THE STAËL-HOLSTEIN MISCELLANY

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INTRODUCTION

The manuscript of Baron von Staël-Holstein of which a preliminary study is printed below has been familiar to students of Central Asia for over twenty years. The Tibetan part was largely interpreted by F. W. Thomas at the first edition: F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang, 1929. The Khotanese text, however, at that time was too little known and Sten Konow offered only a partial explanation and a glossary. His later edition in Acta Orientalia, 1947, xx, still left much unsolved. Parts of the text, especially the place names and the Turkish names have attracted wider attention than the purely Khotanese passages. Studies of them are quoted in the course of the commentary below.

G. Haloun, whose article on the Date of the Staël-Holstein Scroll will be published in one of the next issues of Asia Major, has kindly allowed me in anticipation to quote the following statement. "Te-pū [in line 41] is the transcription of T'ai-pau 太保 'Grand Guardian', an honorific title bestowed on Tsao I-ts'au, 張義潮, the liberator of Tun-xuan and later Governor-General of the territories west of the Huang-ho, formerly Chinese and retaken by him from the Tibetans. The document is to be dated 865 A.D."

The manuscript is a miscellany. There are three dated Khotanese documents, 1-6; 7-24; one (32-51) being apparently a literary text; a brief text with Chinese names (25-6); a list of names largely Turkish (27-31), and at the end lyrical verses (32-73). As will be seen the verses still present serious difficulties in vocabulary, so that some phrases cannot yet be translated. Metrical tests are still too uncertain to use. In my attempt I have been more fortunate than Sten Konow in my access to many Khotanese manuscripts from which the light of parallel passages has sometimes pierced the obscurity. It will be seen how useless the etymologies in BSOS., vi, 73 have been proved: they are not further cited. The differences between Older and Later Khotanese are so extreme (as patārgya: pāja; nete: n; aysu: a; handarna: hada) that it is at times difficult to establish the connexion.

I regret still to be forced to quote unpublished Khotanese texts. A volume of Khotanese documents was placed in the hands of the printer in
1942, but remains unprinted. Another volume of Buddhist texts is also in
the hands of the printer and will be issued in a reasonably short time.
Other volumes of texts are being prepared, including the Hedin Collection,
part of which I had the privilege of reading for the first time this year. It
is, however, clear that in spite of my regret it was impossible to write even
this brief commentary without such quotations.

Limitation of space has excluded an index, and the explanations are
as short as possible.

Two abbreviations will be noticed: KhT means Khotanese Texts:
(1945) and AM is Asia Major, new series, 1.

TEXT

1. <sarau visā> sambha>ta rumdā 10 4mye kṣunā krringā salya .......
   <mā>

2. štā 7mye haḍāi ....... sā herā haura u herā ni ...

3. u (aurā : dād- ... ()ā () ja : nai : šā vā ?leśe viṇa khu 'ne ne .

4. . . jī pylyaiga ye 30 6 chā paṃja tāīna u rījūrś huleyga

5. 30 chā paṃja tāīna u hvalhāte 10 7 tāīna (space)

6. . . šu svāmnañki bīmā āstā dva chā paṃjaū jūna (space)

Space for four lines.

7. . . sarau visā> sambhata rumdā 10 4mye kṣunā krringā salya kajā
   mātā 10 2mye haḍāi

8. ši nāśkicā pīdākā tye herā prracaina cu maṃ sacā kithā tīṭa
   burā hada ya

9. bulūnā rgyaḍā sūmā u tūgutta kaśā sāraddātta u hvaṃna
   kaśā sār saṃdū u

10. mampa-jamāi sā svāmnañki u tī burā kathā paysānymādāi
    phimāna kāmta u

11. tsādkām: bīsā kāmta u padākā bīsā kāmta u
    kādakā bīsā kāmta u yā-
    (subsc.) nāka chittā-pū u nāhā: chū

12. baḍā pārrum bīsā kāmta - raurata kāmta u sucanā
    (subsc.) nū dūrē draya kāmta
    kāmta u saśā kāmta u

13. ālāha: kāmta u hvinā-tevṇājā kāmta u kvačā kāmta u śaṇaśe
    (subsc.) tēldyāṃmā kāmta u unākā kāmta
    trūsā kāmta

14. u kviyikye kāmta u gākā-maṃnā kāmta u hve'dū kāmta
    trūsā
    trūsā

15. tha u sauhācū kāmta u lāhā:puṃ kāmta u kyṇākā kāmta u
    ttūsā
    u lvaśā-

16. tavaicā kāmta - kṣunā kathā u laicā kāmta u śāhvā
    ttūsā
    kāmta
    (space)

Space for one line.

17. . . tī burā secū bise kāmta - 'teśu kāmta u kau'yākā u
dapācī kathā

18. phuṣcānā kāmta śākāhā: kāmta u tisāryēpā kāmta u 'śūmā
   kān-

19. tha u dūkācū kāmta u hve'śvera kāmta u dūkācū u tīryākā kām-
    (subsc.) yōśumā

20. tha u tcyām-tavaicā kāmta u kautañāi kāmta secū mistā
   kām-

21. kāmta hānā bhāra:kā nāmā kāmta śaparā nāmā kāmta u

22. yirrūmcānā kāmta cmađā bādākā nāmā kāmta
    argūvā bīsā

23. kāmta 'ermvā bīsā kāmta phalayākā kāmta
    tturpānā kāmta

24. bāpañā kāmta
    (space)

Space for one line.

25. . . anā ttumga cā ttumga tsām śamāi cā ttumga
    cākā śamśā
    bāv' yūm śam-

26. ši (space)

Space for one line.

27. ijuva yahādakarā' adapaḥūtā bākō bāsā-

28. kattā kurabicā kārābarā tā trūlīsī šāre (space)

29. . . simja sīka'arā ttuagra yahābarā cahrāhā:
    yābā-

30. tākara aṭahā:daṇpūtā kartthā:paṭa ttātarā dū sa-

31. hūta sādimīya ttrūkā baṭarākā, cūnūdā (space)

Space for one line.

32. . . sati 10 4 māśi śimśimja hadā 20 -

33. ši kṣunā mśadām āya:ām hvanmā rūmā sarau | visā sambhata-
    ttāṅa beda khu śatā yuda dāya ruxu hvan kṣi'i:vīrā

34. trye rūmā tīnākā bāy'ūma'yā pūnūdā
    hvaramā-virā tīnānā jā: bījastā

35. hvāstā ye bādā rgyaḍā sūmā | nāmā
    harmbāva paṃdāvā kāṃṭāhā bākā -

36. ši mi hvāstā - rūmā hīye bāvme u ttā'i-prbihāvānā

1 Subscript.
59. | | bastā hūbāstā hvarumān dānusirā grathā
60. ājīsimāṃ 'auyā bastā yarrīnjē nūcā jā | pusaṭā |
| | tūrīkā vāyākā yasākā vasya vasva vāsā
61. hastama hvanāndā rāma spalada-|jaisi mānā
| | viśā kiṣārā tumīrī dūdā jām hukāhāma
62. jīvhā khva rāmā hye uvī | | bindā nā | ṭaṃd ā

| | hāi tha mūrā kaka jastūṇa mūraka taddā māhāsamādā
63. | | mānāmā kringa ātrā pā rā de śākā daruṣa

| | nīcā 'tāda agalkāvā | | hye bā'jīse drcha jā sa bīrījīkāyā vīraṣā
64. kha ṭī sa vānā krrānākā | | ʾaye maḥī tū hayūm bīsamājā ā

| | mā ṭī tūvālāi bārā vālu kye brec v

| | khvai hā hiśā vīrā hūṇā akākā akākā nāṭcē
67. ā gāu|lātā daqā-gūnā apūlakye bīrīlākā vā braṣṣa
68. bīrīlālākā vā braṣṣa khv ta pā nā harārē

| | khū tta kāma krrāhā nā | | āgocē ma kana
69. tā | tina kāma khv a pāduṣa|āhā rīday vilālākā brīr
| | khvā vistā yisīrā bindā bīrīnā tuddā asūlā
| | nā nā ṭaṃ | | ayosmī rama-kārī nā uvī'

| | vistātām kā ṭāna sauvūcā udī:ūskyām ā
| | sa ṭī khū ṭaṃ hū'ṣīme hūnā da i 'erūkā hām ma
70. mahe bhrānbe ḫatsa bīsamājā khvā | | nā vīṣye

| | vilākā brīr mūrā ra-ṃ amgā hamārā guśrdā bāsā

COMMENTSARY

Document I

Lines 1–6

Document I, lines 1–6, is partly illegible in lines 1–3; when slight traces alone can be seen the complexity of Khotanese script makes the reading almost impossible. No access can be had to the original, if it still exists.

1.1. The last syllable >txa makes the restoration Viṣa' Sambhata certain.

The name is clear in lines 7 and 33. Khotanese royal names from the documents are quoted on line 7.

1.2. kṣana- = "regnal year" (see BSOS., viii, 933, and BSOS., xii, 328). A date in the 35th kṣana was quoted from Or 11232 (30) 1 (BSOS., viii, 933) and in a Hedin document No. 20, to be published shortly, a date 36mye kṣamsa "36th regnal year" is found. To the cycle with the 14th year as a Cock year, the first kṣana was a Monkey year.

1.3. kringa "Cock" (here and in 7), the tenth year of the twelve-year cycle. The Khotanese names are given BSOS., viii, 928. For recent discussion of the origin of the cycle, see Osman Turan, On iki hayvandi türk takımı with W. Eberhard's review in Ottoman. Zeitsch., n.f. xvii (1942–3); the origin is there ascribed to the Hsiung-nu.
1.4. The month name is illegible, but to judge from the space there will have been of four akṣaras. The choice is thus limited to three names: muṭacāṇḍi, more commonly muṭači, 5th month (assuming that the year began in summer, see BSOS, viii, 925, and AM I 39), sarahāṭa, usually sarahāṭa, 7th month, and hamārīṇi, 11th month. If the three documents are here copied in chronological order (the second is of koṭa, roth month, and the third document is of sīṃśiṇi, 12th month), then hamārīṇi is excluded. Between muṭacāṇḍi and sarahāṭa preference may lie with sarahāṭa which would take the greater space and so fill the lacuna with four larger akṣaras where line 2 has five smaller letters.

2. hēra- “thing”, in philosophical doctrinal texts renders Bud. dharma “thing, element”. In official letters it stands for “possessions, goods”, or perhaps “money” (as given in the translation of Ch. 0260.45, 107, 115 in BSOS, xiii, 621, 624. The complaint of lack of hēra- “money” there can be compared with the Stæl-Holstein roll Tib. 20 so myed-par “being without a drain, penniless”).

3.1. īte “returns”, but the context is lost. In E 3rd Singh. act. īte, mid. īte. The causative īs- occurs in ītikā “pratinjvartaka, bringing back, restoring” in the Suvarna-bhāsa (KH T 1, 236).

4. pūnyiṅga, unidentified, perhaps Tibetan (or Chinese?). It is of cloth, as shown by the measurement in feet and inches. In this line occurs also -lyega in hūlyega, also a foreign unidentified word for something of cloth. Other Tibetan words from the same sphere can be quoted in Ch cv.001, 4 tala-pi, Tib. lag-phiyis “hand-cloth (phiyis ‘wipe’)” and 20 thūda, Tib. thuḵ-pa “fur-coat”, see AM I, 42.

4.2. ye; 5,38 plur. ya; passim, “was, were”, from older oṭa-, oya-. Elsewhere Vajr. 30 a 2 ye 3rd sing.; 30 a r ya 3rd plur., but also ya 3rd sing. in Jātaka-stava 1 r 4, 18 v 4.

4.3. chā “one foot”, from Chin. 钱 K 1171 d’jiang> ṭiṣṭ “ten feet” (see ZDMG., xci, 586), but with value one-tenth of the Chinese ṭiṣṭ. The value is established by the bilingual text Stein Dumaq C: 36 chā ka ṭisna “36 feet, six inches” corresponding to Chin. 钱 K 1156 ṭiṣṭ 6 r ṭiṣṭ 6 ṭisna. A Hedin document No. 16 uses the same value in a calculation.

4.4. ṭisna, plur. “inches”, Chin. 钱 K 1113 ṭisna “inches”.

4.5. rijitān, adj. to hūlyega, here only and unexplained.

4.6. hūlyega, measured as cloth. It was quoted in ZDMG., 1938, xci, 586, in comparison with a word hūdaiya for an alternation ō-dī. This hūdaiya occurs six times, beside once hūdai. In P 2925.47 we have hauḍīv sa tāmāṭa ḍhīyau sī ḍhautai hūdaiya “a cloth filled with tears of both eyes”. A second word of similar form is hūlaṇa: which renders Turk. kyesā (kse “quiver”), edited BSOS., xi, 291, but it could be connected only by supposing the quiver to be named with reference to the material from which it was made.

5.1. hūdaiya “breadth, width”, abstract to hūdaiya “wide” (E). Forms of the suffix -tīt- in later Khotanese are given TRAS, 1942, 27-8. The same word hūdaiya occurs in the Siddhasāra 101 v. 5.

6.1. sau “official”, perhaps equal to Chin. 钱 K 1171, 1075 tu-t’on <tu’-d’u, Khotan. t’ututua (see BSOS, xii, 327). The one form is used before a name in nominative and genitive: in to the nom. sau svīmnaikai, and in 6 with bindā the gen. singular. If those cases of a title or word of relationship before a proper name, which as consonant stems show variant forms for nom. and gen., are examined, it will be seen that the Khotan practice was to put the qualifying word in the gen. before a name in the gen. This is clear in P 4099-436 rādānā rāda viśa sabāna jua “with the king of Viśa Sambhava” and in hauḍiā ṭumād vīṭa vāhām “of Viśa Vāham king of Khotan”, quoted Acta Orient., vii, 67, No. 3; 68, No. 12; Ch 0269.20-1 (quoted BSOS, xii, 328) pyāra sau stadesai u mira “eyuṣšaj āvīyuhe... di pada “at the feet of my father Sau Stadesai and my mother Lady Vidyaye”. Similarly in the colophon of the Jātaka-stava 39 v 1 ff. pyāra, brāvaḥ, naiva and devāra are in oblique case before proper names with jua. Hence the assumption in BSOS, xii, 327 that it was necessary to find an explanation of the gen. form in sau and the inference that sau represented two older forms (nom. and oblq.) of an -an stem. I miss any evidence in Sten Konow’s remarks in Acta Orient., xx, 126 that sau differed from other qualifying words preceding proper names.

