Interestingly, the version of the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* included in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* adds a fourth *prajñapti*,[53] namely the rules of morality, which, however, do not find an equivalent in any of the other versions.[54] The potency attributed to the idea expressed in the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*, exemplified by the two narratives in the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* and the *Avadānaśataka*,[55] probably explains the number[56] of Central Asian fragments that is comparatively high for such a short text. For some of them, a separate transmission outside the canonical context is evident, which usually indicates an apotropaic or similar function.[57]

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[49] According to Pell.Skt.Stotra III.7 v5, the phrase in the Central Asian manuscripts reads *iyaṃ prathamā agraprajñaptiḥ*, 'This is the first declaration of the best,' which is confirmed by Or.15008/15 v2, where the declaration on the Dharma preserves iyaṃ dvit*īy*[...] 'This is the second [declaration of the best]'.

[50] For the end of the *sūtra* in Avś I 50,12–13 see above, note 46.

[51] For an edition of the Gilgit fragments of the *sūtra* and a study of the extraordinarily complex transmission, see Sirisawad's dissertation (2019); on the *agraprajñapti*s in particular pp. 222–226.

[52] Divy 154:19⁻25; for a translation, see Rotman 2008: 268–270.

[53] Similar to the Pali version in the AN (see note 19), the *prajñapti* for the dharma is also divided into two parts here.

[54] On this passage, which has only been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation, see Sirisawad 2019: 225.

[55] See also Skilling 1992: 146 with further examples of texts in which the *agraprajñapti* formula is included as a profession of truth.

[56] See above note 26.

[57] For such composite manuscripts *cf.* Hartmann 2017: 76–79.

I.7. Commentaries

In the Pali tradition, there is a close connection between canon and commentary. Detailed commentaries, the Atthakathās, are preserved for all parts of the Tipiṭaka, and these in turn entailed the Ṭīkās, the sub-commentaries. Apparently, such a comprehensive commentarial tradition only existed in the school of the Theravādins; nothing comparable is known about the canonical collections of the other schools. Of course, commentaries were written everywhere, but we mainly have them on the Vinaya[58] and the Abhidharma, but hardly any on works of the Sūtrapiṭaka. The continuous annotation of larger parts of the canon, such as an entire Āgama/Nikāya as with the Theravādins, does not seem to have existed or, to put it more cautiously, no traces have been preserved. Even commentaries on individual *sūtra*s are extremely rare. Among the 7485 catalogue numbers of Sanskrit manuscripts in the German Turfan collection (SHT) only four entries contain remnants of *sūtra* commentaries, namely SHT I 24, SHT VIII 1828, SHT IX 2013[59] (plus SHT I 34) and a fragment from the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, the commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra*, namely SHT I 767.[60] A fragment in the Hoernle collection in London, Or.15009/127, could belong to a commentary on the *Pravāraṇasūtra*,[61] and a folio in the Schøyen Collection apparently contains a commentary on an unknown version of the *Mahāsamājasūtra*.[62]

In view of the rarity of commentary fragments, it is surprising that two titles have survived. In both cases, the material and script are also of interest: (i) SHT 34/2013, written on birch bark, but in a Central Asian form of the Gupta script[63], which, despite the material, indicates an origin on the Silk Road, preserves *Gardūlasūtrasyotpattiḥ prathamā*,[64] the 'first occasion for the Gardūlasūtra'. (ii) The source of the second title *Agraprajñaptisūttrasyopadeśaḥ*,[65] the 'instruction on the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*' is an Indian palm-leaf manuscript that was found in Kizil and can be dated to the Gupta period according to the script.[66] The author's name is only partly preserved, but we are informed that he came from Mathura.[67] Regrettably, most of the commentary is lost, and the remains[68] do not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to whether the second commentary on the APS, our Sanskrit-Uigur bilingual Text H, could be part of the same text; no overlaps can be observed.

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[58] Petra Kieffer-Pülz (email 30.12.2023) points out the extensive commentary literature of the Mūlasarvāstivādins on their Vinaya; differences may therefore also be school-specific or due to the state of transmission.

[59] On this catalogue number, see also the detailed treatment in the review by Oskar von Hinüber (2005: 298).

[60] Although commenting on a *sūtra*, the *Saṅgītiparyāya* actually belongs to the Abhidharma (see the entry in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Eltschinger and Honjo 2015: 95–96). Another Sanskrit fragment from this work is found among the manuscripts from Afghanistan described by Sylvain Lévi (see Stache-Rosen 1968: 9), and the Gāndhārī fragments from a commentary on the *Saṅgītisūtra* should also be mentioned here, see Baums 2021.

[61] Kudo 2009a: 184.

[62] Dietz, Qvarnström & Skilling 2006.

[63] Alphabet q *per* Sander (1968: 181; 200; plates 29 *seqq.*).

[64] SHT 34: 26 and SHT IX 2013: 18. – Our Text H is dedicated to the same topic, as is clearly shown by the adoption of the term *utpatti* (l. 4) in Uigur.

[65] SHT I 24, p. 16, fragment f B1. The convincingly presumed vowel -o- is damaged; the surviving part represents -ā.

[66] Alphabet l *per* Sander (1968: 148 *seqq.*; 199; plates 21 *seqq.*), probably datable to 'das frühe 6. Jh. (the early 6th cent.)' (*op. cit.* 154).

[67] The colophon (see n. 68 [SHT I 24, p. 16, fragment f B1 ...] reads: kṛtir ācārya + + + ttrasya nandina māthu[ras]y[a].

[68] SHT I 24 (p. 16); fragment l (with explanations of *virāgas teṣām agra iti*, r2 and 4) can certainly be assigned to the commentary on the dharma, and probably also fragment aa(4), which contains explanations of *tathāgataśrāvakasaṃghaḥ* in r3.

I.8. Analysis of Text H

Text H begins with an introductory sentence:[69] '[The Exalted One] called the monks together and thus spoke to them,' which is only preserved in Uigur. Then the core text of the APS is quoted in Sanskrit and translated, but not the part that explains in what respect the *triratna* surpasses all other(s), nor the announcement that trust (Skt. *prasāda*) in the *triratna* guarantees rebirth in the world of gods or humans. These issues do not play a role in the present context. The central topic here is the question why the *sūtra* was proclaimed. One would expect the question to follow the *sūtra* text, but this is not the case. Therefore, it must have been included on the lost previous leaf, as well as the first answer, which should have referred to the ætiological narrative identical or at least similar to that of Avś A. This is because the events reported there provided the first and immediate reason (Skt. *utpatti*) for the proclamation of the APS. But strictly speaking, they only justify the declaration of the preeminence of the Tathāgata, since the Dharma and Saṅgha were not part of the *satyopayācana*. Therefore, the extension of the *agraprajñapti* to the *triratna* required some explanation, which is attributed to Prasenajit in our text and forms the second reason (Uig. *ikinti tıltag*). Without the help of a Sanskrit excerpt and in a difficult-to-understand, possibly corrupted Uigur formulation, the king seems to say something like this: If and because it is true that the Tathāgata is the very best, this must also apply to the Doctrine he preaches and the Community he founded. The subsequent third reason again has an explicit Skt. basis. For further comments, however, only the formula 'the following is meant by this' is quoted from the Skt. The explanations proper are in Uigur and not yet completed at the end of the leaf. It is argued that the 'three jewels' did not occur in other declarations of the best that preceded the APS.[70] This could rise doubts about their bestness, and in order to dispel these, the Exalted One proclaimed the APS.

The manuscript leaf bears the folio no. 10. Even if the ætiological narrative and the first reason had been presented in great detail, hardly more than one leaf would have been necessary. From this we can conclude that the APS and its commentary were part of a larger but unknown context.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT

II.1. The physical object

Mainz 835 T III M 140[71]

The almost completely preserved folio in oblong *pustaka* format (8.4 cm × 43.1 cm) is slightly damaged at the corners and margins. The writing is not affected by this, but is somewhat rubbed off at the end of lines r1–3. The light to medium brown paper has a smooth surface and shows irregular fluting in the direction of writing against the light. The front and back were carefully prepared for the writing. Two vertical lines, each about 2 cm from the edge, delimit the writing area, and two further vertical lines mark the string hole area, which interrupts the centre line at

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[69] Any preceding formulaic parts, especially the localisation, are lost.
[70] For these see Appendix IV.3. The claim that they are older than the APS is of course a construct of the commentator.
[71] On the right margin of the reverse: T III stamped, M 140 handwritten.

a width of about 3 cm. The string hole (10.3 cm from the left edge) divides the width of the sheet approximately in the ratio of 1:4. Five ruling lines were drawn on each side at equal intervals. The writing was done in elegant Brāhmī alphabet u (after Sander 1968). The left edge of the reverse bears the folio number 10.

Provenance: Murtuk, 3rd Prussian Turfan Expedition
Publications: Gabain 1954: 54–56 Text H (edition); Maue Kat I no. 13 (catalogue)
Photos: Maue Kat I Plate 41; DTA Mainz 835; here: Plates I–II.

II.2. The graphematic profile

Since, unlike Sanskrit or TochA/B in their classical forms, there are no comprehensive orthographic rules for the Uigur Brāhmī, practically every manuscript has its own graphematic profile.[72] For our text, this will be described below. It should be noted that the transcription of the lexis generally follows Röhrborn's *Uigurisches Wörterbuch* (UWN) and Wilkens' *Handwörterbuch* (HWAU); the form of the morphemes is based on Erdal's *Grammar of Old Turkic* (GOT). Complete documentation is given in §1 and §2; in the other paragraphs only if it concerns remarkable phenomena. Trivial issues are merely described or illustrated by samples.

II.2.1. The oral dentals[73]

fortis[74]		lenis	
<tt> [a)]	<t>? [b)] <(n)d>? [c)] <d^h>? [d)]	<d$_1$> [e)]	
plosive		fricative?	

a) 5 at**ı**; 7 ula**t**ı.

b) 1.1 **t**oyun; 1.1.3 **t**ep; 1.2.2.2.6.6.8.9 ukı**t**mak; 1.6 **t**esär; 2 nom**d**a; 3 öri**t**ür; 3 ker**t**ü; 3.3.5.5.6.7 **t**äŋri; 3 **t**ılt-agın; 5.6 **t**ükäl; 5 ögi**t**miš; 6.10 **t**ınlıg; 6 **t**arkar°; 8 o**t**oz; 8 al**t**ı;10 äš**t**ilmädi; 10 äšid**d**äči:10 ö**t**rö; 10 bol**d**ı.

c) 2 burhan**d**a; 3 ikin**t**i; 4.10 an**t**ag; 5.9 arasın**d**a; 9.9.9 mon**t**ag; 10 icin**d**ä.

d) 6 sav**d**a.

e) 1.6.9 yarlıka**d**ı; 2 bursuŋlar**d**a; 5.7 sutır**d**a; 8 ög**d**ilär < oya-g$_1$ d$_1$i lyā-r̲ >; 9 är**d**(i)niniŋ; 9–10 agla**d**ı; 10 äštilmä**d**i; 10 äši**d**täči; 10 ä**d**gülüg; 10 ä**d**rämlig.

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[72] *Cf.* Hartmann & Maue 2022: 97 *seqq.*

[73] Used in a broader sense, which includes the alveolars.

[74] *Cf.* GOT 62: 'The difference between the first and second column of consonants [*i. e.* p, t, č, k and v, d, y, g respectively] must have been one both of voice and of tension, *i. e.* strong (more energetic, *fortis*) vs. weak (less energetic, *lenis*) pronunciation.'

Borrowings
<t> 4 u**t**patti; 7 ajna**t**akawndinye; 7 mahaprajapa**t**i; 7 gaw**t**ami; 7 **t**rıpuse; 8 nan**d**e; čahšapa**t**ka.
<tt> 4 utpa**tti**.
<d> 8 nan**d**abalı.
<d^h>/ $\underline{t}$ 5.7 su**t**ırda <sū $\underline{t}a$ rd$_1$ā>; 6 su**t**ırıg < sū $\underline{t}a$ ri-g$_1$ >; 7.7 arhan**t** < a rha-n$\underline{t}$ >; 7.7 arhan**t**anč < a rha nd^{h}ā-ñc >.

There is no doubt that the spelling <tt> denotes the fortis dental and <d$_1$> its lenis counterpart. The fricative nature of the dental encoded by <d$_1$> in Tumshukese and Sogdian would suggest that this feature also applies in Uigur,[75] especially since <d$_1$> probably entered Sogdian via Uigur.[76] M. Erdal (GOT 62) even considers fricative realisation of /d/ to be the norm except 'when it was preceded by one of the voiced continuants /r l n/'. However, three cases with the <d$_1$> have the allegedly inhibiting sequence -*rd*-. The other dental graphemes have no clear prognostic value. <t> usually stands for /t/, but in *nomda*, *äšiddäči* and *boldı* it represents /d/. This ambiguity also applies to <d>, which is generally avoided as a single character and only occurs in the ligature <nd>. And this probably owes its use to the fact that its form shows the sequence nasal + dental much better than <nt>, which is hardly distinguishable from <tt, tn>, if at all. The value of the unique <d^h> cannot be judged with certainty.

As far as <t, tt, d> in the borrowings are concerned, only the n. pr. Nande is worth mentioning because of the spelling <nt>. The grapheme <d^h>, which can be understood *more Tocharico* (i) virāmised as <-$\underline{t}$>, *t* and (ii) without an additional vowel diacritic as <$\underline{t}a$>, *tə* ~ Uig. *tı*, is actually used here in both ways. In 'sūtra', the original TochA/B spelling *sŭtär* is adopted, whereas 7 <a rha-n$\underline{t}$> *arhant* is merely a Tocharising spelling, as the 'arhat' is *ārānt*[77] in TochA and *arhānte*[78] in TochB. Interestingly, the *d^h*/$\underline{t}$ spelling is transferred from *arhant* to *arhantanč*, where the grapheme is to be read as *d^h* because of the vowel diacritic, but is to be interpreted as a *t*.

II.2.2. The velars

	fortis	lenis	
front	<k > [a]	<g$_1$> [d]	plosive or fricative
back	<k̄> [b] , <hk> [c]		
	<h> [e]		markedly fricative

a) 3 **k**ertü; 3 i**k**inti; 4 öŋrä**k**i; 5 tü**k**äl; 5 ünmäyöki**ŋ**ä; 5.6 är**k**i; 6 sezi**k**lig; 6 sezi**k**lärin; 6 *t*ü**k**äl; 8 bilig**k**ä; 10 sezi**k**läri.
b) 1 yarlı**k**adı; 1 u**k**ıtma**k**lar; 2 u**k**ıtma**k**; 2 ya**ŋ**lo**k**; 3 o**k**; 6 tar**k**argalır; 8 čahšapat**k**a.
c) 1 o**k**ıp; 1 u**k**ıtmaklar; 1 **k**a*yo*; 2.2 u**k**ıtma**k**; 2 u**k**ıtma**k**; 3 sa**k**ınč; 6.9 yarlı**k**adı; 9 **k**uvrag.

[75] Sceptically Maue 1984: 57.
[76] *Cf.* Maue & Sims-Williams 2024: 37.
[77] DThTA 42a.
[78] DTB² I 27.

d) front: 1.2.2.2.2.3.3.5.5.8.8.9.9.9 ye**g**; 3 üčä**g**ü; 4.5.6.8 bil**g**ä; 5 ö**g**itmišlär; 6 sezikli**g**; 6 yörü**g**; 7.8 y(e)**g**irme; 8 bili**g**kä; 8 ö**g**dilär; 9 ö**g**ä; 10 ö**g**läri; 10 äd**g**ülü**g**; 10 ädrämli**g**lär.

back: 1 toyunlarɪ**g**; 3 tɪltagɪn; 4.10 anta**g**; 6 tarkar**g**alɪr; 6 sudɪrɪ**g**; 7.7.8.8 °larɪ**g**; 9.9 .9 monta**g**; 9 kuvra**g**; 9–10 a**g**ladɪ.

e) 10 tɪnlɪ**g**larnɪŋ <hlā>.

