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Hvatanica

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## Hvatanica

By H. W. BAILEY

IT has seemed desirable to make known at once certain information of interest to Central Asian studies contained in Khotan texts of the British Museum and India Office. This information may here be conveniently grouped under the heads (1) the animal cycle of twelve years, (2) the names of the months and seasons in Khotan, (3) dates and royal names.

Since the forms quoted in the following pages are from various types of Khotan documents, it will be well to prefix the statement that three linguistic stages can be easily detected in the extant Khotan manuscripts. The first stage is represented by texts such as those published by Ernst Leumann in *Das nordarische [sakische] Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, a stage which itself was preceded by an earlier period in which the orthography was fixed. The second stage may be found in the text of the Vajracchedikā, edited by Konow in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature from Chinese Turkestan*, in which the inflections are already much reduced, and the orthographic system, still good, is much modified. The third stage is met with in many religious and other texts, showing confused knowledge of the old inflection and much interchange of the vowels. A good specimen can be seen in the Itinerary edited in *Acta Orientalia*, xiv, 258–267, which is of the tenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Sten Konow for some valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity to give an explanation of the word *gava-* in lines 28 and 33 of that text. In the manuscript of Khotan, written by the Paṇḍita Mo-rgu-bde-ñil and translated in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 1935, p. 321, we read: "In the Li language 'hut' is *hgo-baṅ*." Li is Khotan. The word "hut" in the Tibetan text is, as Professor Thomas has kindly informed me, *spyil-bu*, that is, the Sanskrit *ṛṇa-kuṭīra*, a hut of grass or straw. Now *hgo-baṅ* could represent *gava-* of the Khotan Saka text. In the Itinerary we have 28: *sagṛjā gavāṃ jsa*, and in 33: *sagṛjā gavā jsa* "with *gava-* of stone". It is probably safe to conjecture that the author, familiar with thatched huts, felt the need to insist that here the huts or cells (*gava-*) were of stone. On another word, *spa*, beside the well-known 'a-ma-ca, in this Tibetan manuscript, see below, p. 934. It may also be of use to suggest that the *ka-roṅ* of the name *hjah-mo-ka ka-roṅ* (F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 117), the first foundation of the Sarvāstivāda school in Khotan, is the word *karāna-*, nom. sg. *karāṃ* of the Itinerary, ed. *Acta Orient.*, xiv, line 12. In line 17 *tharkye* is probably represented by *tharka* in the phrase *tharka mijsā*, Ch. 00265, 37, "marrow or kernel of the *tharka*" in a list of plants, following *īraṃde* "castor-plant". It is not yet identified. A passage in which *bāḍa-* is parallel to *jinave* (Skt. *janapada*) has been noted. Two errata on page 266 of the same Itinerary should be corrected: read *janūb* and *yamtadd*.



Ch. ii, 002, folio 3.

To face p. 923.

## I

Brit. Mus. Or. 11252 (1) presented by Sherriff, late Consul of Kashghar, probably from the region of Khotan. It is a roll of coarse brown paper, 152 × 28 cm., complete in length, but somewhat broken on the left side (obverse). Obverse 56 lines of cursive Khotan Brāhmī script. Reverse 1 line. [Italics in the transcribed text indicate lost syllables.]

## Reverse

12 si salya bāyā u garāṇe *Twelve Year Leaders and their Influences.*

## Obverse

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>salya bāyā</i> 12 cu śiri dīri í   | <i>The year leaders are twelve. Know therein what good and evil will be.</i>                   |
| varai bva dvāsi salya bāyā śau           |  |
| 2. <i>haḍā bāyīdi</i> khu śau haḍā       | <i>The twelve year leaders lead one day. As they can lead one day, so they lead each year.</i> |
| bāsti yanīdi tti śā śā salī              |  |
| bāyīdi                                   |  |
| 3. . . <i>paśā</i> mūla                  | [10.0 p.m.] . . . evening . Rat.   |
| 4. śva ṣṣava gūhi                        | [12.0 p.m.] midnight . Ox.   |
| 5. . . <i>brūnāṣṭi</i> muyi              | [2.0 a.m.] . . . dawning . Tiger.  |
| 6. . . . <i>urmaydā</i> sahaici          | [4.0 a.m.] . . . . sun . Hare.   |
| 7. . . <i>mase nā</i> ysai ste           | [6.0 a.m.] . . . . . Dragon . . . .  |
| 8. . . <i>stena mase</i> śaysdi          | [8.0 a.m.] . . . . . Snake.  |
| 9. . . <i>ḍā</i> mase aśi                | [10.0 a.m.] . . . . Horse.   |
| 10. . <i>paryai śva</i> haḍā pasi        | [12.0 noon] . . . midday. Sheep.   |
| 11. . <i>ma ha ra dā</i> bāḍi makala     | [2.0 p.m.] . . . . . time. Monkey.   |
| 12. . . <i>ṇa-vaśāri</i> krregi          | [4.0 p.m.] . . . . Cock.   |
| 13. . . <i>*rdūnāri</i> hime ttā śve     | [6.0 p.m.] . . . . Dog.  |
| 14. . <i>ma hveram</i> pāsi              | [8.0 p.m.] . . . eating . Hog.   |
| 15. . . <i>tt(i) salya bāyā</i> śau kāla | . . . <i>These Year Leaders lead one period of time . . . .</i>                                |
| bāyīdi būna būna                         |  |

