

DICTIONARY OF
KHOTAN SAKA

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BY
H. W. BAILEY



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PREFACE

The present volume of Khotanese Saka studies of Khotan, the land of Jade, is the fulfilment of a plan formed in 1934, forty-four years ago, to make available to Iranisants all Iranian material extant in the texts *hvatana* 'in the Khotanese language'. The plan required first the printing of unpublished manuscripts and the slow elucidation of the whole corpus of texts. It is a book concerned with the one Saka dialect of North Iranian of which Ossetic (Arsia) in the Caucasus and Wakhī in Wakhān in the Pamirs are other branches. Though etymological connexions are stated throughout it is no more than one contribution to the far vaster project of the etymological dictionary of all Iranian languages. It is, moreover, a strictly personal book; there has been no wish to list the different interpretations and etymological connexions proposed by others. I see no value in the pedantic citation of, for example, Sten Konow's interpretation of *dānave* (actually BS *dānapati*- 'patron') or E. Leumann's translation of *byūrru* (actually 'ten thousand'). It is then a statement of personal views at present preferred, in a suspensive state awaiting further knowledge wherever the absence of bilingual or parallel textual evidence does not assure the meanings. Since the texts are mainly of the Buddhist religion only Buddhist expertise can finally decide on a nuance of meaning. Some word for word renderings are intelligible only within the Buddhist context. But for the Iranisant it is the straightforward meaning which imports. Names, ethnical (like *hvatana*- 'Khotan' and *ttāgutta*- 'Tibetan'), personal (like *Vīma*) and place-names are here rarely included: they demand a separate study. Foreign words too, as from Greek *sera* 'ounce' or from Chinese *phaḡwa* 'penalty', are few. The Buddhist Sanskrit vocabulary, and particularly the varieties of Prakrit, require a separate treatment and with few exceptions are excluded here.

References for the words of other Iranian languages are omitted (with few exceptions) and must be sought in the glossaries of books cited in the Bibliography. The fairly copious quotation of Iranian cognates is intended to assure the Khotanese word and to situate it within the dialects. It has been found necessary to retain the spellings of various sources; no uniform system exists. For Armenian *dz* has been used, not *j*; similarly the *j* of Pamir languages and Pašto has been replaced by *dz* (to reduce the many different uses of *j*). Where the Old Iranian forms are lacking, Zoroastrian Pahlavī, Sogdian and loanwords in Armenian are important for the oldest attested forms. The Indo-European quotations (where J. Pokorny's *Dictionary* has been invaluable together with the etymological dictionaries of Lithuanian, Slavonic, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Germanic) are added to make this Iranian Saka material of use outside Indo-Iranian.

In citing Chinese words, instead of using Chinese characters, references are given to the numbers in the older book of B. Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary of Sino-Japanese* (where a better system of rendering Mandarin Chinese in Latin script is used) in preference to his later *Grammata Serica recensa*.

Tumshuq Saka is only occasionally cited. It is a study still hardly developed and requires separate treatment. Sogdian too is still under investigation, the Buddhist texts being now largely reduced to glossaries, the Manichean texts partially known and the Christian still the subject of intense study. Chorasmian has been rarely cited: though four scholars have worked at the material, it has not been possible to find time to make a personal study of the

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texts. Tokhara languages A and B have been under investigation for some seventy years but a large part, mainly B texts, remains unpublished; here they are cited for the occasional evidence to the adjacent non-Iranian Indo-European of Central Asia.

Bilingual evidence for the Khotan Saka vocabulary is found in Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and Chinese books. This is the explanation of the many Sanskrit and Tibetan passages cited to establish meanings. Apart from these bilinguals, the Buddhist texts parallel to these from Khotan can often be cited. The difficulties which restrict the translator are to be found in the non-religious texts and official documents, although even here some parallels can be found in Kroraina or Tibetan documents from the same area of Central Asia and approximately of the same time.

