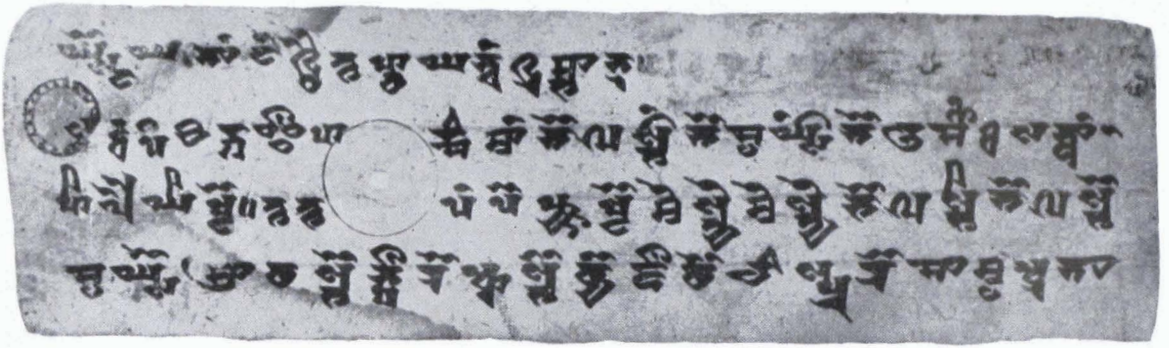


THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF  
EASTERN TURKESTAN. I

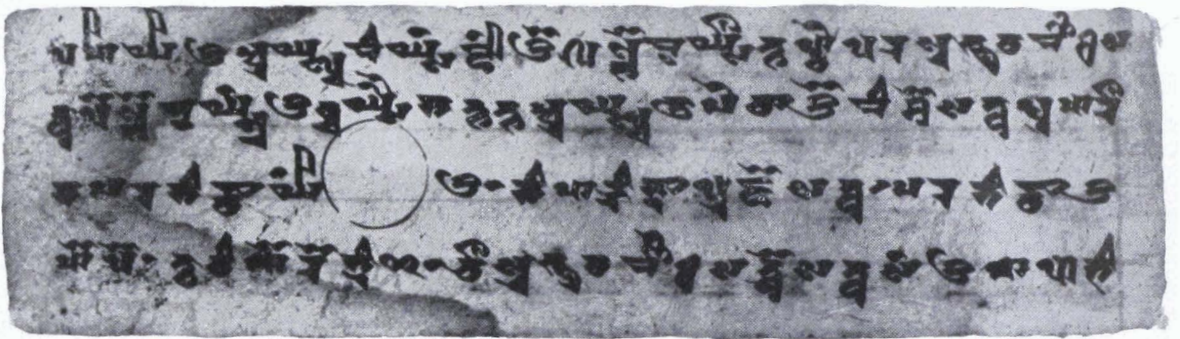
BY  
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

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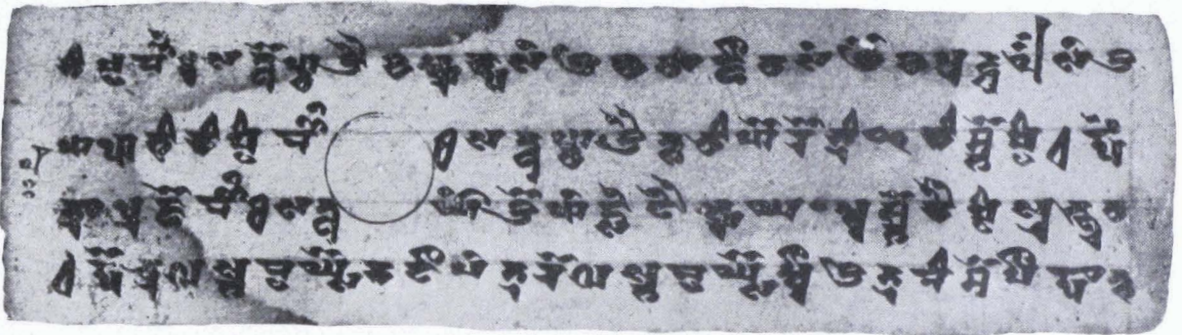
Fol 3. Reverse.



Fol 31. Reverse.



Fol 32. Obverse.



Fol 44. Reverse.



**THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN  
TURKESTAN**

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

IN the July number of this Journal, p. 836, I promised to publish the text of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*. As I have not yet received the Cambridge manuscripts of that Sūtra, I must defer the fulfilment of my promise to a later issue of the Journal. In the meantime I have compared the Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā*, in Max Müller's edition, with the "unknown language" text in Dr. Stein's manuscript; and I may now present two extended "bilingual" extracts from the two texts. So far as I am able to judge at present, the East-Turkestani text does not appear to be a translation, throughout, of the Sanskrit text, as published by Max Müller. It is so, however, quite clearly in certain portions; and it is some of these portions that I am now presenting as a preliminary contribution. I may add that I have compared the East-Turkestani text of Dr. Stein's manuscript also with the Sanskrit text preserved in the manuscript of Dr. Stein's first collection (1900-1), of which I gave a short notice in this Journal for 1903, p. 364. That manuscript is incomplete, and the second extract, given below, is not found in it, having stood on its fol. 12, now missing. A portion of the first extract occurs in it, but its Sanskrit text is rather shorter than the Sanskrit text printed in Max Müller's edition, and, to that extent, differs also from the East-Turkestani text.

I take this opportunity also to reprint corrected versions of the extracts from the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, given on pp. 837-8 of my previous communication. Not having had the originals to refer to

when I wrote from Wiesbaden, certain letters had been wrongly transcribed.

The Sanskrit text is printed in italics, interlinearly and verbatim, under the lines (in roman) of the "unknown language" text. In either case the words of the text are printed in the exact sequence (with two or three exceptions, duly indicated by numerals) of the originals. Where the East-Turkestani text differs, or is not intelligible, the syllables (*akṣara*) are printed discretely.

### VAJRACCHEDIKĀ : FIRST EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 3b<sup>iii</sup> = M.M. ed., p. 9, § 1.

Nta-nta<sup>1</sup> mamā pyūṣṭā śe snye (śe snye<sup>2</sup>) tā gyastānā  
*Evam mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye —————*  
 gyastā-<sup>iv</sup>ḥaysā<sup>3</sup> Śrāvastā-kṣīrā āstā-vyā<sup>4</sup> Jivārispurābāṣa  
*bhagavān Śrāvastyām viharati-sma Jetavane*  
 Anā[4a<sup>i</sup>]thapiṇḍī-hārū saṁkhyerma mistāna<sup>5</sup> bil-sāgāna<sup>6</sup>  
*Anāthapiṇḍasya ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṁghena*  
 haṁtsa | dvāsi-paṁjsā<sup>ii</sup>śau āṣīryaujsa ——— ———  
*sārdham ardha-trayodaśabhir' bhikṣu -śataiḥ samba*  
 ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ———  
 ntī ——— gyastānā  
*hulaiś ca bodhisattvair mahāsattvaiḥ | atha khalu ———*  
 gyasta-ḥaysā brū-haḍāna<sup>7</sup> ——— ——— vāysye<sup>iii</sup>pāntarā -  
*bhagavān pūrv-āhṇa -kāla-samaye nivāsyā pātra-*  
 cīvara paṇanāti Śrāvasta mistā-kītha piṇḍā traṇḍa  
*cīvaram āḍāya Śrāvastīm mahā-nagarīm piṇḍāya prāvīkṣat |*

<sup>1</sup> Lit. Skt. *evam etad* ; see fol. 7a<sup>iii</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly repeated ; śe is loc. sg. of śau = Skt. *eka* ; see fol. 5b<sup>ii</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See Remark 11, below.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently lit. Skt. *viharan abhūt* ; see *vya* in fol. 33a<sup>ii</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Skt. *mahiṣṭha* = *mistā*, of which *mistāna* is the instr. case.

<sup>6</sup> *Sāgā* = Skt. *saṁgha* with disaspirated *gh*, as in *darma* = Skt. *dhurma*.

<sup>7</sup> *Haḍāna*, loc. sg. of *haḍā*, Skt. *ahan* ; see below, in Remarks 7 and 13.

<sup>iv</sup>nti — gyastā-ḥaysā (nti gyastā-ḥaysā<sup>1</sup>) kū Śrāvastā  
*atha khalu bhagavān Śrāvastīm*  
 mästā-kītha piṇḍā [4b<sup>i</sup>] vātsuta-hamyē<sup>2</sup> tā kū  
*mahā-nagarīm piṇḍāya caritvā — —*  
 khāysta-kirā-yudā - yude hvadā khāysā<sup>3</sup> kū <sup>ii</sup>scetā-  
*bhaktā — kṛta - kṛtyaḥ paścād bhaktā- — piṇḍapāta*  
 paryeta-hamyē<sup>2</sup> pāntara - cīvarā pajsī byi-pāha<sup>4</sup>  
*pratīkrāntaḥ pātra - cīvaram̄ pratiśāmya pādau*  
 ysnātā ——— <sup>iii</sup>prañavyi — āysam̄ vira ṇastā<sup>5</sup> bastā  
*prakṣalya nyaṣīdat prajñapta eva āsane*  
 palam̄gā (ra-ṣṭā nta ram̄ da <sup>iv</sup>ra na vi snā tā  
*paryāṅkam (ābhūjya ṛju kāyam̄ praṇidhāya*  
 pyam̄ tsā ntū śā nte tā byā ta jā va e vyetā |)<sup>6</sup>  
*pratimukhīm̄ smṛtim̄ upasthāpya |)<sup>6</sup>  
 Nti tā [5a<sup>i</sup>] pharāka āṣīrya<sup>7</sup> kaṁma hālai  
*Atha khalu sambahulā bhikṣavo yena — —*  
 gyastānā gyastā-ḥaysā vyeta<sup>8</sup> hāṣṭā tsuām̄<sup>ii</sup>dā kū  
 ——— *bhagavān — — (tena) upasam̄kraman —*  
 vara-hamyā gyastānā gyastā-ḥaysā pā ntirājsa  
*(upasam̄kramya)*<sup>9</sup> ——— *bhagavataḥ pādau śīrobhir*  
 namasyā<sup>iii</sup>dā gyastā-ḥaysā drai tcīra-hvaram̄<sup>10</sup>-cai-nā-  
*abhivandya bhagavantam̄ triṣṣṭ padakṣiṇī - kṛtya*  
 tvanā tsuām̄dā<sup>11</sup> u śau-hā<sup>iv</sup>laimi<sup>12</sup> ṇasta |  
 ——— ——— - *ek - ānte nyaṣīdan ||**

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed phrase is wrongly repeated.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently lit. Skt. *caran bhūtvā, pratīkrāman bhūtvā*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably wrong for khāystā.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Skt. *dvau pādau*.

<sup>5</sup> ṇastā = Skt. *nyaṣīdat* is transplaced ; see fols. 5a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently in the bracketed portion the two texts differ.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently āṣīrī sg., āṣīrya pl. = Skt. *bhikṣuḥ, bhikṣavaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently vyeta = Skt. *abhūt* or some similar word ; cf. fol. 4b<sup>iv</sup> ;  
*ante* foot-note 4, *infra* foot-note 22.

<sup>9</sup> The bracketed equations are doubtful.

<sup>10</sup> Hvaram̄ = Skt. *dakṣiṇam̄* ; cf. fol. 5b<sup>ii</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Repeated from above.

<sup>12</sup> Hālaimi, loc. sg. of *hāla*, "locality" = Skt. *anta* = *sthāna* ; cf. fol. 5a<sup>i</sup>,  
*hālai*.

Ntye (scera vā-teā)<sup>1</sup> ————— āṣiri Subhūta vara<sup>2</sup>  
 Tena (khalu punaḥ)<sup>1</sup> samayena āyuṣmān Subhūtis —  
 ntiña parṣaṇa [5b<sup>i</sup>] haṅgri vyitā<sup>3</sup> u<sup>4</sup> ṇastā  
 tasyān parṣadi samnipatito 'bhūt — saniniṣaṇṇaḥ |  
 nti ————— āṣiri Subhūta āysaṅ napatata<sup>ii</sup>śau - sve  
 atha khalu āyuṣmān Subhūtir āsanād utthāya ek - āmsaṅ  
 cīvarā prahauṣṭi<sup>5</sup> u<sup>4</sup> hvarān dai ysāṅṇu —————  
 uttarāsaṅgaṅ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṅ — jānu-maṅḍalaṅ  
 śadya pārāu<sup>iii</sup>nti kām̄ma hālai<sup>6</sup> gyastā-ḥaysā  
 pṛthivyāṅ pratiṣṭhāpya yena ————— bhagavān  
 āṣṭā<sup>7</sup> hāṣṭā ajaṅlā<sup>8</sup> dastā<sup>iv</sup>yudai<sup>9</sup> u gyastā-ḥaysā  
 ————— (tena) aṅjalim praṇamya — bhagavantam  
 nta hve sā<sup>10</sup>-duṣkarā miḍāṅna gyasta-ḥaysa [6a<sup>i</sup>]  
 etad avocat | ————— āścaryaṅ ————— bhagavan  
 ————— ————— ————— cu ntira gyastānā gyastā-  
 (param-āścaryaṅ Sugata)<sup>11</sup> yāvad eva ————— —————  
 ḥaysāna ntāhirauhvaṅṅākānā (pa-jsa-<sup>ii</sup>mānā ā ṣa ṇna ṛa-  
 ————— tathāgatena (arhatā samyak-  
 ṣṭā bi-sā hā lā bi ysā dā a hu jsa)<sup>12</sup> bau<sup>iii</sup>dhisatva  
 sambuddhena)<sup>12</sup> bodhisattvā

<sup>1</sup> The two texts differ; the E. Turk. may mean Skt. *piṅḍapātāṅ cārītvā*; cf. fols. 4a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>i</sup>, <sup>ii</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See fol. 5a<sup>ii</sup>, vara-hamya; 'Sanskrit equivalent unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently vyitā = vyeta, fol. 5a<sup>i</sup>, foot-note 15.

<sup>4</sup> Here, and elsewhere, u = Skt. *ca*, resolving Skt. conj. participles into finite verbs.

<sup>5</sup> Probably śau-sve cīvarā prahauṣṭi lit. = Skt. *ekāṅsac cīvaram apanīya*, having withdrawn the robe from one shoulder.

<sup>6</sup> Hālaṅ, loc. sg. of *hāla*, "locality" = Skt. *anta* = *sthāna*; cf. fol. 5a<sup>i</sup>, hālai.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Skt. *abhūt* or *āsīt*; cf. āṣṭā-vya, fol. 3b<sup>iv</sup>, and āṣṭā, fol. 32a<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Probably wrong for aṅjalā.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently lit. Skt. *hastāṅjalim kṛtvā*; cf. yudā-yudē, fol. 4b<sup>i</sup>, and dastā = *hastā*. Regarding the whole passage, see Professor Leumann's remarks in JGOS., lxii, p. 107.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps sā = Skt. *parama*.

<sup>11</sup> Bracketed phrase omitted in E. Turk. text.

