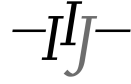




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Further Old Khotanese Texts in ‘Metre B’

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Abstract

Old Khotanese poetry makes use of three metres, conventionally referred to as A, B and C. The metre of the longest surviving Old Khotanese poem, the *Book of Zambasta* (Z) was analysed in detail in Sims-Williams 2022, which was followed by a series of articles studying the use of metre C in other texts and fragments, in order to determine to what extent their treatment of this metre conforms to the practice of Z. The present article applies the same approach to passages in metre B, identifying some which probably belong to lost parts of the *Book of Zambasta* and others which certainly do not. The relevant passages are presented with a detailed metrical analysis as well as an English translation and brief commentary.

Keywords

Khotanese language – Old Khotanese poetry – Khotanese metre – *Book of Zambasta*

1 Introduction

In my book on Old Khotanese metre (Sims-Williams 2022) I analysed all three metres, A, B and C, in the principal manuscript of the *Book of Zambasta* (Z). While that book was deliberately restricted to a single text, the same three metres are attested in many other texts and fragments. One is therefore bound to ask whether all poets used these metres in exactly the same way and whether metrical evidence can help to identify some such fragments as missing parts of Z.

My book was followed by an article on the metrical parts of the Khotanese *Samghāṭa-sūtra* (*Sgh*), which includes passages in all three metres (Sims-Williams 2023), and by two articles concerned specifically with texts in metre C, the rarest of the three. The first of these articles (Sims-Williams 2023a) contains an edition and metrical analysis of two fragmentary folios which I identified as belonging to Z_{7–8}. The second (Sims-Williams 2024), which was intended to provide a metrical analysis of all other identifiable passages in metre C,¹ deals with four short texts. The first two, which certainly belong to Z, contained no surprises from the metrical point of view. In Text 3, which has also been tentatively attributed to Z, an unusually large proportion of hemistichs (35%, as opposed to 15.5% in Z) begin with a 9-mora rather than a 7-mora cadence, but the sample is not large enough to prove that this text cannot belong to Z. In the case of Text 4, however, which forms part of the *Sgh*, the high proportion of 7-mora cadences ending with 'LLL rather than 'HL—19 to 26%, depending on the interpretation of a few ambiguous cadences, as opposed to ca. 1.5% in all the metre C 7-mora cadences of Z—is clearly statistically significant, indicating that this text is the work of a different poet who handled the metre in a slightly different way.² My study of the passages of the *Sgh* in the other two metres confirmed that:

While the definition of metres A and B based on Z does not require any significant modification in order to accommodate data from the *Sgh*, it seems that, as in the case of metre C, the two poets display slightly different preferences in their use of the metres.³

In particular, the following features are noticeably more common in *Sgh* than in Z: (i) the 7-mora cadence LLLL'HL in *pādas* b/d of metres A and B; (ii) the 9- and 10-mora cadences (especially those with an ictus on the 5th mora) in *pādas* a/c of metre A; (iii) the 1 sg. m. tr. perfect in *-ĕ mā* LL (as opposed to that in *-aimā* HL).⁴

1 I see now that I overlooked at least one such text, the fragment Or. 12637/41, a Skt.-Khot. bilingual from the *Guṇāparyantastotra* of Triratnadāsa, parts of which are identified in Hartmann–Chen 2017 as being in metre C.

2 Sims-Williams 2024: 558; 2023: 99–100.

3 Sims-Williams 2023: 102.

4 Sims-Williams 2023: 102–103.

2 Verses in Metre B

In the present article, following on from those mentioned above, I aim to give a metrical analysis of all identifiable texts and fragments in metre B, the second most common metre, other than those which are known to belong to the *Book of Zambasta*⁵ or the *Samghāṭa-sūtra*,⁶ of which I have already given a metrical analysis elsewhere. In the case of smaller fragments, it is often impossible to identify the metre, so this collection certainly cannot be regarded as complete. Since my chief aim is to ascertain whether the metre of the texts edited here differs from that of Z, the notes to the texts below will concentrate on metrical issues.

I begin with three folios which are clearly written in columns (Texts 1–3). Since this layout does not seem to be used for any other text, one may assume that they belong to the *Book of Zambasta*. So far as the metre is concerned, they contain nothing which contradicts or adds to the analysis in Sims-Williams 2022. This also applies to Text 4, a fragment which has also been suspected, rightly or wrongly, of belonging to Z. Texts 5 and 6 come from a manuscript of the *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī*. Although Text 6 shows no particular metrical oddities, two of the five surviving hemistichs of Text 5 appear to lack the usual mid-hemistich caesura. Unless the text is corrupt, this is a very substantial departure from the usage of Z, where such an irregularity is only found once in a total of ca. 970 metre B hemistichs. Finally, Text 7 appears to attest a few metrical features which are unknown in Z. If Leumann is right to assume that *ranānu* in 26d stands for *ranāṃ* or *ranā* LH, a distinctively LKh. form of the OKh. gen. pl. form *ratanānu* 'jewels', this text probably dates from a later period than the *Book of Zambasta*.⁷

5 See Sims-Williams 2022. A few additional metre B passages from Z are analysed in Sims-Williams 2024a (10L Khot 21/4, r1–4, possibly the end of Z21a), forthcoming a (10L Khot 161/1, a 'list of *sūtras*', presumably from a chapter preceding Z1; cf. also 10L Khot 25/9, which clearly belongs to the same chapter but is too small for a metrical analysis to be useful) and forthcoming b (10L Khot 161/5, now identified as part of Z19).

