

## ŚRĪ VIŚA ŚŪRA AND THE TA-UANG

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The following pages contain a first attempt to translate two documents of the Chancellory of Khotan in the 10th century. The texts have been published earlier in my *Khotanese Texts*, II (1954), P 2790, pp. 110-14 and P 5538a, pp. 125-9. The volume is out of print at present but a new edition is in preparation, and it has not seemed necessary to print the texts here. Although these texts have been known to me since 1938 and have been intensively studied the full interpretation of them is still not possible. Much can, it is true, be understood, but hapax legomena and rare words remain obscure. A peculiar difficulty lies in the fact that words well known in the bilingual religious literature have in these documents some technical meaning of the diplomatic service which can be interpreted only from the context. It is, however, not unrewarding to offer what can so far be made out.

These two documents belong with others in the collection from Khotan, of which some have already been rendered with a commentary. These can be seen in *BSOAS* 12(1948), Ch 00269; *Asia Major*, n.s., I (1949), P 2741; Staël-Holstein text, *Asia Major*, n.s., II (1951). A facsimile of P 2741 and P 5538a is now in *Saka Documents*, II (1961) of the *Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum*. The facsimile of the Staël-Holstein text was published in the *Publications of the Indian Institute*, Oslo, 1929, by Sten Konow.

To the English translation here is added a commentary on some of the many problems raised by these texts. The names of persons and places, and the titles have been set apart from the lexical discussion. They may be more interesting for general Central Asian studies.

The first document P 2790 was written to the Court of Khotan (Hvatana, Gostana) by *haḍa*, envoys, to report on the situation in Śaṭṣou and Kanṭṣou in the 10th century. The second document P 5538a was issued from the Court of Khotan to the Ta-uang in Śaṭṣou. There is a great mingling of many tribes and peoples in this Kanṭṣou region. The Chinese, Turks, Tibetan, the Dūṃ, Gara, and Khotan officials are all involved. Not so far ahead in time is the great exaltation of the Tangut, who in turn disappear before the Mongols. Such light as these documents can throw upon this agitated region is well worth the effort to secure it.

Both documents are associated by references to the title Ta-uang of the ruler at Śaṭṣou. The second document P 5538a is dated (line 80) to the

year-name *thyenā tcūnā* (*t'ien tsun*). This same name is given in a date of the reign of Viśā Śūra in his fifth *ksuṇa* (regnal period).<sup>1</sup> To him also was dedicated the *Jātakastava* 2 r 4 (KT 1.198).

It has been established<sup>2</sup> that Viśā Śūra reigned 967-77 and was the son of Viśā Sambhava, called by the Chinese Li Šəng-t'ien, and of his consort a lady of the Ts'au family at Šaṭsou. Hence the address to the Ta-uang Ūan-ṭsung as the mother's brother of the author (Viśā Śūra) in P 5538a 27.

### I: P 2790

(1) . . . For him then the command is so, how to get information. He said, It is not our men's policy that we should settle your men (in camp?) and the Uigurs together. We, your humble servants, said, Our men's policy too is not that we have gone and are settling ourselves (in camp?) with them. And here also the command directs. And then we said, The favour (=message?) of the Golden Land has come, but you have not acted in accordance with the command. Since in Kanṭsou and Šaṭsou the state is disturbed one against the other, these (Uigurs) were not there. They have come from the Great Golden Land here. You did not receive them.

(10) When to the Great (Golden) Land the information of the Tteyi-hyām came stating that in Kanṭsou here and in Šaṭsou the state was disturbed one against the other, and when the (Khotan) Court had not graciously examined the favour (=message?) of the Tteyi-hyām and there they had not sent them, then at what place did you arrive? Though you too should then not examine the favour (=message?) of the Great Golden Land, yet the command came how you should act towards them, but they did not take notice.

And Saṃgalakā, (and) the two Chinese, brought together to that place horse(s) and cart(s). And Sahā Kauti-ḍinā too reported to the Inner Office of Ton totog that in the Inner Office he had got together such equipment (20) and the like. And Ton totog said quietly to Saṃgalakā, Do not be uneasy. Much equipment has in fact been collected here. To Kauti-ḍinā he speaks harshly, but they did not take notice. And of themselves they settled (in camp?) here. And that which was the property of the Uigurs, that (property) of theirs they took all of it into the same house into the (guard-) rooms and sealed it. They no longer have control of it, and for the Uigurs in fact there is no justice there.

When we, your humble servants, the 28th day of the month Hamārīmji (third month of spring) entered the city, on the fourth day we met the Si-khūm (Minister of Works). And then they said, The Uigurs do not meet

<sup>1</sup> Ch 1.0021b, a<sup>2</sup> 44 (KBT 151).

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s., 4. 90-7; and T. Inokuchi, *Succession and chronology of the Viśā royal family according to Khotanese documents in the Ryūkokū daigaku ronshū* 1960, 27 ff.

him. And I, your humble servant, did not take notice. I said, Since they settled (in camp?) of themselves, still they do not meet the Si-khūm. Then by direct road the favour (=message?) of the Golden Land came. And in (30) this interval also for one day we did not meet them, but on the third day we did meet him together with the Uigurs. Each in turn they took (us) your humble servants (to the royal house). And the (Khotan) Court had graciously given the command. Then at last they took the Uigurs (to the royal house).

And after they had met, I later said on the behalf of the Uigurs, Conduct us together, and let them collect their property. When we, your humble servants, came, and on the third day the envoy of Kanṭsou came, then those who were the Uigurs, Ton totog and the rest, they did not send them to the presence of the others. Our own men they did not then send. And when the Uigurs of Kanṭsou met the Si-khūm, then there at last they promptly sent them to one another.

(40) And when the Šaṭsou people mentioned the government, then they took both groups of them to the royal house. Those who were the new Uigurs, who had come from Kanṭsou, they did not here send many of them, and they turned back. And we, your humble servants, later sent Mamjirūša and Saṃgalakā together with those. They went the sixteenth day of the month Simjsīmji (fourth month of spring).

And that which to (us) your humble servants Yūnā Tcū-lyehsā of Niña brought as a Yellow (=Imperial) Command to the Khan of Kanṭsou, we, your humble servants, announced, This command is concerned with the distracted state of the land. And we began to collect (information), but again we thought, It is impolitic and we did not any more collect it here.

What however was the (Khotan) Court's command, that we stated in conversation with the Khan and the Ūgā, You should examine the favour (=message?) of the Great Golden Land and carry on the government.

(50) We who are envoys of the Great State have come here. And may you examine the favour (=message?) of the Golden Land, as the report comes to you at the beginning of the month Hamdyaji (first month of summer). Then he who was the second envoy of Kanṭsou, Tōlis Tingli totog, he came into my, your humble servant's house and we met each other.

And so he said, The greatest Totog sends a petition: You will see with your own eyes the great envoy, then you will hear him, what he speaks to you. And I, your humble servant, expressed friendly feelings towards him on behalf of the State. I said to him, What mutual warmth exists between the two lands, may the *devatā pariṭālakas* make it yet warmer. And those envoys of your country who were in our country, they have now come here to Šaṭsou without trouble. And this is as the name (fame) of the Great

(60) Golden Land requires. And (it is required) that those envoys promptly reach Kanṭsou so that for our people here there may be no long stay in Šaṭsou. As to what are the conditions of the government in Kanṭsou, it has

been thought here, Those who are in Şaşou, they speak all kinds of words. In Kantşou there, food is scarce, and then too there are *baş-siz* (chieftainless) men who do not obey the command of the Khan. To secure property they ruin the organization of the State, and have driven off each other's large cattle, the whole of it. But these reports here we, your humble servants, do not value at the price of a hair. We are intent on finding a road to Kantşou. We, your humble servants, then here too have examined the mutual relationship of Şaşou and Kantşou, thinking, In one another's land they are seeking where more can be got. And so we think this, If it were not for the favour (=message?) of our Great Golden Land, the men of Kantşou on their part will not carry on the government. As to those who are Şaşou people, their thought is, How will they carry on the government?

When Mamjirüşä has returned, whatever report good or bad he may bring, we shall promptly send it in a report. When the command comes to us stating, When the Şaşou people release the Uigurs, but refuse to let them have the property which they have sealed, how are we to act, supposing there will be no government.

And as to the Chinese who are there in Kantşou, whom they do not release, they later said to (us) your humble servants, They do not release our men or the Uigurs.

(80) May the command come swiftly to us. Then here we, your humble servants, have heard quietly that those who are Khans in Kantşou and in Sicü, they have with one another established a government, and they intend to command a troop of both sections to Şaşou in the time of the wheat harvest.

As to the command which you ordered on behalf of the Cimudaş (*deleted and replaced by* Nam-şans), saying, If he should meet you in Şaşou, explain it to them clearly, we did meet them here. Five ügä were here and up to one hundred Nam-şans following them. And one ügä by name Şaptar Bol ügä came to your humble servant's house, and he said, Previously we had heard the good name of the Great Golden Land, and our wish here is, How may we know the land of the Holy Country? And now you have come as the Great Envoy, and if you have any command for our men stating, how (90) we may go to the Great Land, suppose we should depart there. On the same lines formerly Lyehsā-pa inal said to you, You should look expectantly towards our land. All the time since we have not ceased to discuss this with the budun (-officials?). And now we have come here. As to Lyespa inal, he has now fallen ill and utters not a word or sentence. On this very matter we have come here, thinking, How may we get to the land, and depart to the Great Land there. Then first we will send an envoy (envoys?) and when they have seen the Golden Khan, and have heard his command, then we will do honour as his command enables us to do. So he prepared a report.

And I, your humble servant, understood that towards our land his

(100) mind is ardent, and his wish tends to us. And we expressed our good will to them. And we said to them, You who remain here, may you continue to be as numerous and as many men. They on their part are an honour to the Great Golden Land. As to the problem of land for your men, it is necessary, just as it stands with our Gara. How it is in their thoughts, enquire(?) and make a report about it. And I will send a report to the Golden Land.