The date of the Khotan Saka linguistic facts may be set between A.D. 300 and 1000. One Kharoṣṭhī document (no. 661) dated from Khotana is extant belonging to the period of the Kharoṣṭhī texts of the Shan-shan (Kroraina) kingdom around A.D. 300. The Chinese traveller Hsuan-tsang in about A.D. 640 cited the local pronunciation of the name of the Khotan kingdom as *huan-na* which is the later *hvamma*, *hvana* of the Khotan Saka texts, which replaced the *hvatana*- of the older texts. A document of the reign of the Kashmir king Abhimanyugupta (who reigned A.D. 958–72) belongs to the half-century before the Turkish Khans occupied Khotan in A.D. 1006. Over the period of some seven hundred years changes of large development can be traced. Here in this commentary and dictionary it has not often been attempted to mark the various stages (as was offered in KT VI); some words are known only in the oldest form, others only in later or latest stages. Reference however to the full printed text will immediately reveal the stage in each case. It is clearly necessary not to explain a later form as if it were older or the reverse.

The Khotan Saka language is in a middle stage of development if the Old Persian inscriptions and the Avesta are called Old Iranian and if the modern New Persian of the past thousand years and other dialects are termed New Iranian. Hence a frequent ambiguity in tracing older Iranian forms (being extant in a deficient vocabulary) of the Khotan Saka words.

Though in certain features Khotan Saka is more archaic than Avestan as *-zn-* in *gyaysna*- 'sacrifice', Avestan *yasna-*; *ggūysna-* 'deer', Av. *gavasna-*; as *-zm-* in *rraysma*, 'rank', Av. *rasma-*; as *hvar-* 'eat', Av. *xvar-*; as *-dz-* in *dajs-* 'to burn', Av. *daž-*; in *-rt-* in Tumshuq Saka *rorda-* 'given', Khotan Saka *hoda-* 'given', Av. *-rt-* but also *-š-*; yet Khotan Saka has transformed most intervocalic consonants (which Sogdian and Zoroastrian Pahlavī have retained), thus *-p-*, *-b-* to *-v-*, *-t-*, *-d-* to *-y-*, *-k-* to *-g-* or lost, *-g-* lost; *-f-*, *-θ-*, *-x-* to *-h-*, later *-ž-* lost (but often marked by a subscript hook), *-ṣd-* beside *-d-*, preverb *fra-* to *ha-*, prothesis of *h-* to initial vowel, frequent *i*-umlaut of *a*, *ā*, *ū*, *o* (absent from Tumshuq Saka), loss of medial vowel as in *gyasta-* 'worshipped one', from *yazata-*, *bīḍā* 'he bears' from *barati*, *ysīdaa-* 'yellow' from *zaritaka-*; genitive plural *-ānu*, *-āni*, later *-ām*, *-ā*; suffix *-atāti-*, to *-ttā*, *-dā*, oblique *-tte*, *-de*; *-āmata*, to *-āma*, and in latest texts loss of nasal before the medial consonants *-k-*, *-g-*, *-d-*, *-b-*. At times several older Iranian forms coalesce in Khotan Saka. The convenience in the older texts of using doubled *śś* and *ṣṣ* for the unvoiced consonant and the single *ś* and *ṣ* for the voiced is not consistently employed, the one text may often have both doubled and single consonant.

In the translations an imprecise English word is used where precise definition is not possible; hence, for example, 'covering' is used for various words referring to dress. For Buddhist technical terms one word is selected, thus *dharma*-doctrine for *dāta-*, *dharma*-element for *hāra-* (where the Sanskrit has only *dharma-*), *deva-* for *gyasta-*, *Buddha-* for *balysa-*, *kleśa*-affliction, *pāramitā*-perfection, *saṃsāra*-migration, *saṃskāra*-factor, *samādhāna*-trance, *doṣa*-state.

Since the book is intended for the Iranisant, the Buddhist Sanskrit *sandhi-* (conjunction of vowels) has for the most part been dissolved both in compounds and between separate words (here indicated by a subscript mark _u). The lemmata of similar words have not been numbered. Hindu or Brahman Sanskrit is occasionally used to distinguish it from Buddhist Sanskrit, while in etymologies O.Ind. (=Old Indian) is the term preferred.

Botanical names, abundant in the medical texts, present a difficulty even when the Buddhist Sanskrit or Tibetan equivalents are known. The Sanskrit names are variously translated in the dictionaries; the Bower MS has an index by A. F. R. Hoernle with precise translations which have been often used, but the botanist would probably always prefer more certainty.