6 Sims-Williams 2023 includes the following passages in metre B from the *Samghāṭa-sūtra*: § 5.41–44 (*Sgh* 99), § 7 (*Sgh* 213), § 8 (*Sgh* 214), § 9 (*Sgh* 243), § 10 (*Sgh* 244)(?), § 12 (unlocated).

7 Note the following conventions: H = heavy syllable, L = light syllable, L = heavy syllable with metrical lightening, μ = one mora, ' = metrical ictus, || = caesura or end of a hemistich, always preceded by a cadence, | = compulsory word- (or compound-)boundary, + = compulsory syllable-boundary, ! = metrical irregularity. The hyphen in a formula such as -HH marks a segment which is short by one mora (see Sims-Williams 2022: 66–67). Wherever possible, the length of the ambiguous letters *e* and *o* is marked: *ě* *ō*, *ē* *ō*. Superscript letters, as in *bis̄sūn̄hya*, represent sounds pronounced but not written; subscript letters, as in *ha*, *bis̄s̄ū*, represent letters which are disregarded in the scansion. Underlining as in *pr̄avajjō* draws attention to an assumed metrical lightening which is not obvious from other markings such as a subscript

2.1 *Text 1*

IOI Khot 28/11–13,⁸ ed. Bailey, KT5: 154 (#289); Skjærvø 2002: 232. The three fragments can be joined, as shown in Skjærvø's diagram, to form part of the left-hand end of a folio with a circle surrounding the string-hole in the space between the first two columns (see fig. 1–2). The order of recto and verso is unknown. Parts of five lines survive on each side, but the position of the circle suggests that there were originally 6 lines per page.

- [Line 1 missing? Line 2 only a few *akṣaras*]
- 1.3ab dāt[īṃ]ju hastam[ō] daju ttārō [...]
HHL HLL || LL HLμ'μμμ ||
- 1.4ab mai šī' kādātānā pātēmīyā [...]
HLLL HL || LH HLμ'μμμ ||
- 1.5ab cvī ttā kādātānē ci sa puttra[...]
HLLL HL || LL! HLμ'μμμ ||
- 1.6ab × dārsā hva'ṃndā cē ś^uvō' buḍaru [...]
HHL HL || LLL LLLμ'μμμ ||
- 1.7ab × ttu ju yē hva'ṃd'yē samu da ×[...]
HLLL HLL || LL μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 1.8ab *dr̥ṅguṇṇ*[a] ttārāna ṣṣavamārā[ṇa ...]
HHL HLL || LL HLL'μμμ ||
- 1.9ab biśśu ttu × ru br̥'yakā hamatā ā ×[...]
LLLLL LLL || LLL Hμμ'μμμ ||
- 1.10ab *pāra*[.]ai nā mañātē kēḍā dīśā[tē ...]
HLH LLLL || LL HLL'μμμ ||
- [Line 11 only a few *akṣaras*. Line 12 missing?]

- 3 The best flame of the Law, that ...
4 Let not this sin darken it ...
5 As for these sins of him who, having(?) sons(?) ...
6 ... thirty men who at noon more ...
7 ... one only ... of a man ...
8 ... dark, pitch-black darkness ...
9 All this ... the beloved himself ...
10 He does not consider ..., [he] greatly confesses ...

letter.—I take this opportunity to thank Mauro Maggi for kindly saving me from various large and small errors and for several helpful suggestions, the most important of which are credited to him in the appropriate place below.

8 Thus Skjærvø 2002, but the online photos are numbered IOI Khot 28/12–14.



FIGURES 1–2 Text 1 (IOL Khot 28/11–13)

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1.3. The final vowel of *hastam*[o] is now lost. It is given as visible by Bailey and Skjærvø, but this may be a restoration rather than a reading. The line is cited in DKS 126a, s.v. *ttāra-*, and 150b, s.v. *dajā*.⁹ Bailey translates *ttārō* as 'dark', but it can equally well be the acc. sg. f. demonstrative *ttārō* 'that'.

⁹ The noun *daji-* f. 'flame' is attested several times in Z. The entry '*daja-* m.' in Emmerick 2024: 147 seems to be a slip (for which I, as one of the editors, must share the responsibility).

1.5b. The last surviving word may represent Skt. *saputra-* (or *saputraka-*), as Bailey seems to imply. Alternatively, since the segment after the caesura seems to be one mora short, one might consider emending *sa* to *saṃ* (= *samu* ‘only, just’).

