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### COLOUR PLATES

#### Front cover:

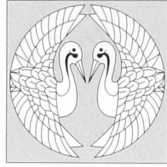
Winding up threads into balls, 17.7×26.5 cm, an illustration to the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

#### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The Ainu loom, 38.2×26.5 cm, an illustration to the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

**Plate 2.** The weaving process (*attush-kar*), 38.2×26.5 cm, an illustration of the anonymous manuscript *Higashi Ezo iko*, Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

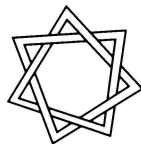
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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Mauro Maggi

## TWO REINTERPRETATIONS IN THE KHOTANESE *SUDHANĀVADĀNA*

The Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna* is a very pleasant narrative text, but its interpretation is made difficult by the occurrence of several *hapax legomena* and by a partly corrupt textual tradition. It tells of the love of prince Sudhana and the *kimmarī* princess Manoharā, their separation, Sudhana's journey to the land of the *kimmaras* in search of his wife, and their final reunion (Sudhana was the Buddha in a former birth). The work was translated into English by Harold W. Bailey in 1966 and a German translation of Sudhana's journey, improving on Bailey's, was provided by Almuth Degener in 1986. As a matter of fact, though Bailey's pioneering interpretation is on the whole still reliable, some progress can be made in many points. Here I wish to deal with two problems and to point to their respective solutions, that are to be found in a hitherto unrecognised Indian loanword and in a more accurate reading of the manuscript.

The first problem is found in a kind of summary of the difficulties Sudhana is going to face (not translated by

Degener) that precedes, in MSS C and P, the narration of his journey in search of Manoharā. The journey consists of the following stages (cf. Degener 1986, 22):

1. departure for the Himavant;
2. encounter with the monkey;
3. encounter with the snake;
4. encounter with the *kāmarūpin-rākṣasī*;
5. encounter with the vulture-shaped *rākṣasī*;
6. crossing of the alkali rivers;
7. arrival at Kinnara-dvīpa guarded by five hundred *yakṣas*.

I read and provisionally translate the summary as follows: roman script = letters not clearly visible; [ ] = restoration of a lacuna; <> = editor's supplement where the MS has no lacuna; [[abc]] = deletion by the copyist.

### Transliteration

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | C | <i>ttu pada paṣṭa avala dīmana śuka</i>                  |
|     | P | <i>ttu pada paṣṭe avala d[ī][252]mana śūka</i>           |
| (2) | C | <i>kūṣṭa [167] &lt;hvī&gt;vaṣau vara hajsara naiṣṭa</i>  |
|     | P | <i>kūṣṭa hvīvaṣau vara hajsara naiṣṭa</i>                |
| (3) | C | <i>vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau' jsa grrayse dūāha</i>        |
|     | P | <i>vaṣanaurau [253] yakṣau nāvau' jsa grrayse dūāha</i>  |
| (4) | C | <i>gara kaicai rakṣajsā [168] jsa grrayse strrahai'</i>  |
|     | P | <i>gara kaicai raha'kṣajā [254] jsa grrayse strrahe'</i> |
| (5) | C | <i>ttāja b&lt;ā&gt;ysaṇa kṣārīnā ṇāva</i>                |
|     | P | <i>ttāja bāysaṇa kṣārīnā ṇāva</i>                        |
| (6) | C | <i>khve na nāsiya grra u tsiya vā nū</i>                 |
|     | P | <i>[255] khve na [[bā]] nāsiye grra u tsiye vā nva</i>   |
| (7) | C | <i>[169] havamana gara jsāve ...</i>                     |
|     | P | <i>havamana ga[256]ra vī jsāve ...</i>                   |

### Translation

(1) Thus, (if) he sets out alone for *avala dīmana*, (2) where there exists no place for human beings (3) (but there are) terrible troubles because of poison-women, *yakṣas* (and) *nāgas*, (4) mountain clefts terrifying due to *rakṣasas* and stiff, (5) streams, forests, alkali rivers, (6) if he does not take from you (-e) the advice (I am giving him) and comes after (me), (7) he goes to mount Himavant ...

I am leaving the words *avala dīmana* untranslated as they are still in need of a convincing explanation. Bailey printed C *avaladīmana* and P *avala[ ]mana* in both editions of *KBT* and translated the compound tentatively as “Alakā abode?” deriving *avala-* < \**alava-* from Skt. *alakā-*, Kubera’s city, and regarding *dīmana-* as meaning “house, abode” (Bailey 1966, 511 and 528, see also *Dict.* 152 s.v. *damāna-*). However, the meaning of *dīmana-* is not established for certain and *avala-*, if an Indian loanword, admits of several explanations due to the ambiguity of *-v-* and *-l-*. I presume that *avala dīmana* refers not to the goal of Sudhana (Kinnara-dvīpa) but to the regions where Sudhana undergoes the tests (or, elliptically, to the tests themselves) “where there exists no place for human beings”. Accordingly, *dīaha* must be a substantive (“troubles”) referring to one of the elements characterising the region crossed by Sudhana and contrasting with the absence of conditions favourable to humans there, not an adjective as in Bailey 1966, 511 (“distressful”).