<sup>12</sup> The equivalence of the two bracketed texts is not intelligible.

mistā-ḥaysuṃ ṅavuysā<sup>1</sup> haṃdāḍana biṣāpirmā<sup>iv</sup>ntamye<sup>2</sup>  
*mahā - sattvā* ————— *anugrhitāḥ* *parameṇa*  
 haṃdārājṣa ————— cu ntarā gyastā-ḥaysāna  
*anugraheṇa | āścaryam bhagavan yāvad eva* —————  
 ntāharātsukana [6b<sup>i</sup>] (tkhai ṣī nām nā sā nām nā tvī ṣā  
*tathāgatena* (arhatā  
 ya nā-kā-na sa mna bi-śām nā hi rām nā<sup>ii</sup>va ma sā-  
*samyak-sambuddhena)*<sup>3</sup>  
 ka-na u hu jṣa)<sup>3</sup> baudhisatvā mistā-ḥaysuṃ ṅavuysā<sup>1</sup>  
*bodhisattvā maha - sattvāḥ* —————  
 ysi<sup>iii</sup>nīyahauḍi biṣāpirmāntamye<sup>2</sup> ysinīyahaurāmmejṣa  
*parīnditāḥ paramayā parīndanayā |*  
 nta khu<sup>iv</sup>vā miḍāmna gyasta-ḥaysā ḥaysu<sup>4</sup> ṅavuysaina<sup>1</sup>  
*tat katham* ————— *bhagavan* —————  
 baudhisatva-yāmṅa- [7a<sup>i</sup>] haṃjsadaina mara<sup>5</sup>  
*bodhisattva - yāna- samprasthitena kulaputreṇa vā*  
*mahāyāmṅā* ————— *viṣṭāṅa u khvai*  
*kuladuhitrā vā sthātavyam katham pratipattavyam - katham*  
 aysmu baysamjāmṅa  
*cittam pragrahītavyam ||*

<sup>ii</sup>Ntye hvaye-hvaṅai gyastānā gyastā-ḥaysā āṣiri  
*Evam ukte* ————— *bhagavān āyusmantam*

<sup>1</sup> Here mistā-ḥaysuṃ = Skt. *mahā-sattvā*, but the two texts really do not agree. In the Sanskrit text *mahāsattvāḥ* goes with *bodhisattvāḥ*, both being nom. plur., but in the E. Turk. text mistā-ḥaysuṃ ṅavuysā seems to stand by itself, for some of the parallel passages have only ḥaysuṃ ṅavuysā (fols. 6b<sup>iv</sup>, 7a<sup>iv</sup>, 8a<sup>i</sup>, b<sup>iii</sup>, 9a<sup>iii</sup>), though what the word ṅavuysā may exactly mean is not clear. See Professor Leumann's remarks in JGOS., lxii, p. 109, with which, however, I do not agree.

<sup>2</sup> Mye, or ma, is an inflectional suffix, like mī in hālamī, fol. 5a<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The equivalence of the two bracketed texts is not intelligible.

<sup>4</sup> Probably wrong for ḥaysuṃ.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently mara corresponds to the technical term *jāra*, Skt. *yāvat* of Jaina texts, used to indicate omitted standing formulæ, such as *kulaputreṇa*, etc. It means also Skt. *iha*, fols. 9a<sup>ii</sup>, 31b<sup>i</sup>.

Subhūta<sup>iii</sup> nta hve śirā śirā Subhūta nta nta ṣi-hārā<sup>1</sup>  
*Subhūtim etad avocat sādhu sādhu Subhūte evam etad* ———

Subhūta ——— ——— ——— ——— hamdādā<sup>iv</sup> gyasta-ḥaysāna  
*Subhūte evam etad yathā vadasi | anugṛhitās tathāgatena*  
 baudhisatva ——— ——— ḥaysuṁ ṅavuysaina<sup>2</sup>  
*bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ* ——— ———

biśāpīrmāntamye<sup>3</sup> [7b<sup>i</sup>] hamdārajsa  
*parameṇa anugraheṇa*

<sup>4</sup> cu ntirā gyasta-  
 ḥaysāna ntāhirauntsukana tsai ṣi nām nā sā nām nā tvī  
 ṣā ya nā-kā na sa mna ba-śām na hi rām<sup>iii</sup> nā va ma  
 sā-kā-na u hu jsa baudhisatva mistā-ḥaysuṁ ṅavuysai  
<sup>iv</sup> na ysīniyahauḍā biśāpīrmāntamye ysīniyāhaurāmmejsa  
 [8a<sup>i</sup>] nta khuvā miḍāmṇā gyastā-ḥaysā ḥaysu ṅavuysaina  
 baudhisatva-yām<sup>ii</sup> ṅa-hamjsadaina mara mahāyāmṇa viṣṭāṅa  
 u khuai aysmu nā<sup>iii</sup> sāṅā<sup>4</sup> ntye hvaye-hvaṅai gyasta-ḥaysa  
 āṣiri Subhūta nta hve<sup>iv</sup> śirā śirā Subhūta nta nta ṣi-hirā  
 Subhūta hamdāḍa ḥaysana<sup>5</sup> bau[8b<sup>i</sup>]dhisatvā biśāpīr-  
 māntamā hamdārājsa

ysīnihauḍā<sup>6</sup> gyastā-ḥaysāna bau<sup>ii</sup>dhisatva ———  
*parīnditās tathāgatena bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ*  
 biśāpīrmāntamā ysīnihaurāmmejsa ta ntina Subhūta pyū  
*paramayā parīndanayā<sup>2</sup> hi tena<sup>1</sup> Subhūte śṛṇu*  
<sup>iii</sup> śiri — subiji — aysmayayam asye hvāṅi mā khu  
*sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi kuru | bhāṣiṣye aham yathā*  
 ḥaysu<sup>7</sup> ṅavu<sup>iv</sup>ysaina baudhisatva-yāmṇa-ḥadaina  
 ——— ——— *bodhisattva-yāna-saṁprasthitena*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently ṣi-hārā = Skt. *tasya*, gen. of ṣi or ṣā, Skt. *saḥ*, demonstrative pron., corresponding to ci-hārā = Skt. *kasya*, interrog. pron., fols. 10a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>i</sup>, 31b<sup>iv</sup>, 32a<sup>ii</sup>, 37a<sup>iv</sup>; the rel. pron. is cu = Skt. *yaḥ*, nom. sg., fols. 9b<sup>i</sup>, ii, iii, 32a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>ii</sup>, iv, 33a<sup>i</sup>, ii.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 1, p. 1287.

<sup>3</sup> Mye, or ma, is an inflectional suffix, like mī in hālamī, fol. 5a<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently by the copyist's carelessness this paragraph has been repeated from fol. 6a<sup>i</sup>, the only point of difference being nāsāṅā = Skt. *pragrahītavyam* for baysamjāmṇa, introduced from fol. 9a<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Read gyasta-ḥaysāna, as above, fol. 7a<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently wrong for ysīniyahauḍā; see fol. 6b<sup>iii</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Probably wrong for ḥaysuṁ.



mara<sup>1</sup> mahāyāmñā — viṣṭāñā u khi [9a<sup>i</sup>] mara<sup>2</sup>  
*sthātavyam yathā pratipattavyam - yathā*  
 aysmu nāsāñā nta nta śirā<sup>3</sup> gyasta-ḥaysa —  
*cittam pragrahitavyam | evam — — bhagavan iti*  
 ntūñajsaḍā āśī<sup>ii</sup>rī Subhūta gyasta-ḥaysāna pyūṣṭe  
 ————— *āyuṣmān Subhūtir bhagavataḥ pratyāśrauṣīt ||*  
 Gyastā-ḥaysī nta hve mara<sup>iii</sup> Subhūta ḥaysu<sup>4</sup>  
*Bhagavān etad avocat | iha Subhūte ———*  
 ṇavuyasaina<sup>5</sup> baudhisatva-yāmñā-hamjsamḍai<sup>iv</sup>na nta  
 ————— *bodhisattva-yāna-samprasthitena evam*  
 (nta<sup>6</sup>) aysmu upevāmñā cu-burā ————— satva ———  
 — *cittam utpādayitavyam yāvantaḥ Subhūte sattvāḥ sattva-*  
 ————— *satvām-nāsāmejsa ham[9b<sup>i</sup>]khiṣaysāya<sup>7</sup> u āhya-*  
*dhātau sattva-samgrahena sam grhīta - anḍa-*  
*ysāta wa purāmñā-ysāta cu<sup>8</sup> ganiṣṭā-ysā<sup>ii</sup>ta — ūvavā*  
*jā vā jarāyu-jā vā samsveda-jā vā upapādukā*  
 cu<sup>8</sup> hamtsa-rūvina<sup>9</sup> (rūvana<sup>10</sup>) — anau-rūvāna<sup>11</sup> cu<sup>8</sup>  
*vā rūpiṇo vā a-rūpiṇo vā*  
 ham<sup>iii</sup>tsa-syāmejsa cu<sup>8</sup> anau-syāmejsa cu-vā<sup>8</sup> nti satva cu  
*samjñino vā asamjñino vā eva<sup>2</sup> ——— —*  
 ni ham<sup>iv</sup>tsa-syāmejsa — anau-syāmijsa — ku-burā  
<sup>1</sup>  
*na samjñino na asamjñino vā yāvan-kascit*  
 satva-dāta-praṇavāña [10a<sup>i</sup>] ma-ta-ñā-pi-ya nti —  
*sattva-dhātu-prajñāpyamānaḥ prajñāpyate te ca*  
 satva muhujsa harbiśā aharina nirvāña ———  
 ————— *mayā sarve anupadhiseṣe nirvāna-dhātau*

<sup>1</sup> See n. 5, p. 1287.

<sup>2</sup> Mara, if it is = *jāva* = *yāvat*, seems to be here superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent of the E. Turk. text would be *evam etad sādhu*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably wrong for ḥaysuñ.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 1, p. 1287.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently nta has been wrongly repeated.

<sup>7</sup> Reading doubtful, folio damaged.

<sup>8</sup> The Sanskrit text has *vā*, but the E. Turk. *cu* would rather be = Skt. *yah*, rel. pron.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. Skt. *sārdham-rūpiṇaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> Wrongly repeated.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. Skt. *vinā-rūpiṇaḥ*.

pa<sup>ii</sup>ranirvāña | dādirā avamāta satva ku  
 parinirvāpayitavyāḥ | evam aparimāṇān satvān api  
 parinirvāye <sup>iii</sup>hamāti <sup>1</sup> | na haḍi <sup>2</sup> kāmujaḥ ṣai śau <sup>3</sup> satva  
 parinirvāpya na — kaścit — — sattvaḥ  
 paranirvāye <sup>iv</sup>hāmā | nta ci-hārā kiḍna — ci Subhūta  
 parinirvāpito bhavati | tat kasya hetoḥ | sa cet Subhūte  
 baudhisatva — samña [10b<sup>i</sup>] hāmātā ni ṣā  
 bodhisattvasya sattva-samjñā pravarteta na sa  
 baudhisatvā — hvañai nta ci-hārā kiḍna | ni ṣi Subhūta  
 bodhisatva iti vaktavyaḥ | tat kasya hetoḥ | na sa Subhūte  
 bau<sup>ii</sup>dhisatvā hvañai ci satvā-vīra-samña hamātā  
 bodhisatto vaktavyo yasya sattva — samjñā pravarteta  
 wa jvākā <sup>4</sup>-vīra-<sup>iii</sup>samña wa pudgalā-vīra-samña —  
 jīva — samjñā vā pudgala — samjñā vā  
 hāme  
 pravarteta |

Here four folios are missing, Nos. 11–14.

### SECOND EXTRACT.

Stein MS., fol. 31a<sup>iii</sup> = M.M. ed., p. 35, l. 18, § 17.

Nti vā āṣiri Subhūtā gya<sup>iv</sup>sta-ḥaysā nta hve  
 Atha khalu āyuṣmān Subhūtir bhagavantam etad avocat |  
 khuvā miḍāmna gyasta - ḥaysā baudhisatvā - yāmni  
 katham ————— bhagavan bodhisattva-yāna  
 marā <sup>5</sup> [31b<sup>i</sup>] mahāyāña <sup>6</sup> —————  
 samprasthitena sthātavyam katham pratipattavyam  
 ————— aysmu biysamjāmñā gyastā-ḥaysī nta hve  
 katham cittam pragrahītavyam | bhagavān — āha |

<sup>1</sup> The two texts seem to differ in this passage; dādirā is hardly = Skt. *evam*, which is *nta*, and *ku parinirvāye hamāti* would mean Skt. *kaḥ* (or *katham*) *parinirvāpitaḥ pravarteta*; see fols. 10a<sup>iii</sup>, b<sup>i</sup>, 31b<sup>iv</sup>, 32a<sup>ii</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The colophon of the MS. has *haḍi* = Skt. *ārya*, fol. 44b<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. *kāmujaḥ ṣai śau* = Skt. *kaścit sa ekaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a mere clerical blunder for *jīva*; see fol. 32a<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 5, p. 1287.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mahāyāmñā*; cf. fol. 7a<sup>i</sup>.

mara Subhūta baudhisa<sup>ii</sup>tva— ————— māstā-  
 iha Subhūte bodhisattva-yāna-saṃprasthitena ———  
 ḥaysuṃ nāvuyśaina<sup>1</sup> nta-nta aysmu upevāñā biśā  
 ————— evaṃ cittam utpādayitavyam sarve  
 satva ——— ahari<sup>iii</sup>na ————— paranirvāyāmñā |  
 sattvā mayā anupadhiseṣe nirvāṇa-dhatau parinirvāpayitavyaḥ |  
 ——— ————— ni haḍi<sup>2</sup> kāmuja satva  
 evaṃ ca sattvān parinirvāpya na ——— kaścit sattvaḥ  
 paranirvāñā<sup>3</sup> ivhāmā | nta ci-hārā<sup>4</sup> kiṇa | — ci Subhūta  
 parinirvāpito bhavati | tat kasya, hetoḥ | sa cet Subhūte  
 baudhisatvā satva-saṃñā hamāti [32a<sup>i</sup>] ni ṣa  
 bodhisattvasya sattva-saṃjñā pravarteta na sa  
 baudhisatvā — hvañai wa ātma-saṃñā wa vā jīva-  
 bodhisattva iti vaktavyaḥ | [vā ātma-saṃjñā<sup>5</sup>] vā — jīva-  
 saṃñā ——— wa pudgalā-saṃñā — <sup>ii</sup>hamāti ni ṣi  
 saṃjñā yāvat<sup>2</sup> vā pudgala-saṃjñā vā pravarteta na sa  
 baudhisatva — hvañai nta ci-hārā kiṇa ni-śtā ———  
 bodhisattva iti vaktavyaḥ | tat kasya hetoḥ | nāsti Subhūte  
 ṣi dharmā<sup>iii</sup> kāmuja — baudhisatva-yāmñā-haṃjsedai āya |  
 sa dharmāḥ kaścit yo bodhisattva-yāna-saṃprasthito nāma ||  
 ——— ————— aśtā nai ṣi Subhūta ———  
 Tat kiṃ manasye Subhūte asti — sa ————— kaścid  
<sup>iv</sup>dharmā cu<sup>4</sup> gyasta-ḥaysāna Dīpaṃkarā gyasta-baysā  
 dharmo yas tathāgatena Dīpaṃkarasya tathāgatasya  
 iñaka ————— biśāpīrmāntamā [32b<sup>i</sup>] ḥaysu-śtā  
 antikād anuttarāṃ samyak- sambodhiṃ  
 bustā āya ntye hvaye-hvanai āśirī  
 sambuddhaḥ | [nāma] evam ukte āyuṣmān  
 Subhūta gyastā-ḥaysā <sup>ii</sup>nta hve —————  
 Subhūtir bhagavantam etad avocat | yathāham

<sup>1</sup> Here the two texts do not quite agree ; see fols. 6b<sup>v</sup>, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The colophon of the MS. has haḍi = Skt. ārya, fol. 44b<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Read paranirvāye, as in fol. 10a<sup>iii</sup> ; for paranirvāñā = Skt. parinirvāpayitavya see fol. 10a<sup>iii</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 1, p. 1288.

<sup>5</sup> For the Sanskrit version see foot-note 1 on p. 21 of M. M. edition.

