FOUR KHOTANESE WORDS

by R.E. EMMERICK

1. nūha- “top”

Khotanese nūha- has recently been discussed by H.W. Bailey in KT 6.142-3. He shows that the meaning is “tip, top”, as is clear from its use in such an expression as samu kho pruha ggisai nūhya “as dew on the tip of a blade of grass” (Z 23.172). nūha-, Late Khotanese nauha-, renders Sanskrit agra- “tip, top”. Bailey etymologized nūha- as from *nabaha- connected with New Iranian words for “beak” such as Yidgah naero “beak”.

But Khotanese nūha- never means “beak”. Elsewhere “beak” is expressed in Khotanese by pneh1 < *pa-nāha-. Moreover, Old Iranian *-aba- is elsewhere represented in Old Khotanese by -au-, -o-, not by -ū-. One has only to recall the usual examples: haor-, hor- “to give” < *fra-bara-, cf. Avestan fravara-; uynaura-, uynora- “being” < *uzana-bara-. Note also gosht “hand” < *gabasti-, cf. Old Indian gabhasti-, Wstī gwust.3 The spelling nauha- is found only in Late Khotanese and cannot therefore support the derivation from *nabaha-. Old Khotanese has only nūha-.

Iranian had a word *naxya- (possibly earlier *nahya-) “top”, and it is from this that Khotanese nūha- must be derived. I know of no other example of the treatment of OIr. intervocalic *-xy- or *-hy- in Khotanese, but it is likely that the result would have been -h- with *-y- lost after labializing the preceding *-a-. For *-x- > -h- we have bihan- “to smile” < *vi-xandi- beside khan- “to laugh”. *-xy- may have had the same result just as *-θ- and *-θy- both result in -h-: gāha- “verse”, cf. Avestan gōhā-, and tōhara, tōhora “four”, cf. Avestan tāθvārō. Khotanese paha- “cooked; refined” is from *paxta- rather than *paxya- (opposite SGS i.63). From *paxya- the result would have been *pīha-, whereas the labialization due to the initial, as in Avestan *puxta- “cooked”, Buddhist Sogdian pawt-, may not necessarily4 have induced *pūha- < paha-.

Labialization of *a is, of course, rare, but examples are gradually

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1 JS 24v1 (106).
3 See SGS i.99.
4 Note pambil “five” but with a following labial pispabārti “25”, pīha- “fifth” may already have been *puxta- (cf. Avestan puxā-) at the Old Iranian stage. O. Szerényni’s remarks on Khotanese pāha- in Studies in the Indo-European system of numerals, Heidelberg 1960, 76 n. 42, should be disregarded. On this more detail will be given elsewhere.

Just as derivatives of Indo-Iranian *agra- "top; beginning" have the meaning "first, foremost", as Avestan aɣrwa-, OInd. agrina-, so derivatives of OIr. *naxya- have the meaning "first": Manichean Middle Persian naxst(y)n, naxsya; Parthian naxst, naxsya. Parthian has also the simple nax "beginning" which we can set beside Khotanese niha-.

Bartholomae pointed out that the Turfan forms could continue either *nahya- or *naha-; He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic néb "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained. Therefore the Turfan forms could continue either *nahya- or *naha-; He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic néb "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained. Therefore the Turfan forms could continue either *nahya- or *naha-; He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic néb "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained. Therefore the Turfan forms could continue either *nahya- or *naha-; He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic néb "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained. Therefore the Turfan forms could continue either *nahya- or *naha-; He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic néb "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained.

Armenian nax "zuerst" and naxus "von Anfang" and "alt" were hesitatingly brought into connexion with New Persian naxus "first" by Hübßmann, naxus, when borrowed, may have been reinterpreted as containing the Armenian ablative ending -us.

Henning read a title in Parthian as nhwadr, which he explained as naxva-šara- "he who holds the beginning, the first (place)". The Parthian was borrowed into Armenian as naxvar and is attested elsewhere.

In the Togan Volume, however, Henning tentatively proposed naxs for Chorasmian nx wɔ 'a "a he-goat that leads a flock". He referred also to the Armenian loanword naxas "Ziegenbock" and New Persian nhāž "he-goat that precedes the flock", which had been set together by Hübßmann. naxs- has been accepted by I. Gershevitch, who sees it in the much-discussed New Persian naxš "quarry". This word is of disputed etymology. It may not even contain an old nax- at all but represent something like nis-niya- "to be hunted out". The Chorasmian may, as suggested to me by M. Schwartz, represent rather a haplography naxva-dəsə. A similar naxva-yāžhu- is continued, without haplography, in Late Khotanese.