## Reverse

*bāyā*, pl. to \**bāyai* 'leader', cf. *bārai* 'rider'. *bāy-* 'to lead', as Skt. *nayati*, of control by supernatural agents.

*garāṇe*, Skt. *karāṇa*, cf. *ggarāṇiśāstra-*, Skt. *karāṇaśāstra*.

## Obverse

7. *ysai ste* unknown.  
12. *-vaśāri*, cf. *paśāra-* 'evening'.

16. || paḍauysa mula mulā salya hve ysaiyi muysga-jsīnī hime u ṅauḍi  
*First the Rat year. A man is born, he becomes short-lived and . . .*
17. . . bariji ni śiri [hi]himāre u hve yaulajsi hime u sahautti  
*. . . crops are not good and the man becomes evil (?) and is not happy.*
18. ni hime cu jvīdi ba-jsīnya himāre u trāvi pharāka himāre u hīni pha-  
*When they live they are short-lived and . . . . abound and armies are many and evil.*
19. rāka maśiri
- 
20. . . śva ṣṣava cu gūhi salya hve ysaiyi sahautti hime u cuai [ma] pū-  
*. . . Midnight, when it is the Ox year. A man is born, he becomes happy, and if to him sons*
21. ra himāde biśi sahautti himāre u cu barīja-kerai śirai hime u stū-  
*are born, all are happy and as to a sower of crops, he is good for him, and cattle*
22. ra pharāka himāre u girye parā śiri yuḍi yaṃde u ūci jsai pvaṇi u dai  
*abound and he can do good buying and selling, and for him there is fear of water and fire.*
- 
23. || muyi salya hve ysaiyi bihāysi hime u jauysi u barijai ni śiri hi-  
*Tiger year. A man is born, he becomes a traveller (?) and warrior and crops are not good for him, and he talks folly and is long-lived.*
24. me u haphāra-salā hime u buysa-jsīnī
- 
25. || sahaici salya hve ysaiyi biśina sahautti hime mūryau jsa stūryau jsa aśau jsa  
*Hare year. A man is born, in all he is happy. With money, cattle, horses,*

16. ṅauḍi, perhaps cf. ṅaḍa- 'small'.

17. bariji possibly an adj. fem. -īmja from bara-\* 'crops', used as a noun.

21. barīja-kerai, cf. Or. 11344 (8) 8: hvaṃḍi 24 miḍām jasti hīya kāmjsata-kerā u ganama-kerām '24 men, His gracious Majesty's sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers'.

22. girye parā to gir- 'to buy' and parā- 'to sell'.

23. bihāysi, see *Acta Orient.*, xiv, 263.

24. haphāra. E 13, 89, saṃgganye yande bodhisattvā haphāre. haphāra- (ha- < \*fra-) beside āphāra- 'disturbance'.

26. . . bišau jsa bišina suhye . . . , houses, in all he is happy,  
hime u hāysai paṃḍi ni himye and for him there is no distant  
u bedai āsyē travelling and on him itching  
diseases (?) come, and as to  
27. himāri u khu barija-keri a sower of crops, he is not good  
śirai ni hime u biśāna vaśū for him and with his tongue he  
hime aysmūna is evil ; in his mind he
- 
28. vaśū hime grrahina miḍe becomes evil. He dies through the  
influence of a planet.  
29. || nā salya bāri pha hime u Dragon year. Much rain falls  
brām̐thi tsīdi u ūtca pha hime and winds blow and water  
u hīni abounds and many armies go out,  
30. pha tsīdi bāḍa hamyāri u biśi times change and all are afraid,  
pvañīdi u dai pītti daina pvaṇi. and fire falls, there is fear of fire.  
31. . cu hve ysaiyi buysa-jsīnī When a man is born, he is long-  
hime lived.  
32. || śaysdi salya hvai ysaiyi Snake year. A man is born. For  
ūtcai pha hime u bāri pha hime him water abounds and much  
u ba- rain falls and  
33. rījai śiri hire ni himāre u crops are not good things, and  
āchai pha hime hvam̐ḍi mi- disease abounds, men die and  
rām̐re u  
34. daina pvaṃṇe cu hve ysyāṇe there is fear of fire. When a man  
buysa-jsīnī hime begets children, they are long-  
lived.
- 
35. || aśi salya hve ysaiyi hāysai Horse year. A man is born. For  
aṅai hime u khu hiri maśā yīdi him there is distant travel (?) and  
when he makes a thing . . . ,  
36. kīrī ni parsti ḍi u hvam̐ḍā his works are not . . . , and  
sāni pha himāri u ba dū haysīdi. human enemies abound and they  
work . . . .  
37. vaśuni āchai hime mirāre. Evil disease arises, they die.