\_\_\_\_\_ sä ni-štā  
*bhagavan bhagavato bhāṣitasya artham ājānāmi — nāsti*  
 mādārna — gyastā-ḥaysā kāmujā ṣā dharmā cu <sup>1</sup>  
 \_\_\_\_\_ sa bhagavan kaścid — dharmo yas  
 gyasta-ḥaysā<sup>iii</sup>na (\_\_\_\_\_ )  
*tathāgatena (Dīpaṅkarasya tathāgatasya arhataḥ*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ )  
*samyak - sambuddhasya antikād anuttarām*  
 biśāpirmāntama<sup>2</sup>-ḥaysu-štā bustā āya)<sup>3</sup> ntye hvaye-hvanai  
*samyak-sambodhim sambuddhaḥ|)<sup>3</sup> evam ukte*  
 gyasta-ḥa<sup>iv</sup>ysā āṣiri Subhūtā nta hve nta nta  
*bhagavān āyuṣmantam Subhūtim etad avocat | evam etad*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ṣi-hārā <sup>1</sup> Subhūta ni-štā kāmujā ṣi  
*Subhūte evam etad \_\_\_\_\_ Subhūte nāsti kaścid sa*  
 dharmā cu <sup>1</sup> [33a<sup>i</sup>] gyasta-ḥaysna Dīpaṅkarā  
*dharmo yas tathāgatena Dīpaṅkarasya*  
 gyasta-ḥaysana <sup>4</sup> (\_\_\_\_\_ )  
*tathāgatasya (arhataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ )  
 antikād anuttarām samyak-sambodhim sambuddhaḥ|)<sup>3</sup> sa  
 cī \_\_\_\_\_ Subhūta <sup>ii</sup>kāmujā ṣi <sup>1</sup> dharmā vya cu <sup>5</sup>  
*cet punaḥ Subhūte kaścid — dharmas — —*  
 gyasta-ḥaysana ḥaysuštābustā vya ni muhu  
*tathāgatena abhisambuddho abhaviṣyat na mām*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ <sup>iii</sup>vyirasā hamathu \_\_\_\_\_ māṇavā  
*Dīpaṅkaras tathāgato vyākariṣyat bhaviṣyasi tvam māṇavān*

<sup>1</sup> See n. 1, p. 1288.

<sup>2</sup> This represents here Skt. *samyak*, and in fols. 6a<sup>iii</sup>, b<sup>iii</sup>, 7a<sup>iv</sup>, 8b<sup>i</sup>, Skt. *paramēṇa* or *paramayā*; and biśā by itself represents Skt. *sarve* (properly *viśvāḥ*) in fol. 31b<sup>ii</sup>; hence biśā-pirmāntama perhaps lit. = Skt. *sarva-prakāreṇa*, or some similar phrase.

<sup>3</sup> In the bracketed portion the two texts do not agree.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps wrong for gyasta-ḥaysā, for the form ending in na usually stands for the instrumental case.

<sup>5</sup> Vya cu = Skt. *abhaviṣyat yaḥ*, missing in the Sanskrit text.

ustamājsi bāḍā Śākya-munā nāma gya<sup>iv</sup>sta-ḥaysä |  
 āgate adhvani Śākya-munir nāma tathāgato

arhan samyak-sambuddha iti ||

The continuation does not seem to agree in the two texts.

APARIMITĀYUḤ SŪTRA, fol. 1b.

Saddham nta nta muhuj̄sa pyūṣṭā śiña<sup>1</sup> beḍa  
 Siddham | evaṁ — mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye  
 gyastā-ḥaysä Śrāvastā āsta-vye Jivārispurābāśa  
 bhagavān Śrāvastyām viharati-sma Jetavane  
 Anātha<sup>ii</sup>piṇḍi-hārū saṁkhyerma —————  
 Anāthapiṇḍasya ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṁghena  
 ————— dvāsse-paṁjsā śau āśiryaujsa — u  
 sārddham ardha-trayodaśabhir — bhikṣu - śataiḥ cā<sup>2</sup>  
 pharākyau baudhisatvau mistyau-ḥaysu ṅavu<sup>iii</sup>ysyaujsa<sup>2</sup>  
 sambāhulaiś bodhisattvair mahā-sattvaiḥ —————  
 hatsa<sup>3</sup> | Ntiña<sup>4</sup> — beḍamī gyastā-ḥaysä Mamjuśri  
 ————— Tatra khalu ————— bhagavān Mamjuśriyam  
 eysāxam<sup>5</sup>-gurṣṭe untaipastisa āścā<sup>6</sup> Mamjuśryu  
 kumāra-bhūtam āmantrayate-sma | asti Mamjuśriḥ  
<sup>iv</sup>sarbaṁdā-hālai guṇa<sup>7</sup> Aparamintā-saṁcayā nāmma  
 upariṣṭāyām aparimita-guṇa-saṁcayo nāma  
 lova-dāvāra<sup>8</sup> |  
 loka-dhātuḥ |

<sup>1</sup> Loc. sg. of śau = Skt. *eka*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ṅavuysaina in *Vajracchedikā*, fol. 31b<sup>ii</sup>; i.e. ṅavuysai with instrumental suffix na or jsa.

<sup>3</sup> Hatsa = Skt. *sārddham*, placed earlier after *saṁghena*.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. sg. of nta = Skt. *tat*.

<sup>5</sup> The consonant (x) of the final syllable is broken off.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps an error for āstā; see fol. 32a<sup>iv</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *Guṇa* is placed differently in the two texts.

<sup>8</sup> *Dāvāra* may be a clerical error for *dātara*, for *v* and *t* are not unfrequently confounded, and *dāta* = Skt. *dhātu*, see fol. 9b<sup>iv</sup>; *dātara* would seem to be the plural of *dāta*; see my "Report", JASB., 1901, Extra No. 1, p. 34.

## REMARKS.

1. The term "E. Turk.", occasionally used in this paper, is not to be taken to prejudge the question of the identity of the "unknown language", but is simply a convenient way of indicating the language as coming to us from Eastern Turkestan.

2. A peculiar diacritical mark occurs in the original manuscript under certain syllables (*akṣara*). It resembles a rough semicircle, opening upwards (see Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, in *ḡaysä* and *bāṣa*, and in fol. 32, l. 1, *ṣa* and l. 2, *ṣi*). In the transcript it is indicated similarly. The syllables, with which, so far, I have found it, are *na* (in *nastä*), *ba* (in *baysa*), *ṣa* (e.g. in *parṣa*), *ha* (e.g. in *hadaina*, fol. 8*b*<sup>iv</sup>), and once *pā*, fol. 5*a*<sup>ii</sup>; again, *ṣi*, fols. 32*a*<sup>ii</sup>, *b*<sup>ii</sup>, and *ṣi* (e.g. in *āṣiri*). It will be seen that it usually occurs in syllables containing a short vowel, which, as a rule, is *a*, though it may be *i*. The single case of a long vowel is *pā*. The significance of the mark has, so far as I know, not yet been discovered; nor whether it is concerned with the consonant or the vowel of the syllable. I may, however, draw attention to the curious circumstance attending the spelling of the word which I have transcribed *baysä*, as possibly throwing light on the phonetic value of the mark. The circumstance I refer to is detailed below in No. 11.

3. Another peculiar diacritical mark, now well known, is the double dot over a syllable containing the short ("inherent") vowel *a*. I have never found it with any other vowel, save an exceptional *ā*. Its significance is not exactly known, but it appears to indicate an indistinct, or "neutral", vowel; for some words are found spelled indifferently with *ā* or *i*, e.g., *mistä* or *mästä*, *hamāti* or *hamätä*, *hirä* or *härä*, *ṣi* or *ṣä*; similarly, *munä* for Skt. *muni*, *rūvina* or *rūväna* for Skt. *rūpiṇah*. The exceptions of *ā* are *hamāti* or *hamätä*, fol. 10*b*<sup>ii</sup>, and *hamdārajsa*, fol. 7*b*<sup>i</sup>, or *hamdārājsa*, fol. 8*b*<sup>i</sup>. It may be observed that in both these cases the usual *ā* occurs also in the adjoining syllable.

4. There occur two peculiar consonantal signs. One appears in *wa* = Skt. *vā*, fols. 9<sup>b</sup><sup>i</sup>, 10<sup>b</sup><sup>i</sup>, <sup>ii</sup>, 32<sup>a</sup><sup>i</sup>; the other, as a conjunct, in *drai* = Skt. *tri*, and, as a non-conjunct, in *raṣṭā* = Skt. *ābhujya*, fol. 4<sup>b</sup><sup>iii</sup>, etc. The latter I take to represent the cerebral consonant *ṛ* (as in Hindi). Its form may be seen in *ri*, in the accompanying Plate, fol. 3, l. 4, *akṣara* 7 from the right.<sup>1</sup> The other was identified by Drs. Sieg and Siegling in *Sitzungsberichte, K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, No. xxix of 1908, p. 918, where its form is shown in facsimile. Its form may also be seen in the accompanying Plate, fol. 32, l. 1.<sup>2</sup>

5. Other peculiarities are an occasional disaspiration in Sanskritic words, such as *dāta* for Skt. *dhātu*, fol. 9<sup>b</sup><sup>iv</sup>, and *sägä* for Skt. *saṃgha*, fol. 4<sup>a</sup><sup>i</sup>; and an occasional suppression of the vowel *a*, as in *baysna* (Skt. *sattvena*) for *baysana* or *baysāna*, fol. 33<sup>a</sup><sup>i</sup>; perhaps also in *harbiṣä*, fol. 10<sup>a</sup><sup>i</sup>, for *hara-biṣä*, for *biṣä* by itself means Skt. *sarva* (properly *viśva*), fol. 31<sup>b</sup><sup>ii</sup>; and in *bilsägäna*, fol. 1<sup>a</sup><sup>ii</sup>, for *bila-sägäna*, Skt. *bhikṣu-saṃghena*.

6. Mere scribal errors are the repetition of *śe snye*, fol. 3<sup>b</sup><sup>iii</sup>, of *nti gyastä-baysä*, fol. 4<sup>a</sup><sup>iv</sup>, of *rūvana*, fol. 9<sup>b</sup><sup>ii</sup>, of the long paragraph on fol. 7<sup>b</sup>, and probably of *nta*, fol. 9<sup>a</sup><sup>iv</sup>; so also probably the misspellings *ajamlä* for *aṃjalä*, fol. 5<sup>b</sup><sup>iii</sup>, *ysinihaudä* for *ysiniyahaudä*, fol. 8<sup>b</sup><sup>i</sup>; and perhaps also *jvākä* for *jivä*, fol. 10<sup>b</sup><sup>ii</sup>.

7. Regarding the inflection of nouns: *na* or *jsa* indicate the instrumental case, e.g., *gyasta-baysäna* = Skt. *bhagavatā* (or *tathāgatena*), by the Blessed; *mistāna bilsägäna*, Skt. *mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena*, by a great congregation of friars; *brū-haḍāna* = Skt. *pūrvāhṇa*, by (or in) the forenoon.

<sup>1</sup> See also No. iv, l. 4, *ṛä* (formerly read by me *cä*) of pl. iv in my "Report on Three Further Collections" in the JASB., vol. lxvi, p. 234, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> See also fig. 4, l. 3, *wa* (formerly read by me first as *kha*, afterwards as *ña*), of pl. iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 35, 1893, also in the same Journal, vol. lxx, Extra No. 1, Appendix, pp. 1, 15, leaf 33<sup>b</sup><sup>iii</sup>, 1902.

Again, e.g., sg., muhujsa = Skt. *mayā*, by me, nāsāmejsa = Skt. *saṃgrahēṇa*, by the complex, haṃdārājsa = Skt. *anugrahēṇa*, by the grace; or pl., āśiryaujsa = Skt. *bhikṣubhiḥ*, by the friars, ntirājsa, Skt. *śīrobhiḥ*, with the heads. Na indicates also the genitive, in sg. gyastabaysana = Skt. *bhagavataḥ*, of the Blessed, and in pl. gyastānā = Skt. *devānām*, of the gods. The suffixes mye, or mī, or ma, or mā indicate indifferently the locative or instrumental case; e.g., śau-hālaīmī = Skt. *ekānte*, in a solitary place, and biśā-pīrmāntamye = Skt. *paramēṇa* (lit. *sarva-prakāreṇa*), in every way, thoroughly. Hārā (or hirā) or hārū seem to indicate the genitive, as in cihārā = Skt. *kasya*, of which, Anāthapiṇḍihārū = Skt. *Anāthapiṇḍasya*, of Anāthapiṇḍa.

8. Regarding the inflection of verbs: we have 3rd sg. pres. ind., hāmā = Skt. *bhavati*, he is, fol. 10a<sup>iv</sup>; 3rd sg. pres. subj., hamāti or hāme = Skt. *pravarteta* (or *bhavet*), fols. 31b<sup>iv</sup>, 10b<sup>iii</sup>; 2nd sg. fut. (or perhaps rather the 2nd sg. pres.), hamathu = Skt. *bhaviṣyasi*, fol. 33a<sup>iii</sup>. To the same series apparently belongs hamye, fol. 4b<sup>i</sup>, <sup>ii</sup>. To another auxiliary verb seems to point vya = Skt. *abhaviṣyat*, fol. 32a<sup>iii</sup>; in fol. 3b<sup>iv</sup> it seems simply to mark past time, being attached to the part. āstā, he was staying (see below); it would seem to be an abbreviation of vyetā or vyitā = Skt. *abhūt*, fols. 4b<sup>iv</sup>, 5b<sup>i</sup>. Again, another is aśtā = Skt. *asti*, fol. 32a<sup>iv</sup>, ni-śtā = Skt. *nāsti*, fol. 32a<sup>ii</sup>. The suffix of the part. fut. pass. is ñā, or ñai; e.g., upevāmñā = Skt. *utpādayitavya*, fol. 9a<sup>iv</sup>; nāsāñā = Skt. *pragrahītavya*, fol. 9a<sup>i</sup>; paranirvāñā = Skt. *parinirvāpayitavya*, fol. 10a<sup>ii</sup>; biysamjāmñā = Skt. *pragrahītavya*, fol. 31b<sup>i</sup>; mahāyāmñā = Skt. *sthātavya*, fol. 7a<sup>i</sup>; viṣtāñā = Skt. *pratipattavya*, fol. 8b<sup>iv</sup>; hvañai = Skt. *vaktavya*, fol. 10b<sup>i</sup>. To the last-mentioned verb belong the 3rd sg. past, hve = Skt. *avocat* or *āha*, fols. 5b<sup>iv</sup>, 31b<sup>i</sup>, the 1st sg. fut., hvāñi = Skt. *bhāṣiṣye*, fol. 8b<sup>iii</sup>, and the part. past, hvane-hvanai = Skt. *ukte*, fol. 7a<sup>ii</sup>. Forms of the participle, or of the



imperfect, in *tä* (*ta*) or *dä*, seem to be *nastä* = Skt. *niṣaṅṅa* or *nyasīdat*, fols. 5a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>i</sup>; *paryeta* = Skt. *pratīkrānta*, fol. 4b<sup>ii</sup>; *āstā* = Skt. *viḥaran* (*āsan*), fol. 5b<sup>iv</sup>; *vātsuta* = Skt. *caran*, walking, fol. 4b<sup>i</sup>; *namasyādā* = Skt. *abhivandya* (lit. *namaskṛtya*); *tsuamḍā* = Skt. *upasaṁkraman* or *upasaṁkramya*, fol. 5a<sup>i</sup>, iii.

9. Regarding pronouns, we have the personal, 1st nom. sg., *mā* = Skt. *aham*, fol. 8b<sup>iii</sup>; acc. sg., *muhu* = Skt. *mām*, fol. 33a<sup>ii</sup>; instr. sg., *maṁma*, fol. 3b<sup>iii</sup>, or *muhujsa*, fol. 10a<sup>i</sup> = Skt. *mayā*. Again, the demonstrative, nom. sg. masc., *ṣa* or *ṣi* = Skr. *sah*, fol. 10b<sup>i</sup>, or *ṣai*, fol. 10a<sup>iv</sup>, and neut., *nta* = Skt. *tat*, or *etat*, fols. 31a<sup>iii</sup>, b<sup>ii</sup>; instr. sg., *ntye*, fol. 5a<sup>iv</sup>, or *ntina*, fol. 8b<sup>ii</sup> = Skt. *tena*; gen. sg., *ṣi-hārā* (= Skt. *tasya*), fol. 7a<sup>iii</sup>; loc. sg. fem., *ntiña*, Skt. *tasyām*, fol. 5a<sup>iv</sup>, and Ap., fol. 7b<sup>iii</sup>; nom. pl. masc., *nti* = Skt. *te*, fol. 10a<sup>i</sup>. Again, the relative, nom. sg. masc., *cu* = Skt. *yah*, fols. 32a<sup>iv</sup>, b<sup>ii</sup>; instr. sg., *kāṁma* = Skt. *yena*, fol. 5a<sup>i</sup>; gen. sg., *ci* (perhaps wrong for *ci-hārā*) = Skt. *yasya*, fol. 10b<sup>ii</sup>, and quantitatively, nom. pl. masc., *cu-burā* = Skt. *yāvantaḥ*, fol. 9a<sup>iv</sup>. Again, the interrogative, gen. sg., *ci-hārā* = Skt. *kasya*, fol. 10a<sup>iv</sup>, or adverbially, *khuvā* (*kuvā*?) = Skt. *katham*, fol. 6b<sup>iii</sup>. Again, the indefinite, nom. sg. masc., *kāmujä* = Skt. *kaścit*, fol. 10a<sup>iii</sup>, or quantitatively, *ku-burā* = Skt. *yāvan kaścit*, fol. 9b<sup>iv</sup>. That both the relative and interrogative pronouns equally show forms with initial *c* and *k* appears noteworthy.