6.2. svīmnaikai, also in the second document, unidentified name, found only here. He is the sau of Narpajama, below 10. A similar name sau svīmnaikai occurs in P 2027.9.

6.3. bindā “upon”, which could mean either “owed by” or “owing to”, can be interpreted as “owed by”, if Hedin 3.12 is compared: ṭas-tī heta ci ṭye bedi buri 1... paja “demand that money (property) of mine as much as is owed by him”. A similar passage occurs in Hedin 13.4 ṭis ni hauḍiā u tuṭhi bha thauna himād hauḍa u dora cha “owed by the Governor and the merchants and the rich men are cloth seven pieces and thirty feet” (one thauna = 40 feet).

6.4. ṭisna “garment, clothing”, translating Sansk. vastraṇi “garments” in P 3153.71 v 3, Sansk. 3.82, Suvarna-bhāsa (KHT I, 247), and Sansk. vāsām in 72 v 2. In N 170.7 ci iṣṭa iṣṭa vāsta padīmār prahone bise ṭyusrāna... the word vāṣa “garments” stands in hendadys with prahone “garments”. In P 2957.104, the Śudhana-Avadāna, ṭisna corresponds to Ch 0266.159 khāttuva for Sansk. vastraṇī (DIVY 449.13). This gives “garment” as the meaning of khāttuva, which has not been recognised in BSOS, xii, 324. Translate there bhuviyastu rana ṭiṣṭa jaukhāvay by “brilliant jewel and garments”.

6.5. pannāśa ṭiṣṭa for fuller pannāśas sah “fifteen inches”, with an error of ṭ for ṭi. Another scribal lapse occurs in the damha of line 14.
9.3. ḫaṭgutta, probably “Tibet” (in a parallel use with ḫvamna “Khotan” here), see BSOS., x, 599-605.

9.4. ka’ra’ following both ḫaṭgutta and ḫvamna. This ka’ra’ has long been a difficulty. If ka’ra’ is taken as a Khotan. Iran. word, a comparison of ḫaṭgutta ka’ra’ with Mazar Tagh col.1 ḫaṭgutta ka’ra’ (a fragment quoted BSOS., x, 603) would suggest a meaning “city”, as if we had “Tibetan Town”. If then ka’ra’, with the subscript hook, were identified with kara’- “outer part, surrounding part”, one could point to Sansk. mandala “circuit”, and parinamandalas “circuit”, quoted in Khotan. parainmandales in BSOS., x, 994.

Beside kara’- “surrounding part” we have also kara’- “circle” (see BSOS., x, 586) and the adj. karvinna- “surrounding”. This summer I found also karu’na-rāyaṣai in Hedini texts, which may be rendered “commanding a karu’na-”. The -a recalls that of karvinna-.

A different word seems to be preserved as a surname in Hedini 16.5 tauramy hadai ka’ra’ gāhda nāte u sa ghi sami “on the fourth day Ka’ra’ Gāhda and sau An Sami received them”. In Or 11252, 16 a 3 piḍakā hauḍa u ka’ra’ sikhā yasaṇai ṭa kira ha (he gave a document and Ka’ra’ Sikha sent (the money of Yasaṇai).”

A kara’ is found in P 553, a and 2 khvēṣyā kara’ hina. This can be translated “the troops of the Khvēṣyā kara’”, with kara’ “region” or “city.” The name khvēṣyā occurs also in a Hedini document 20.4 khvēṣyān ṭma lura ṭma bīṃṣyāna and 20.5 khvēṣyān ṭmaṃ ṭma ṭmaṃ. Here khvēṣyā is a place of origin. If the name in the Tibetan version of the Annals of Khotan khvēṣyo-no (Derge 187 b 1; Narthang khvēṣyo-no) “of Kaṣyayar” is compared (see JRA., 1939, 89), khvēṣyā also may mean “Kaṣyayar” (whether as loc. plur. in -ed, or as a basic form). If this identification should prove to be correct, the kara’ may be the older form of the -yar of Kaṣyayar (used in Tabari and earlier). The city itself in Tibetan texts was Śīg and Śiṣg, and the people Gu-hjag, Kandāk. In Chinese similarly we find 沙勒 K 846,523 sa-la (sa-lak) and in the T’ang-su (Ed. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-hiue 121, 336) 迪師 K 348,893 ka-ṣi (ka-ṣi) and in Huan Tsang 仏 K 491,846 kha-ṣa. The Mahrāmāy 75 offers khyi *kha’i.

This Khotanese origin of ka’ra’- and kara’- seems to be acceptable. But it should be noted that a Turkish qara “people” exists. But more important is a Tibetan khar, mḥahr, ḫkhar, har meaning “town”. With sku-har, it means “fort”. It is common in the old Tibetan documents, see JRA., 1927, 873, ṭaṭkha ḫu-ṣu “fort of ṭaṭkha”; 1286, 569, 560, 580. In these early T’ib. texts there is frequent alternation of aspirate and non-aspirate. Some connexion between Tibetan and Khotan. kara may exist.

9.5. ṣāṇṇādatta, and 43, noted only here, but Or 11252 (32) 11 has the name ṣāṇṇai. The ending -datta is frequent, either the Sansk. -datta or an adapted local syllable: ṣāṇṇādattai, ṣāṇṇadattai, ṣāṇṇādattai, ṣāṇṇādattai, ṣāṇṇādattai.
11.2. *bība-s*, adj. by -s suffix (from -ka), "situated in, being in" occurring after loc. or gen. Not attested in the Older Khotanese it is frequent in the Siddhasāra and other Later Khot. texts. A similar development is shown in the use of *hitu*- "town" to express possession following a gen. case. Note S 247: 273 *khiūtā dvātātā bīsā devatā "cities in wells, pools and rivers".


11.4. *kādākā bīsā ṇāthma "the town in Kadak"*. The name in Tibetan documents is written ka-dog, and in Arabic script *ktu*, see *JRA*S, 1928, 565-8. The Chin. *kue-tai* was given to H. Cordier, see Addenda, p. 48, to his edition of H. Yule’s *Marco Polo*, by P. Pelliot.

11.5. Subscript below line 11 are the names of three towns: nākā chittā-pū, nākā chūng, dārtē. The two first were identified by F. W. Thomas (*ZDMG.*, xci, 14-5) with the two towns of Nob with their epithets chen-pa "great" and chen-tu "small". The final Khotan. -k and -h do not correspond to Tib.-b. The third name was previously misread (dā had not been identified, probably not expected, in initial position). The reading dārtē gives the name of the third town of the Nob district: klav-rē (*JRA*S, 1928, 566-7). These three make up the nob mukhar sum "the three Nob towns" of the Tibetan text cited *JRA*S, 1928, 569.

11.6. *droya kamthe “three towns” indicates a complex of three places forming a unit. See on 19 dākāri for the Turkish dē lükćin. Similarly kṣa ‘awas “Six villages” occur in many official documents from the Khotan region, corresponding to the Chin. 六城 liu ts'eng of a bilingual text. One Chinese document published by Ed. Chavannes in M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 522, was sent to the governor of this place (which does not, however, refer to six great cities of Khotan, as Ed. Chavannes thought).

11.7. *yabādā parrām* is found also in Ch. 00269, 40 yobādā parrām (edited *BSOAS*, xi). Here the conjunct *yob* is used. A name *ζoal-re* referring to a ćhar "district" of Khotan was quoted by F. W. Thomas (*JRA*S, 1930, 48, and *ZDMG.*, xci, 14). The name would seem to be the same, but hardly the same place. Since we have here both yabād- and yobād-, and also above bulun- for Tib. *bun*, we could see in parrām the Tib. *phrom* in a form with unaspirated *p* (see above on line 4 f1), as pod-pa occurs for phod-pa (*JRA*S, 1928, 578), and could thus accept the proposal of F. W. Thomas, and read *ζoal-phrom (*ZDMG.*, xci, 14). From Yabādā parrām it was possible to walk to Sācā on foot (Ch. 00269, 40, *BSOAS*, xi, 617).

11.8. raurata, a local name, possibly a development of the older Koroyina, to which the legend of the West Indian name Ronaka, Ronvea, capital of Savirā (see H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, 29 ff.) was attached.
has levo-cu (JRAS., 1927, 548, 817). Chin. 淚州 K 392,1238 lemongtou c h iang-ti'gu.

16.3. tānfa "Su-fang", see the forms of the name in AM I, 49, here -a for Chin. -ao; the other forms show -au, and -ai.

17.2. secū bise hunthe "the towns in (the district of) Secū", that is, the towns attached to the district of which Secū was the centre. Hence Secū occurs again below, line 20.

17.3. lećū, Chin. 今州 K 272,1238 i-t'ou < i-ti'gu, the Chinese name of Qomul, Xamul, from 758 A.D., see L. Giles, JRAS., 1914, 724. In Uigur occurs q'm- (T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., Toyo Bunko, vi, 9).

17.4. kau'yakā, see on 13.1.

17.5. dapāćī, Chin. 朝職 K 654,1233 na-tū < nap-tūb, see P. Pelliot, JA., 1916, i, 121, note 1; L. Giles, BSOS., vi, 840; F. W. Thomas, BSOS., viii, 793. The Turkic form is Lapōqū, given as Žan-y by A. von le Coq, JRAS., 1909, 313.

18.1. phāuqū, Chin. 蒲昌 K 762,1175, p'u-t'ou < b'uo-t'iuang (P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 1931, xxvii, 496), modern Pitān and Pitān. From the Latin text of Trigautius, H. Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, ed. H. Cordier 1916, gave Pucian (p. 237), to which H. Cordier added from the Italian edition of 1911 the spelling Pačian. For the Khotan. -can-, see also above 12 suqūn, for Chin. 昌 t'ang. The identifiication is already in G. Clausen, JRAS., 1931, 305.

18.2. ṭukdācā. This should indicate *ṭakoy, and the proposal to seek in it ṭukdā ṭôqis is attractive (see F. W. Thomas, BSOS., viii, 794, quoting Sven Hedin, Southern Tibet, viii, 422).

18.3. tīrūkaip'ā "Sirkip", see M. A. Stein, Innermost Asia, II, 612-4.

18.4. ṭīmūm, written on 13.1.

19.1. ḏākūcā, here struck out, see later in this line.

19.2. ḏūsamā, written below ḏākūcā. Possibly a second spelling equivalent to ḏūsamā in 18?

19.3. ḏūsamā, see on 13.1.

19.4. ḏūkācā "Lukčin", earlier misread, see above 11. The name occurs in the Turkic uč luččin hašq in the colophon Ch XIX 093, 46 v 7 (facsimile in M. A. Stein, Serindia, plate CLXV; see also T. Haneda, Sthiramati, p. 24). Chin. 柳州 K 254,1269 liu-ṭuṅg < iju-tuṅg.

19.5. tisāqū "Toyqū", see F. W. Thomas, BSOS., viii, 794.

20.1. tcyām-tirmanā, see on 13.1.

20.2. kautakai, see on 13.1.

20.3. secū mištā hamtha "Secū the capital city". The space after these words clearly separates them from the following name, which has been overlooked in G. Clausen's article, JRAS., 1931, 304, and by V. Minorsky, Hudūd al-I'ālam, 271, note 5. Khotanese has also P 7790.80 nič. The Chinese name is 淚州 K 776,1238 si-t'ou < nie-ti'gu. On the place see M. A. Stein,
Serindia, III, 1167, ff. In Tib. zæ-cu occurs (J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, Documents de Touen-houang, p. 70).

20.4. pamyakamtha "Five Towns", that is, Turkish Bɛl-balić, see V. Minorsky, Budád al-'Ālam, 271-2: NPers. pînjâd (p. 94, and 271), Med. Pers. pûññîy (Mahrâmây 45).

21.1. hânaâ bhârâkâ, no satisfactory connection yet pointed out.


21.2.1. yirmiçini "Urmûçi". For final -n in names one can recall Kûsn (see T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., Toyô Bunô, vi, 13 ff., and P. Pelliot, JA., 1934, i, 61), and the sîlmîn for "Solmi" in Al-Bairûnî and Marvûzi (quoted by V. Minorsky, Marvûzî, p. 71). W. Eberhard, Bir kaç eski Türk iravna hakkinda, 1945, p. 332, 339, points to the T'o-pa, Tab-yâ, use of -ên, -ên where purely Turkish dialects had -či.

21.2.2. çámâda hâdakâ "Çámîl balić", NPers. ĝîl-kâh (Hudud al-'Ālam § 13, ii, 2, p. 95, 272).

21.3. argitëd biñâ kamtha "the town among the Argštä", a derivative in -îna from Argi. Sanskrit texts from Argi use Agni, and this form lies behind the transcription of Húan Tsang. The transition from Argi to Agni may have lain in a Prakrit form *Agni, which is attested as the NW Prakrit form of Old Ind. agni in Khotanese omgâuśa (E 23.98), corresponding to agi- in Kharosthi (see BSOSAS., xi, 769), P. Pelliot saw a similar relationship between Nob and the *Navapâ of Húan Tsang (JA., 1916, 1119). Other NW Prakrit forms of Indian words occur in Agni and Kuci. The Chinese 拉薩 K 243,340 ien-kî < ien-g'î from the Han period is old enough to have its -n- from the older practice of writing -n for foreign -r-, possibly with support from the Prakrit form, which will as usual in Central Asia have preceded the introduction of the Sanskrit form. For Chinese this Sanskritisation was a product of the time of Húan Tsang and his followers. For Chinese -n for foreign -r, see P. Pelliot, JA., 1934, i, 51-2, and 'Toûng Pao 32, 266.