And when you send envoys, may they go promptly. And he Bol ügä sent a report saying, How it was necessary for us that we should meet the Great Envoy. And then on our part also we heard that we have established your mutual relationship here. And now I return and am going among the Gara. And as many such budun (-officials?) as there are who do not yet (110) discuss (with us), we will discuss (with them). And in autumn we can go. We will bring back information. Suppose we cannot go, then we will send envoys together with the Great Envoy.

And I, your humble servant, said to him, If in autumn you can go, this is better. Suppose you cannot go, then you may send more envoys together with us. To the Great Land the more envoys there are the better.

Accordingly on the 25th day of the month Simjsimji (fourth month of spring) we sent envoys.

As to what the command was, ordering, From Şaşou Aha:cī will pass to Kantşou. We are keeping that in our ears. But they did not send him. And then the Uigurs, Ton totog and the rest, said, Tiy Alp yigän will go. Afterwards they did not send him, but they sent Düm Tatmüš cigši. And so we too mention it. Later we shall have talk and discussion with the Düms. (120) And if from Kantşou no report comes, and the Chinese will not send (envoys) here, at once they will command a troop here. They announce all this to us.

Those then who are Cimuda here in Şaşou, they are very numerous. Those who are the Gara in Şaşou for the time, they are in full force.

After we, your humble servants, had arrived here in Şaşou on the 28th day of the month Hamärrija (third month of spring) on the 17th day of the month Simjsimji (fourth month of spring) we undertook to send Tsinä Teutcă there. And Pađacu following that brought the command, stating . . .

Ia

P 2790: NAMES

1. *aha:cī* 115, mentioned in a *parau* (command, rescript) from Khotan as going from Şaşou to Kantşou. The name occurs also in three other documents: P 2741.62 (KT 2.90); Ch 00269. 61,89 (KT 2.45, 46); P 2897.42 (KT 2.116).

2. *gara* 102, 108, a people recognized first in *BSOAS* 15 (1953) 533-6. In 102 occurs *mājā gara* "our Gara" as allies of Khotan, as in 75 occurs *mājā hve:hvu:ra* "our Uigurs". In 108 Bvauđi ğuga states his intention to go

among the Gara (*garvā tsūm*). In 122 there is reference to *Ṣacū bisā gara* "the Gara in Ṣaṣṣou".

The document P 2790 envisages the triangle of Ṣaṣṣou, the Nam-šan and Kanṣou. The Kōke-nagur lies to the SE of the Nam-šan and S of Kanṣou. It is in this region that the Gara live.

In *BSOAS* 15 (1953) 533-6 I tried to identify these Gara with a *Gar* assumed to be intended by the *ue* 月 of the tribe name *Ūe-tṣi*. This left the phonetic connexion unsatisfactory. I note too that the most recent reference to the identity of the *Ūe-tṣi* equates this name with the *Ἰαροι* of Ptolemaios VI 12, 4, as had been proposed before.<sup>3</sup> If therefore the *Ūe-tṣi* refers to the *Τόχαροι*, the Tokhar, it will not mean identity of name. Another name *Gar* points in another direction. Tibetan sources know a tribe *Hgar*, *Mgar*, *Sgar*, that is, *Gar* with pharyngal, nasal or *z-* prefix. I had known too little of this name in 1953 to be able to make a connexion. But a postcard of R. A. Stein (of 10.4.54) recalled it to my attention: he suggested the *Gara* might be these *Mgar* of Tibetan texts. They had, he informed me, been independent rulers in N and NE Tibet in the 8th to 9th centuries. R. A. Stein's earlier and later publications<sup>4</sup> supplied many details of this region of *Mi-ñag*, then referring to Kanṣou, but later located further to the south. The ruling chiefs of *Sde-dge* claimed descent from the *Hgar*, *Mgar* tribe.<sup>5</sup>

The *Mgar* name is frequent in the Tibetan documents from Tunhuang including many personal names.<sup>6</sup> On p. 162 it is stated: *les fils de Mgar espèrent devenir rois*.

In North *Mi-ñag* the 19th century geography of Tibet places a *Mgar-than* "plain of *Mgar*".<sup>7</sup>

In an Amdo tradition the Minister *Mgar* *bcan-sña* *ldom-bu* of king *Sron-bcan* *sgam-po* (originally of *Du-ha-hra*, near *Gcoñ-kha*) is remembered as exiled to the region of *Kōke-nagur*.<sup>8</sup>

A further support to a connexion of the *Gara* with the *Hgar* can be seen below in the note on *Dūm*.

3. *ciṃga* 77, 120 "Chinese", frequent in the documents; other forms of the name are cited in *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 537.

<sup>3</sup> E. G. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s., 9, 109, see earlier G. Haloun, *Zur Ūe-tṣi-Frage*, *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 244.

<sup>4</sup> *JĀ* 1952, 84; *JĀ* 1962, 95-6, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 1959; *Mi-ñag et Si-Hia*, *BEFEO* 1951, 233-65; *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, 1961.

<sup>5</sup> *Les tribus anciennes* 20.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, 1940-6.

<sup>7</sup> T. V. Wylie, *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, 1962, 102, 184.

<sup>8</sup> R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes* 70; G. de Roerich, *Le parler d'Amdo*, 1958, 85-6, 113.

4. *ciṃṣa* 121, earlier identified in *AM*, n.s., I, 47, originally not speaking Turkish. The name *cūnūda*, however, has, since the note *AM*, n.s., II, 22, been recognized in the name *Čungul*.<sup>9</sup>

In line 82 the word *ciṃṣām* is struck through to mark deletion, and below is written *namāsanām* "of the Nam-šan men". Khotanese has both *ciṃṣa-* and *cumuṣa-*; other forms are cited in *AM*, n.s., I, 47.

5. *tīhadpa yigān* 117-18, that is *Tīy alp yigān*, a name found only here. The word *tīy* may be the adjective "brownish red".<sup>10</sup> For *yigān* "nephew, grandson", *MPT* *yg'n* (*Mahrnāmag* 48), see *AM*, n.s., I, 50.

6. *ttūḍisā tīmgaḍī ttātāhā*: 52, that is, *Tōlis*, and *tānglig* attested in Old Turk. *tūlig* (*a*)*pa* in *JRAS* 1912, 186, line 9. The *-i* for older *-ig* occurs also in P 2741.21 *māngalī* for *mānglig*.<sup>11</sup> The name *ttūḍisā-* is also in P 2741.19, 66, 71, see *AM*, n.s., I, 48.

7. *tteyi hvām*: 10, 12, also P 5538a below, has been identified with the Chinese 大 王 *ta-uang*, the Chinese title of rulers of the Ts'au family of Tun-huang, the earliest example being of Ts'au I-kin in A.D. 934.<sup>12</sup> In an unpublished Khotanese text Ch 0050b 1 and 6 occurs *mista tcau tte hvām u hūsaina*, which may belong here, "the great Ts'au Ta-uang and consort".

8. *ttaunā ttātāhā*: 17, 18, 35, 117 found only in this text. The name corresponds to the *ton* of Tibetan *ton ya-bgo kha-gan* (*JRAS* 1931, 809, Bacot, Thomas, Toussaint, *Documents*, 17, 45, and 38). The name is recorded also in the *Mahrnāmag* 60 *ṭwn ṭrx'n \*tōn tarxān*.

9. *tsinā tcutcā* 125, possibly a Chinese name, only here.

10. *dūm ttattāmīsā cihā:sī* 118, *dūmvām jsa* 119. Earlier<sup>13</sup> assuming without proof that *d-* could represent an *l-* of a Chinese spelling of a name I had thought that this *dūm* represented the *Lung* (*lung* "dragon") people originally of Qarašahr who had expanded to the south-east. But Khotanese *dūm* indicates a foreign *\*dung* or *\*dong*. The regional connexion is with Kanṣou where a precisely similar name appears in Tibetan texts. This is the tribal name *ldoñ*, written in Chinese 董 K 1148 *tung*.<sup>14</sup> It is written also in Tibetan *ldom*.<sup>15</sup> The family *ldoñ mi-ñag* is cited.<sup>16</sup> The *Ldoñ* are associated with *Nam*, *Sum-pa* and *Mi-ñag* in Amdo.<sup>17</sup> It is an important family in the

<sup>9</sup> J. Hamilton, *Autour du manuscrit Stael-Holstein*, 152, in *T'oung Pao*, 46, 1958.

<sup>10</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, 205.

<sup>11</sup> F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlschriften*, 18.

<sup>12</sup> E. G. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s., IV, 93, in P 5538a referring to Ts'au Uan-tšung ruling in 970.

<sup>13</sup> *AM*, n.s., I, 49 on P 2741, 69, 84, 103, 116.

<sup>14</sup> R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes*, 44.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*, *Recherches* 210; *Mi-ñag et Si-hia* 255.

<sup>16</sup> *Idem*, *Recherches*, 297.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

Gesariad.<sup>18</sup> The country of Glin was also that of the *ldoñ* family.<sup>19</sup> The name *ldoñ* was found in West, Central and Eastern Tibet.<sup>20</sup>

Since the *ldoñ* belong to Mi-ñag it is important to note that at first Mi-ñag was the Kantšou region, of Si-ning and the Ordos and only later was used of the region of Ta-tšien-lu.<sup>21</sup>

The name *dūm* occurs also in P 2024, P 2898, Ch 0048, Ch 00269, Ch 00327 and the Staël-Holstein text 30. For the form of the name *dūm* in Khotanese, note that the inflexion indicates a foreign word \**dūn*. To that a plural is formed by addition of *-ta* and *-va* as after foreign words ending in vowels, thus NP *dūmta* and InstP *dūmvām jsa*, as in *šacu-pata*, *šacu-pava* "inhabitants of Šacū". The indigenous Iranian and Sanskrit words, however, in which final *-m* in the singular has replaced older *-mā* or *-nā* maintain the original *-m-* and *-n-* in the forms with following vowel, as *ganam* "wheat", *ganama-keraa-* "sower of wheat", and (loan-word) *āysam* "seat", plur. *āysana*.

Here the *Dūm* has a Turkish name *Tatmīš* and title *čigši*.

