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The Tumshuq Karmavācanā

By H. W. BAILEY

(PLATE 17)

I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN the Journal Asiatique for 1941–2 my friend the late Professor Sten Konow published an article entitled *Une nouvelle forme aberrante de khotanais*. This new type of Iranian is contained in the document P 410 brought back by the late Paul Pelliot from Tumshuq, a ruined site near the modern Maralbashi.

For the study of the history of this region all the materials, unfortunately often fragmentary, which the various expeditions have recovered for us have proved and are still proving of great importance. The present Tumshuq fragment is a notable addition to this material.

Sten Konow gave with his study a facsimile of the MS. fragment, a transliteration (in which he had enjoyed the assistance of J. Filliozat) and a tentative translation, together with a glossary of the words according to his readings. Six years later he turned again to the document and in the Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 14 (1947), pp. 156 ff., he published a second study of the document. It is a pleasure to recognize the merit of these pioneer studies, but neither could be considered as providing a clear interpretation. In one point, the reading of *ai*, the incorrect *ai* is kept in the second study, although in the glossary to the first study J. Filliozat had pointed out that the sign was properly *au*.

The document is vitally important for Iranian dialectical studies. Hence a new treatment is well justified. The recognition that the document contains a type of Buddhist ordination service changed the whole problem of its interpretation. Parallel passages for most of the text could easily be found, and both a better division of words and exact meaning for almost the whole vocabulary could be deduced. This discovery too makes it happily unnecessary to criticize in detail what are clearly somewhat speculative guesses on the part of Sten Konow. I have preferred to give the direct evidence on each word about which there can be no dispute.

The type of service here represented is expressed in the Karmavācanā, the ceremonial formulae for the order of acts (karma) in the upasampadā ceremony. The upasampadā was the one entrance into the bhikṣu-sangha and bhikṣuṇī-sangha, and therefore was carried to all lands where Buddhism was preached.

The ceremony in which the Karmavācanā was used was described from personal observation in Ceylon by J. F. Dickson in the JRAS 1875, pp. 1–16. He printed the text of the Pali Kammavācā. Other editions of formulae are listed. Several formulae are given in O. Frankfurter, Handbook of Pali, and a new form was published by G. Clauson in the Journal of the Pali Text Society

1906, 1-7. In the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sāstra, translated by E. Lamotte from the Chinese version, which alone survives (abbreviated Mpps), the essential part of the service is contained in II 829 ff. There is much also in the Abhidharma-kośa (translated by L. de la Vallée Poussin, IV 37, 61, 149). A later modification of the ceremony is found also in the Ādikarma-pradīpa (ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin in *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux*, 1897). References to the service are scattered through Central Asian texts. From Kuci comes a fragment in Buddhist Sanskrit with Kuchean rubrics (ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, JRAS 1913, 846-7). In the document from Agni (no. 414 in *Tocharische Sprachreste*) part of a Karmavācanā for the bhikṣuṇīs survives. A large part of the Buddhist Sanskrit text of the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā was printed in BSOS I 123 ff., by C. M. Ridding and L. de la Vallée Poussin. Khotanese texts also contain parallel passages. These various sources are cited below in the Lexical Commentary.

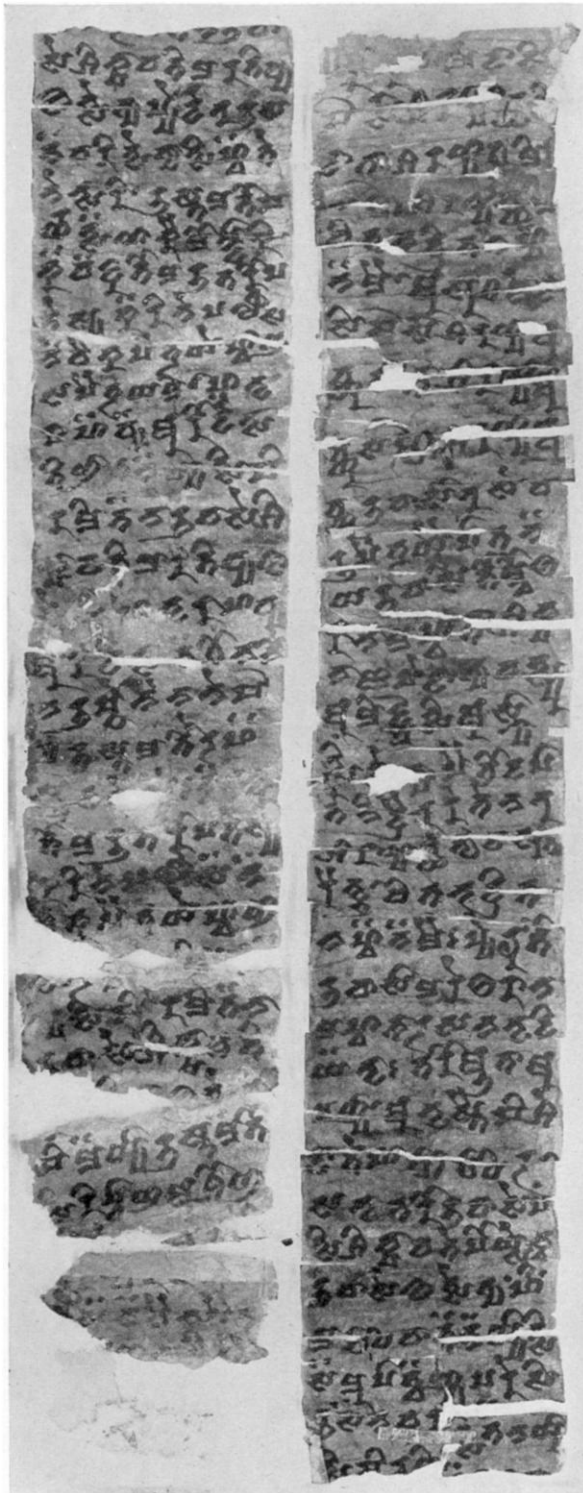
The name *karma-vācanā* (also with *-ana*) is attested in Bud. Sanskrit, Mahāvīyutpatti 8863-6 (in the Lexicon Bacot 174 a 1 *karmabācana*). Pali has *kammavācā*. The bhikṣuṇī who took the leading part in the ceremony is mentioned as the *karmavācāñce* in the text from Agni (414 a 5). To this context belongs also the Uigur Turkish word *krmavaziki* and *krmavazik*, that is (probably through Sogdian), a Prakrit form **karma-vāzaḡa-* from *karma-vācaka-* (not **karma-vaśika*, see F. W. K. Müller and E. Sieg, *Maitrisimīt*, SBAW 1916, p. 416), a title of Prajñārakṣita, who was also called *ācārya*. The Chinese has *karma* in the title of a translated work 尼羯磨 *ni-kie-mo*, Jap. *nikomma*, that is, [*bhikṣu*] *nī-karma* of the Dharmaguptaka school (Taishō Issaikyō, vol. 40, no. 1810, Nanjio 1116). The Tibetan translation *las brjod-pa* is as often etymological: *las* = *karma* and *brjod* 'to order, say'. For translation the Chinese used 誦念 *sung-nien* (*sung* 'intone, recite' and *nien* 'remember, think').

The problem of Iranian dialects in Central Asia is raised acutely by the present fragment. It is, however, clear that the Iranian texts published by Sten Konow (*Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, nos. 1-6 from *Maralbashi*, no. 7 from Tumšūq, no. 8 from Murtuq) are in the same dialect, although the system of orthography is different.¹

In the Tumšūq fragment there is no trace of the new Brāhmī signs of Maralbashi. Hence *s* serves for *s* and *z*, *t* for *t* and *d*, and *ts* for *dz*. In the infinitive Tumšūq *-tanay-* corresponds with Maralbashi *-tane* (*pištane* 'to write'), contrasting with Khotanese *-te*.² Differences occur in the replacement of Old Iran. *fra-* by *ra-* in Tumšūq and Maralbashi, but by *ha-* in Khotan (see below on 42 *arordä*). We have clearly two distinct dialects from one not remote Iranian

¹ I have quoted sparingly from these texts since they require to be treated in a special monograph before they can be used with safety.

² The use of *khotanais* by Sten Konow in Journ. Asiat. 1941-2 is to be deprecated. In Khotan itself they used *hwatanaa-* of their own language, which as a local name is satisfactory, but to use it of another region deprives it of all value.



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language, which may well have been one of the Saka tribal languages of Central Asia.

A still further complication arises when the Iranian words in the Krorayina texts are examined. The difference of vocabulary between Khotan and the Iranian words in Krorayina has been pointed out in BSOAS 13, 121–8. In Krorayina we have apparently a third form of the same Iranian (Saka ?) language.

We have also to keep in mind Kāšgar, inhabited by the Ga-ḥjag, Kančak, Kamjaka people (see F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts I 118; BSOS 8. 917, and BSOAS 13. 404–5). Here too almost certainly an Iranian language was spoken.