23.1. ermâ bîd khamthâ "the town among the Ermas". The name has been found also in Dumaçu F 1 cu 34 kəsni têmûri zmûye hoçu ɛrma tsâkâm and hirû pojastî "who in the 34th regnal year, the 22nd day of the month Tsâmûra, demanded money for the travellers to Erna". It occurs also on a wooden document of the Hedin edition No. 36 "ermâ pisinînâ thawa bûtâd" "they took the woollen pieces of cloth from Erma" (the thawa- was 40 feet in length). From a passage in the Annals of Khotan it is possible to show that this Erma probably meant Guzan.

It will be seen that in describing the foundations of vihârâs the Annals mention the place name after which the particular vihâra is called. Thus king Bijaya Jñāya married a princess from 'O-skhu and the monastery is called 'O-ha-no (in the Dege edition 'O-ska-no). Similarly king Bijaya Sinâya married a lady of Ga-hyâg (Kûshâr), and the vihâra was called Khye-sî-na (Dege ed. Khye-si-no), that is, "Kashghariyan". If this method holds good in the case of king Bijuya Bala (so the Dege edition reads), we have a lady of Gu-sân (Dege; Northang Gu-suín) and a vihâra called 'Em-no-no (Dege; 'en-no-no). Erma may then be Gu-san.

23.2. phalayâkî "Bulayyiq", given in Turkish as خیز by A. von le Coq, JRAS., 1909, 321. The Khotanese form would suit an older *balayuq.

23.3. tûrîpa "Turfan", famous now as the discovery place of so many early Central Asian documents. A summary account of its history can be read in the article "Le 'Tokharites"" by Sylvain Lévi, reprinted in Textes koutchêna, pp.15 ff., from JA., 1933 (see also P. Pelliot, JA., 1934, i, 104), Chin. 土魯番 K 1129,508,22 t'u-la-fan < t'u-lo-p'îwâ; Turfan (Benedict Goës, ob. 1607, apud H. Yule, Cathay, iv, 237).

24.1. bapana gives the name Chin. 無罕 K 1289,689 u-pa < mi-pan of Huan Tsang quoted in Ed. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kieu, p.6, see F. W. Thomas, ZDMG., xci, 48.

**Document II**

**Lines 25-6**

Five names, almost certainly Chinese, are listed here without context. The family name will according to Chinese custom precede, followed by one, two or three syllables. From this one can recognise as family names: an, ca, tsâm, cik and bod'. From Tibetan documents F. W. Thomas has registered a long list of family names of Chinese origin in the Sàçu area in JRAS., 1928, 91-4. Among these 'An, Cax, Cax and Cheg may correspond to four of the names here.

To the second components of the names must be reckoned *tsunge* (twice), perhaps rather Chinese than Turkish *tong* (a title, and also "hero"). The *sâm* (thrice) has not been identified. A similar name occurs in Ch 00271,17 *sâm tûl hiti kîra" the work of *Sâm sîr*, and *sâm* is found in P 2741.6 (AM L, 47): his title *sûr* as G. Haloun has shown me, is the Chin. 羅 K 810,470 si-k'ung, si-k'ung, one of the five great officers, the minister of public works. The title occurs also in P 2790.25, 28, 37. The name *bod* is followed by *yûm* before *sâm* is, but neither syllable is explained. In P 2031.3 a name *thym* *sâm* is occurs.

**Document II**

**Lines 27-31**

Lines 27-31 stand out from the context by the interest of the text for Turkish studies. Their importance has been evidenced by earlier attempts
to analyse the contents. In the edition princeps by Sten Konow in F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang, he made notes on these words. He necessarily treated them again in his later edition (Acta Orient., 1947, xx, 133 ff.). G. Clausen discussed the names in his paper in JRAS., 1931, 297 ff., The Geographical Names in the Staël-Holstein Scroll; similarly F. W. Thomas, ZDMG., xcvii, 598, and W. B. Henning, BSOAS., ix, 545 ff., and later in Asia Major I, 162. These discussions have been of value in clarifying the rôle of the text, even though they were written with limited knowledge of the Khotanese documentary language.

The writer of the text has not stated his aim. We have to see in him the Khotanese traveller in Sacu negotiating with Turks who were a danger to the state, some of whom were without chiefs (P 2790. 64, baš-šīya kænša “men without head, baš-šī men”) and some were robbers (P 2031. 8 yah-i- naliha: kænša “yaymaši men, robber men”). The complex relations between the Turks and the inhabitants of the Sacu and Kamčū region are vividly described in the two documents already published, Ch 00269 and P 2741. The Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary (BSOAS., xi, 290 ff.) reveals a wish to know Turkish speech. Various groups are named, some of whom, the Tangut, the Çimul and the Tatar were not originally Turks. These groups had retained some of the older Turkish family names. From these same family names came the individual personal names of some of the chief actors. Two types of personal name are important in the present connection. We find first the group name followed by a title; the second type shows the group name followed by a personal descriptive name and then by a title.

1. ēšil tutug (G. J. Ramstedt, Zwei uigur. Runeninschriften, p. 60); ēuyer ?pμyl (Mahrnämây 91); dûm tîmgan (Ch 00269. 61 with Turkish tonga); wâšyâ uha (Ch 00269. 87); Ouyuz ugi; târbi inal (M. Lewicki, Rocznik Orient., xx, 241); ayavîrâ uga (P 2741. 61); yglr [n] yml ëyaglasar inal (Mahrnämây 62); carahi: uha (P 2741. 102).

2. ıtraddâu tîlygyan (P 2741. 82); tutidâu tîmgâdi: tattâkâ: Tōlis Tângü Totoq (P 2790. 72); dûm tittâmăi-i čhäš Düm Çitmiš Ėšil (so rightly with tta-, not tâ- as given JRAS., 1939, 88); J’tâ p’ teyq Tatar Apa Tegin (Mahrnämây 22); ayavîrâ adpa be’ka (P 2741. 81); kürâbir urungu sangan (JRAS., 1912, 187). Similar are sahâbra tirâkâ čhäš, if târîk is here the adjective “strong”, and yglr qa tâ Yalyaqar Qan Ata, if ıta “father” is here taken as a title (G. J. Ramstedt, Zwei uigur. Runeninsch., ix, 4).

In our present list the question whether we are in presence of the group name intending the group, or the group name used for an individual is too exclusive. Among the names are listed alpayut “hero, champion”, an adjectival derivative from alpa- “be bold” (see W. Bang, Fastgabe Sianmyri, p. 5), and still more ahay-alpayut “very bold, a great hero”, which cannot be cited as group names. Hence we must see in the list the notes of a Khotanese to record a miscellany of personal and group names with which his work had given him acquaintance in the region of his travels. We are not given Turkish tribal history. Identifications must first be sought in the other relevant Khotanese documents.

A point for the interpretation, of serious importance, is the scribe’s leaving of spaces between the words. As noted above on line 20, the disregard of this spacing led to a misinterpretation of the reference of the epithet mistâ kaṃtha. The same danger lies here also.

The present passage can be divided into three Lists. List 1 in lines 27–28; List 2 in lines 29 to ahay-alpayut in line 30; and List 3 from karat-taha to činnâš. The details of the explanation can best be given under the separate names.

27.1. īyavâ. Compared with īmju line 29, this form in -u is plural, unless two forms are admitted, differently adapted from the foreign word in -u. With this are associated pluralis in P 2741. 73 īčimjuva and Ch 00269. 76 īči īmjuwa (AM I, 49). We have then Turkish inči and īči inči “three inči.” I have not been able to find early evidence for the meaning of Turk. inči. W. Radlow in his Opit of a Dictionary of Turkish Dialects quotes a Jâyatai inči for two meanings: “princely domain” and 2. “servant of a beg”. P. de Courteille has “esclave faisant partie du domaine particulier du prince”, and īči inči “service”. Though the modern meaning of īmju in Mongol is “downy”, Y. Vladimirov gave as an older meaning “udel” (Srarostevlel, Gram., 320), presumably “appanage”. This is particularised in his Régime Sociâle, p. 128 to mean “patrimoines féodaux des princes de sang”. Mongol meanings cannot safely be used to interpret older Turkish words (see below 27 on alpayut). In his study of the Tadhkirtal-muluk, p. 25, V. Minorsky rendered īmju by “demesnes” for the Mongol period, which is, the xâšah of Persian sources. Further references are given by Caferoglu Ahmet, Uyghur Sûltanû, 70. From an Uigur text (edited T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., Toyö Bunko, vi, 4) īmju can be quoted as the first part of personal names.

The space after īyavâ here, and after īmju line 29, separates the words from the following words. The īyavâ might be used as a heading for all the following terms, or may stand as a distinct item as do the following words. If it were a heading it might indicate in the following names the personnel of a particular inči. The īči īmju are presumably a group of inči. The alternative that we have here the first part of a proper name seems to me preferable. One name attested in Uigur is īči urungu sangan apacur (T. Haneda, loc. cit.).

27.1. yahâ-daka’r’d “Yalyaqar”. The name is found both as a family or group name, and also in the division of the Uigurs (G. Schlegel, Chin. Inschrifl., Balaqasun, p. 8, quoted by W. B. Henning, BSOAS., ix, 555). It is also known in the two names Yalyaqar Qan Ata, the son of a Qir’in,
and Yağlar inal (quoted above p. 16). Here, too, we should recognise
the first part of a personal name.

27.3. *ādāpahātā* “alpayut”. This word though unclear in W.
Thomsen in his early decipherment (Inscr. Orkhan, p. 161) is now well-
known. In W. Thomsen's later translation (Samuel A. Hulusi, iii, 491,
English version, p. 712), *tonra bir uyulan alpanu* was rendered “the
alpagan of the Tongra (-tribe) of one kindred”, and on p. 874 the cognate
phrase II E 31 *tonra yilpayat bir uyulan* is translated “the Tongra (-tribe's)
yilpagan of one kindred”. The words are therefore here not further defined.
However, we have further evidence. Kāṣvāri's Divān Luyāt at-turq has
alpayat (Turk. ed. fac. p. 8, 13) explained as Arabic mulā'īn “champion”
and bukhār “bold, hero”. In the Codex Comenicus, p. 162, 7 t (folio 81 b)
alpayat is glossed by Latin miles. In Buddhist texts from Turfan alpayut
“warriors” are placed beside the buhrāy “officers” (F. W. K. Müller,
Ugarica, i, 62, 65. On page 65 it is plural with -lar). The word occurs at
the end of a personal name, that is, where usually a title is put, in alp
sangun ēdā alpayat (F. W. K. Müller, Zwei Pfahlinh., p. 23, 1-14; ibid. 11
tonga “hero” occurs in the name isik ēdā ēbi tute úr tonga). R. Radlov (Opit
430) has alpayat “landowner, nobleman”. In Mongol the word has been
brought into (mistaken) etymological connection with Mongol. *alban “tax”
whereby we find an attempt to interpret Turkish alpayut from the Mongol
meaning (see V. Minorsky, Hudud af-Ilam, p. 292), a method criticised by
B. Laufer in reference to Turkish tarsun (see Sino-Iranica, p. 592). Y.
Kovalevskij, Mongol Dictionary I, 84, has albagun “slave, domestic”.
Accordingly we may have here a personal name “Champion”. See also
below 30.

27.4. *bākā* could well represent a Turkish *būqu* and so fall into
the group discussed by W. Bang (Türkische Turfan-Texte, 2.5), with the
personal name of the Khan: *Būqu Khan* or *Būqu Khan*. For absence of
a final Turkish velar, see AM i, 48, on mcgəl. It could then be like alpayut
a descriptive name without connexion with the name of a tribal group. The
variant *bākā* of the Tōlis group name K 760,421 p'ū-ku < p'ū-kus would
suit this name, but see 27 bāsahātā.

27.5. *bāsahātā*. No satisfactory connexion has been found. If a
Chinese - bushes, that is, phonetically -γ, before a following consonant could
(usually) represent Turkish -s, this name might be compared with Chin.
K 760,427 p'ū-ku < b'ūsh-kust occurring as a group name of the Tōlis
(in the wide sense as including Uigers, whereas in the Khotanese texts the
Uigers are distinct); see Ed. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-koume, 88;
G. Schlegel, loc. cit., 1; W. B. Henning, BSOS., ix, 555. A variant without
-τ is cited, see above under 27 bākā. The form of the name recalls Ugur
bāyut “instruction”, (Brāhmi script pokko- (kh=q) in pokhop, BSOS.,
ix, 295), which, however, has -J. No personal name has been traced.

28.1. *kurāhāri “Kūrāhir”, so far noted only as part of a personal
name in Old Turkic script, in a document edited by W. Thomsen, J.R.A.S.,
1912, 187, b r o kurāhir urūngu sangu.

28.2. *kārbarā tā tītsātū tīsra*. There is no space between the
name and the qualifying clause. It is, however, likely that we have not
an additional plural name explained by itself, but that the previously named persons also
were of the Tōlis group, whatever the elements were which composed that
group in Kaŋšou. Identification of kārbarā remains uncertain.

28.3. *tīlātā “Tōlis”. For the attested forms, see AM I, 48, J.R.A.S.,
1939, 88. Orkhan has both tōlis and tōlis. Khotanese has elsewhere *ttīta-
with -i*.

29.1. *rīmi*ū, see 27.