From P 2898.9 *kithi sādāmī dūm ya* "in the city Solmī the *Dūm* were" it would seem that the *Dūm* had also travelled far to the north of Kantšou.

11. *namāsana-* (85 NP *namāsana*, 82 GP *namāsanām*) refers to the people of Nam-šan, Chinese 南山 K 650, 849 *nan-šan* from \**nām-šan*. In this we have either "the southern mountains" or "the mountains of Nam". The men of Nam-šan appear only here in Khotanese texts. It is the region due south of Šašou.

12. *nīna yūnā tē-lyehsā* 43, contains in *nīna-* the place-name Nīna, the modern Niya. In the Krorain texts it is 518 *nina* in *nina vastava* "inhabitants of Nina". The word *lyehsā* is the Tibetan *legs-pa* "good". The *yūnā* may be a family name.

13. *pađācu* 125 occurs only here and seems to contain Tib. *dpal* "fortune".

14. *baša-sīysa hvamđa* 64 "men without chieftains", Turk. *baš-siz*.

15. *bvauđi guga* 105, *šapāttara bvauđā guga* 86 indicate a Turkish *šaptar bol ügā*, found only here.

16. *mañjirūšā* 41, 73, Ch 00327.11 (KT 2.52) *majarūša*, a local name. A word *mañja-* occurs also in the name Kha vi 14b 1 (KT 5.180-1) *khays-mañji*.

17. *lyehsā:-pa inađa* 91, *lyespa inađi* 93 contains Tib. *legs-pa* "good" and Turk. *inal* "official".

18. *šapāttara*, see n. 15.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*, *Les tribus anciennnes* 40.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, *Les tribus anciennnes*, 34.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 75; *Recherches*, 229; *Mi-ñag et Si-hia*, 250: *Gan-lu* is the northern *Mi-ñag*.

19. *saṃgalakā* 15, 19, and *-kā* 42. Both inflexions occur also in other texts. See *AM*, n.s., I, 51, on P 2741.132. Tibetan has *sen-ge-lag* (JRAS 1930, 294).

20. *sahā: kawā dīnā* 2, 20, only here. The name *sahā* may be the Tibetan family name *sag* (JRAS 1928, 593 *sag dge-legs*). The second part indicates \**kau-lin*, possibly Chinese.

21. *hve:hvu:ra* 3 et passim, "Uigurs"; a form based upon Chinese. For the name see JRAS 1939, 87 and *AM*, n.s., I, 48. The Tibetan has *Hor*, Orqon Turk. *ujy<sup>ur</sup>*. Details on the Uigurs can be seen in the recent study of J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghoures*, 1955.

Ib

P 2790: TITLES

1. *inađa* 91, *inađi* 93, Turk. *inal* (*inal*) "originally son of a princess and a subject", then "a high official title".<sup>22</sup> *Mahrnāmag* 62 'yn'l, 97 yn'l.

2. *guga* 86, *gūha:va* 84 plur., *gugavām* 48 GP., Turk. *ügā*, see JRAS, 1939, 91.

3. *cihā:šī* 118, Turk. *čigši* in *Mahrnāmag* 27 plur. *čygš'n*, Kök Turk. *čigši* (JRAS 1912, plates I and III, pp. 186, 219), see JRAS, 1912, 90 and KT 4.54. Elsewhere, from Chinese, *tsiši*.

4. *tātāhā:* 17, 18, 52, 54, *tātāhi:* 35, Kök Turk. *tutu<sup>uq</sup>*, Tib. *to-dog*, *Mahrnāmag* *tutwuy*, Sogd. *tutwuk'n*, see JRAS, 1939, 90. All are from Chinese 者督 K 1187, 908 *tu-tu* from \**tuo-tuok*.

5. *bādāna* 108 plural; *bādānā* with *dā* below deleted *dhā*, Turk. *budun* "people, retinue".

6. *si-khūm* 28, 37, and P 2741.6, Chinese 司空 K 810, 476 *si-k'ung* from \**si-k'ung*, recognized by G. Haloun and E. G. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s., 4.96. The *si-k'ung* was the third of the five great officers (P. Couvreur, *Dict. chin.-franç.* 659; H. Giles, *Chinese Dictionary*, 10, 250 "minister of works"; J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghoures*, 1955, 126, "directeur des travaux publics"). In the letter translated by J. Hamilton, *loc. cit.*, 123, the ambassador is associated with the *si-k'ung*. The title was awarded to Ts'au I-kin of Šašou in 924.

7. *hađa* "envoy, messenger", attested in Old Khotanese (E 6.33 *āmācu hā hađu hište*), and *passim* in the official documents. For the similar *paša-*, see *Indo-Iranica*, *Mélanges Morgenstierne*, 1964, 11-12. From Khotan the envoy is the *mistā hađa* "great envoy". Chinese documents have the equivalent 使 *šī* (*Saka Documents* III, plate 48).

8. *hanā* 43, *ha:nā* 80, Turk. *xan* "Khan, ruler". The *ysarnnai ha:nā* "the golden ruler" of 96 is the ruler of Khotan, for whom the Khotanese used *rre* and the Tibetan *Li rje* "lord of Li". In 80 it is the Khan in Kantšou and

<sup>22</sup> C. Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, 67, *inal*; A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, 309, *inal*.

Sicū. The Khan in Kantşou occurs also in P 2786.200, and P 2741.11 (*AM*, n.s., I, 28 ff.)

Ic

## P 2790: PLACES

1. *kamäcü* 7 *et passim* "Kantşou", Chinese 甘州 K 298, 1238 *kan-tşou* from \**kam-tšiu* (*BSOS*, 8.884, *AM*, n.s., I, 46), Tib. *kam-bču* (*JRAS* 1928, 63), *gan-ču* (R. A. Stein, *Mi-nag et Si-hia*, 250), Pers. *xāmčū*, *qāmčū* (V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam* 85, 232). A Khan resides here (line 80).
2. *ysarrnai bādā* 6 *et passim* "the golden land", *ysarrnai mistye bādā* 14 "the great golden land" is here Khotan, Gostana-deša. The epithet "golden" may mean "imperial". Similarly the king of Khotan is 96 *ysarrnai ha-nā* 'golden ruler'. In a poem P 2027.6 the land is called *ysarrnai bāda* (KT 2.79). The phrase occurs also in P 4649 and P 2958. It was rendered by "Golden State" in *AM*, n.s., I, 34 in P 2741.34. In P 2898.3 occurs *ysarrnai parau* "golden rescript" (KT 2.116).
3. *šacū* 8 *et passim*; *šacū-pata* 38, 62, 72, 75 plur. "inhabitants of Şatşou" formed with Tib. *-pa* and Khot. plur. *-t-a*. Other forms of the name are cited in *AM*, n.s., I, 47.
4. *sicū* 80 will be the northern city of the Turfan region, modern Qarakhočo, drawn into Şacū diplomacy by the wide-spread Turkish power. The name is Chinese 西州 K 776, 1238 *si-tşou* from \**siei-tšiu*. The second spelling in the Staël-Holstein text 20 (*AM*, n.s., I, 13-14) is *secū mistā hamtha* "Secu the great city" with which the Tibetan *se-cu* agrees (Bacot, Thomas, Toussaint, *Documents*, 70). The two Khotanese spellings *sicū* and *secū* may be due either to different place or time. In P 2786.14 (KT 2.94) *sicū-pavā* are the "inhabitants of Sicū" (repeated in line 98). Here too the context contains Şacū and Kamäcü; the men of Sicū have travelled to Şacū. According to J. Hamilton<sup>23</sup> in the period 907-60 the Uigurs had two centres, in Kantşou and Sişşou.

For the two values *si* and *se* for Chinese 西 K 776 *si* from \**siei*, note that the word is represented by *si* in Brāhmī script (F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG*, 1937, index 43) and by *se* in Tibetan (*JRAS*, 1927, 304). Below we have also P 5538a 7 *si-chuanā* for Chinese 西川 K 776, 1261 *si-tş'uan* from \**siei-tš'iwān*.

Id

## P 2790: LEXICAL COMMENTARY

- 1.1. The beginning of the text is lost and the first five syllables remain obscure: *ām hau nā sai ye*.
- 1.2. *parau yi* with *yi* enclitic pronoun, once in E 25.196 and usually later written *-i* and joined to the preceding word.
- 1.3. *si khu*, older *se khu*, with *si* "that" after word of direct statement; not for *si-khūm* "minister of works".

<sup>23</sup> *Les Ouïghoures*, 7.

1.4. *aurāśa* with perhaps rather *ya* than *ka* following. The deleted *ha* is likely to be an incomplete *haṣṭa*, common with *aurāśa-*. The form *aurāśśā āmāca* "ministers who report" occurs in Kha. 1.135a, 2 v 5 (KT 5.381). The *aurāśa* here may represent \**aurās-ya-*, an adjective in *-ya-*.

2.1. *bāysdya-* "to notice, observe", also 15, 21, 27, frequent. The participle *bāysdyamdai* translates Bud. Skt. *peśala-* "conspicuous" (P 3513, 48 r 3).

3.1. *māñām*, GP of *māña-* "ours" or "our men", and 4, 78, 89, beside *imāña-* "yours, your men". The second adjective is 58 *mājaa-* and 58 *imājaa-*.

3.2. *padamja* has a wide range of meanings. Or 9609, 36 v 3 (*Suvarṇa-bhāsa-sūtra*) *padamgye* renders Bud. Skt. *anubhāva-* "power"; *Vajr.* 20 a 1 *padamja piṣkalā* renders Bud. Skt. *vyūha-* "display"; Kha vii, 1 a 2 (KT 5.183) *hama-vadamjauñā jsa* translates Bud. Skt. *samānāthata*, yielding *padamja* for *artha-* "purpose". P 2031.16 has *skyesā u padamja* "present" in dyadic phrase (Tib. *skyes* "present"). Derived from *pa-dam-* "to form, make" *padamgyā-* seems to mean basically a "structure", and in documentary language may mean "policy" or "system". In 46 *avādamji* seems to be "impolitic".