3. drau- "deception"

No translation has yet been published of the Mañjuśrīnairāmyāvatāra-sūtra, a Late Khotanese poem concerning the Buddhist teaching on the non-existence of the self. I hope eventually to remedy the situation.

A preliminary transliteration was given by H. W. Bailey in KBT 113-35. The colophon at the end of the poem, lines 435-45, is found separately transcribed among the documents in KT 2.123-4. The scribe may well have been Chinese to judge by the names of his mother and sister. He wrote in the reign of Viśa Śūra, to whom the date a.d. 969-77 has been assigned.

That the MS. contains a poem was recognized by Bailey, who attempted in the edīto principes to reconstruct the verses. The verses are not set out as such in the MS., but the sporadic use of numerals and punctuation affords valuable clues to the extent of particular verses or groups of verses. The numerals are confined to the recto. They follow the same pattern as elsewhere, notably in the Book of Zambasta. Thus, we have a 4 in line 227 to mark the end of verse 204 and a sign for 90 (50 in the edīto principes is a misreading) in line 213 to mark the end of verse 190.

The word dr(y)au- occurs twice, hitherto unrecognized, in two of the most difficult lines in the poem. I read lines 39-42 as follows:

tcahuą-pədyā jisirəa ḫansə a ḫansə staa sa khva pere bira ḫansə uysənds koi drau na
ttu mañhada harsba staa aysmviinai drauuna tta nvare sattsai(ra)

17 Bhadracaryadevanā, 45v1 (11).
19 BSOAS, xx.1, 1958, 44-5.
It will be noticed that in the edito princeps our drauna is there two words in different lines and our d'raunia is there printed: d'raun [x] na. Evidently na was understood in both places as the negative. The colon usually indicates the end of a line or half-line of verse. In this poem it is used 87 times to indicate the end of a verse-line, 10 times to indicate the end of a pāda. In five places (20, 40, 62, 109, 137) it marks neither the end of a verse-line nor the end of a pāda. In 20 and 137 it functions like a modern European colon. In 40 and 62 it occurs in the middle of a word. 109 is at present uncertain. In other words it functions exactly like the single dot in the Book of Zambasta. The scribe probably had before him a MS. like those of the Book of Zambasta. It is unwise therefore to place complete reliance upon the use of the colon to indicate the end of a verse-line or a pāda.

Let us look at 62, which is, I believe, conclusive. The poem deals with the individual in saṃsāra, the cycle of existence. He is affected by the kleśas, which are described as the three kings of the rākṣasas (raķṣayaḥ hiya rādā dṛṇa 1. 58): Moha “folly” (59–65), Rāga “passion” (65–8), and Dveṣa “hatred” (69–72). These kings are monsters and are described in detail. Their physical features are often connected with doctrinal formulations. Thus, Moha has ten months because there are conventionally ten sins (61). In 62–3 we must see haṣṭai . . . bāṣyaye dasta “eight arms (and) hands” because of the aksayayau haṣṭayau “eight evil instants”. Once we re-divide in this way Bailey’s rāha stātra to get haṣṭai ra we can see that the meaningless dṛṇa ga: in 62 is really part of a single word diragṛṇa “evil-doing”, an epithet of bāṣyaye dasta “arms (and) hands”. It is the Late Khotanese spelling of older dirangādṛṇa as in Z 2.69. For the suffix see SGŚ i.243.

The colon is thus not in itself sufficient to prevent our reading draunia as one word. It was in any case improbable that we had here a negative comparison na tu mānāda “not resembling this”.

As for d'raun [x] na, the [x] merely indicates the occurrence of a syllable not read by the editor because it is deleted in the MS. Such deleted syllables occur very frequently in the middle of words in our poem. Sometimes it is still possible to read them. A syllable is deleted in the middle of dāta ‘30, yadradā 31, uṣāya 37, dasa 61, śūka 74, śāka 99, ida 106, etc. We are not therefore prevented from reading d'raunia in lines 40–1.

d'rau. The meaning was first given correctly by S. Konow, NTS, xi, 1939, 55. See further Bailey, KT 6.126–7.

d'rau in JS 34.1 (150) was explained by Bailey as a verb, translated “roared” by Dresden. The form is difficult to account for as 3 sg. pf. Certainly d'rau, as there suggested for d'rau, we would expect drat-give Late Khotanese d'rau-. All the bases in *-u are the past participle attested have -u. See SGŚ i.174. I doubt very much whether we have a verb here at all but suspect rather a late spelling of d'rauma- “such”. Reduction to d'ram as in P 3513.449 (Asm. 7) is common. Loss of the final nasal is found in thera P 4099.376 KBT 132 < KH. tr'amu. ād(a) and au interchange freely in Late Khotanese spelling. In the Sudhana story we have d'rauma in Ch 00266.125 KBT 25; P 0225.191 KBT 17 as the equivalent of did'rimā in P 2957.75 KBT 34. In the JS passage d'rau mestaśa skālana may be dyadic with did'rimā tecephine.

