

A KHOTANESE TEXT CONCERNING THE TURKS IN KANTSOU

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In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1948) I printed the text of the Khotanese roll in the Pelliot Collection, P2471, but commented that a complete translation was not then possible. On further reflection I have realised the nuisance such an untranslated text must be to others interested in the field, and below an attempt is made to translate this document as far as it is possible to go at present. Certain details remain obscure, but a large part is now intelligible. I have also had the good fortune to be able to use a microfilm photograph of this manuscript. I had requested the Bibliothèque Nationale to make me photographs in 1939. But it is only now, ten years later, that I have been able to collate my transcript made in the Christmas vacation of 1937-8 with the original. A few errors have been found and it has now also been possible to verify some words which I had had to leave uncertain. In view of this revision I have decided to reprint the text here, which will at the same time make the task of comparison with the translation easier.

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- 1 || rrvī vi aūrāsā haṣḍā ṅaśā bisā thyai paḍā tsā ~
2 || khu vā ṅaśā bisā p̄sa mistye ysarrnīmje jānave vī āna ysa¹ k̄a-
3 m̄acū vāṣṭā ysarrnai parau nāteṃ ~ khu garvā hva:māla¹ āvaṃdūṃ
 dasau
4 haḍā cimudāṃ bimḍā¹ haṃdrryi vya² tsvāṃdūṃ cā cumudāṃ
 haṃdrryi vya mistye bādā hi-
5 ya padam̄ja ṣa bisā tcerai hamya ~ khu ṣacū āvaṃdūṃ ~ viri vā didye
6 haḍai si khūṃ cā svām̄si haṣṭe si tvī k̄amācū vāṣṭā thyaū nārām̄ñā
7 hame ~ cu cim̄ga k̄sira bisā haḍā ṣṭāre ttī viña ni tsva hamāre ~
8 khū miri ṣacū āvaṃdūṃ haudamye haḍai [tti]³ k̄amācū āna ṣṭānācū
9 ā u barbajjīyāṃ hiya sūlya ~ ttivī ṅaśā bisā brraṣṭāṃdūṃ si k̄amā-

¹ ysa, hva:māla, bimḍā deleted.

² haṃdrryi vya written subscript.

³ blurred akṣara.

- 10 cū va bādā, khu ṣṭe ~ u ttā vā hve si k̄amācū va āphāji ṣṭāre ~ cu thyaoutta-
11 nām̄jsi ha:nā ye ṣi parye ~ u cu jsām hā viña ttrrūkā bayarkāta u
12 saḥā:nā ḡuga ttūkā nūvarā ha:nā ṅestāṃdā ~ ttū jsām āṃ va ttarrdā-
13 ṣām u ṣe ḡuga u birūkām¹ āstam̄na dirsā dirsā hvaṃḍā papeṣā kimḍā
 si khu ttrrūkvāṣṭā ni pa-
14 haiṣṭā ~ u ttī jsām va kam̄thi strraihā: ṣamañā ṣṭe ~ ṅaśā bisā skarḥveri
 mā-
15 ṣṭi 28ṃye haḍai ṣacū āna k̄amācū vāṣṭā niraṃdūṃ ~ rraha:ji
16 māṣṭā paṃjsūsa haḍai k̄amācū āvaṃdūṃ ~ u didye haḍaivāṃ ha:nā
17 pyam̄tsā bāstāṃdā ~ u cu maṃ ha:nā va rrvīyi muṣḍā ya tvā hā nva pa-
18 rau haudem̄ u svam̄na kalai hā ḡugavāṃ virāṣṭā parauta haudem̄ u mu-
19 ṣḍi ~ u khu busta si bādā hīvi kirā ḍāṣe ~ ttī vā ttuḍisā saḍā-
20 cī ttāttāhā: nāma birūkā tsve cu ṅaṣe bisā hīvi kalātcyarai ye
21 u maṃgali chārā ttāttāhā: u cīnā ttāttāhā: ~ ttam̄ vā ttā tta parau pa-
22 stāṃdā si dasamye haḍaive āṃ nārām̄ñā hame buysā maṃ nā mūṃdā
 yam̄
23 m̄ñāṃ maṃ drrāma āphāji ṣṭāre cu ri maṃ hvehva:rām̄ ṅestā va ṣam̄dā
 niṣṭā
24 viri hā ṅaśā bisā haṣḍi yuḍem̄ si khū vā aūrmaysdi guṣpr̄risam̄cā bi-
25 sā ttum̄ṣīyi bāstem̄ u raṃnīm̄je mistye jānave vī bisā thim̄ṣīya ~
26 u khu ttī haḍi urmaysdi guṣpr̄risam̄cāṣṭā nā paṣā yinīme ~ ysi²
27 ysarrnai mistye haurā pyam̄tsāṣṭā hā aūrāsā haṣḍi khu yine ~ u ttam̄
28 vā hvāṃdā si cve maṃ haṃdana bisai parau hamāte ttuve ttā svi
 dāthiḍai
29 paryāṃ ~ cu haḍi ṣṭāre ttā ri nā³ spāṣṭā yam̄ ~ tti viña ttākye bādā vi
 phari
30 niṣṭi si cū bādā niraṃdā hamāre ~ tvī rraysgā vī gasāñā hame ~
31 ttī vā kaji māṣṭā beraji vī kalātcyarai birūkā diṣṭi parau pastāṃdā si
32 viña āṃ ga² ūhū:ysā ḡuga u barsā ḡuga āstam̄na hauda ḡugava nya²
 tsimḍā
33 u hauda birūka cu āṃ gūkām̄inā āna ṣacū-patām̄ jsa bādā padīmā-
34 re u tvī pā tsūñai hame ~ khu rraysgā vī ysarrnai bādā virāṣṭā pharā
 gaste
35 u ttī vā ṣacū āna mājā hvaṃḍā pīḍakā hajsāṃdāṃdā si ṣacū-pata āṃ
 maṃ tta
36 tta tti hūñimḍā si khu vā k̄amācū āna thyai paḍā tsā hīṣṭā u cu maṃ
 ttikyāṃ
37 āstam̄na haḍā im̄de damḍā ihejāṃ kuṣṭi buri vā mājā haḍi ni hīsīṃde
38 cu jsām̄ va ḡyaṣṭi hiya dyāma ya tvā vālai hūnvāṣṭā hajsāṃdāṃdā u pa-

¹ u ṣe . . . birūkām̄ subscript.

² ysi, ga, nya, jsi deleted.

³ nā, maṃ, ysā subscript.

39 jsā mam¹ sāḍa-aymva šṭāre ~ tti ṅasā bisā ttū piḍakā hau_{ni} nišāvem ~ u
 40 ūhū:jsi²ysā¹ ḡuga mi bisāšṭā gurṣṭe u tti vā hve si ṅasā bisā rrvīyi
 41 mušdā pajsā pharāka nā yuḍem cu ṣacū bisā salāta šṭāre tti hauta šṭāre
 42 viṅa ttikye paṃdā mūṅa u ṅasā bisai hā ttā hveṃ si šveri tta ṣacū bisā sa-
 43 lāva ~ dva paciḍa ma ciṃga ḡṣirāšṭā haḍi šṭāre u kuṣṭi buram mari kamā-
 44 cū ṅna viḍāšṭā nā hajsāṃdā yinīme ni tsva hame ~ ttā hā ḡḡgava paṃjsū-
 45 samye haḍai āva u iḍārim jsām hā ciṃgā rrumdā hīvi haḍā śahvām: dittū
 46 kīthi bisai sūm śām sū [.]³ u ṣi hā ṅase bisā virāšṭā hvamḍi haṣṭe
 47 si yūttjānā kūhi: bisai mam haḍā ṣṭe khvam jsi hamḡūjūm ~ u vaṣṭi⁴
 vīram jsa ni
 48 hamve ~ tti hā hamārrīmji neṣṭi⁵ māsti ṣacū bisā hīna āta u tti jsām
 hā spari-
 49 bistā ḡḡgava dvi ysārā cumuḍāna⁵ hīna ājīṃdāṃdā u dvi ssa ttattara ~
 khu kamācū
 50 tramda didye haḍai buka ha: nā muḍā u nārā u dvi dvarā ~ haṣṭimye
 haḍai
 51 hīna nāramda u śamḍamā buri tsvāṃdā u ttrrūkvā hā ni dirvāṃdā ~
 u ḡa-
 52 sāva tti cumuḍa ysaurrā yuḍāṃdā tti hvāṃdā si cī hve:hva:rām u
 ciṃgām hīvi
 53 thapsā ye ~ ci vā māṅām śā māstāmjsye śamde vī ṅni bāstāṃdā u nau-
 54 hyi: buri hīna ni bāstāṃdā u hāysi tsvāṃdā ~ u ṣacū-pata jsām kīthi
 55 neṣṭa u ḡṣimye haḍai hā ttrrūkā bayarkāvām hīya hīna āta ~ u
 56 paḍauysā nauhā: hā ūhū:ysā ḡuga u berakā aṭṭimā ūha: āstamna hve-
 57 hvu:rāna hīna āva u ūhū:ysā ḡuga āstamna va tcaurabistā hvamḍā mu-
 58 ḍa u nva jsām hā ciṃ³ ṣacū bisā hīna āva u khvam ttrrūkā bayarkāvām
 hī-
 59 ya hīna dyā viri āsa ūvī stāṃdā u neṣṭa u ṣacū-pavā ri hā biṃda
 60 ni dirvāṃdā ~ u drrai haḍā ri va ṣacū-pata mūṃdāṃdā u hamṭsi vā
 61 begarakā aṭṭimā ūga u ayavirā ūga uha: ūga u kṅnūrā
 62 apa ūga u aha:ci u cīnā ttātāhi: āstamna drrayi birū-
 63 kām jsa hāysi tsvāṃdā u vīram hā barsā uga tsva u tta hve si āphāji
 64 pharākyi šṭāre māṅām jsa hamṭsi hāysa tsa u hamṭsi vā ṣacū-patām
 65 jsa hāysi ni dirvem tsai si ārrā vī kaṣe ~ u hamidā va drrai māsti mūṃ-
 66 dem u cu va kīthā ḡḡgavām āstamna ttūḍīsa ya tti ri va pā kīthi pha ni
 67 mūṃdāṃdā u ttrrūkām vaski hā hamṭsi sahā:nā ūga jsa hīna ājīṃdāṃdā
 68 u hau:rām murām jsa sūje va prramṅi puḍāṃdā si mihe dva pacaḍa
 hve:hva-

¹ nā, mam, ysā subscript.

² ysi, ḡa, nya, jsi deleted.

³ akṣara blurred out.

⁴ ve with e deleted.