4.1. *ñiyām* "we settle", pret. 21 *ñistāmdā*, 27 *ñistāmda* from *ñāy-* older \**ni-śāda-* "to place", beside intr. 5 *ñām*. Between *ñiyām* and *ñāy-* stands the form *ney-* in P 2957.115.

4.2. *ñaśa biśa* "humble servants", older *niyaśśa-* "contemned", regularly used by the envoys in writing to the Court of Khotan. The same courtesy phrase is found in Tib. *bdag ñan-pa* (quoted KT 4.85).

5. *vā* "hither" and *hā* "thither" correspond to directional preverbs (like Georgian *mo*, Germ. *her* and Georg. *mi*, Germ. *hin*). They may replace older \**avāk* and \**frāk*.

7. *āysā* [jī] *ja* (so to interpret the manuscript reading) from the contexts is to be explained as the equivalent of Bud. Skt. *prasāda-* "favour", from "inclination towards". Here in this document, however, it has the secondary meaning of "message, missive" or possibly "present, gift" (as *muśda* "favour" means "a present"). The word *āysāja* is found in P 2790 here (6, 7, 14, 28, 48, 50, 60, 70) and also in P 2790, obverse, 140 (KT 3.63) in the passage *vāña ita mūnā āysāja spāśā* "now so examine my favour"; Or 8212, 162, 163 (KT 2.10) *ttyai ḥaysau śāśg ḥiye āysāja parā spāśtai* "con-descend to look to favour towards the śāsana-doctrine of the Buddha"; P 3510.6.6 (KBT 51) *haṭhi muśdi krraṇi śada ~ āysāji bvāma sthyaustā* "truth, mercy, kindness, faith, favour, understanding, steadfastness". This last passage can be interpreted by the text E 12.22 *śadda praysātā* "faith, favour".

The word *āysāja* is of ambiguous origin, either from older \**ā-xāf-* from a base *xāk-* or *xāg-* (comparing the *beysā* of the compound *yātakastava*

32 r 3 *beysā-dēṇḍe* "violent" in which we have an equivalent of the Pali *atta-danda-* "taking up the stick") beside the base *zang-* in *biysamj-* "to take", or from an older \**ā-zār-jā-* like the *āphāja-* of P 2741.10 beside older *āphāra-* "disturbance" in *Siddhasāra* 6 v 4 and often, from *phar-* "to be disturbed". This would indicate \**ā-zar-* "to be inclined towards, to favour", with the *zar-* familiar in Oss. Digoron *uāl-āzār* "victory" (beside Iron *uāl-āzīz* "victory" formed from *ā-zīz-*, Dig. *ā-zex-* "to mount up" which assures the meaning of the *zār*). This brings the Khot. *āysāja* near to the meaning of Bud. Skt. *pra-sāda-* "moving towards, favouring".

Since *haṣḍa-* and *aurāsā haṣḍā* are the report of an inferior (as in NW Prakrit *viññapti-lekhā*) the *āysāja* should be taken as the favour of the superior implicit in his message which is a *parau* "rescript".

8. *phaiḍi*, *phaiḍā* 11, is later Khotanese to the older *phāda-* occurring in E *haphāda-* beside *haphāra-*, and the later *phīda-* in *Siddhasāra* 121 v 1 *āphīda-*, and P 2786.196 *saphīda-* (see *AM*, n.s., I, 42). The verbal noun *phirāmatā-* is attested below 45 in *phirāme*.

9. *biysiya-* "taken, seized, received" participle to *biysamj-*, related to Sanglēcī *zenz-*: *zuyd* "to lift". In *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* 11 b 1 (KT 5.246) *biysamjāre* translates Bud. Skt. *upanāmayanti* "take". In the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* 7 a 1 *biysamjāñā* renders Bud. Skt. *pragrahitavyam*. The *biysaste* of *Siddhasāra* 134 r 2 is Tib. *hdebs-pa* "seize".

12. *ni pasti ya spāṣṭe* and 13 *pastāmdā ya pasāte* seem to contain *ya* for older *yi*, *yā*, the *yi* of 1 above, enclitic pronoun.

16.1. *parahā: jsi asā* "horse(s) with cart(s)", uncertain. The word *paraha-* is only here. It may be analysed as *pa-* with *rraha-* "wagon" with the *pa-* before noun found also in *pakūṣḍa-* "*rājadhāni*, capital seat" (P 4649.8-9; P 4089 b 14 in KT 2.124 and KT 3.117) beside *kūṣḍa-* "*rājākula*, palace". The prefix *pa-* occurs also before nouns in *pasāla-* "spring season" and *papeśā* "in the evening" (*AM*, n.s., I, 38). The simplex *rraha-* "wagon" is frequent, with the adj. *rahyā-*; in West Iran. Zor. Pahl. *rah* and Avestan *raḥa-*.

16.2. *hamgāda-*, participle to *hamgār-* 1. "draw together, draw towards one", 2. "draw out", E *hamggār-*, 3rd sing. *hamggeḍā*. Thus E 20.29 *hvara nauna salāva tcamāna hā paḍā hamggārīndi u<ynora>* "sweet soft words whereby they first attract the beings", like Ch ü 004, 2 v 4 (KBT 145) *satta hagāridā*. In the *Siddhasāra* it is frequent to render Tib. *drañ-ba* "to draw out".

The uncompounded *kār-* "to draw" is in E 25.420 *śvānā kārīndā* "the dogs drag them about", and pret. *kāda-* in P 2022.24 (KT 3.43) *raḥq kāḍa* "he drew the cart". With *niṣ-* occurs Or 11252.4 b 7 and H MBD 25 a 2 (KT 5.67) *naṣkāra* and pret. Hed. 2.6 (KT 4.2) *naṣkāḍāmdā*.

17.1. *hamdamna*, *hamdamnāṣṭā* "Inner Office". Similar is P 2786.3 (KT 2.93) *rrvi vī chū-birā vīrāṣṭā hamdanāṣṭā aurāṣq haṣḍā* "a report to the Inner Office the Chū-birā at the Court". Here the dyadic phrase contains Chinese 樞密 K 494, 617 *ṣ'iu-mi* from \**t'ṣ'iu-miet* "the officers between civil ministers and the Emperor" or "grand minister".<sup>24</sup> For *hamdamna* "inner" can be compared also Tib. *nan* as in *nan blon* "minister for internal affairs" and the frequent Chinese use of 內 *nei*. Old Javanese has the same use in *kāryya ri dalēm* (*Nāgarakṛtāgama* 10.2) "business of the palace".

17.2. *iysdāde* "reported" by an inferior, interpreted from the context from *uys-dār-* "to hold up". The noun \**uysdāra-* is found in P 5538a 5 below *īnakā bisā iysdāra* and P 2027.12 (KT 2.80) *aysdārā* possibly a general "maintenance". In P 2891.20 (KT 3.80) *aysdaurā* is likely to be the same word.

18. *urānām* is included in the *ñūrā* of line 20 "coverings, equipment", in older E 25.405 *nyūrra-* of the compound *aśā-nyūrra-* "horse equipment", participle E 25.405 *nyūrda-*, from *ni-var-* "to cover", with *-rr-* from *-rn-*. Hence possibly *urāna-* means "covering" from *var-*: *ur-* with the suffix *-āna-* as in Avestan *dāmāna-* "house", *dam-* "to build". The same *var-* "cover" is in Avestan *varānā- Nirangastān* fol. 169 v 8 with Zor. Pahl. *wl \*varr*, Armen. loan-word *var*.<sup>25</sup> To read *u rānām* has led to no interpretation in spite of N 52.9 *rrānā* possibly "belt", if equivalent to Oss. Digoron *ronā*, Sogd. *r'n'kh*<sup>26</sup> connected with Avestan *rāna-* "thigh".

19. *brrūṣṭya* "be troubled" with *-ṣṭy-*, older *-ṣ-* in E 24.26 *brūṣcāte* (used of *kāṣca* "sorrow") and with *-ṣk-* E 21.14 *kvī brūṣkā thiṣṭi bani* "the rough bond drags one". The adjective *brūṣka-* is epithet of "road" in P 2891.6 (KT 3.79) *pada damdā brrūṣki ṣṭe* "the road is so rough" and in P 2891.33 (KT 3.80) *cū padā pejsā brrūṣki yi* "which road is very rough". Similar is P 2893.148 (KT 3.88) *brrūṣkyā vīna jimdā* "it removes severe pain". In P 2927.40 (KT 3.104) *kūyā brrūṣka-aysmva* "bent, with troubled mind". The base will then mean "break, be rough" and may be traced in the word N 120.26 *usbrutēmāte* rendering Bud. Skt. *udvartana-* "rolling up, massage, rough treatment". This would give \**frauṣ-*: *frūṣ-*. Different are 3rd sing. *burṣḍā*, participle *burṣṭa-* "burst" from *abi-* or *vi-ruṣ-*, and 3rd sing. *berṣḍā*, participle *bārṣṭa-* from *abi-* or *vi-riṣ-*. Balōcī *pruṣag*, *pruṣta* "to burst, be struck" is of uncertain origin: either *frūṣ-* or a base with prefix *pa-*.

20.1. *ñūrā* "equipment", see 18 *urānām*.

20.2. *hamgrī* from older \**hamgrīta-* "collected", hence read 18 *hā (ham-) grīye*; from the base *hamggalj-*.

<sup>24</sup> I owe this identification to E. G. Pulleyblank. R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, I, 84, "grand ministre".

<sup>25</sup> C. Bartholomae, *Zendhandschriften*, \*53.

<sup>26</sup> *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1945, 24.

22.1. *hamña*, loc. sing. to *hama-* "same", or possibly read *ham(dam)ña* "inner part".

22.2. *jānvā*, only here, from the context loc. plur. to a word \**jāna-* possibly meaning "place" as part of a building, here taken conjecturally as "guard-room". Its connexions may lie with *yā-* "to go" with the suffix *-ana-* of place, or to *yam-*: *yā-* "to hold", hence "holding-place".

22.3. *ttuda-* "carried over, taken (across) to", from older *ttu-var-*, 3rd sing. E 23.156 *ttuvidā*, pret. P 2958.59 (KBT 41) *ttudāmdā*.

