

FOUR KHOTANESE WORDS

by R. E. EMMERICK

1. *nūha-* "top"

Khotanese *nūha-* has recently been discussed by H. W. Bailey in *KT* 6.142-3. He shows that the meaning is "tip, top", as is clear from its use in such an expression as *samu kho pruha ggisai nūhya* "as dew on the tip of a blade of grass" (*Z* 23.172). *nūha-*, Late Khotanese *nauha-*, renders Sanskrit *agra-* "tip, top". Bailey etymologized *nūha-* as from **nabaxa-* connected with New Iranian words for "beak" such as Yidgha *nəvγo* "beak".

But Khotanese *nūha-* never means "beak". Elsewhere "beak" is expressed in Khotanese by *pneha*¹ < **pa-nāha-*. Moreover, Old Iranian **-aba-* is elsewhere represented in Old Khotanese by *-au-*, *-o-*, not by *-ū-*. One has only to recall the usual examples: *haur-*, *hor-* "to give" < **fra-bara-*, cf. Avestan *frabara-*; *uysnaura-*, *uysnora-* "being" < **uzana-bara-*. Note also *ggoštā* "hand" < **gabasti-*, cf. Old Indian *gabhasti-*, Waxī *gawust*.² The spelling *nauha-* is found only in Late Khotanese and cannot therefore support the derivation from **nabaxa-*. Old Khotanese has only *nūha-*.

Iranian had a word **naxya-* (possibly earlier **nahya-*) "top", and it is from this that Khotanese *nūha-* must be derived. I know of no other example of the treatment of OIr. intervocalic **-xy-* or **-hy-* in Khotanese, but it is likely that the result would have been *-h-* with **-y-* lost after labializing the preceding **-a-*. For **-x->-h-* we have *bihan-* "to smile" < **vi-xand-*³ beside *khan-* "to laugh". **-xy-* may have had the same result just as **-θ-* and **-θy-* both result in *-h-*: *ggāha-* "verse", cf. Avestan *gāθā-*, and *tcahora*, *tcohora* "four", cf. Avestan *čathwārō*. Khotanese *paha-* "cooked; refined" is from **paxθa-* rather than **paxya-* (opposite *SGS* i.63). From **paxya-* the result would have been **pūha-*, whereas the labialization due to the initial, as in Avestan **puxda-* "cooked", Buddhist Sogdian *pwyt-*, may not necessarily⁴ have induced **puha-* < *paha-*.

Labialization of **a* is, of course, rare, but examples are gradually

¹ *JŚ* 24v1 (106).

² H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiii.4, 1951, 931; xxix.3, 1966, 523.

³ See *SGS* i.99.

⁴ Note *paṃṣa* "five" but with a following labial *pusparebāstā* "25". *pūha-* "fifth" may already have been **puxθa-* (cf. Avestan *puxda-*) at the Old Iranian stage. O. Szemerényi's remarks on Khotanese *pūha-* in *Studies in the Indo-European system of numerals*, Heidelberg 1960, 76 n. 42, should be disregarded. On this more detail will be given elsewhere.

coming to light. Note *pūrna-* "arrow" < **paruna-*⁵ and *ttūrra-* "tender" < **taruna-*, cf. Avestan *tauruna-*,⁶ *tcūra-*⁷ "four" < **čathru-*, cf. Avestan *čathru-*, Latin *quadru-*, Gaulish *petru-*.

Just as derivatives of Indo-Iranian **agra-* "top; beginning" have the meaning "first, foremost", as Avestan *ayrya-*, OInd. *agrīma-*, so derivatives of OIr. **naxya-* have the meaning "first": Manichean Middle Persian⁷ *nxwst(y)n*, *nxwyn*; Parthian⁷ *nxwšt*, *nxwyn*. Parthian has also the simple *nwx* "beginning" which we can set beside Khotanese *nūha-*.