29.2. *sihār ’rdi*. The spelling does not distinguish between *riqar* and
*sīkār*. If the former was intended, the name saiktāra *tulχā chādā* (P 2741,
82), that is, *sīqār tīr šar, may represent the same name. This name (as I
have noticed, since writing in AM I, 50) can be seen also in the name read
śīvatīr *tżan in F. W. K. Müller, Zwei Pfahlinh., p. 23, line 17; in his
transliteration ṣ was put for the unmarked letter which was both ṣ and ṣ.
Hence it would be equally possible here to read *sīqār (śīv is “ox”, cow*,
Ungar J., xiv, 214). The same name is attested also on the Kara Bağans
Chinese inscription if the reading by Ed. Chavannes and P. Pelliot in the
Tratte manichem, p. 210, /animate, K 813,322 (with uncertain radical) *śi-
< ši-khat or yuot, is accepted, with the title barraya tarsun. Beside this use in
a personal name, the group name is recorded among the Tōlis (Ed.
Chavannes, loc. cit., 87; G. Schlegel, loc. cit., p. 1; K 813,325 *ttī-
< ši-khat (see W. B. Henning, BSOS., ix, 356).

29.2. *tunāgara*. If the background of the present list is, as there need
be no doubt, in view of the reference to Karatahta in line 30, the same
group of peoples who are mentioned in other texts such as P 2741,
Ch 0026g, and P 2759, it is desirable to quote the tunāgara- of P 2741,78
(AM i, 43) as a possible second form of the same name. In such a case it
would be possible for the name to be both a group and a personal name as
in so many other cases. A different interpretation of the evidence, on which
agreement is not yet reached, can be seen in W. B. Henning's papers,
BSOS., ix, 559, and Asia Major, n.s., I, part ii, 159-162. The *tunār
proposed for tūnāy is a conjecture from a consonantal script. From
the many foreign words in Sogdian a method of control can be gained, but
it is not from Sogdian *tunār* that one can deduce the syllables of the name of
“Khotan”. What happened to names from the East as they were brought
to the West we can see in the name of the Turats: Khowan, tr̥attr̥a-
Mahnəmāt tēr, Kāṣvāri tēr and NPers. tēr *tātār (Hudud al-'Atam,
ofol. 17 a 3). Similar variety should be recognised in the transmission of
Tr̥tār.
29.3. ayebira, P 2741.6t ayavirä uga, and in 81 ayavirä apda he'kä. Here as part of a personal name. For the corresponding group name see AM I, 49.

29.4. carahi, attested in a personal name in P 2741.102 carahi: uha... Here too a group name is known in Carir, see AM I, 50.

29.5. yahattakarä, found so far only as a group name of Uigurs in G. Schlegel, loc. cit., p. 9. Chin. 撒布羅 嘉 586,1278,73 saw-u-ko < haj-mipti-kä, see W. B. Henning, BSOS., ix, 557.

30.1. anaha: dapaphattü. The reading of hũ, which I felt at one time to be uncertain, is hardly to be doubted. We have only the photograph, but I think to see the rather faint base of the ū with the same h above which occurs in adapaphati of line 27. The word should be interpreted as *añhayalogavut (or añhay-tapayut) “very bold, great hero”, with añhay representing Turkish aty, any and anyy “very” (for the Turkish dialectal variation see A. von Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik, p. 3 ff.). For a case of h/y in Khotanese script note (BSOAS., xi, 285) sarkanäa:sarqanä, sarqaviy “rennet-bag”; and also sarginaq “rennet-bag” (G. R. Rachmati, Türkische Turfan-Texte, vii, 78). If it is desirable to have i or a to represent Turkish i, it would be excellent to read *añ naprawdę, which would give *añhay-alp. But -ay is a possible variant, see W. Bang, Umg. jb., v, 403. The name seems particularly suited to be a personal name. It has not been traced as a group name.

30.2. karattaha-pata. This word is preceded by the top of a ka which the scribe began too close to the preceding letter. He then left space by starting a second ka a little further on. The word contains Turk. qara-tay “black mountain”, and from the contexts in P 2741 and CH 00269 (see the references in AM I, 50) this mountain was near the Yipkin tay “brown mountain” in Kanhsou territory. The ending is now well known, as a suffix, apparently of Tibetan origin, expressing origin from a place (see AM I, 48). It is -pa with the plural suffix -a added to a final -a by an intervening consonant. This word is important as deciding the local background of the lists: the locale is the Sacu and Kamuo region. Is the Yipkin tay “brown or purple mountain” the range of mountains 180 Li SE of Sātsou named from their purple colour the 三拓山 tsi-ting-san “purple pavilion mountains”, in the Tun-huang Geographical text edited by L. Giles, BSOS., vii, 845 (plate xii, line 21)?

30.3. tittara. Attempts have already been made to explain this group of three syllables. My present view is that we should expect to see here a reference to the name of the Tartars, who are active with the other groups in P 2741 (see AM I, 48). The present scribe writes excellent Later Khotanese, by no means the latest kind with lax orthography. But he has put -a over jia in line 34 and over -na in 40. He has also 56 jākarina: “sugary” with -a for older a in the first syllable, which occurs several times also in the Siddhäsura with -i (101 v 4, 102 r 3, 145 v 9 and elsewhere; in 134 v 5 ēkara- occurs twice). He has also been unstable about the final -d as in 28 titldā for the plural in -a, and in trākā for -a in line 31. It is therefore possible that he wrote here tita- for tta- (in other texts also we find tti tta “so” for tta tta, as in P 2790.59, and tta for tta in P 2741.19). I had proposed in JRAAS, 1939, 88 to read as three words tita tta tā “these so on their side” (for ra see 73), but it seems better now to find here the Tatar name. To that and to the following names the description of Karattaha-pata (plur.) “inhabiting the Qara-tay” then applies.

30.4. dū. This name I now (as in JRAAS, 1939, 88) consider to be the dūm, dāl, plur. dūma, dūnta found in several passages of the documents (see JRAAS, 1939, 88, and AM I, 49). They have Turkish personal names.

30.5. sahātsa, plur. to sahāna-, Turk. sayan, which according to Kāyari (Turk. edit. facs., p. 203, 3) was a title (takab) of the great men (akbār) of the Qaruq. These Qaruq have not been found named in the Khotanese texts, nor have the Qirya/z. But the Qaruq are mentioned in an unpublished Tibetan text. The Qirya/z is twice named in Tibetan documents. In one they are reported as robbers on the way from Lien-cu to Sacu and Kvacu (JRAAS, 1927, 87; and 282). It is possible that here the Qaruq are represented by the sahāna-. The vicissitudes of Qaruq history are given in Ed. Chavannes Documents sur les Tou-hüe, 85-6. In P 2741.72 we find a name sahāna tā'ga, just as we find, for example (see above p. 16) ubā-yâ uha (CH 00296.87) Ouyû ugu. But we note also P 2741.84 itarqana tā'ga, consisting of two titles.

A different grouping of the syllables to make tтарā́dā́sa for “Tardas” (but s for š is doubtful) had occurred to me previously, and is quoted by W. B. Henning (BSOS., ix, 554). He then proposed to take kāhā separately and to equate it with hvata. It seems to me that the place of these syllables does not suit a case of this kind. As to the conjectured kāhā “called”, further study of the texts has made it hardly possible to assume such a spelling. The word hvata- is common in hvatā, later hvā mas. sing., hvātā, hvātā fem. sing., hvāta masc. plur., and hvāte, hvāve, fem. plur. It has not been found with -a in place of -ea. Nor does such a change occur in the many cases of hvatāna-, hvamna-, hvam “for Khotan”, although in the one Kharosti document No. 661 dated from Khotan the name is written hvatana. Similarly the words hvatā, later hvā “of oneself” and hvāva- “sweet” retain the -ea- throughout. It seems unmethodical to introduce it here. Nor do I now think the Tardas are referred to in this passage. We thus also escape the need to reproach our sources with attributions of the same Turkish groups to different tribes.

31.1. sādāmiya, plur. of -i stem. The name is struck out here. In one other place the name sādāmi occurs (P 2898.9) where also it is marked for deletion and succeeded by dūm. The forms of the name are: solmi (or
with ñ, ñ, ñ; the vocalisation is uncertain) in Kâşîrâ’s Divan (Turk. edit. I, 113 sûmi koçu canbalak beshalik yenî balik); Segobian Old Letter swûm’ (W. B. Henning, BSOAS, ix, 558; for the date see BSOAS, xii, 601 ff.); Chin. 呵里達倉 E. 1127,529,616 so-le-mi ñ-su-fi-meî. The Uigur spelling swûmî (F. W. K. Müller, Tuyrub und Katûn (Kâtun), p. 581) would indicate a vowel -û- rather than -û-, but is not decisive by itself since -û- at times was used for -û-. The Chin. sûa suit -û- rather than -û-. For the situation, see T. Haneda, loc. cit., p. 11 ff., W. B. Henning, BSOAS, ix, 558, and V. Minorsky, Marvâzî, p. 71. From Al-Bairûnî is quoted swûmî, see above on 22.

31.2. tîrîkâ bayarqâ “Türk Bayarqî”. For the -û- of the second syllable attested by the Chinese form, see P. Pelliot, T’oung Pao 37, (1943), 46 note 5. In the Orkhon inscription I E 35 occurs byûn. But the Old Turkish document edited by V. Thomsen, JRAS, 1912, 186, line 15, has byûn with ï. Other references in Khotanese are given AM I, 47.

31.3. çûmida. The scribe probably refers to the well-known Cîmûl, Khotan. çûmida and cumida (references in AM I, 47). Kâşîrâ jînî *çûmîl. The treatment of the foreign nasal sound demands explanation. Above (line 12, subscript) ñ is put for Tibetan ñ in eçûnî = chu-su (chu-su). Within Turkish itself ñg and ñ alternate in some words (see Türkische Turfan-Texte 5, p. 18 on A 76, and BSOAS, xi, 291 on No. 21). It is possible that the writer here intended some unfamiliar sound, or he may simply have made a mistake. An unusual use of ñ for ñ can be reported in the writing çompa of Central Asian Bud. Sanskrit (Kâşûpa-parivarta, ed. A. von Staël-Holstein, p. 172 middle) and the çamâ, çompa of the Bud. Sansk. Mahâparinîrâṇa-sûtra (ed. E. Waldschmidt, 81.4; 84.5), for the normal çamâ, çompa. H. Lüders, Bruchstücke der Kalpa-nâmanâtikâ, p. 39, claimed çompa- as an older form. Tamil has çompaam.

**Document III**

**Lines 32–51**

32. A new document with a new dating in a different month, the 12th, sinjira, but of the same year. The contents suggest rather a literary than an official text. It should therefore be compared with the verses of Mazar Tagh b.11.0065 (Subadda CLI; ed. Sten Konow, New Indian Antiquity, extra series I, 146–7). The change at the end to direct speech is abrupt.

32.1. ñi kiyam “this is the regnal year of . . .”, quite different from the formal dating, above line 7; but Gr 968, 1 b i is similar, see provisionally Sten Konow, Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap, xi, 21–2.

32.2. mişdâm, “gracious”, this old form also in Or 11344.7.1 mişdâm ğyastina. More common is mişdîna (already in E). The word precedes the title of Vîṣa’ Sâgrâma, P 2787.83, mişdî justa (quoted JRAS, 1942, 14).

32.3. ğyastâ, also 4o, “deva, god, majesty”. For the ñ with lengthened -û- stroke one can cite in the Sudhânä-Avalâna P 2925.95 ġyanvâka-kadânâ = Ch 0026.53 janâva-kadânâ “janapada-bahyânî, the beauty of the land”, Ch. 1.0021 a, 2 13 ğyastâle, which elsewhere is jatulâ (so in P 2787.132), fian. jatulâ. In P 2896.35, quite exceptionally we have ğyîkha for kitha “in the city”; yacî ğyîkha. ğyastu- is frequent beside justa.

32.4. tiša beđu ku “at the time when”. Below ñg ñtina kîhna ku “from the time when . . .”

32.5. dîya raru “rule according to the Law (dharma)”, similarly Ch 048.45 savaṇa dîya râta, P 2787.75 be’yûnhâ dîya râta. It implies a dharma-rajâ, Khotan. P 2023.215 dîyâ rât, Tib. chos-regyal, see F. W. Thomas, Tib. Lit. Texts, 275, note 11.

32.6. “åhak “before, in the presence of”, in the Siddhásśra it translates Tib. sn-brøjor “near” (103 v 3, 136 v, 4, 3), in the Vajrachêdikâ antikâd “near”. In E we find ñnh without -ha meaning “before in place”. The same ñha occurs in Vajr. 42 a 4.

32.7. bçt-mayâ “intelligent”, P 2032.4 bçt-mayî sùra “intelligent, brave”, but E bodmîsaw, with different suffix.

32.8. hvaram-dâvî “being at the right hand” as a compound of hvarámadâa- with oîrâ “upon”, with adj. suffix -u, -davâ. Possibly the same explanation suits mäa-târâa (sing. -u, plur. -u) occurring several times in the official documents. It seems to be a position, perhaps “man attached to a household”. In the Hedin document No. 18.3 we find rîmâmi hûsya mîsa-devâ “the king’s . . .” Since elsewhere a word mäa- “abode, house” occurs, the compound may contain mäa- with -davâ.

32.9. bištâ “equipped”, found only here. The same concept is expressed by sâdhrâa joi ašašta (Ch 0026.37), to which in the same work corresponds adryâm jî ukhâsta in P 2957.141 (khs for shk). The opposite meaning is in Sansk. vikalendriya- “with defective senses”, P 3513, 71 r 1 vikalendrzya satva uṣūrām anya hamâmde.

32.10. bâdâ corresponds to the Tib. khal before rgyal-sum (Tib. text line 1), see above line 9. It has been taken as Tib. khal “Nepal” (F. W. Thomas, Two Medieval Documents, p. 129), but it could, of course, be more than a family name.

32.11. pâmâdevâ, loc. plur. to the adj. pâmâdevâ- “being on the roads”.

32.12. tišî- “pribhâjana, Ind. tejas- and prabhâjana “power of majesty”. For tejas- in India, see J. P. Vogel, Het sanskrit woord tejas (= glorie, vuur) in de betekenis van magische kracht.

32.13. ġhramyâ hûsya ånå sàcçû vášta “from Khotan to Sačû”, as the two chief centres of interest to the writers of these documents. In AM I, 48 was cited Khotan, Land of Jade and Sačû, the Golden Land.