Here, however, the construction points to a noun, as we have “the d'rau of the self” and “the d'rau pertaining to the mind”. The noun “hair” is clearly unassignable.

The context is indicated by techau-padya jīrīta handa “the four-fold deception, false hypothesis”. We have again the jīrīta techau in line 66 “the four deceptions”. There they are described in the verse:

cu hi raśa sautta dādhāja: ausa'a agaśa'sa' sūra: aneveda śākāja āttama aksāmaṇa apākṣarattai

“What thing is a blessing appears (to him) as woe-filled. The evil, unclean, this is clean to him. Among the impermanent samākās (are) self, shamelessness, immodesty.”

This description leaves no doubt that we have here the four viparyāyas. For references to these in Buddhist sources see E. Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien (Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 43), Louvain 1958; 39; L'enseignement de Vimalakirti (Bibliothèque du Muséon Vol. 51), Louvain 1962, p. 289, n. 14. Thus, the Śīkṣāsamuccaya (ed. C. Bendall, Bibliotheca Buddhica 1, St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 158 has: anitye niya iti viparyāyaḥ bhayabhūtā nātmanā dāmaḥ viparyāyaśakayabhūtā 'touca iric iti viparyāyaśakayabhūtā dukkhā sukham iti viparyāyābhayabhūtā. This has been rendered:22 “I feared the mistake of thinking the impermanent to be permanent, the impersonal to be personal, the impure to be pure, unhappiness to be happiness.” The last two viparyāyas are clear in the Khotanese poem while the first two appear to have been combined.

At this stage it will be convenient to give my rendering of the verses

20 Cf. H. W. Bailey, BSOAS, xxx1, 1967, 104 (doubtful).
21 Cf. techau-padya jīrīra, 57, techau-padya jīrīra, 316.
22 Cf. jīrīra handa, 12–13, 141.
quoted before discussing further problems. I understand the lines thus:

"Fourfold is the vipanyāsa, false hypothesis, by which beings have been bound here. Like those to be induced onto a leash, they have been bound by the deception of self. Similarly, all beings move about thus in samsāra through the mind’s deception. Such are they found in the prison-hall of woe. If then it should please him to depart from the leash of samsāra, his mind is merely to be purified. He should feel joy."

In similar contexts we are told that the reason beings are in the woe-filled bondage of samsāra is that it is merely the deception of their own minds. We actually have the phrase aysmū jisīra in Z 22.272:

trāme tāte harbiśā śaunyge samu hīvī aysmū jisīra

"Such are all these samskāras as only the mind’s own deception." Similar are lines 104–5 in our poem:

samaa kūra syāma jisīra24 tta mañuna harbeṣau ykāye

"Merely false appearance, a deception. Like this are all the samskāras." Closer still is l. 279:

pacandā ̄kauṇje jisī tta uabāve samna vare aysmva jisīra.

"In turn, the samskāras are empty, without existence. There is there merely the mind’s deception."

I have not noticed uyaṇye jisīra (=uyānā hīvī drau) with which to parallel aysmū jisīra (= aysmicau drau), but beside aysmū āru (Z 22.274) "the fault of the mind" we have uyaṇye āru (Z 22.328) "the fault of the self" though in different contexts.

If drau is IAšm belonging to the au-decl., as appears likely, the stem will be drau. See SGS i.328–9 (§§ 193, 197). This drau- will represent older *drāva-, as nādo- "fire" < *nādāva-, cf. OInd. nāvā- "fire". An original *au > ā. Now an Old Iranian *drāva- has recently been established in just such a meaning as we require for drau- here. Khotanese drau-can be added to the words brought under the Iranian verbal base *drau- "to lead astray" by M. Schwartz.25 Christian Sogdian *dryva-, Parthian drvw-, Avestan drāvyā-, draiman-. 

Annamahāṭita and birānāṭita of the editio princeps have been divided.

