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Text and its Performance on the Eastern Silk Road
A catalogue of sound and music in the Khotanese corpus

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Abstract

Diese Arbeit bietet einen Versuch, Spuren des musikalischen, bzw. performativen Hintergrunds der khotansakischen Schriftkultur zu untersuchen und in einem breiteren philologischen Kontext zu verstehen. In Kapitel 1 werden einige für die Forschungsfrage relevanten Grundvoraussetzungen der historischen Textforschung behandelt. Es folgt ein kurzer Überblick über die khotansakische Sprache und die schriftlichen Quellen durch die sie uns überliefert ist. Kapitel 2 'Lexical evidence' ist ein Glossar aller khotansakischen Wörter die auf Musik, Performance oder schlicht Geräusche aufweisen. Die Bedeutung einzelner Einträge wird ermittelt indem Bezeugungen und glossierte Beispiele im Kontext einer etymologischen Diskussion der indoiranischen und indogermanischen Fachliteratur untersucht werden. Kapitel 3, 'Typologies' ist ein Versuch aus diesen lexikalischen Untersuchungen eine umfangreichere Typologie der Musikkultur herzustellen, soweit dies auf der Basis der schriftlichen Quellen möglich ist. Diese Typologie ist thematisch aufgebaut, und beginnt mit der materiellen Kultur, bzw. bezeugten Namen für Instrumente, wendet sich dann zu einer Diskussion literarischer Topoi, sowie Metaphern und gewisser Formeln, und schließt mit einigen philosophischen Fragen. Angesichts des Charakters des khotansakischen corpus, welcher als überwiegend Buddhistisch zu verstehen ist, wird die Verfolgung dieser Themen in der buddhistischen Literatur (vor allem in der frühen Pali Literatur) betont. Die Schlussfolgerungen die sich aus dieser Darstellung bieten sind: (1) die khotansakischen Quellen sind reich an Hinweise auf Musik (2) viele dieser Hinweise sind im buddhistischen Kontext zu verstehen und sind in diesem Zusammenhang (2a) sowohl Teil einer ererbten indischen Ästhetik (2b) als auch Teil einer religiösen Praxis in der ein Text als kultisches Objekt zu verstehen ist, (3) hinter den Texten verbirgt sich eine einheimische iranische Musikkultur die durchaus weiterer Forschung würdig wäre. Die vorliegende Arbeit möchte dieser weiteren Forschung eine bescheidene Vorlage sein.

This thesis is an attempt to catalogue traces of music and performance culture in Khotanese texts—and to place these in a philological context. After situating the question in wider assumptions about texts (and how they were used in the past), Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the Khotanese language and the texts through which it is known. Chapter 2 ‘Lexical evidence’ is a glossary of words in Khotanese that relate to music, performance or just sound. Each word is treated for its meaning, which is not always clear, through attestations, examples with interlinear glosses and an etymological discussion drawing on wider literature in Indo-Iranian and -European studies. Chapter 3 ‘Typologies’ is an attempt to build on this study of the lexicon by drawing up a wider musical typology of music as drawn the textual sources. This follows a gradient, beginning with the material culture (named musical instruments), through specific images, formulas and metaphors, and ending with some more philosophical questions. Given the nature of the Khotanese corpus, which is, above all Buddhist, an emphasis is placed on tracing these things through the wider Buddhist literature which leads, most often, to early Pali sources. The main conclusions in presenting the material like this are that (1) Khotanese literature is full of references to music; (2) much of this must be understood in its Buddhist context as (2a) part of an inherited Indic imaginaire and (2b) as part of a religious practice that understood texts as cult objects, but that (3) an indigenous Iranian musical culture shines through the texts and merits further study. This thesis hopes to contribute a minimal foundation to that more interesting work.

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All mistakes are mine, however, (for not listening) and not theirs.

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Languages and manuscript signatures

Av.	Avestan.
Bactr.	Bactrian.
Ch.	Ch'ien-fo-tung (Qian fo dong), signature of manuscripts from Stein's second expedition, taken from the caves near Dunhuang.
Gr.	Ancient Greek.
IA	Indo-Aryan.
Ilr.	Indo-Iranian.
Ind.	Indic.
IOL	India Office Library.
IOL Khot	Shelf no. of manuscripts in the India Office Library collection.
IOL S.	Shelf no. of manuscript scrolls from Dunhuang.
Ir.	Iranian.
Khot.	Khotanese.
Khwar.	Khwarezmian.
Kurd.	Kurdish.
Lat.	Latin.
Mit. A	Mitanno Aryan.
Oss.	Ossetic D.(igoron), I.(ron).
P	Signature of manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Paul Pelliot Collection (e.g. P 2095) in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Parth.	Parthian.
Pers.	N(ew), M(iddle), (O)ld Persian.
PIE	Proto-Indo-European.
Skt.	Classical Sanskrit.
Sogd.	B(uddhist), C(hristian), M(anichaeian) Sogdian.
Tib.	Tibetan.
Ved.	Vedic Sanskrit.
Yghn.	Yaghnobi.

Editions and handbooks

- AirW Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg 1904.
- DKS Harold Walter Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1979.
- DN *Dīgha-nikāya*, ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, Pali Text Society, London 1903, vol. II.
- DN-a *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsini)*, ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, Pali Text Society, London 1931, vol. II.
- EWAia 1 Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Winter, Heidelberg 1992, vol. I.
- EWAia 2 Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Winter, Heidelberg 1996, vol. II.
- EWAia 3 Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Winter, Heidelberg 2001, vol. III.
- JC Johnny Cheung, *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*, Brill, Leiden 2007.
- KEWAi 3 Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg 1976, vol. III.
- KT 1 *Khotanese Texts*, ed. by Harold Walter Bailey, 2nd ed., Indo-Scythian Texts, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1969, vol. 1.
- KT 2 *Khotanese Texts*, ed. by Harold Walter Bailey, Indo-Scythian Texts, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1954, vol. 2.
- KT 3 *Khotanese Texts*, ed. by Harold Walter Bailey, Indo-Scythian Texts, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1956, vol. 3.
- KT 5 *Khotanese Texts*, ed. by Harold Walter Bailey, Indo-Scythian Texts, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1963, vol. 5.
- KTb *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, ed. by Harold Walter Bailey, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1981.
- LIV Helmut Rix et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, 2. verbesserte Auflage, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2001.

- MN *Majjhima-nikāya*, ed. by V. Trenckner, Pali Text Society, London 1888, vol. I.
- MW M. A. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1899.
- Prolexis* Harold Walter Bailey, *Khotanese Texts VI. Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1967.
- RV *Ṛgveda, Vedaweb: Online Research Platform for Old Indic Texts*, ed. by Daniel Kölligan, Claes Neuefeind, Uta Reinöhl, Patrick Sahle, Antje Casaretto, Anna Fischer, Börge Kiss, Natalie Korobzow, Jürgen Rolshoven, Jakob Halfmann and Francisco Mondaca, University of Cologne, 2023, <https://vedaweb.uni-koeln.de> (visited on 15/05/2024).
- Sa'di Sa'di Shirāzi, Mosharref al-Din Mosleh, *Kolliyāt-e Sa'di; golestān bustān, ghazaliyāt, qasa'ed, qete'āt, rasā'el va hazliyyāt az ru-ye qadimtarin noskhehā-ye mowjud*, ed. by Mohammad 'Ali Forughi, Zavvār, Tehran 2006.
- Sgh.* *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra, The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra: a critical edition*, ed. and trans. by Giotto Canevascini, Reichert, Wiesbaden 1993.
- SGS Ronald E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, Oxford University Press, London 1968.
- SN *Samyutta-nikāya*, ed. by M. Leon Feer and Peter Jackson, Pali Text Society, Bristol 2014, vol. IV, *Saḷāyatana-vagga*.
- Studies 1* Ronald E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1982, vol. I.
- Studies 2* Ronald E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1987, vol. II.
- Suv.* *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* (Sanskrit), *Das Goldglanz-Sūtra: Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus*, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1937.
- Vajr.* *Vajracchedika-sūtra, Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan: facsimiles of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Kuchean, Tibetan and Chinese with transcripts, translations and notes*, ed. by August F. Rudolf Hoernle, Oxford Clarendon Press, Oxford 1916, pp. 239–288.
- Z *The Book of Zambasta, A Khotanese poem on Buddhism*, ed. and trans. by Ronald E. Emmerick, Oxford University Press, London 1968.

1. *Introduction*

1.1 Text and performance

The grammar of asking how texts were performed on the Silk Road smuggles an assumption that they were performed. A more honest place to begin, then, is to restate a core agnosticism of studying old texts. You cannot assume that the way texts are read today is how they were read in the past. Re-vocalising that raises the actual question: what did people in the past do with texts? And while continuity shouldn't be neglected in favour of discontinuity, *per se*, a sober attempt at answering this question begins from a place of forced ignorance, a distance. Jessica Brantley describes a posture towards medieval European texts:

Although recent scholarship has amply challenged the simple story of ancient bards and mumbling monks who give way to modern bibliophiles, still the emergence of the private reader—a solitary person silently contemplating a codex—is a standard feature of the narrative by which we understand the literary history of the late Middle Ages. (Brantley 2007, p. 2)

Or, as Jan Gonda puts it, treading a line between a conjectured universal of orality and a specific Vedic context he is describing:

It would appear that in ancient India also sung or recited poetic productions, exerting a hold on the reciters and listeners through their sounds, sense and rhythm, evoking a feeling of mystery and abating troubling thoughts and obsessing anxieties, were, historically and sociologically, the basis of the type of hymn preserved in the Veda. (Gonda 1975, p. 75)

Gonda's brief treatment acknowledges the presence of a kind of performative dark matter behind the Vedic texts, with indirect effects that lead to the broadest of conclusions that *there must be something there*, but the actual substance of which can never be directly observed. One take-away, however, is that silent reading—the unperformed text, in other words—is far from a cultural universal. Any question along present lines should, therefore, be receptive to and interested in traces of performance.

My response to this scenario, which I am projecting forward in some degree to the Middle Iranian contexts of the eastern Silk Road, is a kind of case study. What happens when you systematically try to catalogue any and all of these 'traces' in one specific philological context—

here, texts written in Khotanese between the 5th and 10th centuries CE?¹ Or, as James A. Millward says: ‘if one cannot hear the music, then look at it or read about it. While the historical sonic record may be poor, the visual and textual record is full of depiction of and references to music.’ (2018, p. 208)

In a sense, I’m looking at an overambitious question in an unambitious way. The core formulation, ‘Text and its Performance on the Eastern Silk Road’, gestures to something vast that demands a trans-regional (and inter-disciplinary) macro history, which this thesis is not. But it is an attempt to outline a single approach (among many) to that history—to index something of an artificially cordoned off textual area, through a method that focuses on the words. Large histories are made up of smaller parts and these parts *should* be understood in their specifics and on a typological level, before they are asked to bear the load of hypothesis.

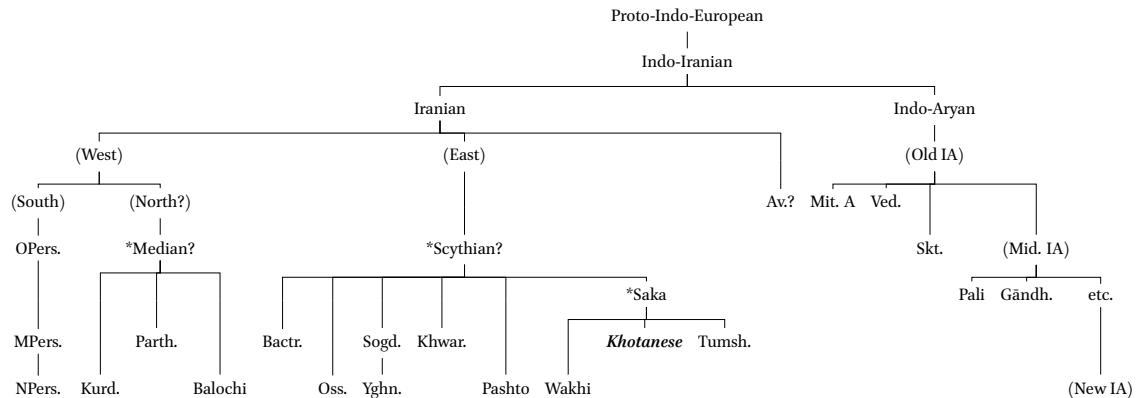
For the specifics, a brief overview of the Khotanese language and the texts through which it is known (marking, in particular, those which are important to the present project) forms the second half of this introduction. Chapter 2, ‘Lexical evidence’, presents a glossary of Khotanese vocabulary that relates to performance or music. The words themselves index and describe aspects of performance through their presence. But the problems they present must also be identified and cautioned before the texts and wider themes can be unpacked.

The typological part forms the second half of the thesis and builds on these philological specifics, but looks beyond them to the wider Silk Road: (1) pragmatically, in as far as I want to trace the real cultural themes that physically travelled along this network and (2) theoretically, by problematising the relationship between text and performance in some philosophical ways. Chapter 3, ‘Typologies’, consists of a catalogue of topoi drawn from these two motivations. It follows the unambitious spirit of the project in as far as it expects further, more ambitious interdisciplinary and comparative philological work (which, as a subject, the Silk Road requires) with little pretence to closed conclusions. Rather, a rough map of one specific textual corner of the Silk Road—some of the musical topoi to be found there, some cautionary signposting of the theoretical faultlines, some locations marked that could deserve returning to with a fuller methodological apparatus.

I imagine, then, this thesis not just as a linear piece of writing, but also as a catalogue in the non-linear sense: a reference. There will, therefore, be a degree of repetition between section 1.3 ‘The texts’ and chapters 2 ‘Lexical evidence’ and 3 ‘Typologies’ to allow for functional cross-referencing: which texts contain which words, which topoi are found in which texts, which words are found in which topoi and so on.

¹Dating according to Maggi 2009, p. 333.

1.2 Khotanese



A traditional genealogy of Indo-Iranian languages. See footnote 3, p. 13.

Khotanese is an Iranian language no longer spoken but attested through manuscripts found in the southern part of the Tarim Basin, in the modern-day province of Xinjiang in western China. These texts, which were found as part of European colonial expeditions at the beginning of the 20th century, were written between about the fifth and tenth centuries CE.

From one end, the Iranian languages, with the Indo-Aryan languages, form an early clade of Indo-European: the Indo-Iranian branch. From the other, they can be further analysed into various subgroupings, the most common of which is a general distinction between East and West Iranian languages, marked through a variety of isoglosses that suggest a common history. Iranian dealectology is notoriously opaque due to the absence of clear parent and daughter relationships between attested languages (outside of the Old, Middle and New Persians). In Iranian, aunts and neices are more common. Another problem is the extent of the horizontal contact within the Iranian languages—clean isoglosses are quickly contaminated by reenounters. While much is controversial, however, ‘In terms of both historical and typological linguistics, the distinction between Western and Eastern Iranian is generally regarded as the most fundamental division in Iranian dialectology.’ (Sims-Williams 1996)

Khotanese belongs in the Eastern grouping, with other historical languages such as Tumshuquese (which is its close cousin), Sogdian, Bactrian and Khwarezmian. Modern languages considered here include Pashto, Yaghnobi (a minority language spoken in Tajikistan linked especially to Sogdian) and Ossetic (spoken in the South Caucasus).²

The sub-classification of East Iranian languages is much debated and beyond the scope of this thesis. ‘The attested Middle Iranian languages seem rather to form a continuum from

²As Sims-Williams remarks on ‘East’ and ‘West’: ‘These conventional terms correspond only partially to the real geographical situation of the languages and their speakers. Thus Ossetic, an Eastern Iranian language, is spoken in the Caucasus, further west than many Western Iranian languages, while Baluchi, a North-Western Iranian language, is spoken chiefly in Pakistan, in the south-eastern corner of the Iranophone area. However, the great majority of the Eastern Iranian languages have or had their main centers in areas to the east and north-east of Persia, in what are now Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and China.’ (Sims-Williams 1996).

Middle Persian (South-Western) via Parthian (North-Western) to Bactrian, Chorasmanian, and Sogdian (North-Eastern), with the Saka languages (Khotanese and Tumshuqese) at the opposite end of the spectrum.’ (Sims-Williams 1996) I am sympathetic to the idea, that family trees are, in many aspects, an unsatisfactory model with which to describe the intricacies of Iranian dialectology. I have, however, provided one at the beginning of this section, to present a general picture of the Iranian languages I reference in this thesis next to the Indo-Aryan—more an attempt to situate Khotanese in the scholarship (marking the controversies with question marks), than it is a description of the reality.³

Along the temporal axis, Khotanese is a Middle Iranian language. This generally has a distinct meaning in the Iranian context, as the period bookended by two significant political moments: the fall of the Achaemenid Empire in the third century BCE and the spread of Islam into the region—that began in the seventh century CE in western Iran, but in the Tarim Basin, not until the tenth. After that point, Khotanese is no longer attested, although as seen from the tree, Wakhi (a language spoken around the Wakhan Corridor in North Eastern Afghanistan) is likely a descendant of a dialect closely related to Khotanese (Windfuhr 2009, p. 14).

Beyond the political history Middle Iranian languages display a linguistic typology. The Middle Period is contrasted with the Old by what Geoffrey Haig has called an ‘impoverished’ morphology. The Indo-European nominal and inflectional paradigms still found in Vedic, Avestan and, to some extent, Old Persian are more or less lost ‘not unlike the difference between contemporary French and classical Latin.’ (2018, p. 58). This seems to have been the result of a phonological stress accent, which fixed itself to the penultimate syllable and weakened the endings on which the inflectional paradigms were built. This, in turn, had the result of considerably restructuring the grammar of many of these languages. (Schmitt 1989, p. 98)

Khotanese is traditionally split into two stages: Old (c. 5th–6th centuries) and Late (c. 7th–10th centuries).⁴ The older language, attested in the early Buddhist texts (see § 1.3, below) is unusual in light of this trend. It is, morphologically, the most conservative of the post-Achaemenid Iranian languages.

For the noun ‘the case system is essentially that of Old Iranian, Old Indian, and Indo-European. The number of cases has been reduced from eight to six by conflation of the gen-

³For more in depth discussion of Iranian dialectology see: Windfuhr 2009; Blažek 2013; Sims-Williams 1996; and especially Korn 2016 who has drawn attention to issues in the traditional geneological groupings and suggests a different picture. The least controversial grouping, and diachronically best attested, is the South Western, comprising Old Persian (the language of Achaemenid inscriptions), Middle Persian (the language of the Sassanian empire and—as Pahlavi—Zoroastrian texts from that period) and New Persian. The North Western languages are more loosely defined. They have traditionally included Parthian and Kurdish, and been linked to the ancient language Median, which is known only indirectly through proper names that have been passed down in other languages. It may be that Bactrian should be related more closely to this grouping, than its placement with the Eastern grouping accounts for (Korn 2016, p. 418; Sims-Williams 1996). There has, finally, been a tendency in the scholarship to relate Scythian—another language only indirectly attested through proper names surviving in other languages—to the Eastern grouping. Avestan, attested so early, sits somewhat outside of the East–West distinction.

⁴See Skjærvø 2002, p. lxx for a more in depth discussion of Khotanese language stages, which he divides further into Old, Middle and Late.

itive and dative and of the instrumental and ablative.’ (Emmerick 1989b, p. 216) In the glosses provided in Chapters 2 and 3, I have, however, still distinguished them—genitives from datives, instrumentals from ablatives—based on their syntactic context. There are singulars and plurals but no real duals—masculine, feminine, and to a lesser extent neuter, are all still distinguished.

The Khotanese verb, in a development common to all Middle Iranian languages, is structured by a system of two stems: past and present. The present is a continuation of the Old Iranian present; the past is formed through a reanalysis of the Old Iranian verbal adjective in *-ta* as a finite verb.⁵ In addition to the past–present opposition, Khotanese maintains an active–middle diathesis, as well as the Old Iranian moods: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, optative and injunctive.

Late Khotanese, in contrast, ultimately goes the way of the other Middle Iranian languages: ‘In late Khotanese, the vowel system had changed radically, causing the collapse of the Old Khotanese morphology, which was extremely simplified.’ (Skjærvø 2002, p. lxxi) For overviews of Khotanese grammar see in particular Emmerick 1968, *Saka Grammatical Studies* (cited as SGS)—which is the most in depth, and particularly good for verbs. Emmerick 1989b is, on the other hand, good for more concise nominal and verbal paradigms—pp. 209–215 also contains an excellent overview of the historical phonology; Emmerick 2009 is useful for pronouns.

Beyond the Iranian linguistic context, is the intense influence Buddhist culture—and the Indic languages that involved—had on Khotanese. This shows itself principally through the large component of loanwords in the language, and they are often inflected after their native Indic paradigms (as Latin sometimes is in very academic German). As time goes on, however, the source of influences seems to migrate; Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism are an increasing presence behind the Late Khotanese texts. Disentangling these influences, with a particular focus on the Old Khotanese phases and their Indic sources, forms one of the core aspects of this thesis.

1.3 The texts

The majority of Khotanese manuscripts are written on paper, either as books called *pothī*—which are bundles of long rectangular pages held together by a chord like Indian palm leaf manuscripts—or long (several metres) Chinese rolls (Maggi 2009, p. 335). The texts on those manuscripts are written in styles of Tarim Brāhmī script, which is derived from the scripts used in the Aśokan edicts and related to almost all non-Arabic scripts used in South Asia. These follow an abugida principle where consonant–vowel sequences are written as units (called *akṣaras*) with an *a* vowel as default unless otherwise marked by something like a dia-

⁵< PIE **-tó* (Fortson 2010, p. 98). Unlike in other Middle Iranian languages, this did not lead to split ergativity (Kumamoto 2009, p. 139).

critic.⁶

There are two main overviews of Khotanese literature: Emmerick 1992, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* and Maggi 2009, 'Khotanese Literature' in *A History of Persian Literature*. The introduction to Skjærvø's 2002, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library* also contains an overview. In the following section, rather than presenting an exhaustive catalogue as found in those, I will give a summary of the texts that were given particular attention as part of this thesis, why they were, and which editions and translations I have made use of.

1.3.1 Buddhist doctrinal texts

The Book of Zambasta

The Book of Zambasta is on all accounts an original Khotanese composition—a poem—but it draws heavily on Buddhist sources. The line between new content, paraphrases and passages straightforwardly lifted from Indic sources is blurred. Leumann called it a 'Lehrgedicht', Maggi has described it as 'a manual of the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism' (Maggi 2009, p. 339). Clearly, the text relates and understands itself, as part of wider Buddhist literature—it often mimics *sūtra* stylistics, beginning chapters with the formula *tta mā pyūṣṭu* 'so I have heard' (Pali *evaṃ me sutam*). But it also seems conscious of its own novelty, with the author apologising for any inaccuracies (Z 2.189).

It survives in 24 'chapters', which, when complete, likely came to between 300–440 *pothī* folios.⁷ Of these so far about 207 have been identified (Emmerick 1989c). Some chapters are, therefore, more fragmentary than others. The text—most likely composed in the fifth century CE (Maggi 2009, p. 339)—is written in Old Khotanese (see § 1.2). It is entirely in verse, attesting three different metres. These have, most recently, been studied by Sims-Williams (2022). The manuscripts have, it seems, made an effort to visually represent this, displaying the text in four columns. This is not possible to reproduce on an A4 page, but I have, in the longer quotations in Chapter 3, followed Emmerick's dual column presentation, marking the end of each full line with ||. In the interlinear glosses of Chapter 2 I have ignored line breaks.

The *Book of Zambasta* is referenced throughout this thesis in almost every section as Z *chapter.line*, following Emmerick's 1968 edition. All the translations provided of it are basically his. I have very occasionally tweaked them with an eye to stylistic consistency with translations of other texts I have used. Khot. *dāta* I have translated as *dharma* (as opposed to Emmerick's 'Law'), for example, and *bīnāñā*- as 'music' (rather than 'lute-music').⁸ I have also made some use of Ernst Leumann's 1933–1936 edition, and Bailey's 1967 *Khotanese Texts IV: Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* (cited as *Prolexis*).

⁶The script and sequence of *akṣaras* is discussed briefly in § 2.2, p. 21, as part of the structure of the glossary. For an overview of Khotanese scripts see Skjærvø 2002, pp. lxxi–lxxii.

⁷See Maggi 2009, p. 350 on a possible 25th chapter.

⁸See § 2.3, *dāta*-, p. 30; *bīnāñā*-, p. 41; § 3.1.1, p. 51.

Saṅghāṭa-sūtra

The *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* was translated into Old Khotanese from a Sanskrit original, probably around the same time as the Book of Zambasta was composed, in the fifth century CE (the extant Sanskrit manuscripts are, in fact, probably later than the Khotanese). It is also known from two Chinese versions and a Tibetan version. (Canevascini 1993, xii–xv)

The content of the *sūtra* is light on doctrine: ‘No special aspect of the Law is therein treated at length as the main concern of the authors seems to have been the glorification of the *sūtra* itself’ (Canevascini 1993, ix). It is from this aspect that I have quoted most from it, discussing in particular its repeated refrain about the merits of reciting, hearing and writing just *tcūru-salāvu śśau ggāhu* ‘one four-quarted verse’ of the *sūtra* in § 3.2.1, p. 60.

The text is mostly in prose, but contains metrical sections mirroring the occurrence of these in the original Sanskrit, which are treated in Sims-Williams 2023. For this text I have quoted almost exclusively from Canevascini’s 1993 edition, which provides a model example of the genre, and presents the facing Sanskrit text with an English translation (cited as *Sgh.* and following that edition’s numbering of passages and lines).⁹ Translations provided here rely on Canevascini’s, although with minor tweaks for stylistic consistency here and there, as with *Zambasta*.

Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra

The ‘gold-shine-highest-*sūtra*’ is another Khotanese translation from a Sanskrit original, also with extant Tibetan and Chinese translations. The doctrinal content of the *sūtra* is more substantial than the *Saṅghāṭa* and is composite, a bit like *Zambasta*, compiling various stories and teachings. The core seems to be Chapter 3, the *Deśanāparivarta*, however (Nobel 1937, p. xlvii), and it is this chapter—and the titular image of a golden drum, which radiates the *dharma*—which is most represented in this thesis (see §§ 3.3.1–3.3.2). I have worked from Nobel’s 1937 edition of the Sanskrit text, as well as Emmerick’s 1992 translation of the same. The only edition and translation of the Khotanese text is Skjærvø’s 1983 habilitation thesis (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz), which I have not had access to. Translations of the Khotanese passages in this thesis.