Bartholomae⁸ pointed out that the Turfan forms could continue either **nahya-* or **nakya-*. He himself preferred the latter in order to connect with Gothic *nēh* "near". But this is not ideal from the point of view of semantics even if "nearest" sometimes approximates to "first". The Gothic can be, and has been otherwise explained.¹⁰

Armenian *nax* "zuerst" and *naxust* "von Anfang" and "alt" were hesitatingly brought into connexion with New Persian *naxust* "first" by Hübschmann.¹¹ *naxust*, when borrowed, may have been reinterpreted as containing the Armenian ablative ending *-ust*.

Henning¹² read a title in Parthian as *nḥwdr*, which he explained as **naxwa-dāra-* "he who holds the beginning, the first (place)". The Parthian was borrowed into Armenian as *naxarar* and is attested elsewhere.

In the Togan Volume,¹³ however, Henning tentatively proposed **naxu-* for Chorasmian *nx'w'z* "a he-goat that leads a flock".¹⁴ He referred also to the Armenian loanword *noxax* "Ziegenbock" and New Persian *nuxāz* "he-goat that precedes the flock", which had been set together by Hübschmann.¹⁵ **naxu-* has been accepted by I. Gershevitch,¹⁶ who sees it in the much-discussed New Persian *naxčir* "quarry". This word is of disputed etymology. It may not even contain an old **nax-* at all but represent something like **niš-sčrya-* "to be hunted out". The Chorasmian may, as suggested to me by M. Schwartz, represent rather a haplogy < **naxwāwāza-*. A similar **naxya-uāzika-* is continued, without haplogy, in Late Khotanese

⁵ H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxiv.3, 1961, 470-3

⁶ R. E. Emmerick, *JRAS*, 1969, 64, 73.

⁷ See F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, i-iii, Berlin, 1932-4.

⁸ M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, O.U.P., 1954, 192.

⁹ C. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, 48.

¹⁰ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern and München, 1959, 40, 317.

¹¹ H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, repr. Hildesheim, 1962, 200.

¹² *JRAS*, 1953, 132-6.

¹³ *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul, 1955, 436.

¹⁴ *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, 49.6.

¹⁵ *op. cit.*, 207.

¹⁶ I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, 327; *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1964, 92.

nauhawysia- "foremost, highest".¹⁷ The Khotanese contraction is as in *hamdrauysia-* "moving in the sky" < **antara-uāzika*.¹⁸

**naxya-* may have stood beside **naxu-* as in Avestan *varədva-* "soft" stands beside *varədu-* in *varədu-sma-* "soft earth" or OInd. has both *ṛbhvā-* and *ṛbhū-* "skilful". This need not imply Indo-Iranian **nakh-* rather than **nak-* or **nas-* if we recall Old Persian *gāθu-* "throne" beside Avestan and OInd. *gātu-*. But it is not certain that the assumption of **naxu-* is necessary.

As for the verbal base behind **naxya-* or **nahya-*, no decision seems possible at present. Bailey proposed **nak-* "reach, arrive" (Lithuanian *nókti*) for *naxčir* and other words which he connected.¹⁹ But the semantics do not compel us to find **nak-* "reach, arrive" in **naxya-* "top". For **nah-* one could adduce OIr. **nah-* "approach", cf. OInd. *násate* "approaches". Semantically **nah-* "nose", if originally "point" rather than "hole", would be close.

Whatever the prehistory of **naxya-*, there can be little doubt that Khotanese *nūha-* "top" belongs with Parthian *nwx* "beginning" and related words.

2. *drau-* "deception"

No translation has yet been published of the Mañjuśrinairātmyāvātārasūtra, a Late Khotanese poem concerning the Buddhist teaching on the non-existence of the self. I hope eventually to remedy the situation.

A preliminary transliteration was given by H. W. Bailey in *KBT* 113-35. The colophon at the end of the poem, lines 435-45, is found separately transcribed among the documents in *KT* 2.123-4. The scribe may well have been Chinese to judge by the names of his mother and sisters. He wrote in the reign of Viśā' Śura, to whom the date A.D. 969-77 has been assigned.