32.14. pâmâ prrihye “he opened the road”. Similarly P 2786.163 pâmâ prrahûjâ, P 2786.205 pâmâ prrahîsta. Closing of a road is attested in
The Chinese tsi'-si occurs in the Khotan document edited in M. A. Stein, Ancien Khotan, p. 523, line 14.

39.2. pusha-ha’jai “drummer”. The meaning is deduced from the passage P 2025. 52 sa khol pa’ui jidā = Ch 52066. 33 sa: khol pa’ui bjida = P 2956. 33 sa: khol pa’ui bjida “when they beat the drums”, and from the word pujia- in E. In Ch 52066. 8 stands pa’ui.

Reference to artisans occurs also in the Turkish text edited in F. W. K. Müller, Zwei Pfahlhinschreiben, p. 12, 24, where are mentioned titigi- “mason”, iyaciti- “carpenter”, bitikiti- “scribe” and sirici- “wall painter”.

39.3. spā “senapati, military official” of unknown functions, line 47 the fuller form spāta, frequent in documents. In Tibetan script it is written spa, see BSOS, viii, 934. In Chinese transcription we have a bilingual text in Hedim 16 254 K 1167,725 sa-po c. ida-puā.

39.4. pada-dūśa, a Tibetan name, identified as Tīb. dpal-bhaus by F. W. Thomas, ZDMG., xci, 14.

40.1. musarā “goldsmith”, taking it as a later form of yarara in E. The same artisan is called sutvaraka in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī document, No. 578 UR 7.

40.2. kharās, 47 kharāsī, proper name, found also in P 2027. 10 kharāsī, and Jātaka-stava 39 v 2 kharāsī.

40.3. drau-tanhōya may be interpreted as drau “hair” with tanhā “to pull”, hence perhaps a “barber”.

40.4. khrī-rtand, proper name, probably a Tibetan khrī-brtan “throne-secure”.

40.5. -nā, see above 37, ablaut for older -na, with the supra-script vowel -a, which is rare with -na and āsā.

40.6. mam “here”, as in 8 mam sači “here in Sači”. In 48 ma.

40.7. bahuatsaṭṭhā “Bodhisatta and king”, used of a living king. Similarly in Ch 1.0021 a, a 30 viśā darma bahuatsatta ṛāmā “of the Bodhisatta and king Viśā Darma” (quoted BSOS., x, 919). Earlier, in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 288 occurs prakacca-bodhisatva “epiphanous Bodhisatta” as an epithet of a Maha-cojho. The theory of Bodhisatta epiphany is stated in the Turkish Sūkā Yūkmak 247–8 (Turkische Turfan-Texte 6) bu yirtin-daki qama yitiq qantar tigma akhis bodisatvar titir “Of all the kings and khan by title upon this earth many are called Bodhisattvas.” In the colophon of the Rājāvādaka-sūtra (W. Radloff, Kuan-sim Pusar, p. 72 and VII) there is reference to the bodhisattva uṣṇīṣī yayan yam “the Royal Khan of Bodhisatta family” (yam is akhis “kula, family” in Brāhmi script, see BSOS., ix, 293). Incarnations of Bodhisattas are recorded in the Sangha communities (F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Liter. Texts 1, 323). We have also in Ch 52047, 6 (BSOS., viii, 84), ārya nāgdrjuna bahu- dhatti “the Bodhisatta Ārya Nāgdrjuna”.

In Tibetan documents the word khrum “epiphany” is used of rulers.
(see F. W. Thomas, JRAS., 1927, 824, line 1), and the King of Tibet is the hphur-hgyi lha bchan-po "the epiphanous god, the king" (JRAS., 1928, 71, and cf. 86). The title tathagata occurs in a teacher in P 2786.4 dráttirvat praumahāt tathāgatā sampradāya dārṣṭa "the teachers, the Tathāgata Śrībhadrā, the pramukha ("president") of Drotic, and the others". 41. 1. ta, older vaska (BSOAS., x, 1022) "for", preceded by genitive. Below 48 duva rumdum tva "for the two kings". 41. 2. tse-pa, corresponding to the royal name in the Tibetan text the-bo, the-po, the friend of the King of Khotan. He is the ruler in Saci. In the Tibetan he is called, line 1, lha rgyal-po; 2 co-bo "lord"; 12 jo-co (for jo-bo) lha rgyal-po dan do the-bo; 31 jo-bo rgyal-po dan do the-bo. In Chinese the name is 大保 K Gram. S. 317 d, K 697 t'ai-pau < t'ai-pau, a title quoted from a Saci Chinese text by L. Giles in BSOAS., vii, 468. Here Khotan. tt corresponds to Tib. th, as also in yeuthen (Tib. text, line 1), Khotan. khotana-. The Tib. text has also hten (line 4, 5). 41. 3. prāyaṅga "prayoga, use, practice", also 45, 49. This pri- for older pra- occurs also in Khotan. 36 prabh, and Ind. 35 prabhida. The long -i- is found in so prāyaṅgām. For -aya- passing by way of -aya-, note Krsoraiyana Kharaosisa praṣaya, niśeṣa "prataya, niśeyā", and the Gostana Sanskrit -śeya-, -ṣeyā in BSOAS., ix, 540. 41. 4. pa'i'namādu "they engaged in", also 49, 1st pl. The verb occurs in P 2787.132 śā ṣvā pravārma gāja-sārā garā ṣātā paśijādā "the second pravārma ceremony he graciously held on the Gāja-sārā hill". In 138 occurs paśijādā wi: subscript hook. It represents the past of an older Khotan. paśijā:ma (N 123.31): ne paśijāmata rṣantā ni niṣṭha "does not practise, does not rightly show". Hence we have an Old Iran. -parā-jāmānaya-. 41. 5. gūmattā rāṣa'ā "a stūpa (equal to that) of Gum-tic", since it is built in Saci, not in the Gum-tic near Khotan. This must supersede the rendering in BSOAS., vi, 119. For the name Gum-tic see New Indian Antiquary, extra series 1, 1. The Annals of Khotan have Derge krum-tar, Nathang also krum-tar. The "master" of Gūmattā is named in Choo269.48: gūmattārā adj. (see BSOAS., xii, 617). 42. 1. ba'ā, older ba'āla, used to express the Buddhist idea of a stūpa. Connections of the word remain uncertain. Khotan. -is- may represent old primary contact of -r-, as in puls- "ask", but also a secondary contact. If halas- "projecting chamber", for Bud. Sansk. kāṭahā, Pali kāṭhaka, is compared it is possible to separate prefixes ba- and ha- (as in ba-stārrda- "spread" and ha-stam- or Avestan upa-stamb- and fra-stamb-). Further speculation at present does not seem profitable. 42. 2. 20-chāya "of twenty feet", compound adj. with -ya- suffix, see BSOAS., x, 925 on hauda-raṇṇa- "of seven precious stones". For cha- "foot", see above 4.
The Staël-Holstein Miscellany

45.1. dirye "held, continuous", hence in the phrase dirye khamtha bīsa-a- "situated throughout the city", the dirye has the adjectival partitive use (see AM I, 47, line 48). This is to take dirye as a form of the participle of dirjī, dirjī- "hold", of which various forms are attested: in E dīrta-, dīrta-, dīrasta-; pret. 3rd plur. dīrta-ā, 3rd. sing. Bal. dīrīm. In the Rāma text P 2801.34 ratha dirye mīsta "he kept up a great noise" seems still to be a possible rendering. A further case of dirye occurs in the Itinerary (Acta Orient., xiv, 265), Ch. 1.0021 a. 41 sa- "katha sau-hādāmja habitanta va dirye" this town for one day's journey is continuous in contact." If this word is the participle of dirjī, the alternative attempt to trace dūra- "broken" need not be pursued.

45.2. birod, loc. plur. of an -aa- stem, as in damdācā loc. plur. (Siddhārā 135 v 5) to damdāī "tooth" (ibid. 148 v 3), bīsa- "situated, being in" in Later Khotanese frequently reinforces a locative, just as bīsa- "own" follows a genitive, see above 11. Here we have bīsa- in henidays with ayiṣṭha- "situated, placed".

45.3. ayiṣṭha, loc. plur., from Bud. Sansk. adhiṣṭha-. The reading here is with -th-, not -th-, but adhiṣṭa occurs in Ch. 1.0021 a. 29 (Acta Orient., xiv, 265). In BSOAS., x, 905, virā ayiṣṭa is "placed over"; in BSOAS., xi, 15, tiromadārya "yaiṣṭha- "placed on the body".

45.4. vānā, loc. plur. to vāna-. In the Sanghā-yātāra 77 a 5 vāna tāndā corresponds to lāhā vien-gyi dru-ba dū sāv "they go into the temple", from which we learn a vāna- "temple". A Kusān word for temple occurring in Indian Mathur inscriptions is bākanā-, which is in the related Armen. loanword bāgan "altar" (on which see W. B. Henning, BSOAS., viii, 533f.). The long -ā in vāna- makes it difficult to trace the word to *hagana-, but a form *hagana- might well result in vāna-. The initial fricative of Khotanese B seems to have caused a difficulty to the writers of the Brahmi script, which had only v or b. Khotanese uses b- and - for Old Iran. -ā, as in bēγga- "wolf", vāla "rose" (below 52), but for the verb bēga- "become" the participle is bēga- from Old Iran. bēta- (perhaps modified earlier than other words as tending to be auxiliary). If this suggestion should be confirmed it would put aside previous attempts to trace a derivative of vah- "dwell" here. On bākanā-, I hope to write elsewhere.

45.5. kuṣṭe "he donated", older also kuṭiṣte (E). The present base hai-s occurs in P 2787: 36 hai-ṇāma uñjāyā- "regarding the gift", and haiṣṭa- "giver" in P 2958.124.

46.1. kāmbandā, with ba, not bi. The word has not been traced elsewhere. It is a gift, of which one by itself is worthy of presentation. Speculation on its origin has not yet led to any satisfactory result: possibly it may represent an Indian *kāya-bandha (Mahāvyutpatti 585 kāya-bandhana), but the meaning "girle" hardly suits.
48.2. chāṁ syu, a gift, followed by the number “one”. A similar gift is mentioned in Mazār Tagh c. 005.3 spīta utha tiā chāṁ sā hauqā “The military commander Utha gave a chāṁ sīu”. The word could be either Tibetan or Chinese, but has not been found.

48.1. byaṣṭe “he equipped”, as from *abi-hau*. The same word occurs in P 5538 a 71 voṣa daissīnā byaṣṭi lika mārvala tiu u byaṣṭi lika parātā tāu “one hammer equipped with horn handle and one axe so equipped”. For the similar pyaṣṭe-, see AM I, 45 and below 60.

48.2. dauskaṟā, from Bud. Sānsk. dauskaṭa- “difficult to perform, wonderful”. The same spelling occurs in P 5538 a 4 dauskaṭi hiri. In Khā vii, 1 v 5 ataduskaṭa is found. Vajracchedikā 5 b 4 dauskaṭa- translates ācaryā- “wonderful”.

48.3. doṣ rupnām va “for the two kings”, the kings Viśa Śambhata of line 33 and Tte-pu (= The-bo) of line 41.

49.1. paṣṭiṇāmāṇi, 1st plur. “we practised”, see above 47.

49.2. pada uṣṭa “first and last”, presumably the “full number” of envoy; but possibly meaning “at any time”?

49.3. haṣṭā “come”, 3rd sing. conjunctive. Here followed by the optat. paryya. For similar collocation note Śiddhasāra 144 v 3 ti va diva haiṣṭāyē a va hamaṇa niṛiṇā “then his bone break or the limb come out”.

49.4. ma mam “here”, cf. P 2790.50 tta maṃ maṃ aṭvaṇdān and 61 khu maṃ maṃ māṇaḥ sauci buṣyā ni hame.

49.5. haṣṭa padina “in the better (or best) way”: haṣṭa may represent either an older haṣṭara or haṭāmā. In Hidong 026 a 3 occurs ḥapṣisea haṣṭa padi byānjarā.

50.1. daḍā pariya yuede “should graciously take care”. The phrase daḍā yant- is several times found, as in Mazār Tagh a.1.0033, 3 bārenya vashā tta daḍi yaniru khu “for the crop you should take care that”...

50.2. hau’a māra “talk”. In P 5538 b 62 hau’a māra renders Bud. Sānsk. dāpa (BSOS, i, 539). P 2790.94 has hau’a ām sali ni bije, and t111 hau’a māra.

50.3. niṣiriya “you should do”, 2nd plur. optat. Here followed by ni “not” in the sense of khu ni “that not”, as in P 2597.56 na nā viṣiriya khu nā biṣiriya pāci (Manohara speaks to her sisters after her capture “do not stay lest you be bound”. The corresponding passage in Ch 00266.107 is trwaan khu na biṣiriya. The ending -iṣa, -iṣyān, -iṣau is frequently attested for the 2nd plur. optat. With the pronoun we find P 5537.59 ama piṣau, 64.ama stiṣau; P 3513.75 r 3 amai vaṣa poṭīya yev kārmni desāna “now may you hear this confession of his acts”; P 2025.107 kiṣiriya = Ch 00266.107 kṣaṇāya “forgive” (-āva 2nd plur. conjunct.).

51.1. nām “that not for us”, the negative na “not” with the suffixed pronoun -āṁ 1st plur., see Ch 00266 (BSOS, xii).112 parau̇ya “commands to us”, 113 cīvaṛ “clothes to us”, 117 pāćām “then to us”, 118 kṣaṇām “that to us”. For nām, note Ch 00269.31 ba nām “lest for us”.

51.2. sūyāma “be prosperous”, New Prakrit sī-, with unsuppressed -y- from jh, older dhy (see BSOAS, xii, 131-4). For sūyāma in conjunctive meaning, cf. P 3513.71 v 3 dūkhyā ēṇāu nhāṇye = SANSK. 3.82 dārāva-sattvānā māṇaḥ lābhaṇa (Suvarna-chāsa) “may the poor obtain treasure”.