23. *pyaštāmdā*, and 76, uncertain, possibly "sealed up". This depends on the comparison with *pyays-*: *pyašta-* in Or 9268, 2 b 9 (KT 2.14) *khui parramā pyaysidā* "when the officials have sealed(?) it"; Or 9268, 1 c 9 (KT 2.14) *khui pharša bara pyasidā* "when the judge Bara has sealed(?) it"; Or 9268, 1 a 1 (KT 2.13) *pharšša bara pyašti* "the judge Bara sealed(?) it".

Earlier a word *pyašta-* "visible" has been noted (*Indo-Iranian Journal* 2.153-4), there traced to *pati-yaxš-* (with New Sogd. *yaxš* "visible"). It could equally well contain *axš-* "to watch" as in Avestan *aiwyāxšay-*, rendered by Zor. Pahl. *apar-nikās-dūr-* "to guard".

23-4. *va dā* rather than *vadā*, with *va*, older *vaska* "for", and *dā* "law" used for "justice". The word *vadā* had been assumed to represent an older \**avadāta-*, as we have \**padāta-* in P 2834, 49 (KBT 46) *u ttañe āhya gatsa padā* "she put him in that hole (and) pit", 3rd plur. P 2957.101 (KBT 36) *hala padāmdī maysairkā* "they put a huge hole", going with *padāna-* "receptacle". Such a *vadā* might have been taken as "deposit".

24. Month names here occurring are 24 *hamārrimji*, 123 *hamārrija* (third spring month); 42, 114 *simjsimji* (fourth spring month) and 51 *hamdyaji* (first summer month). All the month names can be seen in *BSOS* 8.930, *AM*, n.s., I, 39 and KT 4.11.

26. *hamgūj-*: *hamgva-* "to meet" with *jsa*, from \**ham-kauk-* "to bend, come into contact". A second meaning is *hamgūjsa-* "fear", rendering Tib. *h̄jigs-pa*. Similar is Skt *saṃhoca-* "contraction, fear". Here we have pres. 3rd plur. 26, 28 *hamgūjimdā*, 83 conjunct. *hamgūjāta*; pret. 32 *hamgve*, 38 3rd plur. *hamgvāmdā*, 1st plur. 30 *hamgvāmdū*, 29, 53, 84, 106 *hamgvāmdūm*.

31. *padā padā* "each first" seems to correspond to Skt *anupūrva-* "in succession". Distribution by repetition is frequent: of numerals (as P 2741.13 *dirśā dirśā hvamdā*; *Siddhasāra* 107 r 2 *hašta hašta saira*), or other words (as Kha 1.492, b 1 *ysamtha ysamtha*, *Siddhasāra* 123 r 2 *thyātta thyātta bisai*). The phrase *padā padā* occurs also Ch 0048.10 (KT 2.41) and Ch 00269.34, 82 (KT 2.43, 46).

39.1. *kūšdvi trvāstāmdā* "they took to the royal house" from *kūšdu* and *vī*. This phrase is required also in 31 and 32 and is so translated. P 5538a 62 has *kūšdvi*.

39.2. *nūvara hve:hvu:ra* "a new group of Uigurs". In 75 occurs *mājā hve:hvu:ra* "our Uigurs", as allies of Khotan.

44. *ysidai parau* "yellow rescript" seems to offer "yellow" for *ysarrnai parau* "golden rescript", that is, "imperial", see above *ysarrnai* 6, in reference to Khotan.

46. *hajsimā*, 74 *hajsimām*, pret. 47 1st plur. *hajsāmdāmdūm* older *hamjsem-* from \**ham-jāmay-* "bring together", participle *hamjsaunda-*.

49. *bādā padīm-* "make a country, state" seems to mean "to establish authority" or "to carry on government". The word *bāda-* is ambiguous, either 1. "country, *janapada*" or "time", both from older \**varta-* "turning" and "turning-place" (as in Skt *āvarta-* in *āryāvarta-*).

51. *phara* "speech", also 78, 120, rendering Bud. Skt *ruta-* of animals, see *BSOAS*, 10, 603. It approximates to 94, 119 *haura-* and 47, 63 *salāta-*. The verb is *pher-* "to speak", P 2781.6 (KT 3.68) *pherde*, P 2022.22 (KT 3.43) *phairidā*.

54. *vijsya*, 2nd sing. mid. from \**vičāśaha*. It occurs also P 2783. 33 (KT 3.74) *aḍā ām naḍa na vijsya ā* "you will not see another person come". Pres. 3rd sing. E *vajsiḥde*, *Siddhasāra* 7 v 5 *vijsiḥdi*, P 2893.37 *vijsesde*.

55. *hamgū*, 2nd sing. "listen", 65, 97 pres. 3rd plur. *hamgvāre* from \**ham-gauš-*, participle P 2783.40 (KT 3.74) *hamgūšta-* "listened". Similar is *pyūs-* "hear" from \**pati-gauš-*.

57. *grautta* "warmth" from \**garmatāti-*; 57 *grāmyera* "warmer" from \**garma-tara-*. Later Khot. *grām* and *grrau* is used of the feelings, below 99 *aysmū grām šte* "the mind is warm". Similar in P 2027.5 (KT 2.79) P 2897.14 (KT 2.114). The abstract *grauttā* renders Skt *anala-* "fire" in *Siddhasāra* 8 r 1, Tib. *drod* "heat". The "coldness of mind" is indicated in P 2741.39 (KT 2.89) *sāḍa-aysmva* "cold-minded".

59.1. *gārai* "trouble". It is not in the Old Khotanese of E but we have Kha 1.119, 71 v 5 (KT 5.146) *ggārīvā* and a broken word *gārī* in N 126.40. Later Khotanese has Or 9268 b 6 (KT 2.13) *gārīna* Ch 00269.52 (KT 2.44) *gārī tta tta hamye*; Ch 1.0021 b, a<sup>2</sup> 16 (KBT 150) *gārīyum hūnā višunā* "distress, troublesome dream, evil"; P 2790.142 (KT 3.63) *ttuñā baida gārī na jsāte*.

59.2. *mara jacū* "here in Šašou" indicates the provenance of this document.

64. *khāysā duška šte* "food is scarce", with *duškara-* "hard to find", elsewhere it renders Skt *āscarya-* "wonderful". The scarcity of food is noted also in P 5538a 8 u *laka va khāysā duška tsve*, see below.

65.1. *ķšira padamji* "the display, system of the country", on *padamja* above line 5.

65.2. *ttūdā* "taken away, carried off by robbery", Old Khot. *ttunda-* participle



in E 23.235 *ttundāndā* from a pres. *ttu-n-*, IE *teu-*: *tu-* "strike"; details in *BSOAS* 23.35 and *KT* 4.65.

67.1. *tcamjsi masi* "to the amount of a hair", as Ch 00269.51 (*KT* 2.44) *še tcamjsa bimdām mam gārī ni hamīya* "no trouble to as much as one hair befell us". The word *tcamjsa-* renders Tib. *skra* "hair". Connexion may lie with a base *kank-* "to be bent" which is behind Skt *cancu-* "beak".

67.2. *śau-nauhā*: older *śau-nūha-*, renderings of Bud. Skt *ekāgra-* "intent, concentrated on one point", H 142-3, 16 (*KT* 5.68) (*ś*)*au-nauhāna aysmūna* "with intent mind".

69. *hambā* "share" in *Siddhasāra* 139 v 5 *samānakā hambā jsa*, for Tib. *ran-par* "in equal amount"; P 2892.18 *hambā* (= *Siddhasāra* 6 v 5) corresponds to Tib. *chod* "measure, division", but here and infra 107 *hambā-y-ām* the precise meaning is conjectural, possibly "common possession", or "mutual relationship". It will represent either an older \**hambāga-* or \**hambāxta-*.

81. *ganama-drīyām bādā* "in the time of the wheat harvest". To express "to reap" Iranian had *drau-*: *dru-* in West Iran. Zor. Pahl. *drūtan*, *drūnēt*, N Pers. *durūdan*, *dirav-*, Sangl. *drāv-*: *drāwd*, Yidya *lari-m* "I reap", *lorawā* "reaper" (*Morgenstierne, IIFL* 2.224), Ormuḡi *dīr-*: *dīlak* (idem *IIFL* 1.393). Here *druva-* with *-īya-* suffix has given *driya-*. The final *-ām* may be either the suffix *-āna-* or genitive plural. Note that *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 66 v 3 (*KT* 5.117) *drū* is rather from *druva-* "stable" than from *drau-* "to reap"; S. Konow had thought of "harvest".

88. *puṇaudā ḥṣirā* the "holy land" of Khotan. Khotanese has three terms: *śamādā* "land" as property, beside *bādā-* "land, *janapada-*" and *ḥṣira-* "land, country".

91. *hami-stē* or *hami-stem u ham-bādā* "at the same time", dyadic. Possibly the syllable *-mi-* has been retained before two consonants, but been reduced to *-m* before *b-*. The word *skiyātā* "time" has been replaced by *Vajr.* 4 b 2, 5 a 4 *see*, P 2782.38, P 2949.1 *stye*, thence here to *ste* (or *stem*). Below 122 *stēna* (or *stemna*) has been taken as "for a time".

94. *haurā ā salā* "talk or discussion" with *ām* for *ā* "or", not *ām* for older *āna*.

96. *dyāma* "sight", in the sense of "interview". Note also P 2741.38 *gyaṣṭi hiya dyāma*, P 4649.16 *hiye hiyi dyāma vaḍāṣṭā*.

100. *baysgā*, and 122, "thick" for "many", as E 21.41 *pera jsahera mūrīndi baysgu kāḍe* "worms swarm in the belly very many"; P 5538a 8 (*KT* 2.125) below *cu karaji baysgā hvaṇḍā ṣṭāre* "who are many men in the surroundings", P 2031.7 (*KT* 2.83) *mam baysgā haḍi ṣṭāre*.