II

TEXT

asu dharmadāsi |² bārsā śaraṇya cchami
 |³ dātā śaraṇya cchami
 |⁴ saṅgā śaraṇya cchami
 |⁵ vitana dritana hvā |⁶ nāmai ~
 asu dharmadā |⁷ si bārsā śaraṇya a |⁸ cchu
 dātā śaraṇya a |⁹ cchu
 saṅgā śaraṇya a |¹⁰ cchu
 uvāsānu saṃvā |¹¹ ru paitryai pātanā |¹² ya
 uvāsau tomvo tha |¹³ ra nāma hvatā
 śakya |¹⁴ nā ṛṣe dātya vatsyu
 |¹⁵ amijyā tsi astyā |¹⁶ tsi tsenya paitroda pā |¹⁷ toni
 drainu retenanu |¹⁸ śaraṇya cchatu vasuta |¹⁹ raindu ~
 vitana drita |²⁰ na hvānāmai ~
 pyephuto |²¹ uvāsā mare tharā nā |²² ma hvatā rasananda di |²³ yāndā ~
 taro ātā a |²⁴ ṣaṅyā ~
 andastai biśe |²⁵ dāte haṅgaṅgu ra ~ |²⁶ sandā
 taro uvāse paṃ |²⁷ tsi śikṣāvate poyste kvā |²⁸ uvāse au-tsenya
 hā |²⁹ maṅgu vātānāyyā tsi |³⁰ sāmupātvaṅya pare si
 |³¹ usānavara tsatānāyyā |³² tsi biramitāna uvā |³³ se śikṣāvati
 mara tivya |³⁴ au-tsenya pyerdanu usa |³⁵ nāvāri tsenyā tsi hvāte
 |³⁶ ne tsāri ~
 ustamato bar |³⁷ ṅā tsāṅakai moṣjāki ~
 |³⁸ kā vā ju to maru taro pa |³⁹ tesya kārine palisa |⁴⁰ nā vai ka paitrye
 hvaṅa |⁴¹ sa paitryami
 handa |⁴² rā hāvya arordā tsā |⁴³ ti ṅātānāyyā tsi bi |⁴⁴ ramitānā uvāse
 śi |⁴⁵ kṣāvati
 mara tivya au- |⁴⁶ tsenya handarā havya |⁴⁷ arorda tsātā gauna nau |⁴⁸ na
 u ṣṭenāna ne bā |⁴⁹ rya
 ustamatau rahā |⁵⁰ stata gesā ~

Hence *bārsā*, *dātā* and *saṅgā* are gen. sing. in *-ā*. This is confirmed by 41 *handarā hāvvyā*, 46 *handarā havya* 'belonging to another', with gen. dependent on *hāvvyā*, as before *hāvya-* in Khot., as *arvām hāvī sāstrā* (Siddhasāra 145 r 1) 'treatise on medicinal plants'.

2b. *bārsā* 'Buddha', as in Khot. *balysa-*: *s = z*, and Older Iran. *r* preserved against Khot. *l*.

2c. *śaraṇya* loc. sing. The same *-ya* occurs in 14 *dātya* 'in the Law' from *dātā-*. Hence the syntax of the Trisāraṇa differs from the Pali and Bud. Sanskrit forms, which use the acc. sing. *śaraṇam*. The *ārva* of the Khot. phrase quoted above cannot decide between acc. and gen., but E 24. 163 *harbiśśī śsaraṇu tsutāndā* 'all went to his refuge' shows the acc. sing. in *-u*.

2d. *cchami* 'I go'. The same verb in 14 *vatsyu* 'I descend' has *tsy*. The spelling therefore vacillates with *cch* and *tsy*. This *cchami* is from **čyavāmi* 'I go', Khot. *tsīmā*; Maralbashi *chi-* in *chīdu* 'let him go'.

3. *dāta-*, Khot. *dāta-*, *dā* 'law', translating Indian *dharma* in its various meanings; 14 *dātya* loc. sing., 25 *dāte* acc. plur.

4. *saṅga-* 'community', with *-g* for Indian *-gh*. Similarly Khot. *saṃga-*, Agnean *saṅk*.

5a. *vitana dritana hvānāmai* 'I say it twice and thrice'. This is formulaic. Bud. Sanskrit gives *dvir api trir api vaktavyam* (Album Kern, p. 376, *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa*, ed. C. Bendall, B 7).¹ Similarly *dvir api trir api* (without *vaktavyam*) in H. Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, p. 250, verse 4; and in the Kucheian fragment JRAS 1913, 846. In Khotanese we find *śe jūnq daida jūma* 'twice and thrice' in Ch 00263. 3-4. This is intended also by the Agnean *trivācīk śaraṇagam-* (269 a b). Cf. also Kucheian *trivācī<k> poṣāt* (JRAS 1913, 846).

5b. *vitana* 'twice' with *vi-* from **dvi-*, but Khot. *sāta-*, later *śe*, that is **zīda-*, with *zi-* from *dvi-*.

5c. *dritana* 'thrice', with *drita-* = Khot. *didda-*, *dida-*, Avest. *θritya-*. In *-na* can be recognized an instr. ending.

5d. *hvānāmai* 'I say', with *-mai* 1st sing. pres. mid. Khot. *hvan-* 'to say' also occurs in the middle: *hvānde* 'he says' from **hvanyatai*. Beside it the active gives *hvāñāmā* 'I speak' (E 6. 52). Tumshuq *hvān-* may, with its *-ā-* indicating *y* umlaut, also represent *hvanya-*. For this umlaut see on 39 *kārīne*, 52 *karīne* from **karya-* 'work'. But in 31 *usānavara*, 34 *usanāvāri* we note uncertainty in the use of *ā*. In 42 *hāvvyā* and 46 *havya* we may see two different cases, distinguished by the vowels.

7. *acchu* 'I have come', if it is for older **ā-cyavam*, beside 2 *cchami* 'I go' and 18 *cchatu* 'let him go'. The same *-u* 1st sing. is in 14 *vatsyu* 'I descended'. For *-u* from *-am* we have the case of 1 *asu* 'I' from **azam*. The entrance into

¹ In this edition of C. Bendall's the reading *āyikā* was wrongly given for *āryikā* 'honoured one, nun', whence I took it (without at first seeing the misreading) to quote in *Recent Work in "Tokharian"*, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1947, 142.

refuge is similarly expressed in the *triśaraṇagataṃ mām ācāryō*¹ *dhārayatu* 'let the teacher support me, now entered into the refuge' (Ādikarmapradīpa, p. 188).

2. *saṃvara*

10a. *wāsānu*, 12 *wāsau*, 21 *wāsā*, 26, 28, 32, 44, 56 *wāse* 'lay follower', the Bud. Sansk. *upāsaka*, Khot. *wāysaa-*, Agnean *wāsak*. For *w-* see BSOAS 13. 133. These forms give the inflexion of a stem in *-aka-*: nom. sing. *wāsau*, *wāsā* (with *au* and *ā* indicating the same sound ?), Khot. *wāysai*; gen. sing. *wāse*, gen. plur. *wāsānu*. To the *-a-* stem we have two other spellings in 17 *retenanu* and 13 *śakyanā* 'of the Śākya's' for the gen. plural. Once in a numeral occurs *-nu*: 17 *drainu*.

10b. *saṃvāru* acc. sing. from Indian *saṃvara-* 'restriction'. Hence *-ā-* occurs for Indian *-ā-* in *wāsau*, and here for Indian *-ā-*. Similarly for Old Iran. *-ā-* in *nāma*, but *-ā-* in *retenanu*. The *śikṣā-saṃvara* is mentioned in Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188.

11a. *paītryai* 'he undertakes, agrees to'. After considering the possibility of *paī-* representing older *pati-*, with a verb *-rau-*, which 16 *paīroda* could have supported with its *-o-*, I have preferred to compare (as Sten Konow had done) this verb with Khot. *padār-*: pret. *padāḍa-* (E 23. 239 *uhu draya ratana padāḍānda*, 2nd plur.), and pres. *pader-* (E 23. 90). A fragment of the Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra (Kha 1. 53, 1 v 2) has *padār-* corresponding to the word *anugṛhīta-* 'favoured, approved' of the Sanskrit text (ed. J. Nobel, p. 224). Below Old Iran. *pati-* has survived as *pye-*, in 20 *pyephuto*, 34 *pyerdanu*. Khotanese has *patā-*, *paṃ-* and *pa-*. See also on 27 *poyste*. Here *paītrya-* may replace an older **pati-dar-ya-*. The Chinese phrase corresponding gives 'he is able', see E. Lamotte, Mpp II 830: s'il l'upāsaka est capable d'observer ce point il doit dire oui. Similarly in the Dharmaguptaka Bhikṣuṇī-karma, Taishō Issaikyō vol. 40, no. 1810, p. 541, col. 3: 答言能 'answers saying, I can'.

If *paītrya-* (11 *paītryai*, 40 *paītrye*, 41 *paītryami*) is from **pati-dar-ya-*, the *-o-* of 16 *paīroda* will be, not Old Iran. *-au-*, but a later replacement of older *-a-*, as occurs also in 16 *pātoni* 'to keep' with *-toni* = *-tani*, infinitive.

I take the *-ai*, *-e* to be 3rd sing. mid., not 1st sing., which might be expected in the context, because the 1st sing. mid. is *-mai* in 5 *hvāmāmai*.

