

THE STAËL-HOLSTEIN MISCELLANY

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

The manuscript is a miscellany. There are three dated Khotanese documents, 1-6; 7-24; one (32-51) being apparently a literary text; a brief text with Chinese names (25-6); a list of names largely Turkish (27-31), and at the end lyrical verses (52-73). As will be seen the verses still present serious difficulties in vocabulary, so that some phrases cannot yet be translated. Metrical tests are still too uncertain to use. In my attempt I have been more fortunate than Sten Konow in my access to many Khotanese manuscripts from which the light of parallel passages has sometimes pierced the obscurity. It will be seen how useless the etymologies in *BSOS.*, vi, 73 have been proved: they are not further cited. The differences between Older and Later Khotanese are so extreme (as *patārgya: pāja; nete: ni; aysu: a; handarna: hada*) that it is at times difficult to establish the connexion.

I regret still to be forced to quote unpublished Khotanese texts. A volume of Khotanese documents was placed in the hands of the printer in

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

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

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

TEXT

1. < sarau viśa' sambha > ta rruṃdā 10 4mye kṣuṇā krrimṅā salya
< mā- >
2. śtā 7mye haḍai sā herā haura u herā ni . .
3. u () aurā . ḍād- . . . () ā () ā ja . nai . śā vā 'iste viña khu 'i ne .
4. . jī pyilyaiga ye 30 6 chā paṃjsa tsūna u riḷjūṃ hulyega
5. 30 chā paṃjsa tsūna u hvāhā:tte 10 7 tsūna (space)
6. ṣau śvāṃnakai bimḍā vāstā aśtā dva chā paṃjsū jūna (space)
Space for four lines.
7. . . . sarau viśa' sambhata rruṃdā 10 4mye kṣuṇā krrimṅā salya kajā māśtā 10 zmye haḍai
8. ṣi' nāṣkicā piḍakā tte herā prracaina cu maṃ ṣacū kiṭhā ttika burā haḍa ya'
9. buluṇā rrgyaḍā sūmā u ttāgutta ka'rā ṣau ṣarṇādattā u hvamṇa ka'rā ṣau ṣaṃḍū u
10. naṃpa-jamṇai ṣau śvāṃnakai u ttā burā kathā paysāṃḍāṃḍā . . .
phimāna kaṃtha u
11. tsāḍikāṃ bisā kaṃtha u paḍakā bisā kaṃtha u
kaḍakā bisā kaṃtha u ysa-
(subsc.) nākā chittā-pū u nāhā: chū
12. baḍā parrūṃ bisā kaṃtha ~ raurata kaṃtha u sucaṇā
(subsc.) nū ḍūrtcī draya kaṃthe
kaṃtha u ṣacū kaṃtha u
13. śālahā: kaṃtha u hvinā-tcvjñā kaṃtha u kvacū kaṃtha u sināse
(subsc.) tciḍyaimā kaṃtha u unākū kaṃtha ttūśā
kaṃtha
14. u kviiyike kaṃtha u gākā-maṃ'nā kaṃtha u hve'ḍū kaṃtha
ttūśā ttūśā ttūśā
u puṃkarā ḍaṃ'-
ttūśā

¹ Sic, read karp.

15. tha u sauḥā:cū kaṃtha u lāhā:pupṃ kaṃtha u kyjñakam kaṃtha
ttūśā
u lvainā-
16. tsvainā kaṃtha . . . kaṃmacū katha u laicū kaṃtha u śāhvā
ttūśā
kaṃtha (space)
Space for one line.
17. . . . tti burā secū bise kaṃthe . . . 'icū kaṃtha u kau'yākā u
dapācī katha
18. phūcaṇā kaṃtha śākāhā: kaṃtha u tsīrākyepā kaṃtha u 'īsumā
kaṃ-
19. tha u dūkacū kaṃtha u hve'tsverā kaṃtha u ḍūkacū u ttīyākā kaṃ-
(subsc.) yūsumā
20. tha u tcyāṃ-tsvainā kaṃtha u kautaṇai kaṃtha secū mistā kaṃ-
tha paṃjā-
21. kaṃthā hā:nā bihā:rakā nāma kaṃtha śaparā nāma kaṃtha u
22. yirrūṃcjinā kaṃtha caṃmaidā baḍaikā nāma kaṃtha
argiṇvā bisā
23. kaṃtha 'ermvā bisā kaṃtha phalayākā kaṃtha
tturpaṇā kaṃtha
24. bapaṇā kaṃtha (space)
Space for one line.
25. . . . anā ttuṃga cā ttuṃga tsām śāṃśī cā ttuṃga'
cākā śāṃśī bvā' yūṃ śāṃ-
26. śī (space)
Space for one line.
27. 'ijūva yahā:ḍaka'rā aḍapahūttā bākū bāsā-
28. kāttā kurabirā kārābarā ttā ttūlisā ṣtāre (space)
29. . . . 'imjū sika'rā ttaugara ayabirā caraiḥā:
yabū-
30. ttākarā aṇahā:ḍāpahūttā karattaha-pata ttāttarā dū sa-
31. hūta sādīmīya ttrūkā bayarkāta, cūṇūda (space)
Space for one line.
32. . . . salī 10 4 māśti siṃjsiṃja haḍā 20 ~
33. ṣi' kṣuṇā miṣḍāṃ ḡyastā hvamṇā rruṃdā sarau | viśa' sambhatā ~
ttiña beḍa khu ṣtām yuḍa dāya rruśti hvamṇ ṣi'ri vīra ~
34. tte rruṃdā 'iñakā bvā'ma|yā pūñūda
hvaramḍā-vīrai 'imdrā jsā bijīṣṭā
35. hvāṣṭā ye baḍā rrgyaḍā sūmā | nāma
harbiśvā paṃḍāvṃvā kaṃthvā bvākā ~
36. ṣi' mī hvāṣṭā ~ rruṃdā hīye bvāme u ttīsi'-prribhāvāna

¹ Subscript.

37. kṣa' jū vā tsve u | [...] viña jsām vā hauda jñā
hamtsā sṅnarau ka' ṣau ṣamdū jsā
38. u *nva ṣau hayākā pātcā vā tsve | ṣacū ~
tryām nva vā pha arthā ā 'aurya mista ~
tti burā jsām haḍa ya tte arthā jsa ham-
39. tsa cām ttüttū u ka'rā ṣau ṣarnnadattā u ṣau śvāmnakai u
puška-ka'jai spā paḍā-dūsā u
40. ysarrarā kharuṣai drau-vathamjai khrrī-rttānā ~
tti buri maṃ baudhasattā ḡyastā
41. va u tte-pū va vistārya puña prriyauga pa'jsāmdāmdā ~ cām
ttüttū ḡumatti-
42. rā ba'sā paste padaide nūvarā śirkā zo chāya-v-i pyamtsā haśirma u
ttāgutta
43. ka'rā ṣau ṣarnnadattā panūḍai pūstye vāśi'ya ṣau u ṣau śārṣtai tsiya
(space)
44. hvana ka'rā ṣau ṣamdū karā kaṃthā tsve ssa zo 1 u śārṣtā paṃ-sse
u dva śimḡā rrūṃ jsā
45. dirye kaṃtha bisvā u ayiṣṭhvā vānvā prriyaugā haiṣte u ṣau śvāmnakai
śārṣtā tsve
46. kāmbāmdā haurā hauḍe še u chām syū ṣau (space)
47. puška-ka'jai spāta tta paḍā-dūsā śārṣtā tsve kharū-
48. ṣai jsām maṃ ssa zo haṣṭi byaṣte ~ ttika buri ma śirā dauṣkarā
dvā rruṃdām va puña
49. prriyaugā pa'jsāmdāmdū cu rā vā paḍā ustaṃ haḍa hiśāta u ma maṃ
pā ha-
50. sta padīna ādarā pariya yuḍe puñau prriyaugām va haurā maurā
maṃ ni 'i-
51. niryau nām sijīmdā ustaṃ va vyaysaṇa kaśiryām (space)

VERSES

52. .. jūhānai bāḍā spyakyi ṣtām vā hārvaidā ~
53. maṃ ṣā' vala śtāka dye jsa śirka u bū|śajsa ~
maṃ ṣā' vala diśtā ṣtānā pūmūḍa hamāte
54. maṃ rā būḍa ysirā byājā|kya spyakyi na śtāka (space)
.. khvā nā vajsyaṇe same paṃmarā bvāne
55. hamarvā|-v-aṃ aṃgvā ne paṣṭa raysāya
drā-mājsakyā hva hva gvīracākyā paṣṭīmdā
56. ysīrakā | dravāṣaṃ dai viña yaṃdā bā'jsakyā ~
.. ttadi drāmī khu śākarīnai mūvai
57. ā vā | drāmī sā sauhā: vaskā pādāmdā
hvāṇdvā ysāvi ṣvidā jastūña khaṣtai
58. vaña ha|myai haña ysitha tcī'mi'śkyām ysauhā: (space)
Space for one line.

59. | .. bastā hūbastā hvāraṃdai ṇaaysirā grathā
60. ā'jsīmjām 'auvya bastā ysarrimje nūcā jsā | pyaṣṭā ~
tturkā väysā ysarrnā spyaka vasva biśā
61. hastama hvāṃdīnā raṃna spaladā-|jsai māñā
viysā khīysarā ttaurrjā dāḍa ṣtām akhajaṃdai
62. jvjhā khva rāma hiye uvi' | bimḍā nā 'īmdā ~
hai tha mūrā kakva jastūña mūraka tcaḍā māhāsamādrā
63. | māñāmdā krrimḡā ārrā pā rā de śākā daraujsa ~
64. nvīcā 'idā agalakvā | hiye bā'jse dreha jsā brrīyikyā vīrāṣtā
65. khu mī tha vaña krraṇākā | āye mahā ttā hayūṃ biysamjā ~
66. ma ttā ttū pvai'sai barā vāla|kye brre vi
khvai hā hiśā vīrā hūña akakū akakū nāṣte
67. śā gau|śtā dajā-gūnā spūlakye brrīyilakā vā brraṣṭa
68. brrīyila|kā vā brraṣṭā khu ttā pā nā harāse'
69. khū tta kāma krrathā nā | ḡuche ma kaṇa
70. .. ttina kālna khu a paḍauśa' ahā rdyai vila|kā brrī
khva vistā ysirā bimḍā brrīvinai ttaudā ayūlā
71. nā nā ṣtām | aysmū rama-kīrā nā uvi'
vistātūṃ kīrā vanāsacau uvi'śkyām ~
72. ṣai khū ṣtām hū|sime hūñā dai 'erākaṇa ṣtām mā
73. mahe brrāṃbe hatsa biysānū khvā | nā vijsye
vilakā brrī mirā ra-m aṃḡā hamarā ḡūsīmdā bāsā

COMMENTARY

DOCUMENT I

LINES 1-6

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

1.1. The last syllable >ta makes the restoration Viśa' Sambhata certain. The name is clear in lines 7 and 33. Khotanese royal names from the documents are quoted on line 7.

1.2. *ḡṣuṇa*- "regnal year" (see *BSOS.*, viii, 933, and *BSOAS.*, xii, 328). A date in the 35th *ḡṣuṇa* was quoted from Or 11252 (30) 1 (*BSOS.*, viii, 935) and in a Hedin document No. 20, to be published shortly, a date 36mye *ḡṣuṇā* "36th regnal year" is found. To the cycle with the 14th year as a Cock year, the first *ḡṣuṇa* was a Monkey year.

1.3. *krrimḡa* "Cock" (here and in 7), the tenth year of the twelve-year cycle. The Khotanese names are given *BSOS.*, viii, 928. For recent discussion of the origin of the cycle, see Osman Turan, *On iki hayvanlı türk takvimi* with W. Eberhard's review in *Ostasiat. Zeitsch.*, n.f. xviii (1942-3): the origin is there ascribed to the Hiung-nu.

1.4. The month name is illegible, but to judge from the space will have been of four akṣaras. The choice is thus limited to three names: *mutcacaji*, more commonly *mutca'ci*, 5th month (assuming that the year began in summer, see *BSOS.*, viii, 932, and *AM I* 39); *skarāhvāra-*, usually *skarhvāra-*, 7th month, and *hamāriji*, 11th month. If the three documents are here copied in chronological order (the second is of *kaja*, 10th month, and the third document is of *sinjsimja*, 12th month), then *hamāriji* is excluded. Between *mutcacaji* and *skarāhvāra* preference may lie with *skarāhvāra* which would take the greater space and so fill the lacuna with four larger akṣaras where line 2 has five smaller letters.

2. *hera-* "thing", in philosophical doctrinal texts renders Bud. *dharma* "thing, element". In official letters it stands for "possessions, goods", or perhaps "money" (as given in the translation of Ch 00269.45, 107, 115 in *BSOAS.*, xii, 621, 624. The complaint of lack of *hera-* "money" there can be compared with the Staël-Holstein roll Tib. 20 *šo myed-par* "being without a dram, penniless").

3.1. *'iste* "returns", but the context is lost. In E 3rd sing. act. *istā*, mid. *iste*. The causative *is-* occurs in *iśākā* "pratinvartaka, bringing back, restoring" in the *Suvarṇa-bhāsa* (*KhT I*, 236).

4.1. *pyiḷaiga*, unidentified, perhaps Tibetan (or Chinese?). It is of cloth, as shown by the measurement in feet and inches. In this line occurs also *-lyega* in *hūlyega*, also a foreign unidentified word for something of cloth. Other Tibetan words from the same sphere can be quoted in Ch cvi.001, 4 *lahā-pī*, Tib. *lag-phyis* "hand-cloth (*phyis* 'wipe') and 20 *thūḍa*, Tib. *thul-pa* "fur-coat", see *AM I*, 42.

4.2. *ye*; 8,38 plur. *ya*; passim, "was, were", from older *vāta-*, *vya-*. Elsewhere *Vajr.* 30 a 2 *ye* 3rd sing.; 30 a 1 *ya* 3rd plur., but also *ya* 3rd sing. in *Jātaka-stava* 11 r 4, 18 v 4.

4.3. *chā* "one foot", from Chin. 𠬞 K 1171 *d'jang* > *ṣang* "ten feet" (see *ZDMG.*, xcii, 586), but with value one-tenth of the Chinese *ṣang*. The value is established by the bilingual text Stein Dumaqu C: 36 *chā kṣa tsuna* "36 feet, six inches" corresponding to Chin. 3 𠬞 *ṣang* 6 尺 *ṣ'ī* 6 寸 *ts'un*. A Hedin document No. 16 uses the same value in a calculation.

4.4. *tsūna*, plur. "inches", Chin. 寸 K 1113 *ts'un* <*ts'un*.

4.5. *rijiḷm*, adj. to *hūlyega*, here only and unexplained.

4.6. *hūlyega*, measured as cloth. It was quoted in *ZDMG.*, 1938, xcii, 586, in comparison with a word *hūḍaiga* for an alternation *ḍ-ly*. This *hūḍaiga* occurs six times, beside once *hūḍaga*. In P 2925.47 we have *haudvī va tcaimaṇa āṣkyau jsa habadai hūḍaiga* "a cloth filled with tears of both eyes". A second word of similar form is *hūlaiḥā*: which renders Turk. *kyešā* (*kāš* "quiver"), edited *BSOAS.*, xi, 291, but it could be connected only by supposing the quiver to be named with reference to the material from which it was made.

5.1. *hvāhā:tte* "breadth, width", abstract to *hvāha-* "wide" (E). Forms of the suffix *-tāti-* in later Khotanese are given *JR.AS.*, 1942, 27-8. The same word *hvāhā:tte* occurs in the *Siddhasāra* 101 v. 5.

6.1. *ṣau* "official", perhaps equal to Chin. 都尉 K 1187, 1015 *tu-t'ou* <*two-d'ou*, Khotan. *ttuttevā* (see *BSOAS.*, xii, 327). The one form is used before a name in nominative and genitive: in 10 the nom. *ṣau svāṃnakai*, and in 6 with *biṃḍā* the gen. singular. If those cases of a title or word of relationship before a proper name, which as consonant stems show variant forms for nom. and gen., are examined, it will be seen that the Khotan. practice was to put the qualifying word in the gen. before a name in the gen. This is clear in P 4099.436 *rradāna rrada viśa' sabava jsa* "with the king of kings Viśa' Sambhava" and in *hvaṃnā rramḍā vāśa' vāhaṃ* "of Viśa' Vāhaṃ king of Khotan", quoted *Acta Orient.*, vii, 67, No. 3; 68, No. 12; Ch 00269.20-1 (quoted *BSOAS.*, xii, 328) *pyarā ṣau stadesai u mirā 'eysājai vidyehe' . . . dī pākā* "at the feet of my father Ṣau Stadesai and my mother Lady Vidyehe". Similarly in the colophon of the *Jātaka-stava* 39 v 1ff. *pyarā, brrāvarā, naira* and *dvīrā* are in oblique case before proper names with *jsa*. Hence the assumption in *BSOAS.*, xii, 327 that it was necessary to find an explanation of the gen. form in *ṣau* and the inference that *ṣau* represented two older forms (nom. and obliq.) of an *-an* stem. I miss any evidence in Sten Konow's remarks in *Acta Orient.*, xx, 136 that *ṣau* differed from other qualifying words preceding proper names.

6.2. *svāṃnakai*, also 10 in the second document, unidentified name, found only here. He is the *ṣau* of *Nampajamṇa-*, below 10. A similar name *ṣau svāṃnakā* occurs in P 2027.9.

6.3. *biṃḍā* "upon", which could mean either "owed by" or "owing to", can be interpreted as "owed by", if Hedin 3.12 is compared: *ttū-ṃ herā ci tte bedi buri 'ī . . . paḷa* "demand that money (property) of mine as much as is owed by him". A similar passage occurs in Hedin 13.4 *tsiṣi u hārvāṃ u tsātā bida thauna himārā hauda u dīrsā chā* "owed by the Governor and the merchants and the rich men are cloth seven pieces and thirty feet" (one *thauna-* is 40 feet).