⁵ neṣṭi and cumuḍāna subscript. *

69 ra u dūṃta sūje ni paśām ~ cu mam begarā aṭṭimā ḡuga āstamna
 70 bāḍa-šipherā hvamḍā ya tti ṣacū vāšṭā hāysi tsvāṃdā u khu kīthi
 71 bisā ttūḍīsa nitcā kīthi āta ttrrūkām jsa hami hamya ~ cu va pā
 72 ttrardāśām hadrri vya iḥimjūva ya ttā pā ttrrūkvāšṭā hāysā tsvāṃdā
 73 pātcā hā ttrrūkvā bisā dasau mištāri hvamḍā ttrramda si bāḍām
 padjīmām ~
 74 u ttiṅa beḍi jsām hā ṅase bisā virāšṭā ṣacū ṅna piḍakā ā si
 75 hauda.vā prrivāsti rrispūra āta u haḍa cu āṃ gauthūśanā tsīṃdā u
 76 ttiyām daśām hvamḍām jsi hamṭsi ttrrūkvāšṭā thyai haryāsakā paśāvem
 si hā-
 77 ḍi-dijsām vā mištirām hvamḍām jsa nāṣkicā padjīmā si tti rrispūra u
 78 haḍi tsva hamāri ā ne ~ u haryāsakā tsva u ttaudāgarām vī hā pyamṭsā
 79 dvi ysārā hīna āta cu [.]¹ karattahā: tsvā² ttrrdāśām vī u haryā-
 80 sakā bisāšṭa hā³ hajsāṃdāṃdā u ttūrā⁴ jsām ttrrdāśvā bisā drrai-sse
 81 ula baḍā yuḍām⁵ u tti jsām ayavirā aḍpā bekā cā birūkā
 82 u ttrrdāśā ittiyigānā ttātāhā: u saikairā ttrrūkā chārā ā-
 83 stamna hauda bisa hvamḍā hāysi bāstāṃdā ~ khu vā viri āṃ tta ḡasā-
 84 ta u miri hā kīthi ṅna hamṭsi tarkānā ḡuga jsa dūṃta niramda u ham-
 85 ṭsi tte ḡuga jsa hauparibistā kīthā bisā hvamḍā muḍa ~ haryāsakā jsām
 86 hā tti tti hvāṃdā si cu mihe dva pacaḍa hve:hvara ṣṭām mahe haryāsa-
 sṅnā⁶ ha-
 87 myamḍūm bāḍā hīvi mam pacaḍā ništā ~ khvam vā ttrrdāśa vāšṭā
 paśīm-
 88 de u kīthi bisā hvamḍā mihe vā pā pāsā yinām ~ cu jsām va ṣi ciṃ-
 89 ga ḡṣirā bisai haḍā ye tte jsi jsām ṅasā bisā hamḡvīm u piḍakā hā nā
 90 dirvem haurā ~ salā jsai hā bisā ḡuḍe si cu iṃājsā⁷ haḍi ya tti
 91 bisā ṣacū āva u mājā vā pā ḍittu pūhā:ya āstamna drrayi
 92 mista haḍa u ni tta ṣṭā sta ḍām āstamna sūḍasā hvamḍā tti pā
 93 ṣacū āva ~ ttī vā brraṣṭi si ciṃga ḡṣirāšṭā vā rrvīyi mušdā
 94 cilaka āva ~ ttai hā hveṃ si ḡṣi-sse kīna vā iṃā rāśḡ pastām-
 95 dā yuḍe u iḥimjū ṅūca u dva paśamjsana ~ u ttā vā hve si mam
 96 vā pā ṣacū ṅna cā ttāyā khi āstamna ciṃgām⁸ hīvi piḍakā tta tta ā ~ ṣi
 va pā ha-
 97 ḍā dilakā mūṃde u hamṭsā ttramḡātvā bisām haḍām jsa pahai u
 ttrrūkvā

¹ akṣara blurred out.

² tsvāe with deleted e.

³ hā deleted.

⁴ sic ttūrā, read stūrā.

⁵ Read yuḍāṃdā.

⁶ sṅ subscript.

⁷ Read iṃājā.

⁸ subscript āstamna ciṃgām.

- 98 ttrramdā u viri ānā vidāṣṭā hāysi tsve cvai jsām va cimḡā rruṃ-
 99 dā hīya ha:nā va muṣḡi ya tvāvi jsām ttrrūka bisā ysyāmdā pi-
 100 dākā āstamna ~ khu durbiḡṣā u āphāji pattīye u karā kīthi jsām hā
 101 sāna hamthrrīyāmdā drrai māsti ri kamthi viri ni prrihīyāmdā ~ tti hā
 102 karattahā: āna caraihä¹ ṣiyi caraihi: uha: u biḡiḡā
 103 sahiḡ:nā āstamna hvamḡdā ttrramḡda ~ cvam hā dūmvi tta tta hvamḡdā
 si mā-
 104 ḡām āṃ khu yamḡda imi garvāṣṭā tcābrri yamḡda mahe kīthi āna ham-
 105 jsyām kṣuṇa mirā u karā kīthi jsām maṃ sāna ṣṭāre ~ tti vā jsām mam
 yū-
 106 ttjñā bisā haḡā ṣṭāre miysdyūna cu hamjisyāri mirām u aṣām jsām bi-
 107 sā baḡā tsvāṃdā ~ cu ha:nā ṣṭe ṣi jsām vilakā ṣṭe ~ ttām vā hamtsi hī-
 108 ḡa jsi nātcī bāstāmdā u garvā ānām ṣacū vāṣṭā paśāmdā
 109 ttām hvāṃdā si cu hvehvarām bāḡi ye ttū hīya tcjmaṅḡā dyāṃdā si tti
 110 tta gatcastā tta tta burṣṭā ~ cu ha:nā ṣṭe u hve:hvara ttyām ri maṃ ṅe-
 111 stā va diḡi nistā tsvava khu drrūna tava hamāta tsūva tsva hamā-
 112 va mihe ri āṃ amājā śirki viḡūna nāma ni nā yinām ~
 113 khu hā ḡāṣā bisā kamācū ttrramḡdūm u khu vā niramḡdū drrai-sse
 haupari-
 114 pamjsāsā va hvamḡdā muḡa ~ khu ttumjeri māsti kṣjmye haḡai ṣacū
 ttrramḡdūm
 115 pātcā vā nva² hvamḡdā ātā si hamidā va ssa pamjsāsā hvamḡdā muḡa
 116 u pamjsāsā jsām jūṃdā bāstāmdā cvam va pā kīthi dūmḡvām sturā
 117 ya ttā pā bisā baḡā yuḡāṃdā ~ cu jsārā ttū jsām baka kaistā yu-
 118 ḡāṃdā u ttū jsām nā hamḡdāḡā yuḡāṃdā ~ cu viḡa buhā:thum bisā
 ttatta-
 119 ra ṣṭāre tta pā dva drrai jūna karattahā: u dyau-tcvjñā hvāstāṃdā ~ cu
 sūha:cū
 120 āna dyau-tcvjñā buri maṣpa ṣi ttattarām jsa basta lika ṣṭe ~ dyau-
 tcvjñā āna jsām
 121 aūdi kamācū yipākīnā ttahi: buri vara jsām ttardāsām ttūḡiśām u
 122 ttürkā bayarkāvām hīya buḡāmaciā cū jsām mistām hvamḡdā ttyām
 hīya
 123 jsām hauva ja u ḡāttarām hīya hīya hauva pattīya u
 124 viḡa ri āṃ sūjaḡa vina hamḡdrauysi murā hamḡdarye hvāṃdye haḡā
 tsū³ ma
 125 nistā⁴ ~ cu cimḡa kṣirāṣṭā haḡām hīya mista nāma u rrispūrām
 126 hīya nāma ṣi pāsi haraṣṭa khu tta tta bādūna sūjaḡa ni samīm-
 127 de nvāṣṭira maṃ paṃda hīvi pacaḡā nistā kamācū bisai maṃ aurrāsā

¹ caraihä deleted.² sic nva, read dva.³ viḡa . . . tsū deleted; ma at end of deletion.⁴ nistā deleted.

- 128 haḡdā ṣaikā ye ~ khu jsām vā ḡāṣā bisā mara ṣacū āvūṃ u didye
 129 haḡai ma kathi-rāysi pyatsā bāste u tta
 130 ttām vā hvē si rrvive vā maṃ virāṣṭā tta tta parau ā si khve ttā ka-
 131 mācū āṃ pāḡā tsā āstamna haḡa hīsḡmde raysgi vīram vā vāṣṭi
 132 hajeṣma ~ u ḡūlai samgalakā vā vā tta tta parau pastāṃdā si kūṣṭi
 133 buri vā cimḡvā bisā haḡa na ḡāṣāṃde u parauve vā ni hīsī nā tsva
 134 hama ~ khvam vā parau hīstā si cilakam: ra maṃ mūḡḡāḡā ā khvam tcerai
 135 . . vā .au .i' parau āṃ maṃ spāsūṃ

TRANSLATION

Report to the Court. The Humble Servant Thyai Paḡā-tsa

When I, the humble servant, . . . (*pgsa*) had received the Golden command from the Great Golden Land concerning Kantṣou, when we came through the mountains [to Hva:mälaj, for ten days we travelled among the Čumuls. As to the customary present for the Great State among the Čumuls that had all to be provided. When we came to Šaṣṣou, there on the third day . . . (*si khūm*) Cā Śvām-śi reported, saying, You must start at once for Kantṣou. As to the envoys of China they cannot now go. When we came here to Šaṣṣou, on the seventh day from Kantṣou came Stanācū, and the Sūlya (Sogdians?) of the Barbajiya. Then we, the humble servants, asked him, saying, How is the state of Kantṣou? And then he said, In Kantṣou are disorders. As to the former Khan, he has passed away. And now those who are the Türk Bayırqu, and Sayun ügā, they have set up this new Khan. Thirty men each of the Tarduš, of the one ügā and of the commander (*birūka*—"official") watch him at night, so that he does not flee to the Turks. And then the city is in terrible case. I, the humble servant, on the 28th day of the month Skarhvāra started from Šaṣṣou for Kantṣou. We arrived in Kantṣou on the fifteenth day of the month Rrāha:ja. And on the third day they led us before the Khan. And what I had as royal present for the Khan, that according to order, I gave, and next day in the morning I gave the rescripts to the ügās, and the present. And when they understood that my official business was finished, then the commander named (20) Salēi tutuq of the Tölis, who was the *kalātcyarāa*-official of me the humble servant, and Māngli Čor tutuq and Čin tutuq came. They gave to me the following order, On the tenth day you must start. You cannot stay here long. Here we have such disorders because there is no land for the settlement of the Uigurs. Thereupon I, the humble servant, reported how I was conducting the Ttūṃṣiya (Chinese?) of the East and the Thiṃṣiya (Khotanese?) of the Great Jewelled Land, and how I could not send these envoys to the East. How can I make report to the Great Golden Lord (*haurā*)? And they said to me, What other order from the Interior there may be here for you, that