11b. *pātanāya* 'to keep', corresponding to 'observe' in the Chinese parallel (see above under 11a *paītryai*). The form is an infinitive. Other infs. occur in the abl. sing. with *tsi* 'from' in 29 *vātānāyyā tsi*, 31 *tsatānāyyā tsi*, 42 *ñātānāyyā tsi*, beside the shorter form *-toni* in 16 *pātoni*. This *-tanay-* corresponds in form to Maralbashi *-tane* in I 23 *pištane* 'to write', and closely resembles Old Persian *-tanaiy*: *nipištānāiy*, *čartānāiy*. The Avestan, Sogdian and Khotanese infinitives in Av. *-tayaē* [ča, -tāe, Sogd. *-ty*, *-t* and Khot. *-te* (causing *y* change as in *bāste* 'to lead' beside *bāsta-* 'led') contrast with

¹ So read for the edition *ācāryā*.

Tumšūq and Maralbashi. Khotanese does not use *-tana-* for the infinitive but it has once the acc. sing. for an absolutive in *tvamdanu* 'having worshipped', as below *-danu* occurs in 34 *pyerdanu* = Bud. Sansk. *saṃcintya* 'deliberately'.

12a. *wāsau* nom. sing. 'follower', see above, 10a.

3. *amuka-nāman-*

The ordinand in the karma-vācanā of the ceremony is called 'the upāsaka so and so'. The Indian parallel phrases are Bud. Sansk. fem. *evannāmikā* (Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 9 b 5 and passim), masc. *evaṃ-nāmā amuka-nāmā* (Ādikarma-pradīpa, pp. 188-9); Pali *itthannāma bhikkhu* (O. Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pali*, p. 149) and *itthannāmo bhikkhu* (Journ. Pali Text Soc. 1906, p. 4); Chinese 彼某甲. In a Sanskrit manuscript from Kuci (H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, pp. 16, 17) we have Cr 3 *mahādānapati itthunnāmenah sārddham* and D v 2 *itthannāmo mahadānapati*. Khotanese uses *tta tta nāmana-* as Kha 1. 221, 13, *tta tti nāmani dānqve* 'the donator (*dānapati*) so-and-so'.

12b. Here 12 *tomvo thara nāma hvatā* corresponds to 21 *mare tharā nāma hvatā*. Since *mara-* 'this' is clear (33, 38, 45, 51), *tomvo* should also be a pronoun 'that'. The pronoun *tara-* is found in 23 *taro* 'then' (= Indian *tatas*). Hence in *tomvo* a pronoun **ta-tāma-* may be sought. For *-tāma-*, cf. Khot. *tāmu* 'then', *kāma-* 'which' with enclitic *gāma-*, *tāma-* (Sten Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik*, p. 49); and also in Zor. Pahl. *kt'm*, NPers. *kudām* (? Avest. *katāma-*).

In *thara*, *tharā* I propose to see an older form of the Khot. *-haraa-* found in Khot. *tāharaa-* 'of such a kind, proper'. In an older stage the word may have been **taxθra*. Khot. *tāharaa-* translates Bud. Sansk. *tathā* in *tathāgata*, rendered in full Vajr. 6 a 4 *tāharā-tsūka-*, and translates Tibetan *des-par* 'samyak' in Siddhasāra 15 v 2: *tāhivā birāsām* 'we will fully explain'.¹

13a. *nāma* 'name', unchanged from Old Iranian, here acc. of reference.

13b. *hvatā*, also 22, 'called, named', nom. sing. in *-ā* as in 21 *wāsā* = 12 *wāsau* from an *-aka-* stem **hvataka-*. Pres. above 5 *hvān-*, etc. *hvata-*, as Khot. *hvata-*, and Wakhi *šan-*: *šat-* 'say, speak' (with *š* from *hv-*).

¹ This I suspect indicates how the *tathā* of *tathāgata* was originally, that is as a secular word in colloquial use, intended. The Khotanese translation has probably chanced upon the correct meaning. The *tathāgata-* is one whose course and position in life, his *gati*, is proper, right, excellent and hence prosperous. The word was therefore near akin to *sugata* 'he whose *gati* is good', which as a common word applies to any prosperous person, and particularly suits a Cakravartin ruler. From such secular use the word could be easily transferred to religious use, as new sects developed, from the popular language. For such a type of transfer the word *ārya* is an excellent example: from a tribal or national use contrasting with *dāsa* it was adapted in Buddhist texts to the new ethics and came to mean the bhikṣu in whom the faithful (*śrāddha-*) believed. Just so too the ceremonial funeral of a Cakravartin was attached to the Buddha (see J. Przyluski, *Le parinirvāna et les funérailles du Buddha*; and *Le partage des reliques du Buddha*, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 4). Khotanese uses also *rrašta-tsūkā* 'going rightly'.

Later scholastic interpretations of *sugata* are given in the Mppś (I 131), where edification was the main aim. For discussions on *tathāgata*, see E. Lamotte, Mppś I 126 and add A. Coomaraswamy BSOS 9. 331 and Harvard Journ. Asiat. Studies 4 (1939) 139; S. Schayer, Rocznik Orientalistyczny 11 (1935) 211-13.

4 *dharmā*

13c. *śākyaṇā* 'of the Śākya' gen. plur. in *-anā* (see for other forms above, 10a). Here final *-ā* stands for older *-u*. The sage (*ṛṣi*) of the Śākya is in Khot. *śāyā riṣayā* (Ch. c. 001, 1042). Khotanese has *śāyā-* with adj. *śśātīnaa-*. The Dharmaguptaka form is preserved in Chinese transliteration *śākśa-* (the second *ś* for *ṛ* may be purely Chinese), see BSOAS 11. 795, note 2.¹

14a. *ṛṣe* gen. sing. 'of the sage'. The form is somewhat unexpected. Khotanese has E 25. 235 *ṛṣei* nom. sing. as from *ṛṣaya-*, from which comes acc. sing. *ṛṣayu* (E 25. 235), but also nom. sing. E 2. 22 *rāṣayi* (later Khotanese has *riṣaya-* with *ṣ* = *z*, see BSOAS 13. 405–6). From the Indian *ṛṣay-*, probably from the plural *ṛṣayas* rather than the dative sing. *ṛṣaye*, Khotanese has made *rāṣaya-*, as from *paramāṇu-* 'atom' Khotanese has made *paramāṇava-* (with *n*, and *ṇ*). Tumuluk has *ṛṣe* to represent **ṛṣai*, as *-e* stands beside *-ai* in *paṭṭrye*, *paṭṭryai*, and hence corresponds to Khot. *ṛṣei*.

14b. *dātya* loc. sing. to *dāta-* 'law, characteristic, circumstance' (= *dharmā* in its various meanings). The loc. sing. *-ya* occurs in 2c *śaraṇya* above.

14b. *vatsyu* 'I have descended', see on *tsy* 2d *cehami*, and for *-u* on 7 *acchu*. The verb *vatsya-* 'descend' is in Khotanese *vatsua-*: N 50. 30 *ce maṅgere hatcašte nvyē jsa mahāsamudro vatsēiya* 'who would descend (optat. 3rd sing.) to the great sea with an old broken boat'. An Indian parallel to this is *mahā-samudram avatīrṇaḥ* in *Divyāvadāna* 34. 17.

5. *Purity*

There is large reference to purity in the parallel Indian sources. In the fragmentary *karma-vācanā* from Kuci (JRAS 1913, 846) we find *śīla-pāriśuddhīm ārocayāmi* 'I announce (my) purity of morals', and again *antarāyikeṣu dharmeṣu pariśuddham* 'free from hindrances'. A Sogdian text (Paris text

¹ This is the place to correct the interpretation of Ch 1. 0021a, a 12 quoted in BSOAS 10. 888, since *śākya* was wrongly sought in the word *śāhaja*. It has since been noticed that Khot. *śāhauja* means 'umbrella'. The following contexts show this clearly, by hendiadys, although no bilingual has been found.

Jātaka-stava 13 v 4 *śīya viya bāta khu baurīnai garā
drrāma śāhauja cu tvī beda buḍādā*

'like white lotus root, and snowy mountain, as the umbrella they carried over you'.

P 3513, 78 v 1 *daja palai kṣatrrū śāhauja* 'standard, banner, umbrella', that is the Indian *dhvaja*, *patākā* and *chattra* with *śāhauja* in hendiadys to *chattra*.

P 2787, 48 *tyai da-jvanyai śāhauja dīna* 'under this flame-coloured umbrella'.

P 3510, 3, 2 *ysarrnā kṣatrra śāhaujā pale uvāre* 'golden umbrella (*chattra*), umbrella, exalted banners'.

The first syllable *śāha-* will be connected with Old Iran. *śāy-* as in Avestan *a-saya-* 'without shade', Sogd. *sy'kh* (see W. B. Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1942, 50), MidPers. *s'yg*, NPers. *sāyah*, beside Pašto *siyā* (see G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. Voc. Pashto*, p. 72). For Khot. *ś-* from *sy-* (from *say-*), cf. *śāva-* 'copper' from Old Iran. *syāva-* 'dark colour'. The second component of *śāhauja* remains uncertain. With this *śāhauja* 'umbrella' the *śāhaja-* must be connected. Hence one must read *rre śūki-śāhaja* 'monarch having the sole umbrella' with reference to the well-known Indian conception *eka-cchattra-* 'maintaining under one umbrella', that is, 'sole ruler'. Pali has *ekacchatta* and *ekātapa*.