26. āsyē, āsyenī in 40, cf. āsyām, Skt. kaṇḍū 'itch'.

28. grraha-, Skt. graha- 'planet'.



38. || *pasi* salya hve ysaiyi sahautti hime puñaudi biše hirina sa- *Sheep year. A man is born, he is happy and virtuous. In every affair he is happy,*
39. *hautti* hime jsārina u mūryau jsa u āchinuḍi hime u muysga-jsī- *with corn and with money, and he becomes diseased and short-lived.*
40. nī bedai vaśuna āchā himāre u āsyenī sarbidi u vrranī ka *Upon him come evil diseases, and itching diseases (?) arise and wounds for him . .*
41. . . sti kūri mijsī mirāre u cu pura ysanīde muysga-jsīñya himāde *. . . perverse wives die for him and when they bear sons they are short-lived.*
- 
42. || *makala* salya hve ysaiyi hāysai śamḍā añai hime u pūrai pha himāre *Monkey year. A man is born. For him there is travel (?) to a far land and for him sons are many.*
43. *biśi* hirina śiri hime bisai pha himāri u aśa u khu hiri maśā *In every thing it is good. For him houses (or servants) abound and horses and when he makes (?) a thing . . .*
44. . . -i \*ñai ārhī ḍi biśi jsinīdi u pūryau jsa āspāta ni bye- *. . . for him they are restricted. All are slain and in sons they attain no refuge,*
45. *hīdi* u tsīdi ā mirāre *and they go away or die.*
- 
46. || *krregi* salya hve ysaiyi cui pūra himāde biśi muysga-jsīñya hi- *Cock year. A man is born. When for him there are sons, all are short-lived*
47. *māde* u sahautta himāre rrusa ganam aśa mūri pamñe hirina saha- *and are happy. With barley, wheat, horses, money, with every-thing they are happy.*

39. *āchinuḍa-* 'diseased', and in 54, cf. *pīrūda-* 'with worms', *padajūḍi* '\*having rank' (*padamja-*), *āysdaḍa-* 'watched' < Old Iran. \**azdā-kṛta-* (wrongly explained BSOS., vi, 77), beside *āysda-yanāka* 'watcher'. Ch. c. 001, 998; *āysdagarai* 'watching', *āysdarrja* sb. 'watching'; *pajsamaḍi* 'honoured' (corresponding to Skt. *pūjate*) < \**pati-ḡama-kṛta-*.

44. *ārhī*, possibly a later form of *āhrrī* < \**ā-θraχta-*, Skt. *stambha-*, Tibetan *dban-med-pa* 'powerless'.

48. *tta* himāri u kīrī ni parstī and for him they do not make  
yanīdi daina pvaṇi u śalarbi and . . . his work. There is fear  
hīsī- of fire and the locusts come and  
eat the corn.
49. di jsāri hvarīdi
50. || śvā salya hve ysaiyi Dog year. A man is born, he is  
muysga-jsīnī hime u dikhau u short-lived and unhappy, and if  
cuai mū pūra they bear sons,
51. *ysanīde* biśī muysga-jsīṇya all are short-lived, and . . . and  
himāre u biśā yina u haphāra- speak folly and are  
sa-
52. *lā* u ṇauḍa u śalarbi hīsidi . . . and the locusts come and eat  
jsāri hvamrīdi the corn.
53. || cu pāsi salya hve ysaiyi Hog year. A man is born, he is  
muysga-jsīnī hime u pūrai biśī short-lived, and for him all sons  
muysga- are short-lived and diseased.
54. [ . ] jsīṇya himāri u In the whole country is much  
āchinūḍa kṣīra biśī āchai hime disease,  
pharā-
55. *ka* u hīni ni tsīdi u biśāna and armies do not go away and  
satta vaśūna himāri u śalarbi with the tongue people become  
evil and the locusts come and eat  
the corn.
56. hīsidi jsāri hvamrīdi