1.8a. The first word (Bailey *jya ggunṇ-*, Skjærvø *ḍṛṅguṇṇ-*) seems to be otherwise unknown. Mauro Maggi kindly suggests that *ḍṛṅguṇa-* may be a variant of LKh. *drvanaka-gūna-*, which Bailey, DKS 171a, interprets as ‘dark-coloured’. Thus *ḍṛṅguṇṇa* HHL would be a LKh. spelling for the metrically equivalent OKh. **drunagūna* LLHL, instr.-abl. sg. m. of a hypothetical **druna-gūna-*.

1.9. *briyaka-* may be a personal name, as Skjærvø seems to assume, or it may be a diminutive of *bria-* ‘dear, beloved’ (elsewhere *brīka-*, *bika-*). Bailey, DKS 314a, translates *bryakā hamatā* as ‘becomes dear’, implying an emendation to **hāmātā*, but this is hardly necessary.

2.2 Text 2

IOI Khot 156/7, ed. Bailey, KT5: 31–32 (#85); Skjærvø 2002: 351. The right-hand part of a folio from a 6-lined manuscript. The recto contains verses numbered 23–28, while the verso contains verses numbered 29–32 followed by two blank lines, showing this to be the end of a chapter. As noted by Manu Leumann (1967: 373), this can hardly fit anywhere in Z1–24, so it probably belongs to an earlier part of the poem.¹⁰

2.23cd	[... a]rahandā	pāta'ñi dasau nē 'indi · 23
	μμμLL HL ||	LLL LHL'HL ||
2.24cd	[....] māsta	cu arahandi nē 'indi · 24
	μμμμ HL ||	LLL HLL'HL ||
2.25cd	[....] dyāmata	bvāmata khō rrō 'balysi · 25
	μμμμ HLL ||	H LLLL'HL ||
2.26cd	[.....] ×	balysi vīrō [pa]'tārja · 26
	μμμμ μμ ||	HL HLL'HL ||
	[Verses 27–30, only verse-numbers and traces]	
2.31cd ¹¹	[....] × [.]t[.]yā	u karmyau jsa p[i] _s 'kalstā : 31
	μμμμ μL ||	LH HLL'HL ||
2.32cd	[...] cārau byū'tā	nē ttāna hārna ha'mamṅga : 32 ||
	μμμLH HL ||	LLL HLL'HL ||

10 On the likelihood that other chapters preceded what we know as ‘Chapter 1’ see Sims-Williams forthcoming a.

11 Bailey reads the first three *akṣaras* as *-ū -t -ā*, Skjærvø as *śś- st- yā*.

- 23 ... an *arhat* does not have the ten powers. 23
 24 ... great ... which the *arhat* does not have. 24
 25 ... appearance (and) knowledge (is) like the Buddha’s. 25
 26 ... they should be a special characteristic of the Buddha. 26
 ...
 31 ... and distinguished from *karmas*. 31
 32 ... kindles the lamp, (is/are) not equal because of this. 32

2.26d. Cf. *balysāna patārgya* Z15.129b.

2.32c. I read *cārau* ‘lamp’ for Skjærvø’s *kārau* (*k* marked as doubtful), Bailey’s *-ä rrau* (*rr* marked as doubtful). Skjærvø translates the following *byū’tä* as ‘owl’, but the context suggests rather a connection with **byūṣ-* ‘to catch fire’ < **wi-auš-*, so far attested only by 3 pl. pres. indic. mid. *byūvā’re* in Z4.59d (metrically *byūvārē* LHL, Sims-Williams 2022: 42). It seems simplest to take *byū’tä* as **wi-aušayati*, 3 sg. pres. indic. of a type A act. verb **byūṣ-* ‘to kindle’, the transitive counterpart of **byūṣ-* ‘to catch fire’. For the lack of the expected palatalization of the stem vowel *-ū-* one may compare the infinitives *pyūṣte* and *byūtti* (Hitch 1990: 192), to cite only the most similar cases. Alternatively, one might consider the possibility that both *byū’tä* (for **byū’te* < **wi-aušayatai*) and *byūvā’re* belong to an intransitive verb of type A mid. (a type not otherwise attested from a verb in *-Vṣ-*, see Maggi 2019). Unfortunately *cārau* does not help to decide between a transitive or intransitive interpretation, as it can be either nom. or acc. sg.

2.3 Text 3

10L Khot 174/1, ed. Skjærvø 2002: 387. A few words were cited by Bailey, K15: 106 (#207). A fragment from a 5-lined manuscript. The order of recto and verso is unknown. A few words and syllables are preserved from either side of the space between columns. These apparently belong to *pādas* cd (less likely ab, as there is no string-hole) of a passage in metre B, the metre being clearest in verse 5.