Vajracchedikā-sūtra

The ‘diamond-cutter-*sūtra*’—known commonly as the Diamond-*sūtra*, a *prajñāpāramitā* text (see § 3.4.3)—exists in a Late Khotanese version. The original Sanskrit was written some time between the second to fourth centuries CE (Schopen 2004), and the Khotanese version (written around the tenth century) deviates from it more than is the case with the Old Khotanese *Saṅghāṭa*- and *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtras*: ‘The Khotanese translator did not proceed mechanically, but endeavoured to understand the precise meaning of the original and to render it

⁹The Sanskrit text in Canevascini’s edition was based on unpublished work by Oskar von Hinüber, which has since been published as von Hinüber 2021.

with paraphrases and with the help of commentaries.’ (Maggi 2009, p. 372)

Thematically, I consider this text in light of the *Sanḥāṭa-sūtra* ‘one four-quartered verse’ formula (§ 3.2.1) and Schopen’s well-known study of the text in relation to theories around early Mahāyāna book cults (see § 3.4.2). For this I have worked principally from Hoernle’s edition of the text, in *Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (1916), pp. 239–288—which has the facing Sanskrit text and a translation into English.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (Lotus-sūtra)

While less prominent in Indian or Tibetan Buddhism, the ‘good-*dharma*-lotus-*sūtra*’, generally known as the Lotus-*sūtra* came to achieve a cult status in East-Asian buddhism and many Chinese translations exist of an original text (which was probably composed in India around the first–second centuries CE). In Old Khotanese, a single line is translated in Z 6.3, but there is also a Late Khotanese, metrical summary of the text, a translation and commentary of which was published as Bailey 1971.

1.3.2 Buddhist narrative literature

Jātakastava

This is another Late Khotanese, metrical retelling of Buddhist material—this time, however, *jātakas* (stories of the Buddha’s past lives) bridging a gap between doctrinal literature and popular story telling. It was edited and translated in Dresden 1955 and has been cited in this thesis for its mention of a *śaṃga* ‘conch’ (see § 2.3, *śaṃga*-, p. 44 and § 3.1.2, p. 55) and for its interesting and self-referential introduction which contains the Indic loan *ṛttā* (§ 2.3^{vṛttā}, 44).

Sudhanāvadāna

This text is quoted for its mention of a seven hundred-stinged *vīṇā* (see in particular § 3.2.5). It is a Late Khotanese retelling of the story of Suddhana, in the frame narrative of a Jātaka, a story of the Buddha’s past life. The Khotanese text is in KTB 11–39, with a translation and commentary in Bailey 1966. See Emmerick 1992, pp. 30–31 for a bibliography on the text, but see also de Chiara 2013 for a more recent treatment.

Rāmāyaṇa

The *Khotanese Rāmāyaṇa* is a Late Khotanese verse retelling of the well-know Indian epic, as a Buddhist fable (Maggi 2009, p. 367). The Khotanese text is drawn from fragments P 2801, P 2781 and P 2783 which are all found in KT3 pp. 56–76. Bailey had, before this, published a translation and commentary (1940). It is cited in this thesis for its mention of the conch used as an instrument (see § 2.3, *śaṃga*-, p. 44 and § 3.1.2, p. 55). But the existence of the text is also

interesting next to the *Zambasta* polemic against the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other popular stories (Z 5.1–6; quoted 3.3.5, p. 72).

1.3.3 Love poems

There is a contingent of romantic literature in Late Khotanese. While these texts draw heavily on Buddhist imagery, they represent a more secular frame of reference, and even at times a kind of ironic, knowing tension between worldly and spiritual concerns (see § 3.3.5). Bailey wrote a very short overview of this genre in ‘Lyrical Poems of the Sakas’ (1964), and Maggi 2009, pp. 406–408 also discusses it, briefly. They are often called *avadāna*.

The Lyrical-poem

This text is found across six manuscripts from Dunhuang, which partly overlap: Ch 00266.1–42, P 2025.7–79 and P 2956, P 2022, P 2896.49–55, P 2985 (Bailey Paris Y). These are all published in KT 3 pp. 34–47. There is, as far as I can find, no critical edition or translation of the poem, apart from Kumamoto’s (2000) of its ending section, verses 22–29. These have a more doctrinal tone than the beginning, which is about love and spring and full of musical imagery. Of that, P 2025.7–14 and 37–40 were translated in Bailey 1964a. The fact that there are no Indic Buddhist parallels make the text both interesting and difficult to interpret. In this thesis, beyond the glossary in § 2.3, I treat it a little in § 3.3.5, wondering whether the thematics and structure have something in common with *Zambasta* 20. It is also quoted in a variety of examples as a source for musical vocabulary in § 2.3.

Love-story

This shorter text has similarities to the *Lyrical-poem*, including the mention of instruments in line 32, which is quoted as example 38 in § 2.3, *bīnāna*, p. 40, and an erotic tone. It has been translated with a commentary as Maggi 1997.

Staël-Holstein lyrical verses

Nine verses in much the same genre as the other two texts are found at the end of the Staël-Holstein roll, which is one of the few documents with a secure date, 925 CE. That text was edited with a translation and commentary in Bailey 1951. It appears in this thesis as one of three attestations for the word *pātūśa-*, apparently a kind of drum (see § 2.3, *pātūśa-*, p. 35 and § 3.1.3, p. 57).

1.3.4 Medical texts

Siddhasāra

The *Siddhasāra* is a medical text, in the Indian *āyurvedic* tradition composed by Ravigupta in the seventh century CE and translated into Late Khotanese. It has little to do with performance culture, but has traditionally proved useful in the study of the Khotanese lexikon as the genre of such texts provides, with Sanskrit and Tibetan (from which the Khotanese was translated) parallels, a great deal of everyday Khotanese vocabulary—not relevant to the Buddhist textual world and otherwise absent there. The Khotanese text was published in KT 1 pp. 1–134 with facing Tibetan, and the Sanskrit following. Emmerick was unimpressed with his teacher's work, particularly with the Sanskrit and published critical editions of the Sanskrit (Emmerick 1980) and Tibetan, with a facing english translation (Emmerick 1982).

2. *Lexical evidence*

The first step in compiling a ‘catalogue’ as described in the introduction, is to define and locate the raw lexical material—any and all words relating to sound, music, performance, or just noise. The words index these subjects in Khotanese texts. Iteratively, those subjects, once located, must be returned to a close study of the words. An aspirational gesture to K. R. Norman’s approach to Buddhist studies:

I regard one of my purposes in life as being an advisor to those who know a lot about Buddhism, but not a great deal about the languages of Buddhism. From time to time I receive enquiries from those wishing to write about aspects of Buddhism. They tell me what they think a particular passage means, and how they propose to incorporate their interpretation into their discussion or description of Buddhism, and they ask me whether I think that their proposal is possible, philologically speaking. (Norman 1997, p. 7)

In some ways what Norman describes (prioritising the words) continues a tradition of Harold Bailey’s—who was himself Norman’s teacher—that is best exemplified in *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (1982), which is, at its core, an inventory of a culture through its lexicon. The approach has flaws, and I want to take it a little further in Chapter 3 of this thesis, considering the wider themes and contexts that bind isolated lemmata. But a philological approach, which this thesis self-consciously adopts, begins with the words. If we want to know about the performance of Khotanese texts, we should identify the vocabulary through which they themselves talk about it. This is, therefore, systematically presented with attested examples and etymological discussion.

2.1 Method

In choosing the words, I tend to overcaution (noise). I want to trace the edges of performance culture in Khotanese by casting a net wide and pulling it tight until it meets a shape. That shape is synchronic but also, to an extent, diachronic. Some words might look synchronically innocuous, but diachronically less so. The entry **nar**(?) ‘to roar, thunder’, p. 31 may not represent a real word in Khotanese (*Studies* 2 p. 65), but it points to the Indo-Iranian root **nar(d)*, which surfaces in various Iranian languages, from Sogdian *nrδ* to New Persian نالیدن *nālidan* with meanings around lamentation. Or words with surface meanings apparently unmarked by performance, like *bajāšša*- ‘sound’ and *baješš*- ‘to make a noise’ often appear in contexts that

imply a more vocal meaning, such as in example 30, p. 36.

The major source for words in Khotanese is still Bailey's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (DKS), which has the distinct advantage of being generous in its listing of attestations. It may not be a perfect piece of work—as Prods Oktor Skjærvø and Ronald Emmerick are happy to point out in their supplementary *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* (*Studies* 1–3)—but the subject and this thesis stand on its shoulders. Emmerick's *Saka Grammatical Studies* (SGS) is also useful, particularly for verbs.

Etymological discussions reference, above all, the *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben* (LIV), Manfred Mayrhofer's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindindoarischen* (EWAia 1; EWAia 2; EWAia 3) and Johnny Cheung's *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb* (JC).

Finally, I have tried to provide examples for each word that support their interpretation and look ahead to the next chapter, where examples will be further situated in the themes and texts that shine through already in this section. I have presented each example with an interlinear gloss following, broadly, the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The readings for the *Book of Zambasta* follow Emmerick's edition; for the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*, Canevascini's—unless otherwise marked. Fragments besides these, from smaller texts, default to Skjærvø (2002), but where these are not covered there (often the case with the Pelliot fragments of the *Lyrical-poem*, for example), Bailey's transliterations in *Khotanese Texts* (KT) are relied on.

In choosing examples, priority is often given to texts with a good Sanskrit parallel, but I am also, with an eye to the next chapter, interested in original compositions in Khotanese. The *Book of Zambasta* being the longest and best studied, appears often, but the *Lyrical-poem* fragments are also well cited. While the *Lyrical-poem*, fragmentary and with no Sanskrit parallels, can be philologically opaque, it is rich in musical imagery and many relevant words are disproportionately attested in it, requiring its presence. Next to *Zambasta*, which is still so stylistically Buddhist/Indic, the *Lyrical-poem* also comes closest to something like a native Khotanese literary tradition, which makes it valuable for this project.

2.2 Structure of the glossary

The ordering of lemmata follows the phonetic sequence traditionally associated with Brāhmī style scripts.¹ Vowels (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au*) are followed by consonants ordered broadly by place and manner of articulation—beginning with the velars (*ka, kha, ga, gha, ḡa*) at the back of the vocal tract and moving forward through palatals (*ca, cha, ja, jha, ṇa*), retroflexes (*ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa*), dentals (*ta, tha, da, dha, na*) and bilabials (*pa, pha, ba, bha, ma*). As is apparent, each place of articulation is then sub-arranged by manner of articulation—stops, affricates and nasals; these are once again subordered by voicedness and aspiration. Added to this sequence are the glides (*ya, va*) and fricatives (*ṣa, śa, sa*), which are once again subordered by place of articulation respectively. Following the example of Bailey's dictionary, the innovative

¹For the scrip see also § 1.3, p. 14.

Khot. *ä* (a literal adoption of the two dots written above the *akṣara* in Brahmi) is treated as an equivalent and somewhat arbitrary orthographical variant of *i*, as are word-initial gemminates such as *gga* with *ga*, the *anusvara ṁ* is firstly overlooked in ordering, giving priority to the consonants that follow it.

In the cited form, I default to the orthography of DKS and any deviation is noted. Where a complex of transparent derivations exists, I tend to follow the indological tradition of listing these under the verbal ‘base’ (following Bailey). So *bajāṣṣa*- ‘sound’ is found under *bajeṣṣ*- ‘to make a noise’. With some derivations, however (whether of verbs or nouns) there is a thematic motivation to list them individually—the three *bīna* words, for example. Where words are so scantily attested, as to only appear in a single form, I have followed Bailey and Emmerick in citing these as inflected.

2.3 A glossary of sound and music in Khotanese

aysmūr- ‘to sound’(?)

Possibly belongs with *mura* ‘speech, word’ (DKS p. 7; DKS p. 336). This word and its nominal equivalent *aysmūra*- ‘sound’ are only attested in the *Lyrical-poem*.

- (1) KT 3 36.5 (*Lyrical-poem* P2956)
sānā *aysamvīrradā* *tsīda* *ha'da* *spūlākau*
 desire.INS.SG sing.PRESP.NOM.PL range.3PL.PRES among bud.LOC.PL

‘(the birds) range singing amorously among the buds’

Its apparent derivational source word *mura* is also scantily attested and the etymology not straightforward—see **mura**, p. 42.

astān- ‘to stretch, tighten, tune (an instrument)’

Cf. Av. *ustāna*- ‘up-stretched’; Ved. *tan*-, *tanóti* ‘spannen, dehnen, sich erstrecken, sich ausdehnen’ (EWAia 1 p. 618); NPers. تَنِيدَن *tanīdan* ‘to spin, weave’ (Hayyim 1934–1936, p. 491); Ilr. **tan* ‘extend, stretch’ (JC p. 377) PIE **ten*- (LIV p. 626); Gr. τείνω ‘I draw, pull tight’. Also: Khot. *thaṃj*- ‘draw, stretch’, *ttamna*- ‘stretching apart’ (DKS p. 148), *ttanv*- ‘stretch’ (DKS pp. 122–3).

- (2) KT 3 36.8 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956)
khu ja *bīna* *astāna*
 like PARTICLE *vīṇā*.ACC.SG tunes.3SG.PRES

‘as one who tunes the *vīṇā*’

For a discussion of the *vīṇā* see **bīna**-, p. 39 (for the word) and § 3.1.1, p. 51 (for a broader treatment of the instrument and material culture).

āljs- ‘to sing’

Bailey suggests that two originally independent PIE roots have collapsed into one in Khotanese, citing two separate reconstructions in Pokorny: (1959–1969) **ark-*, **arġ-* ‘to shine’ and **erk-*, **erg-* ‘to shing’. Both Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 p. 114), and Kümmel (LIV p. 240), however, give just one root with both meanings ‘sing’ and ‘strahlen’—Ved. *arc-* and PIE **h₂erk^u-*, respectively.²

- (3) Z 23.159
vicitra jātā balysā āljsindā buljse naunu .
 various birth.PL Buddha sing.3PL.PRES virtues softly

‘softly they sing of the various births, the virtues of the Buddha’

A nominal derivation *āljsana-* also exists:

- (4) Z 24.243
āljsanya yā harbiśśu nyānarthu yādāndā
 song.INS.-ABL.PL him all informed² make.3PL.PRS.ACT

‘He informed them fully with songs.’

and a later variant *iṃjsiṃ* (< **aṃjsaa-* with *iṃ-* for older *ai*) is apparently used as a gloss for the personified *gītā* ‘song’ in a Vajrayāna text.

- (5) *Vajrayāna Verses of Cā Kīmā-śani*; KTB 152.15–16; tr. Bailey 1978
kṣāṃṭṭa-pārāma śā’ devatta³ gītṭa śā’ cu yaṃda
kṣānti-pāramitā PRON.3.F.SG divine gītā PRON.3.F.SG who make.3SG.PRES
iṃ’jsiṃ’ ba’sānā bīsānq
 song.ACC.PL? Buddha.GEN.PL all.GEN.PL

‘She (is) Kṣānti-pāramitā, the divine Gītā, she who sings of all Buddhas’

āhau ‘narrative’

ā- ‘towards’(?) + *hau* ‘word’. See also derived adjective *āhvainaa-* ‘fabulous’

- (6) Z 5.3
hvanaino āhau haṃ-baste tcamna
 tale.GEN.PL narrative.ACC.SG compose.3SG.PAST which.INS.-ABL.SG
lova bitanda
 world.NOM.PL be-confused.3PL.PAST

‘He composed a narrative of tales by which people became perplexed.’

²The synaesthesia of light and sound in this root, then, has thematic relevance which I will discuss in the following chapter (§ 3.3.2, p. 68).

³Leumann 1933–1936, p. 326 interprets *nyānarthu* as from Skt. *nidānartha*, Bailey, however, translates the word in his *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* as ‘informed, knowing’ (*Prolexis* p. 146).

³Ind. < *deva-datta* ‘god-given’

kargaka- ‘percussion instrument’

This is, effectively, a hapax, attested only in the partially overlapping *Lyrical-poem* fragments (see example 2, p. 22). Bailey derives the word, and through that its meaning (DKS p. 54), from *kalj-* ‘strike’ (see next) with *-aka* suffix.

- (7) KT 3 38.35 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956)
kargaka *kejīdū* *u* *thvrrūcalaste* *hūlūka*
kargaka-drum.ACC.SG strike.3PL.PRES and with the fringes (?) *hūlūka*-drum

‘They beat the *kargaka*-drum and the *hūlūka*-drum with the fringes(?)’³

Apart from the proposed etymology, the interpretation of the word hinges on the verb *kejīdū* ‘they strike’ and its pairing with *hūlūka* ‘a kind of rattle or small drum’ (see **hūlūka**, p. 48). But the verb does not necessarily forgo a stringed instrument ‘struck’ with some kind of plectrum. Other Iranian languages use ‘strike’ words with stringed instruments such as NPers. *zadan* used with all instruments, and its cognate, Sogd. *z-yt’y/jtyy* used for the *wyn*⁴ (Henning 1945). A possible link might also be the Vedic *gargara*, (see RV 8.69.9c–d already quoted under **gahvardama**, p. 25) or *karkari-* for which—alongside a thematic discussion of drums in Khotanese—see § 3.1.3, p. 56.

kalj- ‘to strike’ (used with percussion instruments)

Cheung (JC p. 238) tentatively suggests an Iranian root **karč* ‘to strike’, but the form is relatively isolated with only a possible cognate in Parthian. Bailey’s attempt to link it with Avestan *kahrkāsa-* and other birds is ‘dismissed’. The meaning—and the word’s association with drums—is solid, however, given its common attestation in Buddhist texts with Sanskrit or other parallels.

- (8) *Sgh.* 256.11 (KT 5 p. 78 149.4)
- a. Khot.
īmu *dātīnau* *kūsu* *kaljīndā*
today *dharma*.GEN.SG drum.ACC.SG beat.3PL.PRES
‘today they beat the drum of the *dharma*’
- b. Skt.
adya *mahā-dharma-duṇḍubhiṃ* *parā-haṇiṣyanti*
today great-*dharma*-drum.ACC.SG beat.3PL.FUT
‘today they will beat the great *dharma*-drum’

For a thematic discussion of drums in Khotanese, see § 3.1.3, p. 56. For the *dharma*-drum topos, see section § 3.3.1, p. 66, as well as example 26, p. 35.

³Bailey’s question mark from translation in DKS p. 54

⁴*ṇṇā*, see **bīna**, p. 39 and § 3.1.1, p. 51.

kas-/kās-? ‘abuse, sound(?)’

Bailey gives this verb’s meaning as ‘sound’, but only provides attestations translated as ‘abuse’, which is in line with Emmerick’s translations of it in Z. In all those cases, it seems to appear in parallel to Skt. *patyākrośati* ‘he returns abuse’. Bailey’s identification with a ‘sound’ meaning seems to hinge on Ossetic forms with preverb *ni-*: *nyxas* ‘talk, sound’.

kūsa- ‘vessel, drum’

One of several Khotanese words used to translate Skt. *duṇḍubhi-*. NPers. کوس *kōs* ‘A tymbal, large brass drum, a kettle-drum’ (Steingass 1892, p. 1062). Cheung suggests a possible Iranian root **ka(H)us* ‘to pound’ (JC p. 228) and points to LIV p. 345 **keh₂u-* ‘schlagen, spalten’ as a possible source—‘pounding’ > ‘a vessel in which something is pounded’ > ‘a vessel-shaped drum’, presumably. See examples 8 given under **kalj-**, p. 24; 25 and 26 under **p(v)ā’ha-**, p. 34; 17 under **tūla-**, p. 29; 19 under **dam-**, p. 30. See § 3.1.3, p. 56 for a thematic discussion of drums in Khotanese.

ggaṃdya- ‘gong’

Indic loan, cf. Skt. *gaṇḍī-*.

- (9) Z 2.100
ggaṃdyai dīsta vāstāte · skyāte bādä āvula
 gong.ACC.SG hand put.3SG.PAST · time/moment time/moment strike.IPT
ggaṃ[dya] bhadra
 gong bhadra.VOC.SG

‘He put the gong in his hand: “(It is) the moment, the time. Strike the gong, Bhadra!”’

See § 3.1.3, p. 56 for a thematic discussion of drums.

gaysakya ‘flute’

From *gaysa-* ‘reed’ < *gaza-*. Cf. Oss. D. *qāzä*, Oss. I. *qāz* ‘reed’, NPers. گَز *gaz* ‘tamarisk’, Pashto *γōza* ‘firewood’. (DKS p. 80)

- (10) KT 3 46.25 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2025)⁵
bjāṣa yida khū ja|stūña gaysakye
 sounds.ACC.PL make.3SG.PAST as celestial.NOM.SG flute.NOM.SG

‘made sounds like a celestial flute’

See § 3.1.2, p. 55 for a thematic discussion of wind instruments.

gahvardama ‘pipe blower, flautist’

DKS p. 82: compound *gahva-* + *dama-* ‘blower’—*gahva-* < *ava-* (> *ga-*) + *hvar-* ‘sound’

⁵Once again a line from the *Lyrical-poem*, see KT 3 36 (P 2956, line 8) under **astāna-**

(see **hvar-**, p. 49); *darma-* from *dam-* ‘blow’ (see **dam-**, p. 30). Cf. Ved. *svar-* + *ava-* which Graßmann gives as ‘erklingen (von Saiteninstrumenten)’ (1996 [1873], p. 1629), but the Khotanese provides an interesting challenge to Graßmann’s ‘stringed instrument’ specification. See, for example, RV 8.69.9 (which Bailey himself cites) for *ava* + *svar-* used for the ‘*gargaro*-instrument’:

RV 8.69.9c–d

áva svarāti gárgaro godhā pári saniṣvaṇat

pūṅgā pári canīṣkadad índrāya brāhmódyatam ||

‘The Gargara(-instrument) will gurgle⁶ downward, the Godhā(-vīṇā) will keep re-sounding all around, and the Piṅgā(-string) will keep quivering all around. The sacred formulation is offered up to Indra.’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 1161)

Jamison and Brereton’s choice of the word ‘gurgle’ in translation is marked and—in their divergence from Graßmann’s association with strings—speaks, perhaps, to Bailey’s intimation that the verb has a wind instrument association. It is, indeed, the only time the preverb *ava-* appears in combination with the root *svar-* in the Ṛgveda.

- (11) KT 3 38.37 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956)

pyatsa ñīdā pau gahvar-dama grrūsīdā

before sing then pipers call

‘they sing.3PL in front, then they call.3PL.PRES.IND upon the pipers’

This example, corresponds—with slight variation of the second component of the compound (*-dran-* for *-dam-*)—to example 12 (KT 3 40.13; *Lyrical-poem* Paris Y) quoted under **ga’hvera-drānā** below. See § 3.2.4, p. 64 for a discussion of that text. For *ñīdā* ‘sing’ see **nay-**, p. 30 and **panay-**, p. 34. See 3.1.2, p. 55 for a thematic discussion of wind instruments.

ga’hveradrānā ‘sounders of pipes or flutes’

ga’hvera- as *gahvar-* in **gahvardama** above, but with second component *-drānā* from *dran-* ‘to sound’. The root isn’t as clear to me as Bailey (DKS p. 82), but Ved. *dhraṇ-* (as variant of *dhvaṇ-*) ‘to sound, roar, make a noise, echo, reverberate’ (MW p. 521) stands.

- (12) KT 3 40.13 (*Lyrical-poem* Paris Y)

pyaṃtsā ñīdā pau ga’hvera-drānā gūsīdā

before sing.3PL then pipe-sounders call.3PL.PRES.IND

‘they sing in front, then they call upon the pipers’

This example, corresponds—with slight variation of the second component of the compound (*-dam-* for *-dran-*)—with example 11, (KT 3 38.37; *Lyrical-poem* 2956) quoted under **ga’hvera-drānā** above. See § 3.2.4, p. 64 for a discussion of that text. For *ñīdā* ‘sing’

see *nay*-, p. 30 and *panay*-, p. 34. See 3.1.2, p. 55 for a thematic discussion of wind instruments.

ggāha- ‘verse’

This word appears, as far as I can tell, almost exclusively as a gloss for Skt. *gāthā*- ‘verse’. It is, however⁷ a true cognate, not a loan—both are nominalised *-ta* participles from an PIE verbal root **g^(u)eH(i)-* (LIV p. 183) > Ir. **gaH* (JC p. 94), cf. Ved. *gā*- (EWAia 1 p. 482). In the earliest Indo-Iranian attestations of both, there is musical and liturgical sense—something like ‘das Gesungene’: cf. Av. *gāθā*- “‘Lied’ usw. religiösen Inhalt’ (AirW) and Ved. *gāthā*- ‘song’. But, at least in the Indic context, it seems to undergo a semantic narrowing to ‘verse, stanza... the metrical part of a Sūtra’ (MW p. 352). This is clearly mirrored in the Khotanese context, which we can see well in the example from the *Sanḡhāṭa-sutra* below. In the *Sanḡhāṭa-sūtra* the word is also used in the oft-repeated ‘four-quartered verse’ formula⁸—for which see § 3.2.1, p. 60.

Whether the Khotanese ‘verse’ meaning is really the result of a parallel (and independent) semantic narrowing or under Buddhist influence from a recognisable cognate is open to debate, as is the words exact meaning in contexts without a Buddhist parallel, which might well have been wider.

(13) *Sgh.* 43.2

a. Khot.

<i>ttī</i>	<i>ttu</i>	<i>bāḍu</i>	<i>gyastā</i>	<i>balysā</i>	<i>ttā</i>	<i>gāha</i>
Then	that.LOC.SG	time.LOC.SG	divine	Buddha	these	verse.ACC.PL
<i>hvate</i>						
speak.3SG.PAST						

‘Then, at that time, the Lord Buddha uttered these verses’⁹

b. Skt.