2. 385-6) has, preceding the *śikṣāpada* which forbids killing, *rt̥y śy ZK ṛr'yw̄h sn'tk zp'rt s'št̥ ḍryty ZY ZK zβ'k s'št̥ zp'rt ḍryty* ' he must keep his person washed and pure, he must keep his tongue pure '. Khotanese (E 12. 26) has *ūī vasute dārysde* ' he keeps his mind pure '. Similarly the devotee before the uposatha says : the body pure, the mouth pure and the thoughts pure, I undertake to keep the eightfold moral rules (Chinese translation, Mppś II 827). In the present Tumshuq text 18-9 *vasuta raindu* ' let him remain pure '. In the text from Agni 414 a 2 we read *pārisuddhiṃ cārocayata* ' and she announced her purity '.

15a. *amiyā tsi astyā tsi tsenya paitroda pātoni* ' he should keep his life from impurity (?) '.

The context makes ' impurity ' an almost necessary interpretation. It can be confirmed by referring to a Mid. Ind. (NW Prakrit) **amejja*, **ameja*, Bud. Sansk. *ameddhya-* (Kāśyapa-parivarta 188. 2), *amedhya-* (BSOS 9. 291, verse 8), Pali *amejjha* ' impure, impurity '. The unaspirated *jj*, and *j* represent the NW Prakrit development. Thus Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī has *jāna-* ' concentration of thought ', Bud. Sansk. *dhyāna*, which occurs also in Khot. *jāna-*. This verbal base *jāy-* ' to think ' occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada with both *j-* and *j̄-* (BSOAS 11. 502-3). Note also Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī *ajeṣ-*, *ajiṣ-*, Khot. *ājīṣ-* ' to beg for ' from *adhyeṣ-* (see BSOAS 13. 134). If further we note Khot. *vīja-* ' physician ' from a Prakrit **veja-*, **vejja-* from Bud. Sansk. *vaidya-*, we are confirmed in tracing Tumshuq *amij-* to a Prakrit **ameja-* ' impurity '. A doubt may remain since one would expect rather *-e-* than *-i-*, but this doubt may be unfounded. I propose therefore to take *amiyā tsi* as an ablative of *amija-*.

In *astyā tsi* I see a word with the same meaning as *amija-*, thus forming a hendiadys. These hendiadyses are frequent in languages which have accepted many foreign words, see the cases quoted in BSOAS 10. 899, and note the many cases in Uigur Turkish in *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 3, 4, 5, and 6 passim.

If *asta-* is ' impurity ', I would suggest a development from *a-* ' not ' and *suta-* ' pure ', assuming that the medial syllable had lost the vowel *-u-* (cf. the compounds in Khot. *pamya-*, older *pamāta-* ' wearing clothes ' from **patimukta-*, and *parsta-* ' ordered '). But it is not certain and may prove later to be a different word.

15b. *tsi* ' from ', Khot. *jsa*. Khotanese has *-a*, and only in certain later Khotanese is *jsā* written. It is Old Iran. *hačā*. For the *-i* note also 26 *pamtsi* ' five ', Khot. *pamjsa*, Old Iran. *pañča*.

16a. *tsenya* ' life ', Khot. *jśinā-*, from **jainā-* or **jayanā-*. For the two forms cf. Avestan *daēnā-*, and *šayana-*. The meaning ' life ' is assured by 35 *tsenyā tsi* translating *jīvitād* ' from life ' in the *śikṣāpada* forbidding killing. Here *ts* = Khot. *js*, that is, *dz*. This occurs also in 26 *pamtsi* ' five ', Khot. *pamjsa*, 37 *tsānakai* ' fine, small ', Khot. *jśāna-*, 31 *tsatamāyyā* ' to kill ', Khot. *jsata-* ' struck '.

16b. *paitroda*, see 11 *paitryai*.

16c. *pātoni*, see 11 *pātanāya*.

17a. *drainu* 'three', gen. plur., with the *-nu* of numerals. Khot. *drainu*, later *draina*, *drrena*, *drina*.

17b. *retenanu* 'jewels' gen. plur. in *-anu*, see *-ānu* on 10 *uvāsānu* (*-aka-* stem). Khot. *ratana-*, later *raṃna-*, *rana-* (and *rene*, Jātaka-stava 27 r 3), beside *rahna-* in Khotanese Bud. Sansk. for *ratna* (BSOAS 10. 908).¹ The *-ene-* shows *-e-* as representative of a short Indian *-a-*.

18a. *śaraṇya*, see 2.

18b. *cchatu*, see on 2 *cchami*. For *-tu* 3rd sing. imperat., cf. 19a *raindu*, Maralbashi *chidu*.

18c. *vasuta* 'pure', the third syllable is not quite clear. Khot. *vasuta-* is from **avasuzta-*.

19a. *raindu* 'let him remain', from **ramya-tu*. In Khotanese *ram-* in *tram-* 'enter' and *niram-* 'go out' the *ram-* expresses movement. Khot. *ram-* 'be pleased' with its single *r-* may be borrowed from Indian. Maralbashi *rendu* 3rd sing. and *ramyendu* 3rd plur. correspond in meaning with the Tumšūq text. The Indo-Europ. base *rem-* means 'be still', and in NPers. *ārām* is 'rest'.

19b. *vitana dritana hvānāmai*, see above on 5.

6. Presentation

The ordinand is brought before the Sangha by the *ācārya* (Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188), Pali *ācariya*. The Chinese corresponds in Mppś II 830, 847. This is the *karmācārya*, given in Chinese script (Hobogirin, s.v. *ajari*, p. 17, col. b) with the explanation: it is the teacher who performs the acts (*karma*) at the acceptance of the complete moral code. The *bhikṣuṇī* is introduced by the *ācāryikā* who is requested to become the *upādhyāyikā* (Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā 10 b 3 *ācāryikā me upādhyāyikā bhavatu*). Part of the ceremony, here in question, is given as follows in the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā:—

bhikṣuṇī adhyeṣṭavyā saṃghamādhye ārocayati yādhrīṣṭā bhavati tayāsau bhikṣuṇī praṣṭavyā 'the nun who must be requested announces it before the Sangha; the nun who has been requested must be questioned by her (the *ācāryikā*)' (10 a 3).

The questioning concerns the circumstances which preclude ordination: *prṣṭā te iyam antarāyikān dharmān iti* (Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā 10 a 3). Pali has in the Vinaya *antarāyike dhamme pucchitum* (I 93, 26).

20. *pyephuto* 'having been requested'. In the context this word renders a Bud. Sansk. *adhīṣṭa-* 'requested', that is *adhi* with *iṣ*. The present is *adhyeṣa-* and is common in Buddhist texts, Pali *ajjhesa-*, *ajjhūṭṭha-*. Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā 10 a 3, b 4 has *adhyeṣṭavyā*. In the Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188, l. 9 *utkuṭukena vā sthivā trir evam adhyeṣitavyam* 'kneeling it must be thrice requested' corresponds to the Pali *tikkhattum yācītabbam* 'it must be thrice

¹ I take this chance to correct a reading on this page. Read *Rahnākaita* for *-kautta*, with *-ai-* which the MS. clearly has.

requested' (JPali Text Soc. 1906, 3). H. Lüders discussed *adhyeṣ-* in his *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans* 256–7. For Khotan. *ājīṣ-* see BSOAS 13. 134.

In *pyephuto* we have *pye-* from *pati-*, as also in 34 *pyerdanu* below. The second part *-phuto* may represent an Old Iran. *buxta-* or *baxta-*. In Khotanese occurs *paphūj-*: *paphva-*. No bilingual text has been found, but from the contexts in P 2031. 5 and P 2790. 33 *paphūjīrau* means 'you should join, meet'. The preterite 3rd plur. occurs in Mazar Tagh c. 0019. 5 *paphvādi*. Here too either **pati-buḥ-* or **pati-baḥ-* may be the older form. In Khot. *hamphuta-* an older spelling of *-phva-* (*hamphva-*) is found.

The *-o* in *pyephuto* can be compared with the *-au* of 12 *wāsau*, that is the nom. sing. of an *-aka-* stem. For *-t-* representing an older *-xt-* we can compare 18 *vasuta*.

21a. *wāsā*, see 11.

21b. *mare* 'this', giving a base *mara-*. Also in 33, 45 *mara*, 38, 51 *maru*. It may represent an older **ima-tāra*. Khotanese has *mara* 'here' from **imaθra*. See also the similar *tara-* in 23 *taro*.

21c. *tharā*, see 12 *thara*.

22a. *hvatā*, see 13.

22b. *rasananda*, 25 *rasandā* 'let him be asked'. The sign here transliterated *ra* is employed in Kuchean (see J. Filliozat, *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie*, p. 26), Agnean (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, facsimile 1a, line 1) and in Turkish (see A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, p. 38 and the table of Brāhmī script I). The Indian parallels quoted above from Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 10 a 3: *praṣṭavyā* and *prṣṭā*, assure the meaning. Hence *ras-* (that is, *rās-*) is from **fras-* 'ask', contrasting with Khot. *puls-*: *braṣṭa-*. Sanglēcī *f^orōs-* from **frasa-* has adopted the same form of the present base. See G. Morgenstierne, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, 74. The two Tumshuq forms *rasananda* and *rasandā* are in the same context, so that one may be incorrect; then one *-an-* is probably redundant. The ending *-dā* could be either a 3rd sing. middle *-ta* of Old Iranian, or possibly another spelling of *-tu*, as in 18 *cchatu*.