6.4. *vāstā* "garment, clothing", translating Sansk. *vastrāṇi* "garments" in P3513,71 v 3, Sansk. 3.82, *Suvarṇa-bhāsa* (*KhT I*, 247), and Sansk. *vāsaṃ* in 72 v 2. In N 176.7 *cu śāra śāra vāsta padīmāre prahone bise āysirūne . . .*, the word *vāsta* "garments" stands in hendiadys with *prahone* "garments". In P2957.104, the *Sudhana-Avadāna*, *vāstā* corresponds to Ch 00266.159 *khaittuve* for Sansk. *vastrāṇi* (Divy. 449:13). This gives "garment" as the meaning of *khaittuve*, which has not been recognised in *BSOAS.*, xii, 324. Translate there *bvaiyausta rana tti jsā khaittuve* by "brilliant jewel and garments".

6.5. *pamjsū jūna* for fuller *pamjsūsā tsūna* "fifteen inches", with an error of *j-* for *ts-*. Another scribal lapse occurs in the *ḍamtha* of line 14.

DOCUMENT II

(a) 7-24, (b) 25-6, (c) 27-8, (d) 29-31

7.1. *sarau rrumdā*, and in line 32 *rrumdā sarau* "lion king" corresponds to SH Tib. 7 *lha rgyal-po sex-ge* "god king lion", 9 *rgyal-po sex-hge*, 18 *sex-hge rgyal-po*.

7.2. *viśa' sambhata*, 33 -*tā*, a royal name formed by the family name *Viśa'*, for the forms of which see *JRAS.*, 1942, 14. In the Annals of Khotan the Tib. forms are *bi-ja-ya*, *bśah*, *biśa*, *biśa*; and *byiśa* (Derge 185 a 2). The royal name *Viśa' Sambhava* occurs as *Bijaya Sambhava* in the Annals. In Khotanese documents the following names of this family have been found: *Viśa' Sabava*, *Viśa' Śūra*, *Viśa' Darma*, *Viśa' Vāham*, *Viśa' Kīrti*, *Viśa' Sagrāma*.

7.3. *kajā*, month name, 10th month, see *BSOS.*, viii, 932. It occurs in the document P2741.31 (*AMI*): *kaji māstā beraji vī* "on the first day of the month *Kajā*". The meaning of *beraji vī* was discovered this summer in a Hedin text, No. 17, where the sequence of days from *byerajā vī to pamješā vī* "15th day" is given.

8.1. *nāṣkicā pīḍakā* "document of investigation". *nīṣkica-* renders Sansk. *viśeṣa* "specification", see *AMI*, 43.

8.2. *ttye herā prracaina cu* "because"; Hedin 26.1 *ṣi' pīḍakā ttye prracaina cu*. Similar phrases in P2787. 125 *ttyai prracaina cū*, P3513, 26 r 4 *ttye herā kina cu*.

8.3. *mam śacū kīthā* "here in the city of Śacū". The Tib. text likewise indicates Śacu as the place where the documents were written (line 8: *śacur phyin ma-thag-du* "immediately upon arrival in Śacu").

8.4. *ttika burā*, demonstr. pron. with *-ka* which receives the inflexion (*ttikye* gen. sing.). In line 40 *tī buri* occurs without *-ka*.

8.5. *haḍa* "messengers", frequent in the documents, in older Khotanese E 6.33 *āmācu hā haḍu hiṣṭe* "he sent a councillor as messenger". In Tibetan the corresponding word is *pho-ña* "envoy" (Tib. 4).

9.1. *bulūna-*, before the Tibetan name *Rgyal-sum*. The Tib. text here differs presenting *hbal*, which appears below in line 34 *bada-* of the Khotan. text. In other documents are found Or 11252 (3) *bulunā rmamā śi'rā*; (5) a 8 *bulāni*; (29) 1 *bulāni*; (12) a 2 *bulā rmami*. In a Tibetan text (F. W. Thomas, *Acta Orient.*, xiii, 44) a Khotanese is named *na-bod bu-loo*. The title *buluna-* was identified with Tib. *blon* "councillor" by F. W. Thomas (*ZDMG.*, xvi, 14). The Tib. word (written *bōln = bōlōn*) occurs in the Orkhon inscription: *tūpūt qaḡanda bōlōn kālti* "on the part of the Tibetan king came a councillor" (W. Thomsen, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, 198, and *BSOS.*, v, 870). In an unpublished Hedin Tib. document I note *bu-lon li sar-zoo* "Minister *Sar-zoo* of Khotan".

9.2. *rrgyaḍā sūmā* "Rgyal-sum" in the Tibetan text *rgyal-sum*.

9.3. *ttāgutta*, probably "Tibet" (in a parallel use with *hvaṃna* "Khotan" here), see *BSOAS.*, x, 599-605.

9.4. *ka'ra* following both *ttāgutta* and *hvaṃna*. This *ka'ra-* has long been a difficulty. If *ka'ra-* is taken as a Khotan. Iran. word, a comparison of *ttāgutta ka'ra* with Mazar Tagh c.0014.1 *ttāguttāna kī<ṃtha>* (a fragment quoted *BSOAS.*, x, 603) would suggest a meaning "city", as if we had "Tibetan Town". If then *ka'ra-*, with the subscript hook, were identified with *kara-* "outer part, surrounding part", one could point to Sansk. *maṇḍala* "circuit", and *parimaṇḍala* "circuit", quoted in Khotan. *paramaṇḍale* in *BSOAS.*, x, 904.

Beside *kara-* "surrounding part" we have also *karaā-* "circle" (see *BSOAS.*, x, 580) and the adj. *karvīnaa-* "surrounding". This summer I found also *ka'rāva-rāysai* in Hedin texts, which may be rendered "commanding a *ka'rāva-*". The *-v-* recalls that of *karvīnaa-*.

A different word seems to be preserved as a surname in Hedin 16.5 *tcūrāmye haḍui ka'rā gaudā nāte u ṣau qni ṣami* "on the fourth day *Ka'rā Gaudā* and *ṣau An Sam* received them". In Or 11252, 16 a 3 *pīḍakā hauḍā u ka'ra sikha ysanaḍi vā hirā ha* /// "he gave a document and *Ka'ra Sikha* sent (?) the money of *Ysanaji*".

A *kara* is found in P 5538, a 1 and 2 *khyeṣvā kara hīna*. This can be translated "the troops of the *Khyeṣvā kara*", with *kara* "region" or "city". The name *khyeṣvā* occurs also in a Hedin document 20.4 *khyeṣvām āmna lumnā tca biysamgā*; and 20.5 *khyeṣvā ttumga sem*. Here *khyeṣvā* is a place of origin. If the name in the Tibetan version of the Annals of Khotan *khye-śo-no* (Derge 187 b 1; Narthang *khye-śo-na*) "of *Kāṣ'yar*" is compared (see *JRAS.*, 1939, 89), *khyeṣvā* also may mean "*Kāṣ'yar*" (whether as loc. plur. in *-vā*, or as a basic form). If this identification should prove to be correct, the *kara* may be the older form of the *-yar* of *Kāṣ'yar* (used in Ṭabari and earlier). The city itself in Tibetan texts was *Sulig* and *Suleg*, and the people *Ga-hjag*, *Kānčāk*. In Chinese similarly we find 沙勒 K 846,523 *ša-lə* <*ša-lək*>; and in the T'ang-šu (Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* 121, 336) 迦師 K 342,893 *kia-ṣi* <*ka-ṣi*>, and in Hsüan Tsang 法沙 K 491,846 *k'ia-ša*. The *Mahrnāmay* 75 offers *k'ṣy *kāṣi*.

This Khotanese origin of *ka'ra-* and *kara-* seems to be acceptable. But it should be noted that a Turkish *qara* "people" exists. But more important is a Tibetan *khar*, *mkhar*, *hkhar*, *kar* meaning "town". With *sku-*, *skun-*, it means "fort". It is common in the old Tibetan documents, see *JRAS.*, 1927, 815, *śacuhi skun-kar* "fort of Śacu"; 1928, 96, 500, 560, 580. In these early Tib. texts there is frequent alternation of aspirate and non-aspirate. Some connexion between Tibetan and Khotan. *kara* may exist.

9.5. *ṣarrnādattā*, and 43, noted only here, but Or 11252 (32) 11 has the name *ṣarnnai*. The ending *-datti* is frequent, either the Sansk. *-datta* or an adapted local syllable: *akānadatti*, *agnadatti*, *'ṣyadatti*, *'iradatti*,

'*irvadatti, upadatti, khāysadatti, khāhadatta-, puṇadatti, budadatti, māṣa-*datti, *yamadattā, yśādadatti, vidyadatti, viṣṇūdattā, viṣṇadattā, vismadattā, śādatti, sām̐datti, śiridatti, samāḍrradatti, sahadatti, sām̐adatti, śividattā, sūradatti, suhadatti.* In Tibetan script we find (JRAS., 1930, 293 ff.) in a list of Li (Khotan) people 'in-dad, khrom-śe-dad, vi-dad, śir-dad, sa-bdad, sar-dad, sur-dad.

9.6. *hvaṃna*, 32 *hvaṃnā*, 44 *hvana* "Khotan" from older *hvatana-* (E), with the usual replacement of *-atana-* by *-aṃna-*, and *-ana*, whence came the further development to *hvaṃ*. S 1247.259 has *hvana kṣira*, and below 33 occurs *hvaṃ kṣira-*; also in Mazar Tagh b 11.0065, line 2 *hvaṃ kṣiri* (*Serindia*, plate CLI, Sten Konow, *New Indian Antiquary*, extra series, i, 146). For *-atana-*, note *phaṃna-* "palate" from **fatana-*, *paḥana-* and *satana-* "faeces" (so read rather than *savana-* in *Suvarṇa-bhāsa* 54 v 4 in *KhT I*, 238, where the paper is rubbed), later *saṃna-*. The loc. sing. occurs infra 36 *hvaṃnya kṣi'rā ānā*. A Sogdian form *χwḍnyk* is noted in W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 10.

9.7. *ṣaṃdū*, and line 37, 44, Tib. *śa-hdu*. A similar *-dū* occurs in Hedin 18.3 *ṣṣau cvimdū* and Hedin 2.8 *ṣṣau śadū*. For Tib. *-hdo* see JRAS., 1930, 293: *Li ceḥu-hdo*, 294 *Li sen-hdo* and *śir-hdo*. Other names (Chinese?) in *-hdo* are found JRAS., 1928, 91-5. We have further Mazar Tagh a vi 0083 a 1 *pīśai* ("teacher") *seṃdū* and Or 9268, 1 b 2 *ṣau hvimdū*.

10.1. *naṃpa-jamñai*, place name, as the place of origin (in adjectival form?) of *śvāṃnakai*. It is not in a context of place names, so that its situation is left vague. Names similar to the two components of the name have been recognised elsewhere, but not in association. Thus *naṃpa* resembles the now famous name *Nam-pa* occurring in *Nam-paḥi skad-du* "in the language of Nam-pa" (F. W. Thomas, JRAS., 1928, 632), and now set out in detail in F. W. Thomas, *Nam*, on which see also the remarks of P. Demiéville, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1949, xlv, 264-7. In Khotanese we find P2790.82 *naṃā-śaṇām kiṇa* and 85 *naṃāśaṇa*. In the Niya texts *naṃmaṣani-*. For *-jamñai* reference can be made to *jamña*, *jamña* and *hjamña* (JRAS., 1930, 61), a *chard*, *thar* "district" of the Khotan region.

10.2. *kathā pāysāṃdāṃdā* "they knew the cities". *kathā* is for older *kanthe*.

10.3. *phimāña kamtha* "Phema city, Pein". Forms of the name have already been printed, see BSOS., viii, 935, BSOAS., x, 918. To those can be added Hedin 7.1 *phimāña kimtha*, loc. sing., 20.5 and *phemāña kiṭha*. It is identified with Uzun-tati (M. A. Stein, *Anc. Khotan*, 452 ff.).

11.1. *tsāḍika-* in the gen. plur. *tsāḍikāṃ bisā kamtha* "city situated among the Tsāḍika". Their situation is approximately fixed by the route described, but no corresponding name can yet be pointed out. The name Tib. *chal-byi*, if it could be equated in sound, seems to be too far to the east, at least on the map in F. W. Thomas, *Nam*.

11.2. *bisaa-*, adj. by *-a* suffix (from *-ka*), "situated in, being in" occurring after loc. or gen. Not attested in the Older Khotanese it is frequent in the Siddhasāra and other Later Khot. texts. A similar development is shown in the use of *hīvya-* "own" to express possession following a gen. case. Note S 2471.273 *khāhvā āṣaijvā ttājvā bisā devatta* "deities in wells, pools and rivers".

11.3. *paḍakā*, connexion uncertain. F. W. Thomas, ZDMG., xci, 14, cited a *Ponak*, close to Uzun-tati (ancient Phema).

11.4. *kaḍakā bisā kamtha* "the town in Kadak". The name in Tibetan documents is written *ka-dag*, and in Arabic script *ktk*, see JRAS., 1928, 565-8. The Chin. *k'ie-t'ai* was given to H. Cordier, see Addenda, p. 48, to his edition of H. Yule's *Marco Polo*, by P. Pelliot.

11.5. Subscript below line 11 are the names of three towns: *nākā chittā-pū*, *nāhā chūnū*, *ḍūrtcī*. The two first were identified by F. W. Thomas (ZDMG., xci, 14-5) with the two towns of Nob with their epithets *ched-po* "great" and *chuo-xu* "small". The final Khotan. *-k* and *-h* do not correspond to Tib. *-b*. The third name was previously misread (*dū* had not been identified, probably not expected, in initial position). The reading *ḍūrtcī* gives the name of the third town of the Nob district: *klu-rce* (JRAS., 1928, 586-7). These three make up the *nob mkhar sum* "the three Nob towns" of the Tibetan text cited JRAS., 1928, 569.

11.6. *draya kamthe* "three towns" indicates a complex of three places forming a unit. See on 19 *ḍūkacū* for the Turkish *üç lükcün*. Similarly *kṣa 'auva* "Six villages" occur in many official documents from the Khotan region, corresponding to the Chin. 六城 *liu ṣṣ'ang* of a bilingual text. One Chinese document published by Ed. Chavannes in M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 522, was sent to the governor of this place (which does not, however, refer to six great cities of Khotan, as Ed. Chavannes thought).

11.7. *ysabaḍā parrūṃ* is found also in Ch 00269.40 *ysabaḍā parrūṃ* (edited BSOAS., xii). Here the conjunct *ysb* is used. A name *zval-ro* referring to a *char* "district" of Khotan was quoted by F. W. Thomas (JRAS., 1930, 58, and ZDMG., xci, 14). The name would seem to be the same, but hardly the same place. Since we have here both *ysabaḍ-* and *ysbaḍ-*, and also above *bulun-* for Tib. *blon*, we could see in *parrūṃ* the Tib. *phrom* in a form with unaspirated *p* (see above on line 4 *pī*), as *pod-pa* occurs for *phod-pa* (JRAS., 1928, 578), and could thus accept the proposal of F. W. Thomas, and read **Zval-phrom* (ZDMG., xci, 14). From *Ysabaḍā-parrūṃ* it was possible to walk to Śacū on foot (Ch 00269.40, BSOAS., xii, 617).

12.1. *raurata*, a local name, possibly a development of the older *Krorayina*, to which the legend of the West Indian name *Roruka*, *Roruva*, capital of Sauvira (see H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan*, 29 ff.) was attached.

12.2. *sucanā* "Sou-tš'ang", 壽昌 K 899,1175 *šju-tš'iang*, see G. Clauson, *JRAS.*, 1931, 303. For *-can-*, below 18 *phūcanā*. For the place see L. Giles, *BSOS.*, vii, 550.

12.3. *šacū*, very frequent in Khotan documents, Chinese city name, for which the various attested forms are given *AM I*, 47.

13.1. *šalahā*. The identification of this name and others noted below will be given by G. Haloun in one of the next issues of *Asia Major*.

13.2. *hvinā tcvīnā*, see on 13.1, cf. 15.4. 泉 K 1125 *ts'üan* < *dx'iwän* has occurred in *dyau-tcvīnā*, *AM I*, 51.

13.3. *kvacū*, also P 2786.56, 144. Tib. *kva-cu* and *kva-chu* (*JRAS.*, 1927, 808, 824), Chin. 瓜州 K 432,1238 *kua-tšou* < *kwa-tšju*. In *Marco Polo*, ed. L. F. Benedetto, 141 *Caygiu*; in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, ed. V. Minorsky, 9.85 *χājū*.

13.4. *šināšie*, see on 13.1.

13.5. *ttūsā*, fem. sing., "empty", written below eight place names in lines 13-16. If this emptiness refers to the empty towns on days without markets, as proposed by F. W. Thomas in *BSOAS.*, xi, 531, note 2, it is curious that such a normal practice in small settlements should have been particularly noticed. Another cause of empty towns is to be seen in a Chinese text of the Mongol dynasty quoted by T. Haneda: a city was empty because of famine, which had driven the inhabitants elsewhere (Mem. Res. Dept., *Toyo Bunko*, vi, 11). The emptiness may have been due to disturbances, such as those of which, in other places, the Khotanese texts P 2741 and Ch 00269 tell. A city abandoned during troubles (𐰽𐰺 *luan*) is mentioned in a Tun-huang text quoted by P. Pelliot in *J.A.*, 1916, i, 121, and L. Giles, *BSOS.*, viii, 827.

13.6. *tcidyaimā*, written below the line. The *dy* is identical with the *dy* of *dye*, below 52. See above on 13.1.