3.1cd	]ś[ś]ä	uysā[n-	... self ...
	μμL ||	LH [
3.2cd	]×	asādu [	... evil ...
	μμμ ||	LLL [
3.3cd	]×	ně hā tsuñ[	... must not go away ...
	μμμ ||	LH L[
3.4cd	]×	buttě cě [.]ī[	... knows who ...
	μμμ ||	HL LH[

3.5cd	[balysūstu ha]stamu	buva nī[	... you know best [<i>bodhi</i>] ...
	HHL HLL ||	LL H[
3.6cd		]ṣṭātā mūla dē[va-	... roots, god ...
		HL || HL H[
3.7cd		]× yaulē ī[rīyē	... falsehoods, w[iles] ...
	μμμ ||	HL HLL[
3.8cd		]e śśaṭhṭhē īrīyē [	... deceptions, wiles ...
	μμμ ||	HL HLL[
3.9cd		]ṣṭā cu karā ×[	... which ... [not] at all ...
	HL ||	LLL [
3.10cd		]ra ka pharu y[	... if many ...
	μμμ ||	LLL [

3.6d. The Indian word *deva*- ‘god’ and personal names containing this element are the only words beginning with *de-* in Z.

3.7–8. Falsehoods, wiles and deceptions are frequently mentioned in Z as characteristic of women.

2.4 Text 4

10L Khot 155/5, ed. Bailey, КТ5: 30 (#81); Skjærvø 2002: 348; Del Tomba 2024: 156–158 (verses 81–85, *pādas* cd only, with scansion). The right-hand part of a five-lined folio, containing verses numbered 76–85. The text is set out in verse-lines but not in columns, which makes it somewhat doubtful whether the text belongs to the *Book of Zambasta* as suggested by Skjærvø. However, the metre does not differ in any discernible way from that of Z.

4.76ab	[.....]	[.....ya]’nīyā·
	μμμμμ μμμ ||	μμμ μμμL’HL ||
4.76cd	pravajjē bīya _m nu	cerī baśdā _{tā} ’garkha 76
	HHL LLL ||	LH HH’HL ||
4.77ab	[.....]	[.....]ā pha’rāka·
	μμμμμ μμμ ||	μμμ μμLL’HL ||
4.77cd	ttīyē hāmātē aysmīya	aysu nāsē pra’vajjō | |
	LLLLL HLL ||	LL HLL’HL ||
4.78ab	[.....]	[.....]āññā ’hva’ṃndā·
	μμμμμ μμμ ||	μμμ LHL’HL ||
4.78cd	avāyī tsūmatā	pharu vara dukha ’bīḍā | |
	LHH HLL ||	LL LLLL’HL ||
4.79ab	[.....]	[.....]ā·
	μμμμμ μμμ ||	μμμ μμμμ’μμL ||

- 4.79cd ō pūrā pīrā šě hā jsātē a'vāyā || 9 ||
HHL HL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 4.80ab [.....] [.....]·
[
- 4.80cd cai b'ya_mnu yīndā šā kiḍā hāmā[tē] du'khauttā 80
LLLL HL || LLL LLLL'HL ||
- 4.81ab [.....] [.....]t[·]
[
- 4.81cd amatauya kaštē hvaittā nu[ṣṭhu]ru 'stauru 81
LLHL HL || HL HLL'HL ||
- 4.82ab [.....] [.....]ṣṭu·
μμμμ μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'HL ||
- 4.82cd ś^uvē hāmātē vātcō šě naṣphūstai 'ōṣku · 82
LLLL HL || LH HH'HL ||
- 4.83ab [.....] [...] ṣṣāmañā 'yīndā ·
μμμμ μμμ || μμμ HLL'HL ||
- 4.83cd kvī pulstā handarā samu šārā nu 'naštā 3
HHL HLL || LL HLL'HL ||
- 4.84ab [.....] [.....]ndā ·
μμμμ μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'HL ||
- 4.84cd au yā armānāna ṣṣei b'ya_{ca}nu ya'nīyā 84
HLH HLL || H LLLL'HL ||
- 4.85ab [.....] [.....]o 'ysaiyē ·
μμμμ μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'HL ||
- 4.85cd šā rrō hāmātē kāṇā atā kūysā bi'hīyā ||
LLLL HL! || LL HLL'HL ||

- 76 ... [if] he should cause ..., a hindrance to the ascetic life, how much (is) his heavy sin? 76
- 77 ... many ..., it occurred to him in (his) mind: I shall take up the ascetic life.
- 78 ... the man must ..., his transmigration (will be) to an evil existence, he will bear many torments there.
- 79 ... or the son to (his) father, he will go to an evil existence. [7]9
- 80 ... he who causes a hindrance to him will become very miserable. 80
- 81 ... [him who] falls into distress he beats harshly, severely. 81
- 82 ... he becomes a dog, then he (is) always thrown out. 82
- 83 ... he practises the religious life. When another asks him, only that one of them is deficient. [8]3
- 84 ... or he would even cause a hindrance through his appearance. 84

85 ... he is born ... he also becomes one-eyed (and) extremely hunch-backed.

4.85c. Del Tomba corrects the metre by emending *kāṇā* HL to *kāṇai* HH, the form of this word (Skt. *kāṇa-/kāṇaka-* 'one-eyed') found in Z14.65c.