22c. *diyāndā* 'let him be shown', assuming that it represents the *ārocaya-* 'to make known' of parallel Indian texts. Note the *ārocayāmi* in JRAS 1913, 846 and *ārocayati* in the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 10 a 3. Then *diyān-* may be explained as a causative in *-ān-* to the base *day-* 'see'. It can hardly contain *dā-* 'give', since 'give' is expressed by Tumshuq *ror-*, see below, 42 *arordā*.

23a. *taro* 'then', also 26, Indian parallel *tatas*. The *-o* may be an accusative in adverbial use. Khot. *tāra-* occurs in oblique cases to the nom. *ṣāra-* 'that'. Hence **ta-tāra-*.

23b. *ātā*, or *ā tā*, perhaps meaning 'so', cf. Khot. *tta* and *ttā*.

23c. *aṣāñyā*, instr. sing. 'by the *aṣana-*'. The parallel texts give *ācārya-* (in the Ādikarma-pradīpa also, p. 188, *kalyāṇamitra* and *guru*). It may therefore be 'worthy one' giving *aṣana-* = Khot. *āṣaṇa-*, later *āṣṇa-* 'worthy',

in Kuchean *aṣām* and Agnean *āṣām* (see *Tocharische Gram.* p. 13 and BSOS 8. 914) as already proposed by Sten Konow.

24a. *andastai biṣe dāte* 'all preclusive things'. It corresponds to the *āntarāyikā dharmāḥ* of the Indian texts. A long list is recited to the ordinand to ensure that nothing prevents his entry into the Sangha. In *andastai* 'āntarāyika-' we can see **antar-staka-* or **antara-staka-* 'standing between, forming obstacle'. Khot. *handara-* is 'within'. The *-ai* is acc. plur. to an *-aka-* stem.

24b. *biṣe* 'all' acc. plur. to an *-a-* stem, Khot. *biṣṣa-*, Avestan *vispa-*.

25a. *dāte* acc. plur. 'dharma, qualities, things, circumstances', see above, 3 *dātā*.

25b. *haṅgaṅgu* 'completely' may perhaps be traced to **han-kānaka-* 'putting together', cf. Iran. loan-word in Armenian *hanganak* 'contribution' (E. Benveniste, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 71), that is, *ham* with the base *kan-* 'put, throw', as in Old Pers. *ava-kan-*, NPers. *afgan-*, *āgan-*; Ossetic *nigævun* 'bury' (BSOAS 12. 331). This I prefer, but I had considered also **hangarga-*, Khot. *haṅggarga-* 'gathering' (E passim), corresponding to Bud. Sansk. *sannipāta-* in the Maitreya-vyākaraṇa (ed. Sylvain Lévi, *Mélanges Linossier* II 388, verses 78–80), conjecturing that *-gaṅga-* had replaced *-garga-*. I have also rejected the conjecture that the scribe had miswritten **hamaṅgu*, which occurs in 28 *hamaṅgu*.

25b. *rasandā*, see 22.

26a. *uvāse*, see 10.

6. *śikṣāpada* 'commandment'

The ordinand is then instructed in the commandments. Here the first five are mentioned. Other longer lists are recorded. The acceptance is expressed by Bud. Sansk. *śikṣāpadāni samādāya* 'having undertaken the commandments' (Maitreya-vyākaraṇa verse 74).

26b. *paṃtsi* 'five', Khot. *paṃjsa*, see for *ts* on 15 *tsi*.

27a. *śikṣāvate* acc. plur. 'commandments, śikṣāpada', Khot. *śikṣāvata* with plur. *-a-*, *-ā*. Other forms of the word in Central Asia are quoted in BSOAS 11. 772–3. The five śikṣāpada forbid killing, stealing, unchastity, falsehood and intoxication.

27b. *poyste*. The phrase *śikṣāvate poyste* corresponds to the Indian parallel texts *śikṣāpadāni dātavyāni* (Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā 9 a 3, Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188). The present tense is employed in the formulae of the karma-vācānā, hence probably *poyste* is present tense 3rd sing. The *-st-* will then be either primary contact (that is, a radical present) with Indo-Iranian *-s-* (Iran. *h* between vowels) or with a dental before *-t-*; or secondary contact. If it is secondary contact verbal bases in *-d-*, *-t-*, *-θ-* would be excluded, judging by the Khotanese which has *-tt-* from secondary contact of dental and dental. Hence the bases *baud-*, *vaid-*, *vait-*, *band-* seem to be excluded. A base in Indo-Iranian

-s would be possible in primary contact only after -a-, since -i-š, -uš- arise after *i* and *u*. In Khotanese in secondary contact -st- represents older -čāt- or -sat-, as in *pasūste* 3rd sing. beside 3rd plur. *pasūjsāre*; and in *hīsta* 'come' 2nd plur. to the base *hīs-*. In the active -čati and -sati yield Khot. -štā.

The -o- of *poyste* may indicate the presence of a labial *v*, *b*, *p*, in the verbal base, or *poy-* may be a variant of *pai-* and *pye-* from *pati-*.

Having in mind these possibilities *poyste* may be traced back to **pati-vastai* 'wears as clothing', if by a metaphor the acceptance is expressed; or to **pati-vačatai*, **pati-vaīsatai*, or **pati-aučatai*. The context seems rather to require a meaning 'he instructs, he teaches'. With *pati* the base *vak-* gives the Avestan *paiti.vača* 'by this formula', although elsewhere in the Avesta and later it means 'answer'. For the present therefore I accept the interpretation from the word *pati-vač-*.

27c. *kvā* 'where, in which, so that'. Khot. *ku vā* occurs in E 1. 38 (see the Glossar, p. 498 ad calcem).

28a. *wāse*, see 10.

28b. *au-tsenya* 'throughout life', for *tsenya* 'jivita-' see above, 16. The parallel texts here have Bud. Sansk. *yāvajjivam*, Pali *yāvajjivam*. Hence *au* corresponds to Bud. Sansk. *yāvat*. Khotanese uses *yāva*, which with its *y-* instead of *j-* may indicate an Indian loan-word from *yāvat*. But if an Iranian pronoun could keep *y-*, then Khot. *yāva* could represent an older **yāvā*. The Tumshuq may equally be a loanword from Indian *yāvat* with further loss of *y-*. But perhaps more likely *au* may correspond to Khot. *audi*, *odi* 'until'. In Khotanese we find Kha 1. 221, 38 *yāvi aūdi* . . . *būre* 'as far as . . .', and in E 12. 53 *yāva odi*. I prefer the derivation from *audi*.

28c. *hāmaṅgu* 'completely'. Khot. *hamaṅga-* 'same, complete' translates Bud. Sansk. *sama*, *samanta*.

29. *vātānyyā tsi* 'from holding', abl. infinitive, see above on 11 *pātanāya*. Here *vāta-* corresponds to Khot. *vāj-*: *vāta-* 'hold' (four times in E).

30a. *sāmupātvañya* 'starting from, concerning (?)'. This seems to be the equivalent of an Indian *upādāya*: Bud. Sansk. *imāṃ velām upādāya* 'from this time' (Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188). Pali *upādāya* is 'referring to'. Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī has *uvadayi*, *uvada'e*, *uvada'e*, *uvutaya*. If this is the source, *sam-upādāya-* (with the added *sam*) has given *sāmupāt-*, to which an Iranian ending has been added. Was there in the Tumshuq dialect a denominative suffix -va- and an absolutive in -ñya? If this *sāmupāt-* is from Bud. Sanskrit the *p* preserved and the *t* for *d* would make no difficulty. I adopt this view. If the word came from Prakrit it would suit better *samutpāda-* 'produce', with -p- from -pp- from -tp-. Cf. for example Jātaka-stava 39 r 4 *upatta* from *utpatti*.

30b. *pare* 'he commands, condescends to say', comparing Khot. *parītā*, later *parī* 'he orders', ptc. *parsta-*, from *pati-rud-*. Then *pa-* from *pati-* before *r-* differs from *pai-* and *pye-*.

30c. *si* introducing oratio recta, below 41, 62 *sa*, Khot. *se*, *si*, *sa*.

7. *śikṣāpada* no. 1

The first *śikṣāpada* is in Bud. Sansk. *prāṇātipāta-viratiḥ* 'abstention from killing' (Mahāvvyutpatti 8693). The Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā (9 b 2) has *prāṇātipāta-prativirata-* 'abstaining from killing' and (25 a 5) *prāṇātipātād viratiḥ*. The verbal form for abstention is 9 b 3 *prativiramāmi*. The Pali kammavācā has *pāṇātipātā veramaṇī* (JRAS 1875, 8). This nominal form is known in Bud. Sansk. *vairamaṇī* (Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 24 b 5).

This *śikṣāpada* is followed by an explanation in the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 25 b 4: *adyāgreṇa te evannāmiḥ saṃcintyāntataḥ kuntapipīliko 'pi prāṇī jīvītān na vyaparop<ay>itavyaḥ* 'from to-day you, O so-and-so, must not deliberately deprive a living being of life, even a *kunta* (and ?) an ant'. Similarly the Pali Kammavācā has (JRAS 1875, 6): *upasampannena bhikkhunā sancicca paṇo jīvītā na voropetabbo antamaso kuntha-kīpillakam upādāya*. To this formula the Tumšūq text closely corresponds.

31a. *usānavara*, 34 *usanāvari* 'breathing thing, living being' renders Bud. Sansk. *prāṇin-* 'breathing thing', from *uz-ana-bara-* 'bearing breath'. Khotanese has *uysnaura-* and Maralbashi *uzanvara-*. Khot. *uysana*, later *uysna* is 'breath'.

