A KHOTANESE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU
by H. W. RAILEY

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I printed the text of the Khotanese roll in the Pelliot Collection, P2471,
but commented that a complete translation was not then possible. On
further reflection I have realised the nuisance such an untranslated text
must be to others interested in the field, and below an attempt is made to
translate this document as far as it is possible to go at present. Certain
details remain obscure, but a large part is now intelligible. I have also had
the good fortune to be able to use a microfilm photograph of this manus-
script. I had requested the Bibliothèque Nationale to make me photographs
in 1939. But it is only now, ten years later, that I have been able to collate
my manuscript in the Christmas vacation of 1937-8 with the original.
A few errors have been found and it has now also been possible to verify
some words which I had had to leave uncertain. In view of this revision I
have decided to reprint the text here, which will at the same time make the
task of comparison with the translation easier.

P 2741

1 ḫaṛvī vī auṟāsā haṣḍā
2 ḫuṛ vī haṣa bīṣā ṭaṣā yāṣā kṣā
3 maću vāṣṭā ṣysrānai parau ṭaṣaṁ
4 ḫaṛ cimudām biṃna khandryi vya tsvāmduṁ cœcumudām
5 ḫaṛ vī yadma ṭaṣā teṣera hamsa
6 ḫuṛ vī kūm kā ṭvaṃ ṭi vī hamsa
7 ḫuṛ kī biṃna ṭvāmduṁ hauḍamyc hada vṛti kāmāc āna ṭaṣā
8 ḫuṛ vī rābarjīyaḥ liya sūlā ḫī tīvī hāsā bīsa bhrāṣṭāmduṁ cœ kāmā-

1 ya, hau:ma; bimmy deleted.
2 khandryi vya written subscript.
3 blurred kṣaṇa.
A KHOTANESE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU

When I, the humble servant, . . . (pasa) had received the Golden command from the Great Golden Land concerning Kantsou, when we came through the mountains [to Hva:mäj], for ten days we travelled among the Cumuls. As to the customary present for the Great State among the Cumuls that had all to be provided. When we came to Saštou, there on the third day . . . (si khip) Cä Sväm-sä reported, saying, You must start at once for Kantsoou. As to the envos of China they cannot now go. When we came here to Saštou, on the seventh day from Kantsoou came Stäncuc, and the Sülüya (Sogdians?) of the Barbajjya. Then we, the humble servants, asked him, saying, How is the state of Kantsoou? And then he said, In Kantsoou are disorders. As to the former Khan, he has passed away. And now those who are the Turk Bayirqu, and Sayun üği, they have set up this new Khan. Thirty men each of the Taruds, of the one üği and of the commander (bïraju-"official") watch him at night, so that he does not flee to the Turks. And then the city is in terrible case. I, the humble servant, on the eighth day of the month Skarbivära started from Saštou for Kantsoou. We arrived in Kantsoou on the fifteenth day of the month Raha:jä. And on the third day they led us before the Khan. And what I had as royal present for the Khan, that according to order, I gave, and next day in the morning I gave the receipts to the üği, and the present. And when they understood that my official business was finished, then the commander named (26) Saleti tutuq of the Tolja, who was the kaldtivara-official of me the humble servant, and Mängili Cor tutuq and Çin tutuq came. They gave me the following order, On the tenth day you must start. You cannot stay here long. Here we have such disorders because there is no land for the settlement of the Uïgurs. Thereupon I, the humble servant, reported how I was conducting the Tümsiiya (Chinese?) of the East and the Th�이ıyla (Khotanezs?) of the Great Jewelled Land, and how I could not send these envos to the East. How can I make report to the Great Golden Lord (haura)? And they said to me, What other order from the Interior there may be here for you, that

TRANSLATION

Report to the Court. The Humble Servant Thyai Pađa-tsä

When I, the humble servant, . . . (pasa) had received the Golden command from the Great Golden Land concerning Kantsoou, when we came through the mountains [to Hva:mäj], for ten days we travelled among the Cumuls. As to the customary present for the Great State among the Cumuls that had all to be provided. When we came to Saštou, there on the third day . . . (si khip) Cä Sväm-sä reported, saying, You must start at once for Kantsoou. As to the envos of China they cannot now go. When we came here to Saštou, on the seventh day from Kantsoou came Stäncuc, and the Sülüya (Sogdians?) of the Barbajjya. Then we, the humble servants, asked him, saying, How is the state of Kantsoou? And then he said, In Kantsoou are disorders. As to the former Khan, he has passed away. And now those who are the Turk Bayirqu, and Sayun üği, they have set up this new Khan. Thirty men each of the Taruds, of the one üği and of the commander (bïraju-"official") watch him at night, so that he does not flee to the Turks. And then the city is in terrible case. I, the humble servant, on the eighth day of the month Skarbivära started from Saštou for Kantsoou. We arrived in Kantsoou on the fifteenth day of the month Raha:jä. And on the third day they led us before the Khan. And what I had as royal present for the Khan, that according to order, I gave, and next day in the morning I gave the receipts to the üği, and the present. And when they understood that my official business was finished, then the commander named (26) Saleti tutuq of the Tolja, who was the kaldtivara-official of me the humble servant, and Mängili Cor tutuq and Çin tutuq came. They gave me the following order, On the tenth day you must start. You cannot stay here long. Here we have such disorders because there is no land for the settlement of the Uïgurs. Thereupon I, the humble servant, reported how I was conducting the Tümsiiya (Chinese?) of the East and the Thимвïya (Khotanezs?) of the Great Jewelled Land, and how I could not send these envos to the East. How can I make report to the Great Golden Lord (haura)? And they said to me, What other order from the Interior there may be here for you, that