That the MS. contains a poem was recognized by Bailey, who attempted in the *editio princeps* to reconstruct the verses. The verses are not set out as such in the MS., but the sporadic use of numerals and punctuation affords valuable clues to the extent of particular verses or groups of verses. The numerals are confined to the *recto*. They follow the same pattern as elsewhere, notably in the Book of Zambasta. Thus, we have a 4 in line 227 to mark the end of verse 204 and a sign for 90 (50 in the *editio princeps* is a misreading) in line 213 to mark the end of verse 190.

The word *dr(r)au-* occurs twice, hitherto unrecognized, in two of the most difficult lines in the poem. I read lines 39-42 as follows:

tcāhau-padyā jsirja hanāsa tcana ma nūāṣṭa satva
sa khva pere bira nūāṣṭa uysānā hivi drau:na
ttu mānāda harbaśa satva aysmwīnai drrauna tta nvāre sattsai(ra)

¹⁷ *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, 45v1 (11).

¹⁸ See *KT* 6.387-8.

¹⁹ *BSOAS*, xxi.1, 1958, 44-5.

drāmā byaire dūkhīnai baduna-sela
cu mi tṭyai kṣamī narīda sattsārva birai jsa vāṣṭa
tṭyāe hivi aysmva sa vasūjāna anada tcarai

It will be noticed that in the *editio princeps* our *drau:na* is there two words in different lines and our *drauna* is there printed: *drrau* | [x] na. Evidently *na* was understood in both places as the negative. The colon usually indicates the end of a line or half-line of verse. In this poem it is used 87 times to indicate the end of a verse-line, 10 times to indicate the end of a *pāda*. In five places (20, 40, 62, 109, 137) it marks neither the end of a verse-line nor the end of a *pāda*. In 20 and 137 it functions like a modern European colon. In 40 and 62 it occurs in the middle of a word. 109 is at present uncertain. In other words it functions exactly like the single dot in the Book of Zambasta. The scribe probably had before him a MS. like those of the Book of Zambasta. It is unwise therefore to place complete reliance upon the use of the colon to indicate the end of a verse-line or a *pāda*.

Let us look at 62, which is, I believe, conclusive. The poem deals with the individual in *samsāra*, the cycle of existence. He is affected by the *kṛśas*, which are described as the three kings of the *rākṣasas* (*rakṣaysā hīya rāde drraya* l. 58): Moha "folly" (59-65), Rāga "passion" (65-8), and Dveṣa "hatred" (69-72). These kings are monsters and are described in detail. Their physical features are often connected with doctrinal formulations. Thus, Moha has ten mouths because there are conventionally ten sins (61). In 62-3 we must see *haṣṭai . . . bāysve dasta* "eight arms (and) hands" because of the *akṣanyau haṣṭyau* "eight evil instants". Once we redivide in this way Bailey's *raha ṣṭaira* to get *haṣṭai ra* we can see that the meaningless *dīra gā*: in 62 is really part of a single word *dīragā:ra* "evil-doing", an epithet of *bāysve dasta* "arms (and) hands". It is the Late Khotanese spelling of older *dīramgāra*- as in Z 2.69. For the suffix see SGS i.243.

The colon is thus not in itself sufficient to prevent our reading *drau:na* as one word. It was in any case improbable that we had here a negative comparison *na tṭu māṇada* "not resembling this".

As for *drrau* | [x] na, the [x] merely indicates the occurrence of a syllable not read by the editor because it is deleted in the MS. Such deleted syllables occur very frequently in the middle of words in our poem. Sometimes it is still possible to read them. A syllable is deleted in the middle of *āṣa*' 30, *yadrraḍā* 31, *udvīya* 37, *dasau* 61, *ṣṭuka* 74, *ṣika* 99, *ida* 106, etc. We are not therefore prevented from reading *drauna* in lines 40-1.