31b. *tsatānayyā tsi* abl. inf. 'from killing', rendering *prāṇātipāta-*, see above on 11 *pātanāya*. Khot. *jsata-* 'struck, killed', etc. to *jsan-*, Old Pers. *jan-*: *jata-* correspond. For *ts = dz*, see above on 16 *tsenya*.

32. *biramitāna*, 44, 55 *biramitānā* in adjectival form 'abstentional' translates Bud. Sansk. *virati*, *prativirati*, Pali *veramaṇī* (Bud. Sansk. *vairamaṇī*). The suffix *-ānaa-* can be compared with the Khot. suffix *-āna*, *-ānaa*, see in E *kāścāna(a)-* 'sorrowful' and *kāhyānaa-* 'made of brass'. The form *biramitāna* can be explained as a verbal noun (neut.) in *-ita* beside the (fem.) *-ti* of *virati-*, and the (fem.) *-aṇī* of *veramaṇī*. For such parallel forms note Kucheian *pravariṣe* (JRAS 1913, 846) with *-ita* beside the usual *pravāraṇā* in *pravariṣe cchando parna veṣṭe* 'the formula concerning pravāraṇa is to be pronounced'. Similarly the two forms *vyākaraṇa* and *vyākṛta* 'prophecy' are attested by Uigur Turkish *viakarn* ($v = \beta$) in F. W. K. Müller and E. Sieg, *Maitrisimit*, SBAW 1916, colophon no. 53. But in F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II 39, 100 and 46, 66 occurs *viyakrit*, which is found also in the square Mongol *vi-ya-gi-rid* (M. Lewicki, *Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée*, 1937, 65). The later literary Mongol has *viyakarid*, *vivanggirid*, *bivanggirid* (see L. Ligeti, T'oung Pao 27, 162 and Osip Kovalevskij, Mongol Dictionary).¹

33. *mara tivya*, and in 45, corresponds to Bud. Sansk. *adyāgreṇa* 'from to-day'. It is not without surprise that one recognizes here a connexion of *div-* for 'day'. The word for day varies greatly in Iranian dialects: Khot. *hadai*, Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī *sasta-*, Maralbashi *azan-* (as in Khot. *vaysña* 'now'), Sogd. *mēθ*, Wakhī *rēwār*, Ossetic *bon*. The form in *-ya* may be an

¹ This word is not to be traced to Sogd. *βywn*, as is proposed in E. Benveniste, *Vessantara-Jātaka*, note on line 820, where the Mongol form is inexact.

instr. imitating the Indian *adyāgreṇa*. Other parallel Indian phrases are Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 9 b 2-3 *imam divasaṃ upādāya*; Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 188 *imāṃ velāṃ upādāya*. Elsewhere Pali *ajjatage*, Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī *aju uvada'e*. For *mara*, see above, 21.

34a. *au-tsenya*, see above, 28.

34b. *pyerdanu* 'deliberately', translating Bud. Sansk. *samcintya*, Pali *samcicca*. Hence *pyer-* can be traced to **pati-kar-* 'to think', Avestan *kar-*, ZorPahl. *uskārtan* 'to think out', NPers. *sigāl*, see *Zoroastrian Problems* 82, 83, 99. For the form of *pyer-* compare Khot. *pīr-* 'to paint, write' from *pati-kar-* (*kar-* 'make'), Old Pers. *patikara-* 'imitation, image, picture', Mid. Pers. *patkar*, NPers. *paikar*. Possibly *pīr-* had an older form *pyer-*.

The suffix *-danu* rendering an Indian absolutive, acc. sing. of *-tana-*, see above on 11 *pātanāya*, is known also in one Khotanese word *twāmdanu* 'worshipping' (E 12. 38; 23. 296; Vajr.; Sanghāta-sūtra), see Sten Konow, *Norsk Tids. Sprog.* 13, 1942, 207 f.; E. Sieg, *Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen* 1944, p. 28, note 10 on *twantam*. Later Khotanese has *tvada*.

35a. *tsenyā tsi* translates *jīvitād* 'from life', see above, 16.

35b. *hwāte ne tsāri* = *na vyaparopayitavyaḥ* 'is not to be deprived of, or separated from'. Hence *hwāte* 'separated'. In Iranian 'separate' can be expressed by *vaik-* (Avestan *vaēk-*, ZorPahl. *vēk-*, NPers. *bixtan*, as in Sansk. *vek-*). Tumšūq *-ātaa-* might replace an older *-ixta-ka-*. One conjecture would be to assume *hwāte* from **θravixtaka-* as a substitute for **fravixtaka-*, a word with *f . . . v . . .*¹ That would precede the change of *fra-* to Tumšūq *ra-* (see on 42 *arordā-*). This is uncertain. Possibly it would be better to trace *hwāte* to **hu-vixtaka-* 'fully separated'. It must also be recognized that *-ā-* may have replaced older *-a-*, and then a base with *-ak* or *-ag* would equally be possible, as *vag-* 'pull out', in Old Pers. *vaḡa-* and Balochi *gwaḡag*, ptc. *gwaṭka* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, 10, 351). Waṇētsī *wā*, plur. *wī* 'washed' represents *uixtaka-* (*Norsk Tids. Sprog.* 4. 160).

36a. 61 *ne* 'not', Khot. *ne, nā, ni, na*, Avestan *nōit*, ZorPahl. *nē*, NPers. *na-, niy-*.

36b. *tsāri* nom. sing. masc. 'to be made' from **čārya-*, Khot. *tcera-* with *y* umlaut. For the *č* compare Old Pers. inf. *čartanaiv* (which contrasts with the ptc. *krta-*). Below 48 *bārya* 'to be taken' is nom. sing. fem. from **bāryā*.

36c. *ustamato*, 49, 58 *ustamatau*, translating Bud. Sansk. *antatas*, Pali *antamaso* 'to the end, even'. Khotanese has in Vajr. 31 a 1 *śau śalo ustamāta* 'even one verse', where *ustamāta* renders Bud. Sansk. *antaśas*. Similarly *ustamāta ṣṣai herra* 'even once' occurs in the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñā-pāramitā (= L 93²). I see a similar *-āta* in *hāta vāta tsūmate jsa* 'with moving to and fro' (N 120. 12, if the *t* is correctly read: in early transliterations *t* and *n* were at times confused). The *paḍāta* of Siddhasāra 3 r 4 is an adjective and

¹ Sogd. *θβr-* 'give', Yaghnābi *tifar-*, might similarly have replaced **fra-bar-* by **fa-βar-* and thence **θa-βar-*. See I. Gershevitch, *JRAS* 1946, 181, note 3.

the scribe may have put *t* in place of *n*. Besides *antatas* and *antaśas*, Bud. Sansk. used also *antimaśas* 'even' (E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa*, p. 19). From *antimaśas* comes Khot. *aṃdumaśu* translating *antaśas* in the Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra (Or 9609, 5 v 7 = Khotanese Texts I, p. 234). Here Tumšūq *-ato*, *-atau* corresponds to Khot. *-āta*.

36d. *barña tsānakai moṣjāki*. The Indian parallels are: Bud. Sansk. *kunta-pipūlika* 'pi, Pali *kuntha-kipillakaṃ upādāya*. F. J. Dickson (JRAS 1875, 15) gave the explanation, presumably supplied by his friends, 'large black ant and smallest kind of ant'. The Pali Text Society's Dictionary gave 'a sort of ant'. Helmer Smith has kindly informed me that he has no Pali explanation of *kuntha*. Late Singhalese commentaries give for it *kuḍā-sinnō* 'small ants'. For Central Asia the Tibetan and Chinese interpretations would be of greater value. Tibetan for *kunta-* gives *srin-bu phrehu* 'thin insect' and for *pipūlikā* gives *gro-mo* 'ant' (Mahāvvyutpatti 4851, 4852; Lexicon Bacot 187 a 1 *kuntaḥ* = *srin-bu khrehu*). The Chinese translation in the Mahāvvyutpatti has 'insect in the heart of a blossom' for *kunta-*, perhaps indicating a particular insect.

36e. *barña* = Bud. Sansk. *kunta-*, hence probably an insect name. E. Benveniste suggested that possibly Avestan *varəna-* might provide a connexion. In any case I take it as in asyndeton with the next two words. A case of asyndeton occurred in *vitana dritana* above 5, 19. I had considered comparing Khot. *barna* in Jātakastava 13 r 3 *makalīñā barna* 'in monkey shape', instr. to *bara-*.

37a. *tsānakai* can be compared with Khot. *jseina-*, *jsāna-*, later *jsimna-*, *jsaina-*, *jseṇa-*, *jsina-* 'thin, fine, light, quick'. For *ts* = Khot. *js* see above, 15 *tsi*.

37b. *moṣjāki* 'ant' nom. sing. in *-i*, as in 1 *dharmadāsi*. It translates Bud. Sansk. *pipūlika* 'ant'. The basis of the word for 'ant' in Iranian is **marvi-*: Avestan *maoiri-*, NPers. *mōr*. Pašto has *mēžai* (*mēžai*), Waṇētsī Pašto *mēžā* (from **marvičaka-*?, see G. Morgenstierne, Norsk Tids. Sprog. 4, 1930, 161); Yidgha *murγo* and Sanglēcī *mārcik* (G. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 228). Khot. *munjakā*, *māmjā*, gen. plur. *māmjāna* (BSOAS 10. 589) may have lost an *-r-* before *-j-* (see Asia Major, new series I 38). Tumšūq *moṣjāki* seems to have come from **marvi-* with a double suffix. Probably *-sj-* indicates *-žj-*. In *-āki* occurs *-ā-*, contrasting with Khot. *-aka-*.