51.3. vyāyaṇa “misery, disaster” (not “vice”), loc. sing.

51.4. kaśiṃāya “may you come into contact with, fall into”. For the phrase note Bud. Sānsk. vyāyanām āpādāyaivā (Sānka. Mahāparinivāṇa-sūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 7, 2.1). The verb kaś- causes certain difficulty. It has been taken to represent a later form of an Iran. *kaf-, from kaf- “to fall” (see Trans. Phil. Soc., 1945, Astica, p. 30 a.v. saun) with / due to a suffix -ya-. When kaś is followed by a locat. case this meaning of “fall, come into” suffices. So in Khā 1.13.145 r 3 nāyāḥāṭu ne piṭṭā “he does not come into (pat-‘fall’ nirvāṇa)” can be compared with Ch 00268.47 u ni habdāna-taṭa koṭte “and he does not come into prisons”. The participle is kaśaṭa. For the change from *kaf-s- to kai-, kaiṣṭa-, one can compare Jataka-stava 26 r 3 hūṣti “you slept” and sing. from *huf-s- which also have the suffix -s- (Indo-Iranian, -s-) has been kept in the past participle. A meaning “come into contact” is attested for the participle kaṣṭa-: akṣṭa- translates Sansk. asakta- “not in contact” (P 3513.48 v 2, Kh T I, 225), and akṣṭa tisma renders Sansk. asana-gata- (ibid. 52 r 3). This may be a participle to the base *kaz- assumed above 48 biṣaṭa-. A third verb kaṣṭt seems to occur in the mustard seed simile. Here E has 2.111 kho gjar saṭmā saṣaṇa koṭte “as to Mount Sumeru a mustard seed appears” (cf. Ch 1.0021 b, a, 38 sumārā gara saṭvd jā tīma haṃga). The corresponding Pali text, Jātaka VI 174, has sīnera-saṇtike saṇaṇa viya khāyati it appears like a mustard seed in presence of Sineru”. From this we may deduce a kaṣ- “appear”, well known in Iranian, as in Ossetic kaṙoun. This gives r. kaś- “fall”, 2. kai- “touch”, and 3. kaś- “appear”.

IV Lyrical Verses

LINES 52-73

After a small space, but written in the same hand, the next section of this miscellaneous manuscript offers lyrical verses. The section is divided into two parts at line 58, where a verse ends in the middle of the line. Lyrical poetry in Khōtanese is contained also in some other manuscripts (Ch 00266, P 2023 and others). For the interpretation they present considerable difficulties, both in the single words and in the phrases. It is hard to find parallel passages. It cannot be claimed that the present attempt to translate has reached a definitive stage, but it seems likely that progress will be assisted by making it known.
52.1. Jhūnaīi bādā “time of love sport”. The verb jhūn- and its derivatives are frequent: P 2957.50 - yiram dētamā bādāmā jhūnāi gavayānī - “their heart began to be agitated at separation from the beloved” (the kinnārī separated from Manoharā in the Sūdana-Andāvā). P 4068.8 jhūnāi bhrīyaustā avsāmā jaa “with mind full of love”; E jhātā, jhūnāa.- Below 61 jēkha; P 3937.7 jhūtā, me. P 2027.35 jhūnāi “I would love”. This sporting is described in the Buddhist chīcā, as in the Divyāvādanā (1.5 and often): bīṣṭātā ramate paricārayati. See L. Feer, Avadāna-Çatāka, trad., p. 3, chīcā No. 6.

A similar phrase introduces the lyrical verses in P 2025.7 (and the other copics): bīṣṭātā vasve jhūnāani bādā pāśālī “bright clear joyous spring time”.

52.2. spyaθu “flower”, also 54, with suffix -kya-, particularly frequent in lyrical verses. Below 55 ḍvīkākya, 55 ḍvaθ-īj̄kākya, 56 ḍvākākya, 64 ḍvīkākya. The older form of spyaθ is ṣpāθāa.

52.3. ḍvētā “they grow”, older, in the Suvarna-bhāsa, Or 9609, 56 ḍvētā (quoted SSOAS, xii, 126). Similarly P 4099.275 tīmānā pracāi daye ḍvētā pracā dehrībāvānā “it holds the cause of seeds, they grow by power of the cloud”, ḍvētā is from *drēθ-r.θu.-

52.4. vālā, occurring only in this passage, is from the context a sweet-smelling flower, and by etymology “rose” is a likely translation: *vārda-. The problem of the initial Old Iran. ū- has already been noted, above 45 vēnāa.- We find also Khotan. vārda- “share”, often in the documents, corresponding to the Kharoṣṭhī vāra. If this vārda- is, as T. Burrow proposed (BSOS, vii, 787), from an Iran. *bārda- “share”, attested in Avestan bādra- and Mid. Pers., NPers. bahr “share”, we have again ḍvēθ for a Mid. Iran. ū-. The meaning of *vārda- suits better for vārda- than the Old Iran. ū- “choice” (but ūθ). In Ossetic too both ū- and ḍvēθ can represent Old Iran. ū- as in bedūn “appear”, from *vūrd-, and biyun “plain”, from *bīy-, beside ūd “storm”, from *vūdr-. For *vārda- “rose” can be quoted Simnānī vāl, vēdrī (A. Christensen, Dialetto de Simnān, p. 274). Near to Khotanese is also the Khowar loan-word zēr-bālī “yellow rose” from *zēr-bālī (G. Morgenstierne, BSOS, vii, 671). The older form vārda is preserved in Armenian vard, Syriac vrd and Arabic wārd (see H. Hübschmann, Armen. Gram., 244). Bud. Sogdian has var (Dhānya 143), Man. Sogdian virdy “roses”, and in the Frangh I Pahlavik an Aram. WRTā is explained by gu, as in NPers. gu (from *vēdrā- with gw-, as in gudra “boar” from vardu-, not from *vēdrā-.

53.1. pāmūndā “withered”, found only here, distinct from patamār-, pāmnp-, pāmār “to report”, with participle pāmūndā-. NPers. pāmūndār is “to wither”; Jud.-Pers. guzmārān. Khotanese has kept the two bases mar- “die” and (k)mar- “keep or put in mind” separate.

53.2. būda “more”, older budara, budara. Elsewhere a different word budā- “brought” is the participle to bar-

53.3. yirā “heart”, as the context requires. Cf. P 2025.51 - yirā sti yirā bīyē hēra biyīkāa “sweet sounds make the heart mindful”.

Other words which had to be considered were yirra-, later yirā “gold”, yirai “arsenic”, yirā “ochre”, yirā “rough”, yirra- “wretched” (yirra- “heart”, see below on 71).

53.4. bīvālāy, with -ky suffix to bīvāya “memory”, from older bīvāta, bīvātā, and E bīvātāgarge from *obiyaθ-tā-karā- with -kya suffix. Another Khotanese word bīvā “to melt” is not involved here. I take bīvālāy as an adj. “which recalls to mind, causes longing”. In the Siddhāsāra 125 v 2, 126 v 3 bīvāvārī is “memory”.

54.1. khē “if you”, klu with suffixed pronoun 2nd plur. The -aθ has replaced the -u of older texts. Below also 57 vahāθ, 72 hāθ. It is frequent in the Jātaka-stavā. If the -aθ of the 1st plur. is carefully written with anusvāra it remains distinct from the 2nd plur. -aθ, but at times the anusvāra is absent, see above 51 nūm.

54.2. vajyīnē “I see”, the same word in P 3513.52 v 4, Bhdara-caryā-deśānā (KHT I, 227) viṣayēnē, translating vīṣayāmānō, and in the same verse -ēnē in hamadījēnē “I deliver” and vahāθvēnē “I plunge”. Further Ch 1.0021, b, a 36 has viṣayēnē.

54.3. same “but of you” from older sama (which is later sām as separate word) with -te 2nd sing. pron. The other enclitic -te is regularly -e in Later Khotanese, as in Vajracchedikā 8 b 3 aye = Bud. Sansk. aham te “I to you”.

54.4. pāmnp “report”, frequent in documents, see BSOS, x, 584.

54.5. hamarav-v-am amguθ “in my limbs”: hamara- is the Iran. equivalent of Ind. amguθ; similarly below 72 amguθ hamār. In the Siddhāsāra 144 v 3 hamārā renders Tib. ñgûs “limb, joint”.

55.1. te ... rayēnē “immortal food (*anaθuθ-*) and elixir” expressing Bud. Sansk. amṛta and rasāyana. The Iran. amṛta survives in Uigur noθ rasāyān (Türk. Turfan-Texte, vii, 72). See nē rayēnēna BSOS, x, 901. The Uigur Saddharma-pundarika has noθ tāg tathīly “sweet like amṛta” (W. Radloff, Kuan-fr-iim Pusar, p. 66).

55.2. pām “starts, arises”, from *pām-hēθa-, participle pāmēθa- later in this line pāmēθa-.

55.3. drēθ-mīθakya “hair-hole, pore”, older draθ-mīθaθ- E. The “pore” is similarly named in Bud. Sogd. āmθk būmθk “pores” in P 2.256, see W. B. Henning, BSOS, xi, 718. The Indian expression is (Pali) loma-kāpaθā.

55.4. hēa hēa “separately”, older hēaθu hēaθu, Avestan χατάθα.

55.5. gērākēθ “opening”, from *vē-ar-, as in Old Ind. vārθaθ- “hole.” The association with guer- “say” BSOS, xi, 123 cannot be maintained, though the verbal base is the same.
57.1. sahā: "pleasure", with -au- for older -u- in suha-, from Prakrit suha-, Sanskrit, suka-. A similar -au- for older -u- was noted above 48 in duskarā-. In the Jātaka-stava 20 v 3 rohana (instr. sing.) occurs, and Ch 00266.116 suha jva = P 2025.179 sahu jva. The instr. suhina is in Suvarga-bhāsa (Or 9609, 36 r 6).

57.2. vahā, vashā "for", with suffixed and plur. pron. -a, see above 54.

57.3. pādāmā "they reared, nourished", 3rd sing. pādā (in E and P 280x.68), from pād- "fill".

57.4. heq̪ệstā "among men", loc. plur.

57.5. yisī "you have been born, have been" 2nd sing., formed by -i "you are" to the -a participle yisā-

57.6. yida "milk", often in the medical texts, also yidā-; with adj. suffixes yiddā-, yiddāna- and yiddāusta-. Avestan ẙśēpta-.

57.7. khasāi "you drank" 2nd sing. masc., pret. to pres. khāi-, from the base with short vowel: -tāi masc. differs from -tāi fem.

57.8. hanyāi "you became, were" 2nd sing.

58.1. haṇa yitā "in the same birth", with haṇa for older hamā (Or 11344.16-3), older hamāsa in the Suvarga-bhāsa 24 r 6 translating Sansk. ekā.

58.2. tei'miṣkyām "eyes", gen. plur., also P 2956.10 taimiṣkayau, from tei'-man- with suffix -skay, found elsewhere as below 71 wīlāke “wits”, cf. also ghehaskyē "spoon" (Siddhasāra 152 r 1) and P 205.198 testāke for older icāra “sport” translating Sansk. rati.

58.3. yasaḥ: "pleasure". Rather a derivative of Old Iran. *saus- “like”, attested in Khotan. yasia- “liked” and the verb 3rd sing. yasē, 3rd plur. yasēd're, than a scribal error for sauhā; as above 57.

59.1. hraumaddai "right hand", as above 34.

59.2. haũyirā "close, tight, intimate”, the meaning conjectured from contexts: Ch 00266.20 haũyasārā brī pyarā sau stādesa “intimately beloved father Lord Stadesa” and Or 812 (162) 121 bydāva-tuvažaka haũytara sajtāi lika “remembered, intimately embraced” (sašitā- and šita- from Old Iran. *strīta-). If the haũyāra of P 2027.58 is an older form, the derivation from mi-đa- becomes possible, as in Mid. Pers. niyāz "distress"; Avestan nyazata “draw tight”. -ara- is from -a-kara-.

59.3. grathāi older grathā- "knot" may be either of Indian or of Iranian origin. Below 68 kṛetā "knot" with k- replacing g- would better suit a foreign word. We find standā for Ind. daŋḍa- "stick, punishment" in P 5338 b 4 (BSOS., ix, 533) and inversely garva "influences" for Ind. karana- "action" in Or 11252.1 reverse (BSOS., viii, 924); also garva-štātra- (N 176.5) for karana-štātra-. Yet note hāra Masar Tagh a.1.0033.9 for usual guṇa "grapes". The reference to a well-bound right hand calls to mind the kankana- "a band on the hand" (kara-) in the Mahābhārata tale (H. Jacobi, Mah. Erzähl., 22.34) pečha'ya kare kankhāna-
“and he sees the band on his hand”. It was put on for a wedding (ibid. 22:31).

59.4. dīṣṭānām “silver”, fem., older dīṣṭānna, dīṣṭāna (E), and P 289.8 dīṣṭī, Chcvi 101, 2 dīṣāna, P 358 a 77 dīṣṭa. The final -ān, rather -ā, seems to be the 2nd plur. pron. -ā “you”.

59.5. ‘aveya, loc. sing. “in an ‘avea”, an object which can be made of silver, perhaps embellished with silver, appearing here beside the nića-made of gold. No connection has yet been found. From the form a deriviative of ā with raf “weave” would be possible.

59.6. yasrinje “golden”, fem., to older yasrinne.

59.7. nića, oblique case with fem. adj., an object of gold. A nića of stone (see AM I, 45) is also mentioned. The word is unidentifiable. Initial ā can replace older niya- or ni- A vague *ni-yaugu-či does not help at present.

60.1. pyaṣṭā “equipped with”, educed from the context of P 2787.70 boiya jia pyaṣṭa vajrēya “the Vajra seat (vajrasana) adorned with rays”. See also on 48 byaṣṭā above.