¹ Four blurred akṣaras.

we shall be pleased to transmit to you to-morrow. As to the envoys you cannot see them. So now at this time the discussion is not, (30) What time can they start? You must return at once. Then in the month Kaja at the . . . (*beraji*), they gave a rescript into the hand of the *kalācyaraa*-official, the commander, saying, Seven *ügäs*, *Oyuz ügä* and *Bars ügä*, and seven commanders are now going, who by means of men of *Şaṣṣou* from the Jade Gate (*Gükämjā*) are establishing a state. And you accordingly must go, so that at once information may be sent back to the Golden State. And then from *Şaṣṣou* our men brought a letter, saying, The men of *Şaṣṣou* are talking, saying, How will *Thyai Pada-tsā* come from *Kanṣṣou*? And as to the envoys of such persons we will detain them so long as our own envoys have not arrived. As to the Royal sight (picture?), they brought that . . . (*vālai?*) to the *Hūnas*, but here they are exceedingly cold-hearted. Then I, the humble servant, did not mention the letter. (40) And *Oyuz ügä* called me to his house and then said, I, the humble servant, have been able to accept very many royal presents. As to the discussions in *Şaṣṣou*, they are words. Remain now on this wise. And I, the humble servant, said to him, Tell (me) the discussions in *Şaṣṣou*. I have two kinds of envoys to China, and as long as I cannot bring them further from *Kanṣṣou* here, it is not possible to go. The *ügäs* came on the fifteenth day, and the other man, the Chinese king's envoy *Sūm Šām-sū* of the city of *Li-tu* in *Şuo-fang*. And he sent men to the humble servant, reporting, Is the envoy of *Khotan* here, that I may meet them? But he did not meet me at all. Then at the end of the month *Hamārrimja* the *Şaṣṣou* troop came; and then twenty-five *ügäs* brought a troop of two thousand *Čumuls* and two hundred *Tatars*. When they had entered *Kanṣṣou*, (50) on the third day *Buka Khan* was killed, and his wife and two daughters. On the eighth day the troop started out and they went as far as *Şamdāmā*, and they did not venture among the *Turks*, but they returned. Then the *Čumuls* were angered. They said, When was it the practice of the *Uigurs* and the *Chinese*, that they led our men one month's march through the land, and did not lead the troop as far as the decisive point, but went away? And the men of *Şaṣṣou* occupied the city, and on the sixth day the troop of the *Türk Bayırqu* came. And at the first point (of time?) the troop of *Uigurs*, *Oyuz ügä* and *Berakä Attimä ügä* and the rest, came. And twenty-four men, *Oyuz ügä* and the rest were killed, and next came the *Şaṣṣou* troop and when the troop of the *Türk Bayırqu* saw them, at once they . . . the horses and stayed and did not venture against the *Şaṣṣou* men. (60) And three days the *Şaṣṣou* men stayed and together with *Begarakä Attimä ügä* and *Ayavirä ügä* and the three commanders *Qongur Apa ügä* and *Ayači* and *Čin tutuq*, went away and *Bars ügä* came to me and said, There are many disorders. Go away with our men. But I did not dare to go away with the *Şaṣṣou* men, thinking, I may commit a fault (compromise myself?). And altogether I waited three months. And those

among the *ügäs* in the city who were *Tölis*, they did not long remain in the city, but on their behalf the *Turks* with *Sayun ügä* got together a troop, and in discussions with one another, they made complaint (?), saying, We *Uigurs* and *Düm* are of two kinds. We do not send to (communicate with, or tolerate?) one another. (70) As to the state-distracting men here, *Begarä Attimä ügä* and the rest, they went away towards *Şaṣṣou*, and when the *Tölis* of the city came outside the city, they were united with the *Turks*. Those then who were the *Üc inčü* among the *Tarduš* they went away to the *Turks*. Afterwards the ten more important men among the *Turks* entered, saying, We are making a state for you. And at that time a letter came to the humble servant from *Şaṣṣou* that the seven escorted princes had come and the envoys, who were going to the *Gauthūsanä*. And with those ten men I sent *Thyai Haryāsaka*, saying, From the state-controlling more important men enquire whether these princes and envoys can go or not. And *Haryāsaka* went but towards him came two thousand troops of the *Ttauḍāgara* and the rest, who were going to *Qaratay* to the *Tarduš*. And they brought *Haryāsaka* to their house and they seized the cattle (reading *stūrä*), three hundred camels of the *Tarduš*. (80) And then *Ayavirä Adpä bekä* (*Alp bāg*) *Cä* the commander, and the *Tarduš İtti-yiḡanä tutuq* and *Saikairä Turk Čor* and the rest, seventy servant men, they led away. When they returned from there and the *Düm* went out from the city with *Tarqan ügä* and with that *ügä* twenty-seven men of the city were killed, to *Haryāsaka* they said, We, who are *Uigurs* of two parties, we have become "black enemies" (*haryāsa-sānaa*-). There is no policy (*paçaḍa*-?) here for a state. If they let you go towards the *Tarduš*, and the men of the city, then we can send you. As to the envoy of China, I, the humble servant, met him, but I did not dare to give him the letter. (90) In discussion with him I explained all, saying, As to your envoys they all came to *Şaṣṣou* and our men then, the three Great Envoys, *Pühä:yä* of (the city of) *Li-tu* and the rest, and the eleven men . . . and the rest then came to *Şaṣṣou*. Then he asked, How many royal presents have been sent to China? I accordingly said to him, Six hundred kins (kins' weight) of jade (*irä*) they have been pleased to issue, and a . . . (*ñūca*) made of *imja* stone and two *pašamjsana*. And he said, Here a letter has come from *Şaṣṣou* of *Cä Ttäyā-khi* and the rest. This envoy remained only a short time, and he fled with the envoys of the *Tanguts*, and entered among the *Turks*, and from there he went further. What he had as present for the Khan from the Chinese king, all that the *Turks* seized from him, the letter and the rest. (100) When famine and disorders increased and outside the city the enemies invested it, for three months they did not open the city. Then by night from *Qaratay*, the men *Čariy ügä* and *Bilgä Sayun* and the rest entered. What the *Düm* said to them (was), How are you treating our men? You make them scatter to the mountains. We in the city are likely to die of hunger. Then the *Khotan* envoys are here in

a sorry state, who are likely to die. And outside the city here are enemies. Their horses have all been seized. As to the Khan, he is a child. So with the troops they led us outside and sent us through the mountains to Şaşsou. They said to us, The state of the Uigurs they saw with their own eyes; (110) it was broken and ruined. As to the Khan and the Uigurs, there is here in fact no district for settlement. Go. If you can go in safety, go. So you can go. We cannot either blame or praise you. When I, the humble servant, entered Kanşsou and when I started out three hundred and fifty-seven men of them were killed. When on the sixth day of the month Tıñjāra I entered Şaşsou, afterwards two (reading *dva*) men came, saying, Altogether of them one hundred and fifty men were killed, and fifty they led off alive. All the animals of the Dūm in the city they seized. As to the corn they had been able to sow little and that they could not gather in. As to the Tatars of Buhā:thum now, they rode two or three times to Qaratay and Liau-ts'üan. (120) As to the road from Suşsou to Liau-ts'üan, that is closed by the Tatars. From Liau-ts'üan to Yipkin Tay of Kanşsou there are the **bulmaçis* (*budamaciya*) of the Tarduş, Tölis and the Turk Bayırqu. As to the more important men their power is destroyed and the power of the various inferiors has increased. In fact now between one another except for a bird flying in the air there is no going for any other man as envoy. As to the great name (prestige) of the envoys of China and the name of the princes, he fully detailed how the tribal groups (*budun*) are in disagreement. There is here indeed no plan (*pacada-* "method") for an easier way. That was the message of information at Kanşsou. When I, the humble servant, came here to Şaşsou, [and] on the third day he conducted me before the ruler of the city, (130) and he said to me, From the Court a command has arrived for you here, saying, When to you the envoys Pađä-tsā and the rest come from Kanşsou, quickly bring them here. But Gūlai (and) Saṅgalakā gave the order to me, saying, As long as the envoys of China have not returned, and no orders have come for you, you cannot go. When the order comes for me, saying, How long must they stay here or how must they act, I am looking to (awaiting) the order here.

A. LEXICAL NOTES

Line 1(a). *aüräs-*: *aúraşta-* "inform" < **ā-frac-*; nominal *aürāsa-aürāsa-* "information", frequent before *haşda-* "message"; P 2958.125 *haşdām aürräşäkä* "reporter of messages".

1(b). *ñasä bisä* "humble servant" with *ñasa-* from Older Khotanese *niyāssa-* "contemptible", equivalent to the 1st sing. pronoun (as *bandah* "servant" with 1st sing. verb in New Persian); hence often followed by the verb in 1st sing. or plur. Here line 2, *ñasä bisä . . . nätem* "I received"; line 9, *ñasa bisä brraştāmdüm* "we asked". Before I had recognised this use of *ñasa bisä* I had not seen that the endings *-amdüm* and *-āmdüm* (also

without final *anusvāra*) were exclusively 1st. plur., and I had mistranslated the ending in *Hvatanica* IV (*BSOS* 9.532) s.v. *khqlavi* as 3rd plural. For the use as 1st plur. the evidence is abundant: with the pronoun we have P 2788.4 *mahe na nimaṁdrryādüm*, below P 2741.86 *mahe . . . hamyamdüm*, P 2786.44 *mihai sāhaqū āvadū*, 66 *mihai hađa paşāmdū*, Ch 00269.35 *mahe . . . āvamdüm*, 81 *mahe . . . paşāmdüm*, 111 *māhe . . . nraqadadū*. I cannot point to any use as 3rd plur., and a reference is lacking in Sten Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik* 58.

2. *paşa* remains unexplained.

3(a). *ysarrnai parau* "Golden command"; *ysarrniñje jānave* "Golden Land" (*janapada-*); 27 *ysarrnai mistye haurā* "Great Golden Lord (?)"; 34 *ysarrnai bādā* "Golden state". P 2786.197-8 *ranijai janavai hiye u ysarnai bāđa hiya nauma* "the name of the Jewelled Land and of the Golden State" seems to keep the Golden Land distinct from the Jewelled Land. The Jewelled Land is Khotan (see *BSOS* 9.541) and in *BSOAS* 10.602 it was proposed to see in Şaşsou the Golden Land.