Borrowings
<k>: 5.7 e**k**agrɪ; 7 ajnata**k**awndinye; 7 bali**k**e.
<g>: 5.7 eka**g**rɪ.
<h>: 1 bur**h**anta; 3.5.7.9.10.10 bur**h**an; 4 ba**h**šɪlar; 5 bur**h**annɪŋ; 7.7 ar**h**ant; 7.7 ar**h**antanč; 8 ča**h**šapatka.

The velars are represented according to Pattern I[79]: strict distinction between front and back /k/, undifferentiated representation of /g/ by the special sign <g₁>, once substituted by <h>, whereby the fricative articulation[80] of the back *g* is emphasised. Noteworthy is <hk> alongside the standard sign <k̄>. The word *ukɪtmak*, which occurs several times in different spellings, clearly demonstrates that <k̄> and <hk>[81] are freely interchangeable. There is no trace of a distribution pattern that would suggest phonetic variance in certain sound environments. So, if the ligature <hk> was created for the purpose of representing a modified pronunciation – be it affrication or fricativisation – then the promiscuous use of <k̄> and <hk> in this ms. can only mean: either (i) the affrication or fricativisation of the back /k/ applies everywhere regardless of position or (ii) the scribe mistakenly considered the two graphemes to be equivalent – we may say: syngraphic.[82] Otherwise one has to assume that (iii) <k̄> and <hk> actually were syngraphs belonging to different scribal schools and were used *ad libitum* in our manuscript. One of the consequences must be true, but none is really convincing.

As to the borrowings, the use of the velar graphemes is as expected. Words of Indian origin display <k, g, h> corresponding to their etyma. The exact phonetic realisation of the fricative <h> in these and in the non-Indian borrowings is unknown.

II.2.3. The palatal /č/

/č/ is constantly written <c>. <j> is restricted to Indian proper names, where a learned pronunciation with a lenis palatal is conceivable.

II.2.4. The labials /b, p, v/

Graphematically, /p/ and /b/ are clearly distinguished, the former represented by <p>, the latter by <b, bʰ>. <b> and <bʰ> are syngraphs. A certain tendency towards orthographic fixation can be observed. The frequently occurring *Burhan* 'Lord Buddha' is always written with <b> and the

[79] *Cf.* Maue 1984: 91.
[80] In this case also voiced; in 8 *čahšapat*, however, <h> stands for a voiceless fricative.
[81] *Cf.* Maue 1984: 95.
[82] Syngraph(ic) vs. homograph(ic) in analogy to synonym(ous) vs. homonym(ous).

also very common pronoun *bo* 'this' with <bh>, while other words, *bilgä* 'wise' and *bursuŋ* 'the Buddhist community', show alternate spelling. The labiodental *v* is expressed by the special sign <w>, as usual.

II.2.5. The sibilants /s, š, z/

The correlations /s/ ⇒ <s> and /z/ ⇒ <z> are without exception. /š/ is mostly represented by /ś/, but substituted twice by its syngraph <ṣ> in 4 *bahšı* 'teacher' and 10 *äštilmädi* 'was not heard'. In virāma position, only <ṣ̱> is used.

II.2.6. The liquids /l, r/

The liquids are regularly represented by <l, r> and in *virāma* position by <-ḻ, -ṟ>. Liquid + ı is rarely written <ṟ/ṟa> in 5.7 *ekagrı*, 7 *Trıpuse* and <ḻa> respectively in 6.10 *tınlıg* 'living being'. Intervocalic *r* occurs once in the form of the special sign <rr> in 4 *arasında*.[83]

II.2.7. The nasals /m, n, ŋ/

/m/⇒ <m> and /ŋ/ ⇒ <ṅ>. The nasal /n/ is represented by <ṃ, n, ṇ, ñ>. The distribution of the syngraphs is subject to the following rules: <ñ> occurs in contact with a palatal. <n> is used in contact with /d, t/[84]; in addition, intervocalically[85] and at the beginning of a word,[86] but only in loans, while in the indigene lexis <ṇ> is applied under the same conditions.[87] The second area of <ṇ> is the genitive morpheme +**n**Xŋ, with only one exception.[88] In all other cases, /n/ ⇒ /ṃ/ applies.[89]

II.2.8. Remarkable features

II.2.8.1. Secondary vowel harmonisations[90]
e – i – i > (e) – i – e : 7.8 *y(e)girme ~ yegirmi* '20'.
o/ö – u/ü > o/ö – o/ö : 8 *otoz ~ otuz* '30'; *ötrö ~ ötrü* 'then'.
o/u – ı > o/u – u: 1.1 *toyun ~ toyın* 'monk'; *bursuŋ ~ bursıŋ* 'Buddhasaṃgha'.
ö – i > ö – e : 8 *öŋe öŋe ~ öŋi öŋi* 'manifold'.

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[83] The same word with <r> in the next line.
[84] See above §1 of this section.
[85] 2 *Prasenaji*; 10 *šasanı*.
[86] 8 *Nandabalı*; 8 *Nande*; 2.5.9 *nom*.
[87] 6 *ünä* <uyu ṇyā>. – 6 *nä* <ṇyā>; 10 *näčä* <ṇyā cyā>.
[88] 4 *sutırnuŋ* <sū dʰa rnū-ṅ>.
[89] Not subject to the rules is the n. pr. 7 *Ajnatakawndinye* <ā jñā ta kau ṇḍi nye> with Indian spelling and 'Tocharian' final -*e*.
[90] *Cf.* GOT 86 *seqq.*

II.2.8.2. Syncopation[91]
9 *ärdni+niŋ* ~ *ärdini* 'jewel'.[92]
10 *äštil-* ~ *äšidil-* 'to be heard'.
7.8 *y(e)girme* ~ *yegirmi* '20'.

II.2.8.3. <e> as back vowel
Mostly <e> represents the front vowel *e*, but sporadically it stands instead of the back *ı*, here once, 1 *okıp* <o hke-p> 'summoning', some more samples in other Seŋgim mss.[93] Judging from its usage, this was probably an attempt to represent the velar-induced phonetic variant of *ı*. To distinguish the front *e* from its back counterpart, the palatalisator *-y-* was advisable;[94] accordingly, <yg₁i rmy-e>,[95] *y(e)girme* '20' is found in line 8. But these are only traces, be it of a disappearing or of an emerging spelling convention that was unable to establish itself though.

II.2.8.4. Front <i>
<i> stands for front *i* and back *ı*. Rarely, as here in 6 *seziklig* <se zi klyi-g₁> 'sceptical', there is a marking of the front variant by the palatalisator *-y-*.[96]

II.2.8.5. Archaisms
Äšid- 'to hear', *äštil-* 'to be heard' ~ *ešid-*[97], *eštil-*[98]. Initial *ä* is well attested and certainly older than *e* that resulted from the former by anticipating assimilation.[99]

 Kayo 'which', also six times attested in TT VIII L[100] ~ *kayu*. There is some evidence that *u* is later than *o*.[101]

 Inča 'so', also in Maue Kat II Nr. 174 a4 ~ *inčä*. The standard form *inčä*[102] 'should be ascribed to fronting influence of /č/'.[103]

II.2.8.6. *Scriptio continua* and *scriptio ligata*
In Indian Brāhmī texts, not only word boundaries are usually not marked (*scriptio continua*) but also, where applicable, the end of a word is being merged with the beginning of the following word in one *akṣara* (*scriptio ligata*). The Central Asian Brāhmī varieties mostly retained the *scrip-*

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[91] *Cf.* GOT 97 *seqq.*
[92] However, the trisyllabic form might be secondary.
[93] See Maue 1996: xxii *seq.*; in addition, a single evidence from Murtuk: *sogık* 'cold' (Maue Kat II no. 91.4.2 ac).
[94] *Cf.* the following item 8.4.
[95] Without *-y-* in l. 7.
[96] *Cf.* the preceding item 8.3.
[97] UWN I.2 36 *seqq.*
[98] UWN I.2 49 *s. v. ešidil-*.
[99] GOT 88.
[100] Maue Kat I Nr. 49 with additional fragments in Kat II no. 165.
[101] See GOT 216, n. 388; *cf.* also Doerfer 1988: 108 Khalaj *qa:ño.*
[102] In the Sogdo-Uigur script, the front vowel form can only be proved in *incäk < inčä+(O)k* beside *ıncak < ınča+(O)k*. Otherwise, *inčä* and *ınča* are homographs.
[103] GOT 56 and 206 *seq.*

tio continua[104]*,* while the *scriptio ligata* was abandoned to varying degrees, in our text completely. What at first glance appears to be even a deliberate separation of morphological units[105] is, on closer inspection, mostly rather due to the avoidance of bulky ligatures.

II.2.8.7. Long vowels
The scribe's preference for the long vowels <ā> and <ū> is notable.

II.3. On the date

Our text is one of the few Uigur Brāhmī mss. that use the special character <d_1>.[106] This was originally at home in the Tumshukese variety of Brāhmī and was first included in the Uig. Brāhmī and presumably borrowed from there into the Sogd. Brāhmī.[107] Among the signs adopted from the Tumshukese syllabary, it occupies a middle position between the ubiquitous <g_1>[108] and strongly represented <z> on the one side of the scale and the extremely rare <ź, ẓ, v_1> on the other, which represent the phonemes /z, ẓ, w/ not present in the Uig. and therefore occurring, if at all, only in loanwords or foreign words.

   It is not possible to say whether the low distribution is connected with a local restriction to Seŋgim and Murtuk, as these two places are the main sites where the Uigur Brāhmī script is attested. In places of lesser occurrence, the absence of the <d_1> could be incidental. More meaningful may be the observation that the notoriously late Brāhmī manuscripts, above all TT VIII P, as well as numerous manuscripts and block prints in Uig. script with Brāhmī transcripts of the Yuan era have no <d_1>. It obviously had fallen into disuse before that time. This means that the manuscript cannot have been produced after the 12th century.

   At any rate, the adoption of Tumshukese signs presupposes that the masters who refined the Uigur Brāhmī had more than just fleeting contact with experts of the Tumshukese script and its phonetics. The Tocharians are probably out of the question. At least there is no substantial evidence of their familiarity with the Tumshukese Brāhmī from the written sources.[109] One could counterargue that this is the case, because there was no need or was felt no need for special Tumshukese characters to represent Tocharian more elaborately. But this is precisely the reason why there was no practical interest[110] on the part of the Tocharians to deal with these signs at all.

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[104]   Except for the Khüis Tolgoi inscription with consistent word division, *cf.* Maue 2019.

[105]   Thus particularly +*lAr* in ten out of fifteen postconsonantal occurrences. (Only the postconsonantal position is meaningful, because in postvocalic position (*anusvāra* included) the separation occurs automatically.)

[106]   In addition to our ms., these are Maue Kat I nos. 3, 6, 21, 29, 43, 45, 47, 53; *cf.* Maue 1983.

[107]   On the filiation, see Maue & Sims-Williams 2024: 36 *seq.*

[108]   Which might be rather a reshaped sign from the steppe Brāhmī which had survived with the Uigurs, *cf.* Maue 2018: 292 *seq.* (special sign no. 2) and 2019: 109 *seq.* –– The special character occurring in TT VIII K (=Maue Kat I no. 43) is in the form of <g_2>, but in the function of <g_1>.

[109]   There is one mysterious point of contact which was already discovered by W. Couvreur (1965: 120). The end of the number series, which follows a Tocharian syllabary, reads <Xo-t$\underline{s}$> with a character X, which corresponds to no. 4 in Konow's (1935: 776 *seq.*) special character list, now interpreted as a voiced cacuminal sibilant [ẓ] (Maue 2004: 209). In the meantime, another similar example has appeared in BL Or.8212/1681c. However, it is unclear as to how this Tumshukese-Tocharian correspondence should be interpreted.

[110]   An encyclopaedic-scientific interest in foreign scripts can hardly be assumed.

It is therefore fairly certain that Uigur monks[111] acquired their knowledge of the Tumshukese script through direct contact with Tumshukese people, probably monks,[112] and, again probably, in the Turfan region. An indication, albeit a faint one, of the presence of Tumshukese monks there is the site mark M(urtuk) in T III M 146[113] of the Tumshukese manuscript no. VIII.[114] Now, following the assumed scenario, it is not self-evident to find Tumshukese monks resident some 1000 kilometres east of their homeland in an area that was not attractive for pilgrims, but was a safe haven for Buddhists until the Yuan era and beyond.

An exodus of Buddhist monks from Gus-tig (= Tumsh. *Gūẓdi[115], today Tumshuk[116]) is mentioned in the 'Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana' (*dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyis lung bstan pa*).

> Likewise [like the monks of Khotan] also the monks of 'An-tse [Kucha[117]], Gus-tig [Tumshuk[118]], Par-mkhan [Aksu[119]], and Śu-lig [Kashgar], after great sufferings, will go to the Bru-śa land [Baltistan-Gilgit]. Also the monks of the Tho-kar country [Tokharistan] and of Kāśmīr, having been vexed by unbelieving people will give up and go to the Bru-śa country.[120]

Embedded in the prediction of the end of the Dharma in this age,[121] which is finally fulfilled in an apocalyptic mutual murder of the remaining monks, there are obviously allusions to actual events, also in the quoted passage. The concern for life and limb that drives the monks from their homeland is very concrete and true to life. Who the threat comes from is only hinted at with 'unbelieving people' that is not so easy to identify in a politically turbulent area. Thomas[122] supposed a connection with the expansion of Islam. In contrast to earlier changes of power, which mainly involved a change in the recipients of tribute payments, there was now a fear of a massive influence on religion and worship as well as the loss of vital material support for the Buddhist

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[111] The use of the Uig. Brāhmī was limited to the monastic sphere.

[112] Merchants are less likely as intermediaries.

[113] On the reverse of the fragment: T III (= 3rd Turfan expedition) stamped, M 146 handwritten, *cf.* the provenance of our ms. Konow 1935: 812: 'Dies Blatt wurde weit nach dem Osten, in der Anlage von Murtuq in der Nähe von Qarakhoja, gefunden [This leaf was found far to the east, in the Murtuq complex near Qarakhoja].' The provenance is thus very well established, even against the doubt as to whether M could stand for Maralbashi, near which Tumshuk is located. For understandable reasons, M can only have this meaning in connection with handwritten T 4 or T IV (= 4th Turfan expedition), while Tumshuk was not visited during the 3rd expedition.

[114] Konow 1935: 812 *seqq.*

[115] Only the genitive *Gūẓdiyā*, *Gūẓdyā* is attested, *e. g.* Konow 1935 Glossary s.v. *gyāźdi-*; for the correct reading see Maue 2004: 209.

[116] Chin. Túmùshūkè 图木舒克, modern Uig. تومشوق.

[117] Identified by P. Pellliot (1963: 713 *seq.*), correcting Thomas' Bukhara.

[118] Thomas finally (1955: 8): 'might be ... identical with Marāl-bāshĭ', somewhat more precisely Pelliot (1963: 714) specifies 'the place situated between «Aksu» (Aqsu) and Maral-baši (almost at Maral-baši)', but without giving a (modern) place name.