10. Of numerals we have *śau* = Skt. *eka*, one, fols. 4a<sup>ii</sup>, 5a<sup>iii</sup>, b<sup>ii</sup>; loc. sg., *śe* or *śiña* = Skt. *ekasmin*; and *dvāsipaṁjsā*, fol. 4a<sup>i</sup>, which corresponds to Skt. *ardha-trayodaśabhiḥ*, "with half-thirteen," but which literally seems to mean "with twelve and half" (Skt. *dvādaśa-ardhaiḥ*).<sup>1</sup>

11. The word *ḥaysä* has hitherto been transcribed as *ḥalsä* by myself, as well as by Dr. Sten Konow in a dissertation

<sup>1</sup> See my "Report" in JASB., lxx, Extra No. 1, pp. 34 ff. In Document 5, l. 4, p. 38, occurs *trai-se paṁ-saya*, i.e. three hundred (and) half-hundred (350); also l. 5, *śau*, one; and in Document 8, l. 3, *paṁ-hsäro*, half-thousand (500). In the list on p. 34, "500" should be "50".

and transcript of some manuscript fragments in the "unknown language" supplied to me by him in 1906 (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 92, foot-note), and as *balysä* by Professor Leumann (see *ibid.*, p. 107). The fact is that the word is written in two different ways in different texts. In the two texts of the *Vajracchedikā* and *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* its first syllable *ba* is written with the semicircular mark under it, and its second syllable *ysä* is written with exactly the same conjunct sign as *ysa* in the word *ñavuysaina*. On the other hand, in other texts its first syllable is written *ba*, without the subscribed semicircle, and its second syllable is written with a conjunct sign which suggests the presence of some *l*-consonant, and which has been variously read as *ḷsä* or *lysä*. These two signs, *ḷsa* (*lysa*) and *ysa*, may be seen, in juxtaposition, in the second line of the obv. fol. 8 (D. iii, 1) in plate cx of Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, in the phrase *mästābalysū ñavūysai*, as transcribed by Professor Leumann (see JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 107). Exactly the same phrase occurs in our *Vajracchedikā* text, fol. 31b<sup>ii</sup>, l. 2 in the accompanying Plate, *mästābaysuṃ ñavuysaina*, as transcribed by me in the second extract; but here the identical conjunct sign *ys* is found in both words *baysuṃ* and *ñavuysaina*. This state of things seems to suggest some connexion between the semicircular mark and the *l*-sound. Might the mark not signify the cerebral consonant *ḷ* when it occurs as the second, or lower, part of a conjunct consonant, so that we should have to read the word in question as *blaysä*? The existence, in these "unknown languages" of Eastern Turkestan, of the cerebral *ḷ*, as a *consonant*, was first discovered by Professor Leumann; see his paper, "Ueber eine von den Unbekannten Literatursprachen Mittelasiens," in the Transactions of the Russian Imperial Academy, vol. iv, No. 8 (1900), p. 10. Its form, as non-conjunct, may be seen very clearly, e.g., in *sukṣmeḷ* (formerly read by me wrongly *sukṣmeu*), fig. 5, line 2, of

plate iii in my "Report on the Weber MSS." in the JASB., vol. lxii, p. 36, 1893. It resembles closely enough the form of the semicircular mark. Indeed, if it were not for the fact that the mark is occasionally found with syllables containing the vowel *i*, it might be suggested that it simply indicates the cerebral *l* as a vowel.

12. As regards the word *gyastä*, its correspondence to the Skt. *deva* was first pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow, in the dissertation above referred to, from its occurrence in the standing phrase *gyasta-nāga-aysura*, etc. = Skt. *deva-nāga-asura*, etc. But though thus its positional parity is assured, it is not necessarily so with its connotional equivalence. In that respect *gyastä* might still be = Skt. *bhagavat*, the well-known Indian epithet of the Divine being. Similarly, it remains to discover the connotional equivalent of *āṣirī*, which takes the place of both Skt. *bhikṣu* and *āyusmat*.

13. So far as I can judge at present, the language seems, in the main, to be identical with the language of the "Brāhmī Documents", published by me, in 1902, in my "Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia", in the JASB., Extra No. 1 to vol. lxx, pp. 30 ff. For example, both have *haḍā*, day, *hämä*, he is, *hamtsa*, with, *pañ*, half (see foot-note to No. 10), *pharāka*, many, *ṣi*, that, *u*, and, *ciburä*, as many, *beḍa*, time. On this point I am now disposed to agree with Drs. Sieg and Siegling (see their paper "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen," in *Sitz. Ber., K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, xxxix, pp. 915 ff., 1908), and Professor Leumann, who has fully gone into the question in his paper on the "Arische Textsprache" (JGOS., vol. lxii, pp. 83-110, 1908). To the latter scholar, who has been working for some time with great acuteness and success, notwithstanding the absence, hitherto, of any bilingual text, on fragments of "unknown language" texts from my own collection as well as from that of Dr. Stein's first tour of exploration (1900-1), we may look for the

elucidation of those phrases and passages which, even with the now available Sanskrit version, remain obscure or unintelligible. In my "Report", p. 33, I connected the language with "the so-called Ghalchah dialects of the Pamir". As a fact, the people who spoke it appear to have lived (speaking roughly) in the south of Eastern Turkestan, while the people living in the north spoke the other "unknown language", which Drs. Sieg and Siegling, following herein Dr. F. W. K. Müller (*Sitz. Ber. P. Ak. W.*, liii, p. 960, 1907), call Tokharī ("Tocharisch," l.c., p. 916). The character, common to it and the Ghalchah dialects, appears to be that, while being Indo-European, there is no direct affinity with either the Iranian or the Indo-Aryan class of languages.

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*The "Unknown Languages" of  
Eastern Turkestan. II*

BY

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

[*From the* JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *April*, 1911.]

### XIII

## THE "UNKNOWN LANGUAGES" OF EASTERN TURKESTAN. II

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

SINCE writing the article in the October number of the Journal for 1910 (pp. 1283 ff.), I have been further examining some of the manuscript treasures which Dr. Stein succeeded in recovering from the immured Temple Library near Tun-huang. In that article I gave extracts from two "bilingual" texts which I discovered among those treasures, and which promised to furnish us with the key to the southern of the two unknown languages of Eastern Turkestan.<sup>1</sup> In the present article I propose to report another discovery, which seems to throw light on some phonetic peculiarities of that language.

Among the Stein MSS. there are a number of rolls, varying in length from about 2 to 23 feet, and in breadth from about 10 to 12 inches. They are inscribed on one side with Chinese and on the other with Eastern Turkestanian characters.<sup>2</sup> The latter are not that species of upright Gupta characters of the essentially Indian type in which the two "bilingual" texts are written, and of which a specimen is shown in the Plate accompanying my article in the Journal for 1910: They rather constitute a development from the Indian Gupta characters, which has never been found in India, but which appears to have originated among the Eastern Turkestanians themselves. Moreover, in our present state of knowledge, this

<sup>1</sup> It is the "Sprache II" of Professor Leumann: see his articles in JGOS., lxi, p. 651; lxii, p. 83. His "Sprache I" is the Tokhari of the German savants mentioned below.

<sup>2</sup> They present, however, in no case anything bilingual; so I am informed by Dr. Stein, who has had the Chinese writing examined by M. Chavannes.

essentially Eastern Turkestani species of Gupta characters, which in my early report on them, in 1897, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. lxvi), I have named "cursive", appears to have been restricted to that relatively southern area of Eastern Turkestan in which the language of the two "bilingual" texts was current. In the relatively northern area of the other "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan, to which the Berlin savants propose to give the name of Tokhari, the Indian Gupta developed what, in my still earlier report on the Weber MSS., in 1893 (*ibid.*, vol. lxii, p. 4), I named the "slanting" species of it; and this species appears to have been limited to that area. We have, therefore, in Eastern Turkestan three species of Gupta characters: (1) the upright Gupta of the Indian type, (2) the "slanting" Gupta, and (3) the "cursive" Gupta, both these latter species being of Eastern Turkestani origin, and apparently restricted to the relatively northern and southern parts of Eastern Turkestan respectively. In the sequel, I shall, for the sake of brevity, provisionally distinguish the two still undefined languages of these two areas as the "northern unknown" and the "southern unknown".

Further, according to our present knowledge, the "slanting" species originated at a very early period (*circa* fourth century A.D.); for it appears in manuscripts which, so far as we know, are practically contemporary with the earliest written in the upright Gupta species.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the "cursive" species appears to have originated at a much later period, about the sixth or seventh century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> if we may judge from the

<sup>1</sup> e.g., in the Weber MSS., and in Dr. Stein's palm-leaf MS. from Miran, of the third or fourth century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> According to the testimony of Chinese pilgrims of the sixth and seventh centuries, the script of Khotan and its district was that of the Brahmans. This, however, may, and probably does, refer to the upright Gupta script, which was current in those parts of Eastern Turkestan alongside of the "cursive" Gupta. See Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, p. 90, where the authorities are quoted.

age of the Chinese documents, together with which the documents in "cursive" Gupta have been found, and which belong to the eighth century (see Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, p. 271). There is a curiously suggestive similarity of *ductus* between the Kharoshthi and "cursive" Gupta types of writing found in Eastern Turkestan. Both favour an elongated form of letters, as compared with the squat form of the upright or Indian Gupta. This similarity suggests that the "cursive" Gupta may have developed under the influence of the Kharoshthi script, which was current in the same area at a much earlier period, and that the "cursive" Gupta came in when the Kharoshthi went out of fashion.

Our acquaintance with the "cursive" Gupta script dates from the year 1895, when the Godfrey MSS. fell into my hands. The first specimens of it were published by me from those manuscripts in 1897, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. lxvi, pp. 225 ff., pls. iv-vii). Additional specimens from them were published in 1901 in my "Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities", pt. ii (published as an Extra Number of *JASB.*, lxx, pp. 30 ff., pls. vi, vii), and by Dr. Stein in his *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, pl. cx (D. iii, 12). In my description of the documents in which the script occurred, I said that "the characters of the writing are evidently Brāhmi of a very cursive type" (*JASB.*, vol. lxvi, p. 229), and in my Report (p. 32) I spoke of the script as "a species of cursive Brāhmi". The main reason for thus designating the script was that it represented a very degraded type of the upright Gupta script, and that its use seemed to be confined to documents, public or private, semi-religious or secular, to the exclusion of all literature proper, whether religious or secular. The latter distinction still holds good. Even now, with all the mass of manuscripts, literary and documentary,



which Dr. Stein has brought back from his last tour of exploration, the "cursive" Gupta script has not been found employed in any literary work, nor in any *pothī*. The single exception I know of are the two folios, 7 and 8, which have been inserted into the *pothī* of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, to replace two lost folios which had been written in the ordinary literary upright Gupta of the rest of the work (see this Journal for 1910, p. 834). Still, though provisionally I retain it, because of its convenience, the term "cursive" is hardly appropriate, because the letters of the script, however quickly or badly written, are not "running", that is, not connected with one another. In this respect they do not differ from the letters of the upright or slanting species of Gupta. Moreover, as may be seen from the illustrative plates accompanying this article, they may be written with any variety of neatness or coarseness.

The initial difficulty in reading the letters of the "cursive" Gupta script was that some of them had grown so similar to one another and others had wandered so far away from their original Gupta form that their identity became almost unrecognizable. As explained in my Report of 1901 (*loc. cit.*, p. 32), it took some years before the identity, e.g. of the signs for *ma* and *bha*, was recognized. In these circumstances it was a most welcome discovery to find on the back of some of the rolls, which Dr. Stein submitted to me for examination, more or less complete tables of the Eastern Turkestani cursive alphabet and its syllabaries, which were evidently modelled on the similar tables current in India. For an account of the latter I may refer to Bühler's *Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet* (2nd ed., 1898, pp. 27 ff.), and of their Eastern Turkestani counterparts, to Watters' remarks in his *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. i, pp. 154 ff., and to Dr. Rosthorn's letter in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*,

vol. x, pp. 280 ff., also to Dr. Takakusu's Translation of Itsing, pp. 170-1. From the report of the Chinese writers about these tables, which they call *si-t'an-chang*, i.e. siddham-sections, it appears that they commenced with the word *siddham*, followed by the alphabet, or series of radical signs (Sanskrit *mātrkā*), that is, the twelve (so-called) vowels, *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au am ah*, and the thirty-four consonants, *k kh g gh ṅ, c ch j jh ṅ, ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ, t th d dh n, p ph b bh m, y r l v, ś ṣ s, h, kṣ*. Huilin, a native of Kashgar, who wrote his account at some time between 788 and 810 A.D., adds the four vowels *ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ*, which he calls supplementary. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the rolls, none of the alphabets of which includes these four supplementary vowels, must be referred to a date earlier than Huilin. The alphabet was followed by a set of syllabaries, the first of which gave the combinations of the consonants, singly, with the vowels, while the others gave the same vowel-combinations with the consonants in various ligatures. All Chinese accounts agree with regard to the first syllabary, which comprised thirty-four series of combinations, beginning with the series *ka kā, ki kī, ku kū, ke kai, ko kau, kam, kah*, and ending with the series *kṣa kṣā, kṣi kṣī*, etc. Regarding the other syllabaries the accounts do not agree. Hiuen Tsiang (seventh century) gives their number as twelve; but the number usually given (e.g., by Itsing, seventh century, Huilin, ninth century) is eighteen. The precise reason for this difference does not clearly appear from the accounts; but according to Bühler the tabulated ligatures included those made with *y, r, l, v*, and the five nasals; and that much the rolls tend to confirm. The whole *siddham-chang*, then, would appear to have been a long statement, consisting of a number of "sections" (*chang*), which began with the alphabet and continued with a varying number of syllabaries, the whole statement being headed by the word *siddham*, which served as its

name. The term *siddham-chang*, accordingly, would mean "the sections of the siddham".<sup>1</sup>

Now the rolls discovered by Dr. Stein in the main confirm those Chinese accounts. The most important, for our immediate purpose, is the Roll Ch. cviii, 007, which is 10 ft. 9 in. long by  $10\frac{3}{8}$  inches wide. On its back it is inscribed with a very long statement, which practically covers its entire length. It is divided into three sections, the first of which gives the alphabet, while the two others contain syllabaries. See Plate I, which shows the alphabet in ll. 1-6, and the commencements of the two syllabaries in ll. 8-10, 42, and ll. 43, 44. Of the two syllabaries, the first gives the vowel combinations of the single consonants (l. 9), *ka k̄ā ki k̄ī ku k̄ū*, and so forth, down to (l. 42) *kṣa kṣā kṣi kṣī*, etc., while the second gives the syllabary of the conjuncts made with *y*, that is (l. 43), *kya kyā kyī kyī*, and so forth down to *lya lyā lyi lyī*, etc. It is not complete; the series of vowel combinations of the last six ligatures, *vy, śy, ṣy, sy, hy, kṣy*, are wanting. Why they should have been omitted is not apparent, for there is just sufficient blank space left at the bottom of the roll to have taken them. But whatever the reason may have been, the omitted six series are found at the extreme top of the back of another roll, Ch. xc, 002. See Plate II, ll. 1-6 (the original size of the portion shown is 19 by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches). The line of the first series (*vya vyā vyī vyī*, etc.) stands so close upon the upper margin of the roll that its edge cuts through some of the vowel marks, thus proving that at one time the roll must have been somewhat larger than it is at present, its present length being only 6 ft. 5 in. (with a width of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches). As, however, the papers of the two rolls are of entirely different make—Roll 002

<sup>1</sup> There has been some dispute as to the precise meaning of the Chinese word *chang*, whether it means "table" (Legge) or "section" (Julien) or "chapter" (Watters) or "composition" (Takakusu). The evidence of the rolls supports the meaning "section". But the translation "table", if not literal, is at least more suggestive of what the thing really was.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

42  
43  
44

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



is soft, while Roll 007 is hard—they cannot have constituted two portions of a single roll torn asunder. At the same time, the handwriting in the syllabaries on the two rolls is so strikingly alike as to make it impossible to doubt the identity of their writers. Roll 002 is so short that it may be suggested that originally it was some 10 feet longer, and that the portion now missing carried the alphabet and the complement of the syllabary. The upper portion being torn away and lost, the missing portion of the statement was rewritten on Roll 007. This would explain the abrupt ending of the second syllabary on the latter roll. Following immediately on the completion of the syllabary of the conjuncts with *y*, on the back of Roll 002, there comes the syllabary of the conjuncts with *r*. It begins (l. 7) with the series *kra krā kri krī*, etc., and ends (l. 39) with the series *kṣra kṣrā kṣri kṣrī*, etc., each series occupying a separate line. There are, however, only thirty-three lines instead of thirty-four, because the series with the vowel notations of the conjunct *bhr* is omitted—whether intentionally or not will be considered in the sequel (p. 464). At the end of this third syllabary there is appended the following remark:—

*vimjilaki byam̐ di ni tsa nrvī (?) hā yaṁ ñi dau la ni pa  
ja dra ā ysā ja ga tca sni pī ka sadham*

This remark concludes the statement of the alphabet and syllabaries, which commences on the back of Roll 007 and continues on the back of Roll 002; for what follows the remark on the back of the latter roll is written in an entirely different hand, and refers to a different statement, which will be explained further on (p. 457).