drau in Khotanese is more ambiguous than might at first sight appear. As a noun in the sense of "hair" it is now well known. It is sufficient to quote *drrau* in P 3513. 70r2 *KT* 1.247 translating Sanskrit *vāla*- (Suvārṇa-bhāsottamasūtra, ed. J. Nobel, p. 36, l. 15). Its connexions were given by Bailey in *TPS*, 1945, 6: Buddhist Sogdian *ṣw-*, Ormuṣi *dri*, Yaghnobi

d'rau. The meaning was first given correctly by S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 55. See further Bailey, *KT* 6.126-7.

drro in *JS* 34v1 (150) was explained by Bailey as a verb, translated "roared" by Dresden. The form is difficult to account for as 3 sg. pf. Certainly < **drav-*, as there suggested for *drro*, we would expect **druta*- giving Late Khotanese **drva-*. All the bases in *-*av* whose past participles are attested have *-uta*. See SGS i.174. I doubt very much whether we have a verb here at all but suspect rather a late spelling of *drāmā*- "such"²⁰. Reduction to *drām* as in P 3513.44v3 (Asm. 7) is common. Loss of the final nasal is found in *ttrā* P 4099.376 *KBT* 132 < OKh. *ttrāmu. ā(m)* and *au* interchange freely in Late Khotanese spelling. In the Sudhana story we have *drraume* in Ch 00266.125 *KBT* 25; P 2025.191 *KBT* 17 as the equivalent of *dīdrāmāi* in P 2957.75 *KBT* 34. In the *JS* passage *drro mestye ṣkalana* may be dyadic with *dedrāmāye tcephine*.

Here, however, the construction points to a noun, as we have "the *drau* of the self" and "the *drrau* pertaining to the mind". The noun "hair" is clearly unsuitable.

The context is indicated by *tcāhau-padya*²¹ *jsirja hanāsa*²² "the four-fold deception, false hypothesis". We have again the *jsirjai tcāhaure* in line 66 "the four deceptions". There they are described in the verse:

cu hIra sūha saitta dūkhaja: auṣa' agapī ṣa' sūrai:
anevā ṣkājvā āttma akṣārmauṇa apakṣarāttai

"What thing is a blessing appears (to him) as woe-filled. The evil, unclean, this is clean to him. Among the impermanent *samskāras* (are) self, shamelessness, immodesty."

This description leaves no doubt that we have here the four *viparyāsas*. For references to these in Buddhist sources see É. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 43), Louvain 1958, 39; *L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti* (Bibliothèque du Muséon Vol. 51), Louvain 1962, p. 289, n. 14. Thus, the Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. C. Bendall, Bibliotheca Buddhica 1, St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 198 has: *anītye nitya iti viparyāsa-bhayabhīto nātmani ātmeti viparyāsabhayabhīto 'sucāu sucir iti viparyāsa-bhayabhīto duḥkhe sukham iti viparyāsabhayabhītaḥ*. This has been rendered:²³ "I feared the mistake of thinking the impermanent to be permanent, the impersonal to be personal, the impure to be pure, unhappiness to be happiness." The last two *viparyāsas* are clear in the Khotanese poem while the first two appear to have been combined.

At this stage it will be convenient to give my rendering of the verses

²⁰ Cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxx.1, 1967, 104 (doubtful).

²¹ Cf. *tcāhau-padya jsirrajau*, 57, *tcāhau-padya jsarjau*, 316.

²² Cf. *jsirja hanāsa*, 12-13, 141.

²³ *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (Indian texts series), tr. C. Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, London, 1922, 192.

quoted before discussing further problems. I understand the lines thus: "Fourfold is the *viparyāsa*, false hypothesis, by which beings have been bound here. Like those to be induced onto a leash, they have been bound by the deception of self. Similarly, all beings move about thus in *samsāra* through the mind's deception. Such are they found in the prison-hall of woe. If then it should please him to depart from the leash of *samsāra*, his mind is merely to be purified. He should feel joy."