Or. 11252 (1) accordingly supplies the complete list of the twelve names of the animal cycle, some of the names being repeated. The names compared with other known Central Asian lists may be tabulated as follows :—

Khotan Saka	Sogdian	Krorayina Prakrit	Sanskrit	Kuchean
mūla, mula, mulā	mwš	muška	mantilya	arśakārśa
gūhi	γ'w	gava	govr̥ṣa	okso
muyi	myw	vyagra	vyāghra	mewiyo
sahaici	χrγwšy	śāsaka	śāsa	ṣaṣe
nā	n'k	nāg'a	nāga	nāk
śaysdi	kyrmy	jamdunaṃca	jantunaḥ	auk
aśi	'spy	aśpa	aśva	yakwe
pasi	peyy	paśu	paśu	śaiyye
makala	mkr'	makaḍ'a	markaṭa	mokomśke
krregi	mr'yy	kukuḍ'a	kukkūṭa	kraṅko
śve, śvā	kwt'y	śvana	śvāna	kū
pāsi, pāsi	k's	sug'ara	sūkara	suwo

48, 52, 55, *śalarbi* 'locusts' cf. Ch. 1, 0021b, b 53 *hīna jsā pvena harīyssa dārabaikṣa . . . śalarba . . . āchā* 'fear of armies, trembling, famine . . . locusts . . . diseases.' E 2, 66 *śśalarba*.



To the names should be remarked :—

1. **mūla-** ‘rat’, *mū-* < \**mūž-* Old Iran. \**mūš* (Skt. *mūṣ-*, NPers. *mūš*), with suffix *-la*.

2. **gūha-** translates Skt. *go-*, Tib. *ba-lan* ‘ox’.

3. **muya-** ‘tiger’ for \**mūya-* < \**mauya-*. Sogdian *myw* ‘tiger’ can be read \**mōy-* or \**mūy-* (earlier transcriptions \**mēw*, \**mūw* assume that the Sogdian orthographic system was identical with the West Iranian. It is well to remember such Sogdian forms as *sywδyk* ‘Sogdian’ and *rywšn* ‘bright’, West Iranian *rwšn*). Kuchean has *mewiyo* (Lüders, *Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises*, p. 24), *maiwyai* ‘tiger’ (Lévi, *Le “Tokharien”*, p. 23), *mewya* ‘tigress’ (Lüders, loc. cit., p. 24), which agree in form with Khotan Saka and Sogdian. There would be no need to maintain the improbable connection with Chinese 猫 *mǎu*, *mau* ‘cat’.

4. **sahaici** ‘hare’, attested in the medical text Siddhasāra in the list of edible flesh, 16, v. 5, *sahaicā hīya guṣṭa*, Tib. *ri-bon gi śa* ‘flesh of hare’.

5. **nā**, Skt. *nāga-* in Khotan Saka also *nāga-*, *nāta-*.

6. **śaysda-** ‘snake’, in Leumann’s texts *śśaysde*. The Krorayina Prakrit *jamdunaṃca* and Skt. *jantunah* may perhaps include the snake with the ‘insect, worm’, as does Mid. Pers. *χrafstr* from Av. *χrafstra-*. We may note also an example of this inclusion of snake with worm in Ossetic *kalm* ‘snake, worm’, NPers. *kirm* ‘worm’, Sogd. *kirm-* ‘snake’. The lists would then all be in agreement for this year of the cycle.

7. **āsi**, older *aśsa-* ‘horse’.

8. **pasi** probably applies to either ‘sheep’ or ‘goat’. Av. *pasu-* refers to small cattle in contrast to *staora-* ‘big cattle’. The special names are given in the Siddhasāra 16, v. 3, *miña guṣṭa* ‘sheep’s flesh’, Old Iran. \**maiša-*, and *buyiñna guṣṭa* ‘goat’s flesh’, Old Iran. \**buza-*. In Ch. 0048, 1, *pasa salya* (the *pa* is broken but certain) was misread *ssa salya* by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 470, and so caused trouble to Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 66, and Lüders, loc. cit., 26, no. 3.

9. **makala** ‘monkey’, corresponding to Skt. *makara* of the Kuchean *Fan-yu Tsa-ming*, ed. Bagchi, no. 905, p. 297. It was wrongly read *maḍala* (?) by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 470, misleading Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 71, and Lüders, loc. cit., 27. In the cursive Brāhmī script of the Khotan documents *ḍa* and *ka* approximate graphically, but never so closely as to be confused.