Editions of the Khotan Saka texts are in the following books and articles: E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1912 = L; B. Nebenstücke *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, 1920 = N; *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, 1933–1934, 1936 = Z; Sten Konow, *Vajracchedikā and Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*, 1916; *Saka Studies*, 1932; H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts* I–VI, 1945–67; *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, 1951; facsimiles, Saka Documents; text volume 1968; J. P. Asmussen, *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, 1961; M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 1955; R. E. Emmerick, Huntington folio, AM, n.s., 15, 1969, 1–16; Nanda, *BSOAS* 33, 1970, 72–81; Colophons of the Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* 383–8; new edition of Z, *The Book of Zambasta*, 1968.

References to Khotanese Texts are by Roman numeral I–VI with page and line and to Khotanese Buddhist Texts by K and page and line; but by name Bcd Bhadracaryā-deśanā; Manj. Manjuśrī-nairātmya-avatāra-sūtra; Sid. Siddhasāra; SuvO. KT I 232–41 Suvarṇabhāsa; SuvP. KT I 242–9; Z, *The Book of Zambasta*, ed. E. Leumann and R. E. Emmerick.

Corrected numbers are given from K 42·48 (see v 387, P 2834·48) and from III 81·174 (by one); for II 37·12 a and b are verso and recto. Frequent improvements in the texts have been incorporated, where syllables were left isolated (as K 4, 141r5 *ttattika*) or sometimes wrongly grouped (as *sau mirai*). A few syllables were misread (as Sid. 104r2 *u* for *ña*). In the order of letters *ä i ī; u ū; e, ai; o au* are grouped together. Use of *i* for the inverted *-i*-syllable (formed like the high *-ā-*) has been kept; it is mainly in K 113–35. For *u* and *ū* in later texts some syllables, that is, *u, ū; ku, kū; gu, gū; tu, tū; du, dū; ru, rū; su, sū* are quite distinct, others have been transcribed according to the syllabic tables. Where *am* replaces older *au, ū, u*, it has been kept.

In Ossetic, though with regret, *a* is used where the Old Iranian had *-ā-*, and *ä* where it had *ä*.

Work known to me to be in progress is in the hands of R. E. Emmerick, Dieter Weber, M. J. Dresden, and O. von Hinüber.

This long task from 1934 to now has left unwritten the planned grammatical study of phonology and syntax, and the complete translation. Both these tasks will lie in other hands.

I owe thanks to all who have sent to me books and articles and here gladly dedicate this volume to all Iranists.

This work has proved long and laborious and to the Press most especially so: I wish to express the warmest thanks for their magnificent effort against so heavy a task.

H.W.B.

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 June 1978

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 ZAIW, Chr. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906.
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Zimbun-kagaku-kenkyūsyō, Kyoto, see Madu.
Zoroastrian Problems, see Bailey.

2. NAMES OF TEXTS CITED

I. Iranian

Aogəmadaēča (Avestan), = Aog.
 Āfrīnakān.
 Artāy Virāz nāmak.
 Dātastān ī dēnik.
 Dēnkart.
 Draxt asōrik.
 Frahang ī oim.
 Hajjiabad inscription.
 Husrau ut rētak-ē.
 K, Kopenhagen codex.
 Kartīr inscription.
 Nīrangastān.
 Pahlavī Psalter.
 Pahlavī Texts.
 Paikuli inscription.
 Pāzend Texts.
 Qamberdiatā (Ossetic), Cin (Qamberdiaty Mysost) 1947.
 Rajab, Naqš ī Rajab inscription.
 Stajy carmdaräg (Ossetic).
 Vištāsp yašt (Avestan).
 Zāmāsp-nāmak.
 Zātspram, Vičitakīhā.

II. Indian

Anāgata-vaṃsa-. (Pali).
 Abhidharma-kośa-.
 Avadāna-śataka-.
 Aśoka-avadāna-.
 Udāna-varga-.
 Udānālaṃkāra-.
 Aitareya-āraṇyaka.
 Kalpa-rāja-.
 Kālidāsa, Vikramorvaśīya-.
 Kāśyapa-parivarta-.
 Kauśika-sūtra-.
 Kroraina, North-western Prakrit in Shan-shan (Kroraina).
 Gilgit Manuscripts.