1 Four blurred akbars.
we shall be pleased to transmit to you to-morrow. As to the envoys you cannot see them. So now at this time the discussion is not, (30) What time can they start? You must return at once. Then in the month Kaja at the... (berač.), they gave a rescript into the hand of the kalâçyarâ: official, the commander, saying, Seven őgas, Oyuz őğı and Bars ĕagi, and seven commanders are now going, who by means of men of Şatçu from the Jade Gate (Gûhâçmûna) are establishing a state. And you accordingly must go, so that at once information may be sent back to the Golden State. And then from Şatçu our men brought a letter, saying, The men of Şatçu are talking, saying, How will Thayî Pada-taš come from Kangtu? And as to the envoys of such persons we will detain them so long as our own envoys have not arrived. As to the Royal sight (picture?), they brought that... (vičiři?) to the Hûnas, but here they are exceedingly cold-hearted. Then I, the humble servant, did not mention the letter. (40) And Oyuz őğı called me to his house and then said, 1, the humble servant, have been able to accept very many royal presents. As to the discussions in Şatçu, they are words. Remain now on this wise. And 1, the humble servant, said to him, Tell me the discussions in Şatçu. I have two kinds of envoys to China, and as long as I cannot bring them further from Kangtu here, it is not possible to go. The őgas came on the fifteenth day, and the other man, the Chinese king’s envoy Şum Şâm-së of the city of Li-tu in Şuo-fang. And he sent men to the humble servant, reporting. Is the envoy of Khotan here, that I may meet them? But he did not meet me at all. Then at the end of the month Hamârinja the Şatçu troop came; and then twenty-five őgas brought a troop of two thousand Çumuls and two hundred Tatars. When they had entered Kangtu, (50) on the third day Buka Khan was killed, and his wife and two daughters. On the eighth day the troop started out and they went as far as Şâmçâmâ, and they did not venture among the Turks, but they returned. Then the Çumuls were angered. They said, When was it the practice of the Uighurs and the Chinese, that they led our men one month’s march through the land, and did not lead the troop as far as the decisive point, but went away? And the men of Şatçu occupied the city, and on the sixth day the troop of the Türk Bayirçu came. And at the first point (of time?) the troop of Uighurs, Oyuz őgü and Berâkî Attimâ őgü and the rest, came. And twenty-four men, Oyuz őgü and the rest were killed, and next came the Şatçu troop and when the troop of the Türk Bayirçu saw them, at once they... the horses and stayed and did not venture against the Şatçu men. (60) And three days the Şatçu men stayed and together with Başgarâ Attimâ őgü and Ayavrâ őgü and the three commanders Qongur Afa őgü and Ayaçî and Çin tutuq, went away and Bars ĕagi came to me and said, There are many disorders. Go away with our men. But I did not dare to go away with the Şatçu men, thinking, I may commit a fault (compromise myself?). And altogether I waited three months. And those among the őgas in the city who were Tōlis, they did not long remain in the city, but on their behalf the Turks with Sayûn őgü got together a troop, and in discussions with one another, they made complaint (?), saying, We Uighurs and Dâm are of two kinds. We do not send to (communicate with, or tolerate?) one another. (70) As to the state-distracting men here, Başgarâ Attimâ őgü and the rest, they went away towards Şatçu, and when the Tōlis of the city came outside the city, they were united with the Turks. Those then who were the Üč inêli among the Tardus they went away to the Turks. Afterwards the ten more important men among the Turks entered, saying, We are making a state for you. And at that time a letter came to the humble servant from Şatçu that the seven escorted princes had come and the envoys, who were going to the Gauthûsân. And with those ten men I sent Thayî Haryâsaka, saying, From the state-controlling more important men enquire whether these princes and envoys can go or not. And Haryâsaka went but towards him came two thousand troops of the Ttauágara and the rest, who were going to Qaratay to the Tardus. And they brought Haryâsaka to their house and they seized the cattle (reading stûrä), three hundred camels of the Tardus. (80) And then Ayyâvâ Adû bëkî (Alp bâg) Çâ the commander, and the Tardus-îti-yıgan tutuq and Saïkârî Türk Cor and the rest, seventy servant men, they led away. When they returned from there and the Dâm went out from the city with Tâqan őgü and with that őgü twenty-seven men of the city were killed, to Haryâsaka they said, We, who are Uighurs of two parties, we have become “black enemies” (horyda-siîna-). There is no policy (pacaça?) here for a state. If they let you go towards the Tardus, and the men of the city, then we can send you. As to the envoy of China, I, the humble servant, met him, but I did not dare to give him the letter. (90) In discussion with him I explained all, saying, As to your envoys they all came to Şatçu and our men then, the three Great Envoys, Pûhâyâ of (the city of) Li-tu and the rest, and the eleven men... and the rest then came to Şatçu. Then he asked, How many royal presents have been sent to China? I accordingly said to him, Six hundred kins (kins' weight) of jade (îrâ) they have been pleased to issue, and a... (fûsa) made of inja stone and two paimjuna. And he said, Here a letter has come from Şatçu of Çâ Tîyâ-khi and the rest. This envoy remained only a short time, and he fled with the envoys of the Tanguts, and entered among the Turks, and from there he went further. What he had as present for the Khan from the Chinese king, all that the Turks seized from him, the letter and the rest. (100) When famine and disorders increased and outside the city the enemies invested it, for three months they did not open the city. Then by night from Qaratay, the men Çârîy őgü and Bilgî Sayûn and the rest entered. What the Dâm said to them (was), How are you treating our men? You make them scatter to the mountains. We in the city are likely to die of hunger. Then the Khotan envoys are here in
A KHOOTANESNE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU

without final anusvāra were exclusively 1st. plur., and I had mtranlated the ending in Hvaratika IV (BSOS 9.532) s.v. khotavā as 3rd. plural. For the use as 1st. plur. the evidence is abundant: with the pronoun we have P 2788.4 mahe no nimamdrīyadām, below P 2741.86 mahe ... hanyamātam, P 2786.44 mihai tāhça dvadā, 66 mihai hāda pasānditā, Ch 2069.35 mahe ... ētāmām, 81 mahe ... pasānditā, 111 mahe ... nācaddā. I cannot point to any use as 3rd. plur., and a reference is lacking in Sten Konow, Khohtanastische Grammatik 58.

2. pata remains unexplained.

3(a). ysarmāt pariya "Golden command"; ysarmīmpī janavā "Golden Land" (janapada-); 27 ysarmāt mitsyā hāra "Great Golden Lord (7)"; 34 ysarmā tāā "Golden state". P 2786.197-8 ranjā janaiva hīy ut ysarmā tāā hīyā nauma "the name of the Jewelled Land and of the Golden State" seems to keep the Golden Land distinct from the Jewelled Land. The Jewelled Land is Khotan (see BSOS 9.541) and in BSOS 10.662 it was proposed to see in Saṭṣou the Golden Land.

3(b). vi āna, alternating with vii āna (in the one text P 2787.131 vi āna and 132 vii āna). In āna, as we have a derivative partic. of ādnā- "to stay", expressing the point of departure (like the development in New Indo-Aryan, see L. Alsdorf, ZDMG 91 (1937) 444, Die Entstehung der neindischen Sprachen) It has become an idiom to a postposition that it is ranged with them in Sten Konow, Khot-anab. Gram. 64. It occurs, also, preceded by a locative, as in P 5558 as 81 āna māvāa āna, quoted below on line 94.

3(c). -ten, 1st. sing. pret. Older Khot. -tāima. In this text occur 24, 41 yudin; 25 hāstām; 39 niāivām; 42; 94 heven; 63, 90 dīream; 65 mādām; 76 pasāndām. The -en is replaced by -im in 89 hāntēm. The anusāra may be absent after a diphthong (see provisionally BSOS 12.327), and we have rāyā "I held", written for rāyāi, for Older Khot. dīrāmā in the Stael-Holstein roll 65: kha u padatā udi rāyāi "when I first held you", and in Jātaka-stava 38 t 2 kū 1 "spoke".

4. cū, 7 et passim cu, relative clause to specify, equivalent to "as to ...".

5. padanā "custom; (customary) present". P 2031.6 tāsētā u padanā is a hangiādā with Tibetan skyas "present". Similarly Ch 00269.46 iti cimidān padamā havādānām "we gave that as present to the Čimums".