101. *ysānāre* "they adorn, do honour to". The base *ysān-* has been misunderstood. It provides verb, noun and adjective equivalent to Bud. Skt

*śobh-* "beautify". E 2.80 *pharu hastaru ysānde kho purra hambāḍa nakṣatryau hamtsa* "shines more excellently than the full moon with the constellations", *JātS* 33 v 2 *tte ite khu pura ysānde vesve āvaṣe vira* "just as the moon shines in the pure sky". The noun is in P 2957-74 (*KBT* 34) *dīrrāmai ysānā tsve khū ji pyāṣi bādā* "he became as beautiful as the autumn season". The adjective *ysānasta-* renders Bud. Skt *śobhana-*, *śobhita-* "beautiful" as in P 3513, 74 r 4 (*KT* 1.248) *uspurā idriryau ysānastā* "perfect with senses, beautiful" translating Skt *śobhitānga-*; *JātS* 14 r 2 *ysānastā tcaṣu ttiṣi* "beautiful, brilliant splendour"; P 3513, 57 r 1 (*KT* 1.230) *maṇḍalā ysānastā* for Bud. Skt *maṇḍali śobhani*.

For this sense of beautifying note Turkish, *Sākiz Yükmāk* 35 *nomuy törüg kiṣi itār* "a man adorns the law" in comparison with *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra* 137.26 *upaśobhayiṣyanti ti buddha-sāsanam*. Hence *ysān-* "to beautify", but *paysān-* "to know"; *haysān-* in E 13.112 *haysānandai ṣṭānu* corresponds to *saṃcintya* "deliberately" (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi* 175.15).

103. *chattānarā* "you should enquire(?)", from the context, (earlier *BSOAS* 15.534), found only here.

116. *gyetām vistāmdūm* "we put into our (your?) ears", if *gye-t-ām* contains AP *gya* "ears", older *guṣa*. A similar form in *ve* occurs in Ch 00271.13 (*KT* 2.49) *pve tsve* "went to the feet of . . ."

119. *u ttā ttai ām niṣām* "and so we mention it", if the full phrase was that attested in P 2741.39 (*KT* 2.89) *ttī nāṣā bisā ttū piḍakā hau ni niṣāveṃ* "then I your humble servant did not (put word to=) mention that letter" (*AM*, n.s., I, 34).

120. *hina bāyīmdā* "lead a troop", as Hed. 63 a 2 (*KT* 4.48) *hina-bāyī* "commander", P 5538a 1 *hina pastāmdū bāṣte* "we condescended to lead a troop", *ibid.* 48 *hina bāyāma*. An army as escort to envoys is mentioned in the Chinese letter II.<sup>27</sup>

121. *āmam* possibly "all to us", but the position after the verb is unexplained. For *āma-* "all" see *KT* 4.70-1.

122.1. *stemna*, see above 91.

122.2. *hambāḍa* "full" for "numerous" or possibly "in full force".

## II: P 5538a

- (1) In the month *Ttumjāra* we led a troop to the *kara* (fort?) among the *Khyeṣa*. And the men settled in that place looked (expectantly) towards our land. As to what were the wonderful things, wives and sons, elephant and thoroughbred valuable horse and the like of our ill-wisher the *Tazik* *Tsun Hien*, and the property of his following, those they presented to the

<sup>27</sup> J. Hamilton, *Les Oughoures*, 122, 124.

Court. And from then to the recent period we the light of the land have remained in the Sichuan taikuan. As to what food we sent continuously to the *kara*, because the men of the *kara* were crowded, the amount of food was scanty. Then we sent protectors for the town of three kinds, each a  
 (10) great minister, and each a troop of 1800. And those who are the eight *digin* in our land, they have been there from the beginning until now. And what is the commander(?) of the army, he has not yet arrived. And we the light of the land have shone out over the Sichuan taikuan. What equipment(?) we sent, because those men Čagri Khan and the Tazik Tsun Hien have seized the road, (thinking) how are we to avoid loss of the equipment to the *kara*, we have so shone out, and the control of those men is not such that they can intercept it. You, the Ta-uang, however, should not carry resentment in your heart. Our men are every day continually able to go out and to enter there. Since we have so written an order there and  
 (20) men have come this day from the *kara* and made report that Čagri Khan on the 27th day of the twelfth month had led a troop into the outskirts of the town and that he remains there outside the town, and now up to the fourth day of the first month he has remained there in the outskirts of the town, there is no longer information as to how great his settlement (camp?) is. Therefore we the light of the land promptly shone out and what great troop is here stationed in the country, that we now lead. The army for the Sichuan taikuan is as large as the task for each troop may be to ensure success. As to what is the work of occupying an alien territory and maintaining the government, that is great and difficult. And as an alien we do not secure control (*uhaumā?*). Thus you, our mother's brother, the Ts'au Ta-uang, should not carry resentment in your heart. As to how it will turn out here, a rescript will be issued later. And then there were powerful (*ttünā?*) Chinese, and we the light of the land have long remained in the outer part of the country. And if the rations (*lyām?*) and the rest were not  
 (30) received according to your reasonable wishes, do not therefore carry displeasure in your heart. While carrying on the government here, there is very much administration of every kind. Because the tasks of administration and the rest in maintaining the government are difficult, therefore you, the Ta-uang, should understand it in this case. Then suppose the project comes to you, ask the old men and the more important men to explain it to you. The money increases, and the corn, and the transport animals, and men, and troops, but there are many conflicts and men are dying. If here while maintaining the government for one or two years the powerful (*ttünā?*) Chinese thus do not get what they want, and there the favour (presents) does not arrive, first we state that it is a difficulty here in the operation (*yau?*). If so the Ta-uang and the men of Şaṣou city hold no displeasure in their heart against us, if we can maintain the government, and if here we look (expectantly) to the Chinese, and if there we send favour (presents),

(40) you on your part, the Ta-uang, should understand it. Now here strong and severe is the dissatisfaction in the royal divine mind as to how we have been *hyām cū* and how we have especially looked (expectantly) to the powerful (*ttünā?*) Chinese, then as to how we send favour (presents) for the Ta-uang. Therefore it will all be understood by you, the Ta-uang. And now we have acted as befits the divine royalty and in the divine mind have received the thought how formerly we sent favour (presents) for the Ta-uang, and have looked (expectantly) to the Chinese. Now we restrict the whole plan (*ñāñā?*). Then such an affair has happened so that the light of royalty has shone out there to Şaṣou, and here the despatch of some troops prospered. And  
 (50) when there the light has shone out, there among the Tazik our evil enemy the Tazik Tsun Hien departed. And here from that time until now the tasks of commanding the troops and the rest are all still more restricted (under control?). As to the further fact that we have remained outside the country, now here it is the eighth year that we have acted as befits our royalty. But suppose we have not once been able to satisfy you, our mother's brother, the Ta-uang, it is because here in the maintenance of government there are many dangers. If displeasure thus holds our brother the Ta-uang's heart, all these tasks of maintenance of government we will abandon, and attend to how we can satisfy our brother the Ta-uang, (that is) if the couriers travel and promptly by letters you make a report as to how it is in your mind, (that) in your heart there is such displeasure, or according to what is proper  
 (60) favour (presents) has not come, or there is no satisfaction to you in the matter of maintaining the government. And indeed for this maintenance of government, here in the palace we do not receive support from the queens and princesses and princes, as to which I have no opportunity. Then however there is this one matter that, because of this, displeasure arises in the Ta-uang's heart. If so displeasure arises in your heart, by the hand of couriers make a report, and we will abandon these tasks of maintaining the government, and there for the Ta-uang we will send favour (presents). Then in the matter of maintaining the government you will be satisfied. Afterwards make a report and we will execute it. If however we can hold this section of the government, now for the Ta-uang we will send these so many favours (presents).  
 (70) First of medium type *īra*-stone (jade?), one piece of forty-two pound (*kin*); second pure *īra*-stone, ten pound; and third *īra*-stone eight and a half pounds, amounting to three lumps of *īra*-stone, sixty pounds and a half. And one cuirass of hide; and one hammer and one axe both fitted with bone handle, and one vessel (*bārai*); and one receptacle (*kūsa*-).  
 As to who are our good princes, he is heroic and valiant. Therefore with you here we have been very contented in the royal divine mind. If they are indeed better, heroic and valiant, thereafter we shall here be the more content with you in our divine mind. Then for you we have sent one

cup (*vari?*) of the Tazik Tsun Hien, which has handle and ears and convex(?) surface, and a case made of silver. Then for you we shall send one *paśajsa*-tool made of steel, having a well-set covering(?), worthy of the Court.

(80) We have hereby brought into force the rescript from the Kuan in the T'ien tsun period, at the fortunate time, in the fourth regnal year, the horse year, first month, ninth day.

IIa

P 5538a: NAMES

1. *khyeṣvā kara*, repeated in line 2, may represent *Kāś* in the place name *Kāśyar*, see *JRAS*, 1939, 89. Tib. *khye-ṣo-na*<sup>28</sup> is an adjectival Iran. \**khyeṣāna*-. The form *khyaiṣṭuām hīna* in Ch 00272.42, 51, 60 (KT 2.51) is likely to be another spelling with intruded *-t-*. MPeT *q'f'nč*, fem. adj. and 75 *k'šy* are in the *Mahrnāmag*. Sogdian has *k'š'k* (W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* 8, 10) as adjective. In form the Khotanese *khyeṣvā* seems to be the usual loc. plur. in *-vā*, but possibly contains an adjectival *-vā*. The word *kara* here will be the same as the modern *gar* in *Kāśyar*, perhaps originally meaning "fort".

3. *tcūm hye:nā*, 14 *tcūm hye:nā*, 51, 76 *tcūm hyai:nā* will be a Chinese name or title used by the Tazik chief.

3. *ttaiškā*, and 14, 51, 76; loc. plur. 50 *ttaiškū* is the West Iranian name for the Arabs. The word occurs also in P 2024.24 (KT 2.77) in *ttaiškau*<sup>29</sup> *kāḍara šau* "one Arab sword". The Khotanese spelling with *a* equivalent to West Iranian *ā* and *š=ž* indicates that the name has reached Khotan through an intermediary either Tibetan or Turkish. The Arabs were serving the Chinese Emperor as mercenaries in A.D. 757,<sup>30</sup> beside men of Tokhāristān.