2.5 Text 5

10L Khot 151/3 + 4, ed. Leumann 1920: 151; Bailey, KT5: 102 (#201); Skjærvø 2002: 338–339. The text was identified by Leumann as part of the *Anantamukhanir-hāra-dhāraṇī* (cf. also Text 6 below). The folio bears the number 16 and some verses are numbered, although the text is not set out as verse. After these verses in metre B, the continuation is in prose and then in metre A.

A notable feature of this short passage is that both 29cd and 31ab appear to lack a caesura, a feature attested only once in the whole of Z (see Sims-Williams 2022: 62 on Z12.63cd). See discussion below.

5.29cd [. u biśśū] n'ya ratanai 'hälyśda
 μμμμμ LLHLL! LLH|'HL ||
 5.30ab hvī'ya gyastūñai suha vārō nē 'indā
 HLH HH || LL HLL'HL ||
 5.30cd nē a[n^uvaśtātī] balysūstī 'naysdā 30
 LLLH HH || H HH|'HL ||
 5.31ab tt'yē kāḍāna cē balysūstā thatau kṣa'mīyā
 LLLLL LHHH! LHL'HL ||
 5.31cd tt'yē sūtrā vīrī [. . . . 'tcē] rā 1
 LLHL HH || μμ μμμμ|'HL ||

29 ... jewels of [all] kinds (are) present for him.
 30 Human (and) divine pleasures are not lacking for him, nor (is there) [hardship for him]; enlightenment (is) near for him. 30
 31 Therefore, he for whom enlightenment (obtained) quickly would be pleasing—(it is) [necessary] for him [to make ...] towards this *sūtra*. [3]¹

5.29cd. If this is a hemistich in metre B, it is irregular in lacking the usual caesura. In theory [*biśśū*]n'ya ratanai 'hälyśda LHLL LLH|'HL 5+7 could be the regular final *pāda* of a verse in metre A (or of course a passage of prose), but it is not obvious why there should be a change of metre at this point.

5.30. This verse is translated by Skjærvø, SVK3: 137, who also cites the Tibetan and Chinese versions. On the basis of the Chinese, Skjærvø restores *pāda* c as

ne a[nvaštātā] 'nor [(is there) hardship', which is too short by one mora. Leumann and Bailey's reading *ne su* seems at least equally possible but does not suggest a plausible restoration.

5.31ab. As is stands, this is clearly a metre B hemistich without caesura. It could be regularized by inverting the order of the words *balysüstā thatau*:

*ttiyē kāḍāna cē thatau balysüstā kṣa'mīyā
 *LLLLL LLH || H HLL'HL ||

2.6 Text 6

10L Khot151/2, ed. Leumann 1920:153; Bailey, KT5:103 (#202); Skjærvø 2002:338. Identified by Leumann as part of the same manuscript and text (*Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī*) as Text 5 above. The folio bears the number 19 and two of the verses are numbered. After these verses in metre B, which seem perfectly regular by the standards of Z, the text continues in prose.

- 6.8cd [... ..] [... ..] 'tcēra 8
 μμμμμ μμμ μμμ μμμ'HL ||
- 6.9ab nai byāva^grja kyē kūśānai 'hāvi
 HHL HL || LH HH'HL ||
- 6.9cd nai haj^uvattā^{tā} u nai aysmīya 'ṣṣadda | |
 HLLL HL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 6.10ab nai hāmātē dātīya tsūmata nē pa'rāhā
 HLLL HLL || H LLLL'HL ||
- 6.10cd hāysa balysyau jsa samu khō śaṃdā 'ōrnā | |
 HLH HL || LLL HH'HL ||
- 6.11ab ttīyē kāḍāna hāvā pajsamā buljsīyē 'kṣīna ·
 LLLLL HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 6.11cd balysūñavūysei hārṣṭāyā pa'śśāṇa | |
 HHL HH || H HLL'HL ||
- 6.12ab parāhī vas^uvē parēhāñā a'ggaṃjsu ·
 LHH LLL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 6.12cd rraṣṭa kāḍē jsīna mulysdā aysmīya 'ōṣku 2 | |
 HLLL HL || HL HLL'HL ||

- 8 ... [homage to the Three Jewels] (is) to be performed. 8
 9 (There is) no *anusmṛti* for him who (is) a seeker of benefit, no wisdom,
 and no faith in (his) mind.
 10 For him there is no conduct according to the Law, no moral restraint;
 (he is) far from the Buddhas, just as earth (and) sky (are far apart).

- 11 Therefore profit, reverence, praise (are) really to be abandoned by him
who seeks enlightenment.
- 12 Pure restraint (is) to be performed by him, faultlessly, (and) a very right
(way of) life, (with) compassion always in (his) mind. [1]2

6.9a. *byāvarjā-* is a late form for *byātagargyā-* (so spelt in Z24.192c) ‘remembrance, *anusmṛti*’. The spelling *byātarjā-* is common in Z, but there, as here, it is generally necessary to restore the older form with an extra syllable: see Z11.20d, 11.42a, 15.88b, 15.103a. Exceptionally, Z20.25d is probably to be read *u byātarja śśāra* LH HL|LL rather than *u byāta^grja śśāra* LH LHLLL with a rare variant of the 6-mora cadence (for which see Sims-Williams 2022: 46).