6(a). haśte. This word has already formed the subject of a note in BSOS 11.3-4, but further consideration, as often, has shown that the problem was not fully solved. The two passages of P 2741, there quoted lines 6 and 46 are here translated somewhat differently: in 6 haśte "reported" and 46 "sent ... reporting". The connection of haśte remains undecided. It could correspond to Old Iranian xasa "drive" with prosodic h- as in khāna "raw" (Sanskrit anu-), or to Old Iran. xas- "to get into one's power". The partic. haśēna- renders Tibetan ḭaņ "to be made" in Siddhasātra 19.1.
2. The farmer's letter Mazar Tagh a.1.0033 (facsimile Serindia CLI) has in lines 7–8 khū va hiya stūrā tvattva hamāyind titti va hiyau stūrān bāda bāda u tav jśṃ və hve stūrā hati “if your own animals can go, then ride upon (2nd plur. imperative) your own animals and one man drives the animals”, with the 3rd. sing. of hāys- “drive”.

6(b). tei . . . nārhāmā hāme “you must set out”. Similarly 30 tei . . . gāpatā hāme “you must return”, and 34 tei . . . tshāi hāme “you must go”, with tei gen. sing. as agent in the partic. of necessity. The enclitic pronoun instead of tei occurs in 22, datame hada-te-em nārhāmā hāme “on the tenth day you must go”, with -e from Older Khot. te. Note also Ch 00269.25 khpācī bēi tshāi nārhāmā hāme “you must escort the princes to Kantsou” (-ā= Older Khot. -a “you”), and P 2787.175–6 tei . . . sakhāra padimāna “you must build a sanghārāma” (JRAS 1942.20).

7. tvā hamāre “they can go”. For hamā “become” with the -ta partic. to express potentiality with intransitive verbs, see BSOS 10.586. Here we have also 30 nirānda hamāre, 44 tvā hamā, 111 tvā hamā, and 133 tvā hamu. For the transitive with yan- see below on line 22.


10(a). bādā “state, country, land”, parallel to janane (from Old Indian janapada-); 19 bādā hēi kīrā “official business.”


10–11. thyoantāmajhi “former”, thyoauta “formally”, with the -ānjhis adjectival suffix to words denoting time: P 2834.24 vāpīyaní “of to-morrow”. P 2898.7 hstā-mālāntāsām khāyā “food for eight months”, beside vainsānjhas and padānjhis.

13(a). pāpēg “in the evening, at night”, occurs also in Siddhāstara 100 v 3 pāpēg derai pṛīya khārdgha “at night three prīya-meaures must be drunk” (the original text has not yet been found); and Ch ii 003, 98 v 3 pāpīlā without correspondent in the Sanskrit original. The pā- may be like the pa- “towards” of parāla- “spring” and pāla- “autumn”, see BSOS 12.329.


A KHOTANENE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU

37. **hejäm** "we detain". The base is *âhalf*- *âhrīya*, attested in several passages. P. 25.243 has an unexplained *âhalja*. P. 2956.8 *thëgja*; P. 2057.211 *thëgia*; Ch. 00266. 139 *ghoa*; Or 8212 (162) b 3 *âhajjēd*; P. 2786.16 *hajâja* with various changes of the initial *â*- Siddhâsara 1213 t 3 *âhrî* to which corresponds Sansk. *yādya* (rather than *yāpaya*); also ibid. 128 v 4 *-half- occurs also in *hâhaljî-*, *nihalf-*, and *phâhalf-*. For the initial note such changes as *âsina(na)-* *sîveren*, *žižîna; alîsîna-"boy", *çiyâna* and *çiyâna- "be firm", *çiyâya*, and other variations.

38. **vâla** still unexplained.

42. **swet-** "tell". In the Râma text BSOAS 10.590 I had at first thought of changing *svet- to geër- "tell"*, which is well attested (see BSOAS 8.123 and Trans. Phil. Soc. 1946.21), but in editing the Râma text ten years ago I decided to explain by *tànita- "cursed"*. That interpretation has long failed to satisfy me and the meaning "tell" is required by the contexts. The *s* is clear and occurs too many times to permit a change to *g-. It has therefore occurred to me that it may be *svet- with the *s- developed from older di-* (Old Iran. *di-*). We may note *di- > āti*, written *āti*, in *sâta- (= *sâta--*) "second" and in *jîdva- "two-footed". See further on *â-* below, line 70. If this were so, *swet- would represent an Old Iran. *(*a)di-**târaya--*

43. **paccada-** "method, manner, kind, section" rendering Sansk. *paryaya*, and Tibetan *shkâs* "opportunity, method, way, section", also 68, 86, 87. Cf. Ch. 00269.75 cu *cîna* *hâmčâi bûdâna*; tsa *viñâ* **paccada** *târe-"as to the buduns in Kântso, they are now of three parties".

47. **hâningi-** "to meet", pret. *hânngwâ* 48, and 1st plur. P. 2790.53 *biça tøe u ūte hângwâdâmâm*; 89 *hângit* "I met". See BSOAS 10.578.