3(b). *vī āna*, alternating with *vīra āna* (in the one text P 2787.131 *vī āna* and 132 *vīra āna*). In *āna*, *aūna* we have a derivative partic. of *ā(h)-* "to stay", expressing the point of departure (like the development in New Indo-Aryan, see L. Alsdorf, *ZDMG* 91 (1937) 442, *Die Entstehung der neuindischen Sprachen*) It has become so similar to a postposition that it is ranged with them in Sten Konow, *Khot.-sak. Gram.* 64. It occurs, also, preceded by a locative, as in P 5538 a 81 *kvāniña āna*, quoted below on line 94.

3(c). *-tem*, 1st sing. pret., Older Khot. *-taimā*. In this text occur 24, 41 *yudem*, 25 *bāstem*, 39 *nisāvem*, 42, 94 *hvem*, 63, 90 *dirvem*, 65 *mumdem*, 76 *paşāvem*. The *-em* is replaced by *-im* in 89 *hamgvim*. The *anusvāra* may be absent after a diphthong (see provisionally *BSOAS* 12.327), and we have *rdyai* "I held", written for **dryai*, for Older Knot. *dr̥taimā* in the Staël-Holstein roll 69: *khu a pađausā ahā rdyai* "when I first held you", and in *Jātaka-stava* 38 r 2 *hvi* "I spoke".

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

5. *padamja* "custom; (customary) present". P 2031.16 *skyesä u padamja* is a hendiadys with Tibetan *skyes* "present". Similarly Ch 00269.46 *ttü cimūdām padamja hauđāmdüm* "we gave that as present to the Čimuls".

6(a). *haşte*. This word has already formed the subject of a note in *BSOAS* 11.3-4, but further consideration, as often, has shown that the problem was not fully solved. The two passages of P 2741, there quoted lines 6 and 46 are here translated somewhat differently: in 6 *haşte* "reported" and 46 "sent . . . reporting". The connection of *hays-* remains undecided. It could correspond to Old Iranian *az-* "drive" with prothetic *h-*, as in *hāma-* "raw" (Sanskrit *āma-*), or to Old Iran. *haz-* "to get into one's power". The partic. *haysāna-* renders Tibetan *byas* "to be made" in *Siddhasāra* 104 r

2. The farmer's letter Mazar Tagh a.1.0033 (facsimile *Serindia* CLI) has in lines 7-8 *khu vā hīya stūra tsvata hamānde ttīti vā hīyau stūrām bida bada u sau jsām vā hve stūra haśgi* "if your own animals can go, then ride upon (2nd plur. imperative) your own animals and one man drives the animals", with the 3rd. sing. of *hays-* "drive".

6(b). *tvī . . . nārāmāñā hame* "you must set out". Similarly 30 *tvī . . . gāsāñā hame* "you must return", and 34 *tvī . . . tsūñai hame* "you must go", with *tvī* gen. sing. as agent to the partic. of necessity. The enclitic pronoun instead of *tvī* occurs in 22, *dasamyē haḍai-v-e āñ nārāmāñā hame* "on the tenth day you must go", with *-e* from Older Khot. *te*. Note also Ch 00269.25 *kamācū būrā rrispūra bayañā* "you must escort the princes to Kanṭsou" (*-ā*=Older Khot. *-ū* "you"), and P 2787.175-6 *tvī . . . sakhāra padimāñā* "you must build a saṅghārāma" (*JRAS* 1942.20).

7. *tsva hamāre* "they can go". For *hami-* "become" with the *-ta* partic. to express potentiality with intransitive verbs, see *BSOAS* 10.586. Here we have also 30 *niramāda hamāre*, 44 *tsva hame*, 111 *tsva hamāta*, and 133 *tsva hama*. For the transitive with *yan-*, see below on line 22.

9. *-v-* to add a vowel to a final vowel: 9 *tī-v-i*, 16 *haḍai-v-āñ*, 22 28 *ttu-v-e*, 99 *tvā-v-i*, 130 *rrvī-v-e*. See *BSOAS* 10. 572-3, *BSOAS* 11. 783-4.

10(a). *bāḍā* "state, country, land", parallel to *janave* (from Old Indian *janupada-*); 19 *bāḍā hīvi kīvā* "official business".

10(b). *āphāji* "disorders" 23, 63, 101, later form of Older Khot. *āphārgyā-* occurring in *Suvarṇabhāsa* 32 r 2-3, *u nuṣṭhuryau rrumdyau āphārgye hāmāre*=Sansk. *dārunās ca rāja-saṃkṣobhā bhaviṣyanti*. The *-r-* before a consonant is frequently lost in Later Khotanese: E 20.53 *khārggu* "mud" acc. sing., E 6.90 *khārju* loc. sing., *Siddhasāra* 136 v 2 *khāje*, *Jātaka-stava* 23 v 3 *khājaña* loc. sing., *ibid.* 27 v 4 *kheja*. The connection offered with *phaj-* in *BSOS* 8.883, note 5, must be given up.

10-11. *thyauttanāñsi* "former", *thyautta* "formerly," with the *-āñsi* adjectival suffix to words denoting time: P 2834.24 *sviyanāñsi* "of to-morrow". P 2898.7 *haṣṭa-māstāñsām khāysū* "food for eight months", beside *vaysnāñsi* and *paḍāñsi*.

13(a). *papeśā* "in the evening, at night", occurs also in *Siddhasāra* 100 v 3 *papeśā drrai prūya khāśāñā* "at night three prūya-measures must be drunk" (the original text has not yet been found); and Ch ii 003, 98 v 3 *papiśā* without correspondent in the Sanskrit original. The *pa-* may be like the *pa-* "towards" of *pasāla-* "spring" and *paśa-* "autumn", see *BSOAS* 12.329.

13(b). *kiṃdā* "they think, protect, watch". Pres. *kūt-*, *kei-*: pret. *kāṣṭa-*; 3rd plur. pres. E *kāṣṇdā*, *keṃdā*; *kāka-* "protector", see *BSOAS* 10.602, 917.

13(c). *pahaištā* "flees", 97 *pahai* "fled", from the verbal base Older Khot. *pahis-*: *pahīya-*, Later *pahais-*: *pahaiya-*, see *BSOS* 9.535 and 859.

14(a). *ṣamañā*. The meaning is still uncertain. If from the context one explains it as "difficulty" or the like, it would seem to offer a nominal form from a base *ṣama-* which I incline to find in *ṣsaunda*. This would represent an older **ṣāmita-* or **ṣambita-*. From the contexts in E 21.38-39 and E 21.37 *biṣonda* and E 22.28 *biṣsonda*, the meaning may be "thrown". The problem can be taken further. Corresponding to Older Khot. *byauḍe* "he gets", 3rd sing. middle, and *byaure* "they get", 3rd plur., the Later Khotanese has *byaide* and *byaire*. In *Siddhasāra* 131 r 3 *perā āchā ṣaide* renders the Tibetan *bla-gñun-gyis thebs-pa-la ni*, hence "external (*āgantuka*) diseases attack him". This *ṣaide* may represent a later form of **ṣsau(n)de* "be thrown upon" and would derive from the same base *ṣam(b)-*. A further support may be seen in Avestan *a-ṣam-* "to swallow", Zoroastrian Pahlavi *āṣamb-* and Pers. *āṣām-*. A basic meaning "throw" could lead to the attested meaning. The present word *ṣama-* could then be "throwing, being thrown", and thence to a "case, bad condition". It is at present conjectural.

14(b). The Khotanese month names are as follows (first fully given in *BSOS* 8.932):—

hamdyaji	} summer	skarhvāra	} end of winter
rarūya		rrāhaja	
tumjāra	} autumn	cvātaji	} spring
brakhaysda		kaja	
mutṣaci	} winter	hamārīji	} end of spring
muḥamja		simjsimja	

The report of Thyai paḍā-tsā covers the months Skarhvāra (end of winter) to Tumjāra (autumn). On receipt of orders he left Ṣaṣsou on the 28th Skarhvāra and reached Kanṭsou on the 15th Rrāhaja, that is, if Skarhvāra had 30 days, 17 days later. At the end of Hamārīmji a troop (*hinā-*) came from Ṣaṣsou to Kanṭsou. He himself stayed three months (line 65), that is, the months Rrāhaja, Cvātaja, and Kaja. At the end of Kaja he was instructed to leave. He arrived back in Ṣaṣsou on the sixth day of Tumjāra. The journey had lasted from the end of Skarhvāra to Tumjāra, that is, eight months.

18(a). *svaṃna kalai* "early in the morning". The corresponding phrase is *svaṃna ysai ysai*, see *BSOAS* 10.575, the *svaṃna* could represent an Older Khot. form, **svatana-*. *kalai* will be the Prakrit equivalent of Old Ind. *kalya-* "morning", Ardha-Māgadhī *kalla-*, and New Indo-Aryan (Hindī) *kal*, (Nepālī) *kāl*, (Panjābi) *kall*. The Prakrit from which *kalai* has come was **kalla-ga-*. In Khotanese, Prakrit doubled consonants are replaced by single: *makala-* "monkey" from *makkāḍa-*; *kapāysa-* "cotton" from *kappāsa-* (Sansk. *karpāsa-*); *agapī* "unfit" from *agappiya-* (Sansk. *akalpika-*). Both spellings occur of *nicca-* and *nica-* "unstable", and others.

18(b). *parauta*, plur. to *parau* "command", as 41 *hauta*, plur. to 39 *hau* "word". Cf. also *sarauva*, plur. to *sarau* "lion", with gen. plur. *sarauyām* and *sarautām*; *drtauta*, plur. to *dro*, *drtau* "a hair".

20, 31. *kalātcyurai*, a title which has not been identified. It occurs also in P 2788.12 *kalātcyurām muḡdā haraysde* "he extended favours to the k.s".

22. *mūmdū yaṃ* "you can remain". The *yaṃ* = Older Khot. *yani* "you make", 2nd sing. pres. Line 29 has the same *yaṃ*, 2nd sing. pres. *tā ri nā spaṣṭā yaṃ* "you cannot see them". Vajracchedikā 8 b 3 *yaṃ* translates *kuru* 2nd sing. imperative, Older Khot. *yanu*. Later Khotanese has regularly -*m* for older -*nā*, -*ni* and -*nu*. For the transitive potential use of *yan-* with the partic. note also here 26 *paṣā yinīme*, 88 *paṣā yinām*, 112 *nā yinām*, 117 *ḥaistā yuḡāmdā*, 118 *ḥamdādā yuḡāmdā*; and see the Glossar to E, s.v. *yan-*, p. 487.

23(a). *mānām* "of ours", 53, 103, elsewhere also *maunām*, *mūnām*. But *imānām* "of yours".