60.2. turka vayṣa “the face a lotus”, as in the common Indian mukha-kamala “lotus of the face” (H. Jacobi, Mah. Erzahl., 23, 28; and passim). The simple turka “face, mouth” is frequent. For the -ka suffix note also Jáktaka-stava 10 r 1 turka; and P 2936.2 turka vayṣa. The adj. occurs P 2787.71 tūrīnai vayṣa “lotus which is the face” (with identifying suffix -inaa-).

60.3. yasrinām spyska “golden the flowers”. A golden lotus is mentioned in Hedin 23 a 1 (a stotra to Amitābha) yasrinām vayṣa.

60.4. hvanqinā ramna “human jewels”, that is, men as precious as jewels. The same phrase occurs in Or 8218 (162) 43 pyaṣṭa māhāq brahma 4 paya- hvanqinā ramna “own brother like the father, a human jewel”. The identifying -inaa- (to express a simile) where the Indian uses a compound is found also in P 2787.71 dādinai kiūka “the kīsma flower which is the tooth”, P 3513.52 v 3 dādinā mahāsamudra “ocean of the Law”(KHT I, 227); ibid., 68 v 2 bujiñā mahāsamudra “ocean of virtues”, rendering Sansk. guru-cāgara, see above 56; Jáktaka-stava 5 v 2 dājinā rāmna “teeth which are good”.

60.5. spaladā-jaia “with quivering eye”, masc. in comparison with the fem. Jáktaka-stava 17 v 7 sujāma-jaima “with blazing eyes”. The verb spal- “twitch, quiver” occurs in a fragmentary omen text (Kha vi 4) 3rd sing. spal-či, 3rd plur. spaladi. From Sogdian I. Gershevich has given me (P 2 74) čmo spal-či with the base *spard-.

In a compound the -a- stems have -ā, see BSOAS, x, 579. The older teči-man “eye” appears as teq̐ni and teq̐n (BSOAS, x, 583), and te in a compound is replaced by tj.

61.1. mānā. In Khotanese there are two words: 1. mān- “remain”, pret. mūnda- and 2. mās- “resemble”, pret. mūmə-. The present context does not permit a distinction.

61.2. viṣṇa khyasa “lotus filament”, similarly Siddhasāra 11 viṣṇa khyasa renders Tib. padma ži-za, Sansk. padma-kasāra.

61.3. tīrurāj “only found here, and still unexplained. Attempts to explain it have led only to possibilities. In lyrical poetry of the Indians, which is obviously imitated in this Khotanese verse, there is reference to pollen upon the beloved’s face. Thus Kālidāsa has in the Meghadūta 65: niśa rhotra-प्रसावराजस् pārājī samantā urana-sīrhi “the beauty of the face made yellow with pollen of the rodhra”, and in 33 we find the kuvatayaraj “lotus pollen”, scenting the breeze. The Khotan. word for pollen is pavanaka- (see BSOAS, x, 574), but could the word tor in the language of Agni, and the Kuchean taur translating Sansk. rajas- have any relevance here? Other words of identical form exist in the two groups of languages. Another bare possibility is to note P 2892. 167 kāpa-kā hālthak: hīvī tārakā kame “(Turkish) gägə-yəq ‘covering’, that is, (Khotanese) the tīruraka of the quiver” (see BSOAS, x, 291). Was there a Khotanese word tīuru- or tīruraka- meaning “covering”?

61.4. ḍadd with adj., “so”, as in Jáktaka-stava 8 r 3 didi pha “so much”, 29 v 4 deya mista “so great”.

61.5. akhajamī “untarned”, the form is masculine. It would also be possible to separate a “1”.

61.6. jēhā “you sport”, 2nd sing., see jāh- above 52. The ending -ā from -āhi causes uumlaut: u becomes ū (well known in the inflexion of murā- “precious stone, seal”, gen. muči).

61.7. rama. I have taken as for rama- “happiness, rest”, assuming the addition of -ā to the first syllable, as we have -ā in līkārīṇa in 55. The normal rama- occurs in 71. The line is, however, not altogether certain, since one could read rā mām, that is, rā “indeed” and mām “of me” or “here” It bindū then governed the pronoun of kēva kēva-m, we should have “so that over me my own wills not act”, indicating lack of control.

61.8. tā thu mūrā “o you bird”, as in the Jáktaka-stava 16 v 4 hai thu mūrā “o you gracious one” and 5 r 4 hai itra satva “o good being”. For “bird” also 62 mūraka, beside E mūrka.

62.1. kaka, name of a particular bird. The name occurs with other bird names in the lyrical texts. So in P 2025. 47-50:

kakalal ‘imēka časa karavī
sāraya kakva papūska bejaka vyyama
āṣa taqāqua ā tača učam mūrakā
gāga tādā bahvya brlīye jīa sācapha

Many of these names are known: “the cuckoo (kōkāla), parrot, časa bird, karavī bird, sāraya bird, kakva bird, smaragd, yyyama bird, doves, ducks, ducks and partridge, water birds fly in the sky (gagana) among the trees afflicted
by passion”. To these names the following can be annotated. *kōhīla* is familiar in Sanskrit. The *timāka* “parrot” is the Chinese 鳥 (K 289, 1283 jing -u < jing- mju) (the Khotanese shows that jing, not song was the dialect form known to them) with -u suffix, attested also in the language of Agni yānusī- and Sogdian *yam’tesy* (see BSOS, viii, 915). *cāja* “jay” occurs in the Mahāvīryupati 4578 before iuka “parrot”. karavē corresponds to Pali karavāt and karavāra, Oldier Khotan. (E) karavāri “sparrow”, Bud. Sansk. kalavinka, karavinka (Kāśyapa-parivarta 133 ad calcem). stārya recalls the Indo-European *sttar*- as in Old Engl. starling “starling”, haka perhaps from *hauka-* corresponding to Sansk. koka- “duck” (not “duck”, see H. Luder, ZDMG., 96, Von ind. Tieren, p. 59). that is another name of the karavāka duck. In Agni E. Schwenter pointed out kok- from Ind. koka- (Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschung, 56, 77). papākyyi perhaps “boopoe”, NPers. pāpā, bejakyyi, various bimakyyi, is attested in the Siddhasāra 17 r 4 bimī “sparrow” for Tib. mchil-pa, Sansk. cakaka, ysvama (scribal -ya- for -ā-), P 2956. 30 ysvāma resembles Osset. sūm (iron sūm) “rook”; sūmar, dsvamar “wild turkey”, avē, plur. to avspā “dove”, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1945, Avico, p. 6. tārauka “duck”, also tārau, probably akin to the Ind. karanaka, tāra “partridge”, older tātara, see BSOS, x, 375. In Hindu Sanskrit, texts the karavāka birds are a model of conjugal affection.

62.4. tečati “beside”, the meaning is known from the Sutradhā-Avadāna. When Sudhana reaches the Kinnara city he sits beside a pool: Ch 00266. 194 śaka varā nāsita śudana tečati viṣajāi “alone there sit Sudhana beside the pool”. It is likely to be a derivative of *čara- “live”, move*, possibly *čatara- “vicinity”.

63.1. māhāmakā “like”, assuming this form to correspond to the frequent māmakādā (with -ā from older -ānā). An alternative would be to recognise here the -ānā pronoun.

63.2. āṛā paṛ da śaka still awaits explanation. Only conjectures are so far possible. A cock of courage (berringā with darauja) suggests a cock on a dung-hill. Can āṛā here be a “dung-hill”? In Bud. Sanskrit a refuse-heap is called utkara-, Arthā-Māg. ukkara. One might assume secondarily an Ind. *ākara- (as ākara- from utkara)-, ākara- from ukkara- passing to a Khotan. *ākara- and thence āṛā- (as āla from ākāla). Or it might be a related but different Iran. form: *ākara- would probably become in Later Khotan āra-.

paṇā could mean wings from *pañraa- derived from paṇra- “wing”, but it is preferably the -ā “your” added to paṇā plural. then ā might be traced to the verb devy-, dy- “to beat” (see BSOS, x, 576, 593), with secondary loss of -y- as often, see above dyē, da from older āṭā- “sight”, and note pāj- from older pāy- “to beg” (BSOS, x, 573). Jātaka-stava 20 r 3 pājandai, older (E) pājandai. With this interpretation we should get: like a cock on a dung-hill, alone and bold, you flap your wings.

śāka is then for older śākah. But other groupings are possible. āṛa “arm” found in loc. sing. erra (E), or ārra “wrong act” or ārra “to grind” or āra “sharp tool” have been considered. Also a verbal pārādā preter. 2nd or 3rd sing. There is also āra “rush.”

63.3. darauja “bold”, as adj., or darau jā instr. sing. “with boldness”, E has darrā “courage”, and in P 2782.2. sūra daraujā by hendiadys expresses “bold”.

63.4. meca has so far defined interpretation. The -c- can derive from older -st-; or from -č- after a consonant in primary or secondary contact. The context would tolerate “nervous excitement” as nom. sing.: *mēca produces flames*. But meca could also be gen. sing.: “in the limbs of the meca”. Possibly a derivative of nīpasta- “lying down”.

63.5. mahalakā “in the limbs”, loc. plur., of aga- with suffix -laka. For -laka added to adj., see AM I, 44 on 94 (c), and below 67 bṛryilaka. For nouns, cf. P 2925.48 dēkālyakā jā “with tears”, to ākā- “tears”.

64.1. bājja- “flames”, as for bājjasākā above 56.

64.2. drēka jā “with noise”. This meaning is justified by the comparison of P Y 21 (verse) bājjakya dūkālaḥ hamā svaṃśaṃ bhrvavau “the sparrows make noise among the flowering trees” with P 2956. 4, a copy of the same poem, bājjakye tā iti bījaśruta ādaiya svaṃśaṃ bhrvavau “the sparrows so make noise among the flowering trees”. We have then a base drāh-. equivalent to bīja- “sound”. From *drēha- the form drēka is a normal umlaut change. Possibly E tā.1 drēka means “sound”, but the context is not clear. The passage in P 2936. 6: māraka bīsa ru kāci dīgha kṣavā drēka is still unexplained.

64.3. bṛryakya vīrāja “towards the beloved one”. bṛrya- “beloved, treasured” occurs in Jātaka-stava 32 v 11; E 7.44 abryyaa- “unloved”. For the -yya suffix, see above 52. Below 67 bṛryilaka-.

64.4. kranāka “kindly”, originally “grateful”, Sansk. kṛṣṇa-; with negative atāraka-, araṇa-. “Kindness to kin” is expressed in the abstract Jātaka-stava 23 r 2 kramāti (written āraḥ- by an error of the scribe); P 2957. 50 pyara kramāi kainā “by reason of affection for the father”.

65.1. āye “you may be” with tha “you” and sing. optat. to ah- ; E also aye (Glossar, p. 394 b top).

65.2. mahā “us” plur., but also “me” sing. Later Khotanese has nom. māhā, mīhā, mīhā (see AM I, 37); oblq. māhā, mahā, māhā (mahā P 3513. 44 r 1). Older Khotan. nom. mūhu, mūhu; acc. mūhu, instr. abl. mūhu jā (Sten Konow, Khotanen. Gram., p. 47).

65.3. havā “friend”, older havāna. For a possible connection, see above 37.

65.4. bīṣamājī “grasp, seize”; bīṣamāj-, pret. bīṣiṣṇa-. A related form occurs in Sanglāti szen-; zenf-: zyed “seize”, see G. Morgenstierne, IFL., ii, 435 (BSOS, x, 585).
65.5. ma ti ta po two 'do not ask about that', in the sense of "a fortiori", Bud. Sansk. prāg eva. Similarly jātaka-stava 28 v 4 ma na rā vā po twa, and Ch 00277.3 r 1 ma na ra po twa kāva tvāyam = Ch 00268.142 ma na pu σα ᾨμί tvāyam. The ending -αι, -ε may be an optat. 2nd sing., with the value of the imperative, as in pu ᾨα.

65.6. barai "be excited" (?), assuming a derivative of Old Iran. *barai- "boil up, effervesce, be excited", which is attested in Suvinī urai- "boil", see G. Morgenthaler, Norsk Tidsskr. Sprognid., I, 74; HFL, I 257 Parāci yara-; HFL, II, 420 Senglehī urai- from *səari-, replacing bary-. Avestan has bar- "move quickly", Mid. Pers. Psalter ʾešhīny (Causat.) "pour out", Sansk. bhūrati, without the -u suffix. With the suffix we have *baru- in Sankšhurarni- "toasting", Lat. ferōo, see A. W. A. Lakern, Vergleich. Wörterb., II, 167. In Khotanese the -e after -ε is absent in pari "he orders", prāt parastā, so that similarly bara 2nd sing. may represent an older Iran. (optat.) *barai-. If this loss of -ε is difficult, the same base bara without -u may still be found here. The common Khotan. bar- "bring; ride" suits here best. Nor can I fit either bara- "shape" (as in jātaka-stava 3 r 3), nor bara- baraka-in a list of gifts in Ch cvi 001, nor bara- found in the derivative baremja "crops", nor the bara from Sankšh badara, -i "jujube" into the present context; nor the proper name bara attested in Hedin 74 a 1 and Or 9268, a 1 with the titles stūpa and dārya.

65.7. valakya, obliqu. to vlakha- "so great, so much", see AM I 44. In S 5212 b 1 occurs yadaya valakyai bhrāi.

66.1. bire tī, with bire obliqu. to brya- "dear, older ñbrye. Also jātaka-stava 16 v 1 bhe. The -y after consonant is often absent in Later Khotanese.

66.2. bhavai hā hiśa vīra "since to him there is jealousy (and hatred)".

66.3. hiśa "jealousy", obliqu. to hiśa- "greed" (rendering mātraya), as in Ch 0043.32 hiśa kṣaṛvāma lāba, three terms signifying "greed" (lāba is Ind. lobha), assuming that the obliqu. case has been generalised, as in buṣa "joke" and muṭtā "favour".

66.4. vīrī "hated", from NW Prakrit vera- attested in the Dharmaśāstra (BSSAS, xi, 500). I have thus not been able to fit vīra "upon" into the context; though hiśa (for hāisam) vīra "upon iron" is a possible phrase.