[119] Thus Pelliot (1963: 714 *seq.*) against Thomas' Ferghana. Pelliot's corrections result in the fact that all places are located in the area of the northern Silk Road; the arrangement from east to west is not perfect due to the inversion of Tumshuk and Aksu, but Kucha is the easternmost region to which the Karakhanid Empire extended.

[120] Thomas 1935: 61.

[121] For an Uig. fragment, which possibly belongs to the same genre, see Lundysheva & Maue 2021.

[122] Thomas 1935: 44: '[T]he prophecy, in the redaction we have, originated, no doubt, during the times of the first effects of Musalman invasions in the countries adjacent to Chinese Turkestan.'

communities. The Tarim Basin was threatened by the islamised Karakhanids, who sought to extend their influence eastwards from Kashgar from the last decades of the 10th century. Khotan was conquered at the beginning of the 11th century and Kuča after mid 11th century. It was probably around this time that Tumshuk also came under Karakhanid rule. As a consequence, one could easily imagine an exodus of Tumshukese monks to the east,[123] resulting in the foundation of a monastic community in the Khocho area, which, however, is unlikely to have existed for very long due to a lack of Tumshukese speaking novices. This means that – to repeat: against the background of the given scenario – the Tumshukese influences on the shaping of the Uig. Brāhmī would have to be placed around the turn of the millennium. Our manuscript can therefore be dated to the 11th or 12th century, perhaps more likely to the earlier half of the period due to the linguistic archaisms (see above II.2.8.5).

III. TEXT H: TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTS

Explanation of the signs and symbols

N. b.: The use of brackets (according to the modified Leiden system) differs from that applied in most editions of Sanskrit and Tocharian texts from Central Asia which follow the Berlin-Göttingen convention.

AvG	in the *apparatus criticus*: marking *varia lectio* of the edition by A. von Gabain 1954
ǀ , ǁ	*daṇḍa*, double *daṇḍa*: signs of weak or strong punctuation; in bilingual texts the single daṇḍa (or an equivalent sign) generally marks the transition from one language to the other
⊙	space left blank for the string hole
+	equivalent of an *akṣara*
×	part of an *akṣara*
…	text of undefined extent
t[h]	superscript [h] is used in transliterations to distinguish graphemes for aspirates from the ligatures with *h, e. g.* <th>
a	1. in transliteration and transcription: uncertain reading
	2. elsewhere: used according to normal editorial conventions
(a)	1. in Uigur words: normalising addition, *e. g. t(ä)ŋri*
	2. in translations: word supplied to clarify the meaning
[ ]	loss
[+ˀ]	uncertain loss of an *akṣara*
[ati]	1. lost text restored by conjecture
	2. phonetic value
{a}	deletion by emendation

---

[123] Not to the unsafe south, as Saṃghavardhana prophesied.

⟨a⟩	restored by emendation
⟦a⟧	interlinear or marginal addition to the text
<kya>	graphematic representation in the ms[124]
a < b	a comes from or is a direct borrowing of b
a << b	a comes from or is a borrowing of b through an intermediary
/a/	phonological value
°kṛta°	abridged quotation omitting the text before and after kṛta
*nrik	reconstructed form
vā # iti	word boundary
˻da, d˼	final (˻da) or initial (d˼) of an akṣara,
na = iti, °ka=a°	suspended external and internal sandhi
sutɪrug�groß)]	unusual form
r(ecto)	obverse
v(erso)	reverse

4.5 cm × 8.3 cm designates the maximum dimensions (height × width)

Notabilia concerning the Sanskrit text

The Sanskrit text contains few errors or violations of grammatical rules which, like (2), are not rare elsewhere or, like (3), even typical of Central Asian manuscripts.

(1) The scribe's preference for long <ū> also appears in Sanskrit: 4 etadagrikeṣ⁅ū⁆ vyākṛteṣ⁅ū⁆.

(2) The vowel sandhi -e/o # a- > -e/o Ø- is sometimes not observed: 1–2 buddhe {a}grya°, 2 saṅghe {a}gr⟨y⟩a°.

(3) The *visarga* (ḥ) is missing throughout: 1 'gryaprajñaptaya⟨ḥ⟩, tisra⟨ḥ⟩; 2 {a}gr⟨y⟩aprajñapti⟨ḥ⟩.

4. Individual errors are <o> instead of <au> in 4 k⟨au⟩tukināṃ and – although correct in principle – *agra*-, which, however, contrasts with *agrya*- occurring twice and therefore probably does not represent the reading of the source.

N. b.: The corrections are only marked in the transcription. The final version presents the text in grammatically correct form without correction marks.

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[124] Not marked in the transliteration or in the *apparatus criticus*.

recto

1   to yūṃ lā ri-g$_1$ o hke-ṯ i ñcā te-ṯ yā rli k̄ā d$_1$i | ti sra i mā
         toyunларıg   okıp   ınča tep yarlıkadı | tisra imā

       bʰi kṣa vo grya pra jñа pta ya | uyu-c bʰo lā-ṟ to yūṃ lā rā ye-g$_1$
         bhikṣavo 'gryaprajñaptaya⟨ḥ⟩ | üč   bolar   toyunlar-a   yeg

       u hki tmā-k̄ lā-ṟ o-ḻ | ka ta mā sti sra | hkā *y*[] *o-ḻ* uyu-c te-*ṯ*
         ukıtmaklar ol | katamās   tisra⟨ḥ⟩| ka*yo*   ol   üč   tep

       t[] ×y[]-ṟ[125] | bu
         t[es]$_{[}$ä$_]$r | bu-

2   dd^{h}e a grya pra jñа pti rd^{h}a rme sa ṅg^{h}e a gra pra jñа pti |
         ddhe {a}gryaprajñaptir   dharme saṅghe {a}gr⟨y⟩aprajñapti⟨ḥ⟩|

       bu rhā ndā ye-g$_1$ u hki tmā-hk̲ no mtā ye-g$_1$ u hki tmā-hk̲
         burhanda   yeg ukıtmak   nomda yeg ukıtmak

       b^{h}ū rsū-ṅ lā rd$_{[}$ā ye-g$_1$ u k̄i tmā-hk̲ | pra se na ji e li-g$_1$ yā ṅlo-k̄[126]
         bursuŋlarda   yeg ukıtmak | prasenaǰi   elig   yaŋlok

       ye-g$_1$ eya rmyā-*z* *y*[]-g$_1$ *o-ḻ*[127]
         yeg   ärmäz   *y*[e]*g*   *ol*

3   ye-g$_1$ sā hki-ñc oyo ri tyu-ṟ ciṃ ke rtyu ye ☉ -g$_1$ eya rsyā-ṟ b^{h}o
         yeg   sakınč   öritür   čın kertü   yeg   ärsär   bo

       o-k̄ uyu cyā g$_1$uyu[128] o-ḻ te-p b^{h}o iki ndi ti ltā g$_1$iṃ ymyā tyā ṅri
         ok   üčägü   ol tep bo ikinti   tıltagın   ymä   täŋri

       tyā ṅri si bu rhāṃ   b^{h}o sū d^{h}a ri-g$_1$ no mlā yū yā rli hkā d$_1$i || 2 ||
         täŋrisi   burhan   bo sutırıg   nomlayu yarlıkadı || 2 ||

       a t^{h}a vā |
         athavā

---

[125] te-*ṯ* t[] ×y[]-ṟ : AvG read against the ms. hki t*mā qlā* r with the remark that 'u is omitted'.
[126] -k : g$_1$ AvG, error.
[127] *o-ḻ*: *pa q*[ ] AvG, unlikely.
[128] Exceptional spelling instead of g$_1$yu.

recto

Sanskrit

tisra imā bhikṣavo 'gryaprajñaptayaḥ.
katamās tisraḥ?
bu[2]ddhe 'gryaprajñaptir,
dharme
saṅghe 'gryaprajñaptiḥ.

Uigur

[1] toyunlarıg okıp ınča tep yarlıkadı:
üč bolar toyunlar-a yeg ukıtmaklar ol.
ka*yo* ol üč? tep t[es][ä]r:
burhanda yeg ukıtmak,
nomda yeg ukıtmak,
bursuŋlarda yeg ukıtmak.
prasenaǰi elig yaŋlok yeg ärmäz y[e]g ol
[3] yeg sakınč öritür. čın kertü yeg ärsär, bo ok
üčägü ol tep bo ikinti tıltagın ymä täŋri täŋrisi
burhan bo sutırıg nomlayu yarlıkadı || 2 ||

[1] [The Buddha] summoned the monks together and deigned to speak thus: '**Monks, these declarations of excellence are three**[129].' When one says, '**What are the three?**', (the answer is:) '**the declaration of excellence regarding the Bu[2]ddha, the declaration of excellence regarding the Dharma, the declaration of excellence regarding** (Skt.) the Saṃgha / (Uig.) the Buddha-saṃghas.'[130]

King Prasenajit[131] [2–3] gave rise to the excellent thought: 'The wrong is not excellent. <The true> is excellent. If the true is excellent, then all three (*i. e.* Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha) are (excellent) (scil. because the same must apply to Dharma and Saṃgha as to the Buddha).' And for this second reason, the god of gods Buddha deigned to preach this Sūtra. || 2 ||

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[129] The bold text is the same in Sanskrit and Uigur.

[130] The Uig. translator interprets Skt. *saṃgha-* in the sense of *catuṣpariṣad*, *i.e.* the four communities of monks, nuns, male and female lay followers.

[131] Prasenajit, king of Kośala, contemporary and follower of the Buddha, 'frequently visited the Buddha and discussed various matters with him' (DPPN II 169). His reasoning, which is referred to here, would fit very well into the ætiological narrative of Av I (see Introduction above), but has not been handed down there, nor to our knowledge elsewhere. –– The form: The loss of the final consonant *-t* in the Central Asian languages TochA/B, Sogd., Uig. and partly in Chin. transcriptions (*cf.* Provasi 2013: 241–42; Lurje 2020: §65) seems to be due to a Prakrit rule: 'Im Auslaut kann im Pkt. nur einfacher oder nasalirter Vocal stehen. Schliessende Consonanten, ausser den Nasalen fallen daher ab [In the final position, only a simple or nasalised vowel is applicable in the Pkt. Closing consonants, except the nasals, are therefore dropped]' (Pischel 1900: 231, §339; also Hinüber 2001: 150, §168). But the Gāndhārī is out of the question as a source; there the king's name is *Praseniga*, a form that elucidates the 'unexplained final *-k' in 'Bōsīnì 波斯匿 ... MC *pa-siĕ-nrik' (Provasi *loc. cit.*).

4   ā zu ymyā oyo ṅryā ki bʰi lg₁yā bʰā hṣi lā-ṛ bʰo sū dʰa rnū-ṅ
          azu ymä öŋräki   bilgä   bahšılar   bo sutırnuŋ

        u tpa tti siṃ ā ndā-g₁ ā yū-ṛ lā-ṛ e ta da gri ke ṣū ⟪vyā kṛ te ṣū⟫[132]
          utpattısın   antag   ayurlar ⟨|⟩ etadagrikeṣ⟨ū⟩   vyākṛteṣ⟨ū⟩

        bu ddʰa dʰa rma sa ṅgʰa vyā ka ra ṇā śra va ṇā tki me te a grā na
          buddhadharmasaṅghavyākaraṇāśravaṇāt   kim ete agrā na

        ve ti ko tu ki nāṃ ta tkau tu ka vi no da
          veti k⟨au⟩tukināṃ tat kautukavinoda-

5   nā rtʰaṃ | tyu kyā-ḻ bʰi lg₁yā tya ṅri tya ṅri si bu rhāṃ ṇä-ṅ
          nārthaṃ | tükäl   bilgä   täŋri täŋrisi burhannıŋ

        e kā gri sū dʰa rd₁ā ye-g₁ ⟪uyu zyā[133]⟫[134] oya g₁i tmi-s̱ lyā-ṛ
          ekagrı   sutırda   yeg üzä   ögitmišlär

        ā rā si ndā bu rhāṃ no-ṃ bu rsū ṅlā-ṛ ā tti uyuṃ myā yyo-ḵ ki
          arasında   burhan nom bursuŋlar   atı ünmäyöki-

        ṅyā bʰo lā-ṛ ye-g₁ myu aya rki ā zu eya rmyā-z
          ŋä bolar   yeg mü ärki   azu ärmäz

verso
1 (6)   myu eya rki te-p̱ se zi klyi-g₁ bʰo lmi-s̱ tiṃ ḻa-g₁ lā rṇi-ṅ se zi
          mü ärki   tep seziklig   bolmıš tınlıglarnıŋ   sezi-

        klyā riṃ tā rkā rg₁ā li-ṛ uyu cyuṃ bʰo sū dʰa ri-g₁ yā rli hkā d₁i
          klärin   tarkargalır   üčün   bo sutırıg   yarlıkadı

        te-p̱ |
          tep |

---

[132] A superscript cross marks the point where the sublinear supplement is to be inserted.
[133] yu zyā : uyu *tt*yā AvG, misreading.
[134] See note 132.

Sanskrit	Uigur
atha vā –––>[135]	**[4]** azu ymä
Ø	öŋräki bilgä bahšılar bo sutırnuŋ
Ø	utpattısın antag ayurlar: –––>
Ø	tükäl bilgä täŋri täŋrisi burhannıŋ
etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu	ekagrı sutırda
Ø	yeg üzä ögitmišlär arasında
buddhadharmasaṅghavyākaraṇāśravaṇāt	burhan nom bursuŋlar atı ünmäyökiŋä
kim ete agrā na vā =	bolar yeg mü ärki azu ärmäz **[6]** mü ärki
iti	tep
kautukināṃ	seziklig bolmıš tınlıglarnıŋ
tatkautukavinoda**[5]**nārthaṃ –––>	seziklärin tarkargalır üčün
Ø	bo sutırıg yarlıkadı tep	

(Skt.) Or else (*atha vā*): for the purpose (*-arthaṃ*) of dispelling (*-vinodana-*) doubts about this (*tat-kautuka-*) on the part of those who doubt (*kautukināṃ*) (asking): 'Are these the best or not (*kim ete agrā na veti*)?', because in the declarations (beginning) with (the words) *etad agraṃ* (*etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu*), nothing is heard (*-aśravaṇāt*) of declarations concerning the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha (*buddha-dharma-saṅgha-vyākaraṇa-*).

[4] (Uig.) Or else: earlier wise teachers explain the occasion for this Sūtra as follows: **[6]** He (the Exalted One) preached this (*Agraprajñapti-*)*Sūtra* to remove the doubts of those beings who had become doubtful: **[5–6]** 'Are these the best or not?' **[5]** because the name(s) of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Buddhasaṃghas[136] do not appear among those praised for their excellence in the *Ekāgrasūtra*[137] of the fully wise god of gods, the Buddha.