10. **krregi** ‘cock’, frequent, older *kriṃga-*.

11. **śve**, *śvā* 'dog', elsewhere *śvānā*, nom. pl.  
 12. **pāsi**, *pāsi* 'hog'. In the Siddhasāra, 16, v. 4, *pāśa guṣṭa* renders Skt. *māmsaṃ vārāhaṃ* 'boar's flesh'. Morgenstierne has recognized in it Old Iran. \**parsa-*, Latin *porcus*, corresponding to Kurd. *purs* (see *Acta Orient.*, i, 277).

It is unfortunate that the names of the two-hour divisions of the day are so badly broken initially.

## II

The second text is an excerpt from the Khotan translation, Ch. ii, 002, of the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta (sixty-five folios have survived). In Indian medical texts, the physician is instructed to observe the seasons and the months in his diagnoses. To this we owe the following complete list of the names of the Khotan months and seasons.

Siddhasāra 3 r 4 — 4 r 1. Plate VI.

tt̄ye h̄iya piṣkistā j̄sa tt̄ā biraysāre ~ rve k̄ṣa biraṣṭe ||  
 haṃdyaji māstā u rarūya ṣi hamāmñā rva ṣṭe ||  
 cu ttām̄jāra u brakhaysdya ṣā paśām̄jsya rva ṣṭe ~  
 cu mut̄caci māścā u muṃñam̄ja ṣi ysumām̄ña rva ṣṭe ||  
 cu skarhvāra māstā u rrāhaja ṣi ysumi ṇast̄yi bisā rva ṣṭe ||  
 cu cvātaji māstā u kaja ṣi pasālya ||  
 cu hamār̄iji māstā u siṃjs̄im̄ja ~ ṣi ṇast̄yi pasālā bisā rva ṣṭe ||

*They are so explained according to its divisions. Six seasons are distinguished. The month Hamdyaji and Rarūya are the summer season. Ttām̄jāra and Brakhaysdya are the autumn season. The month Mut̄caci and Muṃñam̄ja are the winter season. The month Skarhvāra and Rrāhaja are the season at the end of winter. The month Cvātaji and Kaja are the spring season. The month Hamār̄iji and Siṃjs̄im̄ja are the season at the end of spring.*

*Skt. Text.*

*Tibetan Translation*

*vacat*

dehi rgyun gyi rnam-pa dbye-ba  
 ni | dus ḥhigs rnam drug-tu  
 bśad-de |

prāvṛḍ nabho-nabhaṣyau ca

de-la dbyar zla-tha chuṃ daṃ ston  
 brla ra-ba gñis ni dbyar gyi  
 dus-so |

iṣorjau ca śaran matau

ston zla hbrin-po daṃ ston zla-  
 tha chuṃ gñis ni ston gyi  
 dus-so |

*Skt. Text.*

mārga-pauṣau ca hemantaḥ

śiśirau māgha-phalgunau

vasantaś caitra-vaiśākhau

nidāghaḥ śuci-śukra-bhāk

*Tibetan Translation.*dgun zla ra-ba daṅ zla hbrin-po  
gñis ni dgun gyi dus-so |dgun zla-tha chuṅ daṅ dpyid zla-  
ra-ba gñis ni dgun smad kyi  
dus-so |dpyid zla hbrin-po daṅ dpyid  
zla-tha chuṅ gñis ni dpyid  
kyi dus-so |dbyar zla ra-ba daṅ dbyar zla  
hbrin-po gñis ni sos-kahi dus-  
so ||

There follows a section absent from both Sanskrit and Tibetan texts :—

pātcā śau pacaḍa ~

cu haṁdyaji myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna aṁdā ttāmjeri myāṁ māṣṭi hime

ṣi hamāmñña rva

ttāmjeri myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna aṁdā mutcaci myāṁ māṣṭi bure

ṣi paśāmjsya rva

mutcaci myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna ódā skarhveri myāṁ māṣṭi bure

ṣi ysumāmñña rva

skarhveri myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna aṁdā cvātajī myāṁ māṣṭi bure

ṣi ṇastya ysumām bisā rva

cvāvajī myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna ódā hamārījī myāṁ māṣṭi bure

ṣi pasālya rva

hamārījī myāṁ māṣṭi āṁna aṁdā haṁdyaji myāṁ māṣṭi bure

ṣi ṇascyi pasālāmjsya rva

*Afterwards a second division :—**From mid Haṁdyaja to mid Ttāmjāra is summer.**From mid Ttāmjāra to mid Mutcaci is autumn.**From mid Mutcaci to mid Skarhvāra is winter.**From mid Skarhvāra to mid Cvātajī is the end of winter.**From mid Cvātajī to mid Hamārījī is spring.**From mid Hamārījī to mid Haṁdyaji is the end of spring.*

This second account is perhaps independent of the Indian tradition. We are, however, hardly justified by this alone in conjecturing that the month Haṁdyaji was the first month of the Khotan year.