13.7. *ūnākū*, written below the line, see on 13.1.

14.1. *kvīyi-kye*, see on 13.1. *kvi* is certain.

14.2. *gākama'nā*, the Jade Gate, see for the forms of the name *AM I* 48.

14.3. *hve'dū*, with *dū* as in *đürtci* above 11, and below *đūkacū* 19. See on 13.1.

14.1. *pūkarā*, or *pumkarā*, see on 13.1.

15.1. *sauhā:cū* "Su-tšou", see the forms of the name in *AM I*, 51.

15.2. *lāhā:pum*, see on 13.1.

15.3. *kvīnā-kam*, see on 13.1.

15.4. *lvainā-tsvainā*, see on 13.1.

16.1. *kamacū* "Kan-tšou", forms of the name of the place are given in *AM I*, 46.

16.2. *laicū*, given here with *-ai* not *-em*, since clearly no anusvāra is present, and the form is that given in the alphabetic table in Ch LVIII 007, for *lai*. It is, however, possibly an error of the scribe for *lem*. The Tibetan

has *lew-cu* (*JRAS.*, 1927, 548, 817), Chin. 涼州 K 392,1238 *liang-tšou* < *liang-tšju*.

16.3. *šāhvā* "Šuo-fang", see the forms of the name in *AM I*, 49: here *-ā-* for Chin. *-uo-*; the other forms show *-va-* and *-a-*.

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

17.3. *'icū*, Chin. 伊州 K 272,1238 *i-tšou* < *i-tšju*, the Chinese name of Qomul, Xamil, Hami from 758 A.D., see L. Giles, *JRAS.*, 1914, 724. In Uigur occurs *q'ml-* (T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., *Toyo Bunko*, vi, 9).

17.4. *kau'yākā*, see on 13.1.

17.5. *dapāci*, Chin. 納職 K 654,1223 *na-tši* < *nap-tšjak*, see P. Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1916, i, 117, note 1; L. Giles, *BSOS.*, vi, 840; F. W. Thomas, *BSOS.*, viii, 793. The Turkish form is *Lapčūq*, given as لاچوق by A. von le Coq, *JRAS.*, 1909, 313.

18.1. *phūcanā*, Chin. 蒲昌 K 762,1175, *p'u-tš'ang* < *b'uo-tš'iang* (P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1931, xxviii, 496), modern *Pičan* and *Pījan*. From the Latin text of Trigautius, H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. H. Cordier 1916, gave *Pucian* (p. 237), to which H. Cordier added from the Italian edition of 1911 the spelling *Puccian*. For the Khotan. *-can-*, see also above 12 *sucanā*, for Chin. 昌 *tš'ang*. The identification is already in G. Clauson, *JRAS.*, 1931, 305.

18.2. *šakāhā*. This should indicate **šakoy*, and the proposal to seek in it شوكة *šögā* is attractive (see F. W. Thomas, *BSOS.*, viii, 794, quoting Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, viii, 422).

18.3. *tširākyepā* "Sirkip", see M. A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, II, 612-4.

18.4. *'išumā*, see on 13.1.

19.1. *đūkacū*, here struck out, see later in this line.

19.2. *yūsumā*, written below *đūkacū*. Possibly a second spelling equivalent to *'išumā* in 18?

19.3. *hve'tsverā*, see on 13.1.

19.4. *đūkacū* "Lükčün", earlier misread, see above 11. The name occurs in the Turkish *üč lükčün balıq* in the colophon Ch XIX 003, 46 v 7 (facsimile in M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, plate CLXV; see also T. Haneda, *Sthiramati*, p. 24). Chin. 柳中 K 254,1269 *liu-tšung* < *liju-tšung*.

19.5. *ttiyākā* "Toyuq", see F. W. Thomas, *BSOS.*, viii, 794.

20.1. *tcyām-tsvainā*, see on 13.1.

20.2. *kautañai*, see on 13.1.

20.3. *secū mistā kamtha* "Secū the capital city". The space after these words clearly separates them from the following name, which has been overlooked in G. Clauson's article, *JRAS.*, 1931, 304, and by V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 271, note 5. Khotanese has also P 2790.80 *šicū*. The Chinese name is 西州 K 776,1238 *si-tšou* < *šiei-tšju*. On the place see M. A. Stein,

Serindia, III, 1167, ff. In Tib. *se-cu* occurs (J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang*, p. 70).

20.4. *paṃjākamtha* "Five Towns", that is, Turkish *Beş-balıq*, see V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-‘Ālam.*, 271-2. : NPers. *pnjykθ* (p. 94, and 271), Mid. Pers. *pužknđyy* (Mahrnāmay 45).

21.1. *hā:nā bihā:arakā*, no satisfactory connection yet pointed out.

21.2. *šaparā*, Chin. 沙鉢 K 846,707 *ša-po* < *ša-puāt*, called also 莫賀 K 638,342 *mo-χo* < *māk-γā*, a place between Gučen and Urumči (Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* 346, F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, xci, 48).

22.1. *yirrumciṇā* "Urumči". For final *-n* in names one can recall *Kūsān* (see T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., *Toyo Bunko*, vi, 13 ff., and P. Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1934, i, 61), and the *swlmn* for "Solmi" in Al-Bairūni and Marvazī (quoted by V. Minorsky, *Marvazī*, p. 71). W. Eberhard, *Bir kač eski Türk ünvanı hakkında*, 1945, p. 332, 339, points to the T'o-pa, Tabyač, use of *-čīn*, *-čēn* where purely Turkish dialects had *-čī*.

22.2. *čamaidā badaikū* "Čamīl balīq", NPers. *čml-kθ* (*Hudūd al-‘Ālam* § 12, No. 2, p. 95, 272).

22.3. *argiṇvā bisā kamtha* "the town among the Argiṇā", a derivative in *-ina* from Argi. Sanskrit texts from Argi use Agni, and this form lies behind the transcription of Hüan Tsang. The transition from *Argi* to *Agni* may have lain in a Prakrit form **Aṃga*, which is attested as the NW Prakrit form of Old Ind. *agni* in Khotanese *aṃgāsāla* (E 23.98), corresponding to *agi-* in Kharoṣṭhī (see *BSOAS.*, xi, 769). P. Pelliot saw a similar relationship between *Nob* and the **Navapa* of Hüan Tsang (*J.A.*, 1916, i, 119). Other NW Prakrit forms of Indian words occur in Agni and Kuci. The Chinese 焉耆 K 243,340 *ien-k'ī* < *iān-g'ji* from the Han period is old enough to have its *-n-* from the older practice of writing *-n* for foreign *-r-*, possibly with support from the Prakrit form, which will as usual in Central Asia have preceded the introduction of the Sanskrit form. For Chinese this Sanskritisation was a product of the time of Hüan Tsang and his followers. For Chinese *n* for foreign *r*, see P. Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1934, i, 31-2, and T'oung Pao 32.266.

23.1. *'ermvā bisā kamtha* "the town among the Ermas". The name has been found also in Dumaqu F 1 cu 34 *kṣuṃi tāmjiṛi 22mye haḍai 'erma tsūkām va hirā paḥistādi* "who in the 34th regnal year, the 22nd day of the month Ttumjāra, demanded money for the travellers to Erma". It occurs also on a wooden document of the Hedīn collection No. 36 *'ermvā pi'minā thauna buḍādū* "they took the woollen pieces of cloth to Erma" (the *thauna*-was 40 feet in length). From a passage in the Annals of Khotan it is possible to show that this Erma probably meant Guzan.

It will be seen that in describing the foundations of vihāras the Annals mention the place name after which the particular vihāra is called. Thus

king Bijaya J'aya married a princess from 'O-sku and the monastery is called 'O-ka-no (in the Derge edition 'O-ska-no). Similarly king Bijaya Siṃḥa married a lady of *Ga-hyag* (Kāšyar) and the vihāra was called *Khye-šo-na* (Derge ed. *Khye-šo-no*), that is, "Kashgharian". If this method holds good in the case of king Bijaya Bala (so the Derge edition reads), we have a lady of *Gu-zan* (Derge; Narthang *Gu-sin*) and a vihāra called 'Er-mo-no (Derge: 'en-mo-no). Erma may then be Gu-zan.

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

23.3. *tturpanū* "Turfan", famous now as the discovery place of so many early Central Asian documents. A summary account of its history can be read in the article "Le 'Tokharien'" by Sylvain Lévi, reprinted in *Textes koutchéens*, pp. 15 ff., from *J.A.*, 1933 (see also P. Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1934, i, 104). Chin. 土魯番 K 1129,580,22 *t'u-lu-fan* < *t'uo-luo-p'jwōn*; *Turphan* (Benedict Goës, ob. 1607, *apud* H. Yule, *Cathay*, iv, 237).

24.1. *bapqā* gives the name Chin. 無半 K 1289,689 *u-pan* < *mju-puān* of Hüan Tsang quoted in Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, p. 6, see F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, xci, 48.

DOCUMENT II

LINES 25-6

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

To the second components of the names must be reckoned *ttumga* (twice), perhaps rather Chinese than Turkish *tonga* (a title, and also "hero"). The *sām sī* (thrice) has not been identified. A similar name occurs in Ch 00271,17 *sām sūi hīvi kirā* "the work of *Sām sūi*", and *svām sī* is found in P 2741.6 (*AM I*, 47): his title *sī khum*, as G. Haloun has shown me, is the Chin. 司空 K 810,476 *sī-k'ung*, *sī-k'ung*, one of the five great officers, the minister of public works. The title occurs also in P 2790.25, 28, 37. The name *buā'* is followed by *yūm* before *sām sī*, but neither syllable is explained. In P 2031.3 a name *thyem sām sī* occurs.

DOCUMENT II

LINES 27-31

Lines 27-31 stand out from the context by the interest of the text for Turkish studies. Their importance has been evidenced by earlier attempts

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

The writer of the text has not stated his aim. We have to see in him the Khotanese traveller in Šacū negotiating with Turks who were a danger to the state, some of whom were without chiefs (P 2790.64 *bašū-siysa hvamḍä* "men without head, *baš-siz* men") and some were robbers (P 2031.8 *yahi-maliha: hvamḍä* "yaymalīy men, robber men"). The complex relations between the Turks and the inhabitants of the Šacū and Kamcū region are vividly seen in the two documents already published, Ch 00269 and P 2741. The Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary (*BSOAS.*, xi, 290 ff.) reveals a wish to know Turkish speech. Various groups are named, some of whom, the Tangut, the Čimul and the Tatar were not originally Turks. These groups had retained some of the older Turkish family names. From these same family names came the individual personal names of some of the chief actors. Two types of personal name are important in the present connection. We find first the group name followed by a title; the second type shows the group name followed by a personal descriptive name and then by a title.

1. *čigil tutuq* (G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigur. Runeninschriften*, p. 60); *'wyγwr t'pmyš* (Mahnāmāy 91); *dūm ttānga* (Ch 00269.61 with Turkish *tonga*); *uhū:ysā uhā* (Ch 00269.87) Oγuz ügä; *tārbi inal* (M. Lewicki, *Rocznik Orient.*, xv, 241); *ayavirā ūga* (P 2741.61); *ygl'xr 'yn'l Yagluxar inal* (Mahnāmāy 62); *caraihi: uhā* (P 2741.102).

2. *ttarrdāsā 'ittiγigāna* (P 2741.82), *ttuḍisā ttimgadī ttättāhā: Tölis Tänglig Totoq* (P 2790.52); *dūm ttattāmisā cihā:sī* Dūm Tatmiš Čigši (so rightly with *tta-*, not *ttā-* as given *JRAS.*, 1939, 88); *t'r 'p' tqyn* Tatar Apa Tegin (Mahnāmāy 22). *ayavirā adpa be'kā* (P 2741.81); *kürābir urungu sangun* (*JRAS.*, 1912, 187). Similar are *saikaira ttrūkā chārā*, if *türk* is here the adjective "strong", and *yglqr qn ta* Yaylaqar Qan Ata, if *ata* "father" is here taken as a title (G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigur. Runeninsch.*, ix, 4).

In our present list the question whether we are in presence of the group name intending the group, or the group name used for an individual is too exclusive. Among the names are listed *alpayut* "hero, champion", an adjectival derivative from *alpa-* "be bold" (see W. Bang, *Festgabe Szinnyei*, p. 5), and still more *añay-alpayut* "very bold, a great hero", which cannot be cited as group names. Hence we must see in the list the

notes of a Khotanese to record a miscellany of personal and group names with which his work had given him acquaintance in the region of his travels. We are not given Turkish tribal history. Identifications must first be sought in the other relevant Khotanese documents.

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

The present passage can be divided into three Lists. List 1 is in lines 27-28; List 2 in lines 29 to *añay-alpayut* in line 30; and List 3 from *kara-ttaha* to *cūnūda*. The details of the explanation can best be given under the separate names.

27. 1. *'ijūva*. Compared with *'imjū* line 29, this form in *-va* is plural, unless two forms are admitted, differently adapted from the foreign word in *-u*. With this are associated plurals in P 2741.72 *'icimjūva* and Ch 00269.76 *'icā 'imjūva* (*AM I*, 49). We have then Turkish *incü* and *üç incü* "three *incüs*". I have not been able to find early evidence for the meaning of Turk. *incü*. W. Radlov in his *Opit of a Dictionary of Turkish Dialects* quotes a Jayatai *injü* for two meanings: "princely domain" and 2. "servant of a beg". P. de Courteille has "esclave faisant partie du domaine particulier du prince", and *injülük* "service". Though the modern meaning of *injü*, *inji* in Mongol is "dowry", Y. Vladimircov gave as an older meaning "udel" (*Sravnitel. Gram.*, 320), presumably "appanage". This is particularised in his *Régime Sociale*, p. 128 to mean "*patrimoines féodaux des princes de sang*". Mongol meanings cannot safely be used to interpret older Turkish words (see below 27 on *alpayut*). In his study of the Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 25, V. Minorsky rendered *injü* by "demesnes" for the Mongol period, that is, the *xāsshah* of Persian sources. Further references are given by Caferoglu Ahmet, *Uygur Sözlüğü*, 70. From an Uigur text (edited T. Haneda, Mem. Res. Dept., *Toyo Bunko*, vi, 4) *incü* can be quoted as the first part of personal names.

The space after *'ijūva* here, and after *'imjū* line 29, separates the words from the following words. The *'ijūva* might be used as a heading for all the following terms, or may stand as a distinct item as do the following words. If it were a heading it might indicate in the following names the personnel of a particular *incü*. The *üç incü* are presumably a group of *incüs*. The alternative that we have here the first part of a proper name seems to me preferable. One name attested in Uigur is *incü urungu sangun apačur* (T. Haneda, *loc. cit.*).

27. 1. *yahā:daka'rā* "Yaylaqar". The name is found both as a family or group name, and also in the division of the Uigurs (G. Schlegel, *Chin. Inschrift. Balgassun*, p. 8, quoted by W. B. Henning, *BSOAS.*, ix, 555). It is also known in the two names Yaglaqar Qan Ata, the son of a Qirγiz,

and *Yağlar* inal (quoted above p. 16). Here, too, we should recognise the first part of a personal name.

27.3. *aḍapahüttü* "alpayūt". This word though unclear to W. Thomsen in his early decipherment (*Inscr. Orkhon*, p. 163) is now well-known. In W. Thomsen's later translation (*Samlede Afhandlinger*, iii, 497; English version *BSOS.*, v, 870), *tonra bir uyuş alpayu* was rendered "the alpagus of the Tongra (-tribe) of one kindred", and on p. 874 the cognate phrase II E 31 *tonra yilpayuti bir uyuş* is translated "the Tongra (-tribe's) yilpagu's of one kindred". The words are therefore here not further defined. However, we have further evidence. Kāšyari's *Divān Luyāt at-turk* has *alpayut* (*Turk. edit. facs.*, p. 83, 15) explained as Arabic *mubāriḥ* "champion" and *buhmah* "bold, hero". In the *Codex Comanicus*, p. 162, 7 r (=folio 81 b) *alpaut* is glossed by Latin *miles*. In Buddhist texts from Turfan *alpayut* "warriors" are placed beside the *buiruq* "officers" (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 62, 65. On page 65 it is plural with *-lar*). The word occurs at the end of a personal name, that is, where usually a title is put, in *alp sangun ügä alpayut* (F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlinisch.*, p. 23, l. 14; *ibid.* 11 *tonga* "hero" occurs in the name *isik üdgü tutuq är tonga*). W. Radlov (*Opit* 430) has *alpaut* "landowner, nobleman". In Mongol the word has been brought into (mistaken) etymological connection with Mongol. *alban* "tax" whence we find an attempt to interpret Turkish *alpayut* from the Mongol meaning (see V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 292), a method criticised by B. Laufer in reference to Turkish *tarqan* (see *Sino-Iranica*, p. 592). Y. Kovalevskij, *Mongol Dictionary I*, 84, has *albagun* "slave, domestic". Accordingly we may have here a personal name "Champion". See also below 30.

27.4. *bākū* could well represent a Turkish *buqu* and so fall into the group discussed by W. Bang (*Türkische Turfan-Texte*, 2.5), with the personal name of the Khan: *Buqu Khan* or *Buyuq Khan*. For absence of a final Turkish velar, see *AM I*, 48, on *maḡgālī*. It could then be like *alpayut* a descriptive name without connection with the name of a tribal group. The variant 僕固 of the Tölis group name K 760,421 *p'u-ku* < *p'u-kuo* would suit this name, but see 27 *bāsākättä*.

27.5. *bāsākättä*. No satisfactory connexion has been found. If a Chinese *-k*, that is, pi. onetically *-γ*, before a following consonant could (unusually) represent Turkish *-s*, this name might be compared with Chin. 僕骨 K 760,427 *p'u-ku* < *b'uok-kuat* occurring as a group name of the Tölis (in the wide sense as including Uigurs, whereas in the Khotanese texts the Uigurs are distinct), see Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, 88; G. Schlegel, *loc. cit.*, 1; W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 555. A variant without *-t* is cited, see above under 27 *bākū*. The form of the name recalls Uigur *bošyut* "instruction", (Brāhmī script *poškko-* (*kk=q*) in *poškhop*, *BSOS.*, ix, 295), which, however, has *-š*. No personal name has been traced.