The precise meaning of the remark is at present not intelligible, but one point is fairly certain, namely, that the term *vimjilaki* must denote the preceding “statement”, and is probably equivalent to the Chinese term *chang* or *siddham-chang*, “sections of the siddham.” For we meet with that term, variously spelled *vajalaka* or *vaijalaka*, also

on other rolls, but always in immediate reference to statements of the alphabet and syllabaries. Thus (below, p. 457) it occurs twice on the back of Roll Ch. 0042, by way of introducing a *siddham* statement. It is found also in a like connexion on three minute fragments of the Roll Ch. 0046 in the phrase

- (1) eysa vaijalaka sūhaṅka,
- (2) . . . vaijalaka sūhaṅka,
- (3) eysa sūhaṅka vaijalaka.

We have, then, here on the back of the Rolls 007 and 002 an example of the *siddham-chang* as described by the Chinese witnesses, comprising the initial *siddham*, the alphabet, and a varying number of syllabaries, in the present case only three. But our example amplifies their testimony in two particulars. In the first place, the word *siddham* stands at the head, not only of the whole statement, but introduces also each of the "sections" (*chang*). In fact, our example interpolates a sentence between the alphabet and the series of three syllabaries. The latter are introduced thus (Pl. I, l. 7) :—

sidham nta nta mahājsa pyū,  
i.e. "listen to this siddham from me".

In the second place, the alphabet includes not only the radical signs of the letters, but also those of the numerals. It runs as follows (Pl. I, ll. 1-6) :—

- l. 1, sidham a ā e ī ā ū e ai o au aṅ a
- l. 2, k kh g gh ū • c ch j jh ñ • ṭ ṭh ṇḍ
- l. 3, ḍh ṇ • nt th d dh n • p ph b bh m
- l. 4, y r l v ś ṣ s h kṣ ८ ∞ □
- l. 5, ṭā 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30
- l. 6, 40 50 70 60

There are some peculiarities in this scheme of radical signs, to which I shall return later on. With regard to my transcript of the radical signs of the consonants, it should be observed that, as written in the original (viz., without the *virāma* attachment), they represent, considered from the Sanskrit point of view, not radicals



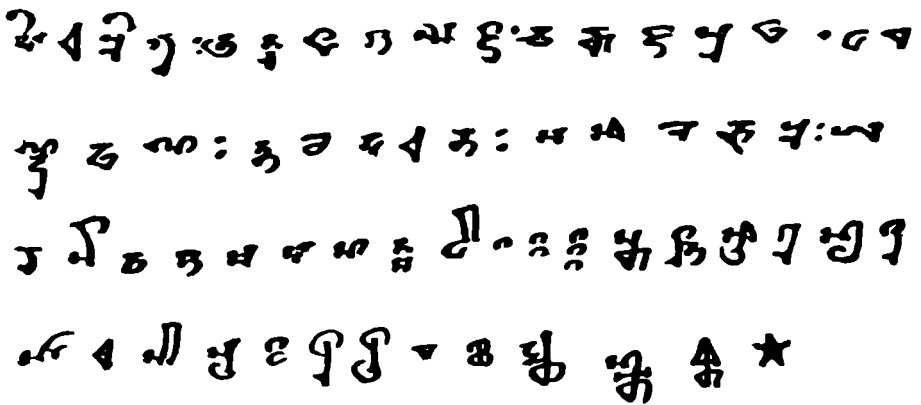




(*k kh*, etc.), but syllables (*akṣara*, *ka kha*, etc.). But the Chinese accounts explain that in the alphabet the signs express “half-sounds”, while in the syllabaries they express “full-sounds” (VOJ., x, 281). Thus the “full-sound” of a syllable (*akṣara*), e.g. of *ka*, consists of the two “half-sounds”, the consonantal element *k*, and the vocalic element *a*.

The second peculiarity, regarding the composition of the alphabetical table, is fully confirmed by another roll. This is Roll Ch. xc, 003. It is very long, measuring 22 feet, with a width of 10 inches; but with the exception of the small space (about four inches) at the top of the roll, occupied by the alphabetical table, the remainder is blank. The table is shown in Fig. 1, reduced to about one-third of the original.

FIG. 1.

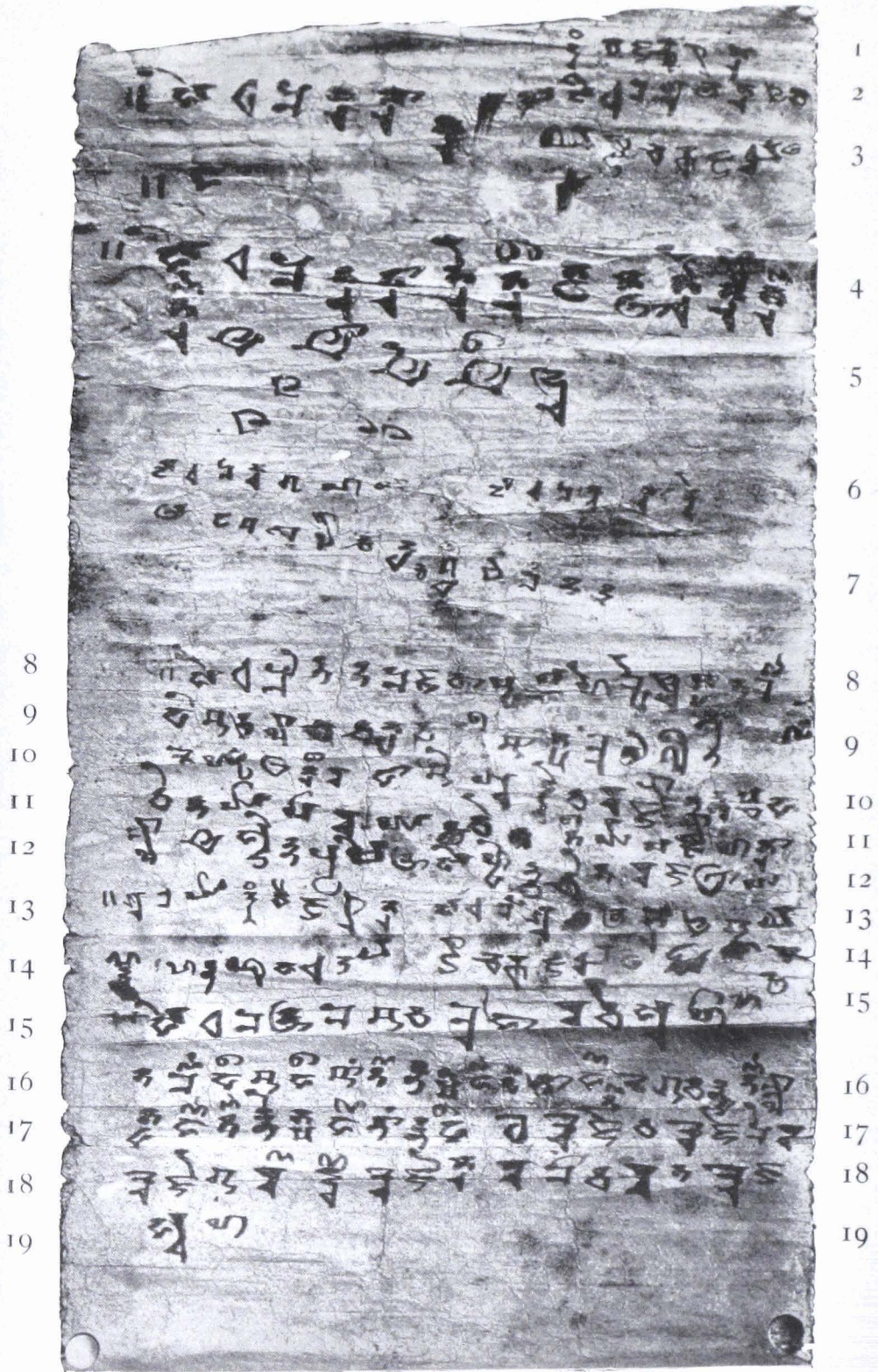


It runs as follows :—

- 1. 1, sidham a : u k kh g gh ñ • c ch j jh ñ • t th
- 1. 2, ṇḍ ḍh ṇ : nt th d dh n : p ph b bh m : y
- 1. 3, r l v ś ṣ s h kṣ Tā 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 1. 4, 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 1000 10000 100000

It will be observed that in this table the series of the numeral radicals is more extended; and that it places the radicals for 60 and 70 in their proper order. In the table of Roll 007 they are misplaced, probably by a mere scribal error. The syllable *tā* which introduces the series of the numeral radicals in both tables may possibly be the







The term *vaijalaka* (l. 13), the probable meaning of which has been referred to previously (p. 453), occurs also among the disorderly lines, in the statement in the upper right-hand corner, which runs as follows:—

- l. 1, (laṃ vaja(la)<sup>1</sup> laka
- l. 2, sidhama a u k kh g
- l. 3, gh ñ c ch j jh ñ

The same, or a very similar, coarse handwriting appears on the back of Roll 002, immediately below the remark, above referred to (p. 453), with which the three syllabaries conclude. It consists of an exceedingly ill-executed and incomplete *siddham-chang* (Pl. II, ll. 42–6), which runs as follows:—

- l. 1, sidhama a ā ū k (kh)<sup>1</sup> kh g gh ñ c ch j jh
- l. 2, ñ ṭ ṭh ṇḍ ḍh ṇ nt th d dh n p ph b bh
- l. 3, m y r l v ś ṣ s h kṣ || sadhama
- l. 4, ka kā (ka)<sup>1</sup> ki kī ku kū ke kai ko kau kaṃ ka kha khā
- l. 5, khi khī (kha) khu khu khe khai kho khau (kha)<sup>1</sup>
- l. 6, kham kha ga gā gi gī gu gū go gau gaṃ ga gha ghā
- l. 7, ghi ghī ghu pu ghe (gha)<sup>1</sup> ghai gho ghau ghañ
- l. 8, gha ṇa ṇā ñe ṇī ṇu ṇū ñe ṇai ṇo ṇau ṇaṃ (ṇa) ṇa ca cā
- l. 9, ci cī cu cu ce cai co<sup>2</sup> cau caṃ ca cha chā chi chī chu
- l. 10, chu cho chau che chai chaṃ cha ja jā ji jī ju ju je
- l. 11, jai jo jau jaṃ ja jha (jha) jhā jhi jhī jhu jhū
- l. 12, jhe jhai jho jhau jhaṃ pa sa(l dha)<sup>1</sup> dhama a

That this statement was written by an illiterate person is shown not only by its coarse execution, but also by its numerous errors; *ge gai* is omitted in l. 6, *cho chau* and *che chai* are misplaced in l. 10, *kha*, *ṇa*, and *jha* are superfluously repeated in ll. 5, 8, and 11; *khu khu*, *ṇu ṇu*, *cu cu*, *chu chu*, *ju ju* stand for *khu khū*, *ṇu ṇū*, etc., in ll. 5, 8–10; *pu* and *pa* are wrongly written for *ghū* and *jha* in ll. 7 and 12; the *virāma* is omitted in *sidhama* in ll. 1 and 12. Occasionally *i* is hardly distinguishable from *e*, as in *khi*, l. 5; it is better in *chi*, l. 9, *ghi*, l. 11.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See n. 2 on p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> *co* had originally been written *cu*; afterwards *u* was crossed through, and *o* substituted.

<sup>3</sup> After the *siddham-chang* there comes a short text, in twelve lines, at present not intelligible, which, however, is written again in fairly good cursive Gupta characters.

There is still another roll, Ch. 0046, which deserves notice on account of the striking peculiarities in its scheme of the alphabet and syllabary. It is a mere fragment of a roll, measuring 15 by 10 inches. The inscription on its back has the unusual arrangement that it commences with the simple syllabary, and then proceeds, in the concluding three lines, to the alphabet. The latter (Pl. IV, ll. 17-19) runs as follows:—

- l. 1, Sidham a ā e ī ā ū e va ai au va au a a k kh g g-h ñ c ch  
 l. 2, j j-h ñ nt th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l va ś ṣ s h  
 l. 3, ks

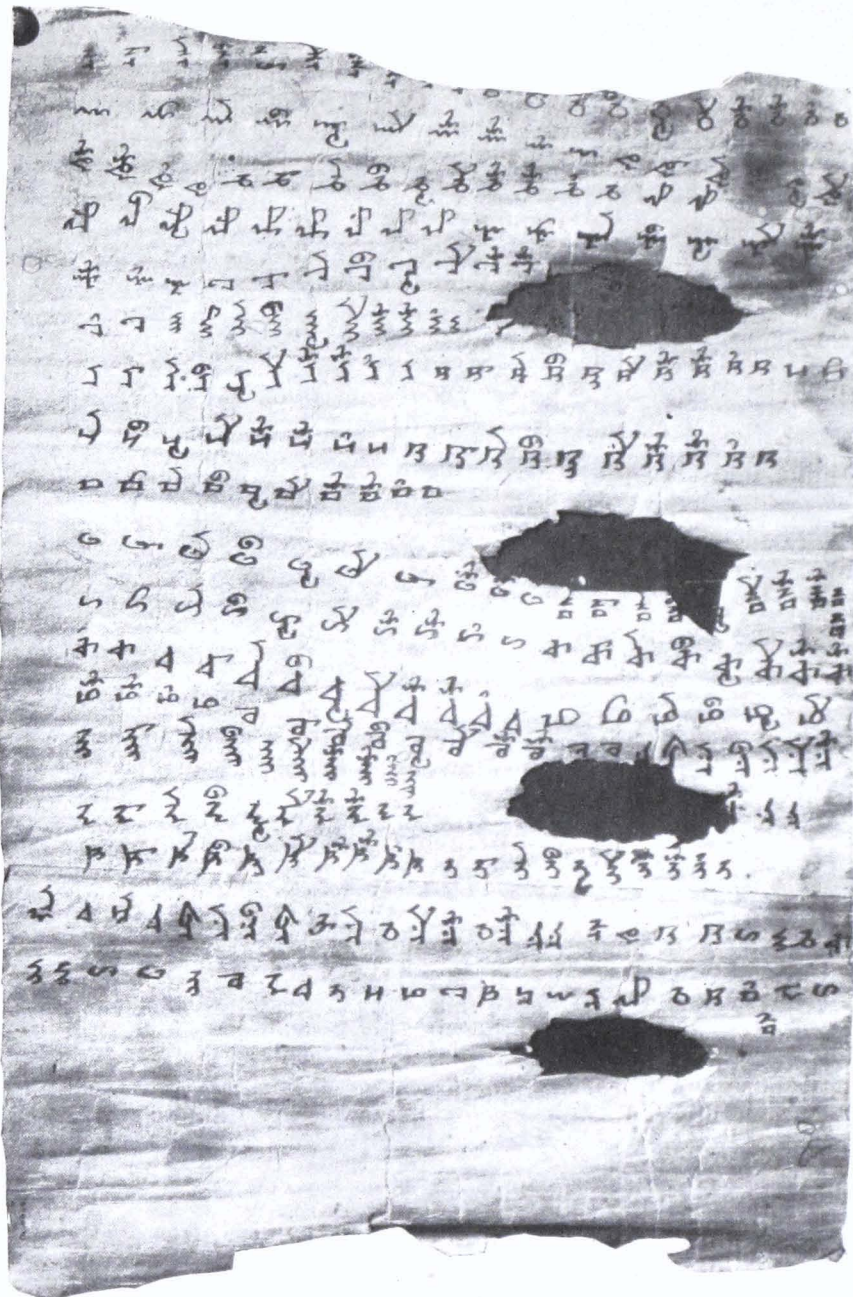
Here the following points are noticeable: (1) The entire omission of the group of cerebral radicals; (2) the dissociation of the aspiration in *g-h* for *gh*, and in *j-h* for *jh*; (3) the identity, or practical identity, of *ñ* with *j*, and of *d* with *s*. Turning to the syllabary (ll. 1-16), the most striking point is that the radical elements of the several syllabic series are arranged in a very unusual and apparently fanciful way,<sup>1</sup> and that some of them apparently are wanting. This may best be seen from the subjoined table, in which the radicals are placed in their normal order, while the raised numbers indicate their actual order on Roll 0046. The missing radicals are within brackets.