48. **nâstî-** *mâti-* "month at its end". Similarly Siddhâsara 4 t 7 *nāstî- bîcâ râva "season at the end of winter", nâtî- *pâđâl- bîcâ râva- "season at the end of spring*; *nâmâtî- *mâti- "middle of the month"* (see BSOAS 8.950-3). For this particitive use of the adjective, cf. Latin *urbs mediu* and like constructions. Below also 71 *nîte kîthi-"on the outside of the city", too *hârî kîthi- "in the environs of the city".

50. **mudâ-** "died", that is, in the context "were killed".

51. **diva-** pret. *dâr-* "to dare", see BSOAS 10.585, on darsa "she dared". Here also 60, 65.

52. **gosâva, 84 gosâta- "returned", parte. in *-ata- of ge-, Oldier Khot. geir-*. For *-ata- note also P. 2780.220 gosâtto, Or 8218 (186) a 55 gosâtta-; *novâthâta* (*jîdva- *stîva* 32 r 4 *novâthî* "you changed", 2nd sing.), and *husâta- "grew*", Later Khot. *goa* 3rd sing. pret. P. 2834.33-4 *tta ru hâr* *gîsâna* *oîjâs* *hûsâ* *mite* *hûnnye* "when this boy had grown and become adult", corresponding to the frequent Sanskrit phrase in the tales as in Divyâvadānâ 312.1-2 so uniltî virdhito *muñâ* *suñâtra-”he was brought up, reared and became adult"; Ch. 00271.13 *hârî vâ pâth *hûsâ* *paîcâ*
married poet was "when you had grown (I had been reared) then you went to your parents' feet"; P 2798.161 tī yā kāndālā vipātiḥ kāṭa hūṣa "then the prince Kunāl young prince grew up quickly". For the similar Sogdian -āt and Parthian -ād preterite, see H. Reischel, Briefe zur sogdischen Grammatik in the Ergebnisse zu W. Guiger, p. 259 f.

53. thāpa±, Tibetan thab± "opportunity, manner, livelihood". Other Tibetan words which have been noted are ikṣeyān "present", Tib. skyes, thāda-pa, Tib. thul-pa "fur coat" (Ch v 001.20). See also BSOAS 10.604, where the words "Ch ii 004, 2 4 4 yāma=Thib. yun 'mother'", must be deleted, as arising out of a misreading.

59. viñ aia wēi stāmdā. The phrase remains obscure. Should one compare Sūdānsāstra 107 v 2-3 vīi viñ hamātītā "they are weary", and Ch ii 003, 9 3 4 cū vīi hamātītā gītāhlānīlā with hamātītā "to fail", E 2.69 hamātītā? For stā "weary" see BSOAS 10.598 and Trans. Phil. Soc. 1946-47.

65. hamātā, hamadā, hamedā, himadā "indeed, just, precisely", with negative na hamātā "not at all", passim.

68(a): pramāṇā remains uncertain: perhaps a form of Old Ind. pratīṣṭā, which occurs in Ch c 001, 966 pratīṣṭā (=Tib. thug-dam "promise") and P 3515, 39 v 4 pratīṣṭāṁya. From pratīṣṭāyana as "complaint"? (P 68(b): pūṣādāṁ, see BSOAS 10.576.

70. bāda-sīphāra humānda "state-disturbing men". In śīphaṁra, I see a connection of sīphāra "distracted", as in P 2786.156 ca sīphāra bāda tē jīva tā hāॐālā sīphāra ṣi tē "as to the state of Kāntō, that is distracted". We then lapaḥār- and by y-umlaut laphār- (of the type bāra- "rain"), beside ber- "to rain". A base-pha- is found in āpāra-, āpāra; and kaphāra-. A prefix saya- can be deduced from the following examples. If the preverb pra-<para- is compared, it is clear that the -a- of a preverb may represent an older -ā-. Hence saya- could have contained -ā-. Since too as we proposed above on yeor- in line 42 the ś is perhaps from di-, as is from dari- (with, however, voice €), we could trace in saya- the double preverb dy-ā- (=Old Indo. adi-ā-, as we have in Old Indian adhi-ā). The unoiced ś, instead of ś, may be due to the difference of the group: di- with -v- maintaining the voice, where ṝ had lost it. By this explanation we should have a verb *a(adi-ā)-fār- and the parset. *(adi-ā)-frō- to set beside the same verb with -ā- and ha- preverb. The same saya- can be traced also in iutmāmpa "distressed; distressed" (see BSOAS 10.592) beside bitumāmpa "bewildered". The preverbs are then in- from di- and bi- from either vi- or (abi-). The base is thamb. "press against, fasten, throw, put, build", see G. Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pāśā, p. 9. I incline to see similar double preverbs in <m vatiyā- to examine", as from (a)mūn-ā-stāyā- (rather than the am- or ni- with patīṣṭā: proposed by Sten Konow, Norsk Tidskrift for Språkvidenskap 11,58). Possibly the problem of the preverb tca- could be taken nearer to solution if the -a- were derived from

the older preverb -ā-, preceded by another preverb, see provisionally Trans. Phil. Soc. 1946-7.