38a. *kā vā* 'if'. Cf. Khot. *ka va* 'if' (E 2. 105 and elsewhere). Similarly Maralbashi (4. 8 and elsewhere) *ka wa*. The value of *ā* is as before uncertain. For this phrase of the ceremony no parallel has yet been found. Its interpretation is therefore below the level of the other phrases.

38b. *ju* particle, Khot. *gyu*, *ju* (E passim). Maralbashi *g'u*. Cf. Khot. *kye va ju*, *ka ju*, *tta ju*.

38c. *to* 'so (?)'. Cf. perhaps Khot. *tta* or *ttā* 'so'. See above, 23 *ātā*.

38d. *maru* 'here' or 'so'?, see 21 *mare*.

38e. *taro* 'then', see 23 above.

38f. *patesya kārīne* 'from evil (?) work'. The context requires that *patesya* should mean 'to be avoided, bad, evil'. It might be compared to Khot. *pathīs-* 'abstain'. Thus we find P 2787. 12 *dasām maiṣṭā baśḍām jsa pathīsām* 'we abstain from the ten great sins'; E 14. 129 *prāṇāvātāna . . . pathīya* 'abstaining from killing'. This *pathīs-* is from **pati-θanʃ-*. Hence *patesya* could be ptc. 'to be abstained from', with *-ya* as in 48 *bārya*. Or some derivative of **pati-dais-* might be sought.¹

39a. *kārīne*, 52 *karīne* abl. sing. 'from work', with *kāri-*, *kari-* from **kārya-* as Khot. *kīra-* 'work'. Both show **kārya-* with short *-a-*. Contrast 48 *bārya-* from **bārya-* with long *-ā-*. The *-ne* seems certainly to be abl., perhaps a bye-form of *-na*.

39b. *palisanā*, 52 *palisānā* 'abstaining (?)'. The phrase of the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 9 b 2 *prativirata-* 'abstaining' may correspond. For *palis-* only conjectures are possible. Could Mid. Pers. *pahrēxtan* 'to abstain' be compared (see most recently W. B. Henning, BSOAS 11. 62)? Or could **pari-dais-* give *palis-* with *-l-* from secondary contact of *r-d*?

40a. *vai* probably a form of **bav-* 'be', perhaps 3rd sing. conjunctive, that is from **bavāti*. Khot. *ka va* is followed by the conjunctive in E 2. 105 *ka va . . . bvāru* 'if they know'.

40b. *ka* 'if, when', Khot. *ka* from **kadā*, cf. 38 *kā*.

40c. *paitrye* 'agrees', see above, 11.

40d. *hvaña* from *hvan-* 'say'. The form is ambiguous: either ptc. 'to be said', as Khot. *hvaña-*, or an infinitive depending on *paitrye*, as do 16 *pātōni* and 11 *pātānyā*. An inf. in *-ya* could be compared to the Khot. inf. in *-i* and *-ā* as *jsani* 'to strike' and *bremā* 'to weep', *yanā*, later *yam*, *ya* 'to make', see Sten Konow, *Khotansak. Gram.* 62. A Sogd. inf. in *-yy* occurs in W. B. Henning, *Manich. Bet- u. Beichtbuch*, p. 54.

41a. *sa*, above 30 *si*, introducing oratio recta.

41b. *paitryami* 'I agree', see 11. A parallel text is Ādikarma-pradīpa, p. 189 *vaktavyam aupayikam iti* 'he must say, Approved'.

8. *śikṣāpada* no. 2

The parallel texts give: Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 25 a 1 *adattādāna-viratiḥ* 'abstention from taking what is not given', Pali *adinnādānā veramaṇī*. The explanation occurs in Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 25 a 1 *adyāgreṇa te evannāmiḥ steya-cittayā<ntataḥ pa>la-tuṣam api parakīyam nādātavyam*. The Chinese Bhikṣuṇī-karma (Taishō Issaikyō, vol. 40, no. 1810) gives 不得偷盜乃至草葉 'not to steal even a blade of grass'. The Bud. Sansk. passage in the

¹ In this connexion I must correct the explanation of Ossetic *fædes* given BSOS 8. 935. As wider reading has shown, this is made from *fæd* 'footstep' and *es-*, *jes-* 'take', and refers to pursuit of a malefactor.

Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācānā is unfortunately broken, and the editors proposed <pha>la. But *phala* 'fruit' is not suitable, and I would prefer *pala*- 'straw'. The Pali has (JRAS 1875, 6) *upasampannena bhikkhunā adinnaṃ theyya-sankhātāṃ na ādāttabbaṃ antamaso tiṇa-salākaṃ upādāya*. The Chinese *ts'au-ie* 'blade of grass, leaf of herb' corresponds to the Pali *tiṇa-salāka*- with the same meaning. The Bud. Sansk. <pa>la-tuṣa- may also mean grass or herb, but dried.

41b. *handarā* 'other's', gen. sing., Khot. *handara*- 'other'. For -ā gen. sing., see above on 2 *bārsā*.

42a. *hāvvyā*, 46 *havya* 'own', adj., pleonastic addition to the gen., as in Khotanese frequently (see above, 2a) with *hāvī*, *hīvī* (masc.), *hīvyā*- (fem.). Together *handarā hāvvyā* renders Bud. Sansk. *parakīya*-. In 42 *hāvvyā* is acc. sing. or gen. sing., but in 46 *havya* is nom. sing. The difference of vowel may be due to the case endings: nom. -yā and gen. -yās/-yāh, Khot. -ya and -ye.

42b. *arordā*, 47 *arorda* 'not given', rendering *adatta*-, Pali *adinna*-. Hence *rorda*- from *frābrta*- 'offered', as Maralbashi *rorda*- 'given'. The *fra*- has become *ra*-, contrasting with Khot. *hauda*- 'given' where *ha*- has replaced *fra*-. *Wakhī* also has *ra*- (G. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 467; for other dialects see BSOAS 13. 124). Note too that in *rorda*- the Old Iran. *rt* has survived as *rd*, but in Khotanese the result has been *ḍ* (of uncertain phonetic value).

42c. *tsāti*, 47 *tsāti* 'property'. The corresponding word in Khotanese is an adj. *tsāta*- 'rich', as in Sogd. *š't*. NPers. differs with the meaning *šād* 'glad'; on Krorayina *šada*- 'pleased', see provisionally T. Burrow, BSOS 7. 554.

43. *nātanāyyā tsi* 'from taking', abl. inf. translating Indian *ādāna*- 'taking'. The *nāta*- corresponds to Khot. *nāta*- 'taken' and inf. *nete* 'to take' (Suvarṇabhāsa 35 a 7, overlooked in BSOAS 11. 3). The *n̄*- is unexpected in view of Khot. *n*-. The Khot. *ne*- with *e* is due to *y* umlaut of the inf. *-*tayai*.

44. *biramītānā*, see above, 32.

47a. *gauna nauuna u štenāna* 'by stealing', translating Bud. Sansk. *steya*-, Pali *theyya*-.

Of *gauna* the first letter is broken; possibly it should be read *dhauna*. But one hesitates to assume that an Iranian word was written with *dh*- (although in Agni and Kuci *dha* was used for *tā*). If the word is *gauna*, Avest. *γada*- 'robber', Sogd. *γδ*- 'thief', *γδ'wny* 'theft' (SCE 312, 331) and Pašto *γal* (that is, *γəl*) 'thief' can be compared. If one adopted *dhauna* the base *dab*- as in Ossetic *davun* 'to steal' could be connected.

The three words *gauna nauuna u štenāna* all end in *-na*. In *štenāna* this *-na* is the instr. ending. In *gauna* and *nauuna* it could be the same instr. ending which would then be used three times. But possibly group inflexion occurs here so that *-na* is added only at the end. Similar, but without the intervening 'and', is found in Khot. *Jātaka-stava* 34 r 3 *kṣu ttarna*, P 3513, 71 v 2 *kṣyṇa ttarrna* 'by hunger and thirst'. The Ossetic usage with *æma* 'and' is, however,

closer : *Qaradengiz æma Aqdengizi æstavu* ' between Black Sea and White Sea ' (Pamjatniki 2. 25 ; see R. von Stackelberg, *Syntax*, p. 68), where the genitive ending occurs only with the second noun. I assume this second syntax, and trace in *gauna* and *nauna* a suffix *-una*, to be compared with the Khot. *-ūna* and Sogd. *-wuy*, see Trans. Phil. Soc. 1945, *Asica*, p. 29.

47b. *nauna* ' taking ', if it is a derivative from *nās-* : *nāta-* ' take '. For *-una*, see *gauna*. A labial final *-f*, *-β* has been proposed for Waṇētsī Pašto *wu-na* ' he took ' (Norsk Tids. Sprog. 4, 1930, 167) and Ormuṛī *nōk* ' to take ' from **nafta-*.

47c. *u* ' and ', Khot. *u*, Mid.Pers. ' *wd* = **uδ* from older *uta*. I have preferred to separate the *u*, rather than take it as a prefix to the next word.