a<sup>22</sup> | k<sup>1</sup> kh<sup>4</sup> g<sup>13</sup> (gh) (ñ) | c<sup>5</sup> ch<sup>18</sup> j<sup>9</sup> (jh) ñ<sup>15</sup> | (t th d dh ṇa) |  
 nt<sup>23</sup> th<sup>21</sup> d<sup>24</sup> dh<sup>19</sup> n<sup>26</sup> | p<sup>12</sup> ph<sup>20</sup> b<sup>8</sup> bh<sup>25</sup> (m) | y<sup>3</sup> r<sup>10</sup> l<sup>6</sup> v<sup>2</sup> |  
 ś<sup>11</sup> ṣ<sup>14</sup> (s) | h<sup>17</sup> | ks<sup>16</sup> | ys<sup>7</sup> ||

It will be noticed that (1) the cerebrals are entirely omitted, (2) the aspirates *gh* and *jh* are omitted; but they are so only in appearance, for owing to the dissociation of their aspiration in the table of radicals there was no need of showing *gh* and *jh* in the syllabary, seeing that their dissociated elements, *g*, *j*, and *h*, were already exhibited; moreover, as we shall see (p. 464), the

<sup>1</sup> On a still smaller fragment of the same roll, measuring only 6 by 4 inches, the commencement of a syllabary in precisely the same peculiar order is repeated, viz., *ka*, *ra*, *ya*, *kha*, *ca*, *la*.

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STEIN MSS -ENTIRE ROLL, CH. 0046.

ORIG. SIZE 10" x 15"





existence of *gh* and *jh* seems doubtful in the "southern unknown" language, which appears to have an aversion to aspirates. (3) For a similar reason, *n*, *m*, and *s* are omitted, for their forms are practically not distinguishable from those of *j*, *b*, and *d* respectively. (4) *bh* has the same peculiar form as in the table of radicals; and (5) *e*, *ā*, and *au* are substituted for *i*, *u*, and *o* respectively in the alphabet; but in the syllabary *u* and *e* are omitted altogether. Thus, e.g. in l. 2, we have *ya yā ye yī yū yai yau yau yam ya* instead of *ya yā yi yī yu yū ye yai yo yau yam ya*. Substantially therefore in all the five points the syllabary agrees with, and confirms, the evidence of the alphabet. The only striking point of difference is that the syllabary adds a series of vowel notations for the conjunct *ys* (ll. 4 and 5), apparently treating that conjunct as a radical exactly as the conjunct *kṣ*.

What precisely the significance of the substitution of *e*, *ā*, *au*, and *a*, for *i*, *u*, *o*, and *aḥ* may be, remains to be discovered. The full tale of radicals is shown only in Rolls 007 and 0046. The others apparently omit the vowels entirely, for their mention of *a u* may have reference to the mystic syllable *om*. The substitution of *a* for *aḥ* is probably a mere formality; for the Sanskrit *visarga*, in all probability, did not exist in the languages of Eastern Turkestan, as little as it does in the vernacular languages of India; thus we have, e.g., *nama sarva*<sup>o</sup> for *namaḥ sarva*<sup>o</sup>, in l. 10 of the Dhāraṇī on Roll 0041 (p. 462). The omission of the *u*-syllables from the syllabary of Roll 0046, and the substitution of *e* and *au* for *i* and *o* respectively, would seem to indicate that the southern unknown language of Eastern Turkestan did not distinguish particularly between the sounds of *u* and *ū*, *e* and *i*, *o* and *au*; and this explanation would seem to be confirmed by the fact that in their proper places the *e*-syllables are omitted in the syllabary, so that in it the single *e*

represents both *i* and *e*. Somewhat similar phenomena may be observed in the vernaculars of India. Numerous illustrations, on all these points, are furnished by the Dhāraṇī on Roll 0041. The curious interpolation of *va* (or *v*?) in the vocalic series of radicals on Roll 0046 is also a point, the explanation of which remains to be discovered.

The most striking point in all the alphabetic and syllabic tables is that they uniformly write *ṇḍ* and *nt* in the place of the simple cerebral *ḍ* and dental *t* respectively. It seems to me probable that the intention is not so much to indicate a nasal conjunct consonant, as a simple consonant nasalized, or in some other way modified; but I must leave it to experts in phonetics to determine what the precise significance of the graphic notation may be.<sup>1</sup> All with which I am now concerned is to show that those tables really represent a truth, namely, that the people who spoke the language which is now under discussion always spoke *ṇḍ* and *nt*, where others (e.g. Sanskrit speakers) pronounced *ḍ* and *t*. Among Dr. Stein's rolls there is one, Ch. 0041, measuring 10 ft. 10 in. by 10½ inches, the back of which is covered, from top to bottom, with a long Buddhist Dhāraṇī, or rather with a pair of Dhāraṇīs, or mystical litanies for protection from evils, which extend to 151 lines. The first ends in the middle of the tenth line, and bears no name. It is, however, the well-known *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*, the Sanskrit text of which has been published by Max Müller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 9, 22, 35, 36; and a copy of which exists also in the Hodgson Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 79, pt. iv. The second comprises the

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may be worth noting that, as Dr. Waddell points out in his *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 353, in Japanese Skt. *vaiḍūrya* becomes *binzura*. The southern unknown language has *vaiḍārya* (see pl. v, l. 23 of the Dhāraṇī on Roll Ch. 0041).

remainder of the Dhāraṇī, from the middle of l. 10 to the end of l. 151. Its name occurs repeatedly in the body of Dhāraṇī, e.g. on ll. 105 and 126, where it reads ntathā-gantausṇīṣa-saintāntapantra-nāmāparājanta-mahāprantya-garā, i.e. Skt. *tathāgat-oṣṇīṣa-sitātapatra-nāmā Aparijitā mahāpratyāṅgirā*. A Sanskrit copy of this Dhāraṇī exists in the same Hodgson Collection, No. 77, as well as in the gigantic roll of Dr. Stein's collection, which will be noticed in the sequel (p. 471). The Eastern Turkestani text, however, appears to be mutilated in two places, and in some others it differs not inconsiderably from the Sanskrit text of the Hodgson MS. Both the Dhāraṇīs were originally written in Sanskrit (of a kind), but on Roll Ch. 0041 they appear in the form in which their Sanskrit was "transmogrified" in the mouth of the natives of Eastern Turkestan. It is this transmogrification which constitutes their interest, for they are written, one might say, phonetically, and thus illustrate the phonetics of the language. Plate V shows the initial twenty-three lines, which give the whole of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya* and the commencement of the *Aparājita-mahāpratyāṅgirā Dhāraṇī*. I give the Eastern Turkestani text from the roll, and below it, in italics, the Sanskrit text from the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* and the Hodgson MS., No. 77.

[l. 1] Sadbahama Namau rahna-ntrīyāya namau bagavante ntraile-  
*(Namo ratna-trayāya)*<sup>1</sup> *namas (bhagavate)*<sup>1</sup> *trailo-*  
 kyanta prantaviśaiṣṭyāya bādhā[l. 2]ya bagavante ntadyathā auma  
*kyā pratirīṣṭyāya buddhāya bhagavate tadyathā om*  
 viśaudiya viśaudiya sama sama samantāvabhāsa [l. 3] (spha)<sup>2</sup> spharaṇa  
*viśodhaya viśodhaya sama sama samantāvabhāsa spharaṇa*  
 ganta gahana svabāva viśūdhe abaṣaicantū mā suganta vara vante<sup>3</sup>  
*gati-gahana svabhāva-viśuddhe abhiṣimcatu mām sugata-vara-vacana*

<sup>1</sup> Anec. Oxon. om. bracketed words.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 2 on p. 456.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently wrong for vara-vacane.

a[l. 4]mrantābaṣaikai :<sup>1</sup> mahā madra padā āhāra<sup>2</sup> āhāra āyū sādārane •<sup>1</sup>  
*amṛtābhīṣekaiḥ mahā-mudrā-padaiḥ āhara āhara āyuk-sandhāraṇi*  
śādhi[l. 5]ya śādiya gagana viśūdhe uṣṇi<sup>3</sup> vijaya viśūdhe saha(sra)<sup>4</sup>sra  
*śodhaya śodhaya gayana-viśuddhe uṣṇisa-vijaya-viśuddhe sahasra-*  
*raśmi sacāda*[l. 6]nte sarva ntathāganta hṛdayādheṣṭhānādheṣṭhānta  
*raśmi sanicodite sarva-tathāgata hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite*  
mādre vajra kāya sagāntanaviśū[l. 7]dhe sarvāvaraṇa viśūdhe pṛantanar-  
*mudre vajra-kāya-saṅghatana-viśuddhe sarvāvaraṇa-viśuddhe pṛatinir-*  
varntaya āyū viśūdhi •<sup>1</sup> samayādhiṣṭhānte mahā[l. 8]mane ntadyathā  
*varntaya āyur-viśuddhe samayādhiṣṭhite mahā-muni tadyathā*  
būnta kautī paraśūdhi vaisphuṭinta būdha sūdhi he he jiya vajiya  
*bhūta-koṭi-pariśuddhe visphuṭita buddhi-sūddhe he he jaya vijaya*  
va[l. 9]jeya smara smara sarva ntathāgantā būdhādheṣṭhau sūdhi  
*vijaya smara smara sarva-(tathāgata)<sup>5</sup> buddhādhiṣṭhite sūddhe*  
vajre vajre va paraśūdhi sarva ntathā [l. 10] gantā hṛdayādhiṣṭhaun-  
*rajre vajre — pariśuddhe sarva-tathāgata hṛdayādhiṣṭhān-*  
ādheṣṭhaunta mūdre svāhā || Sadhama namau rahna-triyāya nama  
*ādhiṣṭhite mudre svāhā || (Sidham namo ratna-trayāya namaḥ*  
sa[l. 11]rva-bādha-baudhasatvebya | namau baudhāya namau dharmāya  
*sarva-budha-bodhisattvebhyāḥ |)<sup>6</sup> namo buddhāya namo dharmāya*  
namau sagāya namau sapntānā [l. 12] samya sabaudha kauṭinā namau  
*namo saṅghāya namo saptānām samyak-sambuddha-koṭinām namo*  
lake arhantānā namau<sup>7</sup> sṛantāpannānā namau sakṛantāgau[l. 13]mīnā  
*loke arhantānām namaḥ sṛautāpannānām namaḥ sakṛdāgāminām*  
namau anāgaumīnā namau lake samya gantānā samya pṛantapanānā  
*namo anāgāminām namo loke samyag-gatānām samyak-pṛatīpannānām*  
namau de[l. 14]va raṣiṇā śāpānā gra(ha)<sup>4</sup>ha samarthhānā namau saidha  
*namo deva-ṛṣiṇām (śāpānām)<sup>8</sup> graha-samarthhānām namo siddha-*

<sup>1</sup> The double dot and single dot appear to be marks of interpunctuation ; they do not signify the visarga and anusvāra respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Note the peculiar serpentine mark under ḥ in ll. 4, 15, 17. It seems to correspond to the semicircular mark which is found in the upright Gupta script.

<sup>3</sup> Wrong for uṣṇiṣa.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 2 on p. 456.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 1 on p. 461.

<sup>6</sup> The bracketed passage is not found in the Hodgson MS., No. 77. Instead, it has the usual conventional opening : *evaṁ mayā śrutam kasmīr samaye bhagavān deveṣṭa-trayastrīṣeṣu viharati sma | sadharmāyām deva-sabhāyām mahatā bhikṣu-saṅghena mahatā bodhisattva-saṅghena Śakreṇa devānām Indreṇa sārddham ||*

<sup>7</sup> na is inserted below the line ; and the insertion is marked by a cross above the line.

<sup>8</sup> The Hodgson MS., No. 77, has *sāpāyūdhānām namo sāyānugraha°*.

vidyādhara raṣiṇā namau brāhma[. 15]ṇā namau Aidrāyi namau  
*vidyādhara-(ṛṣiṇām)*<sup>1</sup> *namo brāhmaṇebhyaḥ namo Indrāya namo*  
 bagavante Rau(dra)<sup>2</sup>drāya Umāpanta-sih<sup>3</sup>āya namau bagavante [. 16]  
*bhagavate Rudrāya Umāpati-sahitāya namo bhagavate*  
 Nārāyaṇāpa<sup>4</sup> ca mahāmūdra namaskṛantāya namau bagavante  
*Nārāyaṇāya ca mahāmūdra-namaskṛtāya namo bhagavate*  
 mahākālāya ntra[. 17]pura vekṣaupañā karāya adhimūh<sup>3</sup>anta śamaśūna-  
*mahākālāya tripura-(vikṣepaṇa)*<sup>5</sup>-karāya *adhimuktika*<sup>6</sup> śmaśānu-  
 vāsane mānṭra gaṇa nama(skṛa)<sup>2</sup>skṛantā[. 18]ya namau bhagavante  
*vāsine māṭṛ-gaṇa-(namaskṛtāya)*<sup>7</sup> *namo bhagavate*  
 ntathāganta kṛlāya namau padma kṛlāya namau vajra kṛlāya [. 19]  
*tathāgata-kulasya namo padma-kulasya namo vajra-kulasya*  
 namau maṇā kṛlāya namau gaja kṛlāya namau kumāra kṛlāya namau  
*namo maṇi-kulasya namo rāja-kulasya namo kumāra-kulasya namo*  
 nāga kṛlāya [. 20] namau bagavante draiṇḍi sūrasena praharaṇa rājāya  
*nāga-kulasya namo bhagavate dr̥ḍha-sūrasena-praharaṇa-rājāya*  
 ntathāgantāyārahente samya [. 21]sabaudhāya namau bagavante  
*tathāgatāyār̥hate samyak-sambuddhāya namo bhagavate*  
 Amīntābhāya ntathāgantāya rahente samya sabādhā[. 22]ya namau  
*(Amītābhāya tathāgatāya ar̥hate samyak-sambuddhāya namo*  
 bagavante Akṣubyāya ntathāgantāyārahente samya sabā(dha)<sup>2</sup>dhāya  
*bhagavate Akṣobhyāya tathāgatāyār̥hate samyak-sambuddhāya*  
 namau ba[. 23]gavante baiṣaja gūrū vaiṇḍarya pṛaba rājāya ntathā-  
*namo bhagavate bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-pṛabha-rājāya tathā-*  
 gantāyārahente samya sabaudhā[. 24]ya, etc.  
*gatāyār̥hate samyak-sambuddhāya, etc.).*<sup>8</sup>

It will be seen from the preceding extract that every Sanskrit *t* becomes *nt* in Eastern Turkestani. Either singly or in ligature, *t* occurs upwards of 400 times in the Dhāraṇī, and with two exceptions it is in every case

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson MS., No. 77, om. the bracketed words.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 2 on p. 456.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 2, p. 462.