23(b). *neṣṭā va ṣamdā* "land for settlement" with *va* = *vaska* "for", see *BSOAS* 10.1022, and *neṣṭa-* from Older Khot. *nāṣṭa-*. The same idea is expressed by 110 *neṣṭa va diṣṣ* "district for settlement".

24. *aūrmaysdi gusṣprīsaṃcā*, 26 *urmaysdi gusṣprīsaṃcāṣṭā* "sun's shining out", P 2896.45 *aūrmaysda gauṣprīsaṃcā aūna*. -*ṣprī-* also in *ḥaṣṣprī-* and *vaṣṣprī-* (*Jātaka-stava* 19 v 1, and Ch ii 003, 54 r 4).

27. *haurā* "lord (?)", the meaning is recommended by the context, but has not been noted elsewhere. It may be the indigenous title of the ruler of the Golden Land. One would hardly try to trace a connection of Avestan *ahura* here.

28(a). *ḥamdana bisai parau* "command of the Interior". The phrase occurs in a hendiadys, as it seems, in P 2786.3 *rroi vī chū bīrāṣṭā ḥamdanaṣṭā aūrāṣq ḥaṣṭā* "a report to the Court, to the Chū bīra, to the Interior". The use of Interior recalls the Chinese 內 *nei* "interior", as in 內大臣 *nei ta ṣ'an* "great chamberlain"; the Turkish *inanču*; and the Tibetan use of *nan*, as *nan rje-po* in Khotan (*JRAS* 1930.72).

28(b). *dāthidai* "transmit, offer, present", conjectured from the context. Another similar uncertain word has been found twice, *dāṭḥadā* (Or 11252, 4 b 8) and *dāṭḥadai* (Or 11344, 12 a 2), but with cerebral (retroflex) *ṭh*. It could be taken as representing an Old Iran. **adi-tar-*.

31. *beraji vi*, uncertain meaning. It occurs once elsewhere in the obscure verses P 2891.7-8:—

maṃ ysira ita ya si pada bisā ṣāka ṣṭe

savūvā ysarrñvā tcaḡā berajā vīrā.

35, 38. *ḥajsāmdāmdā* "they brought, sent," with 132 *ḥajṣema* "to bring, send". There are two words, (1) *ḥajṣam-* from *ham-jām-* "to gather, heap up", and (2) *ḥajsām-* from *fra-jām-* "to make to go forward". They are distinct if the anusvāra is carefully employed.

37. *ṭhejām* "we detain". The base is *āhalj-*: *āhriya-*, attested in several passages. E 25.424 has an unexplained *āhaljā*. P 2956.8 *ṭheja*; P 2025. 211 *ṭheja*; Ch 00266. 139 *ḡṭhaja*; Or 8212 (162) b 3 *aiḥgijida*; P 2786. 162 *ḡṭhijā* with various changes of the initial *ā-*; *Siddhasāra* 132 r 3 *āhri* to which corresponds Sansk. *yāmya-* (rather than *yāpya-*); also *ibid.* 128 v 4. -*halj-* occurs also in *kahalj-*, *nihalj-* and *ṣṭhālaj-*. For the initial note such changes as *āṣjīnaa-* "silvern", *ḡṣīnai*; *alysānai* "boy", *ḡṣānai* and *ṭṣānai*; *āṣtyara* "be firm", *ḡṣtyara*, and other variations.

38. *vālai* still unexplained.

42. *ṣveri* "tell". In the Rāma text *BSOAS* 10.590 I had at first thought of changing *ṣver-* to *gver-* "tell", which is well attested (see *BSOS* 8.123 and *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946.21), but in editing the Rāma text ten years ago I decided to explain by *ṣāvūta-* "cursed". That interpretation has long failed to satisfy me and the meaning "tell" is required by the contexts. The *ṣ-* is clear and occurs too many times to permit a change to *g-*. It has therefore occurred to me that it may be *ṣver-* with the *ṣ-* developed from older *di-* (Old Iran. *adi-*). We may note *dvi->zi*, written *ṣi-*, in *ṣāta-* (= *ṣāta-*) "second" and in *ṣivāva-* "two-footed". See further on *ṣa-* below, line 70. If this were so, *ṣvera-* would represent an Old Iran. *(a)di-vārāya-.

43. *pacāḡa-* "method, manner, kind, section" rendering Sansk. *paṣyāya*, and Tibetan *skabs* "opportunity, method, way, section", also 68, 86, 87. Cf. Ch 00269.75 *cu ṣṣāṃ ḡmācū bādūna, ita vaṇa drrai pacāḡa ṣṭāre* "as to the būduns in Kantsou, they are now of three parties".

47. *ḥamgūj-* "to meet", pret. *ḥamgve* 48, and 1st plur. P 2790.53 *bīsa tsve u ṣiḡe ḥamgvaṃdūm*; 89 *ḥamgviṃ* "1 met". See *BSOAS* 10.578.

48. *neṣṭi māṣṭi* "month at its end". Similarly *Siddhasāra* 4 r *ysumi neṣṭyi bisā rva* "season at the end of winter", *neṣṭyi paṣāla bisā rva* "season at the end of spring"; *myām māṣṭi* "middle of the month" (see *BSOS* 8.930-3). For this partitive use of the adjective, cf. Latin *urbs media* and like constructions. Below also 71 *nūcā kūṭhi* "on the outside of the city", 100 *karā kūṭhi* "in the environs of the city".

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

51. *dirva-* pret. to *darr-* "to dare", see *BSOAS* 10.585, on *darvā* "she dared". Here also 60, 65.

52. *ḡṣāva*, 84 *ḡṣāta* "returned", partic. in -*āta-* of *ḡṣ-*, Older Khot. *ḡṣ-*. For -*āta-* note also P 2786.220 *ḡṣāṣāṭṭā*, Or 8212 (186) a 55 *ḡṣāṣāṭṭā*; *nvamṭhāta-* (*Jātaka-stava* 22 r 4 *nvamṭhātai* "you changed" 2nd sing.); and *ḡṣṣāta-* "grown", Later Khot. *ḡṣṣā* 3rd sing. pret. P 2834.33-4 *ita ra khū ṣi ḡṣṣānai vāṣṭa ḡṣṣā mistā ḡamye* "when this boy had grown and become adult", corresponding to the frequent Sanskrit phrase in the tales as in *Divyāvadāna* 312.1-2 *sa unnīto vārdhito mahān samvṛṭtaḥ* "he was brought up, reared and became adult"; Ch 00271.13 *khū vā pā thā ḡṣṣāvī pācū*

mārā-pyārṇa pve tsve "when you had grown (? been reared) then you went to your parents' feet"; P 2798.161 *tī śī kūndlai rrispūri thya huṣā* "then the prince Kunāla grew up quickly". For the similar Sogdian *-āt* and Parthian *-ād* preterite, see H. Reichelt, *Beiträge zur soghdischen Grammatik* in the Ehrengabe to W. Geiger, p. 259 f.

53. *thapsā*, Tibetan *thabs* "opportunity, manner, livelihood". Other Tibetan words which have been noted are *skyesā* "present", Tib. *skyes*; *thūda-pa*, Tib. *thul-pa* "fur coat" (Ch cvi 001.20). See also *BSOAS* 10.604, where the words "Ch ii 004, 2 r 4 *yāma* = Tib. *yum* 'mother'" must be deleted, as arising out of a misreading.

59. *virī aśa ūvī stāmdā*. The phrase remains obscure. Should one compare *Siddhasāra* 107 v 2-3 *ūvī vai hanisīmdā* "they are weary", and Ch ii 003, 95 v 3-4 *cū ūvī hanasīdā gisā* with *hanasī-* "to fail", E 2.69 *hanasī-* *sāte?* For *stā* "weary", see *BSOAS* 10.598 and *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946.24.

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

68(a). *pramñī* remains uncertain: perhaps a form of Old Ind. *pratijñā*, which occurs in Ch c.001, 906 *prattiña* (= Tib. *thugs-dam* "promise") and P 3515, 39 v 4 *prattēmñā*. From **pratijñeya* as "complaint"?

68(b). *puḍāmdā*, see *BSOAS* 10.576.

70. *bāda-šipherā hvamḍā* "state-disturbing men". In *šipheraa-*, I see a connection of *šaphīda* "distracted", as in P 2786.196 *ca jsā kamacū bāda ḡḡ jsā šaphīda štai* "as to the state of Kantṣou, that is distracted". We have then **šaphār-* and by y-umlaut **šapher-* (of the type *bāra-* "rain", beside *ber-* "to rain"). A base *-phār-* is found in *āphār-*, *āphīda*; and *haphār-*. A prefix *ša-* can be deduced from the following examples. If the preverb *pra-* < *parā-* is compared, it is clear that the *-a-* of a preverb may represent an older *-ā-*. Hence *ša-* could have contained *ā-*. Since too as we proposed above on *šver-* in line 42 the *š* is perhaps from *di-*, as *šj-* is from *dvi-* (with, however, voiced *ž*), we could trace in *ša-* the double preverb *dy-ā-* (= Old Iran. *adi-ā-*, as we have in Old Indian *adhi-ā-*). The unvoiced *š-*, instead of *ž*, may be due to the difference of the group: *dvi-* with *-v-* maintaining the voice, where *dy-* had lost it. By this explanation we should have a verb **(a)di-ā-fār-* and the partic. **(a)di-ā-frta-* to set beside the same verb with *ā-* and *ha-* preverbs. The same *ša-* can be traced also in *šatcampha* "distressed; distress" (see *BSOAS* 10.582) beside *bitcampha* "bewildered". The preverbs are then *ša-* from *di-ā-* and *bi-* from either *vi-* or *(a)bi-*. The base is *skamb-* "press against, fasten, throw, put, build", see G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, p. 9. I incline to see similar double preverbs in *nvast-* "to examine", as from *(a)nu-ā-staya-* (rather than the *anu-* or *ni-* with *patistaya-* proposed by Sten Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 11.58). Possibly the problem of the preverb *tca-* could be taken nearer to solution if the *-a-* were derived from

the older preverb *ā-*, preceded by another preverb, see provisionally *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946.7.

75. *prrivāsti, prravāstā* from **parā-vād-* "lead over, convert". Cf. P 2787.130-2 *ṣḡ vā prravārṇa Gajāsairṣa gara vi ḡna pastai paijsādai Ārbala-Kāṣava āstana ysḡra jaṭala brramana khva prravāsta ḡdai* "the second ceremony at the end of the rains he deigned to keep on the *Gayā-sīrṣa* hill, when he converted one thousand *jaṭila* (*jaṭā*-wearing) Brahmans, Urbila Kāśyapa and the rest". Here "escorted" would be a suitable rendering. The base *vād-* occurs also in *ttuvāy-*, *tvāy-*, later *trvāy-*: *ttuvāsta-*; *bāy-*: *bāsta-*; *nvāy-*: *nvāsta*, *nvāsta-* "abhinirhar-, grasp".