<i>atha</i>	<i>khalu</i>	<i>bhagavāms</i>	<i>tasyām</i>	<i>velāyām</i>	<i>imā</i>	<i>gāthā</i>
Then	indeed	lord	this.LOC.SG.F	time.LOC.SG.F	these.ACC.F	verse.ACC.PL
<i>abhāṣata</i>						
speak.3SG.IMPF						

‘Then, indeed, at that time, the lord spoke these verses’¹⁰

Additionally worth mentioning here is the form *gāhna*-, which Skjærvø, in his edition quoted below, leaves untranslated as an italicised Indic loan, rather than the true cognate above:

⁷Ir. **g* > Khot. *h*, (Emmerick 1989b, p. 214)

⁸e.g. Khot. *tcūrā-salāvā gāhu*, Skt. *catus-padikā* [...] *gāthām* (*Sgh.* 87.3)

¹⁰This is, indeed, immediately followed by the ‘metrical part of the *sūtra*’, supporting the narrow Buddhist meaning, at least in this context.

- (14) IOL Khot 219/2 (Skjærvø 2002, p. 476)
u ggāhnei tta hve
 and gāthā.LOC.SG thus spoke.3SG.PAST

‘and he spoke to him thus in a *gāthā*’

ggātā’ka- ‘bell’

DKS p. 82. Parallel to Skt. *ghaṇṭā-* ‘bell’ and *kinḱinī-* ‘girdle with small jingles’. Even though Bailey largely omits Indic loans from his dictionary, I think this one must be from Skt. *ghaṇṭā-* or a parallel Middle Indic form. It largely seems to appear in Buddhist texts¹¹ and Bailey provides no Iranian etymology, nor can I myself find cognates in other Iranian languages. It appears in variants *ggā’ka-*, and *ga’-*. See § 3.3.3, p. 69 for bells and wind and untouched instruments.

- (15) Z 14.83
padama hīsindā kye jālānu ggātā’ka trāmu
 wind.NOM.PL come.3PL.PRES.IND which lattice.GEN.SG bell.ACC.PL just
kaļjāndā kho bīnāñi vācāttra
 strike.3PL.PRES.IND as music varied

‘the winds come and strike the bells of the lattices just like varied music’

cī-/kyī- ‘to lament’

This word is attested twice in the *Book of Zambasta* in the formula below:

- (16) Z 17.1¹²
ma thājsi kyī
 NEG pull lamentation

‘do not persist in lamentation’

Bailey additionally suggests one other attestation of a related form *kyai* meaning ‘grief’ in KT 2 116.38. Kumamoto 1993, p. 175, the only other translation of this text (a letter) I can find, reads it as a relative pronoun.

If we dismiss the letter, **cī-/kyī** is a hapax in Z 17 and its etymology is opaque, but Emm-erick’s translation does follow the lamentation meaning, and the West Iranian cognates Bailey suggests are sound: Pahlavi *čīdan* with present stem *čeh-* (MacKenzie 1971, p. 22), for example. Bailey’s attempt (DKS p. 101) to link it through an Ir. base **čey-* or **cīy-* to a PIE root **kai-* ‘be hot, pained’ (from Pokorny 1959–1969, p. 515) follows something of the semantic line Cheung makes for **ban-** ‘lament’ (discussed under **ban-**, p. 37), but lacks

¹¹Excepting an appearance in the *Lyrical-poem* KT 3 40 (Paris Y, line 25), which is still steeped in Buddhist imagery

the middle voice argument as a convincing hinge, and I have struggled to find a modern reconstruction of that root through LIV.

ttīla- ‘thread, wire’

This word appears most frequently in the specific formula shown below,¹³ attested through several fragments, all identified as the *Sudhanāvadāna* (Emmerick 1992, p. 30).¹⁴ The etymology is unclear, but Bailey (DKS p. 129) gives as cognates Oss. *tel* as well as probable Iranian loans into Ottoman Turkish (*tel*, *tāl* ‘wire’) and Armenian (*t’el* ‘thread, fibre, hair’). I would add to these, NPers. تَل *tel* ‘headband’ (the kind made of stiff wire). Further, NPers. تار *tār* ‘thread, wire, string of a musical instrument’, often found as a suffix for instruments—e.g. ستار *setār* lit. ‘three-string’ may also relate. Abaev (1958–1995) in his etymological dictionary of Ossetic indeed links the Oss. *tel* forms to NPers. تار *tār*, deriving these, as a complex, ultimately from PIE **terh₁*, ‘bohren, reiben’ (LIV p. 632). Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 p. 622) considers the NPers. next to Ved. *tántra-* ‘Aufzug eines Gewebes, Webkette’ (< PIE **ten* stretch, for which see *astān-*, p. 22), forms of which have the meaning ‘string’, for example in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* as compound *śatá-tantur* ‘hundred-stringed’ describing the first attestation of the word *vīṇā*.¹⁵ The example below seems to reflect the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* formula in fact, so an etymological link as Mayrhofer suggests is neat.

- (17) KTB 25.123 (*Sudhanāvadāna*)
 ysārā kūsa hvastāda ha bāḍa mīysārak haudasai ttīla
 thousand drum.3.PL.PRES.IND beat all time huge 700-having string
 bīnau(na) samautta
 instrument accompanied

‘they beat a thousand drums all the time, huge ones, accompanied by seven-hundred-stringed instruments’

tcaṃgiḍai ‘musical instrument, harp(?)’

Bailey is tentative in his interpretation of this hapax, giving the open-ended suggestion ‘musical instrument’ (DKS p. 35), but elsewhere committing to ‘harp’ (DKS p. 92). A harp could make sense, given that the line below provides the only other attestation of the word *ttīla-*, beside *haudasai ttīla bīnau(na)* ‘700-string *vīṇā*’ in example 17 (KTB 25.123, *Sudhanāvadāna*) above. Cf. Sogd. *čyngry*, NPers. چنگ *čang*¹⁶ possibly from Chinese *zheng* (*guzheng*), a kind of zither still played today. The only attestation is in a verse letter (see Maggi 2009, p. 408).

¹³See also *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 7.5.9.2 quoted under *bīna*, p. 39; and for discussion of the formula § 3.2.5, p. 65

¹⁴See also KT 2 85.20–21 under *tcaṃgiḍai* below

¹⁵See example 35 discussed under, *bīna*, p. 39.

¹⁶Steingass 1892, p. 400 suggests that the ‘harp’ meaning has to do with its shape—‘anything crooked or bent’, derived from the more common meaning for چنگ *čang* ‘claw’. I think, next to the Chinese *zheng* connection, that’s more likely a folk etymology.

(18) KT 2 85.20–21 (P 2739)

grathä ttilā vī burukyā ūspuri tcamgiḍai grāhe:mä jsa śū'stā
twisted strings with INDF full *tcamgiḍai* holder (?) with equipped

‘the case of the *tcamgiḍai* instrument, fully fitted with twisted strings’ (?)

Bailey’s translations DKS pp. 135, 396. See § 3.1.1, p. 51 and § 3.1.1, p. 54 for a thematic discussion of harps.

dam- ‘to blow’ (used with wind instruments)

Ultimately from the PIE root **d^hmeH-* ‘blasen’ (LIV p. 153). Cf. Ved. *dham-*; Av. *dafəδra-* ‘breath’; Sogd. *δm-*, *δm’s-* ‘swell’; NPers. دَمِيدَن *damīdan* ‘to blow, breath upon’. Also as second part of compound **gahvardama** (p. 25).

(19) Z 23.160

kūsa-ṣkalu śsaṅga damīndä māstu bīnāñu yādāndä
drum-noise conch-shell blow.3PL.PRES loud music make.3PL.PRES

‘(There is) a noise of drums. They blow conch-shells. They made loud music.’

See also example 47 (KT 3 72.157) given under **saṃga**, p. 44. For *bīnāñu* ‘music’ see **bīnāña-**, p. 41 and for *kūsa* ‘drum’ see **kūsa**, p. 25. See § 3.1.2, p. 55 for a thematic discussion of the flute.

dāta- ‘placed, established; law, *dharmā*’

This word represent a clearly quite established gloss for Skt. *dharmā*. That word has a complex, multifaceted meaning in Pali and Sanskrit literature (see § 3.4.3 p. 78), but the particular convention of translation in which *dāta-* is used seems to focus on the meaning ‘Buddhist doctrine’. The Indic *dharmā* word has a core meaning ‘Stütze, fester Halt, feststehende Ordnung, Gesetz’ (EWAia 1 p. 780); from *dhṛ-* ‘to hold’ < PIE **dher-* ‘befestigen, fixieren’. The Khotanese gloss is, instead, derived (as a nominalised *-ta* participle) from the Khot. verbal base *dā-* ‘to put, place, established’ < Ir. **daH-* ‘to place put’ (JC p. 45) < PIE **d^heh₁-* ‘stellen, legen, setzen; herstellen, machen’ (LIV p. 136). *dharmā* does appear as a true Indic loan in Khotanese, but almost exclusively as part of compounds such as *sarvadharma* ‘all *dharmā*’s (e.g. IOL Khot 147/5 r5; KT 5 89), where the meaning is also clearly in the *abhidharmic* sense (see again § 3.4.3 p. 78), rather than ‘doctrine’.

See examples 8, 29, 54, 55, 56, 57 and 58.

nay- ‘to sound’

Presumably from a causative **naday-* from Ilr. **nad-* ‘to sound, make noise’ (JC p. 276; EWAia 2 p. 2). Cf. Av. *nadənt* ‘shouting’, Ved. *nad-* ‘to sound, thunder, roar, cry, howl’ (MW p. 526). LIV p. 448 gives ‘tönen, dröhnen’, but with only Indo-Iranian attestations. See

examples 11, p. 25 (KT 3 38.37, *Lyrical-poem* P 2956); 12, p. 26 (KT 3 40.13, *Lyrical-poem* Paris Y). See also **panay-**, p. 34 < *pati-nay-*.

nar-(?) ‘to roar, thunder, lament(?)’

This case is a little complicated. Bailey (DKS p. 174) provides two attestations of this ‘base’: (1) as *nārā* ‘roar’ (KT 5 64.49) and (2) *nārīñä* ‘thunderous’ (KT 5 62.12). The first, Skjærvø has since corrected to *ttārä*, perhaps for *ttūrä* ‘mouth’ (*Studies* 2 p. 73). The second, Skjærvø leaves untranslated in his edition (2002, p. 370), and says further in *Studies* 2 p. 65: ‘Bailey’s interpretation of *nārīñä* and the etymological connection with Ossetic *næryn* “to thunder” may be correct but cannot at present be proved. Another possible derivation of *nārīñä* is from Skt. *nāda* “roar”, with *d* > *r* as in Khotanese *uryāna* < Skt. *udyāna*.’ I will, therefore, leave these for the time being.

The Ir. root **nar(d)-* is worth dwelling on, however, for its strong association in other Iranian languages with the meaning ‘lament’. Mayrhofer (EWAia 2 p. 22) gives *nard-* ‘brummen (beim Sāman-singen), brüllen (von Tier, Mensche, Wolke)’. As Cheung points out, the root is not reconstructable to an Indo-European level (JC p. 282), but is well attested in Indo-Iranian. We have (all from JC¹⁷): Sogd. *nrδ* ‘lament’, Parthian *nṛ-* ‘moan, groan’, NPers. نالیدن *nālīdan* ‘lament’. For ‘lament’ in Khotanese, however, see *cī-/kyī-*, p. 28 and **ban-**, p. 37.

***nuvad-** ‘to make a noise’¹⁸

This word is found, as far as I can tell, only in the *Book of Zambasta*—Bailey doesn’t give it in his dictionary, nor in the *Prolexis*, but Emmerick lists it as a verb in SGS. Although Emmerick doesn’t mark it as such, it could be a loan from Indic, and Emmerick draws a (cognate?) connection to the Sanskrit causative as: ‘< **ni-vadaya-* < **ni-vad-*, cf. O.Ind. *nivādayate* “to make resound (drum)” *MBh.* [*Mahābhārata*]’ (SGS p. 58).

Worth noting is that this word’s three appearances in the *Book of Zambasta* are all as part of, loosely, the same formula, which describes a cemetery:

- (20) Z.2.46
- | | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| <i>birgga</i> | <i>rrūvāsa</i> | <i>nuvaindä</i> | <i>śvānā</i> | <i>śśūjātena</i> |
| wolf.NOM.PL | jackals.NOM.PL | howl.3PL.PRES.ACT | dog | one another |
| <i>juvāre</i> | / <i>suṭhṭha</i> | <i>rrāysīndi</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>ṣṣundä byū’va kāḍe</i> |
| fight.3PL.MID | / vulture.NOM.PL | scream.3PL.PRES | and | ravens owls very |
| <i>māstu</i> | <i>najsīndi</i> | | | |
| loud | cry out.3PL.PRES | | | |

‘Wolves (and) jackals howl. Dogs fight with one another. Vultures scream, and ravens, owls cry out very loudly.’

¹⁷Cheung, in fact, distinguishes further with *nard-* ‘to lament, moan’ and *nar-* ‘to roar, bray, thunder’, but the semantic boundaries blur and I will follow Mayrhofer in considering this as one.

¹⁸An asterisk, as the *base* is reconstructed, with only 3PL.PRES.ACT attested.

Versions of this formula appear again in Z 20.30 and Z 24.420 with much the same effect—conjuring a haunted, unpleasant place associated with death. Emmerick each time translates *nuvāindā* (or the variant forms thereof) with ‘howl’. The reason I include it in this glossary is two-fold: (1) the marked vocabulary and repetition suggests an inherited formula (or rather a borrowed Buddhist *topos*, see § 3.2, p. 60), the use of which itself gestures to a literary performance culture; (2) the semantic drift of the apparently Indic loan is interesting. As Emmerick himself shows in quoting *nivādayate*, this kind of causative from *vad-* ‘speak’ is, to my ears, the Skt. ‘instrument-playing’ verb *par excellence*—the causative suggesting precisely a kind of sound production one step removed from the autonomous vocalising of, say, a wolf. The negative, animal connotation in *Zambasta* is clear though, deliberately and thematically contrasting in Z 20.30, for example, with pleasant and sweet sounds earlier in the chapter: *murka briyūnu kāḍe bagyeṣṣāre pharu* ‘The little birds sing many a most lovely song’ (Z 20.4).¹⁹

nvāka- ‘(men’s?) song’

**ni-vāka* < Ir. **uač* ‘to say, speak’ (JC p. 402) . Cf. Av. *vak-* ‘sagen, sprechen, kund tun’ (AirW), Ved. *vac-* ‘to speak, say, tell, utter, announce, declare, mention, proclaim, recite, describe’ (MW p. 912) + preverb *ni-* (DKS p. 195)—probably < **nis-* ‘out’ cf. Ved. PP *nirukta* ‘declared [...] distinct, loud’ (MW p. 553). Ir. **uač-* < PIE **uekʰ-* (LIV p. 673). Bailey provides some cognates for this preverb-verb formation in Iranian with similar semantics: Sogd. *nwʾq*, MPers. *nivāk* ‘song’, NPers. نَوَاخْتَن *navāktan* ‘to play upon any instrument; to sing, to strike up a loud noise’ (Steingass 1892, p. 1429). Bailey also cites NPers. كُنْيَا *konyā* ‘music’ as belonging to these, presumably with prefix خو- *kū* < **su-* ‘good, well’.

Bailey 1982, p. 45 specifies ‘men’s songs’, but it’s unclear why, as the example demonstrates:

- (21) Z 24.215
ttīyi ttāye nvāgā
 then this.GEN.-DAT song.GEN.-DAT

‘then (after) this song’

nvāgā here is used as descriptor for the *ggāha* ‘verses’ of the *Apsarases* (typically female celestial beings) introduced in Z 24.207. See example 22 under **nvār-** below for *nvākaka* with a diminutive *-ka*, or an adjectival *-aka* suffix, in turn nominalized.

nvār- ‘to bring out, utter’

The musical sense of this word again attests the over-representation of the Pelliot fragments comprising the *Lyrical-poem* (§ 3.2.4, p. 64) in Khotanese musical vocabulary.

¹⁹For *bagyeṣṣāre* ‘they sing’, see *bajeṣṣ-*, p. 36.

- (22) KT 3 48.69 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2025)
nvākaka *nvārī(da)*
 song.ACC.PL²¹ sing.3PL.PRES.IND

‘they sing songs’

KT 3 38.47 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956) offers a parallel to the above and, while missing the *nvākaka* ‘song’ before, works to justify Bailey’s reconstruction of the final *akṣara -da*, which is broken out in KT 3 48.69.

All other attestations from Buddhist texts with parallels in Tibetan or Sanskrit gloss the ‘bring out, produce’ side of Bailey’s proposed meaning, particularly in the *Siddhasāra*, a medical text (see § 1.3.4, p. 19). Bailey’s solution is to understand the word as comprising of preverb *ni-* with *bar-* ‘carry’ (**b^her-* (LIV p. 76)). It certainly—and perhaps that’s the problem—works in English, but it also has a parallel in RV 10.68.8 *níṣ ṭáj jabhāra* as ‘herausbringen, ausnehmen’ (Geldner 1907, p. 233), though not with any sonic or musical meaning—Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 1492 give ‘extracted’.

We might also, straightforwardly, have forms of Khot. *nuvar-* ‘offer’, for which SGS p. 59 suggests a similar etymology with *ni-* or *anu-*. This meaning works well with ‘offer songs’ (see § 3.2.2, p. 63 music as *dāna*-object), but less with the medical meanings.

nvāśś- ‘to make noise’

ni-vās-ya cf. Ved. *vāś-* ‘to roar, howl, bellow, bleat, low (as a cow), cry, shriek, sing (like a bird), sound, resound’ (MW p. 947), and Av. *vāsaii-* ‘laut brüllen’ (EWAia 2 p. 547). Bailey (DKS p. 279) links to these cognates Sogd. *w’s* ‘to shout’, and Sogd. Chr. *γωβty’ptwysd’rt* ‘he recited praises’ (*ptwys-* < *pati-vāś-*)²² and Emmerick (SGS p. 62) Oss. D. *niūūasun* ‘make a sound’ (< **ni-vāś-*). Mayrhofer suggests no obvious PIE origin for this complex—possibly onomatopoeic. Kümmel (2000, pp. 477–480), makes an interesting semantic observation in explaining Ved. *vāvaśúr* ‘nach etwas verlangen’ (3PL.IND.PERF)—otherwise connected to PIE *uek-* ‘wünschen’ (LIV p. 672)—as actually linking to Ilr. *vāś-* through a meaning ‘(sehnsüchtig) brüllen’. As he says there, ‘Zu bedenken ist, daß auch die Bedeutung von *vāś-* ein Moment de Begehrens enthält, da diese Wurzel besonders das soziale Kontaktbrüllen der Rinder bezeichnet.’ (p. 479). He adds, a little later, ‘die Wurzel bezeichnet offenbar speziell das Brüllen der Kuh nach ihrem Kalb oder des Kalbes nach seiner Mutter; das mit *vāś-* gemeinte Brüllen ist immer auf jemanden gerichtet.’ (p. 486). This speaks to a semantic tension in the apparent Khotanese meaning and in the broader complex of Iranian cognates. Mostly it appears in overtly animal contexts, but sometimes with a more human, musical, lamenting sense, such as in the Sogdian *ptwys-* ‘re-

²¹with *-ka* diminutive?

²²It is worth considering Middle Indic forms such as Pali *vāceti* < Skt. *vācayati* which represent the standard ‘recitate’ word in Buddhist texts and may have been loaned here—as one was into Khotanese. See example 45, p. 44.

cite' meaning and in the *Siddhasāra* (KT 1 p. 54)²³ where Khot. *nvāśe* (3SG.PRES.MID) is used for Skt. *ākṛanda*- 'lament'²⁴ (*Studies* 1 p. 133). Z 24.503 (quoted below) you could postulate a more musical, or at least sorrowful semantics to the word.

- (23) Z 24.503
gyasta nvāśśīndä yakṣa dīvate nāga trāmu vara śśando
 gods cry out.3PL.PRES.IND *yakṣas devatās nāgas* such there ground.LOC.SG
dukhāna yseru baḍāri
 suffering wretchedly turn.3PL.PRES.MID

'The gods, Yakṣas, Devatās, Nāgas cry out. They writhe pitiaably there on the ground in woe'

For *vas*- see also *bāsä*- 'noise', p. 38. For other lament-adjacent words see *ci-/kyi*-, p. 28 and *ban*-, p. 37.

pata- 'stanza'

A loan from Ind., cf. Skt. *pāda*- 'a verse or line (as the fourth part of a regular stanza)' (MW p. 617).

- (24) Z 22.100
pande hā ttārburo byaude ku buro mara ttāte pata indä
 path hence everywhere found where ever here these stanza are

'the path hence is found everywhere wherever these stanzas are here'

Noteworthy is that it is varyingly loaned into the 'four-quartered verse formula' found in the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* (see § 3.2.1, p. 60).

panay- 'to make noise'

From **pati-nādaya*- < **pati-nad*, see *nay*-, p. 30.

p(v)ā'ha- 'sound, force'

From the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* with Sanskrit parallel we have:

- (25) a. Khot. KT 5 5.250
ttye kūśā pā'hāme jsa
 this drum.GEN.SG noise.INS.SG by/with
 'and by this sound of the drum'
- b. Skt. *Suv.* p. 24.1; tr. Emmerick 1970, p. 10
anena ca dundubhi-ghoṣa-nādinā
 this.INS.SG and drum-sound-resounding.INS.SG
 'and by this resounding noise of the drum'

²³See section § 1.3.4, p. 19

²⁴Rendered in the parallel Tibetan, on which the Khotanese version was most likely based, as *ñu-ba* 'he weeps' (*Studies* 1 p. 133).

Also from a text termed ‘*deśana*’ (Emmerick 1992, p. 37)—which relishes in a kind of cosmological imagination through the extended listing of various Buddha-names and the power of their recitation—the Buddha-name, (Skt.) *duṇḍubhi-svara* ‘drum-sound/voice’, is elaborated on:

- (26) KT 5 250.795 (IOL Khot S. 46, Skjærvø 2002, p. 544, line 794)
- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>namau</i> | <i>dūṇḍubhisvarā</i> | <i>gyastā</i> | <i>baʼysä</i> |
| hail.NOM.SG | <i>duṇḍubhisvara</i> .GEN.-DAT | divine.GEN.-DAT.SG | Buddha.GEN.-DAT |
| <i>cuai nāma</i> | <i>hvāñe</i> | <i>didirī śirkā</i> | <i>bajāṣä</i> |
| who name.ACC.SG | speaks.3SG.PRES | such beautiful.NOM.SG | voice.NOM.SG |
| <i>hime</i> | <i>khu</i> | <i>gyastuñä</i> | <i>kūsä</i> |
| become.3SG.PRES | as | divine.GEN.-DAT.SG | drum.GEN.-DAT.SG |
| <i>paʼhe</i> | | | |
| sound.NOM.SG | | | |

‘Hail to *duṇḍubhi-svara* the divine Buddha; he who recites his name, (his) voice becomes beautiful like the sound of the divine drum.’

Emmerick has discussed the word with regards the secondary meaning ‘force’ in *Studies* 1 and Emmerick (1981): ‘As for the etymology of *p(ṽ)āʼha*- “force; sound” I have suggested [1981] that the meaning “force” and “sound” may be accounted for by assuming a basic meaning ‘thrust’ in which case IE **ṛedh-* (seen in Avestan *vādāiia-*, Greek *ῥέειν* etc.) should be considered.’ (*Studies* 1 p. 72) For the *dharma*-drum Buddhist *topos* see § 3.3.1, p. 66. Example 26 above also encourages a translation of *bajāṣä* as ‘voice’, discussed under *bajeṣṣ-*, p. 36.

pätāy- ‘to speak’

Bailey’s suggests (DKS p. 237) and Emmerick tentatively supports (SGS p. 82) analysis from **pati-ādaya-*. Cf. Av. *ād-* and Ved. *ah-* ‘speak’; IIr. **Hedʰ-* (LIV p. 222), Ir. **HaH(a)d-* (JC p. 153). No PIE cognates outside of IIr.

- (27) Z 6.36
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kho ju</i> | <i>ye</i> | <i>ggarä</i> | <i>iñi</i> | <i>pätāyā</i> |
| as | PARTICLE | one | mountain | before speak.PRES.SG.IND |

‘as one who speaks before a mountain’

pätūsa- ‘drum’

Bailey suggests **pati-aus-y-* *-aus-* < **vas-* ‘make noise’ for which see *nvaśś-*, p. 33, as well as *bāsä-* ‘noise’, p. 38. The word is attested in the *Book of Zambasta* with a clear martial association:

(28) Z 24.410

durnānu *šparggä* *burjsä* *hālstinu* *mästä* *skalä* *pātušānu* *ku*
 of bows discharge flashing of spears great noise.NOM.SG drum.GEN.PL as
kāḍarna *manīndä*
 with sword they smite

‘There is a discharge of bows, a great flashing of spears, a sound of drums as they
 smite.3PL.PRES.IND with the sword’

A later form *pauškyā-* appears in the *Lyrical-poem* (see § 3.2.4, p. 64) fragments—KT 3
 35.35 (Ch. 00266), 47.52 (P 2025), 38.33 (P 2956); *pūška-* in KT 2 75.47 (Staël Holstein Roll;
 tr. Bailey 1951). See § 3.1.3, p. 56 for a thematic discussion of drums in Khotanese.

pyūʼv- ‘to hear’

< **pati-gauša*, cf. Sogd. *ptywš-*, *ptywšt-*; Yghn. *dūyūš-*, *dūyūšta*. West Iranian forms tend
 to crop up with *ni-*: MPers. *nywš*, NPers. نیوشیدن *nūšīdan* (< **ni-gauša-*), as well as just
 گوش *gūš* ‘ear’ on its own; Av. *gūštā* ‘hears’, Ved. *ghóṣati* ‘sounds; hears’ < Ilr. **g^{(u)h}eṃs-*
 (LIV p. 200) > Ir. **gauš-* (JC p. 115)—no other PIE cognates.

(29) Z 1.52

[*d*]āta-hvāñyo *jsa* *pyūvāʼre* *nārvāna-dīvi*
dharma-preacher.INS.-ABL.PL from hear.3PL.PRES.MID *nirvaṇa*-continent²⁶
padamgyo
 description.ACC.SG

‘from the preachers of the dharma they hear the description of the continent of
 Nirvāṇa’

From the above example see also **hvan-** ‘speak, preach’, p. 48, as well as the example
 under **vāṣīti**, p. 43 ‘recite’ for *hamgūṣṭa* ‘he (did not) listen’.

bajeṣṣ-²⁷ ‘to make noise’

This word is interesting as both Emmerick (SGS p. 92) and Bailey (DKS p. 265) give an
 unmarked ‘to make a noise’ and ‘sound’ meaning respectively. The contexts in which it
 appears, at times, more vocally and musically marked, however. For example, in nom-
 inal form (from which the denominal verb is actually derived): *hvīyāna bajāṣṣāna* ‘with
 human voice’ (KT 5 342.83v5). Emmerick also often translates the verb as ‘sing’, and the
 noun as ‘voice’—for example:

(30) Z 20.4

bajāṣṣī *hastarä* *brrahmānina* *rrīye*
 voice better Brahma called.3SG.PAST

‘his voice was better than Brahma’s’

²⁶ *dīvi* < Ind. *dvīpa* (Leumann 1933–1936, p. 443).