I know no such words, although they have the specious appearance of words with the Late Khotanese suffix -āṭita added to a locative (= OKh. -ādist). tcnā is LKh. for tcamna "by which". Thus, tcnā in 331 = tcamna in Z 5.74 (see Z pp. 444–5). ma for older mara "here" can similarly be illustrated from this poem. Thus, in l. 276–7 kūhu ma naiśvaṭe as has been expounded here" corresponds to kūhu mara naiśvaṭa in Vajracchedikā 43b3 KT 3.29 näṣṭa and ṭaṭa I take to be past participles from nyāṣṭ- "to tie up", on

which see SGS i.61. Confirmation can be found in the use of naiṣṭ- in connexion with birā in P 2022.12–3 KT 3.42–3:

ttraṇyaṣisai birā jita pūna tta maṅuhalā

aṣmā naiṣṭa tcamna gūṣṭya na byakthā

Bailey rendered26 "Thus the fastenings with the leash of desire bind the mind so that they cannot reach deliverance." Later27 he suggested an etymology for Khotanese birā- by connecting it with the Sogdian words βρβντ and βρββ.

pere I take to be the same as OKh. perra- "to be induced". On this word see Bailey, KT 4.58; 6.206.

The line cu mi ityai ̄kṣami narida sattārva birai jita nāta can be paralleled by l. 83 in this poem:

cu ityai mi ̄kṣami narida sattārva mahāsmanvadrana

"If it should please anyone to depart from the great ocean of samsāra". Now the "ocean of samsāra" is the "water of desire": sattārva mahāsman < ā > drau tṛṇyāṣa uṭa (ll. 55–6), where are the kāma-"guṇas" "qualities of desire" (l. 56) and the four viparyāyas (l. 57). Similarly in P 2022 quoted above we have ma sattāra basta kauma-guṇa baiḍa (l. 36) "bound here in samsāra upon the kāma-"guṇas". The solution proposed for escaping from the "leash of samsāra" is merely the purification of the mind. This is because one is induced onto the leash merely "by the deception of the self" and "by the deception of the mind".

3. na- "to move about"

In translating novēre as "move about" I have in mind Parthian nov- "sich bewegen, gehen", New Persian navāte,6 see M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, ii, Heidelberg 1963, 143.

Formal connexion with 1. nevād- "to lie down", 3 pl. pres. nāyare (see SGS i.58) is excluded. Moreover, the meaning would be unsatisfactory. The verb regularly used in Khotanese in connexion with samsāra is gens- (OKh. gges- SGS i.31) "to revolve". From our poem we have for example (l. 314):

cu ra kūra satva-saṇa gensare sattāra myāha

"Those who have the false notion of being revolve in the midst of samsāra."

The most graphic representation of this motion is in Z 2.164:

ttraṇa gges-īsare samṛṣera kho ju makāla karā stuno bastā

"They so revolve in samsāra as a monkey bound to a pillar." The restlessness of the monkey was proverbial.28

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24 Cf. kāma kūra syāma jisīra, 234.
If I am right in so explaining nāre, we have further confirmation of Iranian *na- “to move”. With a preverb we have in Khotanese vanau- “to become inactive”, in which the same base has been sought (see SGS i.118). Beside the forms quoted by Mayrhofer, s.v. nadeva⁵ can also be set Manichean Sogdian n'te- “to shake”.

4. hamdramgga- “maintenance”

In their important article¹⁰ publishing the Leningrad fragment of a Khotanese version of the Dharmāśārīra-sūtra, G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyanikin have a long note (p. 280) on hamdramgga, which they have completely misunderstood and translated “perfect”. They comment: “On the base of this material it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the word hamdramgga but we can suppose that it means ‘strong’ and in a metaphorical sense ‘perfect, real’ (cf. ‘perfect Enlightenment’), because it is connected with balysūti ‘Enlightenment’...” The verb hamdramj- means, as they point out, “to keep” (see also SGS i.141). hamdramgga- is clearly the related noun “keeping, maintenance”.

The Dharmāśārīra-sūtra has (714): tye [kṣna] sī[ā dhaj]maṣāriyā nāma. cu b[uru] balysūṭā dā arthā biṣā mara sī “For this reason this is called the Dharmāśārīra: whatever (is) the meaning of the Buddha-Law it is all here.” Following on naturally, 7v1 has: tye kṣna mi gyāsta balysūṭā dātinā iṣārā he cu biṣā dātā hamdramgga balysūṭi “For this reason then the dharma Buddha has preached the Dharmāśārīra: because it is the maintenance of the whole Law, (that is) enlightenment.”

A parallel is provided by the Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvātā-sūtra, which has (i. 166 KBT 121):

vajra-pade sa¹¹ uṇāra hadruga harbāla dā

“The vajra-path is this: the noble maintenance of the whole Law.”

Abbreviations


³¹ sa for MS. ha sa. Either vajra-pade (cf. vajra-pada 169), with Khotanese pade “path”, is to be read or else vajra-paha (as 167) with Prakritic paha- “path” as in karmapaha Z 13.62. The scribe evidently forgot he had written de, otherwise he would either have deleted it or not have written ha.