6.10d. The word for ‘sky’ is mostly attested in the loc. sg. form *orña*. As the present form shows, the stem is *orna-* (with Leumann 1933–1936: 406b; Skjærvø 2004: 11, 252a), not *ora-* (with Bailey, DKS 47a; Emmerick, SGS 264).

6.11–12. In 12ab *parāhī ... parēhāñā*, lit. ‘restraint (is) to be restrained by him’, exemplifies the passivization of a ‘cognate accusative’ construction, cf. Emmerick 1965: 25. Similarly, in v. 11, *kṣīna ... paśśāñā*, lit. ‘the abandonment of profit, reverence, praise (is) to be abandoned’, though here the noun and verb are not etymologically cognate.

2.7 Text 7

SI P 4, folio 9 verso. Edited and translated by Leumann 1920: 174–179; Emmerick and Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja, SDTV3: 26–27. A hymn to Viśvakarman, inserted secondarily on a page of a copy of the *Adhyardhaśatikā* which had apparently been left blank by mistake. The poem is not set out as verse, but most of the verse-numbers are preserved. The text as presented in the manuscript displays many Late (or at least ‘Middle’) Khotanese traits.

Certain phrases echo expressions found in the *Book of Zambasta*; in particular, as Leumann noted, the whole hemistich 8cd is attested in OKh. spelling in Z24.262cd: *nē ju yē hvatu tīndā—ttu hāru harbāsśā hōna*. M. Leumann (in Leumann 1933–1936: xvi) even suggests that this text may belong to Z, but there seems no real basis for such a supposition. It is true that in many cases one could attribute the late forms and spellings to the copyist rather than the original composer of the text. For example: 1c *pīsañā* HLH ~ OKh. *pīsānu* HHL; 2b *biśūm* LH ~ OKh. *biśū mā* or *biśū nā* LLL; 10a *ahivāysyai* LLHH ~ OKh. *ahivāysātai* LLHLH, in metre perhaps *ahivāys_{ai}* LLHH;¹² 10c *parāpāchūm* LLHH ~ OKh. **parāpāchāmā* LLHLL; 14b *vē* H ~ OKh. *vātē* LL. In these cases

12 Cf. Sims-Williams 2022: 68–69 with n. 137.

one could replace the form in the text with an earlier equivalent without disrupting the metre. In one case, an older form might even improve the metre (see below on *pīsañ_yau jsa* in 11a.) On the other hand, it is difficult to see any alternative to Leumann's assumption that the gen. pl. *ranānu* 'jewels' in 26d must be read as *ranām* or *ranā*, a distinctively LKh. form. The text also attests a couple of metrical features which are unknown in Z (see below on *ha_mdāda* in 10d, *puña* HL in 26b). It therefore seems likely that this hymn is the work of a later poet, but one who was familiar with the *Book of Zambasta*.

siddham

- 7.1ab namasūṃmā ṣa[ddē] jsa kāḍā śārna a_{ys}'mūna
LLHL HLL || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.1cd pīsañā hvāṣṭā viṣpaśarmā ba'lōdā
HLH HL || HL HLL'HL ||
- 7.2ab cu ṣi viṣpaśarmā gyastā biśūṃ tta 'saiṭṭā
LLHL HL || HL LHL'HL ||
- 7.2cd śākyamunā [...] [...] m[is]ta v[i]m'ūha
HLLL μμμ || μμμ HLL'HL ||
- 7.3ab [t]ta [
[
- 7.3cd [... ..] [...] sōṃdā ya'nīndā 3
μμμμμ μμμ || μμμ HLL'HL ||
- 7.4ab cī ṣi' vara tvānai prabhāvi ni 'āya
HLLL HH || L! HLL'HL ||
- 7.4cd ni ju'vē yuḍa yīndā mista tcaṣ'va 'kīrē 4
LLLLL HL || HL HLL'HL ||
- 7.5ab nijsuṣṭai pīsañu śārā satvahi'tāyā
LHH HLL || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.5cd biśi'yē ysamaśa[m]d[ai] ṣā gyastu'vō 'brōrcu 5
LLLLL HH || H HLL'HL ||
- 7.6ab daṣṭa saña bvā[mata] [... ..]
HLLL HLL || μμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.6cd [... ..] [... ..] ya'nīndā 6
μμμμμ μμμ || μμμ μμμL'HL ||
- 7.7ab cu tvī saña māsta ttavaścaraṇa pa'rāhi
LHLL HL || LH LLLL'HL ||
- 7.7cd cu'vē karīttātā rṛāśā hauva u 'mu'sdā 7
LLLH HL || HL HLL'HL ||
- 7.8ab śārā jñāṃnā tvānai pratābānā u 'ttīśā
LLHL HH || LL HLL'HL ||