[135] The arrow indicates the change between the languages. The two versions have been divided in such a way that the equivalents are opposite each other. Ø: without equivalent in Sanskrit.
[136] See n. 130.
[137] See Appendices IV.2 and IV.3.

ki me ta du ktaṃ bʰa va ti | bʰo sā wdʰā ṇyā yyo ryu-g₁ uyu ṇyā
kim etad uktaṃ bhavati | bo savda nä yörüg ünä

te-p̱ te syā-ṟ | ʈyu kyā-ḻ bʰi lkyā tya ṅri
tep tesär | ʈükäl bilgä täŋri

2 (7) tyā ṅri si bu rhāṃ e kā gṛ sū dʰa rd₁ā ā jñā ta kau ṇḍi nye
täŋrisi burhan ekagrı sutırda ajnatakawndinye

a rha-nṯ bʰā śiṃ yyu-z a rha-nṯ lā ri-g₁ | ma hā pra jā pa ti
arhant bašın yüz arhantlarıg | mahapraǰapati

gau ta mi a rha ndʰā[138]-ñc bʰā śiṃ be-ṣ yg₁i rme a rhā ndʰā-ñc[139]
gawtami arhantanč bašın beš y(e)girme arhantanč-

lā ri-g₁ | tṛ pu se ba li ke
larıg | trıpuse balike

3 (8) ulā[140] tti bi-ṟ o to-z upā se lā ri-g₁ | na nte[141] na nda ☉ ba li
ulatı bir otoz upaselarıg | nandı nandabalı

bʰā śiṃ a lti yg₁i rme upā sā-ñc lā ri–g₁ bʰā rcā bʰo ca hśá pa-t k̄ā
bašın altı y(e)girme upasančlarıg barča bo čahšapatka

ye-g₁ o-ḻ bʰo bi lg₁yā bi li-g₁ kyā ye-g₁ o-ḻ te-p̱ oya ṅe oya ṅe
yeg ol bo bilgä biligkä yeg ol tep öŋe öŋe

oya-g₁ d₁i lyā-ṟ
ögdilär

4 (9) uyu zyā oya g₁yā yā rli hkā d₁i |
üzä ögä yarlıkadı |

[138] ndʰā : ntā AvG.
[139] ndʰā : ntā AvG.
[140] Or: ūla.
[141] Or: ndʰe.

Sanskrit   Uigur
kim etad uktaṃ bhavati?   bo savda nä yörüg ünä tep tesär,
                                *t*ükäl bilgä täŋri [7] täŋrisi burhan ekagrı sutırda aǰnatakawnd-
                                inye arhant bašın yüz arhantlarıg | mahapraǰapati gawtami ar-
                                hantanč bašın beš y(e)girme arhantančlarıg | trıpuse balike ul-
                                atı [8] bir otoz upaselarıg | nandı nandabalı bašın altı y(e)girme
                                upasančlarıg barča bo čahšapatka yeg ol bo bilgä biligkä yeg ol tep
                                öŋe öŋe ögdilär [9] üzä ögä yarlıkadı

(Skt.) What is meant by this?
(Uig.) When asked, what meaning arises from this statement, (the answer is:)
The fully wise god [7] of gods, the Buddha, [9] deigned to praise [7] in the *Ekāgrasūtra* the hun-
dred Arhats with Arhat Ajñāta-Kauṇḍinya at the forefront, the fifteen Arhantīs with the Arhantī
Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī at the forefront, [8] the twenty-one Upāsakas with Tripusa[142] and Bhallika
etc., and the sixteen Upāsikās with Nandā and Nandabalā at the forefront, all with various praises,
that they are the best through (adherence to) the precepts, that they are the best through wisdom.

∗∗∗

Note on *Nandı* and *Nandabalı.*
The majority of female names on Skt. *-ā* (TochA *-ā*, TochB *-a*) have the ending *-a* in Uigur,
too.[143] Examples are: Uig. *Supriya* ~ Skt. *Supriyā*[144] *Badra* ~ *Bhadrā*[145], *Ekarakša* ~ **Ekarakṣā*[146],
Dušta ~ **Duṣṭā*[147], *Lambika* ~ *Lambikā*[148], *Samika* ~ **Samikā*[149], *Čaya* ~ *Jayā*[150], *Pundarika* ~
Puṇḍarīkā[151]. There is, however, a smaller group of names ending in Uigur script <y>, in Brāhmī
<-i, -e>. The Brāhmī fluctuation between final <-i> and <-e>, which is also observed in mascu-
line proper names of the type *Arǰune*, points to the phonetic realisation as close central vowel *ı*.
Beside *Nandı* <°e> ~ *Nandā* and *Nandabalı* <°i> ~ *Nandabalā* of our text we meet with *Malıkı*
~ *Mālikā*[152], *Sitatapatrı* ~ *Sitātapatrā*[153], *Somı* ~ *Somā*[154]. Some names are attested in both forms,
e. g. *Višaka, Višakı* ~ *Viśākhā*[155]. The guiding idea behind and origin of this Uigur morphological
peculiarity are unexplained yet.

[142] For this form of the name *cf.* SWTF II 406b.
[143] Shōgaito 1978: 84a.
[144] HWAU 632a.
[145] UWN III.1: 81: TochA *bhādrā*, TochB *bhādra*, Skt. *bhadrā*.
[146] UWN III.1: 1.
[147] HWAU 249a (without asterisk).
[148] HWAU 451a.
[149] HWAU 578a *samika* < Skt. **samīkā*. *Cf. samikāya vaghumatikasa dānaṃ* 'The gift (of the woman) Samikā,
from Vaghumata' (Milligan 2015: 11).
[150] Skt. *Jayā* (MW 413c); differently HWAU 225b *Chāyā* after Róna-Tas & Röhrborn 2005: 62.
[151] BHSD 346b.
[152] In an Uigur eulogy, the Uigur Kutlug Tigin Tärim is compared to Queen Malıkı (to be transliterated m'l[ ]ky
instead of manl[ ]p), *cf.* Mirkamal 2015: 188, line 102.
[153] Since the original pronunciation is to be rendered faithfully in the text of the *dhāraṇī*, the word *sitātapatrā*
has a final *-a*, both in Uig. script and in the Brāhmī gloss, but in the work title as well in the Uig. translation final
-y (*-ı*) in Uigur script while the Brāhmī gloss has final <-e>, *cf.* BT 13 no. 47, l. 1 [p. 171] syt'd'p'tr' vs. syt'd'p'try.
[154] HWAU 620b, a divine girl in the Tišastvustik (Yakup 2006: 72 l. 398) not attested elsewhere: <swmy> in Uigur
script, in the Brāhmī transcript <so me>.
[155] HWAU 847b.

i ñci-p̱ bʰo lā rṇi-ṅ ā rrā[156] si ndā bu rhā̱ṃ y*m*yā mo ndā-g₁
inčip   bolarnıŋ   arasında   burhan   y*m*ä   montag

ye-g₁ o-ḻ no-m̱ ymyā mo ndā-g₁ ye-g₁ o-ḻ bu rsū-ṅ hku wrā-g₁
yeg   ol   nom   ymä   montag   yeg   ol   bursuŋ   kuvrag

ymyā mo ndā-g₁ ye-g₁ o-ḻ te-p̱ bʰo uyu-c eya rd₁ni ṇi-ṅ ā-g₁
ymä   montag   yeg   ol   tep̱ bo üč   ärd(i)niniŋ   ag-

5 (10)   lā d₁i oya-g₁ ⟨⟨gi[157]⟩⟩ lyā ri eya ṣti lmyā d₁i | oya tryo aya śi d₁tyā
             ladı   ögläri   äštilmädi | ötrö   äšiddä-

ci tiṃ ḻa hlā rṇi-ṅ ā ndā-g₁ se zi klyā ri bʰo lti | bu rhā̱ṃ śā sa ni
či tınlıglarnıŋ   antag   sezikläri   boldı | burhan   šasanı

ici ndyā ṇyā cyā eya d₁g₁yu lyu-g₁ eya d₁ryā mli-g₁ lyā-ṟ bʰā-ṟ
ičindä   näčä   ädgülüg   ädrämliglär   bar

aya rsyā rlyā-ṟ
ärsärlär

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[156]   rrā : rra AvG, mistake.
[157]   gi or śi? : ti AvG. unlikely.

Sanskrit   Uigur

inčip bolarnıŋ arasında burhan y*m*ä montag yeg ol nom ymä montag yeg ol bursuŋ kuvrag ymä montag yeg ol tep bo üč ärd(i)niniŋ ag**[10]**ladı ögläri äštilmädi | ötrö äšiddäči tınlıglarnıŋ antag sezikläri boldı | burhan šasanı ičindä näčä ädgülüg ädrämliglär bar ärsärlär

But among these, praises of (the three Jewels, namely), that the Buddha is the best in such a way, that the dharma is the best in such a way, that the Buddha-saṃgha₂ is the best in such a way, were abso**[10]**lutely not heard. As a result, doubts arose in beings who noticed (that). No matter how many (individuals) with good qualities₂ there may be present in the Buddha-śāsana, …

IV. APPENDICES

IV.1. Synopsis of the Sanskrit *testimonia* of the *Agraprajñaptisūtra*

The two best-preserved and complete versions from the Avadānaśataka serve as the reference text for the localisation of the fragments. In order to avoid confusion, the manuscript transcriptions, which have already been published using different text-critical symbols, had to be adapted to the convention used here (see above). Obvious errors are tacitly corrected. Differing views on the degree of readability will not be discussed.

Sigla

Avś A and B: Avś A = Avś I 49,8 *seqq.*; Avś B = I 329,13 *seqq.* Unless otherwise indicated both versions share the reading. J. S. Speyer's edition is based on a Nepalese manuscript (MS) dated 1645[158] and its three copies (C, D, P).

Divy A and B: Divy A = Divy 154,19–25; Divy B = 155,1–5.[159] Unless otherwise indicated both versions share the reading. The edition is based on copies of a 17th century Nepalese manuscript.[160]

H   TT VIII H 1–2. Provenance: Murtuk.

Or 1   Or.15009/163 verso (recto blank), Provenance: 'Northern Route of the Silk Road'.[161]

Or 2   Or.15008/15 (verso *in margine* leaf no. 18). Provenance: 'Northern Route of the Silk Road'.[162]

Or 3   Or.15014/50, side A; same provenance as Or 1 and Or 2.[163]

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[158] Add. 1611, Bendall 1883: 137; *cf.* Avś p. XV *seqq.*

[159] Version A is the text that the Buddha communicates to Ānanda, version B is used by Ānanda in the healing spell. Contrary to expectation, the two are not fully congruent.

[160] According to Bendall, see Introduction to the edition pp. vi–viii.

[161] Wille 2014: 230. – Picture on Plate II.

[162] Wille 2014: 230. – Pictures on Plate II.

[163] Unpublished; we owe a first transliteration and the identification of side A to Klaus Wille. For the text on side B *cf.* above note 26. – Picture of side A on Plate III.

P 1   'un fragment ... provenant de Douldour-aqour près de Koutcha.'[164] New number: Pelliot sanscrit Stotra III.7, here only verso (picture on Plate III).

P 2   Pelliot sanscrit, petits fragments n° 83, identified by J.-U. Hartmann und K. Wille.[165]

SHT   SHT X 3423 + VII 1749 recto.[166] Provenance: Seŋgim.

Additional signs and symbols

*Or 1   this is where the parallel text in a fragment begins,

Or 1*   this is where it ends.

(a)gre   referring to Avś A and B: different treatment of the initial a in sandhi.

:   reproduction of the two-dot sign which has no clear function in Central Asian mss., elsewhere usually transcribed as *visarga* (ḥ).

[v1], [Aa]   in bold raised brackets: line no. of the ms. or edition.

[v1] ...]   line v1 begins somewhere in the lacuna.

Synopsis

*Or 1   [v1] ...] *śr*āvastyāṃ viharati sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadā[

Avś   [329,13] tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma.[167]

Avś   tisra imā bhikṣavo[168] 'graprajñaptayaḥ.   katamās tisraḥ?
*P 1   [v1] × ×r[] mā[169] bh*i*kṣava *a*graprajñapt*i*yaḥ[170] : katamās *t*isra :
Or 1   [v2] ...] *i*mā bhikṣava agraprajñaptaya :   katamās tisra :
*H   tisra imā bhikṣavo 'gryaprajñaptaya | katamās tisra |

Avś   [14] buddhe (a)graprajñaptir, dharme, saṅghe (a)graprajñaptiḥ.
P 1   buddhe agraprajñapti dh*a*[
Or 1   buddhe *a*[
*Or 3   [Aa] ...]×ñ[]pti :
H*   bu[2]ddhe agryaprajñaptir dharme saṅghe agraprajñapti |

Avś   buddhe 'graprajñaptiḥ[171] katamā?
P 1   ][v2]pti :   ka*tam*ā
Or 1   ...]jñapti :   katamā   [v3]
Or 3   buddh*e* [

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[164] Pauly 1960: 519.

[165] Hartmann & Wille 1997: 147. Not yet digitised, but documented in black and white photos on a microfilm, here see Plate III.

[166] The fragments were joined by K. Wille; *cf.* SHT X 3423 p. 72, with an improved text of both fragments; here see Plate IV. For the verses at the end, see above section I.4.

[167] *tatra ° sma* Avś B: *teṣāṃ bhagavān idaṃ sūtraṃ bhāṣate sma* Avś A. –– Text H has preserved part of the introductory sentence in Uigur translation.

[168] *bhikṣavo* Avś B: *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo* Avś A, according to the different addressees of the sermon.

[169] The initial *i* of *imā* is missing.

[170] For °*prajñaptayaḥ*.

[171] In Avś A *buddhe 'graprajñaptiḥ* restored.

Avś   ye kecit[172]   sattvā apadā [15] vā dvipadā vā   bahupadā vā
*Divy   [154,19] ye kecit   sattvā apadā [20] vā dvipadā vā[173] bahupadā vā[174]
P 1   ×*e* kecina[175]: ⊙ satvā : apadā   ×ā dvipa*d*ā vā   ca×ṣpad*ā*[176] ×[
Or 1   ye kecana :   satvā : apadā   vā dvipad*ā* [

Avś   rūpiṇo vā 'rūpiṇo vā
Divy   arūpiṇo vā rūpiṇo[177] vā
Or 1   [v4] ...]×o   vā

Avś   saṃjñino vā 'saṃjñino   vā naiva[178] saṃjñi[16]no nāsaṃjñinas,
Divy   saṃjñino vā asaṃ[21]jñino   vā naiva   saṃjñino[179] nāsaṃjñinas,
P 1   ][v3] saṃjñino × *a*sa[ ]i[+ + ⊙][180]   *saṃ*[]ina ×
Or 1   saṃjñino vā asaṃjñino   vā naiva   saṃjñino   nāsaṃ[
Or 3   [Ab] ...]×ṃj*ñ*ino   nāsaṃj*ñ*i[

Avś   tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhas[181] teṣām   agra ākhyātaḥ.
Divy   tathāgato 'rhan samyak[22]saṃbuddhas teṣām sattvānāṃ agra ākhyātaḥ.[182]
P 1   [+]thāgatas   teṣām satvā×*ā*m[183] agra *ā* × [
*Or 2   [r1] tathāgatas   teṣ[ ] satv*ā*[

Avś   ye kecid buddhe 'bhiprasannā [17] agre te 'bhiprasannāḥ,
P 1   ][v4]saṃnā   agre × *bh*[]×r[]s[+ ⊙
Or 1   [v5] ...]*d*×e bhiprasaṃnā   *a*gre te bhi*p*[   ]×ṃ×*ā*s

Avś   teṣām agre 'bhiprasannānām agra eva vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyo
P 1   +]ām agre bhiprasannānāṃ a×[] *e*va vipāka [
Or 1*   []e[]*ā*[
Or 2   ] [r2] vipāka : pratikaṃṅ*k*[]i×[
Or 3*   [Ac] ...]×ipāka : *pra*[

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[172] Avś A adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo.*

[173] Divy B adds *catuṣpadā vā.*

[174] In Divy B, the passage *arūpiṇo vā rūpiṇo vā saṃjñino vā asaṃjñino vā* is replaced by *yāvan* (<-*t*) 'etc. up to'.

[175] Apparently for *kecana,* as in Or 1.

[176] I. e. *catuṣpadā,* instead of or less likely as in Divy B in addition to *bahupadā.*

[177] Unlike in the following word pair *saṃjñino – asaṃjñino,* the negated adjective comes first, which in both cases (and also otherwise) retains the initial *a* for clarification against the sandhi rule. With completed sandhi, as in Avś, the order (in the absence of *avagraha*) cannot be determined.