28.1. *kurahira* "Küräbir", so far noted only as part of a personal name in Old Turkish script, in a document edited by W. Thomsen, *JRAS.*, 1912, 187, b r 9 *küräbir urungu sangun*.

28.2. *kārahārä ttä ttülišä štäre*. There is no space between the name and the qualifying clause. It is, however, likely that we have not suddenly a plural name explained by itself, but that the previously named persons also were of the Tölis group, whatever the elements were which composed that group in Kantšou. Identification of *kārahārä* remains uncertain.

28.3. *ttülišä* "Tölis". For the attested forms, see *AM I*, 48; *JRAS.*, 1939, 88. Orkhon has both *töls* and *tölis*. Khotanese has elsewhere *ttuđiša-* with *-š*.

29.1. *'imjü*, see 27.

29.2. *sika'ra*. The spelling does not distinguish between **siqar* and **sikär*. If the former was intended, the name *saiķaira ttrükä chärä* (P 2741. 82), that is, **siqir türk čor*, may represent the same name. This name (as I have noticed, since writing in *AM I*, 50) can be seen also in the name read *siyir trxan* in F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlinisch.*, p. 23, line 17: in his transliteration *γ* was put for the undotted letter which was both *q* and *γ*. Hence it would be equally possible here to read **Siqir* (*siyir* is "ox, cow", *Ungar Jb.*, xiv, 214). The same name is attested also on the Kara Balgasun Chinese inscription if the reading by Ed. Chavannes and P. Pelliot in the *Traité manichéen*, p. 210, 思 *乞 K 813,332 (with uncertain radical) *si-?* < *si-k'iat* or *yuat*, is accepted, with the title *baya tarqan*. Beside this use in a personal name, the group name is recorded among the Tölis (Ed. Chavannes, *loc. cit.*, 87; G. Schlegel, *loc. cit.*, p. 1 思結 K 813,325 *si-kie* < *si-kiet* (see W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 556).

29.2. *ttaugara*. If the background of the present list is, as there need be no doubt, in view of the reference to Karattaha in line 30, the same group of peoples who are mentioned in other texts such as P 2741, Ch 00269, and P 2790, it is desirable to quote the *ttaudägara-* of P 2741. 78 (*AM I*, 43) as a possible second form of the same name. In such a case it would be possible for the name to be both a group and a personal name as in so many other cases. A different interpretation of the evidence, on which agreement is not yet reached, can be seen in W. B. Henning's papers, *BSOS.*, ix, 559, and *Asia Major*, n.s., I, part ii, 159-162. There the **tuγr* proposed for *twyry* is a conjecture from a consonantal script. From the many foreign words in Sogdian a method of control can be gained, but it is not from Sogdian *xwδnyk* that one can educe the syllables of the name of "Khotan". What happened to names from the East as they were brought to the West we can see in the name of the Tatars: Khotan. *ttattara-*, *Mahrnāmay tt'r*, Kāšyari *tt'r* and NPers. *t'r* **tātār* (*Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, fol. 17 a 3). Similar variety should be recognised in the transmission of *Tuxār*.

29.3. *ayabirā*, P 2741.61 *ayavirā ūga*, and in 81 *ayavirā adpā be'kū*. Here as part of a personal name. For the corresponding group name see *AM I*, 49.

29.4. *caraihä*., attested in a personal name in P 2741.102 *caraihi: uha*.. Here too a group name is known in *Čariy*, see *AM I*, 50.

29.5. *yabüttakarā*, found so far only as a group name of Uigurs in G. Schlegel, *loc. cit.*, p. 9 Chin. 藥勿葛 K 568,1278,73 *iau-u-ko* < *jak-mjst-kât*, see W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 557.

30.1. *añahä:dāpahüttä*. The reading of *hū*, which I felt at one time to be uncertain, is hardly to be doubted. We have only the photograph, but I think to see the rather faint base of the *ū* with the same *h* above which occurs in *adapahüttä* of line 27. The word should be interpreted as **añay-alpayut* (or *añay-īlpayut*?) "very bold, great hero", with *añah-* representing Turkish *ayiy*, *anīy* and *anyiy* "very" (for the Turkish dialectal variation see A. von Gabain, *Alltürkische Grammatik*, p. 3 ff.). For a case of *ñ/y* in Khotanese script note (*BSOAS.*, xi, 289) *sarkāñākū*=*sarganiq*, *sarqayiq* "rennet-bag"; and also *sarqinaq* "rennet-bag" (G. R. Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, 78). If it is desirable to have *i* or *ä* to represent Turkish *i*, it would be excellent to read **añahadāp-*, which would give **añiy-ālp-*. But *-ay* is a possible variant, see W. Bang, *Ung. Jb.*, v, 403. The name seems particularly suited to be a personal name. It has not been traced as a group name.

30.2. *karattaha-pata*. This word is preceded by the top of a *ka* which the scribe began too close to the preceding letter. He then left a space by starting a second *ka* a little further on. The word contains Turk. *qara-tay* "black mountain", and from the contexts in P 2741 and Ch 00269 (see the references in *AM I*, 50) this mountain was near the *Yipkin tay* "brown mountain" in Kantşou territory. The ending is now well known, as a suffix, apparently of Tibetan origin, expressing origin from a place (see *AM I*, 48). It is *-pa* with the plural suffix *-a* added to a final *-a* by an intervening consonant. This word is important as deciding the local background of the lists: the locale is the Şacū and Kamcū region. Is the *Yipkin tay* "brown or purple mountain" the range of mountains 180 li SE of Şaţşou named from their purple colour the 紫亭山 *tsi-t'ing -šan* "purple pavilion mountains", in the Tun-huang Geographical text edited by L. Giles, *BSOS.*, viii, 845 (plate xii, line 21)?

30.3. *ttättarā*. Attempts have already been made to explain this group of three syllables. My present view is that we should expect to see here a reference to the name of the Tatars, who are active with the other groups in P 2741 (see *AM I*, 48). The present scribe writes excellent Later Khotanese, by no means the latest kind with lax orthography. But he has put *-ä* over *jsa* in line 34 and over *-na* in 40. He has also 56 *sākarinai* "sugary" with *-ä-* for older *a* in the first syllable, which occurs several times also in

the Siddhasūra with *-i-* (101 v 4, 109 r 3, 145 v 5 and elsewhere; in 134 v 5 *sekara-* occurs twice). He has also been unstable about the final *-ä* as in 28 *ttülisä* for the plural in *-a*, and in *ttrükä* for *-a* in line 31. It is therefore possible that he wrote here *ttä-* for *tta-* (in other texts also we find *tta tta* "so" for *tta tta*, as in P 2790.59, and *ttä* for *tta* in P 2741.10). I had proposed in *JRAS.*, 1939, 88 to read as three words *ttä tta rä* "these so on their side" (for *ra* see 73), but it seems better now to find here the Tatar name. To that and to the following names the description of Karattaha-pata (plur.) "inhabiting the Qara-tay" then applies.

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

30.5. *sahūta*, plur. to *sahā:na-*, Turk. *sayun*, which according to Kāşyari (*Turk. edit. facs.*, p. 203, 5) was a title (*laqab*) of the great men (*akābir*) of the Qarluq. These Qarluq have not been found named in the Khotanese texts, nor have the Qiryiz. But the Qarluq are mentioned in an unpublished Tibetan text. The Qiryiz are twice named in Tibetan documents. In one they are reported as robbers on the way from Leṅ-cu to Şacu and Kvacu (*JRAS.*, 1927, 817; and 282). It is possible that here the Qarluq are represented by the *sahā:na-*. The vicissitudes of Qarluq history are given in Ed. Chavannes *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, 85-6. In P 2741.12 we find a name *sahā:nä 'au'ga*, just as we find, for example (see above p. 16) *uhū:ysä uhä* (Ch 00269.87) *Oyuz ügä*. But we note also P 2741.84 *ttarkānā 'au'ga*, consisting of two titles.

A different grouping of the syllables to make *ttarādūsa* for "Tarduš" (but *s* for *š* is doubtful) had occurred to me previously, and is quoted by W. B. Henning (*BSOS.*, ix, 554). He then proposed to take *hūta* separately and to equate it with *hvata*. It seems to me that the place of these syllables does not suit a clause of this kind. As to the conjectured *hūta* "called", further study of the texts has made it hardly possible to assume such a spelling. The word *hvata-* is common in *hvatä*, later *hva* masc. sing., *hvata*, *hvava* fem. sing., *hvata* masc. plur., and *hvate*, *hvave*, fem. plur. It has not been found with *-ū-* in place of *-va-*. Nor does such a change occur in the many cases of *hvatana-*, *hvamna-*, *hvam* for "Khotan", although in the one Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661 dated from Khotan the name is written *khotana*. Similarly the words *hvatä*, later *hva* "of oneself" and *hvara-* "sweet" retain the *-va-* throughout. It seems unmethodical to introduce it here. Nor do I now think the Tarduš are referred to in this passage. We thus also escape the need to reproach our sources with attributions of the same Turkish groups to different tribes.

31.1. *sādīmīya*, plur. of an *-ī* stem. The name is struck out here. In one other place the name *sādāmī* occurs (P 2898.9) where also it is marked for deletion and succeeded by *dūm*. The forms of the name are: *solmi* (or

with *u*, *ö*, *ü*-; the vocalisation is uncertain) in Kāšyari's Divan (Turk. edit. I, 113 *sülmi koçu canbalk beşbalk yengi balk*); Sogdian Old Letter *swrm'y* (W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 558; for the date see *BSOAS.*, xii, 601 ff.); Chin. 陵里迷 K. 1127,529,616 *so-li-mi* < *suâ-lji-miei*. The Uigur spelling *swlmy* (F. W. K. Müller, *Toxri und Kuisan (Küšan)*, p. 581) would indicate a vowel *-o-* rather than *-ö-*, but is not decisive by itself since *-w-* at times was used for *-wy-*. The Chin. *suâ* suits *-o-* rather than *-u-*. For the situation, see T. Haneda, *loc. cit.*, p. 11 ff., W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 558, and V. Minorsky, *Marvazi*, p. 71. From Al-Bairūni is quoted *swlmn*, see above on 22.

31.2. *ttrükä bayarkäta* "Türk Bayarqu". For the *-a-* of the second syllable attested by the Chinese form, see P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 37, (1943), 46 note 5. In the Orkhon inscription I E 35 occurs *byrqw*. But the Old Turkish document edited by V. Thomsen, *JRAS.*, 1912, 186, line 15, has *byirqw* with *i*. Other references in Khotanese are given *AM I*, 47.

31.3. *cünüda*. The scribe probably refers to the well-known *Čimul*, Khotan. *cimuda* and *cumuda* (references in *AM I*, 47), Kāšyari *jml *čumul*. The treatment of the foreign nasal sound demands explanation. Above (line 12, subscript) *n* is put for Tibetan *v* in *chünü = chu-xu (chuo-xu)*. Within Turkish itself *ng* and *m* alternate in some words (see *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 5, p. 18 on A 76, and *BSOAS.*, xi, 291 on No. 21). It is possible that the writer here intended some unfamiliar sound, or he may simply have made a mistake. An unusual use of *n* for *m* can be reported in the writing *campaka* of Central Asian Bud. Sanskrit (Kāšyapa-parivarta, ed. A. von Staël-Holstein, p. 172 middle) and the *campā, campaka* of the Bud. Sansk. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (ed. E. Waldschmidt, 81.4; 84.5), for the normal *campā, campaka*. H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikhā*, p. 39, claimed *campaka-* as an older form. Tamil has *ceṇpakam*.

DOCUMENT III

LINES 32-51

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

32.1. *si' kṣṇā* "this is the regnal year of . . .", quite different from the formal dating, above line 7; but Or 9268, 1 b 1 is similar, see provisionally Sten Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, xi, 21-2.

32.2. *mišdām*, "gracious", this old form also in Or 11344.7.1 *mišdām gyastina*. More common is *mādāna-* (already in E). The word precedes the title of *Viśa' Sagrāma*, P 2787.83, *miḍā jasta* (quoted *JRAS.*, 1942, 14).

32.3. *gyastā*, also 40, "deva, god, majesty". For the *gy* with lengthened *-y-* stroke one can cite in the Sudhana-Avadāna P 2025.95 *gyanava-kaḍāna = Ch 00266.53 janava-kaḍāna "janapada-kalyāṇi*, the beauty of the land", Ch. 1.0021 b, a² 13 *gyatile*, which elsewhere is *jatula* (so in P 2787.132), Sansk. *jatula*. In P 2896.35, quite exceptionally we have *gyiṭha* for *kīṭha* "in the city": *ṣacū gyiṭha. gyasta-* is frequent beside *jasta*.

33.1. *tīña beḍa khu* "at the time when". Below 69 *tīna kālna khu* "from the time when. . ."

33.2. *dāya rruṣṭi* "rule according to the Law (dharma)", similarly Ch 0048.45 *sarvaṇa dāya rāṣṭa*, P 2787.75 *be'ysūna dāya rāṣṭa*. It implies a dharmarāja, Khotan. P 2025.215 *dāyi rri*; Tib. *chos-rgyal*, see F. W. Thomas, *Tib. Lit. Texts*, 275, note 11.

33.3 *'iñakā* "before, in the presence of", in the Siddhasāra it translates Tib. *ñen-bskor* "near" (103 v 3, 136 v, 2, 3), in the Vajracchedikā *antikād* "near". In E we find *iñi* without *-ka* meaning "before in place". The same *'iña* occurs in Vajr. 42 a 4.

33.4. *bvā'mayā* "intelligent", P 2030.4 *bvā'mayi sūrā* "intelligent, brave", but E *bvāmatīnaa-*, with different suffix.

34.1. *hvaramdā-vīrai* "being at the right hand" as a compound of *hvaramdaa-* with *vīra* "upon", with adj. suffix *-a*, *-vīraa-*. Possibly the same explanation suits *māsa-vīraa-* (sing. *-ai*, plur. *-ā*) occurring several times in the official documents. It seems to be a position, perhaps "man attached to a household". In the Hedin document No. 18.3 we find *rrāmdī hiya māsavīrā* "the king's . . ." Since elsewhere a word *māsa-* "abode, house" occurs, the compound may contain *māsa-* with *-vīraa-*.

34.2. *bijjṣṭā* "equipped", found only here. The same concept is expressed by *'aidrrau jsa aṇṣṭa* (Ch 00266.207), to which in the same work corresponds *adrryām jsi ukhsastā* in P 2957.141 (*khs* for *skh*). The opposite meaning is in Sansk. *vikalendriya-* "with defective senses", P 3513, 71 r 1 *vikalaidrīya satva uspurā aṅga hamāṃde*.

34.3. *baḍā* corresponds to the Tib. *hbal* before *rgyal-sum* (Tib. text line 1), see above line 9. It has been taken as Tib. *bal* "Nepal" (F. W. Thomas, *Two Medieval Documents*, p. 129), but it could, of course, be no more than a family name.

35.1. *paṃdāvōā*, loc. plur. to the adj. *paṃdāva-* "being on the roads".

35.2. *tīṣi-prribhāvana*, Ind. *tejas-* and *prabhāva-* "power of majesty". For *tejas-* in India, see J. P. Vogel, *Het sanskrit woord tejas (= gloed, vuur) in de beteekenis van magische kracht*.

36.1. *hvamnya kṣi'rā ṇā ṣacū vāṣṭā* "from Khotan to Ṣacū", as the two chief centres of interest to the writers of these documents. In *AM I*, 48 was cited Khotan, Land of Jade and Ṣacu, the Golden Land.

36.2. *paṃdā prrihiye* "he opened the road". Similarly P 2786.163 *paḍā prrahājā*, P 2786.205 *paḍa prrahiṣṭa*. Closing of a road is attested in

P 2741.120 *cu* ... *mašpa ši* *tattarām jsa bastu lika šte* "as to the road it is closed by the Tatars" (*AM I*, 32).

36.3. *kša* *jū*, probably the scribe has forgotten the final *-na* of *jūna*, plur. In 37 *hauda jūnā* is rather "seventh time" than "seven times", with *hauda* for older **haudam*, *haudama*-.

37.1. *hamtsä* ... *jsä* "together with", here with *jsa*. In line 38-40 occurs *hamtsä* ... *-nä*. For *jsa* see P 2741.84,97,107, and for *na* P 2893.12 *parša'na hamtsa* (*BSOAS.*, x, 892).

37.2. *samnarau*, proper name found only here (and written below the line). It is the place of origin of Šamḍū. His name has no word of qualification in the Tib. text line 4 *ša-hdu*.

37.3. *ka*', either a shortened spelling, as so often *pha* for older *pharu* (see below line 38), or a scribal error for *ka'rū*, see on line 9. It corresponds here to the title of Šamḍū above, line 9.

37.4. *nva*(?). If *nva* is read, it is necessary to recognise that the akṣara is different from the form in line 38. No other reading seems more likely.

37.4. *nva* (?) *šau ha yākā*. These syllables continue to cause difficulty. The reading *nva* is not certain; it differs from the *nva* in line 38. *šau* can be the usual word "one", but *hayākā* has not been met elsewhere. It has the appearance of a word with agent suffix *-āka-*. For *haya-* as a base one can quote only an unexplained *hayavū* in P 3513,83 v 4 ≈ *kṣattagarbha hayavū carya hamāve* ≈ "may I have the friendship (?) and career of Kṣitigarbha" (*-ū* "and"). Could *hayākā* here mean "friend"? This would give also a connection for *hayūna-* "friend" (hitherto taken as **ha-yauna-*). Possibly *nva šau hayākā* might be rendered by "afterwards, having one companion". In Old Iranian *hay-* is "to bind, join up", and a similar development of meaning can be seen in Sansk. *bandh-* "bind" and *bandhu-* "friend", Lithuanian *beñdras* "companion".