In similar contexts we are told that the reason beings are in the woe-filled bondage of *samsāra* is that it is merely the deception of their own minds. We actually have the phrase *aysmūi jśirja* in Z 22.272:

ttrāme ttāte harbiśśā śkauṅye samu hivi aysmūi jśirja

"Such are all these *samskāras* as only the mind's own deception." Similar are lines 104-5 in our poem:

samva kūra syāma jśirja²⁴ ttu māñada harbeśau śkēje

"Merely false appearance, a deception. Like this are all the *samskāras*." Closer still is l. 279:

pacadna śkauje jśā ttuśe abāve samna vare aysmva jśirja.

"In turn, the *samskāras* are empty, without existence. There is there merely the mind's deception."

I have not noticed *uysānye jśirja* (= *uysānā hivi drau*) with which to parallel *aysmūi jśirja* (= *aysmvinai drrau*), but beside *aysmūi ārru* (Z 22.274) "the fault of the mind" we have *uysānye ārru* (Z 22.328) "the fault of the self" though in different contexts.

If *drauna* is IASm belonging to the *au*-decl., as appears likely, the stem will be *drau-*. See SGS i.328-9 (§§ 193, 197). This *drau-* will represent older **drāva-*, as *nādo-* "fire" < **ni-dāva-*, cf. OInd. *dāva-* "fire". An original **au* > *ū*. Now an Old Iranian **drāva-* has recently been established in just such a meaning as we require for *drau-* here. Khotanese *drau-* can be added to the words brought under the Iranian verbal base **drav-* "to lead astray" by M. Schwartz:²⁵ Christian Sogdian *ʾrdyw-*, Parthian *drʾw-*, Avestan *drāvaya-*, *draoman-*.

tcanamāñūāṣṭa and *birañāṣṭa* of the *editio princeps* have been divided. I know no such words, although they have the specious appearance of words with the Late Khotanese suffix *-āṣṭa* added to a locative (= OKh. *-ālstō*). *tcana* is LKh. for *tcamna* "by which". Thus, *tcana* in 231 = *tcamna* in Z 5.74 (see Z pp. 444-5). *ma* for older *mara* "here" can similarly be illustrated from this poem. Thus, in ll. 276-7 *khu ma nūjśvaṣṭe* "as has been expounded here" corresponds to *khu mara najśūṣṭā* in Vajracchedikā 43b3 KT 3.29 *nūāṣṭa* and *nāṣṭa* I take to be past participles from *nyūṣṭ-* "to tie up", on

²⁴ Cf. *sāmva kūra syāma jśirja*, 234.

²⁵ JRAS, 1966, 119-122.

which see SGS i.61. Confirmation can be found in the use of *nūṣṭ-* in connexion with *birā* in P 2022.12-3 KT 3.42-3:

ttraisñjsai birā jśā pāsa ttū mauñadū
aysmū nūṣṭārā tcamnā gūsttya nā byaihidā

Bailey rendered²⁶ "Thus the fastenings with the leash of desire bind the mind so that they cannot reach deliverance." Later²⁷ he suggested an etymology for Khotanese *birā-* by connecting it with the Sogdian words *βrβ'nt* and **βrβ*.

pere I take to be the same as OKh. *perra-* "to be induced". On this word see Bailey, KT 4.58; 6.206.

The line *cu mi ttyai kṣami narida sattsārva birai jsa vāṣṭa* can be paralleled by l. 83 in this poem:

cu ttye mi kṣami naride sattsārū mahāsamvadrrana

"if it should please anyone to depart from the great ocean of *samsāra*". Now the "ocean of *samsāra*" is the "water of desire": *sattsārū mahāsam* < *ū* > *drra ttreṣṇija utca* (ll. 55-6), where are the *kāma-guṇas* "qualities of desire" (l. 56) and the four *viparyāsas* (l. 57). Similarly in P 2022 quoted above we have *ma satsaira basta kauma-gūṇau baida* (l. 36) "bound here in *samsāra* upon the *kāma-guṇas*". The solution proposed for escaping from the "leash of *samsāra*" is merely the purification of the mind. This is because one is induced onto the leash merely "by the deception of the self" and "by the deception of the mind".