- (31) Z 24.223
murka briyūnu kūde bagyeṣṣāre pharu
 birds lovely very make noise.3PL.MID much

(after Emmerick) ‘the birds sing many a most lovely song’

In the above it seems like you could think of it as *bajāṣṣa*-‘voice’ and a denominal *bajeṣṣ*-‘vocalise’—for this, see also KT 5 250.795 given under *p(v)ā’ha*-, p. 34 and Z 13.111 given under *ṣe’r*-, p. 44. The etymology, however, is a bit obscure. Bailey cites Av. *zaxš* ‘abuse’ (*zaxšaθra* ‘libel, slander’) and Oss. D. *zäyun*, *zaxta* and I. *zäyyn* and NPers. زَاغِ گِرِفْتَن *zāg gereftan* ‘to abuse’ next to زَاغِ *zāg* ‘crow’, all of which Cheung includes, tentatively, under a root **zag* ‘to sound (utter, say, etc.)’ (JC p. 460), except without any mention of Khotanese. Nor does Emmerick suggest this etymology in SGS. Mayrhofer has a *kakh* ‘lachen’ EWAia 3 p. 42. The intrusion of onomatopoeia, where crows and cackling are involved, are also cause for caution.

ban- ‘to lament’

Both Emmerick and Leumann have taken the word as connected to Ind. *bhan*- ‘speaks, sounds’ (SGS p. 93; Leumann 1933–1936, p. 470), but Cheung and Schirmer have trouble with this from a semantic point of view (JC p. 4; LIV p. 69).

Bailey relates Khot. *ban*- to Av. *band*- (DKS p. 266) ‘kranken’ (AirW). Cheung elaborates on a possible semantic journey: ‘The Khot. verb, which is solely attested in the middle voice, can go back to *‘to be afflicted’ (whence “to cry out, lament”), whereas the nominal Khot. derivative *banānu* may originally indicate “something that is distressing, i.e. offensive, to a person” (JC p. 4). To this base probably also belong nominalised forms *baṃcai* (Z 5.109) and *baṃ[k]ya* Z 24.511, both meaning something like ‘with lamentation’ (*Prolexis* p. 222; Emmerick 1969, p. 67); and *banānu* ‘abusive cries’ (DKS p. 268; SGS p. 93)

- (32) Z 24.516
ṣṣamana banāre kye nā rro gratu
 monk.NOM.PL lament.3PL.PRES who ENCL.PRON.1.PL.OBL now instruction
hvāñāte
 preach.3SG.PRES

‘the monks lament: who will preach instruction to us now?’

In the Khotanese translation of the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* we—possibly (Emmerick 1969, p. 67)—find it as a gloss for Skt. *prarodati* ‘he weeps, laments’ (from *rud*- ‘to cry’ with preverb *pra*- ‘for’).

(33) *Sgh.* 99[3]

a. Khot.

gyastai pyūvā're tte hva'ndā cv-ī
 god.NOM.PL hear.3PL.MID.PRES that man.GEN.-DAT.SG REL.PRON-ENCL.PRON.OBL
ttā dukha . bremātā bette
 DEM.PRON.3PL woe.NOM.PL . weep.3SG.PRES lament.3SG.PRES

‘the gods hear of that man, those which are his woes . He weeps, laments...’

b. Skt.

śṛṇvanti devatā vācam āśru-kaṇṭhaṃ prarodati
 hear.3PL.PRES god.NOM.PL voice.ACC.SG cry-sound.ACC.SG lament.3SG.PRES

‘the gods hear the crying voice, he laments...’

bāsā- ‘noise’

From base *vas-* (DKS p. 279), discussed under **nvaśś-**, p. 33.

(34) KT 3 72.158

(Khot. *rāmāyaṇa* P 2781 tr. in *Rāmāyaṇa* (Khotanese summary) 1940, 568 line 90)

hastāna hīvī bāsā
 elephant.GEN.PL belonging to noise.NOM.SG

‘the trumpeting of elephants’

The connotations in most attestations are on the ‘noise’ end of the noise-music spectrum, but the example above—being from the Khot. *rāmāyaṇa*—itself points to a performance tradition, and the broader context of dramatic animal sounds relates loosely to the ‘wolves, jackals, owls’ formula quoted under **nuvad-**, p. 31, for which see also § 3.2.3, p. 64. Also worth noting is the raw animal noise meaning, at least here, in contrast to Kümmel’s proposed ‘lamenting’ etymology (2000, pp. 477–80) and other Ir. cognates discussed under **nvaśś-**, p. 33.

biśā- ‘tongue, speech’

Indo-Iranian words for ‘tongue’ are well attested, cf. Av. *hizuuā-/hizū-*, ved. *jihvā-*, MPers. *uzwān*, NPers. زبان *zabān*, BSogd. *zβʷk* etc. (EWAia 1 p. 591) all < Ir. **zauH* (JC p. 472) < PIE **ǵʰueH-* ‘rufen’ (LIV p. 180). The question is whether *biśā* can be put here. Bailey’s route, which somehow involves *si-* ‘sharpened’ (DKS p. 290), is somewhat obscure. The meaning, following something of a semantic universal (cf. French *langue*), alternates between tongue language, speech and voice. It is attested often in the medical *Siddhasāra* for ‘diseases of the tongue’ etc., but more relevant for us in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* (KT 1 p. 245): *biśā'na*.INS.SG as gloss for Skt. *vacasā* ‘speech, voice, word’, INS.SG.

bīna ‘*vīṇā*’ (a kind of lute/harp)

See example 2, p. 22 (KT 3 36.8, *Lyrical-poem* P 2956). The word is well attested in Khotanese and ‘connected’ to Ind. *vīṇa*—but found also in Sogd. *wyn*’ (Henning 1945), Zoroastrian Pahlavi *vin* and the Armenian loanword *vin* as well as Arab.-Persian *vanaj* (Bailey 1982, p. 44; Steingass 1892, p. 1481). The breadth of attestation doesn’t particularly point to a loan into Khotanese specifically, at least not a recent one (from the point of view of our texts). It’s first Indic attestation is probably in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*:

- (35) *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 7.5.9.2
vāṇāḥ śatā-tantur²⁹ bhavati
vīṇā.NOM.SG 100-stringed.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRES.IND

‘the harp is 100-stringed’

This many-stringed *vīṇā* (*vāṇa*-)³⁰ clearly reminds of *haudasai tīla bīnau(na)* ‘700-stringed *vīṇā*’ in the *Sudhanāvadāna* (given already under *tīla*-, p. 29, see also § 3.2.5, p. 65). As was relevant there, and for *tcamgīdai*, while Keith 1914 translates *vāṇa*- as ‘lute’, the 100 strings are probably more suggestive of a harp.³¹ This attestation in the *taittirīya saṃhitā* also puts a *terminus ad quem* on the word for Indo-Aryan of around 800 BCE (Witzel 1997, p. 301), but Jamison and Brereton read a reference to an instrument which they interpret as a *vīṇā* already in RV 1.88.6—a kind of pun based on the fact that ‘at least some of the forms of this musical instrument bear a remarkable resemblance to male genitalia.’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 220)³²

- (36) RV 1.88.6
eśā syā vo maruto anubhartrī prāti śtobhati vāgháto ná vāṇī |
ástobhayad vṛthā āsām ánu svadhām gábhastiyoh ||

‘Just now this “lady hornsman” [=penis-wielder =*vīṇā*] sounds in response to you, Maruts, like the voice of a cantor.

(The player) has made (her) sound by the power of his hands, the way women like it.’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 220)

The deeper root of this word and the precise material culture with which to pin it down is less clear. Mayrhofer summarizes: ‘Mit iran. Wörtern wie khot. *bīna* “ein Musikinstrument, Harfe, Laute”, man. sogd. *wyn*’ “Laute”. mp. *win* “Laute”, arm. (< iran.) *vin* “Laute”

²⁹The edition of this text on the online text database TITUS (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 2021) has a small mistake here, with *śatántur* for what is *śatátantur* in both the Weber edition 1871–1872—on which the TITUS edition is based—and the Swadhyaya Mandala *devanāgarī* edition (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 1957), which is in line with Arthur Berriedale Keith’s translation into English ‘the lute has a hundred strings’ 1914.

³⁰Despite the spelling *vāṇāḥ* with *ā* for *ī* and the NOM.SG.M ending, Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 220 do cite this as the first attestation of a *vīṇā*- word and, following Zin (2004, p. 325), the later *Śrautasūtras* understand them as equivalent.

³¹I will discuss this problem further in § 3.1.1, p. 51.

³²See also Jamison 1981.

steht ν^o “in einem nicht näher aufgeklärten Entlehnungszusammenhang” (EWAia 2 p. 568). Louise Wrazen in ‘The Early History of the *Vīṇā* and *Bīn* in South and South-east Asia’ (1986) writes: ‘There is little agreement concerning the word’s origin beyond the general admission that it is of foreign [not IA] derivation’. Suggestions include Near-Eastern sources, such as Summerian *pan* ‘bow’ and Old Egyptian *bjmn-t* (Millward 2018). While Mayrhofer (KEWai 3 p. 236) cites the Old Egyptian connection as unconvincing, he is also unimpressed with attempts at finding an Indo-European source. I will discuss the material culture around the word further in the next chapter under § 3.1.1, p. 51.

Important for now, though, is that, whatever the deeper etymology of the word and the instrument(s) with which it might be associated across several millennia, it is not a recent borrowing into Khotanese near the surface of the language. This depth is attested by two common Khotanese derivations: *bīnāna* ‘instrument’ and *bīnāña* ‘music’, listed as their own entries below. I think it’s safe to assume a cognate on some deeper Indo-Iranian level—an early loan into Proto-Indo-Iranian, later (but independent) borrowings into Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian, at least an intra-Indo-Iranian loan relationship that significantly predates the Middle-Iranian and Middle-Indic periods. The phonological transparency of this ‘cognate’ to both Middle Iranian and Middle Indic speakers also phenomenologically complicates that clean distinction between cognate and loan. I’m thinking here in terms of a *longue durée* of Silk Road musical-material-linguistic culture that consistently re-encounters itself, which I’ll consider further in § 3.1.1, p. 51.³³

bīnāna- ‘instrument of music’

From *bīna* above with *-āna* suffix, Bailey says in the *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* ‘with suffix *bīnāna-* is used of any musical instrument’ (*Prolexis* p. 247):

- (37) Z 13.138
bīnāñä *hastama* *nāṃdä*
 instrument.ACC.PL best.ACC.PL take.3PL.PAST

‘They took with them the best instruments.’

Another attestation, part of a fragmentary *avadāna* which Maggi has simply termed *Love-story* (Maggi 1997), makes explicit this meaning:

- (38) KT 3 106.32–33 (Maggi 1997, p. 33)
bīnauna *ṣkvīda*³⁶ *damīda*³⁷
 instrument.ACC.PL touch.3PL.PRES.ACT blow.3PL.PRES.ACT

‘They pluck and blow instruments.’

³³For this the word *ggāha-* ‘verse’, p. 27.

Clearly in this second example the use of the verbs *skau-* ‘touch, pluck’ and *dam-* ‘to blow’ with the same object *bīnauna* is marked next to the general and clear association of the *bīna* with strings discussed under **bīna** above and implies an abstraction of the specific string instrument to a looser category.

bīnāñña ‘music’

Derived from *bīna* ‘*vīṇā*’ (see above) ‘with abstract suffix *-añña-*’ (DKS p. 284).

- (39) Z 12.18–19
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>spyätyau</i> | <i>jsa</i> | <i>būṇa</i> | <i>bīnāñña</i> | <i>āmāśāṇa</i> |
| flower.INS.-ABL.PL | with | incense.INS.-ABL.SG | music.INS.-ABL.SG | good.INS.-ABL.PL |
| <i>kho</i> | <i>hotte</i> | <i>drraiṇu</i> | <i>ratanānu</i> | |
| as | be able.3SG.PRES.MID | three.GEN.-DAT.PL | jewel.GEN.-DAT.PL | |
| <i>pajsamā</i> | <i>tterburo</i> | <i>tcerä</i> | | |
| honour.NOM.SG | so much | make.GER | | |

‘with flowers, incense, music, goods as he is able—so much honour is to be made to the three jewels’

In his translation of the *Book of Zambasta* Emmerick almost always translates *bīnāñña* with ‘lute-music’, but in Z 5 there is a sentence that pairs it with *bīnāñña* which Emmerick interprets there as ‘instrument’ (see **bīnāna** above):

- (40) Z 5.100
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>cu</i> | <i>vara</i> | <i>bīnāñña</i> | <i>vicitra</i> | <i>hamatu</i> | <i>bīnāñnu</i> |
| what | there | instrument.NOM.PL | various.NOM.PL | of itself.ADV | music.ACC.SG |
| <i>yäḍāndä</i> | | | | | |
| make3PL.PAST | | | | | |

‘The various kinds of musical instruments there of themselves made music.’³⁸

As shown by example 38, p. 40 and example 50, p. 46, where forms of *bīnauna* are paired with a variety of music-making verbs meaning ‘blowing’, ‘plucking’ and ‘striking’, that word is associated with a broader category of instruments—not just *bīna*/lutes/strings. Since above *bīnāñña* is the instrument of *bīnāñnu yäḍāndä* ‘they make music’, it seems laborious to understand *bīnāñña* as only meaning lute-music, and Bailey’s unmarked ‘music’ (DKS p. 284) is better. The bleached semantics of this derivative from *bīna*, speaks to the sense that the word has been in Khotanese for a while, as discussed under **bīna**, p. 39.

maṃdra- ‘mantra’

A loan from Ind. *mantra*- “‘instrument of thought”, speech, sacred text or speech, a prayer

³⁷See *skau-*, p. 45.

³⁷See *dam-*, p. 30.

³⁸See § 3.3.3, p. 69 for the *topos* of ‘untouched instruments’

or song of praise’ from *man-* ‘to think’ < PIE **men-* ‘einen Gedanken fassen’ (Kümmel 2000, p. 435).

(41) Z 5.60

cu cā'ya-nārmātu dätte same šä maṃdrāṇu prabhāvā
 what magic-conjured appears really this *mantra*.GEN.PL power

‘What appears magic-conjured, this is really just the power of *mantras*’

mura ‘speech, word’

Bailey (DKS p. 336) gives the definition as an unmarked ‘speech, word’ but it seems to appear exclusively in a very specific formula, with *haura* ‘talk’—which under that entry (DKS p. 500)—Bailey translates as ‘rumour’, but under the *mura* entry itself, as ‘report, word’.

(42) KT 3 114.119 tr. Bailey 1964b

pātca-ṇ va dūṃvām jsa hau:rä
 then-ENCL.PRON.1.PL.OBL and *Dūṃ* people.INS.-ABL from talk.NOM.SG
murä ṣṭe
 word/rumour.NOM.SG is.3SG.PRES

‘and then for us there is rumour from the *Dūṃ* people’

The exact meaning is clearly opaque and the etymology he suggests through a base *mau-* ‘make sound’ **mū-* (Pokorny 1959–1969, p. 751) doesn’t exist in the more recent etymological dictionaries. But maybe something from **(s)mer-* ‘remember’ (LIV p. 569), cf. Ind. *smar-* EWAia 2 p. 780 would fit the ‘rumour, report’ sense better and fit, for example, semantically with *patāmar-* ‘report’ (DKS p. 205)? See also *aysmūr* ‘to sound’, p. 22.

ysār- ‘to make noise, caw’ (DKS); ‘to sing’ (SGS)’

This is another word attested only in the *Lyrical-poem* (§ 1.3.3, § 3.2.4):

(43) KT 3 40.10 (*Lyrical-poem* Paris Y)

ṣaudākya ysārārä haṃdä hauṣkyau bāhyau
 raven.NOM.PL sing.3PL.PRES.MID among dry.LOC.PL tree.LOC.PL

‘the ravens sing among the dry trees’

The above is paralleled in the other *Lyrical-poem* fragments with minor orthographic variations of *rāysāra* ‘made noise’—KT 3 38.34 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956), KT 3 47.53 (... P 2025), KT 3 35.36 (... Ch. 00266). For this verb see **rrāys-** below.

The only cognates Bailey or Emmerick suggest for **ysar-* are Oss. D. *zārun* ‘to sing’ and D. *āzälyn*, I. *āzälyn*, ‘to echo’ (SGS p. 112). But Cheung convincingly, I think, links a wider

set of Iranian cognates, such as NPers. زَرِيدَن *zarīdan* ‘to weep, moan’, BSogd. *z’ry*, *z’r’k*, *z’r’y* ‘compassionate; pitiful’, CSogd. *z’ry* (indecl.) ‘pitiful, pitiable, sympathetic’. He also links to Khot. *ysera-* ‘wretched’. Cheung reconstructs an Ir. root **zarH* < PIE **ǵ(e)rH₂*, but the reference for the PIE root leads to LIV p. 161 **ǵar-* ‘tönen, rufen’, under which the Oss. words are given, but none of the other Iranian cognates. That the verb *rrāys-* ‘cry out (of birds)’—which, as already mentioned, is parallel to *ysār-* in the other *Lyrical-poem* fragments—also turns up as predicate of vultures in the ‘cemetery formula’ (see § 3.2.3, p. 64) of Z 2.46 (example 20, p. 31) gives some support to Cheung’s colouring of the Ir. root’s semantics with death rituals and lamentation. For other lamenting words see *ban-*, p. 37, *cī-/kyī-*, p. 28, *nvaśś-*, p. 33 and *nar-*, p. 31. Bailey (DKS p. 406) also relates to this verb the noun *sqnā* ‘noise’ in the *Siddhasāra* (§ 1.3.4, p. 19).

(44) KT 3 40.10 (*Lyrical-poem* Paris Y)

a. Khot.

kāryi gva prrahāji gvaña sqnā-rāhū jīm̐da
deaf ear.ACC.PL open ear.LOC.PL noise-pain.ACC.SG remove.3SG.PRES

‘opens deaf ears, removes pain of tinnitus’

b. Skt.

bhādharyam kaṇṇa-nādaś ca
deafness.NOM.SG ear-noise.NOM.SG and.ENCL

‘deafness and tinnitus’

rrāys- ‘to make noise’ (DKS p. 361); ‘to cry out (of birds)’ (SGS p. 115)

All *Lyrical-poem* parallels to example 43 (KT 3 40.10, *Lyrical-poem* Paris Y) given under *ysār-* above—KT 3 38.34 (*Lyrical-poem* P 2956), KT 3 47.53 (... P 2025), KT 3 35.36 (... Ch. 00266)—have this verb in place of *ysār-*. Example 20, p. 31 (Z 2.46) has it for *suṭṭha rrāysīndi* ‘vultures scream’, as part of what I’m calling the ‘cemetery formula’ (§ 3.2.3, p. 64). It is not, therefore, quite a hapax, as Cheung suggests it is, listing it under Ir. **raH* ‘to howl, cry’ (JC p. 306) < PIE **leh₂-* ‘bellen’ (LIV p. 400). Ir. cognates would include: Sogd. *r’y* ‘to weep’, Yghn. *rōy-/róyta-* ‘to weep’ and Av. *gāθrō.raiiant-* ‘shouting songs’ from Yt. 13.105. This last one is obviously striking for pairing the root with *gāθā-*, see *ggāha*, p. 27. For IIr. cf. Ved. *rā-*, *rāyati* ‘bark’.

vāś- ‘to recite’

This must represent a Middle Ind. form of the Skt. causative *vācayati* ‘to cause to say or speak or recite or pronounce’. Cf. Pali *vāceti* ‘to make speak or recite, teach’.

- (45) KT 3 74.201 (Khot. *Rāmāyaṇa* P 2783; tr. Bailey 1940 p. 569, line 40)]
āyanā vāśaṃdä yāṃdä na haṃgūṣṭa ysura
 examples recited.3PL.PRES.IND continuously NEG.PART listen.3PL.PAST anger
yuda paṛsa
 do.3SG.PAST very

‘they recited examples continually; he did not listen, he was very angry’

For *haṃgūṣṭa* ‘he (did not) listen’ see *pyūṣ-*, p. 36

vṛttā ‘metre’

A loanword from Ind., cf. Skt. *vṛtti-* ‘mode or measure of pronunciation and recitation’ (MW p. 1010)

- (46) KT 1 198.2r2 (*jātakastava* tr. Dresden 1955³⁹)
gūraphusta vyaṃjana ṣai vṛttā avaṣṭa
 difficult to draw out⁴¹ expression.NOM.PL very metre.NOM.SG difficult.NOM.SG

‘the expressions are difficult to draw out, the metre itself difficult’

śaṃga ‘conch’

Loan from Ind., cf. Skt. *śaṅkhā-* ‘conch’

- (47) KT 3 72.157 (*rāmāyaṇa* P 2781 tr. *Rāmāyaṇa (Khotanese summary)* 1940)⁴²
padāṃ-dāṃdä būysa-ṣve śaṃga
 wind-blow.3SG.PAST goat-horn.ACC.PL conch.ACC.PL

‘They blow upon goat-horns, conches’

ṣe’r- ‘to play music’ (DKS p. 412); ‘to make a noise’ (SGS p. 128)

This verb is attested in the *Book of Zambasta* and the *Lyrical-poem*. In both texts it appears in a musical context.

- (48) Z 13.111⁴³
kho bātāna ṣerāte bīna kho ju
 as wind.INS.-ABL.SG sound.3SG.PRES vīṇā.NOM.SG as PARTICLE
ye ggari īñi pātāyā brahma-svarā
 one mountain in the presense of speak.3SG.PRES brahma-svara
balsyā bajāṣṣā ttrāmu pyūṣṭāndä uysnora
 Buddha.GEN.-DAT.SG voice.ACC.SG thus hear.3SG.PAST being.NOM.PL

‘As a lute sounds on account of the wind, as one speaks in front of a mountain, so did beings hear the Brahma-svara voice of the Buddha’

⁴¹See § 1.3.2, p. 17

⁴¹Bailey gives ‘abundant’ from *baysga-* ‘thick’ (DKS p. 87) while I have followed Dresden’s translation (1955, p. 473)

⁴²This line precedes the example quoted under *bāsä-*, p. 38

- (49) KT 3 35.39 (*Lyrical-poem* Ch. 00266)
 še'rīda jūhe jsa khu ranīja bīna
 make music.3PL.PRES love.INS.SG with as jewelled.ACC.SG vīṇā.ACC.SG
 škūī
 touch.3SG.PRES

'They play with love as (one) plays a jewelled vīṇā'

Bailey reconstructs a Khot. base *žāraya- 'to sound' to which he compares Sogd. forms meaning 'to name' or 'to cry' such as Bud. zy'yr- 'to call', Man. žy'r 'to cry' as well as NPers. زغار *zāgār* 'cry'. Cheung lists these Sogd. forms under *garH (JC p. 107) but suggests the NPers. زغار *zāgār* is probably a borrowing from Sogd. He also gives Av. *auui gar* 'to praise' (with preverb *abi-). He does not, however, list Khot. še'r-, instead offering *pajarūnai* 'abuse'. His suggestion for an PIE root to these forms leads to PIE *g^uerH- 'Zustimmung bekunden' (LIV p. 210). On p. 106 Cheung gives another root *gard- 'to call' under which he lists, among others, Bactr. γῑρλ and (tentatively) Pashto *žar-/žaral* 'to cry, weep'—with this he references a phantom root *g^uerd^h- in LIV, but the reference only leads to, p. 210 *g^uerH- already mentioned.

Mayrhofer (EWAia 1 p. 468) gives *gar-* 'rühmen, ehren, ehrend aufnehmen, willkommen heißen, beifällig aufnehmen, preisen', cf. Ved. PP *gūrtá* 'willkommen', and *abhí-gūrta* 'gebilligt, ehrend angenommen' which fits nicely with Av. *auui gar* just given from JC.

Lastly, LIV has another root, which could deserve mention in connection with Khot. še'r-: *ġar- 'tönen, rufen' (LIV p. 161), under which are listed Old Irish -*gair*, *gairret* 'rufen' and Oss. *zæl-* 'tönen' and *zar-* 'singen'; and NPers. زار *zār-* 'schreien'.

ṣū 'horn'

Pl. *ṣve*, < PIE **ker*(*h*₂)- 'head and horn', cf. Av. *srū/sruuā-* 'horn, nail', Skt. *śíra-* 'head' and *śṛṅga-* 'horn', Gr. *χέρας* 'horn' (Nussbaum 1986). See example 47, p. 44, which has a goat's horn used in a (rudimentary) musical sense next to *śamga* 'conch'.

salāva- 'word, speech'

Loan from Indic *saṃlāpa* 'talking together, familiar or friendly conversation, discourse' (MW p. 1113), used in the 'one four quartered verse formula' (see § 3.2.1, p. 60.) as a gloss for Sanskrit *pāda* 'foot; a measure in verse'.

skau- 'to touch' (used for string instruments)

While this word can have a general, unmarked meaning 'to touch', it very often appears as the verb for playing stringed instruments. See example 49, p. 45 for the word used with the *vīṇa*.

⁴³*bīna*: *bīna*, p. 39; *bajāṣṣā*: *bajeṣṣ-*, p. 36; *pyūṣṭāndā*: *pyūṣ*, p. 36; *svara*: *svara-*, p. 47. For the 'speaking before a mountain' formula see also Z 6.36 given under *pātāy-*, p. 35.

< Ir. **skauH* (JC p. 347)—cf. (+ **ni-*) ? BSogd. *nšk'w*, CSogd. *nyšq'w*, MSogd. *nyšk'w* ‘to remove, bring out, take out’; Choresmian *k'w-* ‘to scratch, rub’; *m|kw-* ‘to pluck’; Ind. *skav-* ‘stochern, reißen’ (EWAia 2 p. 751); < PIE **skeu*_{h2} (LIV p. 561).