75. pratīṣṭā, pravastā from *parā-vād- "lead over, convert". Cf. P 2787.130-2 ś vā pravastā Cinajānīra gora vi aña pastai pājīgādā Arbala-Kāśāva āstāna yāṣa jata jatāla bramanā kho pravastātā ēlāi "the second ceremony at the end of the rains he designed to keep on the Gayāśīra hill, when he converted one thousand jātāla (jātāla= Brahmans, Urbal Kāśāya and the rest". Here "eoscoped" would be a suitable rendering. The base vād- occurs also in tiwād-, tōd-, later tōdā-; tiwādā-; tōdā-; bāsta-, tōdā-, tōdā-, "ahināhā-", "grasp.

r 77. nāyāra translates Sansk. viśeṣa "specification". It was rendered by "survery" in BSOAS 12.623. The verb is nāyakālā- nāyakāsta- (variants with nāk-, nīk-) from the Old Ind. base skara- attested in pāṣākāla- pāṣākāla- "to distinguish".

78. vi hā and vi būre "starting from, and the rest" used like Sansk. -ādi and Tib. -la sogs-pa. Thus in the Sūdānsāstra 104 r 1 areāmāna vi hā Ḍāri "the potash of medicinal herbs and the rest", renders the Tibetan sman mu-ska-la sogs-pa thal-ba with vi hā-la sogs-pa. Similarly 105 r 2 tātāmde vi hā hā "diseases of the bile and the rest" renders Tibetan mkhir-pa-la <sug>2 2-s-pa swam. See also 125 r 1 vi hā und 144 r 5 vi jāṃ hā. For vi būre with the same meaning, note 20 in 5 phurēmūlā churba vi būre-Thib. phur-ba-la sogs-pa ni. By an inaccurate translation we find vi būre for Tib. gos-s-cin in 4 r 1, where the Tibetan is translating the Sansk. caya- "gathering" (see BSOAS 8.932).

The recognition of this use of vi hā demands a different translation of the present passage to that given in BSOAS 12.123, and illustrates how tentative renderings of Khotanese official documents still are. Here then the passage tānādāgar vi hā pāṃstī adhi yiṣā hīna iveau means "a troop (ḥīna-) of two thousand, consisting of Tānādāgaras and the rest came towards (him)", and this rendering better suits the context.

I add here a provisional note on the form of the name tānādāgar, which has long exercised me. At present I would propose the following interpretation. We know from the Khotan-Sanskrit bauhā (in Indian Sanskrit, bauhā) occurring in the text P 5538 b 59, 67, edited in BSOAS 9, see p. 542, that a cerebral (retroflex) V was used to correspond to Tibetan final -d, in bod. If in tānādāgar- we recognize a similar (here voiced) cerebral d corresponding to a Tibetan -d, we should have a word which in Tibetan spelling could be *tad-gar, *tad-kar, or *thod-gar, *thod-kar. We know that foreign names in these Khotanese documents may have passed through intermediate sources, as probably in kse:khvāra "Igur" to which the Chinese (see below on line 23) most closely corresponds. From F. W. Thomas, JRAS, 1931,834, we know that there was a Tho-gar (so given by P. Cordier, Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale
A KHOTANESE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSU

94(e). ṛāḍāg yan- “to put into one’s possession”, hence “issue (a decree); present (a gift)”. Cf. P 5338 a 801–11 para a thaṭaṇa ṛṣīya: ṛāḍā taurīyaṁ cikṣita ṛṣīya thaṭiya sāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāyaṁ chaṅgāya
A KHOTANESE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU


3. ḥuwaːniša is deleted, but was apparently introduced through an association with the Činlæs. It has been found only here. Possibly it may be of the same form Qumul, Xumil, and NFers. xumud *Xumud (Hüdūd al-Ālam, p. 93); Marco Polo Camul.

4. cimula, 49, 53 cumuda, also in P 2931, P 2786, P 2790, Ch 00269, and Ch 00269 (BSOAS 12.616). Similarly Chin. 境城 K 1256, 617 tu-um < tsi-o-miː, Niya cimola (conjecturally), see BSOAS 8.917 and *JRAS* 1939.87; Käṣyari Jvm изм.