<sup>4</sup> Wrong for *Nārāyaṇāya*.

<sup>5</sup> Hodgson MS. reads *vidrāpaṇa* for *vikṣepaṇa*.

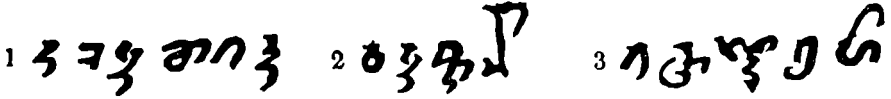
<sup>6</sup> The full reading of the Hodgson MS., No. 77, is : *adhimuktika kāmīra-mahāśmaśāna*<sup>o</sup>. The Eastern Turkestani *adhimūhanta* = Skt. *adhimukta*, with °hanta for *kata* = *ka*.

<sup>7</sup> The Hodgson MS., No. 77, reads *vandita-sahitāya* for *namaskṛtāya*.

<sup>8</sup> The Hodgson MS., No. 77, omits the bracketed final three clauses. Dr. Stein's gigantic roll omits the first and second clauses, but it has the third clause referring to *bhaiṣajya-guru*.

spelled *nt*. The two exceptional cases are the conjuncts *tv* and *st*. In these the simple *t* appears to be preserved regularly; thus we have—

FIG. II.



- l. 11 (Plate V), *baudhasatvebya* = *bodhisatvebhyah*.  
 l. 101 (Fig. II, 1), *namas* = *tathāganta*° = *namas* = *tathāgata*°.  
 l. 114 (Fig. II, 2), *vasta-sūla*° = *vasti-sūla*.

The cerebral *ḍ* does not occur so often, but whenever it does occur it appears as *ṇḍ*. Thus we have—

- l. 23 (Plate V), *vaiṇḍarya* = *vaiḍūrya*.  
 l. 52 (Fig. II, 3), *garuṇḍa-grahā* = *garuḍa-graha*.  
 l. 102, *vaintāṇḍī-ṇḍākanī* = *vetāḍī-ḍākanī*.

Another example, *garuṇḍa* = *garuḍa*, occurs in the passage quoted above (p. 456) from Roll 0042.

Another striking point, which however is not so prominently indicated in the alphabetic and syllabic tables, is the loss of aspiration in *b* for *bh*; e.g. in Plate V,

- l. 1, *bagavante* = *bhagavate*.  
 l. 3, *svabāva* = *svabhāva*.  
 l. 8, *būnta-kauṭi* = *bhūta-koti*, etc.

This loss of aspiration is practically absolute in the *Dhāraṇī*, for in a total of about 150 cases there are only two exceptions; these are—

- l. 18 (Plate V), *bhagavante* = *bhagavate*.  
 l. 118, *bhayaupadravebya* = *bhayopadravebhyah*.

In this connexion it may perhaps be not without significance that in the syllabary on Roll 002 (as noticed on p. 453) the line referring to the vowel notations of the conjunct *bhr* is entirely omitted, though, of course, the omission may be due to an error.

In the case of *gh* and *jh*, probably disaspiration was equally regular; still, those two aspirates are of infrequent occurrence, and hence examples are rare; but we have, e.g.,

- l. 6 (Plate V), *sagāntana* = *saṅghātana*.  
 l. 11 (Plate V), *sagāya* = *saṅghāya*.  
 l. 130, *vaigna-vanāya* = *viḅhna-rināya*.

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Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, arranged in 23 horizontal lines. The script is dense and cursive, with some characters appearing to be ligatures or specific dialectal forms. The text is written on a piece of parchment that shows signs of age and wear, with some staining and irregular edges. The lines are numbered on the left side of the page, from 1 to 23.





The case of *dh* is peculiar. It is often disaspirated, as in

- l. 2 (Plate V), viśaudiya = *viśodhaya*,
- l. 4 (Plate V), sādāraṇe = *samdhāraṇi* ;

but equally often aspiration is retained, as in

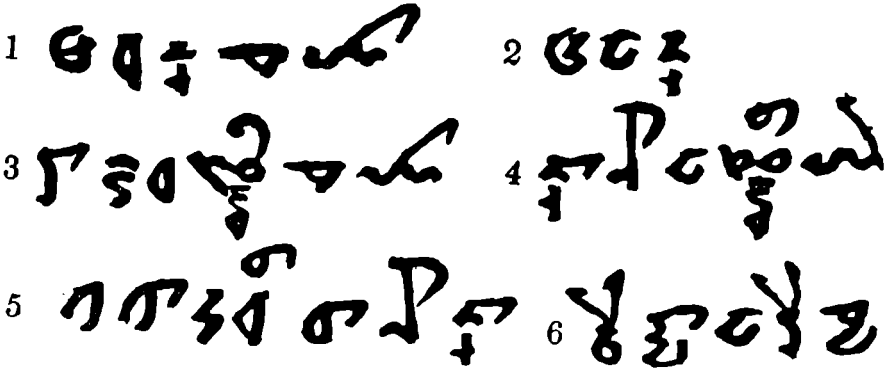
- ll. 6, 9, 10 (Plate V), adheṣṭhāna = *adhiṣṭhāna*,
- l. 11 (Plate V), dharmāya = *dharmāya*,
- l. 14 (Plate V), vaidyādhara = *vidyādhara*,

specially when *dh* stands for Skt. *ddh*, as in

- ll. 3, 5, 7 (Plate V), viśūdhe = *viśuddhe*.
- l. 9 (Plate V), būdha . . . śūdhe = *buddhi . . . suddhi*.
- l. 10 (Plate V), sadhama = *siddham*.

On the other hand, occasionally *dh* is introduced in the place of *d*, e.g.,

FIG. III.



- l. 50 (Fig. III, 1), udhaka-bayā = *udaka-bhaya*.
- l. 51 (Fig. III, 3), rāja-dhaṇḍi-bayā = *rāja-daṇḍi-bhaya*.
- l. 134 (Fig. III, 5), gagā-nadhī-vālakā = *gaṅgā-nadi-vālukā*.

Altogether the treatment of aspiration in the case of *d* and *dh* appears to be very capricious ; thus we have, e.g.,

- l. 73 (Fig. III, 6), vaidyādaraihya = *vidyādharebhyaḥ*.
- l. 85 (Fig. III, 4), kāla-daṇḍiye = *kāla-daṇḍine*.
- l. 104 (Fig. III, 2), udaka = *udaka*.

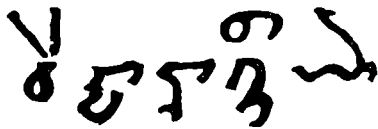
Of the dissociation of aspiration we have an example in l. 1, sadhahama for *siddham*, where one would rather expect sadaham, to represent the usual spelling sadham.

The Dhāraṇī illustrates also some other curiosities of spelling in the southern unknown language of Eastern Turkestan previously noticed, such as the substitution of *e*, *ā*, and *au* for *i*, *u*, and *o* respectively. Thus, *i* occurs eight times in the 23 lines shown in Pl. V, viz.,

l. 5, uṣṇi and raśmi; l. 7, viśūdhi and samayādhi; l. 8, paraśūdhi and būdha-sūdhi; l. 10, hṛdayādhi; l. 17, adhimūhanta. In some cases the writing is not sufficiently distinct; e.g., l. 8, kauṭi or kauṭi; l. 20, drainḍi or drainḍi, etc. Generally long *ī* takes its place, as in l. 5, vijaya-viśūdhe (= *vijaya-viśuddhe*), etc.; but occasionally *e*, as in ll. 6, 9, 10, adheṣṭhānādheṣṭhānta (= *adhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita*), or *ai*, as in l. 1, viśaiṣṭāya (= *viśiṣṭāya*); l. 3, abaṣaicantu (= *abhiṣimcatu*); l. 8, vaisphuṭinta (= *visphutita*); l. 14, saidha-vaidyādharma (= *siddha-vidyādharma*); l. 15, Aidrāyī (= *Indrāya*). Not uncommonly it is represented by *a*, as in ll. 1, 7, pṛanta (= *prati*); l. 15, Umāpanta (= *Umāpati*), etc.; exceptionally also by *ā* or *au*, as in l. 6, adheṣṭhānta, and l. 10, adheṣṭhaunta (= *adhiṣṭhita*). Again, *o* never occurs at all; we have, e.g., regularly namau and auma (= *namo* and *om*); l. 8, kauṭi (= *koṭi*), etc.; and in l. 1 even ntrailekyanta apparently represents a barbarous Sanskrit *trailokita* (for *trailokya*). Again, *ā* takes the place of *u* in ll. 11, 21, 22, bādhāya (= *buddhāya*), and occasionally of *o*, as in ll. 4, 5, śādiya (= *śodhaya*), and, as above noted, even of *i*. But occasionally *u* is represented also by *ū* or *au*, as in ll. 8, 9, būdha (= *buddha*), ll. 18, 19, kūlāya (= *kulāya*); or ll. 11, 21, baudhāya (= *buddhāya*), l. 15, Raudrāya (*Rudrāya*).

A noticeable curiosity is the spelling *gn* for Skt. *jñ*, as shown below.

FIG. IV.



l. 83, vaidyā-rāgnīye = *vidyā-rājñyai*.

This may be compared with the pronunciation of Skt. *jñ* in the vernaculars of India, e.g. *gy* in Hindī and *gny* in Gujarāti.

Finally, attention may be drawn to the peculiar form of *kh* in all the rolls, and of *bh* in Roll 0046. The more

original form of *kh* may still be seen in the syllables *khu* and *khū*. Both forms of *kh* occur in the Dhāraṇī, but *bh*, as already observed, never occurs but twice, and in those cases it is the ordinary form of *bh* (Fig. I, l. 2, as in Pl. V, l. 18, *bhagavante*).

When I published, in the October number of the Journal for 1910, the extracts from the two "bilingual" texts, I had not yet seen the rolls. The information of the latter on the phonetics of the southern unknown language of Eastern Turkestan is borne out to a considerable extent, though not altogether, by those two texts. Thus the pronunciation *nt* for *t* is illustrated by the pronouns *nta*, *ntyē*, *ntiṇa*, etc., the nouns *ntirā-ḥsa*, *pāntarā*, *biśāpīrmānta*; the verbs *paraunta*, *untaipastisa*, etc. *Per contra*, the spelling of the conjuncts *tv* and *st* (without the nasal) is illustrated by the words *baudhisatva*, *gyasta*, *mista*, *dasta*, etc. On the other hand, in certain words, *t* is preserved, where one would expect *nt*, as e.g. in *napatata* (for *napantanta*?). The nasalization of *ḍ* (as *ṇḍ*) is entirely absent, e.g., in *yudai*, *haṇḍādana*, *beḍamī*, etc. What the true explanation of this discrepancy may be has yet to be ascertained. Further research among the manuscript treasures, brought back by Dr. Stein from his recent tour of exploration, may furnish us with the answer. In the meanwhile I suspect that the discrepancy may be due to the fact that the rolls were inscribed by natives of Eastern Turkestan, who wrote exactly as they spoke, while the translations from the Sanskrit which we have in the "bilingual" texts were written by "pandits", men from India, who wrote under the spell of Sanskrit phonetics rather than Eastern Turkestani, a suggestion which is supported by the fact that the Eastern Turkestani "bilingual" texts are written in the upright Indian Gupta characters, while the rolls are inscribed in the peculiar Eastern Turkestani "cursive" script. There is also another possibility, viz. that of clerical

errors. For example, the word (above referred to) which I have transcribed *napatata* (JRAS., 1910, p. 1286, l. 5), is transcribed *napanatā* from another manuscript by Professor Leumann (JGOS., lxii, p. 107, l. 32). Both transcriptions, as such, are undoubtedly correct, but obviously the original spellings cannot both be correct: there must be a scribal error in one of the two manuscripts. The graphic signs for *n* and *t*, in the upright Gupta script as current in Eastern Turkestan, are, in some manuscripts, rather difficult to distinguish. They are so in the manuscript fragment (Dr. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, pl. cx, D. iii, 1, obv. of fol. 8, l. 2) from which Professor Leumann transcribed. His transcription I believe to be correct; yet the *n* and *t* are so nearly alike that the real reading might be *napananā*. In the *Vajracchedikā* manuscripts, from which my transcription was made, the signs for *n* and *t* are easily distinguishable, for *t* is written with a very elongated left limb, while *n* has two short and equal limbs.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt, therefore, that the reading of the *Vajracchedikā* manuscript, as it now stands, is correctly represented by *napatata*. Yet, after all, there might be a clerical error, and the true form of the word might be *napanana*; and if that were so, there would be no violation of the rule that *t* becomes *nt* in Eastern Turkestani.

Some confirmation of the view above expressed is afforded by the fact that the two folios 7 and 8 of the *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, which are written in "cursive" character (of a rather slovenly kind), absolutely agree with the Dhāraṇī and alphabetic and syllabic tables of the rolls with respect to the spelling *nt*. There is also much agreement with reference to the treatment of the vowels. The main difference from the Dhāraṇī is in

<sup>1</sup> Compare, e.g., *tā* and *nā*, sixth and third letters from the right, on l. 3 of fol. 3 rev. on the accompanying plate; or *tī* and *nī*, third and fourth letters from the left, on l. 2 of fol. 32 obv.



FOL 7 OBVERSE

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

REVERSE

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

FOL 8 OBVERSE

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

REVERSE

1  
 2

respect of the aspirate *bh*, which is regularly preserved, as in the tables. All the other folios of the manuscript are written in well-formed Indian Gupta characters, and exhibit all the peculiarities of the *Vajracchedikā* manuscript. The two folios 7 and 8 were evidently added subsequently by a native of Eastern Turkestan in order to supply a lacuna. They are shown in Plate VI, and read as follows, Sanskrit equivalents being added occasionally in bracketed italics :—

[Fol. 7a, l. 1] samāṁdaganta (*samudgate*) · sūbhāva vaṁśūde mahāniyaṁ paraṁvare svāhā : ntī vā pā nca spam ra (nca)<sup>1</sup> cai śna na yū [l. 2] nta ja sna ḥe ysa haṁi mye a-ysmūm-*jsa* ha mye bī jā śnta ntū Aparāṁmīntāyaṁ sūtra (*Aparimitāyuh sūtra*) ḥvāṁda : namau bhagavante aparāṁmīntāyū [l. 3] mīntāyū jñāṁṇana sūvanaiścinta ntejāṁ (*suriniścitatejo*) rājāyaṁ ntathāgantāyaṁ (*tathāgatāya*) rahente samyaṁ-sabaudhāyaṁ · ntadyethā [l. 4] auma sarva saskāri paśūṁde (*sarva-saṁskāra-pariśuddhe*) darmante gagāṁne (*gagana*) samāṁdagamnta sūbhāva śūde mahāniya parvare

[Fol. 7b, l. 1] svāhā : ntī vā pā nca gagaṁāyaṁ grī nce sye *jsa* haṁi ma gi na yū nta ja sna ḥe ysaṁ ha mye a-ysmū-*jsa* ha [l. 2] ha mye bī jā śnta ntū apāṁramīntāyaṁ sūtra hvāda namau<sup>2</sup> bhagavante apāṁramīntāyū jñāṁna sūvanai[. 3] ścanta ntejāyaṁ ntathāgantāyaṁ rahenta samyaṁ sabaudhāyaṁ ntadyethā auma sava skāra paśūde : [l. 4] dharmanta gagana saṁmāṁdagantaṁ sūbhāva vaśūde mahāniya parvare svāhā :

[Fol. 8a, l. 1] kām ma ṣa ha mā ve caṁ ntū apāṁramīntāyaṁ sūtra pī rī ntey ja ṣṭāṁ na jśī na saṁsaṁlī pa skyā ṣṭa u kha [l. 2] yśde : namau<sup>2</sup> bhagavanta aparimīntāyaṁ jñāṁna sūvaṁnaiścanta ntejāya rājāyaṁ ntathāgantāyū [l. 3] rahente samya saṁbaudhāyaṁ ntadyethā auma saskāra paśūde darmante gagana saṁmāṁda gagana sūbhāva [l. 4] vaśūde mahāniyaṁ parvare svāhā

[Fol. 8b, l. 1] kau ma ṣa haṁi mā ve nca ntū apāṁramīntāyaṁ sūtra pī ye : ntū na dā jśā ve ū na brī yvā [l. 2] naṁi ntraī ṣū u na ha ṣḍā a ha kṣa :

\*                     \*                     \*                     \*                     \*

In order to complete the present preliminary account of the rolls, I may add a few interesting particulars of a different kind.