Also found negated as *ta-* participle *aškusta-* ‘untouched’ in the Buddhist ‘untouched instruments’ formula (§ 3.3.3, p. 69), which, in the lines immediately following example 48, p. 44 (Z 13.111) appears in near proto-typical form:

- (50) Z 13.114
cu vara bīnāña a-škusta a-daunda ṣṭāna a-kriya
 what there instruments un-pluck.PP.3PL un-blow.PP.3PL are un-strike.PP.3PL
 ‘the musical instruments which are there are unplucked unblown and unstruck’

Bailey, in *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan*, p. 44 (1982), suggests *škvīda* as a word for ‘strings’—presumably understanding it as a *-ta* participle from *skau* meaning ‘the touched, played upon’. Maggi’s full edition of the text (1997, p. 33) translates it, however, as the 3PL.PRES. This is, in fact, how Bailey himself reads it in DKS p. 414.

stav- ‘to praise’

< Ir. **stau-* (JC p. 366)—cf. Av. *stau-*, *stū-* ‘to praise’; MPers. *st'y-* ‘to praise’; MSogd. (+ **apa-*) *pstw* ‘to disown, renounce’; Bactr. (+ *abi-*) αβιστασοοαγο ‘denunciation’⁴⁴ NPers. ستودن *setūdan* ‘to praise’. Ir. < PIE **steu* ‘bekannt sein; preisen’ (LIV p. 600)—cf. Ind. *stav-* ‘preisen, loben, anrufen, besingen’ EWAia 2 p. 757; Gr. στεῦται ‘announces solemnly, brags, boasts’.

- (51) *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* 6. Chapter on the Four Great Kings

- a. Khot. (KT 1 p. 236.27v3)
bīśī lovapāla stavātāndā buljātā / ndā ysūṣṭāndā
 all world-regents praise.3PL.PAST honour.3PL.PAST approve.3PL.PAST
 ‘all the world-regents praised, honoured, approved’
- b. Skt. (*Suv.* p. 64, verse 22-23; tr. Emmerick 1970, p. 23)
sarva-loka-pāla-pūjitaḥ stavito varṇitaḥ
 all-world-protector-honour.PP.NOM.SG praise.PP.NOM.SG eulogise.PP.NOM.SG
praśaṃsitaḥ
 extol.PP.NOM.SG
 ‘has been honoured by all the world-protectors, has been praised, eulogised, extolled’

There exists also a root-noun *stava* ‘praise, eulogy, song of praise’:

⁴⁴Av. has same meaning with *apa-*

- (52) Z 3.99
ttānau vicittra stava narāmīndā pha-/-ru buljse
 it.ABL.SG various sons of praise.NOM.PL go out.3PL.PRES.ACT many virtues
baḷysānu uysnarāṇu biśśā
 Buddha.GEN.PL being.GEN.PL all

‘from it (Z 3.98: ‘a gentle, fragrant, good breeze’) issue various, numerous songs of praise, all the virtues of Buddhas, of beings’

Whether this is to be understood as cognate or loan, is not straightforwardly solvable.

svara ‘sound, noise, voice’

Loan from Ind. *svara*- ‘sound, noise’

- (53) Z 3.125
nauniku ggalgyīndi kho gyastāña svara
 gently thunder.3SG.PRES as divine.NOM.PL sound.NOM.PL

‘they thunder gently as it were divine sounds’

The phrase *gyastāña svara* clearly reminds of the *brahmasvarā* ‘voice like Brahma’s’ topos referenced several times throughout the *Book of Zambasta* (examples 48, p. 44 and 30, p. 36); and especially with *nauniku/nauna*- ‘softly/soft’ which is found also in KT 5 170.1 (Skjærvø 2002, IOL Khot 114/2) *naunä brahmasvarā* ‘the soft Brahma-svara’.

ho ‘speech, word, language’

Bailey (DKS p. 497) suggests that the word is ‘from base *ad*- ‘speak’, (*h*)*adu*- (like *mau* < **madu*-) to *pātāy*- ‘speak’. For this base see *pātāy*, p. 35. Emmerick in *Studies* 2 p. 173, however, dismisses this etymology and writes:

The clue to the etymology of *ho* is given by Chorasmian šʾwʿc ‘voice’, which W. B. Henning connected with Avestan *fauuāka*- ‘speech’ already in 1956 [sic; see Henning 1977] (*Acta Iranica*, 15, 497). Derivation of *ho* from **fravāka*- is straightforward: cf. *hor*- ‘to give’ < **fra*-*bara*- and *haṃdrauysia*- ‘flying through the air’ < **antara-vāzika*-, cf. Parthian ʾndrwʾz.

The word appears, often, as part of a kind colophon with the meaning ‘speech, language’. The following is a nice example from a Khotanese summary of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (see § 1.3.1, p. 17), explaining the motivation for the production of the text in a Khotanese version:

- (54) KT 3 60.44 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* tr. Bailey 1971)
hvaṇṇī hauna khu tṭye dā arthi
 Khotanese.INS.SG language.INS.SG so that *dharma* meaning
bvāre
 perceive.3PL.PRES.MID

‘In the Khotan language so that they understand the meaning of the *dharma*’

See also the derivation **āhau** ‘narrative’, p. 23.

hūlūka ‘a kind of rattle or small drum’

See example 7, given under **kargaka**, p. 24. Apparently a loan from Ind. (ultimately Dravidian), cf. Skt. *huḍukka* ‘a small rattle or hand drum’ (MW p. 1301; *Prolexis* p. 248). See also § 3.1.3, p. 56 for a thematic discussion of drums in Khotanese.

hvāñ- ‘to speak, preach’

Also with intransitive stem *hvañ-* ‘to be called’ (Emmerick 2009, p. 391) < Ir. **hyanH* (JC p. 144)—cf. Av. *x’an-* ‘to sound’; Sogd. *xw’n-*, BSogd. *xwn-*, CSogd. *xwn-* ‘to call, cry’, BSogd. *xwyn-* ‘to be called’; MPers. *xw’n* ‘to call’; NPers. خواند *k’āndan* ‘to read, sing, recite’; Ind. *svan-* ‘rauschen, tönen’ (EWAia 2 p. 790); PIE **sʷenḥ₂* ‘tönen, klingen’ (LIV p. 611), cf. Lat. *sonō, sonāre* ‘to make a sound’.

This word is particularly interesting for the present project, as its semantics often blur from unmarked speech into a more didactic ‘preaching’, especially of the *dharma*. See for example:

- (55) Z 22.193
hvāñīmā hastamu dātu
 speech.1SG.PRES best.ACC.SG *dharma*.ACC.SG

‘I will preach the best *dharma*’

or in the following example from the next chapter of Z, in a series of gerundives that bring out this meaning even more clearly:

- (56) Z 23.17
ttāna dātā hvaṇ’dye pyūvāñi pirāñi pūstāya
 therefore *dharma*.NOM.SG man.DAT.PL listen.GER write.GER book.LOC.SG
oṣku sājāñi arthi pulsāñi hvañei vātco gyaḍānu
 forever learn.GER meaning inquire.GER speak.GER then ignorant.DAT.PL

‘Therefore is the *dharma* to be listened to by man, to be written in a book forever, to be learned, its meaning to be inquired into, then to be preached to the ignorant’

and in a corresponding agent noun, *hvāñāka* ‘speakers, preachers’ which further brings this out:

- (57) Z 24.506
jāta *tā* *hvāñāka* *tvānai*
 disappear.PP.NOM.PL PRON.2.ENCL.OBL speaker.NOM.PL PRON.2.POSS
hastamā *dātā*
 best.GEN.SG *dharma*.GEN.SG

‘The preachers of your best *dharma* have disappeared for you’

and finally, as nominalised form *hvāñāmata*- ‘sermon, teaching’, which we find in the Khotanese *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* as a gloss for Skt. *nirdeśa*- ‘pointing out, indicating, instruction’:

- (58) *Sgh.* 256.19 (Skjærvø 2002, IOL Khot 6/2, p. 172; KT 5 79.149.v1)

a. Khot.

u pharāka īmu narīya uysnaura dīrvo’ gavo’
 and many today of hell.NOM.PL being.NOM.PL bad.LOC.PL stage.LOC.PL
ṣṭāre kye gyastānu gyastā hajvattetiḡyo
 stand.3PL.MID.PRES who god.GEN.PL god.GEN.SG wisdom.LOC.SG
dāt[ā]⁴⁶ hvāñāmato pyuyāre
dharma.ACC.SG teaching.ACC.SG hear.3PL.MID.PRES

‘and (there will be) today many beings of hell (who) are staying in bad states who will hear the preaching of the *dharma* consisting in the wisdom of the Lord.’

b. Skt.

bahūnāñ ca nairayikāñām satvānām vinipāta-saṃprasthitānām
 many and of hell beings.GEN.PL mistake-stood.GEN.PL
tathāgata-jñāna-nirdeśaṃ śrutvā
thathāgata-wisdom-instruction hear.ABS

‘and (there will be) many beings of hell, stuck in bad states, (who will have) heard the preaching of the *dharma* consisting in the wisdom of the Lord.’

The word is also used for the recitation of *mantras*—in the following fragmentary *dhāraṇī*, for example:

- (59) KT 5 160.304.a1 (Skt./Khot. *dhāraṇī*; IOL Khot 29/6, Skjærvø 2002, p. 236)
...na maṃdrā hvañā ṣa dasa gu’
 ... *mantra*.ACC.SG speak.3SG.PRES this string ...

For the other marked recitation word see the Middle Indic loan *vās-*, p. 43.

hvar- ‘to sound’

This verbal base is not attested on its own, but is probably found in the compounds **gahvardama** and **gahveradrānā** (see, p. 25), the first part of which Bailey analyses as

⁴⁶Skjærvø’s reading, Canevascini gives *dāti*

gahva- < *ava-* (> *ga-*) + *hvar-* ‘to sound’ < Ir. **hvar* (JC p. 149)—cf. *xʷar-* ‘to swear’, possibly *xʷaraiθiia-* ‘sounding’. PIE **sʷer* ‘tönen’ (LIV p. 613)—cf. Ved. *svar-* ‘tönen’ (EWAia 2 p. 792). See *svara*, p. 47 for the loan of the Indic cognate into Khotanese.

3. *Typologies*

Whereas in the previous chapter my focus was in the location and disambiguation of individual words, in this chapter my goal is to lay out a broader typology as drawn from the texts—a catalogue of material culture, metaphors and meta-lexical themes found in, or indicated by, the texts that relate in one way or another to music or performance. The idea, as outlined in the introduction, is for this to function as a rough map for further, more interesting interdisciplinary research by descriptively untangling some of the philological and religious faultlines that isolated attestations belie—taking heed of Gregory Schopen’s warning about ‘the danger of approaching any one piece of Buddhist sūtra literature—be it a phrase, a figure of speech, or a whole text—in isolation from its fellows.’ (Schopen 2005, p. 25)

This is organised along a gradient, which begins with material themes and extends to the more abstract. At the very beginning is the material culture attested by names of instruments (§ 3.1). This is followed by a section on repeated lexical formula which relate to sound and performance (§ 3.2). That, in turn, blurs into a section of more general literary topoi (§ 3.3)—musical metaphors and images, by and large, inherited along with Buddhist literature arriving into Central Asia from the South.¹ Finally, I try to categorise some of the more abstract and theoretical questions underlying performance as understood through Khotanese texts (§ 3.4). These include: oral transmission (§ 3.4.1), the emergent Mahāyāna discourse (§ 3.4.3), multi-lingualism and (tentatively) the question of an indigenous Iranian performance culture (§ 3.4.4).

3.1 Instruments

3.1.1 Chordophones

The *vīṇā*

The *vīṇā*² has provoked much study due to its long attested history in South Asia, at least in lexical continuity (Zin 2004, p. 322). Under *bīna* in § 2.3, p. 39, the discussion was located

¹This holds for the earlier texts. For the later period, towards the 10th century upper limit of Khotanese textual production, influences are more likely to come from China and Tibet.

²I use the Classical Sanskrit here as a stand-in for all instruments across Iranian and Indic contexts referred to by a complex of words bearing phonological similarities by loan or cognate. These sections are organised after the Hornbostel–Sachs typology of instruments, for which see von Hornbostel and Sachs 1914.

around the word itself, with the question of its exact material referent left open. James A. Millward summarises the problem in the South Asian sphere:

‘Vina’ thus became a generic Indian term for stringed instruments. Over the centuries, the name was applied to a succession of chordophones, suggesting that the term retained ancient gravity while its referent changed, thus reflecting the shifting significance of different instruments in India over time as well as periodic foreign interactions. (Millward 2018, p. 211)

The Khotanese sources support the chordophone hypothesis well, as is seen in examples of Khot. *bīna* used with the verb *skau-* ‘to touch’—such as in KT 3 35.39 from the *Lyrical-poem* fragment Ch. 00266³—or with the word *tīla-* ‘thread wire’—such as in the *Sudhanāvadāna*, KTB 25.123.⁴

More ambiguous is the kind of string instrument at play—a problem which KTB 25.123 also highlights, where the *bīna* is described as *haudasai tīla* ‘seven-hundred-stringed’, in a formula echoing the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 7.5.9.2.⁵ While Emmerick in his translation of the *Book of Zambasta* (where the word also comes up often) tends to ‘lute’, the large number of strings in the *Sudhanāvadāna* example gives a more harp-like impression, even as part of a celestial exaggeration. Further, the *Book of Zambasta* image of a *vīṇā* sounding ‘on account of the wind’ *kho bātāna šerāte bīna*⁶ appears to present a classical aeolian harp.⁷

As Monika Zin shows, the harp interpretation likely holds good back into the Vedic sources (2004, p. 323)⁸ and up into the 3rd century CE, where a ‘bowed’ or ‘arched’ harp—‘das aus einem hölzernen mit Leder bezogenen Gefäß, aus einem *upavīṇa* (? “unter-*vīṇā*”) bzw. mehrerer solcher, aus einem Stock mit Kopf und aus Saiten bestand.’—rather unproblematically, seems to be the referent of *vīṇā* in the earliest Buddhist sources,⁹ where it is described in detail both through visual depictions (as early as the decorative murals of the monastic cave complex Ajanta (Zin 2004, p. 325)), as well as textually in, for example, this striking passage from the

³See example 49 under *še’r-*, p. 45.

⁴See example 17 under *tīla-*, p. 29.

⁵See example 35 under *bīna*, p. 39 as well as § 3.2.5, p. 65 for specific discussion of this formula.

⁶See example 48 given under § 2.3, *še’r-*, p. 44.

⁷The kind of chance-procedural music production implied here is less suited to the mechanics of fretted lute instruments, where the sounding of a musical scale requires a more involved manipulating (fretting) of the strings. See also 3.3.3, p. 69.

⁸Of which the celestial-instrument formula also found in the *Sudhanāvadāna* seems at least an indirect continuation. See § 3.2.5, p. 65.

⁹While the evidence for the deeper linguistic root of the word is inconclusive (discussed under *bīna*, p. 39), that this form of ‘bowed’ or ‘arched’ harp is that projected back to the earliest Vedic usage of the word *vīṇā* speaks, very tentatively, to the idea that something (linguistic or material), was imported into the Central and South Asian sphere from the Near East, where this form of harp is first represented in the archaeological record (Lawergren 2008)—to which also: ‘the discovery of a seal bearing a carving of a harp from the ruins of Mohenjodaro in the Indus valley’ (Krishna Murthy 1985, p. 78). Roderick Knight (1985) has further suggested that, while previously assumed to have disappeared from the cultural landscape of South Asia (after about the 9th century), these earliest ‘bowed-harps’ can claim as a likely descendant the *bin-baja*, a 5-string harp still played today, exclusively by the Gogia, a small minority group in Central India.

Samyutta-nikāya,¹⁰ which provides a systematic material description of the *vīṇā* through an accident of philosophical argument:

SN IV.197¹¹

tassa taṃ vīṇaṃ āhareyyuṃ. taṃ enaṃ evaṃ vadeyyuṃ. ayaṃ kho sā bhante vīṇā yassā eso saddo evaṃ rajaniyo evaṃ kamaṇiyo evaṃ madaniyo evaṃ mucchanīyo evaṃ bandhaniyo ti. so evaṃ vadeyya. aḷaṃ me bho tāya vīṇāya taṃ eva me saddaṃ āharathā ti. taṃ enaṃ evaṃ vadeyyuṃ. ayaṃ kho bhante vīṇā nāma anekasambhārā mahāsambhārā anekehi sambhārehi samāraddhā vadati. seyyath'idaṃ ḍoṇiṇ ca paṭicca cammaṇ ca paṭicca daṇḍaṇ ca paṭicca upaveṇaṇ ca paṭicca tantiyo ca paṭicca koṇaṇ ca paṭicca purisassa ca tajaṇ vāyāmaṇ paṭicca evāyaṇ bhante vīṇā nāma anekasambhārā mahāsambhārā anekehi sambhārehi samāraddhā vadatī ti.

‘They would bring him the harp and tell him: “Sire, this is that harp, the sound of which was so tantalizing, so lovely, so intoxicating, so entrancing, so enthralling.” The king would say: “I’ve had enough with this harp, man. Bring me just that sound.” The men would reply: “This harp, sire, consists of numerous components, of a great many components, and it gives off a sound when it is played upon with its numerous components; that is, in dependence on the parchment sounding board, the belly, the arm, the head, the strings, the plectrum¹², and the appropriate effort of the musician. So it is, sire, that this harp consisting of numerous components, of a great many components, gives off a sound when it is played upon with its numerous components.”’

The problem in untangling the Khotanese referent arises from what was plausibly a bidirectional exchange of music and literature.¹³ Apparently at the same time as South Asian Buddhist literatures (containing the *vīṇā* as referenced above) were being imported into Khotan and wider Central Asia, a material culture was being exported from Central Asia to the South. That seems to have included instruments that became, associated with the name *vīṇā*: ‘Seit dem 2. Jahrhundert in Gandhara und dem 3. Jahrhundert im Süden erschienen in den Darstellungen Instrument, die die Form von birnenförmigen Lauten haben.’ (Zin 2004, p. 326) That the source of these pear-shaped harps could be Central Asian, is implied by the chronological drift south from Gandhāra to the rest of the subcontinent and by their marked spread in the Near East preceding their appearance there (Lawergren 2016). Alongside these, in the 5th century, forms of zither also appear in South Asia. Zin’s problematising of the literary sources containing

¹⁰Worth noting in placing a *Samyutta-nikāya* passage prominently in a discussion of the the Khotanese Buddhist world, is the apparent absence of any early *sūtras* or *Tripitika* collections in Khotanese manuscript fragments (2013, p. 15). But, as Giuliana Martini goes on to say, ‘the dearth of early Āgamas in Khotan (in Indic languages or Khotanese) may be explained partly by an early and at least to an extent continued presence of the oral transmission, and partly by the fact that, once the Mahāyāna had fully exploded in Khotan, the local predominant interest and patronage were by then invested in new scriptures’ (2013, p. 17). For further discussion of the relationship between Mahāyāna, orality and textual production see § 3.4.3, p. 78.

¹¹Translation from Bodhi 2000 with ‘harp’ substituted for ‘lute’

¹²Relevant to the use of plectrums, which is attested from the earliest depictions of the *vīṇā* (Zin 2004, p. 326) is also the brief consideration under *kargaka-*, p. 24 and below, § 3.1.3, p. 56.

¹³‘Les contacts ont toujours été étroits entre l’Inde et l’Asie centrale. L’Inde a absorbé de très nombreuse vagues d’immigrants venus, pas toujours très pacifiquement, via l’Asie centrale et l’actuel Afghanistan. Des Indo-aryens aus Moghols, la période maurya exceptée, ces immigrants se sont assuré le contrôle politique et militaire de parties plus ou moins importantes de l’Inde et, avant de s’assimiler entièrement, en ont souvent influencé la langue, la religion et la culture.’ (Fussman 1998)

the word *vīṇā* from this period on—‘bei der Analyse der literarischen Quellen ist oft gar nicht möglich festzustellen, welche Art von *vīṇā* gemeint war’ (2004, p. 326)—should, perhaps, be shouldered for the Khotanese sources also. It leaves us with an overall situation that Zin summarises as follows, narrowing Millward’s which opened this section:

Es ist offensichtlich, daß *vīṇā* nicht nur ein Oberbegriff war, sondern daß jede Epoche die *vīṇā* schlechthin hatte, die keiner näheren Beschreibung bedurfte, während die anderen Saiteninstrument mit einer zusätzlichen Benennung belegt oder gar mit einem ganz anderen Namen bezeichnet wurden. (Zin 2004, p. 321)

As discussed under *bīna*, p. 39, the *bīna*-word in Khotanese appears (from its derivational spread in the language, and its attestation in a variety of Iranian languages besides Khotanese) to inhabit a deeper linguistic layer than a recent loan as part of the baggage of Buddhist literature would account for. It seems plausible that the word and some kind of instrument existed in Khotan before the spread of Buddhism and its literature north. This linguistic and material culture can be understood as syncretic in a way that complicates the straightforward distinction between cognate and loan. An analogy is the way the Khotanese word *ggāha*- ‘verse’ (cognate with Skt. *gāthā*- discussed under § 2.3, *ggāha*-, p. 27) appears to have had its meaning affected by the encounter with Buddhist literature—a phonological cognate but a semantic loan. Alongside the phonological and the semantic, the material culture in the context of the *vīṇā* adds a further axis by which the directionality of the cultural/linguistic exchange is convoluted. The confusion and inconsistency of interpretation already in the Indological context where sources are far more abundant than for Khotanese is cause for caution, but in-depth study of the archaeology and art history of the Tarim Basin in conjunction with the textual record, following Zin’s model for the *vīṇā* in South Asia, could be fruitful—materially relevant from the textual sources, for example, is the *ranīja bīna* ‘jewelled *vīṇā*’ in the *Lyrical-poem* (KT 3 47.57).

tcamḡidai

The inclusion of this hapax under instruments is very tentative, as its single attestation comes from an idiomatic and somewhat obscure literary genre of ‘verse letters’ (see Maggi 2009, p. 408), of which the relevant section of the fragment has never been translated or even edited beyond Bailey’s KT 2. See § 2.3 *tcamḡidai*, p. 29 for a discussion of the word and its possible relationship to Sogd. *čyngry*’ and NPers. چنگ *čang*, as well as the Chinese *zheng* (*guzheng*). The lexical penetration of forms of *čang* into the wider Iranian sphere is definitely notable, however, as summarised in Lawergren 1990. Elsewhere, Lawergren describes ‘the light vertical angular harp (Pers. *čang*), which could have been invented in Iran, Central Asia or China.’ (2016) Given this apparent linguistic and material spread, one might *expect* some form of the instrument in Khotan, and the *tcamḡidai*-word’s association with another word, *ttīla*, which is used as the string word for the *vīṇā* also in KTB 25.123,¹⁴ further supports associating it with string instru-

¹⁴Example 17, *Sudhanāvadāna*, given under 2.3, *ttīlā*-, p. 29; see also § 1.3.2, p. 17.

ments. Should it indeed attest a form of harp related to other *čangs*—and, once again, this is very speculative—its isolated attestation might be explained by it existing in a more secular sphere than the overwhelmingly Buddhist, Khotanese literature would represent.

3.1.2 Aerophones

gaysakya ‘flute’

The predominant Khotanese wind instrument, from the texts at least, is the *gaysakya* ‘flute’—see § 2.3, *gaysakya*, p. 25 for a discussion of the word, which is a native Iranian formation, transparently derived from *gaysa* ‘reed’. The word’s derivation, in and of itself, gives an indication to the instrument’s material properties. The verb with which its playing is associated is *dam-* ‘to blow’.¹⁵ Two parallel terms *gahvardama* ‘pipe-blower’ (§ 2.3, p. 25) and *ga’hveradränü* (§ 2.3, p. 26) ‘pipe-sounder’ are found in the *Lyrical-poem* fragments, but it’s not clear that these would (or could) be the agent-nouns for a *gaysakya*, or rather, another instrument—perhaps even something called a *gahvar*?

śaṃga ‘conch’

A conch used as an instrument is found in the Late Khotanese retelling of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (see § 1.3.2, p. 17)¹⁶ and the *Jātakastava* (see § 1.3.2, p. 17).

The (Ind.) *śaṅkha* is prominent in early Buddhist iconography as described by Kirshna Murti in his *Archaeology of Indian Musical Instruments*: ‘The conch gets portrayal in the Sanchi reliefs frequently. It is invariably shown being played in the accompaniment of other instruments in royal processions. Thus the scene representing “Asija’s visit to Bodhi tree”, illustrates the conch five times.’ (1985, p. 64) Depictions of conches in the Ajanta monastic cave complex are also ‘profuse’ (p. 66), and ‘the discovery of conches from the monastic and temple areas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in the recent excavations, is highly suggestive of their religious function.’ (p. 65) He summarises:

The conch has always a sacred association for the Hindus. Its religious use in India has been continuous for several millennia. The temple ritual either gives an opening fanfare or plays a sort of rhythmical accompaniment. The conch is still regarded as a sacred instrument in the Hindu religion, and it is also an important ritual instrument in Buddhism in India, Tiber, Ceylon, South East Asia and over much of the Far East. (Krishna Murthy 1985, p. 67)

śū ‘horn’

The one Khotanese occurrence of a non-*śaṅkha* horn used as an instrument is found in the same line of the *Rāmāyaṇa* retelling as *śaṃga* above, specified as that of a goat.¹⁵ Interestingly,

¹⁵See § 2.3, *dam-*, p. 30.

¹⁶See example 47 given under *śaṃga*, p. 44.

in the Indic context, where the *śaṅkha* regularly appears, Kaufmann only has one references to a generic animal horn: in the reliefs of the fifth century CE Bhūmāra Śiva tempel (1981, p. 168). Krishna Murthy (1985) does not mention them at all.