- 7.8cd ni j^uvě hvatä yīdä ttu hirä harbäsä 'hauna 8
 LLLLL HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 7.9ab bišä aurta kīrē mā[sta]
 LLHL HL || HL μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.9cd [.] [... mis]ta vi'mūha 9
 μμμμ μμμ || μμμ HLL'HL ||
- 7.10ab tta tta thu ahivāysyai aysu pīsina 'vamña
 LLLLL HH || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.10cd satva parāpāchūṃ khu ha_mdāḍa hi'mārē 10
 HLLL HH || LL! HLL'HL ||
- 7.11ab cu burä pīsañyau jsa satva kirä ya'nidä
 LLLH LHL! || HL HLL'HL ||
- 7.11cd cu vā ttyō kīryau haṃdāḍa u_{ys}'nōra 11
 LHH HH || H HLL'HL ||
- 7.12ab bišu tti vainē[yā] [.]
 LLLH HH || μμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.12cd [.] [bal]ysūstu bu'vārē 12
 μμμμ μμμμ || H HLL'HL ||
- 7.13ab ttidirä utsähä mistä cu tvī mī'dānē
 LLLH HL || HL LH_L'HL ||
- 7.13cd cu ši satvadhättä bišē *ha_mdāra 'mu'sdä 13
 LLHL HL || HL LH_L'HL ||
- 7.14ab pharu padīya biṣṭi cu tvī karu vē 'ārē
 LLLLL HL || LH LLH'HL ||
- 7.14cd sājīndä pīsañä šārē hvatä hva^{tā} 'vāmi 14
 HHL HLL || LL LLLL'HL ||
- 7.15ab [.] [.]
 [
- 7.15cd [.]ra satva bišūṃnī'ya suha 'daindä 15
 μμμμL HL || LH LLLL'HL ||
- 7.16ab ci kē' [sā]jīndä ggarāṇiśāstra ci 'vātcu
 LHH HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 7.16cd šākhē sājīndä tcamna satva sa'hōtta 16
 HLH HL || HL HLL'HL ||
- 7.17ab cu šāra šāra vāsta paḍimārē pra'hōṇē
 LLLLL HL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 7.17cd bišē āysirū[ṇē] [.]
 LLHL HL || μμμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.18ab [. . .]upakāri kama jsa hva^mdä j^u'vīndä
 μμμLL HL || LLL HLL'HL ||

- 7.18cd khāysā āstaṃna pattarra baṣṭarrā 'byūṃnā 18
HLH HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 7.19ab biśā satvadhāttā anau pīsu nā 'jvīndā
LLHL HL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 7.19cd ṣā tvī hōva uhu jsa satva sa'hōtta 19
-HH HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 7.20ab balysa bū[...] [.....]
HLH μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.20cd [μμμ saṃkhā]rama pratābimbā 'balysi 20
μμμH HLL || LL HH'|HL ||
- 7.21ab ttyānu āstaṃna cu buru śāra śāra 'thāṃna
HLH HL || LLL LLLL'HL ||
- 7.21cd pīsinau him'ya ṣi tvī misti pra'bhāvi 21
HLH LLL || LH HLL'HL ||
- 7.22ab ni j^uve yuḍā yīdā kīrē mara ×ta-'kṣīra
LLLLL HL || HL LLLL'HL ||
- 7.22cd śāra mista [...] [.....]
LLHL μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.23ab [trisahasrya lōvi mahā]saharsrya 'vīra
LLHL HL || LH LHL'HL ||
- 7.23cd ham'yē kṣaṇu dāsśā pan'yē pīsai 'vīra 23
LLLLL HL || LLL HH'|HL ||
- 7.24ab vira bīka pīsā śāra mulysjaṣṣē 'rraṣṭa
LLHL HH || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.24cd ttā muhu jsa ttaṃdā pajsamu pārśu pa'jāysā 24
HLLL HL || LLL HLL'HL ||
- 7.25ab āstaṃna bōdhi—[carya]
HHL HL || HL μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.25cd [...] pārām^uvō kṣ^uvō tvī vara 'bhāgā 25
μμμH HLL || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.26ab *puṇyasambhārā jñānasa_mbhārna 'puña
HLH HL || HL LHL'HL ||
- 7.26cd cu rā himātē draiṇu ranānu vīra tṭr'kālā 26
LLLHL! HL || LHL! HLL'HL ||
- 7.27ab ṣē' muhu jsa maṃgalā tvī tvān'yē 'parṣē
HLLL HLL || H HLL'HL ||
- 7.27cd ttū [.....] [.....]
Hμμμ μμμ || μμμ μμμμ'μμμ ||
- 7.28ab kh[u tv]ī ttiru hōva rrāsā' biśu vētē 'muśdā
LHLL HL || HL LLLL'HL ||

- 7.28cd ttarē vēnēyai aysu trāya ma 'bāḍu 28
 LHH HH || LL HLL'HL ||
- 7.29ab bišā thu yañā kīrē u bišā satva ha'dāra
 LLLLL HL || LLL HLL'HL ||

I refrain from giving a new translation, since that of Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja requires hardly any changes.