38.1. *pha*, the *ph* may be considered certain. As often (see *BSOS.*, viii, 926), *pha* represents older *phara*, *pharā*, Older Khotan. *pharu*.

38.2. *arthā* "wealth", as in the compound *artha-bhauga-*.

38.3. *'aurya* "he favoured, approved" in the developed meaning of "bestowed", recalling the use of *mu'sdi* "favour" for "gift" in P 2741.18 (*AM I*). The *-ya* is for *-ye*, as *-da* for *-de*, above 33. For the verb *āvun-*, *'aun-* see *BSOAS.*, x, 907.

39.1. *cām ttüttü*, and 41, Tib. 9, 11 *co* (and 21 *cow*) *tu-tu*. Since we know two forms of the Chin. 刺史 K 1097,885 *ts'ī-si* < *ts'ie-si*, and *ts'jak-si* in Khotan. *tsiṣi*, *tcīṣi*, Tib. *chi-si* and Khotan. *cihā:sī*, it is possible here also to admit two forms of the Chin. 都督 K 1187,908 *tu-tu* < *tuo-tuok*, in Khotan. *ttättāhā*: and *ttüttü*. For *tsiṣi* see *BSOS.*, viii, 139, *tcīṣi* M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, plate CLI, Mazar Tagh 2.0018, 2. For *ttättāhā*: see *JRAS.*, 1939, 90, F. W. Cleaves, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1949, xii, 105.

The Chinese *ts'ī-si* occurs in the Khotan document edited in M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 523, line 14.

39.2. *puška-ku'jai* "drummer". The meaning is deduced from the passage P 2025.52 *saṃ khu pauskyi ka'jidā* = Ch 00266.35 *sa: khu pauskyia ke'jida* = P2956.33 *sa khu pauskye kejida* "when they beat the drums"; and from the word *pātūša-* in E. In Ch 00266.8 stands *pūškya*.

Reference to artisans occurs also in the Turkish text edited in F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlnschriften*, p. 12, 24, where are mentioned *titigēci* "mason", *iyācēci* "carpenter", *bitgāci* "scribe" and *sürēci* "wall painter".

39.3. *spā* "senāpati, military official" of unknown functions, line 47 the fuller form *spāta*, frequent in documents. In Tibetan script it is written *spa*, see *BSOS.*, viii, 934. In Chinese transcription we have a bilingual text in Hedīn 16 薩波 K 1167,753 *sa-po* < *sāt-puā*.

39.4. *paḍā-dūsā*, a Tibetan name, identified as Tib. *dpal-hdus* by F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, xci, 14.

40.1. *ysarrarā* "goldsmith", taking it as a later form of *ysarrātare* in E. The same artisan is called *su'arnakara* in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī document, No. 578 UR 7.

40.2. *kharūšai*, 47 *kharūšai*, proper name, found also in P 2027.10 *kharūšai*, and Jātaka-stava 39 v 2 *kharūša*.

40.3. *drau-vathamjai* may be interpreted as *drau* "hair" with *vathamj-* "to pull", hence perhaps a "barber".

40.4. *khri-rttānā*, proper name, probably a Tibetan *khri-brtan* "throne-secure".

40.5. *-nä*, see above 37, ablat. for older *-na*, with the supra-script vowel *-ā*, which is rare with *-na* and *jsa*.

40.6. *maṃ* "here", as in 8 *maṃ šacū* "here in Šacū". In 48 *ma*.

40.7. *baudhasattā g̃yastā* "Bodhisattva and king", used of a living king. Similarly in Ch 1.0021 a, a 20 *viśa' darma baudasattū rāmda* "of the Bodhisattva and king Viśa' Darma" (quoted *BSOAS.*, x, 919). Earlier, in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 288 occurs *pracakṣa-bodhisattva* "epiphanous Bodhisattva" as an epithet of a Maha-cojho. The theory of Bodhisattva epiphany is stated in the Turkish Säkiz Yükmäk 247-8 (*Türkische Turfan-Texte* 6) *bu yirtinčü-daki qamaγ iliglar qanlar tigmä öküşü bodistwalar titir* "Of all the kings and khans by title upon this earth many are called Bodhisattvas." In the colophon of the Rājāvādaka-sūtra (W. Radloff, *Kuan-ši-im Pusar*, p. 72 and VII) there is reference to the *bodhiswat oγušluγ ḡayan ḡan* "the Royal Khan of Bodhisattva family" (*oγuš* is *ūhūš* "kula, family" in Brāhmī script, see *BSOS.*, ix, 293). Incarnations of Bodhisattvas are recorded in the Sangha communities (F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Liter. Texts I*, 323). We have also, in Ch 0047.6 (*BSOS.*, viii, 84), *ārya nāgārjūṃ baudhisattvai* "the Bodhisattva Ārya Nāgārjuna".

In Tibetan documents the word *hphrul* "epiphany" is used of rulers

(see F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1927, 824, line 1), and the King of Tibet is the *hphrul-gyi lha bchan-po* "the epiphanous god, the king" (*JRAS.*, 1928, 71, and cf. 86). The title *tathāgata* occurs of a teacher in P 2786.4 *drāṭṭirai prraumauha ttathāgatta śarīhādra ūstamna ūśā'rya* "the teachers, the Tathāgata Śribhadra, the pramukha ("president") of Drotir, and the others".

41.1. *va*, older *vaska* (*BSOAS.*, x, 1022) "for", preceded by genitive. Below 48 *dvā rrumdām va* "for the two kings".

41.2. *tte-pū*, corresponding to the royal name in the Tibetan text *the-bo*, *the-po*, the friend of the King of Khotan. He is the ruler in Śacū. In the Tibetan he is called, line 1, *lha rgyal-po*; 2 *co-bo* "lord"; 12 *jo-co* (for *jo-bo*?) *lha rgyal-po dax jo the-bo*; 31 *jo-bo rgyal-po dax jo-bo the-bo*. In Chinese the name is 太保 K Gram. S. 317 d, K 697 *t'ai-pau* < *t'ai-pāu*, a title quoted from a Śacū Chinese text by L. Giles in *BSOS.*, vii, 568. Here Khotan. *tt* corresponds to Tib. *th*, as also in *yvuthen* (Tib. text, line 1), Khotan. *hvatana-*. The Tib. text has also *huten* (line 4, 5).

41.3. *prriyauga* "prayoga, use, practice", also 45, 49. This *pri-* for older *pra-* occurs also in Khotan. 36 *prrihiye*, and Ind. 35 *prribhāva*. The long *-i-* is found in 50 *prriyaugām*. For *-aya-* passing by way of *-eya-*, note Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī *praceya*, *ničeya* "pratyaya, niścaya", and the Gostana Sanskrit *-iy-*, *-īy-* in *BSOS.*, ix, 540.

41.4. *pa'jsāmdāmdā* "they engaged in", also 49, 1st plur. The verb occurs in P 2787.132 *śa' vā prravārṇa gajā-śairṣa gara vira āna pastai paijsādai* "the second pravāraṇā ceremony he graciously held on the Gajā-śirṣa hill". In 138 occurs *pa'jsādai* with subscript hook. It represents the past of an older Khotan. *paljsema-* (N 123.31): *ne paljsemāte rraṣṭa ni nijsaṣṭe* "does not practise, does not rightly show". Hence we have an Old Iran. **pari-ḡāmaya-*.

41.5. *gūmattirā ba'sā* "a stūpa (equal to that) of Gum-tir", since it is built in Śacū, not in the Gum-tir near Khotan. This must supersede the rendering in *BSOS.*, vi, 119. For the name Gum-tir see *New Indian Antiquary*, extra series I, 1. The Annals of Khotan have Derge *hgum-tir*, Narthang also *hgum-stir*. The "master" of Gūmattira is named in Ch 00269.48: *gūmattirai* adj. (see *BSOAS.*, xii, 617).

42.1. *ba'sā*, older *balsa-*, used to express the Buddhist idea of a stūpa. Connections of the word remain uncertain. Khotan. *-ls-* may represent old primary contact of *-rs-*, as in *puls-* "ask", but also a secondary contact. If *halsa-* "projecting chamber", for Bud. Sansk. *koṣṭhaka*, Pali *koṭṭhaka*, is compared it is possible to separate prefixes *ba-* and *ha-* (as in *ba-ṣṭarrda-* "spread" and *ha-ṣkam-*; or Avestan *upa-skamb-* and *fra-skamb-*). Further speculation at present does not seem profitable.

42.2. *20-chāya* "of twenty feet", compound adj. with *-ya-* suffix, see *BSOAS.*, x, 905 on *hauda-ramnya-* "of seven precious stones". For *chā* "foot". see above 4.

42.3. *-ī pyamtsa* "before it", that is, before the stūpa. The word *pyamtsa* is used both adverbially, as Indian (Mahārāṣṭrī) *abhimukham* (Kālaka, p. 46, 1-2), and *sammukham* (H. Jacobi, *Mah. Erzähl.*, 50.33) and as preposition or postposition with dependent genit. For the adverb can be quoted P 2025.148-9 *pyatsa vara lādri cabvaṇa vaṣṭā* "there in front the hunter went down into the thicket". With the genit., *pyamtsa* is frequent. The formation recalls *hamtsa* (adv., and also with *jsa* or *-na*), as with suffix from *pati-*.

42.4. *hasirma*, not found elsewhere, can be measured in feet. Hence it may be something made of cloth. In the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas there is reference to "votive cloths" which were suspended upon funeral monuments (see J. Przyluski, *Le Parinirvāna et les funéraires du Buddha*, 113). In the embellishment of a great stūpa we read in the Mahāvamsa 30.68 of a canopy (*vitāna*) to which were suspended pieces of cloth: 69 *vatthāni vividhāni ca mahaggha-nānārangāni* "divers stuffs, precious and of varied colours". In *hasirma* (? from **fra-śarma-*, but *ś* is secondary) we may have a piece of such votive cloth, If, however, the measurement *chā* could be used of erections the *hasirma* might be an erection before the stūpa, such as a *vedikā* "railing" or a gateway.

43.1. *panūḍai* "every day", already in E.

43.2. *pūstye* "in a book", older (E) *pūstāya*; P 5538 b 25, 27, 28 *pūstya*, *pūstye* (*BSOS.*, ix, 535), S 2471.119 *pūstyeṇē*. From Agni and Kuci comes *postak*.

43.3. *vāṣī'ya* "read", 3rd sing. optat., ending *-itā*, *-iyā*, in durative and iterative sense, see *BSOAS.*, x, 593, 907, and *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, *Asica* 35. The importance of "reading", that is, "recitation", of sūtra texts is regularly stressed in the literature: Bud. Sansk. *Suvarṇa-bhāsa* p. 89, ed. J. Nobel, *vācayisyanti*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* II 197 *vācayed*; Khotan. P 3513, 84 v 2 *pire sāje vāṣe' aysmya yade* "writes, learns, reads, memorises"; Jātaka-stava 38 r 4 *sāje vārṣe' āsā yamde* "learns, reads, memorises" (*āsā* < **ā-sāḡta-*).

43.4. *sārṣṭai*, plur. 44, 45 *sārṣṭā*, found only in this text. It is something to which the envoys can go, and the visit is an act of merit. Since the reading in a sūtra and the provision of oil (see 44) show that the context refers to shrines, the word may mean simply "shrine" or more precisely a "relic shrine". The placing of relics in shrines is frequently related in the Annals (see the Narthang text in F. W. Thomas, *Tib. Lit. Documents* I, pp. 90, 93, 96, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 119, 121, 126, and in the Narrative of Morbgudešil 318). I have considered two possible explanations of *sārṣṭaa-*. If the word comes from Indian, it can with great reduction be traced back to **sārīra-stha-*. For this explanation it is necessary to point to the *-ṣṭha-* replacing older *-sṭha-* as in the *dhama-ṭ'ha-* of the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada (C r 24). See for *ṭ'ha*, *BSOAS.*, xiii, 398. Similarly Khotan. *gāṭhaa-*, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 791. Secondly to assume the shortening of the

-i- of the second syllable as in the Khotan. *ājaṣ-* from older *ājīṣ-* "desire", see *BSOAS.*, xiii, 134. That would give **śāriraṣṭha-*, whence further reduction would result in **śārṣṭha-* and so to **śārṣṭa-* with the extension by the *-aa-* (older *-aka-*) suffix. The replacement of Bud. Sansk. *āraṇyāyatana-* by Later Khotan. *ārñāna-* with loss of three syllables is no doubt somewhat more simple, owing to the sounds involved (for the forms see *BSOAS.*, x, 906. From Uigur should be added here 'rny'd'n' (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, III, 88. 16), and the Mongol *aranyatan* in Fr. Weller, *Asia Major*, ix, 432). The word **śāriraṣṭha-* is not known to me in a Buddhist Sansk. text, and we may hope that we have passed the stage when it was felt possible to put any two Sanskrit words together without seeking support from an actual textual occurrence. It should, however, be noted that certain other words in Khotanese almost certainly of Indian origin exist, of which the Indian forms have not yet been found in an Indian (Buddhist) text, such as P 2025.193 *avaśuni* "lightning" in which is concealed a Prakrit form from Old Ind. *yoni-* "source" with *āp* "water" through the form **apa-*, similar to *āpa-* with long vowel in Khotan. *āpa-kṛṣna-* (E) and *viśū'na-* "bad" probably from an Ind. **vi-yoni-*; and P 2957.50 *śamisuna-* "good", as from Old Ind. *samyak-* with *yoni-*, with the Prakrit *śame-* found in the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada (*BSOAS.*, xi, 511), to which *samye* in *samye-sa-baudāya* S 2471.119 can be added.

The second possibility is to trace an Iranian word. A word *āraṣṭa-* "erected" occurs in Or 8212 (162) 24 *gumattira vi āraṣṭa sakhārma* "in Gumattira he (Viśa' Sagraṃma) erected sanghārāmas". It is a *-ta* participle from *ā* with *rāz-*, as in Ossetic *arazun*. Since a prefix *śa-* or *ś-* exists in Khotanese in *śatcampha-* beside *bitcampha-* (see *AM I*, 42), possibly from Old Iran. *adi-*, it would be possible to trace *śārṣṭaa-* to *ś-* with *āraṣṭa-* with secondary loss of *-a-* in the second syllable (such as occurs in *uysna* for older *uysana* "breath"). Indo-Iran. *adhi* meant superiority, as in Old Ind. *adhideva* "superior god", and a "superior building" might well suit a shrine. The Old Ind. *prāsāda-* "mansion" has similarly *pra* "preeminent" before *āsāda-* "abode".

It has still to be remembered that *-r-* may be secondary.

44.1. *paṃ-sse* "500", for the older *paṃjsa sate*.

44.2. *śiṃgā* corresponds to half a (Sansk.) *prastha*, and derives from Chin. 斤 K 873 *śəng* < *śjəng* "litre". In Uigur the word is *šing* (Analytischer Index). For the equivalences see *BSOAS.*, x, 602.

44.3. *rrūṃ* "oil, fat", older *rrūna-*, Avestan *raoyna-* Sogd. *rwyn*, NPers. *royan*. Presentation of oil to shrines to light the lamps (note *diya-gara-*, *BSOAS.*, x, 906) is recorded in a Tibetan document (*JRAS.*, 1928, 89): *śacu gčug-lag-khav-du žugs mar bltam-ste* "lamp oil was provided in the vihāras of Śacu". For lamps in Buddhist worship, see J. S. Speyer, *Avadāna-Śataka*, preface p.C.

45.1. *dirye* "held, continuous", hence in the phrase *dirye kamtha bisaa-* "situated throughout the city", the *dirye* has the adjectival participative use (see *AM I*, 41, line 48). This is to take *dirye* as a form of the participle of *drjṣ-*, *dljṣ-* "hold", of which various forms are attested: in E *dārta-*, *dārta-*, *draitā-*; pret. 3rd plur. *dreitāndā*, 1st. sing. Bal. 0154.8 *diryem*. In the Rāma text P 2801.34 *rathā dirye mista* "he kept up a great noise" seems still to be a possible rendering. A further case of *dirye* occurs in the Itinerary (*Acta Orient.*, xiv, 265), Ch 1.0021 a, 31 *ša' katha šau-hadāṃjsa habistana va dirye* "this town for one day's journey is continuous in contact". If this word is the participle of *drjṣ-*, the alternative attempt to trace *darra-* "broken" need not be pursued.

45.2. *bisvā*, loc. plur. of an *-aa-* stem, as in *damdvā* loc. plur. (Siddha-sāra 155 v 5) to *damdai* "tooth" (*ibid.* 148 v 3). *bisaa-* "situated, being in" in Later Khotanese frequently reinforces a locative, just as *hivya-* "own" follows a genitive, see above 11. Here we have *bisaa-* in hendiadys with *ayiṣṭha-* "situated, placed".

45.3. *ayiṣṭhvā*, loc. plur., from Bud. Sansk. *adhiṣṭhāta-*. The reading here is with *-ṣṭh-*, not *-ṣṭ-*, but *adeṣṭā* occurs in Ch 1.0021 a, 29 (*Acta Orient.*, xiv, 265). In *BSOAS.*, x, 905, *vīrā ayikṣya* is "placed over"; in *BSOAS.*, xi, 15, *tīramdarā 'iyaiṣṭhā* "placed on the body".