[178] *va* restored in Avś A.

[179] Divy A adds *vā.*

[180] There is not enough space for *naiva saṃjñino nā* or rather *vā naiva saṃjñino*; the scribe has obviously jumped from one *saṃjñino* to the next omitting the passage in between.

[181] *samyak* restored in Avś.

[182] *ākhyāyate* Divy A, without any recognisable reason against the cliché. The same reading appears in Avś B as a variant from ms. D. –– Divy continues with *ye kecid dharmā.* The intermediate text has been abridged without marking.

[183] satvā×āṃ omitted by Pauly.

Avś   deveṣu vā [18] devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣyabhūtānām.
P 1   ][v5]bhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu v[] ma[   ]ānāṃ 1[184]
*P 2   [ra] ...]×y[] × vā[

Avś   iyam ucyate[185] buddhe 'graprajñaptiḥ.
P 1   iyaṃ prathamā   a×raprajñapti :

Avś   dharme (a)graprajñaptiḥ [330,1] katamā?
P 1*   dharme a[
P 2   [rb] ...] katamā
Or 2   ][r3] agraprajñapti   kata[

Avś   ye[186] kecid dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā vā (a)saṃskṛtā vā,
Divy   ye kecid dharmā [23] asaṃskṛtā vā saṃskṛtā[187] vā,
P 2   ye [

Avś   virāgo dharmas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ.
Divy   virāgo dharmas teṣām agra ākhyātaḥ.[188]
P 2   [rc] ...]khyāta :

Avś   ye [2] kecid dharme 'bhiprasannā, agre te 'bhiprasannāḥ.
P 2   ×e[
Or 2   ][v1] sannā agre te bhipr[
*SHT   [r1] ...]bhiprasaṃnā

Avś   teṣām   agre 'bhiprasannānām agra eva vipākaḥ prati[3]kāṅkṣitavyo
P 2   [va] ...]×ām agr[] ×[
SHT   teṣāṃm agre bhiprasaṃnānām agra[

Avś   deveṣu vā devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣyabhūtānām.
P 2   [vb] ...]bhūtānāṃ [
Or 2   ][v2]ṣyabhūta[189]

Avś   iyam ucyate[190] dharme (a)graprajñaptiḥ.
Or 2   iyaṃ dviti×[
SHT   [r2] ...]ā ⊙ agraprajñaptī : [

Avś   [4] saṅghe[191]   (a)graprajñaptiḥ katamā?

[184] Or: punctuation mark.
[185] Avś A adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo*.
[186] *ye* restored in Avś B.
[187] Divy B in reverse order: *saṃskṛtā vā (a)saṃskṛtā*.
[188] Divy continues with *ye kecid saṅghā*. The intermediate text has been abridged without marking.
[189] Incomplete due to copying error.
[190] Avś A adds *brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo*.
[191] Avś A reads *saṅgheṣu* instead; Speyer points out that 'the plural of *saṅgha* ... is frequently met with in K[alpa-drumāvadānamālā] and R[atnāvadānamālā]'.

Avś   ye kecit saṅghā vā gaṇā vā[192] pūgā   vā parṣado[193] vā,
Divy   [24] ye kecid saṅghā vā gaṇā vā   pūgā[194] vā parṣado   vā,
P 2*   [vc] ...]ghā vā ga[

Avś   tathāgataśrāva[5]kasaṅghas teṣām   agra ākhyātaḥ.
Divy*   tathāgataśrāvaka[25]saṅghas teṣām   agra ākhyātaḥ.
Or 2*   ][v3] *ta*thāgata×rāvakasaṃ×[
SHT   [r3] ...] ×[]gha*s t*[] ⊙ ṣām agram ākhyā*ta* × [

Avś   ye kecit saṅghe ’bhiprasannā, agre te ’bhiprasannāḥ.

Avś   teṣām agre [6] ’bhiprasannānām agra eva vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyo
SHT   [r4] ...] *e*va vipāka pratikāṃkṣit[

Avś   deveṣu vā[195] devabhūtānāṃ manuṣyeṣu vā manuṣya[7]bhūtānāṃ.[196]
SHT*   ]ṣu vā   devabhūt[

Avś   iyam ucyate[197] saṅghe ’graprajñaptiḥ.

Avś   [8] idam avocad bhagavān āttamanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan.

IV.2. Evidence for *Ekāgrasūtra* in Uigur

The designation *Ekāgrasūtra*, not yet attested outside of Uigur, is confirmed in four additional instances (3–6) aside from our text (1–2). It appears with the following spellings (bold indicates Brāhmī script):

(1) **e kā gri sū dʰa r** ꞈ, *ekagrı sutır* (TT VIII H 5)
(2) **e kā gr̥ sū dʰa r** ꞈ, *ekagrı sutır* (TT VIII H 7)
(3–4) **e ka gr̥** swdwr, *ekagrı sudur*
(5) ’yk’kry swdwr, *ekagrı sudur*
(6) ’yk’kyr swtwr, *ekagır sutur*.

The underlying Sanskrit compound appears split into its two components. The second part is already an integral part of the Uigur lexicon.[198] The initial part loses the final vowel following the Tocharian-inspired rule for borrowed words from the Indian a-declension: ending *-e* for persons, otherwise -Ø, thus resulting in /ekagr/[199]. The post-consonantal syllabic /r/ is represented in Brāhmī 'classically' by <r̥> or phonetically by <ri>. The same vocalisation appears in the Uigur script (5) *ekagrı*, while (6) *ekagır* follows the alternative pattern *čakır* ∼ Skt. *cakra-* 'wheel'.

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[192] *vā* restored in Avś B.
[193] Avś A reads *pariṣado.*
[194] The ed. has an obviously misread *yugā.*
[195] *vā* omitted in Avś A.
[196] *manuṣyeṣu manuṣyabhūtānāṃ* (without *vā*) restored in Avś A.
[197] Avś A adds *brāhmaṇagr̥hapatayo.*
[198] Therefore, in manuscripts in Uigur script that mark Indian borrowings by using the Brāhmī script (nos. 3 and 4), this emphasis is not applied to *sudur*. On the different spellings see the excursus at the end of this appendix.
[199] Jens Wilkens chose this phonemic notation in UWN III.1: 1, albeit without explanation, as the sole lemma form under which he consolidates the variants known to him (except for the unpublished reference (6)). The transliteration ''k'kry' (see Fig. 13), criticized there as 'incorrect', should be maintained; the scribe subsequently inserted the letter <r>, see Plate III. Fig. 13. In HWAU (252a), alongside 'ekagr', there are the entries 'ekagra' and 'ekagri' with cross-references. However, the entry 'ekagra' is to be excluded, just like the supporting reference e kā gra in UWN III.1: 1; the manuscript has <gr̥>, not <gra>, see Fig. 13.

(3) U 2028 + U 1188

The fragmentary folio[200] represents a recension of the *Pārāyaṇasūtra* (Pa. *Pārāyanasutta*), a complete version of which is only attested in Pali as the last section of the Suttanipāta [Sn].[201] Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia, however, might suggest the existence of an independent work.[202] The Uigur manuscript contains a section which aligns quite well with the 'Questions of the brahmin youth Ajita' (Ajita-māṇava-pucchā, Sn 1032 *seqq.*). However, the preceding introduction in its current form shows significant deviations from the Sn[203]. Although the sixteen disciples are mentioned earlier in the Vatthugāthā of the Pārāyanavagga (Sn 1006-1008), there is no indication that Ajita and Tissa-Metteya (Skt. Maitreya), though named first, play such a prominent role, as is suggested by the Old Turkic fragment.[204]

Without a parallel in the Pali text, the relevant passage on the recto reads as follows: (18) *tört y(e)g(i)rmi toyın*(19)*lar kut bultılar ačiti maytri* (20) [*i*]*kigü kaltılar ekagrı sudurta* (21) *ögmiš ulug küčlüg arhantlar* (22) *boltı .. burhan nomınta üküš asıg* (23) *tusu kıltı-lar* 'Fourteen monks attained salvation. Ajita and Maitreya, the two, remained. They became powerful Arhats praised in the **Ekāgrasūtra*. They greatly benefited₂ the Buddha's teachings.'

(4) Ch/U 7230

In BT 38 B, Y. Kasai edited three manuscripts (Ba, Bb and Bc) that focus on the *Pravāraṇasūtra*[205]. In Ba, the **Ekāgrasūtra* is mentioned in the following context: (3) ***e ka gṛ*** *sudur ičintä ögitilmiš alkatmıš* [...](4)*nIŋ arasınta edi*[*z yü*]*ksäk arslan-lıg örgün üzä* [...] (5) *täg osuglug öŋräki ıdok burhan-lar-nıŋ ugrı*[206] '[... *yaru*](6)*yu yašıyu y(a)rlıkadı* 'Amidst the [...] praised and lauded in the **Ekāgrasūtra*, [the Buddha] resided on the high₂ lion throne, [which was] akin to the abode of the former holy Buddhas, radiating brilliance₂.'

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[200] Published by Zieme 1997.
[201] Text: Suttanipāta (AS) p. 190 *seqq.*; translations: Norman 2001: 127 *seqq.*; Bodhi 2017: 321 *seqq.*
[202] Bechert 1961: 11. See Allon 2021: 26: 'For example, the Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyanavagga, which undoubtedly first circulated as independent collections before forming a part of the Suttanipāta, consist of suttas composed entirely of verse.'
[203] For details see Zieme 1997.
[204] The same emphasis on the first two disciples is evident from the *Maitrisimit*: *anta ötrü ol tözün maytreda ulatı altı y(e)g(i)rmi urılar* 'the sixteen youths with the Noble Maitreya at the forefront' (MaitrH II 1565); *anta ötrü tözün maytre kadaši ačiteda ulatı beš y(e)g(i)rmi urılar* 'then Ajita, brother of the Noble Maitreya, and the fifteen youths' (MaitrH II 1693); *anta ötrü tözün maytre bodis(a)v(a)t ačiteda ulatı beš y(e)g(i)rmi urılar birlä* 'then Ajita, the (future) Bodhisattva Maitreya, and the fifteen youths' (MaitrH II 1937); *tözün maytre ačiteda öŋisi kalmıš tört y(e)g(i)rmi urılar* 'the Noble Maitreya and Ajita and the remaining fourteen youths' (MaitrH II 2114). MaitrS 19r9 belongs here: *ačiteda ulatı tört* [*y(e)g(i)rmi*] *urılar* 'Ajita [sic, Maitreya omitted] and the four[teen] youths'. By restoring *t(ä)ŋri* instead of *y(e)g(i)rmi,* K. Röhrborn (UWN II, 1, p. 12 *s. v.* ačite b) seriously misunderstood the passage, interpreting Ajita as the name 'ein[es] Göttersohn[s] (?), der aus Liebe zum Bodhisattva Maitreya Mönch wird (of a God's son (?) who becomes a monk out of love for the Bodhisattva Maitreya)'. Also, his listing Ajita as a heavenly musician (*ibid. sub* a) is not correct. The only evidence presented for this is MaitrS 89r4, where, as has been known since a long time (Laut 1986: 133, see also HWAU 487b), *natarače* (< Skt. *naṭarāja*-) is to be read instead of 'n(a)nta ačite'. Out of Röhrborn's three individuals named Ajita, only the one remains, who, along with Maitreya and fourteen other followers of the brahmin Bādhari, joined the Buddha. The same Ajita is meant in the *Cíbēi dàochǎng chànfǎ* 慈悲道場懺法 (Uig.: *Kšanti kılguluk nom bitig*) based on Sn stating: '(those who act through loving-kindness) like the monk Ajita' (... *inčä kaltı a*[*čit*]*e toyın täg*, BT 25: 1314 according to IOM/RAS SI 1507) = T 1909 XLV 932a7 *rú āyìduō* 如阿逸多 'as Ajita'. Röhrborn did not include this passage in his dictionary.
[205] BT 38, p. 91.
[206] Kasai reads 'ornagı', which is also possible, although perhaps more space would be needed.

(5) Ch/U 6011

The fragment[207] begins with Sanskrit verses[208] translated *pāda* by *pāda* into Uigur prose. They form a praise poem to the Buddha.[209] Following this, there is a passage where the **Ekāgrasūtra* is mentioned as a reference text: *ekagrı sudur*[*ta*(?)]. However, due to the poor state of preservation, it is unclear why the Sūtra is mentioned.

(6) Or. 8212 (685)[210]

On the blank reverse of a piece from a Chinese scroll is written the Uigur text, in which the famous Anavatapta Lake is praised with numerous epithets as *locus amoenus*, where '[s]ometimes the Buddha would go ... with a company of monks and preach or make proclamations' (DPPN I 99). The passage which might allude to such an event reads as follows: (18) *tükäl bilgä* (19) [*t(ä) n*]*gri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan ekagır sutur ičin*(20)[*dä*] *üküš törlüg ögdilär üzä ögä* (21) [*ta*]*playu*[211] *y(a) rlıkamıš* 'The perfectly wise god of gods, the Buddha, deigns to praise₂ [...] in the *Ekāgrasūtra* with various praises.' But the *y(a)rlıkamıš* phrase could also be, as in no. (4), the attribute of some lost [NN] 'who is/are deigned to be praised₂.'

In summary, it can be said that the **Ekāgrasūtra*, as far as the fragmentary transmission allows a judgement, deals with the praise of outstanding persons certainly in nos. (1) – (3) and elsewhere at least probably. The crux of the matter is whether it always denotes the same sūtra. The question cannot be answered definitively. No. (3) mentions the names Ajita and Maitreya, of whom we cannot say for certain whether they are among the 100 arhats of the **Ekāgrasūtra* mentioned in TT VIII H. If, as suspected,[212] it is closely related to the Chinese *Āluóhàn jùdé jīng* 阿羅漢具 德經 (T 126), the two former Bādhari disciples are not part of the hundred. The consequence would then be that '**Ekāgrasūtra*' is a generic term. Analogous to *etadagrika-*, the title should be rendered 'Sūtra that begins with the words *ekam agram* "one top"', while *ekāgra-* usually has the meaning 'directed towards a single goal (*e. g.* thought)'.[213]

Excursus: On the Uigur forms of the loanword *sūtra*

The word *sūtra* is adopted in Tocharian orthography (TochA/B sŭtär). <dʰa> is therefore to be understood as the homographic Tocharian <t̠a>, [tə] ~ Uig. [tı]; the Uigur reading [da] (as accepted in HWAU 626b s. v. *sudar*[214]) cannot be completely ruled out though the vowel *a* would be strange.[215] There is, however, no heterography behind which an actual pronunciation [sud/tur] is concealed. This is clear from the accusative on +ıg (TT VIII H 6); further evidence of this kind in

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[207] Edited by Y. Kasai BT 38 Text He.

[208] Of the first stanza, a *śloka* with serious metrical defects, it is safe to say that it has been quoted in full; from the following stanzas perhaps only single words were excerpted.

[209] *Pace* Y. Kasai (2017: 204) who calls the text a 'Lobpreis des Ekāgrasūtra'.

[210] So far unedited; catalogued by Maspero 1953: 183 N° 432.—Yar. 04.

[211] *ög- tapla-* is attested. One would rather expect *küläyü*, but it cannot be read here.

[212] See IV.3.

[213] MW 230a; also referred to by J. Wilkens (UWN III.1: 1) s. v. *ekagr*.

[214] A. von Gabain's (1954) position on this point is not clear. In the text (*op. cit.* 54–55) she adopts *dh* in the transcription, in the glossary (*op. cit.* 98) she gives *sūtär* as the lemma.