7.4b. One mora lacking. This could be corrected by adding an additional negative *ni* before *prabhāvi*.

7.9a. Bailey, DKS 47b, translates *aurrta* as 'admired', but his etymology is impossible. Mauro Maggi kindly informs me that Emmerick's unpublished glossary to the St Petersburg texts indicates that the translation '*approved' in SDTV3 is based on the idea that this is a LKh. spelling of *orāta-* (listed in SGS 11 as pp. of *āvun-* 'to approve', but see Sims-Williams and Sims-Williams 2023: 352).

7.10d. A metrical lightening of the pre-tonic syllable of *haṃdāḍa* seems to be required. No such lightening is attested in a 2-mora segment in Z (see Sims-Williams 2022: 63).

7.11a. *pīsañ, au jsa* HLHL, metrically better OKh. *pīsyau jsa* HHL. Alternatively, Leumann corrected the metre by deleting *jsa*.

7.13a. *utsāhā* HHL. While the digraph *ts* generally counts as a single consonant [tʰ], in Indian words it can stand for [ts] as here (see Sims-Williams 2022: 27).

7.13d. **ha_ndāra* LHL, an instance of what I have named the '*ttarandara*-effect' (Sims-Williams 2022: 52–53), is Leumann's emendation for *haṃdara*. Cf. *ha'dāra* 29b.

7.19b. After *nā* there is a faint character which is read as *vā* in SDTV3. Perhaps it was deliberately effaced? At any rate it is metrically superfluous.

7.19c. As it stands, *ṣā tvī* appears to be a 4-mora segment replacing the standard 5-mora segment. While this is not an uncommon irregularity (Sims-Williams 2022: 66–67), it is possible that Leumann is right to emend *ṣā* to **ṣāṣa*.

7.22b. Leumann reads the last word as *hvata-kṣīra*, but according to SDTV3 the first *akṣara* looks more like *cū*. If, as Leumann implies, the word is equivalent to *hvatāna-kṣīra* 'the land of Khotan' in Z5.114, the metre requires the emendation **hvana-kṣīra* LLHL. The loss of the unstressed syllable *tā* or *ta* would be parallel to that attested by *ranānu* in 26d. According to Bailey and Emmerick, the LKh. form *hvana-* is already attested by *hvanau* 'in the Khotanese language' in Z1.189a, but this was correctly interpreted by Leumann as the acc. sg. of *hvanaa-* 'speech, teaching'; see Maggi 2009: 156–157.

7.25ab. The caesura is represented by a compound- rather than a word-boundary, a usage which is rare but not unknown in Z (see Sims-Williams 2022: 17 n. 6).

7.25cd. The metre requires that the two loc. pl. forms *pārām*^{uvō} *kṣ*^{uvō} ‘the six *pārāmitās*’ HHLL || LL are read thus, contracted from the underlying **pārāmätuvō*’ *kṣätuvō*’. A somewhat similar case in Z is loc. pl. *pätō*’ LL ‘feet’ < **pätuvō*’ LLL (Sims-Williams 2022: 31 with n. 46). Even closer, in terms of spelling, is *ttuṣätō*’/ *ttuṣuvō*’ ‘among the Tuṣita gods’, but in Z these spellings always seem to stand for **ttuṣätuvō*’ LLLL (see further *ibid.*, 41 n. 82).

7.26a. The manuscript appears to have *puṇyasaṃbhāraṃ*. As Mauro Maggi kindly points out, Leumann’s reading (or emendation) *puṇyasaṃbhārā* makes sense if it is understood as an example of group inflection with the following instr.-abl. sg. *jñānasambhārna*, a typical LKh. construction.

7.26b. *sa_mbhārna* LHL is another instance of the ‘*ttarandara*-effect’. The reading of the following word as *puña* HL, which is required by the metre, departs from the usage of Z, where *puña* is always LL (Sims-Williams 2022: 87).

7.26c. The first segment is one mora too long. Leumann deletes *rā* ‘also’.

7.26d. In Z the gen. pl. of *ratana*- ‘jewel’ is always written *ratanānu*, but in Z12.24b the metre indicates that this must be read *ra_{ta}nānu* LHL.¹³ Such a form could of course be written phonetically as *ranānu*. Here however, even *ranānu* is one mora too long. Leumann therefore assumes that it stands for *ranām* or *ranā* LH. This would be a distinctively LKh. form, never found in Z, though there is a partial parallel in *hāmā*, Z11.1, if this represents a shortening of 1 sg. subj. mid. *hāmāne* as suggested by Emmerick, *SGS* 203.

7.28c. Both editions take *ta re* as two words. Leumann ingeniously suggests that *re* stands for **rrai* < *rrē* + *-ī* ‘you are the king’. To me it seems more likely that *ttarē* stands for **ttarrai* ‘thirsty’, thus: ‘I (am) a convert thirsty (for knowledge)’.

7.28d. The last two words (read by Leumann) are no longer legible according to SDTV3. Traces remain of several further hemistichs.

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