Cariyā-ṭīṭaka- (Pali).
 Jātaka- (Pali).
 Jātaka-mālā.
 Thera-gātha- (Pali).
 Dīvyāvadāna-.
 Dīgha-nikāya- (Pali).
 Dīpa-vaṃsa- (Pali).
 Dhamma-aṭṭhakathā (Pali).
 Dhamma-pada- (Pali).
 Dharmapada- (Kroraina).
 Dhyāna-, Sogdian Buddhist.
 Nīti-śāstra-.
 Bhartṭhari, Nīti-śāstra-.
 Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabha-rāja-sūtra-.
 Majjhima-nikāya- (Pali).
 Mañicūḍa-avadāna-.
 Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-, ed. E. Waldschmidt.
 Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra-, ed. S. Lévi.
 Mahāvastu-.
 Mahāvvyutpatti-.
 Maitreya-vyākaraṇa-.
 Lankā-avatāra-sūtra-.
 Lalita-vistara-.
 Loka-prajñapti-.
 Vajra-cchedikā.
 Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-.
 Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra- (Sogdian); and translation E. Lamotte.
 VJ, Viśvantara-jātaka- (Sogdian).
 Viśvantara-jātaka-, Pali Vessantara-jātaka-.
 Veda, RV Ṛgveda, and AV Atharva-veda-.
 Śakra-praśna-sūtra-.
 Śikṣāsamuccaya-.
 Saṃghāṭa-sūtra-.
 Sad-dharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra-, = Sdp, ed. Wogihara
 Sukhāvati-vyūha-.
 Sūtrālaṃkāra-, translation Ed. Huber.

3. DICTIONARIES, GLOSSARIES AND INDEXES

- AVESTAN Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1904; *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906; new Avestan fragments, G. Klingenschmitt, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 29, 1971, 111–74.
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The following Caucasian languages are cited: Adəge, Čečen, Inguš, Georgian, Qabardei, Megrel, Svanetian, Ubix (Paxü), Udi.

ABBREVIATIONS

TEXTS AND BOOKS

- Armen. OT, NT, Armenian Old and New Testaments.
 BS, Buddhist Sanskrit for Sanskrit in Buddhist texts.
 DkM, *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, ed. D. M. Madan 1911 (facsimile, M. J. Dresden, Dēnkart, 1966).
 E, E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, pp. 353, 357, 359.
 EVP, G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1929.
 G, in BS G, Buddhist Sanskrit Gilgit manuscript, G 36 and G 37.
 K, Khotanese Buddhist Texts.
 KT, Khotanese Texts I–VI.
 N, E. Leumann, Nebenstücke.
 Bcd, Bhadra-caryā-deśanā, KT I 222–30.
 JS, Jātaka-stava, KT I 198–219.
 Manj., Manjuśrī-nairātmya-avatāra-sūtra-, K 113–35.
 REW, M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1953–8.
 Sid. Siddhasāra, KT I 2–134.
 SuvO. Suvarṇabhāsa, KT I 232–41.
 SuvP., Suvarṇabhāsa, KT I 242–9.
 TPS, Transactions of the Philological Society.
 Z, *The Book of Zambasta* (numbers beyond Z 2·138 are in Skazanie o Bhadre).

LANGUAGES

- Av., Avestan.
 Armen., Armenian.
 O.Pers., Old Persian.
 M.Parth.T., Middle Parthian of Turfan.
 M.Pers.T., Middle Persian of Turfan.
 M.P.T. either or both M.Parth.T. and M.Pers.T. when not distinguished.
 M.Parth.Pers.T. for both dialects.
 Sogd. Bud., Sogdian of the Buddhist texts.
 Sogd. Man., Sogdian of the Manichean texts.
 Sogd. Chr., Sogdian of the Christian texts.
 Orm., Ormuṛī.
 Oss., Ossetic, with D. ‘Digoron’, and I. ‘Iron’.
 Yaṅn., Yaghnābī.
 Yazg., Yazgulāmi.
 Zor.P., Zoroastrian Pahlavī.
 O.Ind., Old Indian.
 AV, Atharva-veda.
 RV, Ṛgveda.