Two short following paragraphs should be noted here for the names of seasons.

khu urmaysdi hauda rrichām pa  
jsāte u rrvaye pa jsāte ~ dvyām  
pamdāvām paṣṭāme jsa ~ varṣa-  
vāysā<sup>1</sup> ~ u ysumāmñā u  
hamām

When the sun goes northwards,  
and goes southwards, because of  
his moving on two paths, there  
are the rains, and winter and  
summer.

*Skt. Text.*

ete ca varṣa-sitoṣṇā ravi-vartma-  
dvayāśrayāḥ

*Tibetan Translation.*

ñi-ma byan phyogs-su hgro-ba  
daṅ | lho phyogs hgro-ñin lam  
gñis-su hzug-pahi phyr de-la  
char hbab-pa gran-bahi dus  
daṅ | čha-bahi dus-su gyur-pa-  
ho ||

varṣavāysā u ysumām u hamām  
ttavamdya ~ u śiliṣām u beta  
vī bure paśā u pasālā u hamām  
āphirāre

The rains and winter and summer,  
the bile and phlegm and wind  
gather (?), autumn and spring  
and summer they are agitated.

*Skt. Text.*

cayo varṣā-himoṣṇeṣu pitta-  
śleṣma-nabhasvatām  
kopāḥ śarad - vasantāmbuvāha -  
kāleṣu kirtitāḥ

*Tibetan Translation.*

char hbab-pa daṅ | gran-ba daṅ |  
čha-bahi dus-su mkhris-pa  
daṅ | bad-kan daṅ rluṅ rnam  
gsog-cin | ston daṅ dpyid daṅ  
dbyar hkhrug-par gyur-te |

This text has therefore preserved for us all twelve month names in regular order and in good orthography. The names are also known in documents in various later spellings. It will hardly be necessary to repeat here earlier misreadings. They can be found in Hoernle's article, *JRAS.*, 1911, 471.

The months with Sanskrit equivalents are therefore as follows :—

- |                |            |                 |
|----------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1. haṁdyaji    | śrāvaṇa    | } hamāmñā rva   |
| 2. rarūya      | bhādrapada |                 |
| 3. ttāmjāra    | āśvina     | } paśāmjsya rva |
| 4. brakhaysdya | kārtika    |                 |
| 5. mutcaci     | mārgaśirṣa | } ysumāmñā rva  |
| 6. mumñamja    | pauṣa      |                 |

<sup>1</sup> Pali *vasāvēsa-*, Niya Kharoṣṭhī doc. *varṣavasa-*.

7. skarhvāra	māgha	}nastyā ysumām bisā rva
8. rrāhaja	phalguna	
9. cvātaji	caitra	}pasālya < rva >
10. kaja	vaiśākha	
11. hamāriji	āṣāḍha	}pasālāmjsya rva
12. simjsimja	jyeṣṭha	

Variant forms :—

ttāmjeri (gen. sing.), ttaujiṃri

skarihvāri

cvāvaji cūvija [*not* cūvijsa, *Acta Or.*, vii, 66]

Khotan seems to have known four seasons: *pasālā* ‘spring’, *hamām* ‘summer’, *paśā* ‘autumn’,<sup>1</sup> *ysumām* ‘winter’. To translate the Indian text two additional phrases were invented to correspond to the Indian division into six seasons.

A fragmentary calendar is also given by Leumann, loc. cit., ii, p. 357, preserved on fol. 290*b* of MS. E. It can now with these new data be more successfully interpreted. For completeness it may be added here.

śva brramkhaysji māsti ṣṭāmna audi rrāhajā māsti buri  
 heṃmamntai samai tcahau māsti  
 śva rrāhajā māsti . . . . . grīṣmi samai . . . .  
 . . . . . buri vārṣi samai śā māsti  
 ttī vā śva hamdyajā māsti ṣṭāmna audi śva brramkhaysji  
 māstā buri dirgha-vārṣi samai drai māsti

Here, too, the reckoning is from mid-month (*śva* = middle). But the seasons differ greatly from the other two accounts.

### III

Dates from the Khotan Saka documents have already been discussed by Hoernle, *JRAS.*, 1911, 469 ff., and Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 66 ff. Other dates which have since come to light may suitably be given here.