The forms of the name are the following: Chin. 大食 K 952, 891 *ta-šī* from \**t'ai-dz'iaḱ*, and 覓 K 890 *ta-šī* from \**t'ai-ziḱ*.<sup>31</sup> Early Tibetan has *ta-ziḱ* and *ta-čhiḱ*,<sup>32</sup> later etymologized in spelling to *stags-gziḱs* "tiger, leopard". It was used for the Persians, and later even of the Mongols.<sup>33</sup> Sogdian of the 8th century has *t'z-yk*.<sup>34</sup> Here the *-z-* may indicate either *-z-* or *-ž-*. Chorasmian *t'cyk* is cited,<sup>35</sup> used of a horse. In Orqon Turkish we have *tāz'k*, in Al-Kāšyari *tāz'ik*, Modern Turkī *tajik*, Book Mongol *tajig*.

<sup>28</sup> F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, I, 133.

<sup>29</sup> Here in *ttaiškau* we have an adjectival suffix *-āva-*, which occurs often in adjectives referring to languages.

<sup>30</sup> Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 158.

<sup>31</sup> *JRAS*, 1939, 89-90; W. Fuchs, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726*, 15.

<sup>32</sup> Bacot, Thomas, *Toussaint, Documents*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> R. A. Stein, *Recherches*, 304, n. 48.

<sup>34</sup> V. A. Livšic, *Sogdijskij posol v Čače*, 105, from Mug documents.

<sup>35</sup> M. N. Bogoljubov and O. I. Smirnova, *Khozjajstvennye dokumenty*, 53.

In West Iranian the word *tāčik* has long been recorded, thus in Armen. *tačik*, *tačkastan* (in 2 Makkab. 3.5 *tačkastami sparapet* is the commandant of *Phoinikē*), Zor. Pahl. *tāčik* "Arabs", N Pers. *tāčik*, *tāz'ik* and *tāzī*. From Persia it reached India in astrological works *tājika*- "Arabic", in an inscription of A.D. 739 and in Pārsī-Sanskrit.

Two origins of the name have been proposed. The first may probably be neglected: a derivation from a noun \**tāč* as verbal noun to *tak*- "to run, make incursions", beside the *tāk* of Zor. Pahl. (Gr Bd 215.15) *aspatak* "incursion of horsemen", Armen. *aspatak*. The second and almost certain is the connexion of Iran. *tāčik* with the Arab tribal *Ṭai*. From this Arab name the Syrians made their general word for the Arabs *Ṭayāy-ē* and the Byzantine *Ἰαυνοί*, *Tauvoí*. The *Ṭai* were at first a southern tribe, but moved northwards. If the name *Ṭai* is the basis of the Iranian name for the Arabs the older \**tāi-čik* has given *tā-čik* by loss of the *-i-* of the first syllable (similarly the Armenians used both *sač'ik* and *sač'ik* for "of the Saka people"). Zor. Pahlavi has also *l'čyk* \**rāč'ik* from \**rāg(a)č-* (rather than \**rač-*).<sup>36</sup> The *asp i tāčik* occurs in the *Čatrang-nāmak* 32.

If the two spellings<sup>37</sup> of the Chinese name for the region west of Parthia indicate that the Chin. 大秦 K 952, 1082 *ta-ts'in* from \**t'ai-dz'ien* and 大臣 K 952, *Gram. Serica recens* 377 a *ta-š'en* from \**t'ai-šien* (=Pali *yonaka*) are transliterations the name may contain the earliest reference (in a text of A.D. 97) to this name for the Arabs and Syria. The different suffixes Iran. *-ik* and *-in* are comparable to the two names of *Kuci*. Here we have Bud. Skt *kučina-* (and in local documents still unpublished the suffix *-in*-<sup>38</sup>) beside Sogd. *'kwčyk* in the *Nāfnāmak* 31.<sup>39</sup> Possibly also the *akušī* in Khotanese (Ch 0043, 30, KT 2.40) refers to *Kuci*. A similar *-in-* occurs in the name Staël-Holstein text 22 *argiñvā* "Argi". The two suffixes occur in other words as Armen. *yasmik*, Zor. Pahl., N Pers. *yāsmīn* "jasmine", and Zor. Pahl. *zamik*, N Pers. *zamī*, *zamīn* "earth".

If the Chinese spellings do indicate an Iran. \**tāč'in-*, it would be desirable to know when the *-č-* had reached the sound *-ž-* and *-z-*. In some Iranian dialects intervocalic *-č-* has been maintained (so Wakhī, and Balōčī), others have *-z-* (N Persian) or *-ž-* (Yidya). In the early Sasanian inscriptions the symbol *-č-* is already used between vowels for *-z-*.

7. *sičvanā ttayi kvainā* "the great court of the western region" clearly in the context refers to the Court in Khotan from which the rescript is issued. For *sičvana-* the Chinese is 西川 K 776, 1261 *si-š'uan* from \**siēi-tš'iwān*. The *ttayi kvainā* is spelled in three ways: 13 *ttayi kvaināšā*, 24 *ttayi kvainā*, 81 *kvaināna* loc. sing. Assuming that *kvān-* is the borrowed form and the

<sup>36</sup> *Epistle of Manuśīhr*, II, 1, 13.

<sup>37</sup> As pointed out to me by E. G. Pulleyblank.

<sup>38</sup> I owe this information to O. Hansen.

<sup>39</sup> W. B. Henning, *Sogdica* 8.

others to be locative changes within Khotanese the Chinese would be *kuan*. A suitable word is then Chin. 館 K 447 *kuan* from \**kuân* "public office" or 官 K *kuan* from \**kuân* "office, official", as a first component "administrative".<sup>40</sup>

14. *cahā:rai ha:nā* "Čagrī khan", and 20. The name is Turk. *čayrī* "falcon". A *Čayrī bāk* and *Čayrī tikin* is cited in Al-Kāšyārī.<sup>41</sup>

27. *tcau tteyi hyām*, 32 et passim *tteyi hyām*, the family name of the Chinese rulers of Šašjou 曹 K 1043 *ts'au* from \**dz'au*. For *tteyi hyām*, see above P 2790.10.

28. *ciṅga* preceded by *ttūnā*, also 36, 41.

38. *šacū*, and 48, see above P 2790.8.

## I1b

## P 5538a: TITLES

9. *mistā tcaisyām* "great minister", Chin. 宰相 K 1023, 786 *tsai-siang* from \**tsai-siang*.<sup>42</sup>

10. *digyina* "prince, tegin", the title of younger brothers of the Qagan.<sup>43</sup> Other spellings are Orqon Turk. plur. *tgit*; *Mahnāmag* 20, 21 *tḡyn*, 22 *tḡyn*, 23 *tḡyn*; Indian coins Pahlavī script *tḡyn*; Brāhmī script *tigina*; Sogd. Qara-balgasun *tykyn*; Chin.<sup>44</sup> 特勒 K 811, 523 *t'ə-lə* from \**d'ak-lək* (with *lək* in place of 勤 K 389 *k'in* from \**g'ien*). The title is *čigin* in Mongol.

11. *kālā* seems here to be a title, not the usual Skt *kāla*- "time". As a title it can be compared with the Krorain *kala*, *kāla*, *kamla* which has been taken as possibly meaning some "prince".<sup>45</sup> As an Iranian word it could be traced to a Khotanese or other Saka dialect \**kāzala*- from *kāš*- "to protect", as in the similar Khot. *kāka*- "protector", although in Khot. *kālā* one would wish to see some trace of the lost -*z*-.

14. *ha:nā*, see above P 2790.43.

58. *tcauta-bava*, 64 *tcauti-bavām* gen. plur., "courier", is, according to a proposal of E. G. Pulleyblank, the Chin. 走馬 K 1102, 592 *tsou-ma* from \**tsou-ma* "running horses" for "couriers". They are mentioned in the second official letter: *comme les chevaux qui courent (= les courriers) y vont directement*.<sup>46</sup> For Khot. *ba*=Chin. *ma* (for dialectal *mba*) see KT 4.78.

<sup>40</sup> R. des Rotours, *Traité*, 963.

<sup>41</sup> C. Brockelmann, 242.

<sup>42</sup> H. Giles, *Chinese Dictionary*, 11, 490. See BSOAS, 10, 601; *Jātakastava* 3 r 3 *tcaisyānā*; *Taqizadeh Volume* 37; R. des Rotours, *Traité*, I, 4.

<sup>43</sup> J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghoures*, 131, 156.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. Chavannes, *Documents*, 367; P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 26, 255; E. G. Pulleyblank, *Asia Major*, n.s., 9, 257-8 (older form).

<sup>45</sup> T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan*, 82.

<sup>46</sup> J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghoures*, 124.

## I1c

## P 5538a: LEXICAL COMMENTARY

1. The beginning of the document is lost. Line 1 is repeated in line 2.

Over the joins between the pieces of Chinese paper forming the roll P 5538 a Chinese seal is impressed. It has been kindly read for me by Dr Cheng Te-kun. The reading gives:

鑄 書  
之 詔  
印 新

transliterated *šu ūsau sin ūsu ūtī jin*, and translated "(for) letters, decrees, newly made seal".

1.2. *ttaujerā*, loc. sing. to *ttumjāra*-, first autumn month.

1.3. *pastāmdū* "we condescended to", honorific with infinitive. It has not been indicated in the translation.

3.1. *māje bādā* "our land" is here Khotan.

3.2. *sāṣte* "he looked", with *sā* for *spā* indistinguishable. It seems to have a fuller meaning than "look", as above in P 2790.

3.3. *viṣūnara*, *viṣūna*- "bad" with *-kara*-, the full phrase with *sānā* "enemy" in 50.

4.1. *hastā* "elephant", evidently a curiosity north of the Pamirs. The *vālāhā*: horse is the legendary horse of Indian Buddhist tales.

5.1. *īnakā* "companions, following(?)". Elsewhere the word *īna*- and *īnaka*- refers to "presence", rendering Tib. *ñen-hkhor* and Skt *antika*-. In origin it seems to be connected with Old Iran. *anika*- "front", in Avestan *ainika*- and N Pers. *āni* of *pēš-āni* "forehead".