77. *nāṣkicā* translates Sansk. *viśeṣa* "specification". It was rendered by "survey" in *BSOAS* 12.623. The verb is *naiṣkal-*: *naiṣkaistu-* (variants with *naṣk-*, *niṣk-*) from the Old Iran. base *skard-* attested in *pāṣkal-*: *pāṣkālsta-* "to distinguish".

78. *vī hā* and *vī bure* "starting from, and the rest" used like Sansk. *-ādī* and Tib. *-la sogs-pa*. Thus in the *Siddhasāra* 104 r 1 *arvīnām vī hā ḡṣāri* "the potash of medicinal herbs and the rest", renders the Tibetan *smān mu-ska-ka-la sogs-pa thal-ba* with *vī hā* = *-la sogs-pa*. Similarly 105 r 2 *ttavaṇḍye hīya vī hā āchā* "diseases of the bile and the rest" renders Tibetan *mkkhris-pa-la* < *sog* > *s-pa rnam*s. See also 125 v 1 *vī hā* and 144 r 5 *vī jsām hā*. For *vī bure* with the same meaning, note 20 v 5 *phrrūmā churba vī bure* = Tib. *phyur-ba-la sogs-pa ni*. By an inaccurate translation we find *vī bure* for Tib. *gsogs-ciñ* in 4 r 1, where the Tibetan is translating the Sansk. *caya-* "gathering" (see *BSOS* 8.932).

The recognition of this use of *vī hā* demands a different translation of the present passage to that given in *BSOAS* 12.323, and illustrates how tentative renderings of Khotanese official documents still are. Here then the passage *ttaudāgarām vī hā pyamtsā dvi ysārā hīna āta* means "a troop (*hīnā-*) of two thousand, consisting of Ttaudāgaras and the rest came towards (him)", and this rendering better suits the context.

I add here a provisional note on the form of the name *ttaudāgara-*, which has long exercised me. At present I would propose the following interpretation. We know from the Khotan-Sanskrit *bauṭa* (in Indian Sanskrit, *bhoṭa*) occurring in the text P 5538 b 59, 67, edited in *BSOS* 9, see p. 542, that a cerebral (retroflex) *ṭ* was used to correspond to Tibetan final *-d*, in *bod*. If in *ttaudāgara-* we recognise a similar (here voiced) cerebral *ḍ* as corresponding to a Tibetan *-d*, we should have a word which in Tibetan spelling could be **tod-gar*, **tod-kar*, or **thod-gar*, **thod-kar*. We know that foreign names in these Khotanese documents may have passed through intermediate sources, as probably in *hve:hvu:ra* "Uigur" to which the Chinese (see below on line 23) most closely corresponds. From F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931.834, we know that there was a *Tho-gar* (so given by P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*

I 2.33) from *Spyil-čog* = *Spyi-čogs* in the Šacu region. In similar connection with NE Tibet, F. W. Thomas has quoted also the *phod-kar-gyi sde* "the Phod-kar regiment" (Tib. *sde* = Khot. *hinā*-), in which he saw a variant of **Thod-kar*. A Tibetan spelling *Tho-dkar* (as if a Tib. *dkar* "white" were thought of) for the Western Tokharistan is given by F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, p. 290. With such a Tibetan form **Thod-gar ttaudägara-* would exactly fit and this interpretation at present seems to me most likely. In *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1947.147 ff, I proposed to identify this *ttaudägara-* with the *ttaugara* of the Staël-Holstein roll, line 29. Since in that roll 31 *cünūda* is probably a less exact spelling of the *cimūda*, *cumūda* of other documents (like *cimola* of the Niya texts), it would be possible to charge the writer with error in writing *ttaugara* without *dä*, but obviously, since we know in Tibetan for the Šacu region also a form *Thogar* without the *-d*, the equation of *ttaugara* is more immediate with this form and no error need be assumed. Another case of variant spelling can be seen in this document where we have 56 *berukä*, 61 *begarakä*, 69 *hegarä*, and in Ch 00269, 59 *hggarakä* for the name of an Uigur. I am hopeful that further information may come from Chinese sources.

Another point needs emphasis here. The Khotanese language of the ninth and tenth centuries used *ā*, *ām*, *au*, or *o* to represent a foreign *o* or *u*, but used *a* for a foreign *a* without indication of the vowel quantity. In final position this rule is not strictly kept, since we find *bidigä* "bilgä, but *apa* "apa". This feature of Khotanese spelling was noticed in *BSOAS* 10.604. Hence, from the Khotanese spelling of the foreign name *ttaudägara-*, the quantity of the first *-a-* of *-gara-* is not deducible; only the quality as *a* is shown, as distinct from *o* or *u*. Similarly, in other words, as in the Turkish, in this text *aḍpā* "alp", *apa* "apa", but *kānūrā* "qongur".

80. Read *stürä* for the *ttürä* of the manuscript, that is, "animals, large cattle". Line 116 has *stürä*.

81, 107, 117. *baḍa-* "captive", and *baḍä yan-* "to seize", has not been found in a bilingual source, but the context recommends a connection with Avestan *varsta-*, Pahlavi Psalter *vldky*, Zoroast. Pahlavi *vrk*, Mid. Pers. *wrdg*, NPers. *bardah* "captive". For the *-ad-* one can compare *gaḍäre* "they lie", with *gaḍ-* from Old Iran. *gart-*.

94(a). 134 *cilaka-* "how much", 96 *dilaka-* "so much", 107 *vilaka-* "so much" are Later Khotanese adjectival derivatives with the suffix *-laka-* from the pronominal bases *ci-*, *di-*, *vi-* found in *cānda-*, *damda-*, *vānda-*. The same suffix is frequent with adjectives: *tikalaka-* "good", *ttamgalaka-* "thin", *ṣikalaka-* "young", *naukalaka-* "fine", *bakalaka-* "small", and *hugalaka-* "soft".

94(b). *kiṇa*, from Chinese 斤 *kin*, about 600 grammes. Also Ch 00269.105.

94(c). *rrätg yan-* "to put into one's possession", hence "issue (a decree); present (a gift)". Cf. P 5538 a 80-1 *parau tta thyenā tcünā sühye: bādū tcürmye kṣṇā aśa salya paḍauysye māsti nāmye haḍai kvqniṇa āna rrätg pastāmdū yuḍe* "We have been pleased to issue the rescript from the Kvan in the period T'ien tsun, the fortunate time, in the fourth kṣṇa regnal period, the horse year, the first month, the ninth day".

95(a). *ijinjī nūca* "a . . . of *injja-* stone". The *injja* remains so far unidentified, but its use in the following hendiadys restricts its meaning to some kind of stone. P 2787.58-9 *ū paṇḍyi-kabala-sāila ijjinai āyasa baida va śakrā gṛyastāna rai gṛyastūnai gai jsa pgijsa ṣṭāna gṛyastūne sauḥsapatta śarā varāśāvai* "and may he as Śakra, king of devas, upon the throne of *injja* stone, which is the *pāṇḍu-kambala-śikā*, surrounded by divine retinue enjoy (*varāś* = *anubhav-*) the *śrī* of prosperity (*sukha-sampatti*)". Śakra's seat is made of a stone called *pāṇḍu-kambala-śilā* (Pali *paṇḍu-kambala-silā*) which has not yet been identified. The Chinese and Tibetan renderings in the Mahāvvyutpatti and the Lexicon Bacot are etymological. The Khotanese evidently believed that they knew which stone it was, but it has not been possible hitherto to discover what *injja* stone was. Agnean 187 b 5 has *pāṇḍu-kampal pārenā* where *pārem* means "stone".

A *nūca* could therefore be made of some kind of stone and we know, too, of a *nūca* of gold from the Staël-Holstein roll line 59 where we read *ysarinjje nūcā jsa pyaṣṭā* "ornamented with a golden *nūca*". For *pyaṣṭa-* one should perhaps compare the Armenian (if Iranian loan-word) *kazm* "order, ornament" and hence deduce an Old Iran. **pati-kaz-*.

95(b). *paśamjsana* plur., corresponds to the sing. *paśamjsa* in P 5538 a 78 *imjinai hūjsava-pakai paśamjsa pastāmdū hajsānde sau* "we have deigned to send one *paśamjsa* made of *injja* with well-inlaid(?) . . . (*paka-*?)". The word occurs also in P 2898.6 *pamūha: ū paraiṣṭā paśamjsa āstamna hera* "things consisting of clothing and . . .".

99. *ysyāmdā*, older E *ysātāndā* "they took away", pret. to *ysān-*, Old Iran. OPers. *dyā-* (*adinā*) and Avestan *zyā-* (*zināt*), see *BSOAS* 10.575; 3rd sing. *ysye*.

100. *pattiye*, 123 *pattiya* "increased". The present in *Siddhasāra* 102 r 2 *dai pattajidā* renders Sansk. *agni-kṛt* "making fire". The nominal derivative *pattimā* "result" represents older **patitagma-*. Here opposed in meaning to *ja*, older *jita-* "exhausted".

104. *imi* "you", older *umä*, see *BSOAS* 10.583.

104. *hamjsyām*, 106 *hamjsyāri* "intend, be likely to" with infinitive, see *BSOAS* 10.594. The decision between the readings *jj* and *jsy* is difficult, but the *s* is almost certainly present.

105. *mīrā* and 106 *mīrām* (so correctly with the manuscript, though the *ī* is slightly unusual) dependent upon *hamjsyā-*, see Sten Konow, *Khotansak. Gram.*, p. 62, and *BSOAS* 10.594.