It is particularly useful to have both a name according to the cyclical animal years and the serial number of the year. Of such double datings Konow had only two. Five new cases can now be added.

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka-stava* 5 r 3 *paśāmjsye purre hivi ttīśā* ‘splendour of the autumn moon’, also contains the adj. form to *paśā*.

	First year of <i>kṣuṇa</i>
Ch. i, 0021b, a 43: pūhye <i>kṣuāṃṇi</i> pasa silya 'fifth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Sheep year'.	Hare
Ch. 00269: <i>gūha</i> salya hau <i>kṣaṇi</i> 'Ox year, seventh <i>kṣuṇa</i> '.	Sheep
S 2469: 24 <i>kṣuṃṇi</i> aśi salya '24th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Horse year'.	Sheep
Ṣacū Document (ed. Konow): 14 <i>kṣuṃṇi</i> krrimṅi salya '14th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Cock year'.	Monkey
Ch. 00275 (Hoernle, <i>Manuscript Remains</i> , plate v, fol. 1): 30 myi <i>kṣaṇa</i> <i>gūha</i> salya '30th <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Ox year'.	Monkey
Ch. c. 002: naumye <i>kṣaṇa</i> aśa salya 'ninth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Horse year'.	Hog
Ch. 00272: tcaulasamyi <i>kṣaṇapv</i> aisa <sup>1</sup> salya 'fourteenth <i>kṣuṇa</i> , Hog year'.	Dog

The word *kṣuṇa*, which is found also in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents, as in no. 715, *aṃgvaka devaputraṣa kṣuṃṇammi* 'in the *kṣuṇa* of Aṃgvaka the devaputra', and in Kuchean *kṣuṃ* (Lévi, "Tokharien" B, *langue de Koutcha*, pp. 8 ff., and *Le "Tokharien"*, p. 23) has already been explained as "regnal year". The new dates with cyclical names give five starting-points for *kṣuṇa* in Khotan Saka documents. This fact seems to exclude the conjecture (Konow, *Acta Orient.*, vii, 71, 76) that the *kṣuṇa* were contemporary eras of different regions. We have evidently to do with regnal periods reckoned from each new king's accession. The kings are certainly in some cases kings of Khotan, and probably all the *kṣuṇa* must be referred to them.

Since, then, the *kṣuṇa* are an indication of the length of the reigns of the kings, other documents giving serial numbers of the years without cyclical names become important.

A series of documents exists which can be shown to have come from the Khotan region, largely concerned with the official business of the General Sudārrjām. That is in Khotan Saka *spāta sudārrjām*, and *spāta* < \**spādapati*-, beside which the later form *spā* is found, corresponds in the *Sumukha Dhāraṇi* to Tibetan *sde-dpon*. In one of these, Or. 11252 (37) B, a document of Sāmdara addressed to the General Sudārrjām, the name and title are repeated at the foot of the document in Tibetan script as *spa : sor : zōn : la* 'to the Spa Sor-zōn'.

<sup>1</sup> *pvaisa* in a badly written text for *pāsa*.



We have here *sor-žon* = *sudārrjām* and *spa* = *spā* (*spāta*) 'general'. The *o* of the name resembles the frequent examples elsewhere, as in the Tib. *bohan*, Khotan Saka *vāham* of the royal name *Viśg-vāham*, or in the Tibetan text translated by F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., 303–323. One may note especially p. 321, 'or-ñon, the name of a Sanghārāma, in which will be recognized Khotan Saka \**uryām*, older *uryāna*- 'garden'. The *o* is incidentally of interest for Khotan pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> It may be useful to indicate that a man of Khotan called *Sar-žon* appears in *JRAS.*, 1930, 51–2. We shall probably also recognize in this *spa* 'general' the word *spa*, evidently a title, of the same Tibetan text, p. 320. For a similar transcription of a title in Tibetan script at the foot of a document we may note Or. 11252 (36), where the frequent Khotan title *pharṣa* (found also in the forms *pharṣavata*, *pharṣata*, *pharṣava*, *pharṣṣa*, in which *-vata* is Old Iran. *-pati*) is reproduced in Tibetan script as *pha r(a) śa*. In connection with the origin of these documents of *Sudārrjām*, it may be noted that besides other places *phimāña kītha* (loc. sing.) occurs. This is the *phimāṃna kamtha* of the Śacū document (ed. Konow), Chinese 媯 麻 *p'iei-muá*, Tib. *phye-ma* (F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 24).

In these documents of *Sudārrjām* we have the dates :—

Or. 11344 (3) B 10 : 33 kṣuṇi.

Or. 11252 (30) 1 : 35 kṣuṇi.