3.1.3 Membranophones

Bailey, in DKS, gives three words with a meaning ‘drum’ in Khotanese, *kūsa*, *pātūśa* and *kargaka*. A fourth word *hūlūka* is not listed in DKS but attested in the *Lyrical-poem*, apparently as loanword from Indic. Finally, there are two idiophones, *ggātā’ka*- ‘bell’ and *ggamḍya*- ‘gong’. All of these are discussed with etymology and attestations in § 2.3 but are treated thematically with reference to a wider material typology below. As Kaufmann cautions, with reference to South Asian drums, however:

Die überwältigend große Zahl der indischen Trommeltypen und Hunderte von Trommelnahmen der indischen Vergangenheit, wie wir sie in der Sanskrit- und Tamilliteratur finden, bieten dem Forscher Anregung, Entsprechungen zwischen den auftauchenden Namen und den abgebildeten Typen herzustellen (Kaufmann 1981, p. 31)

kūsa

kūsa is the most secure of the Khotanese drum-words in its material association. It is also the most widely attested appearing reliably in texts with Sanskrit parallels as a gloss for Skt. *duṇḍhubi* and later *bheri*.¹⁷ *kūsa* further relates to a set of Iranian cognates, such as Persian کوس *kōs*, which Lawergren (2016) associates with iconographic depictions of kettledrums. This is consolidated through its parallel meaning in Khotanese, ‘vessel’, and the etymology of the wider Iranian cognate set through Ir. **ka(H)us-* ‘to pound’. While Kaufmann (1981, p. 32) is cautious in concretely associating Skt. *duṇḍubhi-* so concretely with a kettledrum, the gloss with the Khotanese (where the etymology is clear) might be indicative. It is also this word which appears in various forms of the *dharma*-drum topos, for which see § 3.3.1, p. 66.

kargaka

The interpretation of *kargaka* hinges on its etymology, which Bailey derives from the verbal base *kalj-* ‘to strike’, and its use in example 7, p. 24 (*Lyrical-poem* KT 3 38.35) with that same verb *kejīdu* ‘they strike’, paired with *hūlūka* (see below). The problem lies partly that it is only attested in the *Lyrical-poem* which is still a poorly understood text with no Sanskrit parallel with which to secure hapaxes.¹⁸ Bailey’s speculative translation of example 7 (KT 3 38.35) is ‘they beat the *kargaka*-drum with the fringes (?)’, which seems to relate *tthvrūcalaste* to *ttrava* ‘fringe (?)’ (DKS p. 142). Elsewhere (DKS p. 150) he offers ‘jingles’ for *tthvrūcalaste*, suggesting a kind of tambourine? An examination of the art-historical record for tambourines or even

¹⁷See examples 8 given under *kalj-*, p. 24; 25 and 26 under *p(v)ā’ha-*, p. 34; 17 under *ttila-*, p. 29.

¹⁸See § 1.3.3, p. 18 and § 3.2.4, p. 64.

beaters or plectrums with fringes *might* be a starting point in disambiguating here, although the search is still very open ended. The line from example 7 (KT 3 38.35) when taken as a whole, however—next to the more secure loan *hūlūka* (see below), the verb *kalj-* ‘to strike’ predicated to both instruments and, in turn, a possible etymology *kargaka*—could tip the argument in favour of a percussion instrument. It might, however, still be worth considering some kind of link to the Vedic *karkari* (appearing also in the Atharvaveda as *karkarikā-*) ‘eine Art Laute’ (EWAia 1 p. 313), ‘a kind of lute’ (MW p. 256).

RV 2.43.3c–d¹⁹

yād utpātan vādasi karkarīr yathā bṛhād vadema vidāthe suvīrāḥ ||

‘When, as you fly up, you speak like a lute...—May we speak loftily at the ritual distribution, in possession of good heroes.’

This is probably a variant form of the *gargara*, quoted in § 2.3 under *gahvardama*, p. 25. As it seems from Kaufmann (1981, p. 35), however, there is no evidence (material or otherwise) of any instrument under this name in later, post-Vedic history.

hūlūka

This represents a hapax in Khotanese just as *kargaka* above and attested in the same line (example 7, p. 24; *Lyrical-poem* KT 3 38.35). Bailey suggests it is a Dravidian-Sanskrit loan (DKS p. 150) from *huḍukka*. While Kaufmann doesn’t mention this name under his overview of South Asian drums, Monier Williams has ‘a kind of rattle or small drum’ (MW p. 1301). The rattle meaning fits with Bailey’s interpretation of *thvrrūcala-* as ‘jingles’ or ‘fringes’—on the other hand, it may also be where he got the interpretation from (*thvrrūcala* is also another hapax in that line). Modern images I can find online of instruments with name-variants such as *udukku*, *udukai* and *idakka* are small hour-glass shaped drums, concentrated in the South of India.

pātūśa

The nature of this instrument is hard to pin down from its scanty attestation in later variant forms in the *Lyrical-poem* and on the Staël Hostein Roll, none of which offer Sanskrit parallel. Nor does its proposed etymology, **pati-vas-* (*vas-* ‘make noise’) offer much in the way of material clues.²⁰ Most notable is the martial association in its one attestation in the *Book of Zambasta* (example 28 from § 2.3, *pātūśa*, p. 36, repeated below)

¹⁹Translation from Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 463.

²⁰See § 2.3, *pātūśa*, p. 35.

(30) Z 24.410.

durnānu ṣparggā burjsā hālstinu mästā ṣkalā pātuśānu ku
 of bows discharge flashing of spears great noise.NOM.SG drum.GEN.PL as
kāḍarna manīndā
 with sword they smite.3.PL.PRES

‘There is a discharge of bows, a great flashing of spears, a sound of drums as they smite with the sword’

Beyond this martial context, there is actually nothing which specifies a percussion instrument but, given that context, it might be worth considering the *paṭaha* ‘a kettledrum, a war-drum, drum, tabor’ (MW p. 579), which Krishna Murthy materially relates to the modern *daph*, forms of which are still very popular across the wider Persianate sphere: ‘on the war fields the drum like *paṭaha*, *dundubhi* etc., were struck.’ (1985, p. 54) Kaufmann (1981, p. 32) describes the *paṭaha* as falling, along with the *dundubhi* (see *kūsa* above) into the category of drums which could not be tuned. ‘Sie wurden nur zu bestimmten Zeiten und Gelegenheiten benutzt und kamen für das Ensemblesmusizieren weniger in Betracht.’

3.1.4 Idiophones

ggātā’ka- ‘bell’

Bells—as *ggātā’ka*-, (an Ind. loan, cf. Skt. *ghaṇṭā*-)—appear in a variety of texts with Buddhist content. Z 14.83 (see example 15 under *ggātā’ka*-, p. 28) has a latticed net of bells sounded by the winds, which Bailey links to the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* (lines 17–18), but could probably be traced back even further to descriptions of the mythical city of Kusāvati in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta*:

DN II.183²¹

tesaṃ kho pan’ ānanda kiṅkiṇika-jālānaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. seyyathāpi ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turīyassa suvītassa suppaṭipatālitassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca.

‘And the sound of those strings of bells when stirred by the wind was lovely, delightful, charming, enchanting—like the sound of the five kinds of musical instrument²² when well played by musicians skilled in the arts of musicianship.’

In the following chapter of *Zambasta* (15.113), a fragmentary line has *pale ggā’ka cī hataḷjsāre padamā(na)* ‘banners, bells, when they flutter in the wind’. As shown, the narrow appearances of the word in the Khotanese corpus link to a specific topos of untouched music stirred by the wind found widely in Buddhist literature, for which see § 3.3.3.

²¹Translation from Gethin 2008, p. 107.

²²For the *pañcaṅgika-turiya* see § 3.1.5.

ggamḍya- ‘gong’

The ‘gong’ as *ggamḍya*- (from Ind. *gaṇḍī*-) appears in chapter 2 of the *Book of Zambasta*²³ The motif in which it is mentioned there—as a percussion instrument which issues scripture when struck—echoes that found in chapter 3 of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* and the wider *dharma*-drum topos, for which see § 3.3.1, p. 66.

3.1.5 The *pañcaṅgika-turiya* (Buddhist five-fold typology of instruments)

A five-fold typology of instruments, the *pañcaṅgika-turiya*, is referenced throughout the Pali *suttas*, for example in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (DN II.183, quoted under § 3.1.4, *ggātā* ‘bell’). While the typology is never unpacked in the *suttas* themselves, it is elaborated on at various points in the commentaries, for example in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (*Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā*):

DN-a II.617.1–6²⁴

pañcaṅgikassā ti ātataṃ vitataṃ ātatavitataṃ susiraṃ ghanan ti imehi pañcah’ aṅgehi samannāgatassa. tattha ātataṃ nāma cammapariyonaddhesu bherī-ādīsu ekatalaṃ tūriyaṃ. vitataṃ nāma ubhayatalaṃ. ātatavitataṃ nāma sabbato pariyonaddhaṃ. susiraṃ nāma vaṃsādi. ghanan nāma sammādi.

‘Of five kinds: furnished with these five kinds: *ātata*, *vitata*, *ātatavitata*, *susira*, *ghana*. Regarding these, of various kinds of drum covered with leather, an *ātata* is an instrument with a single skin; a *vitata* is one with two skins, an *ātatavitata* is one that is completely covered, a *susira* is a bamboo flute, etc., a *ghana* is a cymbal, etc.’

These five kinds could be translated into Hornbostel-Sachs (1914) typology as: three kinds of membranophone, an aerophone and an idiophone. Noticeable, then, is the absence of a chordophone, given, as we have seen, the widespread depiction of stringed *vīṇās* in both Buddhist art and literature.

As Bailey (1982, p. 44) has pointed out, the expression is found in the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* (KT 1 248.72.r2) as *paṃca-turyāṅga*—what is interesting here is that, as far as I can tell, the Sanskrit version of the text (Nobel p. 40) does *not* use the expression at this point, rather it simply lists various instruments (including the *vīṇā*). Either the Khotanese translators were working from a different text to that in Nobel’s edition, or the *pañcaṅgika-turiya* term was embedded enough in their thought, that they considered it an appropriate and elegant replacement for the Sanskrit list.²⁵ The term is also found, as *paṃja-tturyāṅgu*, in Z 13.115.²⁶ In light of that attestation, *bīnāṇa vicitra* ‘various musical instruments’, Z 5.100²⁷ might also be considered a sloppy rendering of the *pañcaṅgika-turiya*—appearing

²³See example 9, p. 25.

²⁴Translation courtesy of Rupert Gethin (private communication).

²⁵Skjærvø apud Maggi 2009, p. 390 briefly discusses the various stages of textual development of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, and the question of which the Khotanese translators were drawing from—but also their tendency ‘to improve the text and adjust the language to contemporary usage.’

²⁶These lines are quoted and discussed under § 3.3.2, p. 68.

²⁷Given, with a gloss, as example 40 under *bīnāṇa*, p. 41.

as it does, as part of the ‘untouched instruments’ topos²⁸ which the Z 13.115 *paṃja-tturyāṅgu* attestation also represents.

3.2 Formulas

Writing on ‘oral literature of Iranian descent’, Mauro Maggi briefly cites a ‘stylistic tendency to variation rather than repetition’ (2009, p. 337).²⁹ Be that as the case may be, many Khotanese texts exhibit a kind of repetition that should, perhaps, be traced to early Buddhist stylistics, often in translations of Indic originals, but also in original Khotanese compositions inheriting that style. Formulaic language in and of itself can be considered a phenomenon of a kind of ‘composition in performance’ (Lord 1960), and indeed the early Buddhist context has, at various points, been considered within that framework.³⁰

But, while the use of formulaic language in the deeper Indo-Iranian imaginaire is understudied, and the subsequent reencounter of an Indic, Buddhist literature with an indigenous Iranian tradition³¹ forms a core of this thesis, investigating the wider mechanics of that formulaic language constitutes its own project beyond what I am trying to do here. For the time being, it is enough to understand the formulas discussed below as part of a larger package of Buddhist literature imported into Khotan. Furthermore, many formulas (especially those that occur in original Khotanese compositions) blur the line between a lexical formula and a looser topos, of the kind I will discuss in the following section, § 3.3 ‘Wider topoi of sound and music’.

It does seem relevant, though, to list a selection that present a marked lexical repetition, in acknowledgement of a broader framework of oral literature and performance. Those ‘formulas’ listed as part of this separate section, however, are only those that relate *also* in their content to sound and music.

3.2.1 One four-quartered verse

Sgh. 95.1 Khot.

kʸe halci balysūñāvīysā īndā ce mara saṃghāṭu sūtru vātā
 whatever Bodhisattvas are who here *Saṃghāṭa sūtra* contained
tcūru-salāvu śśau ggāhu pyūvāʾnde
 four-speech one verse hear.3PL.PRES.SUBJ.MID

‘whatever *bodhisattvas* there are who would hear here (only) one four-quartered verse contained in the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra*’

²⁸See 3.3.3, p. 69.

²⁹See also: Skjærvø 1999, p. 314.

³⁰For early Buddhist oral culture see Cousins 1983; Allon 2022; McGovern 2019 and, briefly, Lamotte 1958, p. 164 (Quoted in § 3.4.1, p. 75).

³¹Each are inheritors to oral literatures that are, at their root, legible cognates, even sharing certain formulas (Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 14)

Sgh. 95.1 Skt.

ye bodhisatvā mahāsatvā asmāt saṃghāṭād
 what bodhisatva mahāsatvā 'great-being' from this Saṃghāṭa
 dharma-paryāyād antaśaś catuṣ-padikām api gāthāṃ śroṣyanti
 dharma-exposition so much as four-footed even verse hear.3PL.FUT

'whatever *bodhisattvas*, great beings will hear even as much as a four-quartered verse from this *Saṃghāṭa* dharma-exposition'

This formula repeats throughout the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra*: in Sanskrit rigidly as *catuṣ-padikā gāthā*, but in Khotanese with two variations: *tcūra-salāvu* (*Sgh.* 87.2, 3; 95.1, 3) and *tcūra-patū* (*Sgh.* 87.2; 94.1).³² It exaggerates a form of merit generation through the hearing, recitation and writing of the *sūtra*. That general theme is expressed in various ways throughout the text beyond the four-quartered verse formula:

Sgh. 31.2 Khot.

cu rru vā ce ttū saṃghāṭu sūtro pīrāte o vāśātū
 how even then who this Saṃghāṭa sūtra writes or recites

'how much more (he) who writes or recite this *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra*'

Sgh. 31.2 Skt.

kah punar vādo yaḥ saṃghāṭaṃ sūtram likhīṣyati vācayīṣyati
 what more talk who Saṃghāṭa sūtra will write will recite

'what more to say (of him) who will write, recite the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra*'

The lines quoted above are typical of a self-reference that dominates the whole *sūtra*. As Gregory Schopen (2003) notes, this wider theme—expressing the merit of hearing, reciting and copying texts (and even versions of this 'four-quartered verse' refrain)—is found across Mahāyāna literature.³³ The Khotanese *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and its Sanskrit parallel—which Schopen discusses at length—also have a close parallel to the *Sgh.* lines quoted above:

Vajr. 21b Khot. (Hoernle 1916 p. 255)

dahā ovā strīyai cu tṭye vajrachedakyi
 man or woman who this.GEN.SG Vajracchedikā.GEN.SG
 (prajñāpā)rā(m)m(i) vīra tcūrampatīśau gāhā śau dīṣyati vāśīyā
 Prajñāpāramittā.GEN.SG in four-footed verse one holds recites
 sājū haṃdārāṃṇā vīstarna uysdīṣīya
 learns to others in full explains

'A man or a woman who of this *Vajracchedikā* Prajñāpāramitā would preserve one four-footed verse, read it, grasp it, or explain it in full to others'

³²*Sgh.* 94.1 also has variant *cātuṣ-pato* (Hoernle manuscript 24, Canevascini 1993, 244). See § 2.3 *salāva-*, p. 45 and *pata*, p. 34.

³³Schopen takes the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* as representative of this theme. On texts and merit in Mahāyāna see also Schopen 2005, Chapter 2; Kieschnick 2020, Chapter 3 for the Chinese context; Sander 1991, p. 142 and Martini 2013 for the Khotanese context; also further discussion in § 3.4.3, p. 78.

Vajr. Skt. 11 (ibid.)

<i>yaś</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>kulaputro</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>kuladuhitā</i>	<i>veto</i>	<i>dharma-paryāyād</i>
what	and	family-son	or	family-daughter	or-then	<i>dharma</i> -exposition
<i>antaśaś</i>	<i>catuṣ-pādikām</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>gāthām</i>	<i>udgrhya</i>	<i>bhāṣyeta</i>	<i>vā</i>
as much as	four-footed	even	verse	grasps	speaks	or
<i>saṃprakāśyeta</i>	<i>vā</i>					
explains	or					

‘...and then a man or woman who grasps and recites and explains even one four-quartered verse of this *dharma*-exposition’

And, finally, the *Book of Zambasta* also has a nice example of a very similar refrain in a fragmentary half line:

Z 15.133

<i>kye</i>	<i>buro</i>	<i>ttutu</i>	<i>hvanau</i>	<i>pvāte</i>	<i>yāva</i>	<i>kyai</i>	<i>pīde</i>	<i>(parīya)</i>
who	ever	this	teaching	hears	as far as	who	to write	(should order)

‘whoever should hear this teaching as far as who (should order) him to write’

As Schopen argues the motif appears, at least at first, to represent an attempt by orthodox reformists to redirect the focus of Buddhist practitioners from the material sponsorship of relic and *stūpa* cults back to the doctrine and the texts. But (whether by intention or not) this ultimately only served to ‘substitute one similar cult (the cult of the book) for another similar cult (the cult of relics)’ (p. 497). While early Mahāyāna text compilers may have been honestly orthodox, the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* is marked by its extreme repetition of self-reference and the comparative lack of reference to anything doctrinal. Canevascini summarises its character as follows:

[T]he doctrinal portions of the text are almost non-existent if compared with the portions which describe the astonishing merit to be gained by hearing, writing or reciting the *sūtra* itself. Moreover, the short doctrinal portions themselves—as far as a linguist like the author of this edition can judge—seem at times quite confused. [...] All points to the assumption that the authors of the text were—the least one can say—quite unconcerned with the subtle distinctions of the doctrine: they probably wanted to produce from the beginning a book aimed at propagating the Mahāyāna among a large public. In view of the popularity enjoyed by this text during many centuries their success cannot be doubted. (Canevascini 1993, xii)

One might say, then, that the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* and this repeated formula already represents a situation—beyond the initial moment of honest orthodoxy Schopen describes—where ‘the book itself was—again, it seems, rather early—fetishized’ (2003, p. 497). It certainly shows a concern for the speaking and performance of texts, which I will discuss more in § 3.4 p. 74, and especially §§ 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 where I will discuss ‘the cult of the book’ as part of wider Mahāyāna doctrine.

3.2.2 Flowers, incense, music

A formula in which music is mentioned as one of a triad of offering (*dāna*)³⁴ (*spāta*- ‘flower, bud’, *bū*²- ‘incense, perfume’, *bīnāñā*- ‘music’) appears repeatedly throughout the *Book of Zambasta*,³⁵ as well as in the *Manjuśrīnairātmyāvatāra-sūtra*.³⁶ *Sgh.* 108.6 also has something approaching the formula, but without music. That flowers, music and incense are used as *dāna* objects—as opposed to the giving of alms and food—has a pan-Buddhist heritage, traceable to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, a *sutta* from the early Pali canon describing the Buddha’s death. In that text two strands of musical association in Buddhism cross—of celestial music related to the natural world (and its ability to display a degree of automatism) and the aesthetics of royal pageantry. For the first, two *sāl* trees are personified at the Buddha’s death, raining their flowers in *dāna*:

DN II.137–138³⁷

atha kho bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena siha-seyyaṃ kappesi pāde pādaṃ accādhāya sato sampajāno. tena kho pana samayena yamaka sāla sabba-phālī phullā honti akāla-pupphehi. te tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti taṭṭhāgatassa pūjāya. dibbāni pi mandārava-pupphāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti tathāgatassa pūhāya. dibbāni pi candana-cuṇṇāni antalikkhā papatanti tāni tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti tathāgatassa pūjāya. dibbāni pi turīyāni antalikkhe vajjenti tathāgatassa pūjāya. dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti tathāgatassa pūjāya.

‘Then the Blessed One lay down on his right side as a lion does, covering one foot with the other, mindful and fully aware. Now at that time those two *sāl* trees were all abloom with flowers out of season, and they rained down their blossoms in worship of the Tathāgata, showering and covering his body. Divine *mandārava* flowers too fell from the sky, raining down in worship of the Tathāgata, showering and covering his body—likewise divine sandalwood powder. Divine instruments were sounded in the sky in worship of the Tathāgata, and divine songs were being sung.’

In the above passage, the core ingredients of the formula come together: (celestial) music, flowers and (for its scent, like incense) sandalwood. This is then mirrored later in the *sutta* when, after the Buddha’s death, his body is venerated in scenes of royal pageantry:

DN II.159³⁸

atha kho kosiṇārakā mallā purise āṇāpesuṃ tena hi bhāṇe kusiṇārāyaṃ gandhamālaṃ ca sabbaṃ ca tāḷāvacaraṃ sannipātethā ti

‘the Mallas of Kusiṇārā instructed their people to gather together in Kusiṇārā incense and garlands and all kinds of musical instrument.’

³⁴Donative objects with which the Buddha, or an image of the Buddha, is honoured.

³⁵See example 39 given already under § 2.3, *bīnāñā*- p. 2.3; but also Z 2.242, 5.87, 23.140–1 and 22.230 (+ *stavyau* ‘with eulogies’).

³⁶P 4099, line 412—on the composite nature of the *Manjuśrīnairātmyāvatāra-sūtra*, however, see Maggi 2009, p. 357. As Emmerick (1968b, pp. 446–447) has shown, this line is directly lifted from Z 5.87.

³⁷Translation from Gethin 2008, p. 79

³⁸Translation from Gethin 2008, p. 92

These scenes are found abundantly in the earliest Buddhist art-historical records: at *Sāñci*, for example, where, as Kaufmann (1981, p. 64) describes, ‘Mallas musizieren und tanzen vor einem *Stūpa*’. The *Stūpa*, of course, is the original stand in for the Buddha’s body.

Of course, one might also consider a situation inverse to the narrative my quoting of the sources implies—that a practice of religiously honouring the Buddha reflecting secular courtly aesthetics (and therefore, among other things, music) had already developed independently of the texts, which were modified to reflect, or even justify this. Which interpretation one chooses depends, of course, on one’s dating and chronology of early Pali *suttas*. This double aspect of music as a royal symbol and as the celestial component of the natural world’s automatism I will discuss further under § 3.3.4 and § 3.3.3 respectively.

3.2.3 Wolves, dogs, owls

There is a loose formula that repeats throughout the *Book of Zambasta* whenever an unpleasant place is mentioned, in particular a cemetery. See example 20, quoted under *nuvad-*, p. 31; as well as Z 20.30, 21.30 and 24.420. Variations appear with various animals making noise, howling: wolves, owls, vultures, dogs, ravens—with dogs appearing most frequently. Worth noting is the clear negative association in the *Book of Zambasta* of dogs with death, which is common to South Asia, but contrary to Iranian Zoroastrianism. The *nāya* ‘noise’ of the *birgām ttralaphām* ‘ravenous wolves’ in the battle scene from the *Rāmāyaṇa* summary (KT 3 72.157–158; tr. Bailey 1940, p. 568) could also be understood in this light.

3.2.4 Do not persist in lamentation

While it can barely be termed a formula—appearing as it does, only twice—a refrain from the *Book of Zambasta*, Chapter 17 is worth mentioning for including a lamenting word,³⁹ and hinting at a broader topos of Khotanese (and perhaps wider Iranian) love poetry:

Z 17.1

ma thājsi kyī . drrāha hā bīkā ttu dāśu
NEG persist lament . speed there beloved that direction

‘Do not persist in lamentation. Speed in the direction of your beloved.’

Z 17.27

ma thājsi cī hā ttu dīśo heīmā ayso
NEG persist lament there that direction send I

‘Do not persist in lamentation. I will send you away in that direction’

³⁹See § 2.3, *cī-/kyī-* p. 28.

Chapter 17 as a whole, but particularly those lines, strike tonal resonances with the end of the *Lyrical-poem*.⁴⁰

KT 3 38.50–52; tr. Kumamoto 2000, p. 4
puññu da arāhaṃda cū saṃtsārā nāraṃda
naṃ ysī ra brrī aśtā na vā jūhai bvā(re)
a mūṣtu kīra yuḍiṃ haṃdara ysaṃthv(ā)
ca ma ṣṭāṃ jū hauji rri vyattive panūḍai

‘The virtuous *arhants* who have gone out of *saṃsāra*,
 in their heart there is no beloved, nor do they know love-making.
 In other births I have done a merciless deed,
 (I), whom my lover leads astray everyday.’

It has occurred to me that Chapter 17, although fragmentary, stands out next to much of *Zambasta*. It doesn’t draw from any obvious, earlier Buddhist source, and the language carries a louder ambivalence to the tensions between worldly pleasures and spiritual enlightenment—a kind of, ‘god make me chaste, but not yet’, strikingly echoed in the lines from the *Lyrical-poem*. That text presents a form still steeped in Buddhist imagery but quite different from *Zambasta*’s self-conscious *sūtra* style. Perhaps something of an indigenous, Iranian literature is filtering through the descriptive gaps between the doctrinal chapters of *Zambasta*. Discussed further under § 3.3.5, p. 72.

3.2.5 The (Seven) hundred-stringed *vīṇā*

This formula, describing a *vīṇā* or *vāṇā* with 100 strings, in fact nests the earliest attestation of the instrument in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (7.5.9.2) already given as example 35 under *bīna*, p. 39. It is repeated in variety of texts from the later Vedic layers—Zin (2004, p. 326) provides the following references: *Śaṅkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra* XVII.3–1; *Mānavaśrauta-sūtra* VII.2.7.4; *Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra* XVI.21—but I have been unable to find any attestations in early Buddhist texts.⁴¹ Strikingly, then, the formula makes an appearance in the Khotanese Buddhist literature, in a late Khotanese composition, the *Sudhanāvadāna*.⁴²

⁴⁰These lines, put together, also offer the gentlest hint of a kind of resigned, yearning idiom that comes to dominate the Classical Persian *ghazal*. I’m thinking, for example, of the last lines of Sa’di’s well known *ghazal* 268, *ey sārābān*: سعدی فغان از دست ما لایق نبود ای بی وفا | طاقت نمی آرم جفا کار از فغانم می رود *ey sārābān*: ‘Sa’di, insincere, this lament is not worthy of us. I have no strength, oppressor, it goes from this lament’ (Sa’di 268)

⁴¹Krishna Murthy 1985, p. 20 suggests an attestation in the ‘*Dhamma-Aṭṭhakathā*’ (*DHA* I.125) which I have been unable to trace.