[215] Pronunciation according to the script as in Germ. Pun(s)ch [pʊnʃ] vs. Engl. *punch* [pʌnt͡ʃ]?

Maue Kat II no. 94.2 v3 <sū dʰr̥̄-g₁>, *sud(ı)r+ıg* or *sudrı*+g(?). The Tocharian spelling is a feature of the Brāhmī manuscripts, with one exception <sū dʰū rdʰā>, *sudurda* (Maue Kat I no. 26a r2). In any case, *sutır* should be taken into account as a secondary form. The common pronunciation, however, was certainly [sud/tur]; this is proven not only by the legion of examples in Uigur script from all language periods but also by our manuscript with the genitive *sudırnuŋ* instead of the grammatically correct +*nıŋ*. This form is neither an incorrect usage of the genitive +*nXŋ* (GOT 168–170), nor is likely a distant effect of the first syllable vowel, but rather the influence of the ubiquitous *sudur* with the corresponding genit. *sudurnuŋ*. Due to the etymology, one would rather expect [t] as the middle dental, as this is also suggested by the possible direct sources, the Sogdian with <swttr> (SD no. 9081) by double spelling -tt- and TochA/B with <sūtar>, the latter at least according to common opinion. In Uig. script, however, the spellings with *d* are so dominant, in some texts as in the AY even exclusive, that the standard pronunciation must have been with [d]; t-spellings are not even used in obvious transcripts of the Sanskrit word (HWAU 627a *suduraa* (= Tattv.(Shō) 2332), which is probably to be read *suduran* standing for *sūtraṃ* just like HWAU 627a *sudiran* (= AY(RM) 270.22 = AY(K) 7414). In Mongolian the form *sudur* was adopted from Uigur and became habitual there. It also spread into modern Siberian Turkic languages, where it has come to mean 'epic', etc.[216]

IV.3. On *etadagrikeṣu vyākr̥teṣu* and related issues

Table 1: Synopsis of the Sūtras of the Etadagra type

	AN I 23.16–26.27	Ekottarika-Āgama T02n0125p	TT VIII H 7–8	阿羅漢具德經 T02n0126p
1. Monks[a)]	23.16–25.16	557a17 *seqq.*	l. 7	831a10 *seqq.*
No. of kinds of excellence[b)]	47	100	100	99
No. of groups	4	10	Not stated	1
First of all	Aññākoṇḍañña	Ājñātakauṇḍinya[d)]	Ājñātakauṇḍinya	Kauṇḍinya [j)]
2. Nuns[c)]	25.17–32	558c20 *seqq.*	l. 7	833c8 *seqq.*
No. of kinds of excellence[b)]	13	50/51[e)]	15	15
No. of groups	1	5	Not stated	1
First of all	Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī	Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī[f)]	Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī	Mahāprajāpatī (Gautamī)[k)]
3. Male lay followers	25.33–26.15	559c8 *seqq.*	l. 7–8	833c26 *seqq.*
No. of kinds of excellence[b)]	10	40	21	21
No. of groups	1	4	Not stated	1

[216] Polat 2020: 599–613.

	AN I 23.16–26.27	Ekottarika-Āgama T02n0125p	TT VIII H 7–8	阿羅漢具德經 T02n0126p
First of all	Tapassu-Bhallikā	*Triphala (sic?) [g]	Trapuṣa and Bhallika	(Tra)puṣa and Bhalli(ka) [l]
4. Female lay followers	26.16–27	560a29 *seqq.*	l. 8	834a27 *seqq.*
No. of kinds of excellence [b]	10	30/31 [h]	16	16
No. of groups	1	3	Not stated	1
First of all	Sujātā	Nandabalā [i]	Nandā and Nandabalā	Nandā and Nandabalā [m]

The arrangement of the notes follows the columns.

a) Referred to as *arhat*s (Uig. *arhant*) in text H. – b) The number of people can be smaller if the same person occupies two or more top positions, but also larger if two people share a top position. – c) Referred to as *arhantī*s (Uig. *arhantanč*) in text H. – d) *āruòjūlín* 阿若拘鄰 (557a20). The Chinese transcripts and translations in T 125 are based on Prakritic forms, which are replaced here by their Skt. equivalents. – e) 50 described, but 51 enumerated. – f) *Dà'àidào Jùtánmí* 大愛道瞿曇彌 (558c22). – g) Retranslation from Chin. *sānguǒ* 三果 'three fruits'. The two merchants are merged into one person with a name that looks as if it is composed of the beginnings of the two names. For *Tri-* (vs. Pā. *Ta-*, Skt. *Tra-*) cf. Gāndh. *Tri-vusa* 'Trapuṣa' in Allon 2009. – h) 30 described, but 31 enumerated. – i) *Nántuópóluó* 難陀婆羅 (560b01). – j) *Jiāochénrú* 憍陳如 (831a14) – k) *Móhēbōshébótí* 摩訶波闍波提 (833c11). – l) *Bùsà* 布薩 and *Bálí* 跋梨 (833c28). – m) *Nánnà* 難那 and *Nánnàlì* 難那力 (sic!) (834a29).

Lines 4 *seqq.* of our text present a type of declaration of the best which is formally different from the *agraprajñapti*. The oldest example of this genre has been handed down as a chapter of the Aṅguttaranikāya (AN I 23.15–26.28).[217] It lists separately for each of the four Buddhist communities a considerable number of persons who exceed all others in various categories of characteristics or actions. They are divided into 'groups of ten (or more)',[218] resulting in seven sections. Each of these sections is introduced by *etad aggaṃ* (Skt. *etad agram*), which is why the entire chapter is labelled *etadaggavagga*.[219] The declaration proper is short and stereotypical: *etad aggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ (sāvikānaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ, upāsakānaṃ, upāsikānaṃ) … yad idaṃ* NN '(liter.) monks, this (is) the top (*etad aggaṃ*) of my monk-disciples (nun-disciples, male lay-followers, female lay-followers) [characterised by …] which is NN'.

In terms of structure and presentation, the AN chapter corresponds to a section of the Chin. Ekottarika-Āgama (T02n0125p0557a17–560c4). Another example of such lists of – to give them a provisional label – Etadagra sayings or utterances[220] is the *Āluóhàn jùdé jīng* 阿羅漢具德經 'Sūtra on the perfect good qualities of the Arhats', according to B. Nanjio 'a later translation of

[217] The whole chapter or its parts are referred to by the term *etadagga-* (without addition), *e. g.*, in Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the Majjhimanikāya, Papañcasūdanī (Ps II 246.16 *seq.*): *etadaggasmiṃ hi 'etad aggam, bhikkhave, mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ mahāpaññānaṃ yad idaṃ Sāriputto'* [= AN I 23.16 and 18] *'ti vuttaṃ* 'because in the Etadagga it is said: "Bhikkhus, the foremost of my bhikkhu disciples among those with great wisdom is Sāriputta".
[218] See Bodhi 2012: 1603, n. 73.
[219] Or: °-*pāḷi,* Bodhi 2012: 1603, n. 73.
[220] Single or small groups of Etadagra utterances can be found in large numbers scattered throughout the Buddhist scriptures.

chapters 4th–7th of the Ekottarâgama,'[221] *i. e.* the aforementioned text. In fact, it is an independent version which, if the numbers are not deceptive (see Table 1),[222] must have been close to the text to which our manuscript refers. How close cannot be judged since Text H only gives the total number of top positions of each *pariṣad* and only the very first persons are named without specifying their individual excellence, which is in general assigned to the area of 'morality (*čahšapat*) and wisdom (*bilgä bilig*)'. This summary is reduced to the information necessary to prove that the *triratna* does not occur in the collection of Etadagra sayings.

As to the number of categories and the persons representing them, there are considerable differences between the relevant texts (see Table 1), which belong to different lines of transmission. However, the fact that both a basic stock of Etadagra sayings and their compilation in a list-like collection are present in northern and southern Buddhism suggests that the genre can be assigned to the early phase of Buddhism. The simple formula with the (implicit) reminder to emulate the paragons[223] must have been the source for new Etadagra sayings – in addition to systematic differentiations.[224]

The third episode of the Somā-Avadāna,[225] for example, seems to teach us what context the isolated Etadagra sayings under discussion belong to. It reports that Somā[226] learnt and retained the Prātimokṣasūtra by hearing it once. *tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma*: *eṣāgrā*[227] *me bhikṣavo bhikṣūṇīnāṃ mama śrāvikāṇāṃ bahuśrutānāṃ śrutadhārīṇāṃ yad uta Somā bhikṣuṇī.* 'Alors Bhagavat, s'adressant à ses Bhixus, leur dit: Bhixus, la première des Bhixuñîs mes auditrices qui ont entendu beaucoup et bien retenu, c'est précisément cette Bhixuñî Somâ' (Feer 1891: 277).[228] The sayings are appendices to *avadānas*, reports of events in which people have

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[221] Nanjio 1883 *sub* no. 897.

[222] Only the number of *bhikṣu*s differs by 1, 99 in T 126 vs. 100 in TT VIII H.

[223] *Cf.* AN I 88 *seq.*; II 164. –– *N. b.*: The function described here does not apply in general. Etadagra sayings also occur when it is even about negative characteristics, *e. g.* Av(Sp) I 285.5 *seq.*: *eṣo 'gro me bhikṣavo bhikṣūṇāṃ mama śrāvakāṇāṃ lūhādhimuktānāṃ yaduta Jāmbālo bhikṣur* 'Oh monks, this one is the foremost of my monk-disciples having inclination to filthy (food), namely the monk Jāmbāla'. Furthermore, they are not limited to persons: *e. g.* Divy 349.14–15 (and again slightly different in 385.12–14) *etad agraṃ me ānanda bhaviṣyati śamathānukūlānāṃ śayyāsanānāṃ yad idaṃ Naṭabhaṭikāraṇyāyatanam* 'This will be, Ānanda, the foremost among the places for lying down and sitting which are suitable for the tranquillity of the heart, namely the forest place Naṭabhaṭikā'. AN I 15.25–26. *etad aggaṃ bhikkhave vuddhīnaṃ yadidaṃ paññāvuddhi* 'The best thing in which to increase is wisdom' (tr. Bodhi 2012: 102). Dozens of examples can be found in the sections on the Community (AN I 70 *seqq.*), happiness (*op. cit.* 80 *seqq.*) and gifts (*op. cit.* 91 *seq.*).

[224] See n. 228 *sub* (iv).

[225] Av(Sp) II 21.12-22.5, *cf.* Skilling 2001: 144 *seqq.*

[226] Not included in AN; present in T 125, but praised for a different quality: T02n0125p0559b11 *seq.*: 悲泣衆生不及道者所謂素摩比丘尼是 '(the best of those) who grieve over beings who do not abide by the Dharma, that is the *bhikṣuṇī named Somā*'.

[227] The feminine *eṣāgrā*, which is genus-congruent with Somā, replaces the original neuter *etad agram*.

[228] *Cf.* Skilling 2001: 144 *seqq.* Of the same structure are: (i) Av(Sp) II 10.6–11.3, where Supriyā, having procured food and drink for the Buddha and his retinue through a *satyakriyā* in which she invokes her religious merits, is named the best performer of merit (*kṛtapuṇyā*). (ii) In II 43.6–9, Kacaṅgalā is called the best interpreter of the Sūtras (*sūtravibhāgakartrī*) because she was able to explain the Buddha's abridged teachings to the nuns. (iii) Kṣemā, already in the state of *anāgāminī*, thwarted her marriage by rising into the air and performing miracles, causing everyone to realize that she was not made for carnal pleasures. Back on earth, she expounded the teaching, causing several hundred thousand listeners to recognise the truth. Having been ordained by Mahāprajāpatī and attained arhatship, she was declared by the Buddha to be first among those who possess great knowledge and eloquence (*mahāprājñānāṃ mahāpratibhānām, op. cit.* II 50.9-10). In name and in the role of the first among those with great knowledge (Pa. *mahāpaññānāṃ*) she is the same as Khemā Therī (1) (DPPN I 727), but is different from her in descent and life, *cf.* BHSD 201b. (iv) The last example is taken from Schiefner 1875: 52-53. It deserves

demonstrated their special abilities and were then ennobled and praised[229] by the Exalted One. The interweaving of ætiological *avadāna* and Etadagra saying seems to form a basic pattern similar to the pair of precedent and the rule of behaviour derived from it in the Vinaya or fable and epimythion. If so, it can be assumed that a certain decoupling has occurred, which makes Etadagra sayings possible even without a substantiating narrative.[230] However, there is one observation that does not support the scenario described and perhaps even removes its basis, namely the complete absence of such specific ætiological narratives in the Pali literature. From this perspective, the *avadāna*s would appear to be later additions to the Etadagra utterances, additions for which the (M)SV literature in particular provides examples.

What kind of text do the collections of Etadagra sayings represent? T 126 is identified by the title 佛説... 經 as 'Sūtra preached by the Buddha', the equivalent in T 125 by the introductory formula.[231] This may also be valid for the *etadaggavagga* of the AN, though it is nowhere called a *sūtra*.[232] It is therefore doubtful whether one is authorised to reconstruct a title *Etadaggasutta(nta). Similarly, we have no proof for Skt. *Etadagrasūtra. T 126 bears the name *Arhadguṇasūtra, but this seems to have been invented *ad hoc*, perhaps because no official title was available. Text H line 4 speaks of *ekagrı sutır* ~ Skt. *Ekāgrasūtra[233], which, however, is not attested in the Sanskrit original or elsewhere outside the Uigur.

Another candidate for the title may be *Agratāsūtra,* attested in the Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa [KVU].[234] The beginning of the relevant text passage p. 161.16 *seqq.* is incomplete due to the loss of a leaf.

> [ ]tmanāṃ yad idaṃ Kauṇḍinyo. mahāprajñānāṃ Śāriputraḥ. ṛddhimatāṃ Maudgalyāyanaḥ. yāvad dākṣiṇeyānāṃ Subhūtiḥ kulaputraḥ. evaṃ sarvasūtraṃ[235] vaktavyaṃ. bhikṣuṇīnāṃ Agratāsūtre uktam evaṃ upāsakānām upāsikānām Agratāsūtre uktam.
>
> ... [le premier des Mendiants qui ....], c'est Kauṇḍinya; –– qui ont la grande Sapience, c'est Śāriputra; –– qui ont les pouvoirs magiques, c'est Maudgalyāyana; etc... jusqu'à: –– de ceux qui méritent les dons pieux, c'est Subhūti le fils de famille. Le Sūtra entier est à réciter, et aussi ce qui est dit dans le Sūtra de la Primauté des Mendiantes, dans le Sūtra de la Primauté des Laïcs, des Laïques. (Lévi 1932: 175)

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attention insofar as the declaration of King Pradyota as 'der vorzüglichste derjenigen, die zuerst der Gemeinschaft der mir dienenden Zuhörer alle Wünsche gewährt haben (the most excellent of those who first granted all wishes to the community of listeners serving me)' is supplemented by those of Bimbisāra, Anāthapiṇḍada and Bhadrika, who distinguished themselves with special donations (food, storage facilities and *vihāra* respectively) to the Saṃgha. Of these, only one, Pa. Anāthapiṇḍika, is named as the foremost donor in AN. Here we can recognise a reason for the increase in Etadagra texts, namely the tendency to differentiate, not to leave it at just one foremost donor, but to assign a top donor to each of the important types of gifts.

[229] The aspect of praising is particularly emphasised in the Uigur. Wherever the *Ekāgrasūtra is mentioned, the verbs *alkat-* 'to be praised', *ög-* 'to praise, to extol', *ögitil-* 'to be praised', *tapla-* 'to value' are found.

[230] See n. 228 example (iv).