6. cə ṭwāːni fi, probably a Chinese name: cə may be the familiar cə - Chin. 张 K 1174 xang < ç’ang, the family name of hereditary governors of Satsou (see L. Giles, *BSOAS*, 5, 660 ff. A. M. Stein, *Innermost Asia* 648 ff.), written in accordance with the Khotanesian use of a for the standard Chinese -ang. The name is written cə in Sogdian script at the end of the Sathasara (see my Khotanese Texts I, p. 104, where the query should be deleted) spelt according to the system of representing Chin. -ang in Uigur texts (see A. von Gabain, *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hien-tsong*, p. 5). For ṭwāːni fi I have no Chinese equivalent. The two preceding syllables cause difficulty. They could be Khotanesian si and kuu; possibly they are a Chinese title.

7. cɪŋa ʰiːrə “land of China”, 43, 88, 93; 96 cingam gen. plur.; 133 cinga, very prominent in the Khotanesian documents.

8. ṭaŋaːçi, a proper name occurring only here.

9a. barbaʃiyam, gen. plur., only here and unidentified. Without the adjectival suffix, one would have *barbaʃa:-*

9b. ŋiyə “Sogdiana(?).” The identification still remains unsettled, see *JRAS* 1939.89.

11. ttr̥ukā bayarkāta, 55, 58; ttr̥ukā bayarkātām and 122 ttr̥ukā bayarkādām. From a re-examination of the manuscript it seems likely that one should read a single r, certainly the tip of the r-stroke turns back more decidedly in r praʃtəmdam. Between ttr̥u and tə distinction is clear. These are the Türk Bayırlar, see *JRAS* 1939.87. For Türk alone we have here 13, 72, 76 ttr̥uʃtə, 92 ttr̥ukā, 51, 73, 74 ttr̥uku, 74 ttr̥uku-ʃ, 71 ttr̥ukāmt.

12a. saŋaːni aŋa, 67 saŋaːni aŋa, “Sayun ügi,” without ügi, 103 saŋaːni, see *JRAS* 1939.91, Käṣyari sayun.

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B. NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

1, 36, 131. thuyt padā-tā, also in P 2031.3, 5 thuyt padā-tā. With the same first name thuyt haryasaka, in P 2031.3 thuyt haryasaka, and 5 haryasaka (haryasaka: “black”).

2. Kãmčaš, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 36, 113, 121, 127, Chin. カーム K 298, 1238 kan-tʃou < kum-tʃu (BSOAS 8.884), frequent in these documents. The Turks appear in a struggle for it, which suits the tenth century. Tibetan has Kam-bu (JRAS 128.63), the Persianar ximēd and gamēd (see V

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6. miydyŋa “pitiable”, older mulydyŋa.

110(a). gatcam “broken”, Pres. gatcam (“gatcīmād”) and gaty- (noun of action gatyqāma). Since, as noted above, the preverb -a- in second position may be reduced to -a-, just as the -a- of ḥarā, here the ga- may represent an older viː-a- and so be distinct from the preverb gu-ːvi-.
A KHOTANESNE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU

45(a). sahūn: P 298.225 evahūn, 213 evahū, P 2786.71 sahūn, Stael-Holstein roll 16 sahūn, Chin. 朔方 K 926.25 sa'-fang < sīk-p'ăng, the modern Ordos country, formerly a government general.

45(b). dittù kíši, 91 dittù, a city in the government general of Sū-fang. It would represent a Chinese *Li-tu.

46. sūn sâm-lá, an official of Dittù (*Li-tu), apparently a Chinese name, but unidentified.

47. yùmìna kāhi: Chin. 于闐国 K 1317, 1194, 480 u-t'en-hu< jiu-d'en-Kh> the name of Khotan, see BSOS 9.541 and BSOAS 10.919; Thib. hu-t'en, hu-den, yu-yen (Stael-Holstein Tibetan roll line 1, and JRA 1930.47, 275); Khotanese khotana-, hannya-, haxam, Sansk. gosatana-. Line 10 yùmìna birā hādu "envoy of Khotan". Marco Polo gave Caton (ed. L. F. Benedetto, p. 41).

49. 118. tattara, 120 tattartān jśa "Tatars". For the Chinese forms of the name, see P. Pelliot, Journ. Asiat., 1920.1 143, who gave as the earliest Chinese mention 842 A.D. We have Chin. 達里 K 956, 966 ta-ta< dă-tă,> Mid. Pers tāftr (Mahrāmā), Oqrōn tāfr, Manchu tatar, Mongol tāfr, Syriac tāfr (plur. tattarāy), Georgiān t'at'-ur' and Ossetic tetter.

51. simagā, a place name found only here, and unidentified.

56. bēraka aṭittān uha: 61 bēraka aṭittām uga, 60 bēraka aṭittmā uga, Ch oo269.50 bāgarahā aṭittmā uha, the name of an Uigur; Mahrāmā 70 bēl, Turkish bāqarāk "prince, prince" occurs in A. von le Coq, Turcische Manichaico aus Chotcho II 9. The name aṭittmā has not been found: Atim or Atim?


61(b). kūnāra apa uga "Quongur apa uga", Ch oo269.60 kūnārapa sah-nūn. Turkish qongur is "reddish", Mongol qongyur.