45.4. *vānvā*, loc. plur. to *vāna-*. In the Sanghāṭa-sūtra 77 a 5 *vāna tsindā* corresponds to *lhahi rten-gyi druwo-du sov* "they go into the temple", from which we learn a *vāna-* "temple". A Kuṣān word for temple occurring in Indian Mathurā inscriptions is *bakana-*, which is an Iranian word well known in the Sogdian *βyn-* "temple", and in the related Armen. loan-word *bagin* "altar" (on which see W. B. Henning, *BSOS.*, viii, 583ff.). The long *-ā-* in *vāna-* makes it difficult to trace the word to **bagana-*, but a form **bagāna-* might well result in *vāna-*. The initial fricative of Khotanese *β* seems to have caused a difficulty to the writers of the Brāhmī script, which had only *v* or *b*. Khotanese uses *b-* and *v-* for Old Iran. *μ-*, as in *birgga-* "wolf", *vala* "rose" (below 52), but for the verb *bav-* "become" the participle is *vāta-* from Old Iran. *būta-* (perhaps modified earlier than other words as tending to be auxiliary). If this suggestion should be confirmed it would put aside previous attempts to trace a derivative of *vah-* "dwell" here. On *bakana-*, I hope to write elsewhere.

45.5. *haiṣṭe* "he donated", older also *hataiṣṭe* (E). The present base *haiṣ-* occurs in P 2787.36 *hai'šāmai ūdaśāya* "regarding the gift", and *haiśā'kā* "giver" in P 2958.124.

46.1. *kāmbamdā*, with *ba*, not *bi*. The word has not been traced elsewhere. It is a gift, of which one by itself is worthy of presentation. Speculation on its origin has not yet led to any satisfactory result: possibly it may represent an Indian **kāya-bandha* (Mahāvīyutpatti 5855 *kāya-bandhana*), but the meaning "girdle" hardly suits.

46.2. *chām syū*, a gift, followed by the number "one". A similar gift is mentioned in Mazar Tagh c. 0015.3 *spāta utha ttā chām sū hauḍe* "The military commander Utha so gave a *chām sū*". The word could be either Tibetan or Chinese, but has not been found.

48.1. *byaṣṭe* "he equipped", as from **abi-kaz-*. The same word occurs in P 5538 a 71 *sviṇa daṣṭānya byaṣṭi lika mārsalā śā u byaṣṭi likā paraśā śau* "one hammer equipped with horn handle and one axe so equipped". For the similar *pyaṣṭa-*, see *AM I*, 45 and below 60.

48.2. *dauskarā*, from Bud. Sansk. *duṣkara-* "difficult to perform, wonderful". The same spelling occurs in P 5538 a 4 *dauskarī hiri*. In Kha vii, 1 v 5 *ātāduṣkarā* is found. In Vajracchedikā 5 b 4 *duṣkara-* translates *āścarya-* "wonderful".

48.3. *dvā rrumdām va* "for the two kings", the kings Viśa' Saṃbhata of line 33 and Tte-pū (= The-bo) of line 41.

49.1. *pa'jsāmdāmdū*, 1st plur. "we practised", see above 41.

49.2. *paḍā ustam* "first and last", presumably the "full number" of envoys; but possibly meaning "at any time"?

49.3. *hisāta* "come", 3rd sing. conjunctive. Here followed by the optat. *parīya*. For similar collocation note Siddhasāra 144 v 3 *ttī va āstai hatcyāve ā va hamarā nirāmi* "then his bone break or the limb come out".

49.4. *ma maṃ* "here", cf. P 2790.50 *tti maṃ mara āvamdūm* and 61 *khu maṃ mara māñām śacū bu'ysā ni hame*.

49.5. *hasta paḍina* "in the better (or best) way": *hasta* may represent either an older *hastarā* or *hastamā*. In Iledong 026 a 3 occurs *haspisca hasta paḍi byihamjarā*.

50.1. *ādarā pariya yuḍe* "should graciously take care". The phrase *ādarā yan-* is several times found, as in Mazar Tagh a.1.0033, 3 *bareṃja vaska tta ādari yanīrau khu* . . . "for the crop you should take care that. . .".

50.2. *haurā maurā* "talk". In P 5538 b 62 *haura māya* renders Bud. Sansk. *ālāpa* (*BSOS.*, ix, 539). P 2790.94 has *haurā ām salā ni biḷeṣe*, and 119 *hau:rā murā*.

50.3. *'inīryau* "you should do", 2nd plur. optat. Here followed by *ni* "not" in the sense of *khu ni* "that not", as in P 2957.56 *na nā vaṣṭīryau khū nā bīryau pātcā* (Manoharā speaks to her sisters after her capture) "do not stay lest you be bound". The corresponding passage in Ch 00266.107 is *tsvava khu na bīryau*. The ending *-īryau*, *-īryām*, *-īrau* is frequently attested for the 2nd plur. optat. With the pronoun we find P 5537.59 *ama pī'rau*, 64 *ama ṣṭīrau*; P 3513.75 r 3 *amai vaṇa pūryau tvā karmām deśana* "now may you hear this confession of his acts"; P 2025.167 *kṣamīryau* = Ch 00266.107 *kṣamāva* "forgive" (*-āva* 2nd plur. conjunct.).

51.1. *nām* "that not for us", the negative *na* "not" with the suffixed pronoun *-ām* 1st plur., see Ch 00269 (*BSOAS.*, xii).112 *parauvām* "commands to us", 113 *cīvarā* "clothes to us", 117 *pātcām* "then to

us", 118 *khvām* "that to us". For *nām*, note Ch 00269.31 *ku nām* "lest for us".

51.2. *sījmdū* "be prosperous, succeed", NW Prakrit *si-*, with un-aspirated *-j-* from *jih*, older *dhy* (see *BSOAS.*, xiii, 133-4). For *-imdā* in conjunctive meaning, cf. P 3513.71 v 3 *dukhya nanau byehide* = Sansk. 3.82 *daridra-sattvāni nidhīn labhantu* (Suvarṇa-bhāsa) "may the poor obtain treasure".

51.3. *vyaysāṇa* "misery, disaster" (not "vice"), loc. sing.

51.4. *kaṣīryām* "may you come into contact with, fall into". For the phrase note Bud. Sansk. *vyusanam āpādayiṣyāmi* (Sansk. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 7, 2.1). The verb *kaṣ-* causes certain difficulty. It has been taken to represent a later form of an Iran. **kaf-s-*, from *kaf-* "to fall" (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, *Asica*, p. 30 s.v. *xaun*) with *ś* due to a suffix *-ya-*. When *kaṣ-* is followed by a locat. case this meaning of "fall, come into" suits. So in Kha 1.13,145 r 3 *nārvāñālstu ne pītā* "he does not come into (*pat-* 'fall') nirvāṇa" can be compared with Ch 00268.47 *u ni bamdana-sālvā kaṣte* "and he does not come into prisons". The participle is *kaṣta-*. For the change from **kaf-s-* to *kaṣ-*, *kaṣta-*, one can compare Jātaka-stava 28 r 3 *huṣṭi* "you slept" 2nd sing. from **huf-s-*, where also the suffix *-s-* (Indo-Iran. *-ś-*) has been kept in the participle. A meaning "come into contact" is attested for the participle *kaṣta-*: *akaṣta-* translates Sansk. *asakta-* "not in contact" (P 3513.48 v 2, *Kh T I*, 225), and *akaṣṭā tsuma* renders Sansk. *asanga-gata-* (*ibid.* 52 r 3). This may be a participle to the base **kaz-* assumed above 48 *byaṣṭa-*. A third verb *kaṣte* seems to occur in the mustard seed simile. Here E has 2.118 *kho ggarā sumirā śśāvānā kaṣte* "as to Mount Sumeru a mustard seed appears" (cf. Ch 1.0021 b, a² 38 *sumira garā śśāvā jśā ttīma hamagā*). The corresponding Pali text, Jātaka VI 174, has *sineru-santike śśāpo viya khāyati* "it appears like a mustard seed in presence of Sineru". From this we may deduce a *kaṣ-* "appear", well known in Iranian, as in Ossetic *kæsun*. This gives 1. *kaṣ-* "fall", 2. *kaz-* "touch", and 3. *kas-* "appear".

IV LYRICAL VERSES

LINES 52-73

After a small space, but written in the same hand, the next section of this miscellaneous manuscript offers lyrical verses. The section is divided into two parts at line 58, where a verse ends in the middle of the line. Lyrical poetry in Khotanese is contained also in some other manuscripts (Ch 00266, P 2025 and others). For the interpretation they present considerable difficulties, both in the single words and in the phrases. It is hard to find parallel passages. It cannot be claimed that the present attempt to translate has reached a definitive stage, but it seems likely that progress will be assisted by making it known.

52.1. *jūhānai bādū* "time of love sport". The verb *jūh-* and its derivatives are frequent: P 2957.50 ~ *ysīraṃ āṣṭamdi śhalām jūhai gvāysanū* ~ "their heart began to be agitated at separation from the beloved" (the kinnarīs separated from Manoharā in the Sudhana-Avadāna); P 4068.8 *jūhānai brīyaustū aysmū jsa* "with mind full of love"; E *jūhāte, jūhānaa-*. Below 61 *juīhā*; P 2936.7 *jūhyī:me*, P 2027.35 *juīhānai* "I wou'd love". This sporting is described in the Buddhist cliché, as in the Divyāvādāna (1.5 and often): *kriḍati ramate paricārayati*. See L. Féer, Avadāna-Çataka, trad., p. 3, cliché No. 6.

A similar phrase introduces the lyrical verses in P 2025.7 (and the other copies): *byūṣṭā vasve jūhaunai bādū pasālī* "bright clear joyous spring time".

52.2. *spyakyī* "flower", also 54, with suffix *-kya-*, particularly frequent in lyrical verses. Below 55 *gvīracākyā*, 55 *drā-mājsakyā*, 56 *bā'jsakyā*, 64 *brīyikyā*. The older form of *spya-* is *spātaa-*.

52.3. *hārvaidā* "they grow", older, in the Suvarṇa-bhāsa, Or 9609.56 r 6 *hārvindā* (quoted *BSOAS.*, xiii, 126). Similarly P 4099.275

ttimañā prracai daysde hārvēda prraure prrabāvana
"it holds the cause of seeds, they grow by power of the cloud", *hārv-* is from **frā-rud-*.

52.4. *vala*, occurring only in this passage, is from the context a sweet-smelling flower, and by etymology "rose" is a likely translation: **varda-*. The problem of the initial Old Iran. *v-* has already been noted, above 45 *vāna-*. We find also Khotan. *vāra-* "share", often in the documents, corresponding to the Krorayīna Kharoṣṭhī *vara*. If this *vara-* is, as T. Burrow proposed (*BSOS.*, vii, 787), from an Iran. **badra-* "share", attested in Avestan *badra-* and Mid. Pers., NPers. *bahr* "share", we have again *v-* for a Mid. Iran. *β*. The meaning of **badra-* suits better for *vāra-* than the Old Iran. *vāra-* "choice" (but *ā*?). In Ossetic too both *ū-* and *b-* can represent Old Iran. *v-*, as in *bedun* "appear", from **uaid-*, and *biyun* "plait", from **uay-*, beside *ūad* "storm", from **vāta-*. For **varda-* "rose" can be quoted Simnāni *vāl, vālā* (A. Christensen, *Dialecte de Sāmnān*, p. 274). Near to Khotanese is also the Khowar loan-word *zēr-bali* "yellow rose" from **zērd-valī* (G. Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, 671). The older form *vard* is preserved in Armenian *vard*, Syriac *wrd* and Arabic *ward* (see H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, 244). Bud. Sogdian has *wrd* (Dhyāna 145), Man. Sogdian *wrdtyy* "roses", and in the Frahang ī Pahlavik an Aram. *WRTA* is explained by *gul*, as in NPers. *gul* (from **varda-* with *gu-*, as in *gurāz* "boar" from *varāza-*, not from **vrdā-*).

53.1. *pūmūḍa* "withered", found only here, distinct from *patāmar-*, *paṃmar-*, *pamar-* "to report", with participle *paṃmuḍa-*. NPers. *pišmurdan* is "to wither", Jud.-Pers. *guzmurdan*. Khotanese has kept the two bases *mar-* "die" and (*h*)*mar-* "keep or put in mind" separate.

53.2. *būḍa* "more", older *būḍaru*, *būḍara*. Elsewhere a different word *būḍa-* "brought" is the participle to *bar-*.

53.3. *ysīrū* "heart", as the context requires. Cf. P 2025.51 ~ *yināri ttu ysīra byāje hvāra bijāṣakā* ~ "sweet sounds make the heart mindful". Other words which had to be considered were *ysīra-*, later *ysīra* "gold", *ysīrai* "arsenic", *ysīrā* "ochre", *ysīra-* "rough", *ysera-* "wretched" (*ysera-* "heart", see below on 71).

53.4. *byājākyā*, with *-kya* suffix to *byāja* "memory", from older *byātaja*, *byātarja*, and E *byātagargye* from **abiyāta-kara-* with *-ka* suffix. Another Khotanese word *byāj-* "to melt" is not involved here. I take *byājākyā* as an adj. "which recalls to mind, causes longing". In the Siddhasāra 125 v 2, 126 v 3 *byāvarji* is "memory".

54.1. *khvā* "if you", *khu* with suffixed pronoun 2nd plur. The *-ā* has replaced the *-u* of older texts. Below also 57 *vaskā*, 72 *hūñā*. It is frequent in the Jātaka-stava. If the *-ām* of the 1st plur. is carefully written with anuvāra it remains distinct from the 2nd plur. *-ā*, but at times the anuvāra is absent, see above 51 *nām*.

54.2. *vajsyāne* "I see", the same word in P 3513.52 v 4, Bhadracaryā-deśanā (*KhT I*, 227) *vījsyāne*, translating *vīpaśyamāno*, and in the same verse *-āne* in *hamdajāñāne* "I deliver" and *vahaiysāne* "I plunge". Further Ch 1.0021 b, a² 36 has *vījsyānai*.

54.3. *same* "but of you" from older *samu* (which is later *sam* as separate word) with *-te* 2nd sing. pron. The older enclitic *-te* is regularly *-e* in Later Khotanese, as in Vajracchedikā 8 b 3 *ayse* = Bud. Sansk. *aham te* "I to you".

54.4. *paṃmarā* "report", frequent in documents, see *BSOAS.*, x, 584.

54.5. *hamarvā-v-am amgvā* "in my limbs": *hamara-* is the Iran. equivalent of Ind. *amga-*; similarly below 72 *amgā hamarā*. In the Siddhasāra 144 v 3 *hamarā* renders Tib. *chigs* "limb, joint".

55.1. *ne* . . . *raysāya* "immortal food (**anausa-*) and elixir" representing Bud. Sansk. *amṛta* and *rasāyana*. The Iran. *noš* survives in Uigur *noš rasayan* (*Türk. Turfan-Texte*, vii, 72). See *ne' raysāyana BSOAS.*, x, 901. The Uigur Saddharma-puṇḍarīka has *noš tāg tatiylīy* "sweet like amṛta" (W. Radloff, *Kuan-ṣi-im Pusar*, p. 66).

55.2. *paṣṭa* "starts, arises", from **pati-hiṣta-*, participle *paṣṭāta-*; later in this line *paṣṭimḍā*.

55.3. *drā-mājsakyā* "hair-hole, pore", older *drau-mūjsaa-*. E. The "pore" is similarly named in Bud. Sogd. *γwn'k βwnyh* "pores" in P 2.296, see W. B. Henning, *BSOAS.*, xi, 718. The Indian expression is (Pali) *loma-kūpa-*.

55.4. *hva hva* "separately", older *hvatū hvatū*, Avestan *χvatō*.

55.5. *gvīracākyā* "opening", from **vi-var-*, as in Old Ind. *vivara-* "hole". The association with *gver-* "say" *BSOS.*, viii, 123 cannot be maintained, though the verbal base is the same.

55.6. *ysīrakū* "heart", *ysira-* with *-ka*, as in 60 *tturkū* "face", and 63 *mūraka* "bird".

56.1. *dravāsam dai* "stuff-consuming fire". After many tentative groupings of the syllables of this line I have adopted the following interpretation: *drava-* from Old Ind. *dravya-* (Pali *dabha*) "thing, material, stuff", as we have Khotan. *hava-* "offering" from Old Ind. *havya-*. This Khotanese word is in the Siddhasāra 127 r 2 *havina* instr. translating Tib. *sbyin-sreg*, and in Ch 00266.148 (Sudhana-Avadāna). The Bud. Sansk. form is attested in Mahāvīyutpatti 6847 *havyam*, to which Pali *havya-* and Ardha-Māg. *havva-* correspond. The shortening of Prakrit doubled consonants in Khotanese is well attested, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 779, and xiii, 395. The second component is then *āsana-* "eating". The epithet **dravyāsana-* is accordingly to be compared with Hindu Sansk. *hutāsana-* "offering-consumer, fire". If *dravāsam* is rightly so explained, I cannot point to this compound in an Indian text. See above on 43 *sārṣṭai*.

56.3. *bā'jsakyā* "flame (?)", perhaps a derivative of *bā'ya-* "ray". Owing to the replacement of older *ū* by *ā*, as above 55 in *drau-mūjsaa-*, the older *buljsā-* "virtue" may appear as *bā'jsā-*. Hence we find in Jātaka-stava 37 v 4 *bā'jsīnai mahāsamudrre* "ocean of virtues", with *bu'jsye* "virtues" in the same stanza (38 r 1). In P 3513.68 v 2 *bu'jsīnā mahāsamudrre* translates *guṇa-sāgara* (Sansk., 3.60). This same word occurs in N 169.4 *buysvai ttīyā bāljsakyau bāysu biṣṣu* "you quenched then by your virtues the whole forest". The same jātaka story is found in Jātaka-stava 29 v 1 ff., where occurs the epithet *bu'jsyau jse samartha* "equipped with virtues". Hence *bāljsakyau* should not be quoted for "flame", as in Sten Konow, *Saka Studies* 121.