Or. 11252 (34) 7 : *sala kṣeradirśā* 'year 36'.

Or. 11252 (16) B 3 : *sparadirśame kṣā* 'thirty-fifth kṣuṇa'.

Since the General *Sudārrjām* is mentioned in each document, we can evidently refer them all to a king who reigned thirty-six years, and, since the Tibetan script is used, subsequently to the Tibetan conquest of Khotan.

<sup>1</sup> This use of *o* = *ā* suggests an explanation of the word, *ibidem*, p. 116, *no-le* 'dramatic performance' in the Li (= Khotan) country. It would correspond to Khotan Saka \**nālai* < Prakrit *nāḍaga-* (Ardha-Māgadhī *nāḍaga-*, *nāḍaya-* 'drama') < Skt. *nāṭaka-*, cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1925, 498 ff. The word is attested in Central Asia in Dialect A [= Agnean] *nāṭkaṃ* loc. sing., and in Kuchean *nāṭak*. In the Dictionary of Dirghāyur-indrajina (*êhe-rin-dbar-rgyal*), ed. Bacot 118 b 1, *nāṭaka* is rendered by *bro-gar* 'drama'. In *no-le*, *no* = *nā* and *le* = *lai*. For *-e* = Khotan Saka *-ai* we have a second example in Tib. *phyi-se*, *phye-se*, *ibidem*, p. 25, Khotan Saka *pīsai* 'teacher', in which I prefer to see Old Iran. \**patidaisaka-* to *dais-* 'to show', Mid. Parth. 'bāyštñ pres. 'bāys- 'to show, teach', Oss. *āwdesun* 'to show, inform', *fādes* 'cry of alarm'. This may also be the place to indicate a better etymology of Khotan Saka *pīr-*, ptc. *pīḍa-* 'to write' as from Old Iran. *pati-kar-* 'to imitate, copy', used in Old Persian of the rock sculptures of Behistun, and in Mid. Pers. *patkar*, NPers. *paikar*, Armen. *patker* for 'representation, picture'. Cf. also Mid. Pers. *nikārak* 'a diagram', NPers. *niḡār*, *niḡāštan*. Hence we have \**patidai-* > *pī* and \**patika-* > *pī-*.

In other documents three royal names are found :—

(1) Viśa dharma.

Ch. 1,0021a, a 20, viśa darma baudasatvām rāṃdi kṣuṇi ye pūha cū hīja kamala aśiri bāsti salī haudama māści ' *Of Viśa Dharma, the Bodhisattva, the King, it was (ye = vye) the fifth kṣuṇa, the year when the Red Heads wrought evil, the seventh month.*'

The *hīja kamala* 'Red Heads' may refer to Tibetans, who are named 'Red Faces' in Tibetan texts, cf. F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 78. We know the Tibetans also as 'Black Heads', *mgo nag* (*JRAS.*, 1910, 955).

(2) Viśa śūra (not hitherto noted in Tibetan or Khotan texts).

Ch. 1, 0021b, a 43, pūhye kṣuāmṇi pasa silya ttaujiṃri māśti hāmdūsamnye haḍai . . . viśa śūri ' *fifth regnal year, Sheep year, the month of Ttāmjāra, the seventeenth day, . . . of Viśa Śūra* '.

Ch. 00274, 2 r 4, the *Jātaka-stava*,<sup>1</sup> in the introduction : śrī viśa śūrrā mistye rrumdā hye udiśāyā ' *for the welfare (hita-) of the Great King Śrī Viśa śūra* '.

(3) Viśa Kīrti.

M. Tagh c. 0018 : viśa kīrtta (facsimile in *Serindia*, plate cli).

M. Tagh b ii, 0065 (facsimile *ibidem*) kṣasimī ṣṭām tsve kṣuṇṇi ' *his sixteenth kṣuṇa passed* ' in a poem celebrating Viśa kīrttā of *hvaṃ kṣīri* 'Khotan'.

We have therefore the following chronological data :—

Viśa śūra        5 + *x* years beginning in a Hare year.

Viśa dharma    5 + *x* years.

Viśa kīrti      16 + *x* years.

Reigns of unknown kings :—

36 + *x* years after the Tibetan conquest.

24 + *x* years, beginning in a Sheep year.

30 + *x* years,        ,,        ,,        Monkey year.

9 + *x* years,        ,,        ,,        Hog year.

14 + *x* years,        ,,        ,,        Dog year.

<sup>1</sup> It has not yet been possible to learn if the *Jātaka-stava* of the Derge Tanjur (Tōhoku Catalogue, no. 1178) is the same or a similar poem.