⁴²One possible explanation for this image—which is present in the Vedic literature, apparently scarce in the early Pali Buddhist literature, and then reappears in the Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna*—is the lateness of the *Sudhanāvadāna* compared to some of the other sources I have discussed in this thesis. Maggi (Maggi 2009, p. 362) notes: ‘the Khotanese version, that is not a translation of any of the known versions of the story, shows exclusive agreements with the Sanskrit *Sudhanakinnaryavadāna* of the 11th-century Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra’. It may well, then, be carrying with it images from other Indic sources which had not otherwise been preserved in the earlier Buddhist literature.

(17) KTB 25.123 (*Sudhanāvadāna*)⁴³

ysārā kūsa hvastāda ha bāḍa mīysārak haudasai ttila bīnau(na)
 thousand drum beat all time huge 700-having string instrument
samautta
 accompanied

‘they beat a thousand drums all the time, huge ones, accompanied by seven hundred-stringed instruments’

While Coomaraswamy (1930, p. 251) has tried to read in the 100 strings a real instrument—a kind of ‘Tyrolese zither’—the exaggeration of the Khotanese example speaks to Zin’s (2004, p. 326) suspicion: ‘es fällt schwer, sich ein wirkliches Instrument darunter vorzustellen’. Zin imagines a cultic object ‘bei dem die Erzeugung von Tönen nicht die wichtigste Aufgabe war’. The idea of a celestial instrument with exaggerated, impossible physical characteristics certainly fits into a Buddhist context, where celestial music and instruments impossibly sounding of their own accord are a popular topos (see § 3.3.3) which, in turn, could be understood in the context of instrument cults, especially drums.

3.3 Wider topoi of sound and music

3.3.1 The *dharma*-drum

In the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, an early Pali *sutta*, a drum is mentioned in a passing but striking phrase. Immediately following his enlightenment, on his way to Isipatana (the deer park where he will give his first sermon to the five disciples) the Buddha is confronted by Ājīvaka Upaka, another wandering ascetic. He is asked about his appearance (in a post-enlightenment glow) and who his teacher is. In his reply, the Buddha speaks of an *amatadundubhi* ‘drum of the deathless’:

MN I.171⁴⁴

dhammacakkaṃ pavattetuṃ gacchāmi kāsinaṃ puraṃ |
andhabhūtasmiṃ lokasmiṃ āhañchaṃ amatadundubhin || ti

‘I go to the city of Kāsi to turn the wheel of dharma,
 In a world become blind, I will beat the drum of the deathless.’

Close versions of this formula are found in the Khotanese and Sanskrit *Saṅghāṭa-sūtras*—there with forms of the *dharma*-drum compound which I am using to refer to the topos as a whole:

Sgh. 256.17 Khot.

⁴³Example 17, § 2.3, *tthila*, p. 29. See also § 1.3.2 p. 17.

⁴⁴Translation adapted from Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995, p. 263

u imu dātīnau kūsu kaljīndā
and today *dharmic*⁴⁶ drum they beat

‘and today they beat the *dharm*-drum’

Sgh. 256.17 Skt.

adya mahā-dharma-dundubhiṃ parāhanhiṣyanti
today great-*dharm*-drum they will beat

‘today they will beat the great *dharm*-drum’

The only overtly supernatural aspect to the drums of this formula is found in the Pali compound *amata-dundubhi-* ‘deathless-drum’. This can be read in two ways: as a *karmadhāraya*-*tatpuruṣa* ‘the deathless (adj.) drum’, or a genitive *tatpuruṣa* ‘the drum *belonging to* the Deathless’—as Bodhi and Ñāṇamoli translate it. A cosmological point is also important: where it might be tempting to understand ‘deathless’ as simply meaning ‘divine’, deities in Buddhist cosmology are precisely not deathless, trapped in *saṃsāra* (the cycle of rebirth) as all beings are. In that sense, ‘deathless’ would have a specific Buddhist referent. K. R. Norman (1994) understood it, narrowly, as an epithet of *nirvaṇa*. That later Sanskrit compilers use *dharm* as a descriptor for the drum, suggests perhaps that this was their interpretation. Khotanese translators, however, use *datīnau*,⁴⁷ but also *jastū’ñā* ‘heavenly, divine’ (KT 3 114.6r3 *Bhadracaryā-deśanā*).⁴⁸

Other *dharm*-drums found in the Khotanese Mahāyāna literature—which I would understand as developments of this early *sutta* formula—are associated with a kind of magical automatism. This is best characterised by a recurring motif of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, from which the *sūtra* itself takes its name. The following passage from Chapter 3 is particularly illustrative:

Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra, Chapter 3

Khotanese (KT 1 242.6ov2–61r2)

śye śivi ahaṃpiḍā śāna . hūñā dyai haḍara ba’ysa . |
ysaragūnā tcarṣu kūśā . cu biśā hā|lā pattaviya ||
brrūāṃdai khūji urmaysdi . vīvīya harviśā vīra . |
harūñe biśā dīśā’ vīra . | dyai ra biśā hālā ba’ysa ||
raṃnīnām baṃbhyām dīna . vīrulinām āysnām vīra . |
paḍā ṇaṃdā ṇesta . | sa-yerye tvaḍa parṣe’ ||
dye ra vara brraṃmaṃ rūvāna . kejāma tte śirā kūśā |
tī vā krrīsāme beḍa . śilām | nraysīra uvāra ||

Sanskrit (Nobel, p. 20)

ekarātram atandritena svapnāntaraṃ gataṃ mayā |
dundubhī rucirā dṛṣṭā samantakanakaprabhā ||
jvalamānā yathā sūryaḥ samantena virocate |
prabhāsitā daśa dīśo dṛṣṭā buddhāḥ samantataḥ ||
niṣaṇṇā ratnavrkṣeṣu vaiḍūrye ca prabhāsvare |
anekaśatasahasrāyāṃ parśadāyāṃ puraskṛtāḥ ||

⁴⁷The Khotanese gloss for ‘*dharm*’, see § 2.3 *dāta-*, p. 30.

⁴⁸Kaufmann (1981, p. 31) briefly discusses early Indian drum cults, in which drums were ritually honoured as donative recipients with, apparently, some kind of divine status.

dr̥ṣṭo brāhmaṇarūpeṇa parāhananta dundubhim |
tena ākoṭyamānāyā ime ślokāś ca niścārāḥ ||

Translation from the Sanskrit (Emmerick 1970, p. 9)

‘One night when I was not tired I fell asleep and saw a gleaming drum with a golden light everywhere. Shining like the sun it beamed everywhere. It glowed in the ten directions. I saw Buddhas everywhere. They were sitting on jewelled trees and on beryl seats at the head of an assembly of numerous hundreds of thousands. I saw one in the form of a brahmin beating the drum, and while it was being struck by him, these verses came forth.’

This image is clearly echoed in the *Book of Zambasta*, Chapter 2,⁴⁹ only with a gong replacing the drum. Bhadra, a magician, has tried to trick the Buddha in a test of his omniscience, by inviting him to a cemetery⁵⁰ which he has disguised as a house through magical *mantras*.⁵¹ The Buddha agrees to come, but as Bhadra tries to remove the spells and reveal his trick, proving the Buddha’s lack of omniscience in having come to a cemetery, nothing happens—no cemetery is revealed. Vajrapāṇi hands Bhadra a gong, telling him to strike it. The gong, once struck, issues verses which convert Bhadra:

Z 2.104

dasau diśa namasāte badṛ āvalāte ggaṃḍyo māstu |
tātū ttaṃdrāma pharāka ggaṃḍye jsa ggāha narānda .

‘Bhadra worshipped the ten directions. He struck the gong loudly. These and many such verses came out of the gong’

The *dharma*-drum, it seems, begins its literary life in a triumphant exclamation of the Buddha’s enlightenment and intention to preach. At some point on its journey to the later Mahāyāna *sūtras* that declaratory sense morphs into drums (or gongs) which themselves preach and, in their visual radiance (seen especially in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*), reference *sambhogakāya* imagery.⁵²

This visual radiance, in turn, blurs into a kind of synaesthesia. So, where the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* drum is radiant gold, it also radiates the *dharma* in verse. That synaesthesia, at least, can be linked back to the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* where the *amatadundubhin* is contrasted with an *andhabhūta-loka*- ‘a world become blind’—lack of sight, darkness, as a stand in for ignorance, dispelled through sound (the teachings) which is also, therefore, light.

3.3.2 Synaesthesia sound and light

Continuing the synaesthetic theme, but drawing from outside of the *dharma*-drum topos, lines from *Zambasta*, Chapter 13, offer another neat (in its relevant ambiguity) juxtaposition of the

⁴⁹Chapter 2 is itself a retelling of a pan-Buddhist story, of which the original Sanskrit is lost, but two Chinese translations and Tibetan rendering survive, alongside a version in the Pali commentary on the *Dhammapāda* (Emmerick 1989a).

⁵⁰The *Zambasta* cemetery is said to be located in Rajagṛha, the city also associated with the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* episode.

⁵¹For *mantras*, see 3.3.5, p. 72.

⁵²The Buddha’s supramundane ‘Enjoyment Body’, see Williams 2009, p. 181.

senses:

Z 13.114–115⁵³

cu vara bīnāña aṣkusta adaunda ṣṭāna akrīya ||
pañja-tturyāṅgu⁵⁴ briyūnā vasatu bīnāñi narandā |
ttrāmu bā'yyau jsa narandā balysāni dātā vicitrā ||

‘The musical instruments that are there remain unplucked, unblown, unstruck. (But) a lovely concert with five kinds of instruments came forth clearly. So, from the rays came forth the varied Buddha-*dharma*.’

As just discussed, in the Buddhist context this fits straightforwardly with the metaphorical equation of darkness to ignorance. Returning to Chapter 2 of the *Zambasta* (discussed with the *dharma*-drum):

Z 2.172

trāmā tvī ttarandarā balysa lakṣaṇyau āysāte ysānde |
samu kho ggarā ysarnai vūḍā ratanyo jsa pāsāru vīri ||
ṣṣai ne urmaysde haḍāya o ne purra haṃbaḍa ṣṣīve |
ttrāmu ttāḍetu janīndā kho thu jātai balysa gyaḍḍīju ||

‘Such your body, Buddha, shines adorned with *lakṣaṇas* as a golden mountain covered with jewels (shines) in the sunshine. Even the sun by day or the full moon by night do not so destroy the darkness as you, Buddha, have destroyed the darkness of ignorance’

But, as was discussed under § 2.3, *āljs-*, p. 23, that synaesthesia can be traced quite deep into Indo-Iranian, with Kümmel giving both the meanings ‘singen’ and ‘strahlen’ for the reconstructed PIE **h₂erk^u*- (LIV p. 240), and Mayrhofer similarly for Ved. *arc-* (EWAia 1 p. 114). The Ṛgvedic passage Mayrhofer himself cites for the root, plays nicely on the pun:

RV 1.92.3⁵⁵

rúśantam bhānūm āruṣīr aśīśrayuḥ ārcanti nārīr apāso ná viṣṭībhiḥ

‘A gleaming beam have the reddish ones propped up. They chant [/shine] like women busy with their labours’

There is, finally, a nice line in *Zambasta* (22.186), which offers an alternative and even more lucious synaesthesia, describing how *dātu berāñite amṛtu māñamdu* ‘[the Buddha] will rain down the *dharma*, resembling nectar’.

3.3.3 Untouched instruments

The second aspect of the lines Z 13.114–115, just quoted under § 3.3.2 with reference to synaesthesia, is an image of untouched instruments, producing music without a player. This topos appears in various guises throughout both the Khotanese, and wider Buddhist literatures, and has been touched on already from various angles: the *vīṇā* (§ 3.1.1, p. 51; and 100-stringed § 3.2.5,

⁵³The second half of Z 114 was already quoted, with a gloss, as example 50 in 2.3 under *skau-*, p. 45.

⁵⁴For the *pañcaṅgika-turiya* see § 3.1.5, p. 3.1.5.

⁵⁵Translation from Jamison and Brereton 2014, p. 226.

p. 65), bells (§ 3.1.4, p. 58), the *pañcaṅgika-turiya* (§ 3.1.5, p. 59) and even *dāna*-objects given by automatic, natural phenomena (§ 3.2.2, p. 63). I would draw out this last idea as core to the topos.

In a passage from the *Mahāśudassana-sutta*, already quoted under § 3.1.4, p. 58 (DN II.183), bells are stirred by the wind creating an ‘enchanted’ sound like the *pañcaṅgika-turiya*.⁵⁶ That passage, in fact, perfectly parallels a passage from earlier in the *sutta*, with trees in place of bells:

DN II.171–172⁵⁷

tāsaṃ kho paṇ’ ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turiyassa suvinītassa suppaṭipatālītassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rājanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca evaṃ eva kho ānanda tāsaṃ tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rājanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca.

‘And the sound of those trees when stirred by the wind was lovely, delightful, charming, enchanting—like the sound of the five kinds of musical instrument when well played by musicians skilled in the arts of musicianship.’

As was seen in the passage of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (which forms a kind of frame narrative to the *Mahāśudassana-sutta*) already quoted under § 3.2.2, p. 63 (DN II.137–138), there is a kind of animistic interest in endowing nature, especially trees,⁵⁸ with donative agency. Where in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* the trees rain flowers, and *dibāni pi turiyāni antalikkhe vajjenti* ‘divine instruments were sounded in the sky’, in the *Mahāśudassana-sutta* the trees themselves provide the music.⁵⁹ A version of that image is, indeed, precisely what we find nested in the same broader passage from *Zambasta* 13:

Z 13.112–113

tteri cakkravartti rrundā hau- -ta cu tte kāljsāṇa banhya bāgga- |
-re ṇu trāmu bajeṣṣāre . kho bīnāṇi gyastūṇi ||

‘So great is the power of a *cakravartin*: whatever trees there are in his garden, their leaves rustle like heavenly music’

It is worth dwelling on *Zambasta*’s use of the Indic word *cakravartin* (a kind of über-universe-king) here.⁶⁰ The animistic music production by trees and the sky in turn relates to an expanded imagery of magical, celestial music, which permeates so much of later Mahāyāna aesthetics,⁶¹ especially in the Pure-Land movements that became popular in China—revelling

⁵⁶See § 3.1.5, p. 59.

⁵⁷Translation from Gethin 2008, pp. 100–101.

⁵⁸One might, tentatively, relate this further back to pre-Buddhist tree cults, centered around *yakṣas* (tree spirits), which aspects of early Buddhist narrative and religious geography are assumed to have, in part, incorporated. See, for example, Coomaraswamy 1971.

⁵⁹With the help of the wind—*vāterita-* < *vāta-* ‘wind’ + *erita-* PPP < *ir-* ‘to move’.

⁶⁰*cakravartin* < *cakra* ‘wheel’ + *vartin* ‘turner’ (from *ṛt-* ‘to turn’)—‘one who turns the wheel’.

⁶¹See for example Z 24.215 for the *Apsarases*—divine nymphs singing. Two words from this line are given briefly as example 21 under *nvāka-* p. 32. In the art historical record, many such scenes of celestial music can be found from very early in Buddhist history, for example at *Sāñci* (Kaufmann 1981, p. 70).

in rich descriptions of Amitābha's realm and its music (Lawergren 2019).⁶² That celestial imagery, in turn, often appears to be drawn from royal, courtly aesthetics, as the broader context of the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (being a discription of a mythical, royal city) demonstrates.

3.3.4 Music as royal

While the core biography of the Buddha as renouncer might be understood in tension with secular authority, Buddhist sources are, from early on, keen to associate the Buddha with royal symbolism—empracing, in particular, the wider South Asian topos of the *cakravartin*, which was also attached to the Jain *tīrthaṃkaras* (Mahony 2005). The idea, that the Buddha has all the marks of a great king, but chose instead to embark on a parth of renunciation, has the effect of obliquely domesticating kingship into Buddhist cosmology. That, in turn, may have helped in Buddhism's material spread throughout, and beyond India, which, as Paul Williams has suggested, has particular relevance to the Central Asian Buddhist context:

The Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka (probably c. 127 CE) is said to have been an important patron of Buddhism, and in terms of patronage the age of invasions was significant for Buddhists, since the foreign invaders were among the most enthusiastic supporters of Buddhism. This was no doubt partly due to the willingness of monks to recognize kings as Bodhisattvas, or sometimes Universal Emperors (*cakravartin*). (Williams 2009, p. 11)

The association of the Buddha and Buddhism with royalty lends the religion—which is, at its core, built on ideals of monasticism—a kind of authority in the lay world on which it is materially dependent.⁶³ The point is that, to some extent, music in Buddhist texts must be understood as part of a package of courtly symbolism within this theme. We have to be cautious in our interpretation of the numerous attestations of *vīṇās* and drums and parades in the *Book of Zambasta*, and other Buddhist texts. They may well reflect the material presence of the music they describe in religious practice, but that idea remains somewhat speculative. What they do tell us, is that the compilers of those texts found that *imagery* useful for whatever they were trying to say. This could include the aesthetic proximity to a symbolism of kingship which was politically useful to monastic communities, an appeal to a popular culture in an attempt to make austere doctrine colourful and visible, or simply the inheritance of an imagistic world from earlier Buddhist literature—the continued reproduction of which endowed innovative texts with an antiquity and authority. So when Lawegren writes:

China had a rich history of music prior to the Six Dynasties, but it had shunned foreign

⁶²Passages of the *Book of Zambasta* also point to a kind of proto-Pure Land recollection practice. Z 11.73: *kye ttā gyasta baḷysa ce satva ne ne dāru dyāmato daindā | mamā hona haṃ vāte dīru mara rūva-kāyāna baḷysa . ||* 'Whatever *deva* Buddhas there are whose appearance beings have not seen for a long time, through my utterance may these Buddhas always appear here with their *rūpakāya*.' The emphasis here on the *utterance* is also relevant to questions of doctrinal performance discussed under § 3.2.1, p. 60 and § 3.4.3, p. 78.

⁶³See, for example, Lore Sander (1991, p. 142): 'Despite all uncertainties, it is likely that after the synod in Kashmir Sarvāstivāda missionaries began to convert the inhabitants of the northwestern oasis towns, above all the nobility who were of special importance for the supply of the order.'

influences. Just as the Six Dynasties brought rulers from beyond China's northern and northwestern borders, so musical instruments were imported from Western and Central Asia. This import was stimulated by Buddhism, which also appeared at this time, and which described the Western Paradise of Amitābha as filled with western instruments. Lutes and harps were the most characteristic imports, and both derived from regions near Iran. (Lawergren 2019, p. 720)

I am cautious as to how far to *attribute* this spread to Buddhism, as opposed to understanding Buddhism as part of a complex, emergent cultural system which *also* contains music—indeed, as was already discussed for the *vīṇā* (§ 3.1.1, p. 51), it seems there were no lutes in early Buddhism, either. Or, put another way, a reconstruction of European, Christian, liturgical music from the paintings in churches would overrepresent babies and harps.

3.3.5 Music as bad

The preceding section leads to the core doctrinal tension of music in Buddhist (and therefore most Khotanese) literature, which John Ross Carter—speaking specifically about Theravada Buddhism, but relevant beyond that—summarises as ‘an old admonition about restraint of the senses and an appreciation for, a legitimization of, religious music.’ (1993, p. 133)

This tension runs deep, and parallels some of those already discussed: the Buddha as renunciator, but also *cakravartin*; of Buddhism as a religion of (in platonic ideal) monastic recluses studying texts, who also rely on a laity to feed them.

So while, as I have hoped to show, there are countless examples of the wonders of music and performance described through Khotanese texts, the *Book of Zambasta*, Chapter 5 also includes the following, extended polemic against popular story-telling:

Z 5.1–6

siddham biśśe nā abitanda pyuvīru puṣṣo paśśāta handare |
kāṣce cū haphāryau gguva' nyūta ttā puṣṣo thaṃjīro punūka ||
cū bāratā pyūṣṭu kye arthā samu ttaṃḍya paṃjsa naḍaune |
hiśśāḍai pūra kaṃsa-dausna biśśā śśūra jsatāndā . ||
ttā vā biśśā vyāysā riṣa- -yā nāte kāṣa-sundhare |
bīśā hvanaino āhau haṃ- -baste tcamna lova bitanda ||
rāmā daśagrīvi sīysau nā- -te laṃggā kīnthai bsāste tte kādā- |
-na jīvātu rruste . rāmāyānā ttandī arthi . ||
valmiki rāṣayī haṃ- -baste haṃtsa drūgyau hāḍe |
cvī lovi mānya pyūṣṭe samu haṃdara-ysaṃthva karma ||
ttū nājsaḍu rrayā haphāra tcamāna gguva' lovi pātaunda . |
balysānu hvano paśśāndā kūre dṛṣṭiyate nāndā . ||

‘Unperplexed may you all hear us. Give up utterly other anxieties. Inasmuch as your ears are accustomed to distractions strain them utterly to a point. What you have heard in the (*Mahā*)*bhārata*, whose contents are only so much as the five heroes—a kinsman's sons with Kaṃsadasa slew all the brave men—the Ṛṣi Vyāsa, the servant of Kāśasundari, took all these. He composed a narrative of tales by which people became perplexed. Daśagrīva took Rama's Sita. He led her to the city of Laṅka. On account of this, he lost his life. Such are the contents of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Ṛṣi Vālmiki composed it, but with lies. If people

hear him with respect, these are merely the *karmas* of other births. In this way, there are empty distractions, by which people's ears are darkened. They have given up the Buddhas' teaching, have taken up false views.'

Chapter 20 of *Zambasta* follows a similar line along this tension, beginning 'with a splendid and often quoted description of spring and its effects upon the young monks'—ending with the monks 'taken by the Buddha to a cemetery, which is described in detail, and there the Buddha preaches to them concerning the impermanence of pleasures in this life.' (Emmerick 1989c) Emmerick, here, touches on what is striking to me about that chapter also, that is: the contrast between the rich description, its unapologetic poetics and the austere doctrinal message with which it closes. It could represent an effective literary device, emphasising the committed nobility of the religious path when faced with real beauty—but it could also represent an honest ambivalence, as touched on in § 3.2.4, p. 64 where I discussed Z 17 and its refrain *ma thājsi kyī* 'do not persist in lamentation'.

My hypothesis there was that a more secular form of native Khotanese literature could be filling a discriptive gap in an otherwise doctrinal chapter, a scenario one could imagine for Chapter 20 also: the doctrinal tension I have been discussing staged in the collision of those two literary strands. In fact, the overall thematic arrangement of Z 20 quite closely mirrors the *Lyrical-poem*: 'Though the lyrical stanzas make up about two thirds of the poem, this closes with the admonition not to follow wordly pleasure and, displaying good knowledge of Indian mythological lore, recalls instances of men who were ruined because of their love of women.' (Maggi 2009, p. 408) This, in turn, reminds of *Zambasta's* least sympathetic moment, Chapter 19, which is an extended meditation on how dangerous and mean women are.⁶⁴

It seems that protestant Buddhist attitudes to sensory pleasure, in which music is included, are found at times in direct tension with (sharing the same texts as) the themes they are admonishing. Another stage for that tension can be located in the attitude to *mantras*. We have Khotanese texts containing, and giving instructions for the use of, *mantras* (IOL Khot 29/6—Skjærvø 2002, p. 236—KT 5 160), but also, once again from the story of Bhadra in *Zambasta* 5, an apparently dismissive attitude: *cu cāya-nārmātu dātte samu šā maṇḍrāṇu prabhāvā* 'what appears as conjured up by magic is merely (due to) the power of *mantras*.' (Z 5.60)

So what of Carter's other side of the tension, 'an appreciation for, a legitimization of, religious music'? The may be distractions, but they are also all Buddhism has with which to communicate itself.

⁶⁴A tantalising fragment from recension C of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*—which is not that of Nobel's Sanskrit edition on which the Khotanese fragments I have quoted so far are largely based—has the fragmentary line: *gyau 'ryau ālisa*, 'fighting, wives, song (?)' (IOL Khot 191/18 Skjærvø 2002, p. 425). Sadly the fragment is unpublished beyond Skjærvø's edition and I do not have access to his habilitation on the subject to see his reading and I cannot find any obvious line like it in the Nobel edition. See Skjærvø apud. Maggi 2009, p. 389 for a very brief summary of that habilitation and an overview of the *Suv.* recensions.

3.4 Text and *its* Performance

The above sections have covered music and performance in a variety of forms, material to metaphorical, casting the net wide, searching for any and all traces of sound and music in the Khotanese corpus. The breadth of this approach is a necessary starting point in approaching a fragmentary corpus in a poorly understood language, where the raw lexical material must first be established, the wider context mapped. As a result of this approach, however, much of the sound and music discussed so far has been figurative, lying *within* the diegetic layers of the text. As the title of this thesis suggests, though, part of what I am interested in is the non-diegetic music postulated as a background to the texts. That is: how were the texts themselves performed? Or, mathematically confusing the analogy to particle physics with which I began the thesis, how can you reconstruct a three-dimensional shape (the performance) from its two-dimensional approximation (the text)?

3.4.1 Preaching and orality

Khotanese preaching and sermon words are drawn from the verb, *hvan-*, an apparently unmarked ‘to speak’.⁶⁵ It is this word that appears and again through Khotanese Buddhist texts, indicating the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine, the *dharma* (Khot. *dāta-*):

Z 23.17

ttāna dātā hvaṃ'dye pyūvā'ñi pirāñi pūstāya oṣku |
sājāñi arthī pulsāñi hvañei vātco gyaḍānu ||

‘Therefore is the *dharma* to be listened to by man, to be written in a book forever, to be learned, its meaning to be inquired into, then to be **preached** to the ignorant.’

KTB 143.1056–8 (*Sumukha-sūtra*)

ysamaśaṃdai gyastā ba'ysä nara hamadā hvanau ātaudāṃdä u ysusṭāṃdī gyastā ba'ysä
haḍi ttū | hvanau samāsyē

‘Indeed, the people delighted in and desired the **sermon** of the *deva*-Buddha. The *deva*-Buddha, however, finished the **sermon**.’

Sgh. 34.15 Khot.⁶⁶

u haṣṭātā ysāre kalpa vaṣṭa ttā uysnora cu halci pyūvā're balysānu hvanau biśvī draiśśu
vājāre.