106. *miysdyūna*- "pitiable", older *mulysdyūna*-.
- 110(a). *gatcastū* "broken", Pres. *gacīñ-* (*gacīñāmā*) and *gacī-* (noun of action *gacīyāma*). Since, as noted above on line 70, the preverb *-ā-* in second position may be reduced to *-a-*, just as the *-ā-* of *parā-*, here the *ga-* may represent an older *vi-ā-* and so be distinct from the preverb *gu- < vi-*.
- 110(b). *burštū* "burst", later *bušta-*, 3rd sing. *buršdā*, see *BSOAS* 10.587.
111. *tsva hamāva* and in line 133 *tsva hama*: these readings are clear in the manuscript.
117. *kaistā* "sown", Older Khot. E *kilste* "he planted". The present is *ker-*, E *kerīndi* "they sow", with agent *-keraa-* in compounds. P 2891.19 *kaista jsārā* "sown corn".
118. *hamdādā* "gathered in, reaped". *Siddhasāra* 6 r 5 u *bādāna śirna hamdādā* = Tib. *dus-su legs-par brnas-paho* "well reaped in time" = Sansk. *kāla-saṃhṛtam*.
119. *bvāstāmdā* "mount, ride" from **abi-sād-*, see *BSOAS* 10.574, and *Siddhasāra* 102 v 5 *bvāma* = Tib. *zon-pa* "riding".
120. *mušpa* "road", see *BSOAS* 10.585.
124. *hamdrraaysi* "flying in space", see *BSOAS* 10.598, but I should now prefer to recognise in it an older **antara-vāza-* "place to fly in", which became the word for "air, atmosphere" in Mid. Parth. *andarvāz* and Mid. Pers. *andarvāy*. The Khotanese word with *-ī* is an adjectival derivative in *-ya-*.
126. *hurašta* "extend", Pres. *harays-* (*haraysde* 3rd sing. middle); *Causat. harāš-*, from **fra-raz-*.
127. *nvāštira* "easier", cf. Mazar Tagh a.1.0033.9 *nvāštyeri* 'easier'. I had considered reading *nvāšti ra*, to connect it with the base *nvāst-* "to examine" (see above on line 70). In Ch 00269.93 this was rendered "investigation".
129. *kathi-rāysi* "regulating the city", found only here, cf. P 2942.7 *padā-rāysā* "road-guide" (quoted in *BSOAS* 10.904), and *rāysan-* "ruler", with adjective *rāysanaunda-* "ruling".
133. *hisi*. The manuscript reading is clearly *ni hisi nā tsva hama*

B. NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

- 1, 36, 131. *thyai padā-tsā*, also in P 2031.3, 5 *thyeṃ padā-tsā*. With the same first name 76 *thyai haryāsakā*, in P 2031.3 *thyeṃ haryāsakā*, and 5 *hiryāsakā* (*haryāsa-* "black").
2. *Kamcū*, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 36, 113, 121, 127. Chin. 甘州 K 298, 1238 *kan-šou < kam-tšju* (*BSOS* 8.884), frequent in these documents. The Turks appear in a struggle for it, which suits the tenth century. Tibetan has *Kam-bcu* (*JRAS* 1928.63), the Persian *xāmčū* and *qamčū* (see V

Minorsky, *Hudūd al 'Ālam* pp. 232, 85); in *Marco Polo Campiciou* (ed. L. F. Benedetto, p. 48).

3. *hva:māla* is deleted, but was apparently introduced through an association with the Čimuls. It has been found only here. Possibly it may be a form of the name *Qomul*, *Xamil*, and NPers. *xmwd* *Xumuδ (*Hudūd al 'Ālam*, p. 95); *Marco Polo Camul*.

4. *cimūda*, 49, 52 *cumūda*, also in P 2031, P 2786, P 2790, Ch 00266, and Ch 00269 (*BSOAS* 12.616). Similarly Chin. 處密 K 1256, 617 *tš'u-mi < tš'u-o-mjēt*, Niya *cimola* (conjecturally), see *BSOS* 8.917 and *JRAS* 1939.87; Kāšyari 𐰽𐰺𐰽 *cumul*.

5. *šacū*, 35, 41, 42, 48, 58, 74, 91, 93, 114, 128, passim in the Khotanese documents, Chin. 沙州 K 846, 1238 *ša-šou < ša-tšju*; Tib. *ša-cu*; Uigur *šacu baliq* (T. Haneda, *Sthiramati*, p. 33) and *šacio* in *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 5, p. 20; NPers. *sājū* (*Hudūd al 'Ālam*, p. 85); *Marco Polo Saciou* (ed. L. F. Benedetto, p. 44). For the history of the region, see L. Giles, *BSOS* 7. 556 ff, and for notes on the place see H. Yule's notes I 206-7.

6. *cā svām-šī*, probably a Chinese name: *cā* may be the familiar *cā* = Chin. 張 K 1174 *tšang < t'iang*, the family name of hereditary governors of Šašou (see L. Giles, *BSOS* 7, 566 ff, A. M. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 648 f.), written in accordance with the Khotanese use of *ā* for the standard Chinese *-ang*. The name is written *čw* in Sogdian script at the end of the *Siddhasāra* (see my *Khotanese Texts* I, p. 104, where the query should be deleted) spelt according to the system of representing Chin. *-ang* in Uigur texts (see A. von Gabain, *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hüen-tsang*, p. 5). For *svām-šī* I have no Chinese equivalent. The two preceding syllables cause difficulty. They could be Khotanese *si* and *khu*; possibly they are a Chinese title.

7. *ciṅga kšira* "land of China", 43, 88, 93; 96 *ciṅgām* gen. plur.; 133 *ciṅvā*, very prominent in the Khotanese documents.

8. *stančū*, a proper name occurring only here.

9(a). *barbajiyām*, gen. plur., only here and unidentified. Without the adjectival suffix, one would have **barbaja-*.

9(b). *sūlya* "Sogdians(?)". The identification still remains unsettled, see *JRAS* 1939.89.

11. *ttrūkū bayarkāta*, 55, 58; *ttrūkū bayarkāvām* and 122 *ttrūkū bayarkāvām*. From a re-examination of the manuscript it seems likely that one should read a single *r*, certainly the tip of the *r*-stroke turns back more decidedly in 9 *brrašāmdūm*. Between *ttrū* and *ttrū* distinction is clear. These are the *Türk Bayirqu*, see *JRAS* 1939.87. For Turk alone we have here 13, 72, 76 *ttrūkūvāštā*, 82 *ttrūka*, 99 *ttrūkā*, 51, 73, 97 *ttrūkūvā*, 67 *ttrūka-m*, 71 *ttrūkām*.

12(a). *sahā:nā gūga*, 67 *sahā:nā ūga*, "Sayun ūgā", without *ūgā*, 103 *sahā:nā*, see *JRAS* 1939.91, Kāšyari *sayun*.

12(b). *ttarrdāsām*, 82 *ttarrdāsū*, 87 *ttarrdāsa*, 80 *ttarrdāšvā*, 121 *ttardāsām* "Tarduš".

19(a). *ttūḍisā*, 66, 71 *ttūḍisa*, 121 *ttūḍisām* "Tölis", written in the Staël-Holstein roll 28 *ttūlisā*, but in Ch 00269.76 *ttūḍisa* as here.

19(b). *sadaci ttättähä*: "the tutuq Salci". In Turkish *salci* means "cook" (Käşyari).

21(a). *maṅgali chārā ttättähä*: "the tutuq Mängli(g) Čor". With *maṅgali*, cf. Turk. *mänglig* "joyous". In Brahmi script *myāni-* translates Sansk. *sukha* "pleasure", see BSOS 9.295. For *-li*, cf. P 2790.52 *ttiṅgaḍi*. Turk. *inglig* **tänglig*.

21(b). 62 *cīnā ttättähä*: "the tutuq Čin"; also Ch 00269.60; Ch 0048. 5 *cīnā vājalakā* "the youth Čin". Turk. *čin* چين is the name of a bird, explained in the Tibetan to be "a long-necked water bird", see E. D. Ross, *Polyglott List of Birds*, No. 37; the same word *čin* is given in the Manchu and Mongol texts of this list.

23, 109. *hvehvara-*, 68, 86, 110 *hve:hvara*, 52 *hve:hva:ra*, 56 *hvehvu:ra-* "Uigurs", very prominent in the Khotanese texts. The name closely resembles the Chinese form, used from 785 A.D. onwards, 回鶻 K 108, Gram. Ser. 486 b *xuei-xu* < *yuāi-yuāt*, from which it may have come into Khotanese, see JRAS 1939.87. The Tibetan *Hor* "Turk" has probably been made from the second syllable of the same name. The Orqon inscriptions have *ujy**r.

25(a). *ttuṃṣīyi* who live in the East. Are they perhaps here named with the Chinese words 東氏 K 1146, 879 *tung-šī* < *tung-šiq* "eastern family"?

25(b). *raṃṇimje mistye jānave* "Great Jewelled Land", refers to Khotan as source of the precious jade stone, see BSOS 9.541 and BSOAS 10.919; and above on *ysarrnai*, line 2.

26. *thimṣīya* should perhaps mean "westerners"?

32, 40, 56, 57. *ūhū:ysā gūga* "Oyuz ügä". In the legends of the Oyuz-nameh occurs the name *Oyuz qayan* (W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, *Die Legenden von Oghuz Qaghan*).

32. *barsä gūga*, 63 *barsū uga* "Bars ügä", with *bars* "tiger".

33. *gūkāmṇū* "the Jade Gate", Chin. 玉門 K 1318, 609 *ü-men* < *ngi^wok-muən*. In the Staël-Holstein 14 *gākāmṇā*, see W. B. Henning, BSOS 9.553.

34, 35, 54, 60. *ṣacū-pata*, 59 *ṣacū-pavq*, 64 *ṣacū-patām* plur., to an adjectival derivative in *-pa*, seemingly the Tibetan ending *-pa* (see BSOAS 10.603) in similar use. Cf. Tib. *ša-cu-pha* "of Ṣacū" in JRAS 1927.831.

38. *hūnvāṣṣā* "to the Hūna", loc. plur. with the suffix of direction *-āṣṣā* (older *-āṣṣo*), hence *hūna-*. But of the three possibilities of identification none can yet be selected. These are (1) the Huns; (2) the Uigur tribe 𐰽 K 508 *xun* < *yuən*; and (3) an abbreviation of 吐谷渾 *t'u-ü-xun*, see JRAS 1939.89. Who were, in fact, the Hūna near Kantšou in the tenth century A.D.?

45(a). *śahvām*: P 2958.225 *śvahvām*, 213 *śvahvā*, P 2786.71 *śahvā*, Staël-Holstein roll 16 *śahvā*, Chin. 朔方 K 926,25 *śuo-fang* < *śāk-pi^wang*, the modern Ordos country, formerly a government general.

45(b). *ḍittū kūhi*, 91 *ḍittu*, a city in the government general of *Suo-fang*. It would represent a Chinese **Li-tu*.

46. *sām sām-šū*, an official of *Dittu* (**Li-tu*), apparently a Chinese name, but unidentified.

47. *yūttīnā kūhi*: Chin. 于闐國 K 1317, 1194, 480 *ü-t'ien-kuo* < *ju-d'ien-k^wək*, the name of Khotan, see BSOS 9.541 and BSOAS 10.919; Tib. *hu-ten*, *hu-den*, *yvu-then* (Staël-Holstein Tibetan roll line 1, and JRAS 1930.47, 273); Khotanese *hvatana-*, *hvaṃṇā-*, *hvaṃ*, Sansk. *gostana-*. Line 105 *yūttīnā bisā hadā* "envoys of Khotan". Marco Polo gave *Cotan* (ed. L. F. Benedetto, p. 41).