I. Four of the rolls contain dated statements. Thus at the bottom of the back of Roll Ch. 0042 there are six

<sup>1</sup> Apparently cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> The original text seems to read *namām*, but the apparent *ām* is merely a very crudely formed cursive *au*.



or seven very brief entries, one of which gives the following date, three times repeated :—

iṣi silya (so twice, but once aśa salya) ḥadyaja māste kṣausimya haḍe  
(rabīci)

i.e. "in the first year, in the ḥadyaja month, on the sixth (or sixteenth?) day". Signature in oval.

Again, the back of Roll. Ch. 0048 is inscribed with a Buddhist text in seventy-one lines, which begins with the following date :—

ssa salya cūvija māste nāmai haḍa

i.e. "in the sixth year, the cūvija month, the ninth day".

Again, on the back of Roll. Ch. cvi, 001, there is some text, which begins with the following date :—

maḍala (?) salya cvāvaja māsti bistimye haḍai

i.e. "in the maḍala year, the cvāvaja month, the twentieth day".

Again, among Dr. Stein's manuscripts there is a gigantic roll, about 70 feet long, entirely covered on one side with 1,108 lines of writing. On it there occur the following four dates :—

(1) On ll. 196-7, sahaicā salya puhye māsti paḍauyse<sup>1</sup> haḍai ārdra  
nakṣantrā

i.e. "in the sahaicā year, the fifth month, the first day, the ārdra lunar asterism".

(2) l. 846, ṣi sūntri puhye<sup>1</sup> māsti 20 mye haḍai

i.e. "this sūtra, in the fifth month, the 20th day".

(3) l. 1058, sahaici salya naumye māsti puhye haḍai

i.e. "in the sahaici year, the ninth month, the fifth day".

(4) l. 1102, sahaici salya dasamye māste 8 haḍai purva-bhadriva  
nakṣatri

i.e. "in the sahaici year, the tenth month, the 8th day, the pūrva-bhādrapāda lunar asterism".

In the foregoing series of dates we have the mention of the following two months, (1) Ḥadyaja, (2) Cvāvaja or Cūvija. The names of other nine months are quoted in my "Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia", pt. ii, p. 35 (Extra Number 1 to JASB., vol. lxx, pt. i, 1901), and shown there in pls. ii, 6; vi;

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Leumann's remarks in JGOS., vol. lxii, p. 87, footnote 1.

and vii, 1, 2 (see also JASB., vol. lxvi, pl. v). They are (1) Skarhvāri or Skarihvāri, (2) Cvābhaja or Cvuābhaja, (3) Mūñamja, (4) Khahsāja or Khahsā, (5) Hamdyaja. (6) Ñahaja or Ñaha, (7) Jeri, (8) Kaja, (9) Pāñija (or Māñija?).<sup>1</sup> The names of three months are mutilated, viz., (10) . . khaja or . . caja, (11) . i . ija, (12) . vāraja. As the names hadyaja and hamdyaja, and the names cvāvaja (or cūvija) and cvābhaja (cvuābhaja) are evidently identical respectively, we thus have the names of twelve months, nine complete and three mutilated. The months in the four dates of the gigantic roll are not named, but numbered, viz., *pūhya* or *pūhya*, fifth; *naumya*, ninth; and *dasamya*, tenth. Among the names Skarhvāri is clearly identical with the old Persian Kṣatravairya, and the modern Persian Shahrivār; but none of the others has as yet been equated. The days (*haḍa*) in the dates are always indicated by numbers; so also the years (*salya*, modern Persian *sāl*). The term *isī*, or *asā*, in the date of Roll. Ch. 0042 I take to be connected with *śau*, one (see JRAS. for 1910, p. 1297, note 10), and *ssu* to be six; but *sahaicā* and *maḍala* (the reading is not quite certain) I cannot explain for the present. Two nakṣatras, or lunar asterisms, are mentioned in the date of the gigantic roll, viz. *ārdrā* and *pūrva-bhādrapāda*.

II. The gigantic roll, above referred to, is one of the proceeds from the Temple library of Tun-huang. It is made of tough buff-coloured paper, and measures, in its present condition, 70 ft. 10 in. by 11½ inches, but about 3 or 4 inches are torn off at the top. The interior side is entirely covered with 1,108 lines of writing. The exterior side is blank with the exception of a parti-coloured figure at the top. This figure consists of two geese, standing on two open lotuses, facing each other, and holding in their bills flowering tendrils. The whole of the writing is in fair upright Gupta script, excepting three interspersed

<sup>1</sup> My readings of the names in JASB. have to be amended as above.

paragraphs which are written in "cursive" Gupta characters. The contents are as follows :—

ll. 1–197 are a long Dhāraṇī, in corrupt Sanskrit, named, in ll. 193–4, *tathāgatauṣṇīṣa sidhāntapatraṃ nāmmāparājita mahāpratyagirā*, i.e. Skt. *tathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatraṃ nāma aparājitā mahāpratyāgirā*. A manuscript of this Dhāraṇī is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 77 in its Catalogue. Another is described in R. Mitra's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, No. B, 46, p. 227. It is practically identical with the long Dhāraṇī, in "cursive" Gupta script, on the back of Roll Ch. 0041, but the opening passage, down to the middle of l. 5 (*uṣṇī vijaya viśūdhe*), is torn away. It ends with the first of the four dates above quoted. Its name is spelled variously *sitātapatra*, or white umbrella, in l. 178, or *sitāntapatra* in ll. 91, 158, 169, or *setāntapatra* in l. 190, or *satāntapatra* in l. 136, or *sidhāntapatra* (apparently Skt. *siddh-ātapatra*) in ll. 58, 72, 193, or *sūdhāntapantri* (Skt. *śuddh-ātapatra*) in l. 841.

ll. 198–220 are a story of the communication of the 1,000 names of Buddha, in the southern unknown language, and in upright Gupta script.

ll. 221–728 contain the enumeration of the 1,000 names, in corrupt Sanskrit and upright Gupta script. At the end, however, in l. 728, there are the numeral figures for 1,000 and 5 (i.e. 1,005), though the names actually enumerated are only 1,000.

ll. 728–754 give the text of the Buddha piṭai *bhadra-kalpya-suntrā*, i.e. Skt. *bhadra-kalpa-sūtra*, followed in

ll. 755–840 by an enumeration of classes of superhuman beings (such as 12 koṭi of Ratnottama, 18 koṭi of Ratnāvabhāsa, etc.); the whole in the southern unknown language and in upright Gupta script.

ll. 841–8 contain a short statement with reference to the preceding two texts (the *sitātapatra* and the *bhadra-kalpa* with its enumeration), including the second date

previously mentioned ; the whole in the southern unknown language and in cursive Gupta script.

ll. 848–1058 give the text of *Sumukha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, in the southern unknown language and in upright Gupta script.

ll. 1058–60 contain a statement referring to the preceding (third) text, with the third, above-quoted date, in the southern unknown language and cursive Gupta script.

ll. 1060–1100 practically repeat the enumeration of classes of superhuman beings which was given in ll. 755–840, in the same language and script.

ll. 1100–5 contain a statement referring to the preceding enumeration, nearly alike to that in ll. 841 ff., with the fourth above-quoted date, also in the southern unknown language and cursive script.

ll. 1106–8 conclude with a few salutations to *Ratnatraya*, etc., in corrupt Sanskrit language and in upright Gupta script.

As a curiosity it may be noted that the frequently occurring term *gyasta* is once (l. 841) spelt *jasta*, while in other places it has the usual spelling *gyasta*.

III. On the upper portion (about 5 feet) of the back of Roll Ch. 0044, which measures 23 ft. 10 in. by 10 inches, there are seventy lines of writing in cursive Gupta script and in corrupt Sanskrit language. They contain the text of the *Kauśakī Prajñāpāramitā*, the end of which may be compared with the ending of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, printed in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. i, pt. iii, pp. 50, 54, and in R. Mitra's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, No. A, 15, p. 192. It runs as follows, the Sanskrit version being in italics :—

Namaḥ prajñāpā[l. 66]ramintāyai ntadyathā gante gante pāragante  
*Namaḥ prajñāpāramitāyai tadyathā gate gate pāragate*  
 pārasagante baudhi svāhā[l. 67] idam avaucant bhagavān āmtamana  
*pārasaṅgate bodhi svāhā | idam avocat bhagavān ātmamanā*

āyūṣmā Sārāpūtra Śakrau devām[1. 68]nūm idra nte ca baudhisatvā  
 āyūṣmān Sārāputraḥ Śakro derānām indraḥ te ca bodhisattva  
 mahāsatvā sā ca sarvāvanti parṣa sa-de[1. 69]va-gaṃddharva-mānūṣ-  
 mahāsattvā sā ca sarvāratī parṣat sa-deva-gandharva-mānuṣy-  
 āsūmraś ca lokau bhagavantau bhāṣintam abhyananda | kauśaki [1. 70]  
 āsuraś ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan | kauśaki  
 nānimā prajñāpāramintā samāpnta ||  
 nāmā prajñāpāramitā samāptā ||

Notice the invariable substitution of *nt* for *t*.

IV. Roll Ch. 0048 is one of the smallest. It measures only 7 ft. 11 in. by 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches. Its back bears seventy-one lines of writing in the southern unknown language and in exceedingly crude cursive Gupta script. The initial thirteen lines are introductory prose, and are followed on ll. 14–71 by a Buddhist story which opens in the conventional way, except that here the opening statement is not in the usual prose, but in verses (one and a half), as follows:—

[1. 14] Siddham Nta pyūṣṭi śau bām de ḥaysi • Śrāvasti kṣiri ṣa  
 mūm de • jintīriṣpūri udāmña • pharāmkye [1. 15] parṣiṣa  
 hansa • I Dharmi sai nāva misti • Sārāpūtra sthīri ntū  
 kāni la •

After these verses the story proceeds in prose. In the prose portion the word ḥaysi appears several times spelled biysi. Perhaps the versified opening may hereafter lead to the identification of the Sanskrit version of the story.

V. Roll Ch. cvi, 001, which is only a sheet of thick, tough, dun-coloured paper, measuring 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 13 inches, is remarkable also on account of being inscribed, not in Chinese, but in Tibetan. The obverse, or what appears to be the principal side, is covered entirely with thirty-one lines of writing in extremely crude cursive Gupta script, and in the southern unknown language. It opens with the date, above quoted, and is continued on the reverse side with eight lines of similar writing. This is followed by fifteen lines of fair writing in Tibetan script and apparently Tibetan language, which runs, however, in the

opposite direction to the cursive Gupta inscribed above it. Below this again, and finishing the reverse side, there is another Tibetan inscription of nine lines, which again runs in the opposite direction to the Tibetan above it, and therefore in the same direction as the cursive Gupta inscription at the top of the reverse side.

On the obverse side, on the eighth and ninth lines from the bottom, there is a cancelment of eleven syllables (*akṣara*) of the cursive writing (crossed through), and below is written interlinearly, in Tibetan script, *manana* with an unintelligible mark after it. On the same side, on the ninth line from the top, there is what looks like the indication of a fresh paragraph in the cursive writing which here begins with *um*, and below it is written, interlinearly, *am* (or *ama*) in Tibetan. The corrections in Tibetan seem to indicate that the Tibetan inscription on the sheet was made at a date subsequent to the inscription in cursive script. If that be so, and if the Tibetan inscription contain a date (which I have not been able to make out), it may furnish a key to the identification of the era and the system of dating of the documents in cursive script.

VI. Towards the end of the *Aparājitā Pratyāṅgirā Dhāraṇī* there occurs a curious clause enumerating the different kinds of writing material which was in use at that period of time. The clause runs as follows :—

(1) Roll Ch. 0041, ll. 125 ff., *ya imā ntathāgantaṣṣṭīṣa-saintāntapantra-*

(2) Gigantic Roll, ll. 158 ff., *ya imān tathāgataṣṣṭīṣaṃ sitāntapatraṃ*

(3) Hodgson, No. 77, fol. 17b, — *imā tathāgatoṣṣṭīṣa-sitatapatrā*

(4) Sanskrit : *ya imān tathāgatoṣṣṭīṣa-sitālapatra-*

(1) *nāma-parājanta pratyagarā lakhatvā buyū-pantrai vā vastre vā*

(2) *nāmnāparājitaṃ pratyāṅgirā likhitvā bhūja-patre vā vastre vā*

(3) *nāmāparājitā pratyāṅgirā likhitvā bhūrja-patre vā vastre vā*

(4) *nāmān aparājitān pratyāṅgirān likhitvā bhūrja-patre vā vastre vā*

(1) *kalke vā kāyagante vā karyagante vā likhatvā dhāriyaṣyante |*

(2) *kalke vā kāyagate vā kaṅṭhagate vā likhitvā dhārayeṣyate |*

(3) *bhūvatkare vā kāyagatām vā kaṭhegatā vā kṛtvā dhārayiṣyanti |*

(4) *kalke vā kāyagate vā kaṅṭha-gatām vā kṛtvā dhārayiṣyati |*

- (1) *ntasya yāva-jīva vaṣa na kramaiṣyante, etc.*
- (2) *tasya yāva-jīvaṃ viṣaṃ na krameṣyate, etc.*
- (3) *tasya yāvaj-jīvaṃ viṣe na kramiṣyanti, etc.*
- (4) *tasya yāvaj-jīvaṃ viṣaṃ na kramiṣyati, etc.*

i.e. "who, having written this powerful Pratyāṅgirā (Dhāraṇī), named the white sunshade of the Tathāgata's crown, either on birch-bark, or on cloth, or on paste, or on paper, or having committed it to memory, makes use of it; him throughout life no poison will injure", etc.

This clause names four kinds of writing material—(1) *bhūrja-patra* or birch-bark, (2) *vastra* or cloth, (3) *kalka* or paste, and (4) *kāyagata* or paper. There can be no question about the identity of the words for birch-bark and cloth. The form *buvyū*, if the reading is correct, would seem to be the name of the birch in the southern unknown language. As to *kāyagata* or *kāyaganta*, it is clearly identical with the Arabic word *kāghadh*, or, as it is pronounced in India, *kāghaz* (Ūrdu) or *kāgad* (Hindī). This word, as I have shown in this Journal for 1903, p. 669, on the authority of Professor Karabaček, is a mere loan-word in Arabic, into which it was introduced from the Chinese *kok-dz'* through Eastern Turkestan in the middle of the eighth century. Dr. Stein's rolls would show that, by the natives of Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese word was pronounced *kāyaganta* (or *kāganta*, p. 477); and in that case the Arabic pronunciation of it, as *kāghadh*, might throw light on how the Eastern Turkestanis pronounced their *kāyaganta*. Of *kalka* I am unable to make anything, unless it may be an error for *valka*, and unless the latter may signify skin or parchment. The ordinary meaning of the word is "paste" (e.g., made of powdered dry, or crushed fresh drugs, in medicine). Might it here refer to mortar, or beton, which when plastered on a wall would make an inscribable surface? The reading *bhūvatkare* (*bhūvalkale*?) of the Hodgson MS. is equally puzzling. The reference of the fifth alternative to memorizing seems clear from its version in the gigantic roll and the Hodgson MS. That version, however, is the

*lectio facillior*, and the version in Roll 0041 seems to point rather to a fifth kind of writing material, but what that material might be I am unable to suggest. It seems possible that the name of paper should be *kāganta* or *kāgata*, the existing reading *kāya-ganta*, or *kāya-gata*, lit. "gone into the body", being erroneously due to the following phrase *kaṇṭha-gata*, or "gone into the throat", the well-known Sanskrit idiom for "committed to memory".

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