66.5. hiśa "in sleep, dream", below hiśā, loc. sing. to hānī- "sleep".

66.6. akahā akahā "noise made in sleep (?)", found only here.

66.7. nītī "makes a noise", tracing here the base *nāt-, hence nītī from *nātātaī with d-t in secondary contact. The verb is attested in nāyai "noise, sound" in the Sīddhisāra 153 r 3, rendering Tib. sya, and in pānāyāma Ch ii 003.87 r 4 (KHT I, 171) "sounding", Ch 00266.12 pānāyāma they make noise."

66.8. śā gauśā "one handful", as ti ḍa gotā phāṇā "one handful of dust" (Kha 1.185a, a 3, quoted JRAS 1942, 24) corresponding to Divyavadāna (366.9) pāṃśu-vañja. Here we have in apposition to bṛṛiyalakā a descriptive phrase either "having or resembling a handful of flame-coloured flower-buds". A note on gosīta "hand" will appear in one of the next issues of the BSOAS. I prefer this interpretation to finding here gūta- "flesh"; and ṭa- 'coppper', both with dāja 'flame' qualifying gūna 'colour', dā- 'copper', translates Tib. sras, adj. ṭadāina- from the older ṭadā. As an adj. ṭadā- renders Bud. Sansk. tāma- "reddish" (P 3513.69 r 3, Suvarna-bhāsa, Sansk. 3, 64, in KhT I, 246): śāvā-, Avestan ydōtā- 'dark', NPers. styāh 'black'.

67.1. dāja-gūna 'flame-coloured', from dāja 'flame' (E) and gūna- 'colour', a newly formed compound, as in yarara-gūna- 'of golden colour', beside the older compound yarāra- "yellow, green", in P 2787.49 dejyanyai sāhajya dina "under a yellow umbrella" has dājyana with -va- replacing -u- (quoted BSOAS, xiii, 636), which occurs in Siddhasāra 100 r 4 dajyana sacha hāva 'red jhaṣa plant'. Lid. 150 r 4 is found dā-gām.

67.2. spulikya "bud", also in Or 8212 (162) 117 and 122 naskāta viyā spulikāa 'opened lotus bud', P 2787.71 viyā spulikāa, corresponding to Arda-Mag. phulā, Sansk. puhata, spihata. Kālidāsa has spūtikāmala- "opened lotus" in Meghaduta 31.

67.3. bṛṛiyalakā vā bṛṛastā, written twice: either a poetic emphasis or a scribal error. For -lāka see above 63. The -ā may be "you".

67.4. e ṭa bṛṛastā "asked", with e "towards oneself", as in P 2741.93 tī vā bṛṛastā iš ... "then he asked ..." (AM I 31), and jātaka-stava 28 v 4 vā po twa- ṭa- ṭi, older -te, masc.; the fem. has -ī, older -īyi.

67.8. kāma "desire", Sansk. kāma "love, god of love". I exclude here the Khotan. kāma "thought, protection", which could, however, be written without the subscript hook.

68.3. bṛṛasthā, probably for grathā "knot", see above 59.

69.1. gāčhe "set loose" transl. to the intrans. gāt-, see BSOAS, 2, 909. gūcch- renders Sansk. mūcchā. A different grouping of syllables would allow gūcchā kana "for release", but I have preferred nā gūcchā ma kana "for my sake you will not unbind".

69.2. ma kana "on my behalf", similarly P 2895.54 ma kana = Ch 00268.5 P 2025.12 ma kana. The Older Khotan. kādāna, whence kīna, kīna, kāna, kīna, kāma and kana, is based upon the NW Prakrit Krorayina Kharosthi kridena, kritena. Hindu Sanskrit has kete. Ch 0043.37 has ammrē kana "for immortal food".
69.3. tiina hālina khu "from the time when", cf. above 33 tiina beda khu "during the time when".

69.4. a "I", frequently for older aśū, Older Khotan. aśū. The -r change final was no longer noted in writing, as occurred similarly in pd, older pūtka, and va, older vaska.

69.5. padasiya "first", similar in Ch ii 104.2 r 4 padasiya; by -ya suffix from older padasya. "first" (translating Tib. doā-po).

69.6. ahā "you", plur., for sing. (as above 65 mahā "us" for "me"), older uka; hence -ā replacing final -u, instead of the loss of final vowel or change to -ā. Similarly in mahā, māhā, see above 65.

69.7. ḍṛya "I held", Older Khotan. taima 1st sing. pret. trans. 1st, then -ai by loss of anusvāra, see AM I, 37. Here ḍṛya, written for *dryā, represents Older Khotan. dṛtāimā. The scribe has put the wrong -r. A similar lapsus occurred in hrada eva "within" for haḍra eva in P 5538 b 27 (BSOS., ix, 359), and in the Siddhāsāra 112 r 3 zai is written for yai. Below, daī "I see" has -ai from -aima. daima 1st sing. present. If the r of ḍṛya should be deleted, ḍṛya "I saw" would suit equally in the context.

70.1. vistā, 71 stitātām, participle vistāta- to vistā- "remain, become", Osset. istum "stand". In vistātām "has remained for me" the -ām is enclitic 1st sing. pronoun. It could also be 1st sing. "I am" with the -ta participle forming intrans. past.

71.2. yārā binda "upon the heart", see above 53. In a medical context we find yārā binda tōtā āhāme (Siddhāsāra 8 r 5).

71.3. bhūtānā adj. "passionate, consisting of passion", with identifying -ina-, see above 60. Older Khotan. bhūtāna- is in E.

71.4. ṣaurā ayāla "hot ball of iron", occurs in the different context of the story of Māhāpārabhāsā in Jātaka-stava 4 r 2: pava ayāla "heated ball of iron". In the same story Bud. Sansk. had ayogula- (H. Lüders, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanḍūrikā, p. 166).

71.1. aśvāma and neśi "I take" as gen. singular.

71.2. rama-bhūd "happy or restful activity", interpreting it as a compound with Khotan. kṛta- "work", cf. also -tta in E khyā-sa-tta, and -yūra in netta-yūra. Since rama- has single r- in Older Khotanese it would appear to be an Indian loan-word. Above 61 rama- "rest".

71.3. vaṇāsaca "quivering, shaking", instr. plur. with -cau for -cyau (-y- absent after a palatal). The verb is attested in the Siddhāsāra 113 r 3 maan ṣa eḥa hīya gūnā yārīva vaṇātā "symptoms of illness due to alcohol: his heart shakes". Ibid. 122 r 4 occurs vaṇāsama. The Tib. text offers mer-ma-po.

71.4. uśaśyām "wits", instr. plur. from uśi? with suffix -śiya, see above 58.

71.5. tāi, older tāi "even, precisely".

71.6. hūśima "I sleep". In Later Khotanese both -iṃa, -ima and -ime are common: P 3513.52 v 1 yinima; ibid. 52 v 4 yinime. In ibid. 70 v 1 tīsima "I stand" translates Sansk. optat. tīsitya.

71.7. hāhā "in a dream you", with -ā and plur. pronoun added to the loc. hāha, see above 66.

71.8. dāi "I see", for older daima (E), then daima (P 3513.51 v 4), the anusvāra being absent, see above 69.

71.3. erākāna "in the arms", see BSOS., x, 585 (Rāma text). The -ka was added to the loc. erra (E 25.511).

71.4. ṣām "being in" with loc., rather than stāma "we stand, are", pres. active as in 3rd plur. stāndi, stānde, beside stāre. P 2741.86 has cu ṛma dva paca da hve hērera ṛma "since we Ugirs are of two parties." (AM I, 31). mā has been taken for mā, but the position is unusual.

71.5. mahā "we" for "I", see above 65.

71.6. brūmaṃ "early", with -ām- for older -um-, a derivative of brū "early" in brū hādā "early in the day" (E), and gen. brū. The forms noted are Vajracchedikā 31 a 2 brū, rendering Bud. Sansk. pauruka. Tib. sa-ma "former", Siddhāsāra 1 3 brūmā and P 2958.21 brūmā (see BSOS., x, 902). The older form brūmāte occurs in E 14.4.18. Note that Bud. Sansk. pauruka occurs also in the Siddhāsāra-puṇḍarīka 101.13 (ed. U. Weligara). The Poṣṭo urumba "first" has a similar suffix.

72.1. ṛhatu "with you", with -e for older -te, enclitic 2nd sing., see above 54.

72.2. bṛjyāna "I awaken", older E bṛjyo-. The -e, as also -ām, replaces older -um-, -umū; with suffixed pronoun we have -um in P 2782.14 uzādaumā "I show them" and P 3513.45 r 3 hāiśīma "I give them", and Or 9268, b 7 nāmāumā "we took them".

72.3. ṛjīya "I see", pres. indic. mid., but above 54 vajtyāṇa conjunct. Similar forms with -e 1st sing. occur in Vajracchedikā 3 a 4 aśa hāmāy byakha "I propose to translate"; P 2741.65 kai "I fall"; P 2936.12 a māte "I die".

72.2. mārā "I shall die", with -ā, older -āṃ, -āṇi 1st sing. conjunct. pres. P 3513.70 r 4 ba'yaśa paḥanāmi "may I arise a Buddha" translating Sansk. 3.78 bhāṣya buddho (Suvrana-ḥāsa, KAT I, 247).

72.3. ra-n "on my part": ra, like Lat. quidem, implies a following "but". It is taken here with -ām, -ān 1st sing., but perhaps one should rather read rā. P 2025.201 has iau ra ... ie ra ... "the one ... the other ...."

72.3. gauśa "they are loosened", with gū-, intrans., see gū-above 69.

TRANSLATION

The translation is intended solely as a supplement to the commentary where possible alternative renderings can be consulted.
Of the Lion, King Viśaṭ Sambhava, the 14th regnal year, Cock Year, month (Skarañvára?), 14th day  ... give money and ... money  ... returns. (5) Now when ... was a pyilyaiga-cloth of 36 feet 5 inches and a ... bulye-ga-cloth of 30 feet 5 inches and width 17 inches. Owe by Lord Svañnakai there is cloth 2 feet 15 inches.

Of the Lion, King Viśaṭ Sambhava, the 14th regnal year, Cock Year, month Kaja, 12th day. This survey document is due to the fact that here in Saca city these were envos: the buluna-minister Rgyal-sum and Lord Sarnadatta of Tṣāgutta kara ("region" of Tibet?), and Lord Śamḍū of Hvama kara ("region" of Khotan?), (10) and Śvañnakai of the Nampa Jamā. And all these knew the cities.

Two lists of cities: 1. Phema to Suo-fang; 2. line 17 "All these are the cities of Saca": from ICLE (Qromul) to Bañana.

57-59 Chinese names.
27-31 Turkish names, separately noticed in the Commentary.

(32) Year 14, month Simṣiṣṇa, day 20. This is the regnal year of the gracious god, King of Khotan, the Lion, Viśaṭ Sambhava. At the time when he exercised rule over the Khotan land, before the king there was an intelligent, virtuous right-hand man, possessed of all senses, pre-eminent, by name Rgyal-sum, (35) familiar with all cities along the routes. This pre-eminent man by the king's understanding and glorious power six times has come thither and now he has come the seventh time together with Lord Śamḍū of Sanara kara; and later he has come to Saca ... On them afterwards he bestowed much and great wealth. All these envos were (with=) given the wealth, together with Cām ṛūḍā and Lord Sarnadatta of Tṣāgutta kara and Lord Śvañnakai, and the drummer the military officer Paḍi-dūṣi, and (40) the goldsmith Kharusai, and the hair-drawer Kher-tittan. All those indeed on behalf of the Bodhisattva god and the Tre-pū practised the acquisition of great merits. Cām ṛūḍā graciously made a Gūmatthra stupa, new and excellent, of 20 feet; before it (he made) haṭirma. And Lord Sarnadatta of Tṣāgutta kara every day was reading in the Book, he went to each shrine. The Lord Śamḍū of Hvama kara went around the city to 128 shrines, and he sent 500 litres of oil for use in all the temples situated (45) throughout the city. And Lord Śvañnakai went to the shrines, he gave in gift one kāmbaṇḍa and one chām śyā.

The drummer military officer, likewise, Paḍi-dūṣi, went to the shrines. Kharusai on his part fitted up 138. All of us here practised the acquisition of excellent and wonderful merits on behalf of the two kings.

Whoever, first and last as envoy comes (50) he should here in the most approved way give heed for the acquisition of merits. You should not encourage talk, lest they prevail against you, and at last you fall into calamity.

LYRICAL VERSES

In the time of love sporting the flowers grow forth. I need this rose, good to look upon and scented. In my hand though the rose fade, yet for me a flower to remind my heart is no more needed. If I should not see you, you should get news of you, (55) in my limbs rises the immortal elixir, the pores separately opening rise. In the heart the fuel-devouring fire now creates its flame.

Just such you are as a sugary sweetmeat, or such you are as they have reared for delight.Among men you are born, you have drunk divine milk, now you have become in the same birth a joy of the eyes. Bound well-bound is the right hand, bound in (your) silver pham, adorned with a golden ācā (60). The face is a lotus, all pure golden flowers; you resemble the best jewel of men.

In the lotus filament's dust (?) you so unwearied sport that it allows no rest in my own mind, O you kakva bird (duck?), divine bird beside the great sea, like the cock you ......... alone, full of audacity. ... creates in the limbs its own flame with cries to the beloved. When now you are affectionate, (65) then you embrace me as a friend. How much more you should long for (?) the greatly beloved, when he in jealousy and enmity for you cries out noisily in his sleep. Of you the beloved, with a handful of flame-coloured flower-buds, he asked: Will you not stretch out the legs? Will you not loosen Kāma's knot on my behalf?

From the time that I first held (or saw) you, (70) greatly beloved, when upon my heart there lay the hot iron ball of passion, my mind and wits have had no rest at all. My work has been with quivering mind. Even when I sleep, in a dream I see you in my arms. I awake early with you. If I do not see you the greatly beloved, I die indeed, all my limbs are loosened.