[231] T02n0125p0557a17–18: 聞如是：一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時世尊告諸比丘. 'Thus have I heard: One time, the Buddha was staying at Anāthapiṇḍada's Park in Jeta's Grove of Śrāvastī. It was then that the World Honored addressed the monks.'

[232] See n. 217.

[233] Further details see IV.2.

[234] BHSD 5a.

[235] Read: sarvaṃ sūtraṃ?

From *yad idam* one can see that we are most probably dealing with an Etadagra formula, and *Kauṇḍinyo*, who is mentioned first among the *bhikṣu*s in all comparable texts, proves that the quotation comes from the beginning of the text. How [   ]*tmanāṃ* is to be restored is unclear though; in AN, Aññakoṇḍañña is the foremost in seniority (Pa. *rattaññu-*). As in AN, Śāriputra (Pa. Sāriputta) follows in second place as first among those of great knowledge (Skt. *mahāpra-jña-*, Pa. *mahāpañña-*), thereon (Mahā)maudgalyāyana (Pa. Mahāmogallāna) as foremost among those who possess magic power (Skt. *ṛddhimant-*, Pa. *iddhimant-*). At the end of probably the entire *bhikṣu* section Subhūti is given as the one worthiest of a gift (Skt. *dakṣiṇeya-*, Pa. *da-kkhiṇeyya-*), who in this role is mentioned in the AN as the fifth of the second *bhikkhu* group, however. After this summary of the *bhikṣu* section, corresponding sections on the other three *pariṣad*s are only listed, seemingly not as components of a comprehensive Agratāsūtra, but as independent sūtras of this name. Thus, according to KVU, the text as a whole, which matches the texts under discussion in all essential points, forms a convolute of four Agratāsūtras. It follows that Agratāsūtra is the name of a genre. This explains its use in the two other places in the KVU[236] where, despite Lévi, no reference is made to the convolute of Etadagra utterances, because both times the supremacy of the Buddha is at issue.

To return to our text, instead of **Ekāgrasūtra*, the Skt. reads in l. 5 *etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu*, of which *vyākṛteṣu* has been added below the line. From the plural it is clear that this expression does not refer to the whole text, but to its individual parts, which we have so far provisionally labelled as Etadagra sayings or utterances. The first word *etadagrika-* is an adjective; accordingly, *vyākṛta-* must be seen as a (neutral) noun,[237] obviously a rival of *vyākaraṇa-*,[238] which forms part of the subsequent compound. Of linguistic interest is *vyākṛta-* as the phonetically perfect etymon of Uig. *vyakrıt*.[239]

The question arises as to the context-adequate meaning of *vyākṛta-* ~ *vyākaraṇa-*. Helpful for understanding this is the use of the verb *vy-ā-kṛ* in a section of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, which the editors have entitled ‘Ānanda is the foremost among the learned monks’, SBV II 66 *seq.* During his existence under the Buddha Kāśyapa, Ānanda is *bahuśrutānāṃ śrutadhārāṇāṃ*[240] *śrutasannicayānāṃ agro vyākṛtaḥ*, which can mean nothing other than: ‘was declared foremost of those who are very learned, retaining and accumulating what they have learned’. At the end of his life, he uttered the *praṇidhāna* (shortened): ‘If I have led a good conduct throughout my life and have not attained any amount of good qualities (*yan mayā ... yāvadāyur brahmacaryaṃ caritaṃ na ca kaścid guṇagaṇo ’dhigataḥ*), I would like to realise arhatship on the basis of this root of merit (*anenāhaṃ kuśalamūlena ... arhattvaṃ sākṣāt kuryām*) under the

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[236] KVU 155.14 and 157.10 with notes.
[237] On ‘Verbaladjektiva auf *-ta* ... in substantivischer Geltung’ (verbal adjectives on *-ta* ... in substantival use) see Debrunner 1954: §436.
[238] *Cf.* twin forms *carita-* ~ *caraṇa-* ‘(good) conduct’, *jīvita-* ~ *jīvana* ‘life’, etc.
[239] The fact that *vyākṛteṣu* was inserted later could raise doubts as to whether it belongs to the original text, in contrast to *vyākaraṇa-*, whose authenticity as part of the compound is fairly certain, and the immediate neigh-bourhood of the two competing forms, *vyākṛta-* and *vyākaraṇa-*, is also somewhat strange. Nevertheless, the existence of the noun *vyākṛta-* can hardly be disputed, unless one would assume that the scribe or corrector of the Uig. text coined the word on the basis of Uig. *vyakrıt*. Its borrowing from TochA/B *vyākarit* (HWAU 849b *s.v. vyakrit*), whose origin is judged differently (< **vyākārita-*: Hackstein, Habata & Bross 2019: 203 with literature; < **vyākarita-*: DThTA 421a), is hardly acceptable because of *-krı-* instead of the expected **-karI-*. In any case, the final derivation from *vyākṛti-* (as still, *e. g.*, in HWAU *loc. cit.)* is obsolete, *cf.* Oda *et al.* forthc.: 89, n. 86.
[240] L.: *śrutā°*, *cf.* Pa. *sutādhāra-*.

Exalted One Śākyamuni. And in the same way as I was declared by the Exalted One Kāśyapa to be foremost of those who are very learned, retaining and accumulating what they have learned, so may the Exalted One Śākyamuni declare me to be foremost of those who are very learned, retaining and accumulating what they have learned.' (*yathā ca … bhagavatā Kāśyapena … bahuśrutānāṃ śrutadhārāṇāṃ*[240] *śrutasannicayānāṃ agro vyākṛtaḥ, evam mām api sa bhagavān Śākyamuniḥ … bahuśrutānāṃ śrutadhārāṇāṃ*[240] *śrutasannicayānāṃ agraṃ vyākuryād iti*). The Buddha, who has reported the above, continues: 'Because of this *praṇidhāna* he is now by me declared to be foremost of those who are very learned, retaining and accumulating what they have learned' (*tatpraṇidhānavaśād etarhi mayā bahuśrutānāṃ śrutadhārāṇāṃ*[240] *śrutasannicayānāṃ agro vyākṛtaḥ*).

From this use of the verb *vy-ā-kṛ*[241] one can conclude that the nouns *vyākṛta-* and *vyākaraṇa-* have the meaning 'declaration' in similar contexts.[242] The expression we started from, *etadagrikeṣu vyākṛteṣu*, therefore means 'in the declarations with *etad agram* (in the beginning).'[243] The basic meaning probably also explains Takasaki's observation that in some Gilgit mss. most of the canonical scriptures cited by name 'are called "vyākaraṇa" probably in the same sense as "dharma-paryāya" or "sūtra".'[244]

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[241] Which is by no means uncommon, see MW 1035c.

[242] In Buddhist texts, this basic meaning is somewhat overshadowed by 'declaration (referring to the future)' which is usually rendered as 'prediction, prophecy'. Such a declaration – that the Brahmin youth Uttara is the future Buddha Śākyamuni – is embedded in the discussed text passage from the SBV II 67.7–10 (*a*)*sau bhagavatā Kāśyapena samyaksaṃbuddhena Uttaro māṇavo vyākṛtaḥ: bhaviṣyasi tvaṃ … Śākyamunir nāma tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddha iti*), so that both usages of *vy-ā-kṛ* occur close together.

[243] This may also help to better understand *etadagra-* which occurs in the Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa [KVU] 156.12 *seq.*: *yathā ca Bhagavataitadagre Dhakṣiṇāvibhaṅge sūtra* (read: *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra*) *uktam,* in Lévi's translation (*op. cit.* 171): 'Et c'est encore ce que dit le Très Saint dans l'Etadagra sūtra et le Dhakṣiṇāvibhaṅga sūtra.' Edgerton (BHSD 155b) is certainly right in rejecting Lévi's suggestion to identify the 'Etadagra sūtra' with the *Aggappaññattisutta*. He vaguely considers Etadagra to be the 'n[ame] of a work, or section of one, which = or contains the Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga sūtra'. Certain, however, is that the *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra* 'repond au Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga du Majjhima (nᵒ 142) lequel traite des *pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā*' (KVU 156 n. 3). The relevant section, MN III 254.27–255.13, deals with the classification of *pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā* (Skt. *pratipudgalikā dakṣiṇāḥ*) 'offerings relating to specific persons', whose 'worth and merit … are reckoned according to the worth and merit of the recipient' (Horner 1959: 302, n.1). Of all gifts, the one given to the Tathāgata is the best. This would be an occasion for an *etadagrikaṃ vyākṛtaṃ/vyākaraṇam*. And KVU 156.13–14 actually quotes one such: *etad agram Ānanda pratipudgalikānāṃ dakṣiṇānāṃ yad idaṃ Tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ*, which Lévi (*op. cit.* 171) translates as follows: '[Ananda,] [e]n tête des offrandes pieuses d'ordre individuel, il y a le Tathāgata, Arhat, Samyaksaṃbuddha.' One would expect, however: 'The best of the *pratipudgalikā dakṣiṇāḥ* is that which is given to the Tathāgata etc.' or else 'The best among the recipients of the *pratipudgalikā dakṣiṇāḥ* is the Tathāgata etc.' In one way or the other, the transmitted text needs to be corrected. Howsoever, *etadagraṃ* in the above quotation is obviously synonymous with *etadagrikaṃ vyākṛtaṃ/vyākaraṇam*. Lévi's translation should be corrected: 'as well as was said by the Exalted One in the Etadagra within the Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra' and Edgerton's meaning (*loc. cit.*) specified: 'name of a section of the Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga sūtra'. Interestingly, the *etadagra* formula is not found in any preserved version of this *sūtra*, *cf.* the thorough study by Strauch 2017.

[244] 1965: (41)=403; *cf.* Dietz 1984: 14 *seqq.* and 1985: 165 *seqq.* According to Hinüber 1994 this is probably also the original meaning of Pali *veyyākaraṇa-*. See also Bongard-Levin *et al.* 1996: 23.

V. GLOSSARIES

V.1. Sanskrit – English – Uigur

ifc.	*in fine compositi,* at the end of a compound
°-dharma-°	omission of what precedes and follows *dharma*
ca = a°, ava=a°	suspended external and internal sandhi
<	emerged from, here specifically: through sandhi
≠	semantically different
≈	semantically not fully consistent

agra-	4: agrā (<°ās) nom.pl. – top, best – Uig. yeg
agrya-prajñapti-	2: agryaprajñaptir (< °is); 2 agr⟨y⟩aprajñapti⟨ḥ⟩ (< °is) nom. sg.; 1: ʾgryaprajñataya⟨ḥ⟩ nom. pl. – declaration as best – Uig. yeg ukıtmak
-artham	4, see tat-°; *ifc.* – for the sake of – Uig. üčün
aśravaṇa-	4, see buddha-°. – the being not heard, or mentioned – Uig. ≈ ünmäyök the non-appearance
athavā	3 – or rather – Uig. azu ymä
bhikṣu-	1: bhikṣavo (< °vas) voc. pl. – monk – Uig. toyun
bhū	6: bhavati 3. sg. prs. act. – become, be – Uig. (different wording)
buddha-	1-2: buddhe loc. sg. – Buddha – Uig. burhan
buddha-dharma-saṅgha-vyākaraṇa=aśravaṇāt	4 – because of the fact that one hears no declaration about the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha – Uig. ≈ burhan nom bursuŋlar atı ünmäyökiŋä by the fact that the name(s) of Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃghas (pl.!) do not appear
dharma-	2: dharme loc. sg.; see also buddha-°. – Dharma, teaching – Uig. nom
etad	6; 9 ete nom. pl. masc. – that – Uig. bo
etadagrika-	4: etadagrikeṣu loc. pl. – (beginning) with (the words) *etad agram* – Uig. ≈ ekagrı (beginning) with (the words) *ekam agram*
idam	1: imā (< °ās) nom. pl. fem. – this – Uig. bo
iti	4: veti (< vā iti) – thus (marks the end of direct speech) – Uig. tep saying (with the same function)
katama-	1: katamās nom. pl. fem. – which, what? – Uig. kayo
kautuka-	4, see tat-°. – doubt – Uig. sezik
kautukin-	4: k⟨au⟩tukināṃ gen. pl. – doubting – Uig. seziklig
kim	6 – what? – Uig. nä
kim ... na vā	4 – (whether) ... or not? – Uig. mU ... azu (är)mäz
prajñapti-	see agrya-° – declaration – Uig. ukıtmak
saṅgha-	2: saṅghe loc. sg.; see also buddha-°. – Saṃgha, Buddhist community – Uig. bursuŋlar (pl.!)
tat-kautuka-vinodana=arthaṃ	4–5 – for dispelling their doubts[245] – Uig. seziklärin takargalır üčün
trayas	1: tisra (< °as), 1: tisra⟨ḥ⟩ nom. pl. fem. – three – Uig. üč

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[245] According to the Uigur rendering, alternatively 'for the removal of doubt about that'.

ukta-	6: uktaṃ – word – Uig. sav
vā	see athavā and kim – or – Uig. azu
vinodana-	4–5, see tat-° – dispelling – Uig. tarkargalır
vyākaraṇa-	4, see buddha-° – declaration – Uig. Ø
vyākṛta-	4: vyākṛteṣu loc. pl. – declaration – Uig. ≈ sudur

V.2. Uigur – English – Sanskrit

azu	or – Skt. vā
azu ymä	or rather – Skt. athavā
bo	this – Skt. etad, idam
burhan	Buddha – Skt. buddha-
bursuŋ	Saṃgha, Buddhist community – Skt. saṅgha-
ekagrı	beginning with *ekam agram* – ≈ Skt. etadagra-
kayo	which, what? – Skt. katama-
mU ... azu (är)mäz	(whether) ... or not? – Skt. kim ... na vā
nä	what, which? – Skt. kim
nom	teaching (of the Buddha) – Skt. dharma-
sav	word – Skt. ukta-
sezik	doubt – Skt. kautuka-
seziklig	doubting – Skt. kautukin-
sudur	*sūtra* – ≈ Skt. vyākṛta-
tarkargalır	dispelling – Skt. vinodana-
tep	saying (marks the end of direct speech) – Skt. iti
toyun	monk – Skt. bhikṣu-
üč	three – Skt. trayas
üčün	for the sake of – Skt. *ifc.* -artham
ünmäyök	the non-appearance – ≈ Skt. aśravaṇa-
yeg	best – Skt. agra-
yeg ukıtmak	declaration as best – Skt. agryaprajñapti-

V.3. Uigur – English

agladı	by no means (with following verb in negation form) 9/10
altı	six 8
antag	such 4, 10
ara	between: ara+sınta 5, 9
arhant	Arhat: 7; arhant+larıg 7
arhantanč	Arhantī: 7; arhantanč+larıg 7
at	name: at+ı 5
ay-	say: ay-urlar 4
azu	or 4, 5