‘and for eighty thousand kalpas those beings, whatever **speech** of the Buddhas they hear, will firmly hold it in full’

And, from a section of the Sanskrit *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* for which, sadly, the corresponding Khotanese fragment is lost, but which puts a striking emphasis on the relevant point:

⁶⁵See § 2.3, *hvan-*, p. 48 for details of the verbal base and its various nominal derivatives in Khotanese.

⁶⁶*Sgh.* 34.15 Skt.: *aśītiḥ kalpa-sahasrāṇi śruta-dharā bhaviṣyanti* ‘and for eighty thousand kalpas they will remember.’

Sgh. 45.4 Skt.

bhagavān āha dharma-bhāṇakaḥ sarvaśura tathāgato-samo jñātavyaḥ

‘The *Bhagavat* said: “the *dharma*-preacher, Sarvaśura, is to be considered equal to the *Tathāgata*”

That the propagation of Buddhist teaching, the *dharma*, is at its heart understood as a speech act is not, perhaps, surprising. As was briefly touched on in the introduction to § 3.2, the early Buddhist literary tradition (its composition and transmission) was oral. Etienne Lamotte (1958, p. 164) gestures to this early state of affairs in describing the inscriptional vocabulary at various early archaeological sites, which predate any attested canonical manuscript traditions, and hint at a state of affairs in which the three *tripitikas* ‘baskets’ of the Buddhist Canon form precisely through a division of labour between ‘specialists’ in the oral transmission of certain textual genres:

‘Ces inscriptions continuent à utiliser l’ancien vocabulaire : il y est toujours question de Récitateurs (*bhāṇaka*, *bhanaka* ou *bhānaka*) comme à Bhārhut, Sāñcī et Kārli; de “Connaisseurs en Sūtra” (*śutaṃtika*, *sutātika*, *sutātikinī*, *sūtātikinī*) comme à Bhārhut et à Sāñcī; de “Mémorisateurs du Vinaya” (*vinayadhara*, *vinayaṃdhara* et peut-être, *vināyaka*) comme à Bodh-Gayā, Amarāvātī et Sāñcī.’ (Lamotte 1958, p. 164)

Some of this vocabulary has echoes through the later Mahāyāna *sūtras* discussed throughout this thesis—Skt. *Sgh.* 45.5 *dharma-bhāṇaka*- ‘*dharma*-preacher, reciter’ and Skt. *Sgh.* 34.15 *śruta-dharā* ‘retaining what has been heard’ (see footnote 66, p. 74). Further, as has been suggested by Giuliana Martini and Lore Sander (2013, p. 15; 1991, p. 142; see footnote 10, p. 53), an oral tradition may well have maintained a significant presence into the Khotanese Buddhist context, especially in the early, pre-Mahāyāna period—and it could, in fact, precisely explain the dearth of early *sutta* and *vinaya* texts, or the lack of evidence for Tarim manuscript production prior to the fifth century, full stop. Lore Sander, whose article, ‘The Earliest Manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarvāstivāda mission’, Martini draws from, summarises the textual activity, which constitutes the main focus of this thesis, as follows:

Many reasons may be advanced for the sudden translation activities at the fifth to the beginning of the sixth centuries in Kučā and at about the same time in Khotan. [...] May it be that the introduction of an indigenous paper industry paved the way for a more intensive literary production? Or, vice versa, did Buddhism become so popular that a wide-spread interest existed in Buddhist literature among educated people, who did not know the texts by heart as the monks did, and therefore, the introduction of cheap paper became a necessity? Was it enforced by the mahāyānist idea of regarding the reciting, copying, writing, translating and even the possession of Buddhist books as being meritorious? (Sander 1991, p. 142)

Sander’s final suggestion brings to mind the discussion surrounding the *Sgh.* ‘one four-quartered verse’ formula, and that text’s peculiar meta-textual self-interest—repeatedly emphasising its own reproduction, recitation (performance) and hearing, almost at the cost of

any definable content.⁶⁷ The core paradigm of the Buddhist textual culture's earliest layers is the sermon—preaching, with which this section began. Regardless of how we reconstruct the precise mechanics of their composition, the image the early *sūtras* rely on is that of a Buddha as preacher, speaking a text, and that orality was maintained through those texts' early transmission. The later Mahāyāna texts—the *Śaṅghāṭa-sūtra*, *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, all in various ways represented in Khotan—must be understood in continuity with this orality, but also in their encounter with the material text, whose writing and reproduction is newly a narrative presence within, and a reflexive concern of, those texts themselves.

3.4.2 The material text

There is a superficial contradiction in the philosophical abstraction demanded by a core Mahāyāna doctrine of *śūnyata* 'emptiness', and the spectacular success of Mahāyānist movements—spreading, as they did, rapidly and widely through Central Asia, China and Japan.

The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines, for example, as well as its ever-lengthening companion pieces in 10,000, 18,000, 25,000, and 100,000 lines, sometimes seem to be little more than unrelenting repetitions of long lists of technical doctrinal categories—that would, presumably, have been known by or of interest to only very learned monks—which are, again unrelentingly, said to be “empty.” (Schopen 2003, p. 496)

The spread of any religious movement and its doctrine must, naturally, be understood first and foremost through the communities that spread it (whether lay or monastic) and, as has been touched on in this thesis, aspects of Mahāyāna doctrine have, indeed, been understood in this light.⁶⁸ In particular the idea that an emphasis on a *bodhisattva* path, in which a Buddhist practitioner strives, and vows, to become a Buddha themselves—most often in a distant future life, perhaps in another world system—offered the laity a soteriological relevance that had hitherto only been afforded monks, able, as they were, to commit to an immediate path to enlightenment as *arhats*.⁶⁹ This thesis of the lay origins of Mahāyāna, represented most enthusiastically by the Belgian scholar Etienne Lamotte (Williams 2009, p. 22), has, however, been complicated by more recent scholarship (Williams 2009, p. 23). Williams cites Schopen as a scholarly locus for this turn and, in particular, his article ‘The Phrase *sa prthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet* in the *Vajracchedikā*: Notes on the Cult of the Book in Mahāyāna’ (2005, Ch. 2). In that article, Schopen focuses on a formula in the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra*:

Vajr. Skt. 12 (Hoernle p. 255)

⁶⁷See § 3.2.1, p. 60.

⁶⁸See Williams 2009, p. 11, quoted p. 71.

⁶⁹Beings who have gained enlightenment through the teachings of a Buddha, contrasted with a Buddha's enlightenment, which is characterised by the independent rediscovery of the Buddhist *dharma* at a time when it has otherwise become lost.

sa prthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet
 that earth-spot shrine-become.PP becomes

that spot of earth become.3SG.OPT a shrine/like a shrine/a true shrine.⁷⁰

This is paralleled, though paraphrased and extended, in the Late Khotanese version:³⁷²

Vajr. Khot. 21b (ibid.)

kāmye śadyi piṣkalā vīra śi' dā ī pajsamavīya śi'
 which ground piece on that dharma be.3SG.OPT to be worshiped that
 diśā hāmā haṃtsa gyasta u hvaṃdā ysama-śaṃdai-na
 direction becomes by of gods and of men the world.INS.SG

‘whatever piece of ground that is, that place becomes worthy of worship by the world of gods and men.’

Schopen’s analysis of this formula, takes him to the conclusion that the material text is taking on part of the role traditionally performed by the *stūpa*⁷¹ as a geographical locus of worship.⁷²

It was around the *stūpa* that the activity of the worshipper turned, and it was the erection of such a structure that allowed a stable localization of the cult. It is equally clear from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, etc., that the organizational center of the cult of the book was first of all the book and, by extension, the *pṛthivīpradeśa* where the book was recited, set up, or circulated. (Schopen 2005, p. 44)

So part of the sociological answer to the question I began this section with—about the *communities* that spread Mahāyāna, and how they relate to its doctrinal content—is, in a way, shifted from Lamotte’s thesis about the laity and the *bodhisattva*-path, to the text (and its performance). In fact, Schopen goes on to ascribe the *caityabhūto* formula an almost *mantric* power—a speech act of geographical consecration:

Such a formula would have provided a useful mechanism for the expansion and development of new centers. It was both grounded in tradition (i.e., it was—once it was inserted into the texts—*buddhavacana*) and yet allowed for the institution of centers other than those already sanctioned by the more or less fixed historical legendary tradition. (Schopen 2005, p. 51)

⁷⁰Translation from Schopen 2005 where he discusses the difficulties presented by the *tatpuruṣa caityabhūta*.

³⁷²See § 1.3.1, p. 16 and Maggi 2009 on the Khotanese Vajracchedikā and its loose translation style.

⁷¹A reliquary mound.

⁷²It should be noted, as was touched on in § 3.2.1, that Schopen has, it seems, since tempered the theories discussed below: ‘Here too it is important to note that Gregory Schopen was almost certainly wrong—and his theory too must go the way of Hirakawa’s—in seeing in these passages only an attempt by the “new” movement to substitute one similar cult (the cult of the book) for another similar cult (the cult of relics):’ (Schopen 2003, p. 497). That tempering, though, forms itself around a doubt as to the the initial *motivations* of early Mahāyāna communities, without undermining the concept of the ‘cult of the book’ as a whole. I will return to the question of these motivations in § 3.4.3. N.b. the exact chronology of Schopen’s arguments and counter-arguments is a little hard to follow and seems to be contradicted by the publication dates—my assumption, however, is that the argument he counters in Schopen 2003 is, in fact, that quoted below as Schopen 2005.

As a theory, it goes some way to explaining the marked popularity of these texts in Central Asia. But one question remains somewhat open to me. Lamotte's thesis, at the very least, resonated the sociological mechanism by which Mahāyāna exploded, with an aspect of its doctrinal content—the *bodhisattva*-path.⁷³ The other side to the question which began this section, wondered why a doctrine of such philosophical abstraction, *śūnyatā* 'emptiness'—which even in the world of academic Buddhist studies is the preserve of scholars with a particularly philosophical inclination—should find itself at the centre of an apparently pop-cultural wave along the Silk Road. Ultimately, I understand this question as something close to Schopen's later unease with his own argument, which, he felt, was too quick in jettisoning doctrinal motivations from the early Mahāyāna texts to make way for a popular, cultic momentum (Schopen 2003, p. 497).⁷⁴

3.4.3 Emptiness and the text's surface

As may have been noted, one of the locations of Schopen's formula in the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* immediately follows our own 'four-quartered verse' formula. I discussed that formula, in turn, mainly in the context of *Sanḥāṭa-sūtra* and that text's peculiar and repetitive self-reference (§ 3.2.1, p. 60). That self-reference was all the more marked, next to a near total absence of doctrinal content—an empty *sūtra*, one might say. At this point, it might be interesting to return to the *Book of Zambasta* and an image that reoccurs in it:

Z 4.94–96

<i>kāḍe bodhi-cittā utārā</i>	<i>ggam̐bhūri māstā aggam̐si . va- </i>
<i>-ri ṣṭānā ttīyā upevāñi</i>	<i>māste mul̐sde jsa ārstā . </i>
<i>ṣāṣa parikalpa tta kāñu</i>	<i>ce biśśā parikalpā buysaitūa </i>
<i>samu kho dai cīyā pasūste</i>	<i>dai maṃco jsāni paṭhaiyā </i>
<i>o kho kāḍe r̐m̐ajsi thauni</i>	<i>kṣārā biśśā haysñāte r̐r̐ma </i>
<i>narāmāte hamatā tta kūre</i>	<i>ttāteñe parikalpi jsa jsīrgye </i>

'*Bodhicitta* is very noble, profound, great, flawless. Then it is to be produced at once full of great compassion. Even this is a *parikalpa*—so one should think—which extinguishes all *parikalpas*, just as when a fire flares up, it burns up the very fire-grate, or as when lye cleans all the dirt on a very dirty garment, it dissolves itself.'

This represents something of an early Madhyamaka theme around *śūnyatā*, often translated as 'emptiness'. The doctrine of *śūnyatā*—traditionally traced back to the second century CE Nāgārjuna (Williams 2009, p. 64)—can be understood in contrast to the *abhidharmic* analysis of existence through *dharma*s. In that analysis *dharma*s are understood as the *svabhāva*

⁷³For what it's worth, I also don't think this theory need totally be rejected. Perhaps it can be understood similarly to Schopen's complication of his *own* theories around the 'cult of the book' as an unintended, later consequence born from other motivations (see footnote 72, p. 77). Thus the use of royal imagery and a general appeal to nobility (discussed under § 3.3.4, p. 71), in part through a relation to *bodhisattva* imagery, may still hold relevance.

⁷⁴See footnote 72, p. 77.

‘intrinsically existing’, atomic constituent parts of human experience.⁷⁵ The Madhyamaka analysis contrasts in understanding also these *dharma*s as an illusion—*śūnyatā*, empty—in much the same way as personal identity in core Buddhist philosophy is understood as *anātman* ‘no-self’—that is, not really existing, not *svabhāva* (Williams 2009, p. 70). This can be, and was by its detractors, seen as a descent into philosophical nihilism, resulting in self-destruction of Buddhist doctrine, which too must be *śūnyatā* ‘empty’ (Siderits 2007, p. 189). *Zambasta* presents a tempering of the argument, that the doctrine is like soap, which must be used to wash away all illusions, but in doing so washes away itself.

I am taking some time on this, in the context of a catalogue of performance culture, because I think it is important to understand the doctrinal background to the texts that were, so enthusiastically, being reproduced in Khotan, translated into Khotanese and—as I hope to have shown in these preceding sections—performed. But it also raises an interesting point, which returns me to Schopen’s arguments cited in the previous section. The Lamotte school which understands Mahāyāna doctrine as a soteriological appeal to (or reaction by) the laity to an intimidating and exclusionary monasticism may well present a state of affairs that is too straightforward, and at odds with a sense of orthodoxy that also comprises the earliest Mahāyāna sources.⁷⁶ But while that question might mislead in its expectation of such causalities, Lamotte’s school has the distinct advantage of addressing another question, contained in the first, which I think is more valid and interesting: why did *these* texts become so popular. Or, in our frame of reference, why did they become cultic and performative objects—which, irrespective of the deeper origins of the Mahāyāna, they do seem to have.⁷⁷

As has been, perhaps controversially, argued by A. K. Warder in ‘Is Nāgārjuna a Mahāyānist’ (1973) the relationship between Nāgārjuna (i.e. the *śūnyatā* discourse just described) and later Mahāyāna is not always intuitive. That is to say: there is nothing in emptiness discourse *per se* that tessellates with the soteriological concerns of the *bodhisattva* path.⁷⁸ It returns to precisely the question, and the quote from Schopen, with which I began § 3.4.2, why does *this* philosophical doctrine, become linked to the vast religious and social expansion of Mahāyāna Buddhism across Central Asia, China and Japan.

One possible element of this complex system, *among many*, that I am, I suppose, tentatively proposing, links the Mahāyāna doctrine of emptiness to the texts and their cultic, obsessive performance, seen precisely in the *Sanghāṭa-sūtra* (as discussed in § 3.2.1), or, in the *Zambasta* passage quoted above, which explicitly directs a *tu quoque* fallacy at itself:

Z 4.96 o kho kāḍe rāmaji thauni kṣārā biśśā haysñāte rāma |
nārāmāte hamatā tta kūre ttāteñe parikalpi ja jsīrgye

⁷⁵For *Abhidharma* see Gethin 1998, pp. 202–224. The use of the word *dharma* here can be united with the other use of the term as ‘doctrine’ under a sense of ‘the way things really are’ Gethin 1998, p. 209. For a brief etymology of the word, and its Khotanese gloss *dāta*- see § 2.3, *dāta*-, p. 30.

⁷⁶See § 3.2.1 and Schopen 2003.

⁷⁷See, again, the preceding section as well as § 3.2.1, p. 60.

⁷⁸See footnote 69, p. 76

‘or as when lye cleans all the dirt on a very dirty garment, it dissolves itself.’

Not that text and performance are original to the Mahāyāna or *śūnyata* contexts, but perhaps something of the Khotanese texts’ exaggerated, self-referential refrain is helpfully considered in this light. Following the *Zambasta* metaphor: like soap, the *Sanḡhāṭa-sūtra* is, in its doctrinal content, almost completely dissolved, leaving only the *empty* shell of a text—performance with nothing to perform, signifier with no signified. In turn, perhaps that kind of text lends itself to the portable, cultic mechanisms Schopen describes: all cult and doctrinally light on the long journeys north.

3.4.4 Colophons

The idea described above must, in a way, suffer immediate contradiction. I hope that can at least help to underline an intention of this thesis to present a catalogue of moving parts to emergent properties, none of which should be asked to stand on their own. As was, I think, shown in § 3.3.5, contradiction is not just to be tolerated in complex discursive systems (that is: religions).

The initial contradiction is that many Khotanese Buddhist texts at various points make quite explicit their concern for the content and meaning. There is an oft quoted longer passage from the beginning of Chapter 24 of *Zambasta*, which I will quote in full as it demonstrates several relevant points I would like to draw out.

Z 23.1–8

<i>Siddham namasīmā harbiśśā</i>	<i>balysa balysānu harbiśśu dātu </i>
<i>biśśā mahāsatva bodhisatva</i>	<i>biśśā ma āysda yanīru . </i>
<i>ttutu hvanau kho gyastā balysā</i>	<i>ttāvatrrīśya jsa vahāṣṭā </i>
<i>hvatanaui yi haṃṣāte byūhā</i>	<i>sarva-satvānu hātāyā </i>
<i>khvei rro rre udayanā vasko</i>	<i>pratābibo parste padīnde </i>
<i>kyerī puña hāmāta pharā-</i>	<i>-ka ttu vā uhu vaysña pyuvīru </i>
<i>tterā hāḍe karma ne ysvā’re</i>	<i>hvatana kari hvatanau dātu </i>
<i>hiṃḍuvau dīru buvāre</i>	<i>hvatanaui ni dātā nā saittā </i>
<i>ciṅḡānu ciṅḡau dātā</i>	<i>kaspārau tterā khaṣṣa-phaṣṣā </i>
<i>kaspārai hāḍe tta sājīndi</i>	<i>kvī rru arth buvāre . </i>
<i>hvatanaui dātā ṣa saittā ci</i>	<i>ci arthu karā nā bvāre . </i>
<i>cīhaṃṣa arthāna pyuvā’re</i>	<i>tta nā saittā handari dātā </i>
<i>prāḡārātā satvā nā hvāña</i>	<i>ṣṣei ttu ho kye arthā niśtā </i>
<i>cu űo śtāka sarvañi ba-</i>	<i>-lysā nirārthā hvāññ salāva </i>
<i>salāvuō sārā cu arthā .</i>	<i>arthā vā ttandū sārā </i>
<i>kvī tta bāysdaiya kho hvīnde</i>	<i>ttāna haṃṣa arthāna dātā </i>

‘Success. I worship all the Buddhas, the whole *dharma* of the Buddhas, all the *mahāsattva-bodhisattvas*. May they all protect me. [2] I intend to translate it into Khotanese for the welfare of all beings, this tale of how the *deva* Buddha descended from the *trīyastrimśa*-gods. [3] How too Kind Udayana ordered an image to be made for him, how many virtues accrued to him, you should listen now to this. [4] But such are their deeds: the Khotanese do not value the *dharma* at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the *dharma*. [5] For the Chinese the *dharma*

is in Chinese. In Kashmirian it is very agreeable, but they so learn it in Kashmirian that they also understand the meaning of it. [6] To the Khotanese that seems to be the *dharma* whose meaning they do not understand at all. When they hear it together with the meaning, it seems to them thus a different *dharma*. [7] Even an ordinary being would not utter a speech which has no meaning. How much less would the all-knowing Buddha be likely to utter meaningless words! [8] In words the essential thing is the meaning. The meaning is indeed so much the essential thing that you should look on it in such a way that the *dharma* is preached with that meaning.

Firstly, to draw out the point about contradiction: that this passage exists—a slightly despairing, self-deprecating description of the Khotanese relationship to Buddhist texts—is itself telling (Maggi 2009, p. 338; Nattier 1991, p. 173). It indicates the presence of a lutheran desire to translate *the message* into the vernacular, and at the same time, in its polemical tone, demonstrates that this view was not universally held. As is lamented: *hvatanaui ni dātā nā saittā* ‘in Khotanese it doesn’t seem to them to be the *dharma*’. The enclitic 3PL pronoun *-ttā* is the key—there is a *them*, who believe that the *dharma* only has power in Indian languages, apparently regardless of whether they understand it.⁷⁹

Secondly, that this passage occurs as part of a story about the production of a Buddha image is not accidental. Line 3 makes explicit the connection: the hearing of the text (and therefore its translation, reproduction and recitation) is a parallel mechanism of merit generation to the sponsoring of a Buddha image. We find quite rigid donative formulas in inscriptions associated with Buddha images across the Buddhist world. So, for example, to take an inscription from the Ajanta cave complex in modern-day Maharashtra, which is from the second period of activity at the site—from the second half of the fifth century CE—and thus more or less contemporary with Zambasta, if a little earlier.⁸⁰

Ajanta Inscription no. 94 (Cohen 1995, p. 381)

siddham deyadharmmo 'yam śākyabhikṣor bhadanta guṇākaraśya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu mātāpitaraṃ pūrvvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā | sarvasatvebhya anutarajñāna āptaye

‘Success! This is the religious donation of the Śākyabhikṣu reverend Guṇākara. Whatever merit there is in it, may that serve the attainment of unexcelled knowledge by all sentient beings, beginning with [his] mother and father.’

The Zambasta colophon strikes similarities with these donative formulas, mentioning the merit to be gained through the sponsorship and family members with whom it is, presumably, to be shared.⁸¹

Z 2 colophon

⁷⁹‘The “Kashmirian” language to which the composer refers is almost certainly Sanskrit (the language from which most of the later Khotanese Buddhist works were apparently translated, the earlier tradition having been based on Prakrit texts). The composer is clearly suggesting that the Khotanese should abandon their tradition of reading Buddhist texts only in their Indian versions, and follow instead the example of the Chinese, who had long been rendering the Buddhist scriptures into their own vernacular.’ (Nattier 1991, p. 173)

⁸⁰Dating after Spink 2006.

⁸¹For a detailed discussion of colophons in Khotanese texts see Sander 1988.

pharṣata parste pīḍe ysam- -bastā ttyau puñyau balysi pana- |
-māte ma dāru

The official Zambasta ordered me to write (this). Through these merits may he arise before long as a Buddha.

Z 19 colophon

pharṣavata parste pīḍe ysambastā biśyo pū- |
-ryau dvatruau haṃtsa a- -vaśśā balysā panamānā

‘The official Zambasta, with all his sons (and) daughters, ordered (me) to write (this). May I surely become a Buddha.’

The relevance of these passages to text and its performance comes, I think, from those two directions. Firstly they remind, once again, of the discussion under § 3.4.2. The text has parallels, as an object of sponsorship, to a Buddha image, which enforces that other parallel—of being a cultic object, a ritual focus treated as a stand in for the body of the Buddha, much like an image.

Second, is the tension around language and the value placed on translation as an act of merit generation in that it propogates the *dharma's comprehension*. Of the two opposing groups, drawn from between the lines of Z 23.1–8—those who place a greater emphasis on the *language itself* as a doctrinal focus (i.e. the original Indic texts) and those who treat the ‘meaning’ as of greater importance—it is the second group for whom the Khotanese texts, which are the object of enquiry of this thesis, testify. Their approach, self-evidently, has resulted in the attempt to adapt the source material to a non-Indic audience, which *Zambasta* represents—‘a poetic recasting in the Khotanese vernacular.’ (Nattier 1991, p. 173).

4. *Conclusions*

This thesis has first and foremost been an attempt to descriptively catalogue Khotanese textual material as it relates to music and performance. In as far as I have found a certain amount and presented it in one place, it has—in that respect I hope—been a minimal success. The first conclusion I would draw attention to, then, is just that: the Khotanese texts are full of references to music.

These references, though, are complicated. Before anything else, the words that constitute them present countless philological problems which I have tried to cover, as systematically as possible, in § 2.3. The other advantage of presenting a glossary like this, is that it indexes textual locations in which music or performance might be looked for. Once again, I consider this descriptive work a core conclusion of the thesis: a catalogue for further research.

The problem with this kind of lexical indexing, however, is that it is fundamentally flat. It marks only the presence or absence of a word. But the presence of a word in a text can mean all sorts of things. There are words like *kūsa*, a kind of drum, which have solid Iranian etymologies and must, quite straightforwardly, indicate a corresponding material object which existed in the culture surrounding the text. But then there is the *haudasai ttīla bīnauna*, the seven hundred-stringed *vīṇa*, which is an inherited image, traceable to the Vedas and probably more fantastic than real. And then there are words like *gāha*, which have a native Iranian etymology—relating to Avestan *gāθā* ‘hymn, song’—but with a much narrower sense in Khotanese, apparently influenced by the use of the Indic cognate *gāthā* in the Buddhist literature, where it refers to the metrical part of a *sūtra*.

It is these kinds of problem that became the second half of the catalogue, which was an attempt at providing the flat lexical landscape of the glossary with a thematic topography, placing individual references in a wider philological landscape. Indeed, some references to music related straightforwardly to a material culture, and these were presented at the beginning of the chapter. But as my work developed, it became clear how much else had to be understood in the wider context of Buddhist literature, before it could be meaningfully addressed in its Khotanese context. I have traced some of the ways music appears in Khotanese texts—in certain images, metaphors and formulas—through that literature, which led above all to the Pali sources.

While this describes the catalogue, in a vain hope of neutral description, I would draw a few concrete conclusions:

1. Traces of Music and performance in Khotanese texts must, before anything else, be situated in a Buddhist context as
 - (a) part of a wider, inherited South Asian imaginaire which makes use of musical imagery in particular thematic ways and must be understood as such;
 - (b) as part of a religious practice that understands texts, and their performance, as a ritual or even cultic focus.
2. Traces of an indigenous Khotanese literature with its own performance culture shine through the texts in various ways. There are likely traces in
 - (a) the ways Buddhist literature was adapted into the Khotanese vernacular, quite often through interpretation, rather than direct translation and
 - (b) an understudied literature which has a more secular tone, attested above all in three love poems, the most significant of which is yet to be edited or translated.

While I had originally hoped to trace some of this native Khotanese poetics—which is quiet—it could not be heard until the Buddhist themes—which are so loud—had been properly mapped. That mapping, or at least a start to it. As far as that mapping forms a part of this thesis, I hope it can offer a small foundation to a huge and interesting question.

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