It must also be noted that a word *burjsā* occurs in E 25, 410: *burjsā hālṣṭinu mātā* "great flashing of spears". The "flashing" of spears is known from the time of the R̥gveda *ṛṣṭi-vidyut* (I.168.5). Since, as *khā'je* "mud" from older *khārga-* shows, an earlier *-r-* may leave a trace in the subscript hook, just possibly *bā'jsa-* might have replaced older *burjsa-*. Some support for this second proposal may be found in Jātaka-stava 29 v 2 *patcautte pā bu'jsa*, if it means "you checked then the flames".

56.4. *ttadī drāmī khu* "you are just such as ...", with *-ī* 2nd sing. from *ah-*. Cf. (without *khu*) 57 *drāmī sā* (*sā = sam*).

56.5. *śakarīnai* "made of sugar", from *śakara-* "sugar" (Kha 1, 306 b, a 1), often in the medical texts. The single *-k-* has replaced *-kk-*, and remained unvoiced, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 779. Ardha-Māg. has *sakkarā-*, from older Sansk. *śarkarā-*. In Uigur we find *šk'r* and *ṣ'k'r*, see G. R. Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren II*, 48. Kuchean has *śakkār*.

56.6. *mūvai* "sweetmeat", corresponding to Ardha-Māg. *moyako*, *moyago*, *moyayo*, Sansk. *modaka-*. It has been found only here but the context assures the meaning. For the *-ūva-* for Indian *-oya-*, *-oda-*, note Older Khotan. *armūvāmā* "I enjoy" from Ind. *anumoda-*.

57.1. *sauhā:* "pleasure", with *-au-* for older *-u-* in *suha-*, from Prakrit *suha-*, Sansk. *sukha-*. A similar *-au-* for older *-u-* was noted above 48 in *daṣkara-*. In the Jātaka-stava 20 v 3 *sohna* (instr. sing.) occurs, and Ch 00266.116 *sāha jsa = P 2025.179 sauha jsu*. The instr. *suhāna* is in Suvarṇa-bhāsa (Or 9609, 36 r 6).

57.2. *vashā, vaska* "for", with suffixed 2nd plur. pron. *-ā*, see above 54.

57.3. *pādāmdū* "they reared, nourished", 3rd sing. *pāde* (in E and P 2801.68), from *pār-* "fill".

57.4. *hvāṇdvā* "among men", loc. plur.

57.5. *ysāvī* "you were born, have been born" 2nd sing., formed by *-ī* "you are" to the *-ta* participle *ysāta-*.

57.6. *ṣvīdā* "milk", often in the medical texts, also *ṣvī'da-*; with adj. suffixes *ṣvīdaa-*, *ṣvīdīnaa-* and *ṣvīdausta-*. Avestan *ṣvīdpta-*.

57.7. *khāṣṭai* "you drank" 2nd sing. masc., pret. to pres. *khāṣ-*, from the base with short vowel: *-tai* masc. differs from *-tāyi* fem.

57.8. *hanyai* "you became, were" 2nd sing.

58.1. *haṇa ysītha* "in the same birth", with *haṇa* for older *hamṇa* (Or 11344.16.3), older *hamīṇa* in the Suvarṇa-bhāsa 24 r 6 translating Sansk. *eka-*.

58.2. *tcī'mī'skyām* "eyes", gen. plur., also P 2956.10 *tcāimeskyau*, from *tcē'man-* with suffix *-skyā-*, found elsewhere as below 71 *uvīskye* "wits", cf. also *gvehāiskye* "spoon" (Siddhasāra 152 v 1) and P 2025.198 *tcāskye* for older *tcarka* "sport" translating Sansk. *rati*.

58.3. *ysauhā:* "pleasure". Rather a derivative of Old Iran. **zauš-* "like", attested in Khotan. *ysūška-* "liked" and the verb 3rd sing. *ysūṣde*, 3rd plur. *ysvā're*, than a scribal error for *sauhā:*, as above 57.

59.1. *hvāramdai* "right hand", as above 34.

59.2. *ṇauysirā* "close, tight, intimate", the meaning conjectured from contexts: Ch 00269.20 *ṇauysirā brri pyarā sau staḍesā* "intimately beloved father Lord Staḍesa" and Or 8212 (162) 121 *byāva-tsuvalaka ṇauysara ṣaiṣṭai lika* "remembered, intimately embraced" (*ṣaiṣṭa-* and *ṣiṣṭa-* from Old Iran. **ṣrišta-*). If the *ṇāysaira* of P 2027.58 is an older form, the derivation from *mi-āz-* becomes possible, as in Mid. Pers. *niyāz* "distress"; Avestan *nyāzata* "draw tight". *-ara-* is from *-a-kara-*.

59.3. *grathā* older *grantha-* "knot" may be either of Indian or of Iranian origin. Below 68 *krrathā* "knot" with *k-* replacing *g-* would better suit a foreign word. We find *ttandū* for Ind. *danda-* "stick, punishment" in P 5538 b 4 (*BSOS.*, ix, 533), and inversely *garāne* "influences" for Ind. *karana-* "action" in Or 11252.1 reverse (*BSOS.*, viii, 924); also *ggarāni-sāstra-* (N 176.5) for *karāna-sāstra-*. Yet note *kūra* Mazar Tagh a.1.0033,9 for usual *gūra* "grapes". The reference to a well-bound right hand calls to mind the *kankana-* "a band on the hand" (*kara-*) in the Mahārāṣṭri tale (H. Jacobi, *Mah. Erzähl.*, 22.34) *pecca'i ya kare kankanam*

"and he sees the band on his hand". It was put on for a wedding (*ibid.* 22. 31).

59.4. *ā'jsimjām* "silvern", fem., older *āļsātinaa-*, *āļseinaa-* (E), and P 2897.8 *'aijsijai*, Ch cvi oor, v 2 *'ejsinai*, P 5538 a 77 *'e'jsinā*. The final *-ām*, rather *-ā*, seems to be the 2nd plur. pron. *-ū* "you".

59.5. *'auvya*, loc. sing. "in an *'auva*", an object which can be made of silver, or perhaps embellished with silver, appearing here beside the *ñūca*-made of gold. No connection has yet been found. From the form a derivative of *ā* with *vaf-* "weave" would be possible.

59.6. *ysarimje* "golden", fem., to older *ysarrinaa-*.

59.7. *ñūcā*, obliq. case with fem. adj., an object of gold. A *ñūcā* of stone (see *AM I*, 45) is also mentioned. The word is unidentified. Initial *ñ-* can replace older *niy-* or *nit-*. A vague **ni-yauga-čī* does not help at present.

60.1. *pyaštā* "equipped with", educed from the context of P 2787.70 *bvāiyau jsa pyašti vajrāyasa* "the Vajra seat (vajrāsana) adorned with rays". See also on 48 *byaštā* above.

60.2. *tturkā vāysā* "the face a lotus", as in the common Indian *muha-kamala-* "lotus of the face" (H. Jacobi, *Mah. Erzähl.*, 25.28; and *passim*). The simple *ttura-* "face, mouth" is frequent. For the *-ka* suffix note also Jātaka-stava 10 r 1 *tturka*; and P 2936.2 *tturka viysāñā*. The adj. occurs P 2787.71 *ttūrinai viysa* "lotus which is the face" (with identifying suffix *-inaa-*).

60.3. *ysarrnā spyaka* "golden the flowers". A golden lotus is mentioned in Hedin 23 a 1 (a stotra to Amitāyus) *ysarrnai viysa*.

60.4. *hvamđinā ramna* "human jewels", that is, men as precious as jewels. The same phrase occurs in Or 8218 (162) 43 *pyara māñadaḥ brrāva pāysā: hvamđinai rana* "own brother like the father, a human jewel". The identifying *-inaa-* (to express a simile) where the Indian uses a compound is found also in P 2787.71 *dadīnai kiśūka* "the kiśūka flower which is the tooth", P 3513.52 v 3 *dātīnā mahāsamudra* "ocean of the Law" (*KhT I*, 227); *ibid.*, 68 v 2 *bu'jsinā mahāsamudra* "ocean of virtues", rendering Sansk. *guṇa-sāgara*, see above 56; Jātaka-stava 5 v 2 *damđinā ramna* "teeth which are gems".

60.5. *spaladā-įsai* "with quivering eye", masc. in comparison with the fem. Jātaka-stava 17 v 1 *sujsamđā-įsaima* "with blazing eyes". The verb *spal-* "twitch, quiver" occurs in a fragmentary omen text (Kha vi 4) 3rd sing. *spa'tte*, 3rd plur. *spalāri*. From Sogdian I. Gershevitch has given me (P 2.74) *čšmy 'sp'rđt* with the base **spard-*.

In a compound the *-aa-* stems have *-ā-*, see *BSOAS.*, x, 579. The older *tcet'man-* "eye" appears as *tcet* and *tcem* (*BSOAS.*, x, 583), and *tc* in a compound is replaced by *įs*.

61.1. *māñā*. In Khotanese there are two words: 1. *māñ-* "remain",

pret. *mumda-* and 2. *māñ-* "resemble", pret. *mumda-*. The present context does not permit a distinction.

61.2. *viysā khīysarā* "lotus filament", similarly Siddhasāra 11 v 1 *viysā khīysarā* renders Tib. *padmaḥi ze-ha*, Sansk. *padma-kesara-*.

61.3. *ttaurrjā*, only found here, and still unexplained. Attempts to explain it have led only to possibilities. In lyrical poetry of the Indians, which is obviously imitated in this Khotanese verse, there is reference to pollen upon the beloved's face. Thus Kālidāsa has in the Meghadūta 65: *nītā rodhra-prasava-rajāsā paṇḍutām ānana-sriḥ* "the beauty of the face made yellow with pollen of the rodhra", and in 33 we find the *kuvalaya-rajās-* "lotus pollen", scenting the breeze. The Khotan. word for pollen is *pavanaka-* (see *BSOAS.*, x, 574), but could the word *tor* in the language of Agni, and the Kuchean *taur* translating Sansk. *rajās-* have any relevance here? Other words of identical form exist in the two groups of languages. Another bare possibility is to note P 2892.167 *kapāha':kū ~ hūlaihā: hīvi tturakā hame* "(Turkish) *qap'yaq* 'covering', that is, (Khotanese) the *tturaka* of the quiver" (see *BSOAS.*, xi, 291). Was there a Khotanese word *ttura-* or *tturaka-* meaning "covering"?

61.4. *dāda*, with adj., "so", as in Jātaka-stava 8 r 3 *didi pha* "so much", 29 v 4 *dede miste* "so great".

61.5. *akhajamđai* "unwearied", the form is masculine. It would also be possible to separate a "I".

61.6. *jejhā* "you sport", 2nd sing., see *jūh-* above 52. The ending *-ā* from *-ahi* causes umlaut: *u'* becomes *vī* (well known in the inflexion of *murā-* "precious stone, seal", gen. *mvīre*).

61.7. *rāmā*. I have taken as for *rama-* "happiness, rest", assuming the addition of *-ā-* to the first syllable, as we have *-ā-* in *sākarinai* in 56. The normal *rama-* occurs in 71. The line is, however, not altogether certain, since one could read *rā mam*, that is, *ra* "indeed" and *mam* "of me" or "here". If *biṃdū* then governed the pronoun of *khva = khva-m*, we should have "so that over me my own wits will not act", indicating lack of control.

62.1. *hai tha mūrā* "o you bird", as in the Jātaka-stava 16 v 4 *hai thu midāne* "o you gracious one" and 5 r 4 *hai śra satva* "o good being". For "bird" also 62 *mūraka*, beside E *murka*.

62.2. *kakva*, name of a particular bird. The name occurs with other bird names in the lyrical texts. So in P 2025.47-50:

kaukaḷā 'imūka cāṣa' karavī

stārya kakva papūškyi bejakyi syama ~

aṣṇā tcīrauka ū ttara ūcām mūraka

ga'gā tsidā bahvyuā brrīye įsa śatcapha ~

Many of these names are known: "the cuckoo (*kokila*), parrot, cāṣa bird, karavī bird, stārya bird, kakva bird, sparrow, syama bird, doves, ducks and partridge, water birds fly in the sky (*gagana*) among the trees afflicted

by passion". To these names the following can be annotated. *kokila* is familiar in Sanskrit. The 'imūka "parrot" is the Chinese 鸚鵡 K 289, 1283 *jing* -u < *jing*-mju (the Khotanese shows that *jing*, not *vng* was the dialect form known to them) with -ka suffix, attested also in the language of Agni *yāmutsi*- and Sogdian 'ym'wtsy (see *BSOS.*, viii, 915). *cāsa* "jay" occurs in the Mahāvīyutpatti 4878 before *śuka* "parrot". *karavī* corresponds to Pali *karavī* and *karavira*, Older Khotan. (E) *karavīrai* "sparrow", Bud. Sansk. *kalavinka*, *karavinka* (Kāśyapa-parivarta 133 ad calcem). *stārya* recalls the Indo-European *stor- as in Old Engl. *stær* "starling". *kakva* perhaps from *kauka- corresponding to Sansk. *koka*- "duck" (not "cuckoo", see H. Lüders, *ZDMG.*, 96, Von ind. Tieren, p. 59), that is, another name of the *cakravāka* duck. In Agnean E. Schwenter pointed out *kok*- from Ind. *koka*- (*Zeitsch. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, 65.77). *papūškyi* perhaps "hoopoe", NPers. *pūpū. bejakyi*, variant *biṃjakye*, is attested in the Siddhasāra 17 r 4 *biṃji* "sparrow" for Tib. *mchil-pa*, Sansk. *caṭaka. ysyama* (scribal -ya- for -ū-), P 2956.30 *ysūmā* resembles Osset. *zum* (Iron *zym*) "rook"; *zumarh*, *dzumarh* "wild turkey". *aṣṇā*, plur. to *aṣṇaa*- "dove", see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, *Asica*, p. 6. *tcīrauka* "duck", also *tcīrau*, probably akin to the Ind. *cakravāka. ttara* "partridge", older *ttatara*-, see *BSOAS.*, x, 576. In Hindu Sansk. texts the *cakravāka* birds are a model of conjugal affection.

62.4. *tcaḍā* "beside", the meaning is known from the Sudhana-Avadāna. When Sudhana reaches the Kinnara city he sits beside a pool: Ch 00266.194 *śūka vara naista sūdāna tcaḍa viṣyājai* "alone there sat Sudhana beside the pool". It is likely to be a derivative of *čar- "live, move", possibly *čarata- "vicinity".

63.1. *māṇamḍā* "like", assuming this form to correspond to the frequent *māṇamḍū* (with -ū from older -ūnā). An alternative would be to recognise here the -ā pronoun.

63.2. *ārrā pā rā de śāka* still awaits explanation. Only conjectures are so far possible. A cock of courage (*krrīngū* with *daraujsa*) suggests a cock on a dung-hill. Can *ārrā* here be a "dung-hill"? In Bud. Sanskrit a refuse-heap is called *utkara*-, Ardha-Māg. *ukhara*. One might assume secondarily an Ind. *ūkara- (as *ūsava*- from *utsava*-), *ūara- from *ukhara*- passing to a Khotan. *ūara- and thence *ārra*- (as *āsa*' from *ākāsa*). Or it might be a related but different Iran. form: *ākarana- would probably become in Later Khotan *ārra*-.

pārā could mean wings from *pārāa- derived from *pārā*- "wing", but it is preferably the -ā "your" added to *pāra* plural. Then *de* might be traced to the verb *dyu*-, *dy*- "to beat" (see *BSOAS.*, x, 576, 593), with secondary loss of -y- as often, see above *dye*, *da* from older *dāta*- "sight", and note *paj*- from older *pajy*- "to beg" (*BSOAS.*, x, 573), Jātaka-stava 20 r 3 *pajamḍai*, older (E) *pajyandai*. With this interpretation we should get: "like a cock on a dung-hill, alone and bold, you flap your wings".

śākā is then for older *śūkā*. But other groupings are possible. **ārra* "arm" found in loc. sing. *erra* (E), or *ārra*- "wrong act" or *ārr*- "to grind" or *āra*- "sharp tool" have been considered. Also a verbal *pārāde* pret. 2nd or 3rd sing. There is also *ārra* "rush."

63.3. *daraujsa* "bold", as adj., or *daraujsa* instr. sing. "with boldness". E has *darro* "courage", and in P 2782.2. *sūra daraujsū* by hendiadys expresses "bold".

63.4. *nvicā* has so far defied interpretation. The -c- can derive from older -st-; or from -č- after a consonant in primary or secondary contact. The context would tolerate "nervous excitation" as nom. sing.: "nvica produces flames". But *nvicā* could also be gen. sing.: "in the limbs of the *nvicā*". Possibly a derivative of *nipasta*- "lying down".

63.5. *agalakvā* "in the limbs", loc. plur., of *aga*- with suffix -laka. For -laka added to adjs, see *AM I*, 44 on 94 (c), and below 67 *brīyilaka*. For nouns, cf. P 2925.48 *āṣkālakyau jsa* "with tears", to *āṣka*- "tears".

64.1. *bā'jse* "flames", as for *bā'jsakyū* above 56.

64.2. *drreha jsā* "with noise". This meaning is justified by the comparison of P Y 21 (verse) *bai'jakye drāhīdā hamdā spyauysām bamhyau* "the sparrows make noise among the flowering trees" with P 2956.4, a copy of the same poem, *baijakye ~ tta mī biṣeārrā hada spyauysau bahyau ~* "the sparrows so make noise among the flowering trees". We have then a base *drāh*- equivalent to *biṣe*- "sound". From **drāha*- the form *dreha* is a normal umlaut change. Possibly E 18.1 *drāha* means "sound", but the context is not clear. The passage in P 2936.6: *mūraka biṣau ra kūci diḍā kṣavū drāhe ~* is still unexplained.