3. *nav-* "to move about"

In translating *nvāre* as "move about" I have in mind Parthian *nw-* "sich bewegen, gehen", New Persian *navidan*. With these may belong Old Indian *nāvate*²⁸, see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, ii, Heidelberg 1963, 143.

Formal connexion with 1. *nuvad-* "to lie down", 3 pl. pres. *nūyāre* (see SGS i.58) is excluded. Moreover, the meaning would be unsatisfactory. The verb regularly used in Khotanese in connexion with *samsāra* is *ges-* (OKh. *ggei'ls-* SGS i.311) "to revolve". From our poem we have for example (l. 314):

ca ra kūra satva-saṅa gesāre satsāra myāñā

"Those who have the false notion of being revolve in the midst of *samsāra*." The most graphic representation of this motion is in Z 2.164:

ttrāmu ggei'lsāre samtsera kho ju makalā karā stuno bastā

"They so revolve in *samsāra* as a monkey bound to a pillar." The restlessness of the monkey was proverbial.²⁸

²⁶ *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*, Uppsala, 1954, 11.

²⁷ BSOAS, xxiii.1, 1960, 24-6.

²⁸ See *Lankāvatārasūtra*, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto 1956, 68; tr. D. T. Suzuki, London, 1932, repr. 1966, 61.

If I am right in so explaining *nvāre*, we have further confirmation of Iranian **nav-* "to move". With a preverb we have in Khotanese *vanau-* "to become inactive", in which the same base has been sought (see *SGS* i.118). Beside the forms quoted by Mayrhofer, s.v. *návate*²⁹ can also be set Manichean Sogdian *n'w-* "to shake".²⁹

4. *hamdramgga-* "maintenance"

In their important article³⁰ publishing the Leningrad fragment of a Khotanese version of the Dharmasārīra-sūtra, G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin have a long note (p. 280) on *hamdramgga*, which they have completely misunderstood and translated "perfect". They comment: "On the base of this material it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the word *hamdramgga* but we can suppose that it means 'strong' and in a metaphorical sense 'perfect, real' (cf. 'perfect Enlightenment'), because it is connected with *balysūsti* 'Enlightenment' . . .". The verb *hamdramj-* means, as they point out, "to keep" (see also *SGS* i.141). *hamdramgga-* is clearly the related noun "keeping, maintenance".

The Dharmasārīra-sūtra has (714): *ttye [kiḍna] si[tā dha]rmaśārī[rā] nāma . cu b[uru] balysūñā dā arthā biśā mara ṣī* "For this reason is this called the Dharmasārīra: whatever (is) the meaning of the Buddha-Law it is all here." Following on naturally, 711 has: *ttye kiḍnai mi gyastā balysā dātīnai śsarīrā hve cu biśe dātā hamdramggā balysūsti* "For this reason then the *deva* Buddha has preached the Dharmasārīra: because it is the maintenance of the whole Law, (that is) enlightenment."

A parallel is provided by the Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatāra-sūtra, which has (l. 166 *KBT* 121):

*vajra-pade ṣa*³¹ *uvāra hadrraga harbēsa dā*

"The *vajra*-path is this: the noble maintenance of the whole Law."

Abbreviations

- J*S M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's former births"*, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., NS, xlv.5, Philadelphia, 1955.
KBT H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, 1951.
KT H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts*, i-vi, Cambridge, 1945-67.
SGS R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, London Oriental Series, Vol. 20, O.U.P., 1968.
Z R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, London Oriental Series, Vol. 21, O.U.P., 1968.

²⁹ W. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937, p. 55 ad 490.

³⁰ *IJ*, xi.4, 1969, 269-80.

³¹ *ṣa* for MS. *ha ṣa*. Either *vajra-pade* (cf. *vajra-pada* 169), with Khotanese *pande* "path", is to be read or else *vajra-paha* (as 167) with Prakritic *paha-* "path" as in *karmapaha* *Z* 13.62. The scribe evidently forgot he had written *de*, otherwise he would either have deleted it or not have written *ha*.