48. *štenāna* ' by theft '. The *št-* may represent a palatalization of *st-* before *e*, as we have *nāta-*, see on 43. Cf. also Khot. *styerrījai* ' starry ' in *Jātaka-stava* 7 r 1. If this is so, *štena-* is similar to Sansk. *stena-* ' thief '. The base without *s-* occurs in Sansk., Avestan *tāyu-* ' thief ', see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* II 610. Khot. *tāṣe* plur. ' thieves ' occurs in *Suvarṇa-bhāsa-sūtra* 24 r 1 ; and see also E. The *-na* is instr. sing.

48b. *bārya* ' to be taken ', nom. sing. fem., see 36 *tsāri*.

49. *rahāstata*. The *-sta-* is uncertain, but J. Filliozat has kindly re-examined the MS. for me and confirmed *sta* as far as the sign can be seen. The meaning remains uncertain, since its Indian equivalent is not clear. Perhaps ' dried '.

50. *gesā*, with broken *g*, but *gesa-* ' grass, herb ' can be compared with Khot. *gīsaa-* ' grass, herb ', and Yaghnābi *γēsa*, *γīsa* ' juniper ', see G. Morgenstierne, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1948, 71. Hence *gesa-* would well suit the Pali *tiṇa-* and the Chinese *ts'au* = *trṇa-*. The *<pa>la-tuṣa-* would mean rather ' straw '.

9. *śikṣāpada* no. 3

The parallel texts give : Mahāvvyutpatti 8695 *abrahmacaryā-virati-* ' abstention from unchastity ', Pali *abrahmacariyā veramaṇī*. The fuller explanation is given in the Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā 24 b 1 in the condemnation if any bhikṣuṇī should practise such conduct : *yā . . . abrahmacaryaṃ maithunaṃ dharmaṃ pratiseveta, antataṣ tiryagyoni-gatenāpi sārđham*. Similarly in Pali (JRAS 1875, 5) *upasampannena bhikkhunā methuno dhammo antamaso tiracchāna-gatāya pi*. The Ādikarma-pradīpa gives, p. 189, *kāmamāthyācāra*.

54. The Tumshuq text is not in good condition. The first word . . . *yya tsi* is not clear on the facsimile. The reading adopted by Sten Konow *tānā* cannot be read on the photograph, and may have been influenced by the *-tana-* of the infinitives. If one could read *bāmāyya tsi* to render *abrahmacaryā*, it would correspond with the *bimāyyā* in 58. The repetition would then be similar to that for the second śikṣāpada. After 58 *bimāyyā* it would seem that *tsi* and a word meaning ' abstention ' should be read.

58. *bimāyyā <tsi>* ' from unchastity ', perhaps from a **vi-māy-* with the

pejorative sense of *vi-* 'badly' (but Mid. Parth. *wm'dn* is explained as 'experience, suffer' by A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 87). Avestan *mayah-* may be compared.

59a. (*āsarīṣvāña aśoña* corresponds to *tiryag-yoni-gata-* 'animal' by a literal translation of each Indian word. The first word is broken at the beginning. On the facsimile the *-ā-* does not stand over the *s*, hence some letter is lost. Instead of *-ā-* with the first lost letter it would be possible to assume a broken *-o-*. The high sign for *-ā* is used with few letters, but I have not found a word to fit. The *-ṣva-* might correspond to the *-žvank-* of Avestan *vīžvank-* 'in all directions'. The whole word translates Indian *tiryak* 'crosswise, slanting' which is regularly used of animals.

59b. *aśoña* instr. sing. seems to render the second Indian word *yoni* 'womb, origin'. If that is so, an interpretation can be offered. In Agnean *āco* translates Indian *garbha* and *yoni*. The *garbha* of the Garbhāvakraṅti-sūtra (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 75) is *āco*. In 218 b 1 *lwāśśi okāk ācośy okāk* is rendered by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in the *Festschrift Winternitz*, p. 172: 'bis zu den Tieren, bis zu den Ungeborenen'. The Agnean translator has misunderstood the *tiryagyoni* from which he extracted two words: *tiryak* 'animal', rendered *lu* 'animal', and *yoni* rendered *āco* 'embryo'. The Kuchean word corresponding to Agnean *āco* is not known to me. But the Tumšuq *aśo* 'yoni' is sufficiently similar to permit the conjecture that the word is connected with the Agnean.

IV.

TRANSLATION

Subject to the uncertainties discussed in the preceding lexical notes, the translation which can be offered reads as follows:—

I, Dharmadāsa, go into the refuge of the Buddha, I go into the refuge of the Law, I go into the refuge of the Community. Twice and thrice I say it. I, Dharmadāsa, have gone into the refuge of the Buddha, . . . of the Law, . . . of the Community. He agrees to keep the restrictions of the laymen. A layman called by the name so-and-so, I have entered into the Law of the sage of the Śākyas. He should agree to keep his life from impurity and uncleanness. Let him go into the refuge of the three jewels. Let him remain pure. Twice and thrice I say it. The layman, having been requested, called by the name so-and-so, is to be questioned, is to be shown. Then so by the teacher he is to be questioned about all preclusive things. Then he states the five commandments of the layman, wherein starting from the layman holding them completely throughout life he explains as follows. The layman's commandment to abstain from killing a breathing thing. From to-day throughout life a breathing thing must not be deprived of life deliberately, even the insect *barña* and the smallest ant. If so here he should henceforth be abstinent from the evil act, if he agrees (he is) to say "I agree". The layman's commandment to abstain from taking property of another which has not been given. From to-day throughout life

property of another which has not been given is not to be carried off, by robbery, by taking and by stealing, even a dried (?) blade of grass. If so here he should henceforth be abstinent from the evil act, if he agree (he is) to say "I agree". The layman's commandment to abstain from unchastity. From to-day throughout life unchastity, even with a being from the slanting womb. . . . If . . . he be abstinent, if he agree (he is) to say "I agree". . . .

- acchu* I have come 7, 8, 9
andastai preclusive 24
amiṅyā tsi from impurity 15
arordā not given 42, *arorda* 47
aśoṅa yoni, womb 59
aṣaṅyā worthy = teacher 23
asu I 1, 6
astyā tsi from uncleanness 15
ātā so (?) 23
u and 48
uvāsā layman 21
uvāsānu 10
uvāse 26, 28, 32, 44, 56
uvāsau 10
usanāvāri breathing thing 34
usānavara 31
ustamato even 36
ustamatau 49, 58
ṛṣe sage 14
au-tsenya throughout life 28, 34, 45, 57
ka if, when 40, 53, 61
karīne from action 52
kā if 38, 49, 50
kārīne from action 39
kvā where 27
gesā grass 50
gauna robbery 47
cchatu let him go 18
cchami I go 2, 3, 4
-cchu, *acchu* I have come 7, 8, 9
ju indeed 38, 50
ñātanāyyā tsi from taking 43
taro then 23, 26, 38, 51
tivya day 33, 45
tomvo that 12
tsatānāyyā tsi from killing 31
tsātā property 47
tsāti id. 42
tsāri to be done 36
tsāṅakai fine 37
tsi from 15, 16, 31, 35, 43, 55
tsenya life 16, 28, 34, 46
tsenyā tsi from life 35
-tsyū, *vatsyū* I have descended 14
thara kind 12
tharā kind 21
dātā law 3, 8
dāte laws 25
dātya into the law 14
-dāsi, *dharmadāsi* 1
diyāndā let him be shown 22
dritana twice 5, 19
drainu two 17
dharmadāsi nom. prop. 1, 6
nāma name 13, 21
ne not 36, 48
nauna taking 47
patesya to be avoided (?) 38, 51
paṁtsi five 26
pare he says 30
palisanā, abstinent (?) 39
palisānā 52
<pa>lisanā 60
pātanāya to keep 11
pātoni to keep 16
pāitryami I agree 41
pāitryai he agrees 11
pāitrye he agrees 40, 53
pai<tr>yai 62
pāitr<ye> 61
pāitroda let him keep 16

- poyste* he explains 27
pyephuto requested 20
pyerdanu deliberately 34
barña an insect 36
bārya to be taken 48
bārsā Buddha 2, 7
bimāyyā unchastity 58
<bāmā ?>yya tsi 54
bīramitāna concerned with absten-
tion 32, *bīramitānā* 43, 55
bīse all 24
mara this 33, 45
maru 38, 51
mare this 21
moṣjāki ant 37
rasananda let him be asked 22
rasandā 25
rahāstata 49
retenanu jewels 17
raīndu let him remain 19
-rordā, arordā not given 42
-rorda, arorda 47
vatsyu I have descended 14
vasuta pure 18
vātānāyyā tsi from holding 29
vā particle 38, 50
vitana twice 5, 19
vai be 40, 53, 61
śākyanā of the Śākya 13
śaraṇya refuge 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 18
śikṣāvati commandment 33, 44, 56
śikṣāvate 27
ṣṭenāna stealing 48
sa particle 41, 62
saṃvaru restriction 10
saṅgā community 4, 9
sāmuṣpātvaṇya starting from 30
si particle 30
haṅgaṅgu completely (?) 25
handarā other's 41, 46
havya own 46
hāmaṅgu completely 28
hāvvyā own 42
hvaña to say 40, 53
<hva>ña 62
hvānāmai I say 5, 20
hvāte separated 35
()āsariṣvāña 59