49, 118. *ttattara*, 120 *ttattarām jsa* "Tatars". For the Chinese forms of the name, see P. Pelliot, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1920 1 143, who gave as the earliest Chinese mention 842 A.D. We have Chin. 達怛 K 956, 966 *ta-ta* < *d'āt-tāt*, Mid. Pers. *t't'r* (Mahrnāmay). Orqon *t't'r*, Manchu *tatar*, Mongol *t't'r*, Syriac *ttr-* (plur. *tatarāyē*), Georgian *t'at'ar-* and Ossetic *tæter*.

51. *saṃḍamā*, a place name found only here, and unidentified.

56. *berakā attimā ūhā*: , 61 *begarakā attimā ūga*, 69 *begarā attimā gūga*, Ch 00269.59 *bagarakā attemā ūha*: , the name of an Uigur; Mahrnāmay 70 *bgr'k*; Turkish *bāgrāk* "prince, princely" occurs in A. von le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho* II 9. The name *attimā* has not been found: *Atim* or *Adim*?

61(a). *ayavirā ūga uha*: *ūga* "Ayavir ügä", 81 *ayavirā aḍpā bekā cā* "Ayavir Alp Bäg Čā"; Staël-Holstein roll 29 *ayabirā*, for which W. B. Henning quoted the probable Chinese 奚邪勿 K 126, 791, 1278 *hi-ie-u* < *yiei-ja-mjuāt* from G. Schlegel, *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun*, p. 9 (BSOS 9.556). For a similar second syllable note Staël-Holstein roll 28 *kurabirā*, to which corresponds Turkish *kürābir* in the Old Turkish *k^a-ür'-ä-b-i-r'* (JRAS 1912.187, line 9).

61(b). *kānūrā apa ūga* "Qongur apa ügä", Ch 00269.60 *kānūrāpa sahā:nā*. Turkish *qongur* is "reddish", Mongol *qongyur*.

62. *aha:cī*, also Ch 00269.89, and P 2790.115; *ahaci* Ch 00269.61 and P 2897.42. Should one compare Turkish *ayici* "treasurer" (Käşyari)?

69, 84. *dūmta*, 103 *dūmvi*, 116 *dūmvām*, tribal name, of which the identification is still uncertain, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, 152 ff.

72. *icimjūva*, Ch 00269.76 *icā injūva*, Turk. *üč incü*. The variation in spelling is like that in *kānūrāpa* and *kānūrā apa*, see above on line 61(b).

75. *gauthūṣṣānā*, Chinese name of the Gošṛnga hill in Khotan, see BSOAS 10.600 and "Khotanese Names" *New Indian Antiquary*, Volume presented to F. W. Thomas.

78. *ttaudāgara-*, see above on *vī hā*, line 78.

79, 102, 119. *karattahū*: "Qara-tay", Ch 00269.77, an unidentified mountain near Kantšou.

82(a). *ittiŷigānā ttättāhā*: "the tutuq Ittiŷigān". This Turkish name evidently contains Turk. *yigān* "nephew, grandson". In P 2790. 117 occurs *ttihadpā yigānā*, with an unexplained *ttih-* and *alp yigān*. The Mahrnāmay has 48 *yg'n* "p" "Yigān Apa", and 137 *yg'n xwnžwvy*; and a proper name is found in *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 6.92 *Yigān*. Radlov, *Opit Slovarja Türkskix Narēčij* col. 317, 321 gives a variety of spellings for *yigān* and *yägün*. This name **Ittiŷigān* recalls the Turkish name preserved in Chinese script 移地健 K 1006, 223, 373 *i-ti-kien* < *ič-d'iei-kjōn* and given to the Uigur Qayan (759-80) who introduced Manichaeism among his countrymen, 牟羽 K 640, 1320 *mou-ü* < *mju-ju*, *Bügü*. The name is quoted by G. Schlegel, *loc. cit.*, p. 4. For the first syllable one can compare *Kāšyari. iđi* "lord" or a form derived from *iduq* "holy".

82(b). *saikairā ttrrūkā chārā* "Siqir (?) Türk Čor", only here, and unidentified.

84. *ttarkānā gūga* "Tarqan ügā", also found in P 2024.26 *ttarkana*, P 2024.21 *ttarakana*, see for this well-known title *tarqan*, *JRAS* 1939.91 and add Orqon *t'rq'n*, plur. *t'rq'nt*; Mongol *d'rq'n* as part of a name in Sagang Sečen (I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 110-1) interpreted as *darhan* in the Manchu version (E. Haenisch, *Monggo Han sai da sekiyen*, p. 53, line 13). The word is discussed by B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 592 ff.

91. *pühā:ya*, name of an envoy from *Dittu*, the city in *Šuo-fang*, see above on line 45. The name is unidentified, but recurs in P 2739.5 *ñasā bisā yā pūhi:ya pađai*. The obscure passage Ch 00269.116 (given in *BSOAS* 12.620) also contains an unexplained *pūhā:ya*.

93. *ni tta stām sta dām* remains unexplained.

96. *cā ttāyā-khī*, name of a Chinese, who with other Chinese wrote from Šacū. The *cā* is probably the same Čang mentioned above, see on line 6 and 61. The *ttāyā-khī* will contain a form of Chin. 大 K 952 *ta* < *d'ai* "great".

97. *ttamgātā*, loc. plur. to *ttamgāta* - "Tangut", the only occurrence noticed in Khotanese documents. The *-ā-* corresponds to foreign *-u-*, see above on line 78. The Orqon has *t'nut*, Sogdian *tnywt* (see *BSOAS* 10.924); in Arabic script *tnkwt*, *l'nkwt*, *tnkwt*, Turkish *tanggut*, Mongol *l'ngqtwt*, Manchu *tanggöt*. *Kāšyari* listed the Tangut as a Turkish tribe (*Türk Dil Kurumu* edition, translation I, p. 28): his reading is *تنگت tangut*.

102(a). *caraihi: uha*: "Carīy ügā", only here. *Kāšyari* has a Turkish tribe 𐰽𐰺 *Čaruq* (identified in the *Türk Dil Kurumu* edition, I 28 as *čarik*). On the *caraihi*: of the Staël-Holstein roll, see W. B. Henning, *BSOS* 9.557.

102(b). *biđigā sahā:nā*, Ch 00269.73 *biđagā sahāni* "Bilgā sayun", with *-ā* in final position for Turkish *-ä*. Elsewhere occur Mahrnāmay 11 *bylg'h*, 126 *bylk'*; Sogdian (Karabalgasun inscription) *pyr-k'*, Orqon *b-i-l-g-ä*, Chin. 毘伽 K 711, 342 *p'i-k'ie* < *b'ji-g'ia* (see P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 26, 1929, 229) and variant spelling. Here the conjunct consonants *lg* are written by separate Khotanese akšaras, contrasting with *đp* in *adpā* "alp".

118. *buhā:thum bisā ttattara* "the Tatars of B.", still not identified. P 2925.16 has *būhattā*., which could mean a foreign **boydo* or **boyda* (well known in Mongol). See *JRAS* 1939.88 and F. W. Thomas in *JRAS* 1937.309.

119(a) *đyau-tcwiñnā*, kindly identified for me by G. Haloun with the military post 120 li west of Kantšou, in Chinese 黎泉 K 546, 1125 *liu-ts'üan* < *lieu-dz'w'an*.

119(b). *sūha:cū* "Su-šsou" frequently named, Ch 00269.67 *sūhi:cū*, P 2786.125 *sāhacū*, Chin. 肅州 K 822, 1238 *su-šsou* < *šjuk-tšju*. Old Turkish *suyču* (*JRAS* 1912.189); Uigur *sūw* **suyčiu* (A. von le Coq, *Ein manichäisches Buch-Fragment aus Chotscho*, Festschrift Wilhelm Thomssen, p. 148), Tib. *sug-cu* in J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*, p. 26, 27, NPers. *saukjū* (*Hudūd al 'Ālam*, p. 85) Mongol *sūkkū*, see *Rocznik Oriental.* 1925.242. Marco Polo has *Succiu*.

121. *yipākīnā ttahi*: "yipkin tay, Brown Mountain", Turkish *yipin*, *yipün*, *yipkin*, *yābkin*, *šipkin* (Analytischer Index.) Also Ch 00269.76 *yipākīnā ttahā*., recognised by W. B. Henning, *BSOS* 9.557, but the place has not been identified.

132. *gulai samgalakā* (followed by plural verb) "Gulai and Samgalakā". More fully in Ch 00269.24 *chikā gulai u dūm samgalakā*. For *samgalakā* one may compare Tibetan *señ-ge-lag* (*JRAS* 1939.294). V. Minorsky in *Hudūd al 'Ālam* p. 85 has noted also *Sanglākh*, a large village in the Šacū region.

TURKISH WORDS

<i>adpā</i> 81, alp	<i>begarā</i> 69, id.
<i>aha:cī</i> 61	<i>beķā</i> 81, häg
<i>apa</i> 61, apa	<i>biđigā</i> 102, bilgā
<i>attimā</i> 56, 61, 69	<i>hīrūka-</i> passim, bujruq
<i>gūga</i> , plur. <i>gūgava</i> ; <i>ūga</i> , <i>ūha</i> :	<i>buđamaciya</i> 122
passim, <i>ūgā</i>	<i>caraihi</i> : 102, Čarīy
<i>ayavīra-</i> 61, 81	<i>chārā</i> 21, čor
<i>barsā</i> 32, 63, bars	<i>cimuđa-</i> , <i>cumuđa-</i> , Čumul
<i>bayarkāta-</i> 11, 55, 58, 122, Bayīrqu	<i>hā:nā</i> passim, Khan
<i>begarakā</i> 61, bāgrāk	<i>hūna-</i> 38
<i>berakā</i> 56, id.	<i>hva:māla</i> 3

hve:hvara 23, 52, 56, 68, 86, 109, 110, Uigur.	ttättähä: passim, tutuq
ičimjüva 72, üç inčü	ttattara- 49, 118, 120, Tatar
ittiyiganä 82	ttrrükä passim, (11, 55, 58 with Bayarkäta-), Türk
kāñūra 61, qongur	ttürkä 122, id.
karattahä: 79, 102, 119, Qara-tay	ttuđisa- 19, 66, 71, 121, Tölis
mangali 21, Mängli(g)	üga passim, ügä
sađaci 19, Salči	ühä: id.
sahā:nä 12, 67, sayun	güga id.
saikairä 82	ühü:ysä 32, 40, 56, 57, Oyuz
ttahä: 79, 102, 119, 121, tay	yiganä 82, yigän
ttamgäta- 97, Tangut	yipäkänä 121, yipkin
ttarkänä 84, Tarqan	
ttarrdäsa- 12, 72, 79, 80, 82, 87; 121 (rd), Tarduš	