62. ahači, also Ch oo269.89, and P 2790.113; ahači Ch oo269.61 and P 2897.42. Should one compare Turkish ayačı "treasurer" (Kāsāyir)?

69. dūmā, 103 diuṃ, 116 dūmā, tribal name, of which the identification is still uncertain, see Trans. Phil. Soc. 1948, 152 ff.

72. icinčiça, Ch oo269.76 icinčīr, Turk. uč-čī, The variation in spelling is like that in kūnārapa and kūnāra apa, see above on line 61(b).

75. gosatānā, Chinese name of the Göfrāg hill in Khotan, see BSOAS 10.600 and "Khotanese Names" New Indian Antiquary, Volume presented to F. W. Thomas.
78. ttaudagare-, see above on vi hā, line 78.
79, 102, 119. karatadhī: "Qura-tay", Ch 00269.77, an unidentified mountain near Kantsou.

82(a). itiyigana itijahā: "the tutuq itiyigān". This Turkish name evidently contains Turk. iyīgän "nephew, grandson". In P 2790. 117 occurs itihādpā yīgān, with an unexplained itih- and alp yīgān. The Mahranmay has 48 yē’ "p” Yīgān Apa”, and 125 yē’ xunwān; and a proper name is found in Türkische Turfan-Texte 692 Yīgān. Radlov, Opit Storvaja Türkischen Narčelī col. 317, 321 gives a variety of spellings for yīgān and yīgān. This name *itiyigān recalls the Turkish name preserved in Chinese script livé K 1065, 253, 337 i-ti-ki-en <iš-d-i-kypo> given to the Uigur Qayan (759-80) who introduced Manicheism among his subjects. Fuytu K 640, 1320 mou-i <mi‰̄u-jin, Bigū. The name is quoted by G. Schlegel, loc. cit., p. 4. For the first syllable one can compare Kāsāran ḫa “lord” or a form derived from ḫuq “holy”.

83(b). saikāru ittrākā chārā “Siqir (? Türk Čor”, only here, and unidentified.

84. tarkanā qūgū “Tarqan qūgū”, also found in P 2024.26 tarkanā, P 2041.24 tarkanā, see for this well-known title tarqan, JNAS 1939.41 and add Orqon teryn, plur. teryt; Mongol dora’ as part of a name in Sagant Sechen (I. J. Schmidt, Geschichte der Ou-Mongolen, p. 130-1) interpreted as darhan in the Manchu version (E. Haenisch, Mongol Han sai da sikhin, p. 53, line 13). The word is discussed by B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, pp. 592 ff.

91. pūhā:ya, name of an envoy from Dittu, the city in Ġu-fang, see above on line 45. The name is unidentified, but recurs in P 2733’s ḫaâd bīsā yā pūhā:ya pāza. The obscure passage Ch 00269.116 (given in BSOAS 12.620) also contains an unexplained pūhā:ya.

93. ni ṭa ṭa ṭa sima sta ṭa sima remains unexplained.

96. cā ṭiyya-khi, name of a Chinese, who with other Chinese wrote from Ġač. The cā is probably the same Ġang mentioned above, see on line 6 and 61. The ṭa ṭa will contain a form of Chin. K 952 ta <d’ay “great”.

97. tmagētī, inc. plur. to tmagēta- “Tangut”, the only occurrence noticed in Khotanese documents. The -ā corresponds to foreign -ā-, see above on line 78. The Orqon has ṭā, Sogdian tnam (see BSOAS 10.924); in Arabic script inkat, tnamkat, inkat, Turkish tangut, Mongol tnamkat, Manchu tangqīi. Kāsāran listed the Tangut as a Turkish tribe (Türk Dil Kurumu edition, translation I, p. 28); his reading is ḫuk tangut.

hve:shvara 23, 52, 56, 68, 86, 109, 110, Uigur.
je:ni:ja 72, üč inčü
štii:yi:ga 82
k:ni:ra 61, qongur
kara:tta:ži: 79, 102, 119, Qara:tay
mangali 21, Mängli(g)
sadac 19, Sälči
sah:n: 12, 67, saryn
saikairæ 82
stta:ži: 79, 102, 119, 121, tay
sttmağga 97, Tangut
stta:rkanæ 84, Tarqan
sttar:n: 12, 79, 80, 82, 87,
121 (rd), Tarluš
stta:ži: passim, tutuq
sttara: 49, 118, 120, Tatar
sttr:n: passim, (11, 55, 58 with
Hayarka:), Türk
stt:n: 122, id.
sttu:ja: 19, 66, 71, 121, Tölüs
üga passim, üga
ubah: id.
ůga id.
ůh:ysä 32, 40, 56, 57, Oyuz
yiganæ 82, yigän
yip:änæ 121, yipkin