64.3. *brīyikyā vīrāṣṭā* "towards the beloved one". *brīyaa*- "beloved, treasured" occurs in Jātaka-stava 32 v 1; E 7.44 *abriyaa*- "unloved". For the -kya suffix, see above 52. Below 67 *brīyilaka*-.

64.4. *krraṇākā* "kindly", originally "grateful", Sansk. *kṛtajña*-; with negative *atāraṇa*-, *araṇa*-. "Kindness to kin" is expressed in the abstract Jātaka-stava 23 r 2 *krramāñi* (written *dr*- by an error of the scribe); P 2957.50 *pyara krraṇi kainā* "by reason of affection for the father".

65.1. *āye* "you may be" with *tha* "you" 2nd sing. optat. to *ah*-; E also *āye* (Glossar, p. 394 b top).

65.2. *mahā* "us" plur., but also "me" sing. Later Khotanese has nom. *mahe*, *mihe*, *mihai* (see *AM I*, 37); obliq. *mahū*, *mahā*, *mihā* (*mahū* P 3513.44 r 1). Older Khotan. nom. *muhu*, *muho*; acc. *maha*, instr., ablat. *muho jsa* (Sten Konow, *Khotansak. Gram.*, p. 47).

65.3. *hayūm* "friend", older *hayūna*-. For a possible connection, see above 37.

65.4. *bīysamjā* "grasp, seize": *biysamj*-, pret. *biysīya*-. A related form occurs in Sanglētī *zenz*-, *zəñj*:- *zuyd* "seize", see G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 435 (*BSOAS.*, x, 585).

65.5. *ma ttā ttū pva'sai* "do not ask about that", in the sense of "a fortiori", Bud. Sansk. *prāg eva*. Similarly Jātaka-stava 28 v 4 *ma ne rā vā pva'se*, and Ch 00277.3 r 1 *ma na ra pvesu kāvū ttiyām* = Ch 00268.142 *ma na pu'sa kāmī ttiyām*. The ending *-ai-*, *-e* may be an optat. 2nd sing., with the value of the imperative, as in *pu'sa*.

65.6. *barā* "be excited" (?), assuming a derivative of Old Iran. **barv-* "boil up, effervesce, be excited", which is attested in Suynī *wūrv-* "boil", see G. Morgenstierne, *Norsk Tidssk. Sprogvid.*, I, 74; *IIFL.*, I 257 Parācī *yarw-*; *IIFL.*, ii, 420 Sanglēcī *wūrv-* from **uarb-*, replacing *baru-*. Avestan has *bar-* "move quickly", Mid. Pers. Psalter *'wblny* (Causat.) "pour out", Sansk. *bhurati*, without the *-u* suffix. With the suffix we have **bheru-* in Sansk. *bhurvañi-* "tossing", Lat. *ferveo*, see A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wörterb.*, II, 167. In Khotanese the *-v-* after *-r-* is absent in *parī* "he orders", pret. *parsta-*, so that similarly *barū* 2nd. sing. may represent an Old Iran. (optat.) **barvai-*. If this loss of *-v-* is difficult, the same base *bar-* without *-u-* may still be found here. The common Khotan. *bar-* "bring; ride" hardly suits. Nor can I fit either *bara-* "shape" (as in Jātaka-stava 13 r 3), nor *bara-*, *baraka-* in a list of gifts in Ch cvi 001, nor the *bara-* found in the derivative *bareñja* "crops", nor the *bara* from Sansk. *badara-*, *-ī* "jujube" into the present context; nor the proper name *bara* attested in Hedin 74 a 1 and Or 9268, 1 a 1 with the titles *spāta* and *pharṣṣa*.

65.7. *vālakye*, obliq. to *vilaka-* "so great, so much", see *AM I*, 44. In S 5212 b 1 occurs *ṣadyai valakyai brrai*.

66.1. *brre vi*, with *brre* obliq. to *brya-* "dear, older **brye*. Also Jātaka-stava 16 v 1 *bre*. The *-y-* after consonant is often absent in Later Khotanese.

66.2. *khvai hā hiśā virā* "since to him there is jealousy (and) hatred".

66.3. *hiśā* "jealousy", obliq. to *hiśa-* "greed" (rendering *mātsarya*), as in Ch 0048.32 *hiśa hagavāma lāba*, three terms signifying "greed" (*lāba* is Ind. *lobha*), assuming that the obliq. case has been generalised, as in *buśā* "joke" and *mu'sdā* "favour".

66.4. *virā* "hatred", from NW Prakrit *vera-* attested in the Dharma-pada *averana* (*BSOAS.*, xi, 500). I have thus not been able to fit *virā* "upon" into the context; though *hiśā* (for *hiśam*) *virā* "upon iron" is a possible phrase.

66.5. *hūñā* "in sleep, dream", below *hūñā*, loc. sing. to *hūna-* "sleep".

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

66.7. *nātte* "makes a noise", tracing here the base **nād-*, hence *nātte* from **nādatai* with *d-t* in secondary contact. The verb is attested in *nāyai* "noise, sound" in the Siddhasāra 153 r 3, rendering Tib. *sgra*, and in *panāyāma* Ch ii 003,87 r 4 (*KhT I*, 171) "sounding", Ch 00266.12 *pam-nāyīda* "they make noise".

66.8. *śā gauṣṭā* "one handful", as *śā ggoṣṭā phāñā* "one handful of dust" (Kha 1.185a, a 3, quoted *JRAS* 1942, 24) corresponding to

Divyāvādāna (366.9) *pāmsv-anjali*. Here we have in apposition to *brrīyi-lakā* a descriptive phrase either "having or resembling a handful of flame-coloured flower-buds". A note on *ggoṣṭā* "hand" will appear in one of the next issues of the *BSOAS*. I prefer this interpretation to finding here *gūṣṭā* "flesh"; and *śā* "copper", both with *dajā* "flame" qualifying *gūñā* "colour". *śā* "copper", translates Tib. *zaws*, adj. *śāvīnaa-*, from the older *śāva-*. As an adj. *śāva-* renders Bud. Sansk. *tāmra-* "reddish" (P 3513.69 r 3, *Suvarṇa-bhāsa*, Sansk. 3, 64, in *KhT I*, 246): *śāva-*, Avestan *syāva-* "dark", NPers. *siyāh* "black".

67.1. *dajā-gūñā* "flame-coloured", from *dajā* "flame" (E) and *gūñā* "colour", a newly formed compound, as in *ysarra-gūñā* "of golden colour", beside the older compound *ysarūñā* "yellow, green". In P 2787.49 *dajvanyai śāhauja dīna* "under a yellow umbrella" has **dajūñā* with *-va-* replacing *-ū-* (quoted *BSOAS.*, xiii, 656), which occurs in Siddhasāra 100 r 4 *dajuna sacha bāva* "red jhaṣā plant". *Ibid.* 150 r 4 is found *dā-gūñā*.

67.2. *spūlakye* "bud", also in Or 8212 (162) 117 and 122 *naṣkaista vīya spūlaka* "opened lotus bud", P 2787.71 *vīya spūlaka*, from a NW Prakrit **sp(h)uda* or **sp(h)oda*, corresponding to Ardha-Māg. *phuda*, Sansk. *sphuṭa*, *-ṣṭa*. Kālidāsa has *sphutitakamala-* "opened lotus" in Meghadūta 31.

67.3. *brrīyilakā vā brraṣṭa*, written twice: either a poetic emphasis or a scribal error. For *-laka* see above 63. The *-ā* may be "you".

67.4. *vā brraṣṭa* "asked", with *vā* "towards oneself", as in P 2741.93 *ttī vā brraṣṭi si* . . "then he asked . . ." (*AM I*, 31), and Jātaka-stava 28 v 4 *vā pva'se*. *-ta*, *-ti*, older *-te*, masc.; the fem. has *-tā*, older *-tāyi*.

68.1. *khu tta pā nā harāse* "how will you not extend your legs?", that is, lie down. A similar phrase P 2927.46 *cū baka* (with uncertain *ba*) *nūyi pāysvira ka pe' ma na harāśā* "who should lie down on his face a little(?) and should not stretch his legs here".

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

68.3. *krrathā*, probably for *grathā* "knot", see above 59.

69.1. *gūche* "set loose" trans. to the intrans. *gū-*, see *BSOAS.*, x, 900. *gūch-* renders Sansk. *mocaya-*. A different grouping of syllables would allow *gūchema kaṇa* "for release", but I have preferred *nā gūche ma kaṇa* "for my sake you will not unbind".

69.2. *ma kaṇa* "on my behalf", similarly P 2896.54 *ma kaṇa* = Ch 00266.5, P 2025.12 *ma kiṇa*. The Older Khotan. *kāḍāna*, whence *kiḍna*, *kiṇa*, *kiṇa*, *kaiṇa*, *keṇa*, *kaṇa* and *kaṇa*, is based upon the NW Prakrit Krorayina Kharoṣṭhi *kridena*, *kritena*. Hindu Sansk. has *krte*. Ch 0043.37 has *amrre kaṇa* "for immortal food".

69.3. *ttina kālna khu* "from the time when", cf. above 33 *ttīna beḍa khu* "during the time when".

69.4. *a* "I", frequently for older *aysā*, Older Khotan. *aysu*. The *-z* become final was no longer noted in writing, as occurred similarly in *pā*, older *pātca*, and *va*, older *vaska*.

69.5. *paḍausā* "first", similar in Ch ii 004,2 r 4 *paḍausi'kyi*; by *-ya* suffix from older *paḍauysa-* "first" (translating Tib. *daw-po*).

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

69.7. *rdyai* "I held". Older Khotan. *-taimā* 1st sing. pret. trans. became *-tem*, then *-tai* by loss of anusvāra, see *AM I*, 37. Here *rdyai*, written for **dryai* represents Older Khotan. *dytaimā*. The scribe has put the wrong *-r-*. A similar lapsus occurred in *harda vya* "within" for *hadra vya* in P 5538 b 27 (*BSOS.*, ix, 539), and in the Siddhasāra 122 r 3 *syai* is written for *ysai*. Below, *dai* "I see" has *-ai* from *-aimā*: *daimā* 1st sing. present. If the *r* of *rdyai* should be deleted, *dyai* "I saw" would suit equally in the context.

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

70.2. *ysirā biṃdi* "upon the heart", see above 53. In a medical context we find *ysairā biṃda ttodā hame* (Siddhasāra 8 r 5).

70.3. *brriṃvai* adj. "passionate, consisting of passion", with identifying *-inaa-*, see above 60. Older Khotan. *brītināa-* is in E.

70.4. *ttaudā ayūlā* "hot ball of iron", occurs in the different context of the story of Mahāprabhāsa in Jātaka-stava 4 r 2: *parve ayūlā* "heated ball of iron". In the same story Bud. Sansk. had *ayogula-* (H. Lüders, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, p. 166).

71.1. *aysmū* and *uvi*? I take as gen. singular.

71.2. *rama-kīrā* "happy or restful activity", interpreting it as a compound with Khotan. *kīra-* "work", cf. also *-tira* in E *khāysa-tīru*, and *-yira* in *nei'ta-yīru*. Since *rama-* has single *r-* in Older Khotanese it would appear to be an Indian loan-word. Above 61 *rāma* "rest".

71.3. *vanāsacau* "quivering, shaking", instr. plur. with *-cau* for *-cyau* (*-y-* absent after a palatal). The verb is attested in the Siddhasāra 134 r 3 *mau jsa āchai hīya gunā yseri vanāstā* "symptoms of illness due to alcohol: his heart shakes". *Ibid.* 122 v 4 occurs *vanāsāma*. The Tib. text offers *mer-mer-po*.

71.4. *uvi'skyām* "wits", instr. plur. from *uvi*? with suffix *-skya*, see above 58.

71.5. *ṣai*, older *ṣṣai* "even, precisely".

71.6. *hūsime* "I sleep". In Later Khotanese both *-imā*, *-ima* and *-ime* are common: P 3513.52 v 1 *yinīma*; *ibid.* 52 v 4 *yinīme*. In *ibid.* 70 v 1 *ttīṣimā* "I stand" translates Sansk. optat. *tiṣtheya*.

72.1. *hūnā* "in a dream you", with *-ā* 2nd plur. pronoun added to the loc. *hūna*, see above 66.

72.2. *dai* "I see", for older *daimā* (E), then *daimē* (P 3513.51 v 4), the anusvāra being absent, see above 69.

72.3. *'erākaña* "in the arms", see *BSOAS.*, x, 585 (Rāma text). The *-ka* was added to the loc. *erra* (E 25.511).

72.4. *ṣtām* "being in" with loc., rather than *ṣtāmā* "we stand, are", pres. active as in 3rd plur. *ṣtāmdī*, *ṣtāmde*, beside *ṣtāre*. P 2741.86 has *cu mihe dva pacaḍa hve:hvara ṣtām* "since we Uigurs are of two parties..." (*AM I*, 31). *mā* has been taken for *maṃ*, but the position is unusual.

73.5. *mahe* "we" for "I", see above 65.

72.6. *brriṃbe* "early", with *-ām-* for older *-um-*, a derivative of *brū* "early" in *brū hadā* "early in the day" (E), and gen. *brūi*. The forms noted are Vajracchedikā 31 a 2 *brriṃbi*, rendering Bud. Sansk. *paurvaka*, Tib. *ṣva-ma* "former", Siddhasāra 1 v 3 *brriṃbe* and P 2958.21 *brriṃbhe* (see *BSOAS.*, x, 902). The older form *brriṃbāte* occurs in E 24.148. Note that Bud. Sansk. *paurvika* occurs also in the Saddharma-puṇḍarika 101.13 (ed. U. Wogihara). The Pašto *wṛumbai* "first" has a similar suffix.

72.7. *-e hatsa* "with you", with *-e* for older *-te*, enclitic 2nd sing., see above 54.

72.8. *biysānū* "I awaken", older E *biysān-*. The *-ū*, as also *-ūm*, replaces older *-umā*, *-ummā*; with suffixed pronoun we have *-ūmūm* in P 2782.14 *uysdīsūmūm* "I show them" and P 3513.45 r 3 *haiṣū'mū* "I give them", and Or 9268, I b 7 *nāmdūmūm mihi* "we took them".

73.1. *vijsye* "I see", pres. indic. mid., but above 54 *vajsyāne* conjunct. Similar forms with *-e* 1st sing. occur in Vajracchedikā 3 a 4 *aysā hamjsye byūhā* "I propose to translate"; P 2741.65 *kaṣe* "I fall"; P 2936.12 *a mīre* "I die".

73.2. *mīrā* "I shall die", with *-ā*, older *-ām*, *-āni* 1st sing. conjunct. pres. P 3513.70 r 4 *ba'ysā panamāni* "may I arise a Buddha" translating Sansk. 3.71 *bhaveya buddho* (Suvarṇa-bhāsa, *KhT I*, 247).

73.2. *ra-m* "on my part": *ra*, like Lat. *quidem*, implies a following "but". It is taken here with *-am*, *-m* 1st sing., but perhaps one should rather read *ra*. P 2025.201 has *ṣau ra ... ṣe' ra ...* "the one ... the other...".

73.3. *gūsīndā* "they are loosened", with *gūs-* intrans., see *gūch-* above 69.

TRANSLATION

The translation is intended solely as a supplement to the commentary where possible alternative renderings can be consulted.

Of the Lion, King Viśa' Sambhava, the 14th regnal year, Cock Year, month (Skarahvāra?), 14th day give money and . . . money returns. (5) Now when . . . , . . . was a pyilyaiga-cloth of 36 feet 5 inches and a . . . hulyega-cloth of 30 feet 5 inches and width 17 inches. Owed by Lord Śvaṃnakai there is cloth 2 feet 15 inches.

Of the Lion, King Viśa' Sambhava, the 14th regnal year, Cock Year, month Kaja, 12th day. This survey document is due to the fact that here in Śacū city were these envoys: the buluna-minister Rgyal-sum and Lord Śarrnadatta of Ttāgutta kara ("region" of Tibet?), and Lord Śaṃdū of Hvamna kara ("region" of Khotan?), (10) and Śvāṃnakai of the Nampa Jamña. And all these knew the cities.

Two lists of cities: 1. Phema to Šuo-fang; 2. line 17 "All these are the cities of Secū": from 'Icū (Qomul) to Bapanā.

25-26 Chinese names.

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

(32) Year 14, month Simjsimja, day 20. This is the regnal year of the gracious god, King of Khotan, the Lion, Viśa' Sambhava. At the time when he exercised rule over the Khotan land, before the king there was an intelligent, virtuous right-hand man, possessed of all senses, pre-eminent, by name Rgyal-sum, (35) familiar with all cities along the routes. This pre-eminent man by the king's understanding and glorious power six times has come hither and now he has come the seventh time together with Lord Śaṃdū of Sanarau ka(ra); and later he has come to Śacū . . . On them afterwards he bestowed much and great wealth. All those envoys were (with=) given the wealth, together with Cāṃ ttüttū and Lord Śarrnadatta of Ttāgutta kara and Lord Śvāṃnakai, and the drummer the military officer Paḍā-dūsā, and (40) the goldsmith Kharuṣai, and the hair-drawer Khrrī-rttanā. All those indeed on behalf of the Bodhisattva god and the Tte-pū practised the acquisition of great merits. Cāṃ ttüttū graciously made a Gūmattīra stūpa, new and excellent, of 20 feet; before it (he made) haśirma. And Lord Śarrnadatta of Ttāgutta kara every day was reading in the Book, he went to each shrine. The Lord Śaṃdū of Hvana kara went around the city to 121 shrines, and he sent 502 litres of oil for use in all the temples situated (45) throughout the city. And Lord Śvāṃnakai went to the shrines, he gave in gift one kāmbaṃdā and one chāṃ syū.

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

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

LYRICAL VERSES

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

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

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

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