ädgülüg	good 10
ädrämlig	virtuous: ädrämlig+lär 10
ärdni	jewel: ärd(i)ni+niŋ 9
ärki	particle (expressing probability) 5, 6
är-	be: är-mäz 2, 5; är-sär 3; är-sär+lär 10
äšid-	hear: äšid-täči 10
äštil-	to be heard: äštil-mädi 10

bahšı	master: bahšı+lar 4
bar	existing 10
barča	all 8
baš	head: baš+ın 7, 7, 8
beš	five 7
bilgä	wise: 4, 5, 6; bilgä biligkä 8
bilig	knowledge: bilgä bilig+kä 8
bir	one 8
bo	this: 3, 3, 4, 6, 6, 8, 8, 9; bo+lar 1, 5; bo+larnıŋ 9
bol-	to become, to be: bol-tı 10; bol-mıš 6
burhan	the Buddha: 3, 5, 7, 9, 10; burhan+nıŋ 5; burhan+ta 2
bursuŋ	Buddhasaṃgha: 9; bursuŋ+lar 5; bursuŋ+larda 2

| **č**ahšapat | commandment: čahšapat+ka 8 |
| čın | true 3 |

| **e**kagrı sutır | *Ekāgrasūtra: ekagrı sutır+da 5, 7 |
| elig | king 2 |

| **ı**nča | so 1 |

ič	inside: ič+indä 10
ikinti	second 3
inčip	now, so 9

kayo	which 1
kertü	true 3
kuvrag	congregation, community 9

| **m**ontag | such 9, 9, 9 |
| mü | (interrogative particle) 5, 6 |

nä	what 6
näčä	how 10
nom	Dharma, teaching: 5, 9; nom+da 2
nomla-	preach: nomla-yu 3

ok   (intensifying particle) 3
okı-   call, summon: okı-p 1
ol   that 1, 1, 2, 3, 8, 8, 9, 9, 9
otoz   thirty 8

ög-   to praise: ög-ä 9
ögdi   praise: ögdi+lär 8; ögdi+läri 10
ögit-   to be praised: ögit-mišlär 5
öŋe   different: öŋe öŋe 8
öŋräki   earlier 4
örit-   to arouse: örit-ür 3
ötrö   then 10
sakınč   thought 3
sav   speech, word: sav+da 6
sezik   doubt: sezik+läri 10; sezik+lärin 6
seziklig   doubtful 6
sutır   sūtra: sutır+ıg 3, 6; sutır+nuŋ¹ 4

šasan   discipline: šasan+ı 10

tarkar-   remove: tarkar-galır 6
täŋri   god: täŋri täŋri+si 3, 5, 6/7
te-   say, speak: te-p 1, 1, 3, 6, 6, 6, 8, 9; te-sär 6; t[e-s]är 1
tıltag   cause: tıltag+ın 3
tınlıg   living being: tınlıg+larnıŋ 6, 10
toyun   monk: toyun+lar+a 1; toyun+larıg 1
tükäl   complete 5, 6

ukıtmak   teaching, proclamation: 2, 2, 2: ukıtmak+lar 1
ulatı   beginning with 7
upasanč   lay sister: upasanč+larıg 8
upase   lay brother: upase+larıg 8
utpatti   origin, occasion: utpatti+sın 4

üč   three 1, 1, 9
üčägü   all three 3
üčün   for, because of 6
ün-   to go out, rise: ün-ä 6; ün-mäyökiŋä 5
üzä   with 5, 9

yaŋlok   erroneous 2
yarlıka-   (with converb) to deign to: yarlıka-dı 1, 3, 6, 9
yeg   good, best 1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5, 5, 8, 8, 9, 9, 9
y(e)girme   twenty 7, 8

ymä	and 3, 4, 9, 9
yörüg	interpretation 6
yüz	hundred 7

Proper names

Aǰnatakawndinye	Ajñātakauṇḍinya 7
Balike	Bhallika 7
Gawtami	Gautamī 7
Mahapraǰapati	Mahāprajāpatī 7
Nandabalı	Nandabalā 8
Nandı	Nandā 8
Prasenaǰi	Prasenajit 2
Trıpuse	Tripusa 7

VI. ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

VI.1. Abbreviations

AN	= *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, see Morris and Hardy 1885–1900.
APS	= *Agraprajñaptisūtra*.
Avś	= *Avadānaśataka*. see Speyer 1902–1909.
AY	= *Altun Yaruk sudur*.
AY(K)	see Kaya 2021.
AY(RM)	see Radloff and Malov 1913.
BHSD	= *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, see Edgerton 1953.
BT 13	= Zieme 1985.
BT 38	= Kasai 2017.
Chin.	= Chinese.
Derge	= Derge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, see Ui *et al.* 1934.
Divy	= *Divyāvadāna*, see Cowell and Neil 1886.
DN	= *Dīghanikāya*, see Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890–1911.
DPPN	= *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, see Malalasekera 1937–38.
DTB²	= *A Dictionary of Tocharian B,* see Adams 2013.
DThTA	= *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A,* see Carling and Pinault 2023.
EĀ	= *Ekottarika-Āgama*.
GOT	= *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, see Erdal 2004.
HWAU	= *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen*, see Wilkens 2021b.
IOM/RAS	= Institute of Oriental Manuscripts / Russian Academy of Sciences.
Itiv	= *Itivuttaka*, see Windisch 1889.
KVU	= *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932: 153–181.
MaitrH	= Geng *et al.*
MaitrS	= Tekin 1980.

Maue Kat I–II	= Maue 1996; 2015.
MN	= *Majjhimanikāya*, vol. III, see Chalmers 1899.
Pa.	= Pali.
Peking	= Peking/Beijing edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.
Ps	= *Papañcasūdanī*, see Woods and Kosambi 1922–1937.
SBV	= *Saṅghabhedavastu*. see Gnoli and Venkatacharya 1977–1978.
SD	= *Sogdian Dictionary,* see Gharib 1995.
SHT I-XII	= *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 1–12, see Waldschmidt, Sander and Wille 1965–2017.
Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Sogd.	= Sogdian.
Suttanipāta(AS)	see Andersen and Smith 1913.
SWTF	= *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, see Waldschmidt *et al.* 1972–2018.
T	= *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō (Quoted as T volume no. + text no. + page + column).*
Tattv.(Shō)	see Shōgaito 2008.
Tib.	= Tibetan.
TochA, TochB, TochA/B	= Tocharian A, Tocharian B, Tocharian A and B.
TT VIII	= *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII*, see Gabain 1954.
Tumsh.	= Tumshukese.
Uig.	= Uigur.
UWN I–III	= *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Neubearbeitung. I. Verben; II. Nomina – Pronomina – Partikeln; III. Fremdelemente.* I.1 see Röhrborn 2010; I.2–3 see Özertural 2020; 2023; II.1–2 see Röhrborn 2015; 2017; III.1–2 see Wilkens 2021a; 2023.

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VII. Plates

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In some cases we have attempted to improve the legibility of the photographs by adjusting the colour balance, contrast and so on.

Figs. 1–4:   Mainz 835 © BBAW
Fig. 5:   Or.15009/163 verso © BL
Figs. 6–7:   Or. 15008/15 © BL
Fig. 8:   Or.15014/50 side A © BL
Figs. 9–10:   Pelliot sanscrit, petits fragments n° 83 © BnF
Figs. 11–12:   Pelliot sanscrit Stotra III.7 verso © BnF
Fig. 13:   U 1188 verso 10. © BBAW
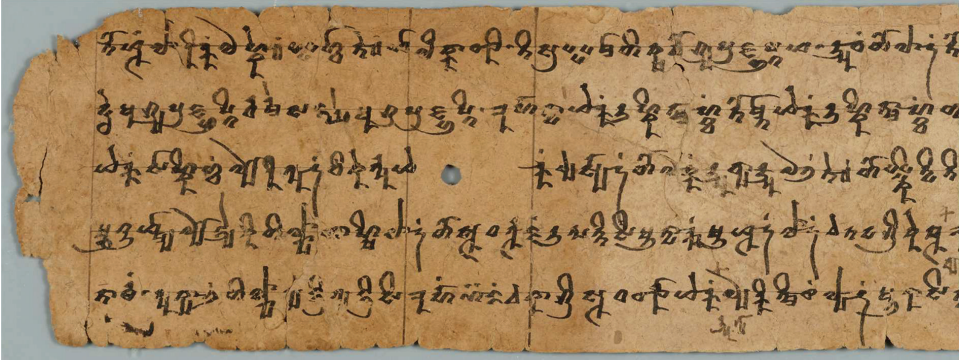Figs. 14–15:   SHT X 3423 + VII 1749 © BBAW

Plate I

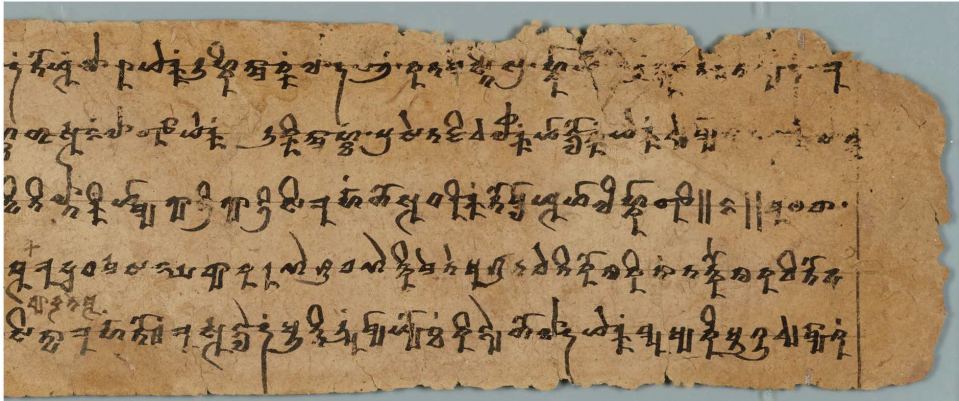**Fig. 1.** TT VIII Text H (Mainz 835) recto – left half

Fig. 2. TT VIII Text H (Mainz 835) recto – right half
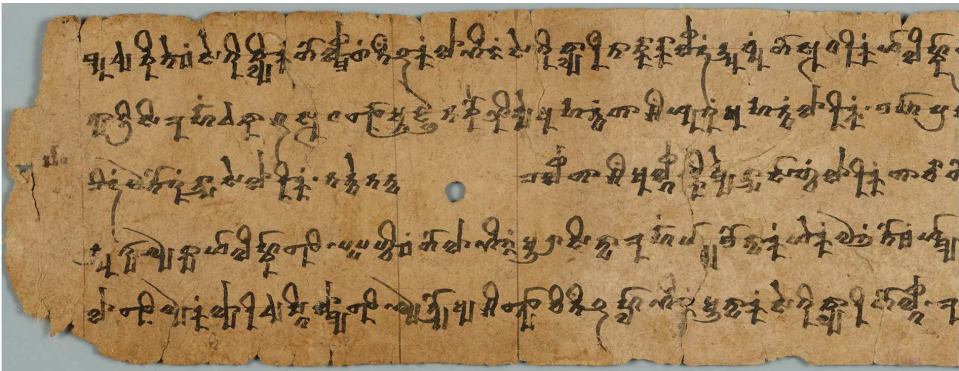

Fig. 3. TT VIII Text H (Mainz 835) verso - left half
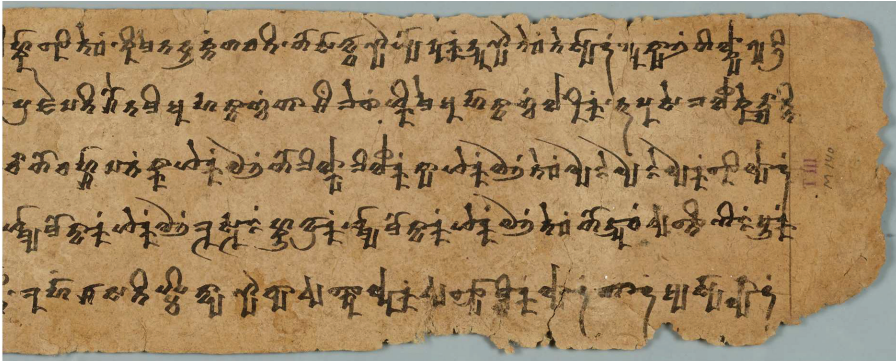
Plate II

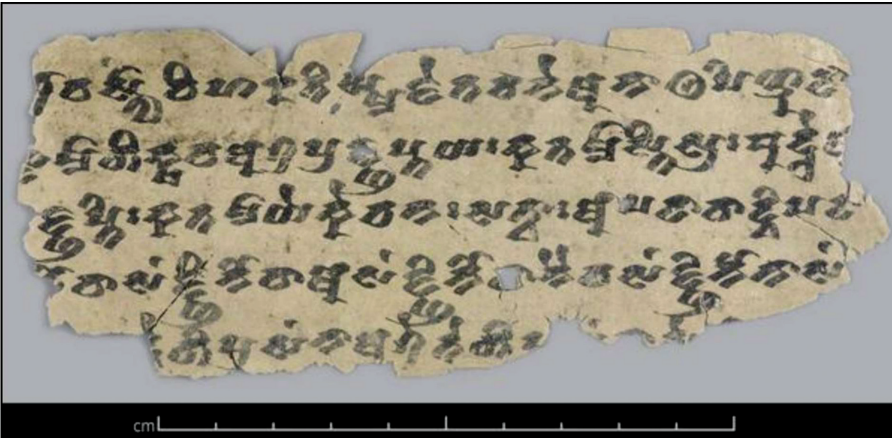**Fig. 4.** TT VIII Text H (Mainz 835) verso - right half
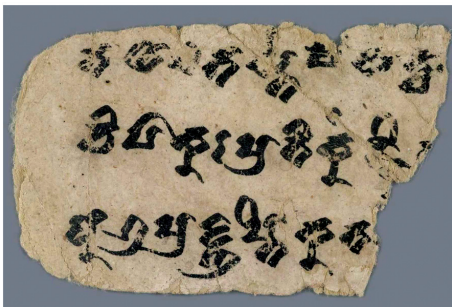

Fig. 5. Or.15009/163 verso

Fig. 6. Or. 15008/15 recto
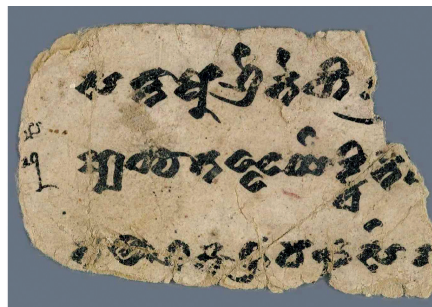
Fig. 7. Or. 15008/15 verso

Plate III

Fig. 8. Or.15014/50 side A

recto   verso

Fig. 9–10. Pelliot sanscrit, petits fragments n° 83
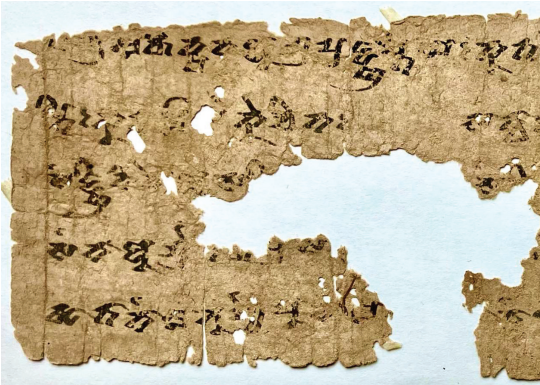

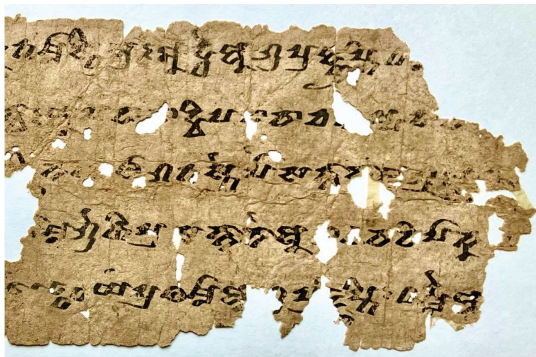**Fig. 11.** Pelliot sanscrit Stotra III.7 verso – left half

Fig. 13: U 1188

Fig. 12. Pelliot sanscrit Stotra III.7 verso – right half

Plate IV

Fig. 14. SHT X 3423 + VII 1749 recto

Fig. 15. SHT X 3423 + VII 1749 verso