5.2. *iysdāra*-, see above P 2790.17.

6.1. Throughout this text the words referring to royalty are in large script at the beginning of lines.

6.2. *sāta* (*ta* rather than a broken *na*) possibly "passage of time, period" from the base *sak*- "to pass", see KT 4.75.

6.3. *bādā hiye bāyi* "ray of the land" for the king of Khotan. The metaphor is continued in *haṣpṛiya*- "spread, expanded, shining" with allusion to such use as P 2787.71 (KT 2.104) *vīysa spūlakā haṣpṛīsaumai* "opening of the bud" and P 2741.26 *ūrmaysdi guṣpṛīsaṃcāṣṭā* "to sunrise" beside P 2896.45 (KT 3.95) *aurmaysda ttrāmacāṣṭā* "to sunset".

13. *ārri* "equipment(?)", and 15. The meaning is assumed from the context. It might perhaps be rather "provisions". The form of the word indicates \**ā-r-ja*- with a lost vowel after *r*, possibly therefore a base *rauk*- as in P 2025.123 (KBT 13) *rūkīja*, if from \**raukakainācā*-.

16. *āhrri-*, participle to *āhalj-* "to constrict", renders Skt *stambha-* in *Siddhasāra* 128 v 4.
17. *hatharā*, and 27, "trouble", not yet certainly connected. Possibly the Sogd. Chr. Man. *θrb-*, in *wyθrb-* "to worry"<sup>47</sup> can be compared.
21. *phirai* "speech" for *pharā-* elsewhere.
25. *ḥsīrā ysīnāme* "ravishing of a country, occupation" with *ysīn-* for older *ysān*, *ysin-* "to take away", to Old Pers. *adinā* and *dīta-*, Avestan *zināt*. The present is in Kha 0013 c, 6 b 1 (KT 5.125) *gamuna ysāni<ndā>* "the robbers carry off", participle *ysāta-*.
25. *bādā bīysamjāme* "holding, maintaining the land", that is, government or organising the country.
- 26.1. *inātastai* as a compound of *ināta-* "alien" and *staa-* "placed", formed like the Tumshuq *andastai* "intervening, precluding" from *andar-* and *staa-*.
- 26.2. *uhaumā* "control(?)". This is based upon comparison with Ch c. 001, 1046-7 *ayaistānā u ūhānāna* and *ibid.* 1050 (KBT 142) *ayištḥye hime bide ūhānā pašīmdā* where the phrase is dyadic with *adhištḥāna-* "control, blessing".
28. *ttūnā*, and 36, 41, an epithet of *ciṅga* "Chinese". Two connexions seem possible, 1. *ttumna-* "powerful", or 2. *ttūnaa-* as an adjective to the pronoun meaning "belonging to that place", comparable to E 23.201 *ttāmai* "belonging to that time."
29. *lyām* "rations(?)", taken as the Chinese 糧 K 541 *liang* "grain, rations".
30. *irišā* "unpleasantness", in *Siddhasāra* 140 v 2 *arišai* rendering Tib. *mi zim-pa* "not pleasant", beside *ibid.* 14 r 1 *rišā* translating Skt *ruci-* "pleasure, appetite".
33. *gveridā* "tell, explain", with *gvāra-* "business", E 23.330 *gverindī*, participle *guda-*.
- 34.1. *draysi-barā stūra* "transport animals", with Ch 00269.48 (KT 2.44) *gūmattīrai hiye hivi drraysā* "the load of the master of Gūmattīra". The NW Prakrit has *darša* "load" (see *BSOAS*, 11, 767).
- 34.2. *jauva* "fights", plural to *jau*.
36. *mušdā*, and 39, 42, 45, 60 "favour" in the sense of "presents".
37. *yau jsi* or possibly as one word *yaujsi* rendered from the context by "operation" if a Prakrit form of older *yoga-*.
40. *sūrā* "strong", Avestan *sūra-*, but noted only here, dyadic with *pejsā* "strong".

<sup>47</sup> Cited in I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, §216; F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, I, 37.4.

41. *ḥvām cū* seems to be Chinese, but is not yet explained. Ch 0043.3 (KT 2.39) has *hvā cū*.
44. *rrušti āṣam* "worthy of royalty" like 79 *rrvī āṣa* "worthy of the Court".
- 46.1. *ñāña* "plan(?)" as from *\*ni-kānya-* "to be placed, arranged".
- 46.2. *paryām bište* "we condescend to restrict", and 52 *bīsti likyerā* "more restricted", from the context, possibly from *\*abi-yat-* (on *yat-* see E. Benveniste, *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges Morgenstierne* 21 ff.), with *yat-* in the sense of "put in its proper place, take control of", as Tocharian *yat-* "to control, Skt *dam-*".
57. *nvithye* "to remove", and 65, infinitive to *nuvanth-* "to remove", pres. 3rd sing. *nvamtle*, pret. fem. *nuvamthātā* (with *-ātā* from *-ātātā*), later *nvath-*, possibly from older *\*ni-pand-*.
62. *kūšdḥi*, see above P 2790.39.
62. *ñāma* "support, guidance" as from the base *nay-* "to conduct".
63. *ūvāṣi* "opportunity" from the Prakrit of *avakāsa-*.
64. *gauṣti* "in the hand of", from *\*gabasti-*, Old Ind. *gabhasti-*, Wakhi *gawust*, frequent, see *BSOAS*, 13, 931.
68. *ira-* "ira-stone" probably "jade"; *ira-* translates Bud. Skt *silā* in the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 53 r 4 (KT I 237). In Ch ii 004, 4 r 3 *vajrrakūḷā irā* contains an equation of *ira-* with Skt *vajra-* in *vajrakūḷa-*. The *irinā gari* of N 158.5 is likely to be the *Vajraka* mountain.
69. *kīna* "pound" is the Chinese 斤 *kin*; it was used in weighing jade.<sup>48</sup>
- 71.1. *ṣvinā daštānya* "handles made of horn", 77 *daštām* "handle".
- 71.2. *byaṣṭi lika* "fitted with, equipped" from the context; *mārsalā* "hammer" for older *mursala-* from the Prakrit of older *musala-*.
- 72.1. *bārai* translated by comparison of Chorasmian *b'r* "cup".<sup>49</sup>
- 72.2. *kūsa-* "receptacle" has two uses in Khotanese 1. *kūsa-* "drum", translating Skt *bherī* and *duṇḍubhi*; 2. a measure for grain. Oss. Digoron *k'os*, Iron *k'ūs* "cup" is cognate.
73. *kai u hītalatsai*, 75 *kā u hīvalatsā*, here only. The meaning is from the context: "heroic and valiant". In *kai*, plur. *kā* we may have the older *kavi-* assuming the change through *kavi-* to *\*kavi-* to *\*kai-* thence treated as *kai* and stem in *-aa-*. In West Iranian the replacement of *-avi-* and *-ava-* by *-ai* is familiar in N Pers. *kai* "hero" and *nai* "new". Possibly the word is a loan-word in Khotanese.
- In *hītalatsaa-* possibly the first component is from the *hay-* of Zor. Pahl. *hēm*, N Pers. *xēm* "character" from *\*hai-ma-*, ultimately also in Avestan

<sup>48</sup> J. Hamilton, *Les Ouighoures*, 120.

<sup>49</sup> W. B. Henning, *Togan Volume*, 436.

*haēm* "behaviour" in Vid. 13.44 *asti šē haēm* "it is his (the dog's) behaviour". More remotely it may provide the connexion of Germanic Got. *saiwala* "soul". If this is on the right lines we have to analyse the compound as *hīwala-tsaa-*, *hītala-tsaa-* "giving up the life", like the West Iran. Zor. Pahl. *ǰān-aβspār* "id."; connected with *patātsa-* "renounce".

77.1. *vari*, uncertain, but from the context some object with handle and ears of silver, possibly "cup" if the Prakrit (AMg) *varaga-* "a vessel studded with gems" can be compared. It may however be an Iranian word from a base *var-*.

77.2. *khījsā-tcīrika* "with convex surface, embossed(?)", which would associate the word with *khajs-* "to rise", and *tcari* "face", AS *tcīru*.

77.3. *nakhausai* "covering" is conjectural; it can be analysed into \**nikafšaka-* to *kap-* "to enclose", see *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1954, 146 ff.

78.1. *īmjinai* "of steel", discussed in *BSOAS*, 21, 540.

78.2. *hūsava* "well-inlaid" or "well-beaten" beside *nījsava* in Ch 0048.25 (KBT 72) *ranyau jsa nījsava* "inlaid with jewels" from \**ni-ǰata-*.

78.3. *pakai* as second component, only here, possibly from \**pathaka-* "covering" to be compared with N Pers. *palk* "eyelid", Wakhī *pātak* "id.", Šuyñī *pūθē*, *pūfē* "eyelash" (*G. Morgenstierne, NTS*, I, 63). The Armen. *pat*, and *patak* as second component as in *oskiapat* "covered with gold" may be this same Iranian word. Note that Armen. *patem* means "to surround".

78.4. *pašajsa*, the name of some tool, mentioned also in P 2741.95 (KT 2.91) *dva pašamjsana* and P 2898.6 *pamūha: ū paraistā pašamjsa āstamna hera* "things such as clothing and . . . pašamjsa-tools". Possibly Sogd. Chr. *ptšng* "cross" and Bud. VJ 250 *ptš'nhh* "scaffold" may contain the same word. Old Ind. *śanku-* "spike, stake, nail" might also be compared. Note too that Sogdian has also SCE 269 *ptš'nhh*, plur. "bonds".

80.1. *parau* "rescript, command" is accompanied by a large Chinese 勅 *ts'ī* "order".

80.2. *thyenā tcūnā* will represent a Chinese *t'ien tsun*, a year name of local reckoning. The text Ch 1. 0021 b, a<sup>2</sup> 44 (KBT 151) mentions the fifth regnal period of Viśā Śūra in this period of *thyena tcūnā*.

81. *rrāšī yan-* "to put into force".