What I wish to discuss here is, however, the word (3) *vaṣanaurau* that occurs only in this passage. The verse where it occurs was translated by Bailey as “dangerous, with *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, terrifying, distressful” (Bailey 1966, 511). Initially, he derived *vaṣanaurau*, “inst. pl. adj. epithet to *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, from \**ava-ṣana-bara-*, to Av. *ṣānaya-* ‘to wrench’” (Bailey 1966, 528—9). However, this etymology is unsatisfying from a semantic point of view and raises phonological difficulties because OIr. \**ṣ-* results in Kh. *ṣ-* (see Emmerick 1989, 215). (Note that, if the word were an adjective accompanying *yakṣau nāvau’ jsa*, the translation should have been “with dangerous *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, terrifying, distressful”.) In *Dict.* 379, Bailey suggested accordingly a derivation from \**vi-xšana-bara-* “bringing wide destruction”, accepting O.Pers. *a-xšata-* as to O.Ind. *ṣatā-*, *ṣaṇōti* “to injure” and the meaning “destructive”, and rendered *vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau’ jsa grrayse* by “terrifying with destructive *yakṣa*-goblins (and) *nāga*-serpents”. The new etymology solves the problem of *-s-* and is semantically more suitable, but raises another problem because OIr. \**vi-* results usually in Kh. *bi-* or *ggu-*, whereas a continuation *vi-* (hence *va-*) is quite doubtful (cf. *SGS* 241).

Because the word escapes a satisfying Iranian etymology, we are justified in considering the possibility that it is a loanword. Of course, the loanword, disguised under its Late Khotanese spelling, may not be apparent immediately. However, it is hardly to be doubted that our *vaṣanaurau* is the inst.-abl. pl. of \**viṣa-nāri-*. This I would regard as a loanword from an unattested Skt. compound \**viṣa-nāri-*, literally “poison-woman” (or possibly as a hybrid compound formed by Skt. *viṣa-* “poison” and Kh. *nāri-* “woman” on the model of Skt. *viṣa-kanyā-* or *viṣa-kanyakā-*, see below). The *-a-* instead of *-i-* in the first syllable may be compared with e. g. C 121 *KBT* 25 = P 186 *KBT* 17 *namadrū* from *nimamdrūnā-* “invitation”. The spelling *-nau-* for *-nā-* is not unexpected, though the forms of Kh. *nāri-* “woman” occurring in *Sudhanāvādāna* C and P are consistently spelled with *-ā-*, because *ā* is frequently spelled *au* in MSS C and P not only before

labials (cf. C 126 *KBT* 25 = P 193 *KBT* 17 *naraume* from *narām-* “to go out” but also e. g. C 123 *KBT* 25 *binau* = P 189 *KBT* 17 *binauna* from *bināna-* “musical instrument” or C 136 *KBT* 26 = P 207 *KBT* 18 *sauna* from *sāna-* “enemy”).

Although the Sanskrit compound is not to be found in the standard dictionaries, it is a quite plausible equivalent of Skt. *viṣa-kanyā-* or *viṣa-kanyakā-* that is glossed by Monier-Williams as follows: “a girl supposed to cause the death of a man who has had intercourse with her” (*MW* 995). Evidence supporting the proposed interpretation is provided by the subsequent development of the narration. In fact, as the *yakṣas* in the passage we are considering anticipate the five hundred *yakṣas* guarding Kinnara-dvīpa and as the *nāgas* anticipate the encounter with the snake, so the poison-women anticipate the encounter with the *kāmarūpin-rākṣasi* “who through passion entices beings, at the last destroys them” (after Bailey 1966, 512). Thus, *vaṣanaurau yakṣau nāvau’ jsa* are three coordinated substantives in the instrumental-ablative plural: “because of poison-women, *yakṣas* (and) *nāgas*”.

The second problem is in *Sudhanāvādāna* C 220—221 *KBT* 30 (the passage is not contained in MSS A and P) that was read *te hve sa jaṣtā sahyā ai’ṣtū sira* {*dā*} *dāṣṭa ṣtauna* by Bailey in both editions of *KBT*, where he emended *dāṣṭa* to *isāṣṭa* “calm”. The emendation, however, was abandoned by Bailey 1966a, 531, who preferred to keep the otherwise unattested *dāṣṭa* that he read in the manuscript: “*dāṣṭa* honoured (?), the dittography of *dā* makes the change to *tsāṣṭa*—calm unlikely; it has been taken to connect with *das-* to get in Av. *dāsta-*”. Accordingly, he translated the passage under consideration as “He said to her, Queen, may you be able to endure, content, honoured” (p. 513). Possibly, Bailey took *sahyā* as 2 subj. mid., but the verb *sahy-* is active (see *SGS* 132), so that *sahyā* is better understood as 1 ind. act. (with *-ā* for LKh. *-ū(m)* etc., see *SGS* 191) coordinated with *ai’ṣtū*.

He repeats the connection with Avestan *dāsta-* in *Dict.* 157 s.v. *dāṣṭa-* and 426 s.v. *sira-* where, however, he rescues the initially expunged {*dā*} introducing the reading “*siradā-dāṣṭa* ‘rich in contentment’ (if correctly interpreted supporting the second component *dāti-*)” (p. 426). However, the suffix *-tāti-* becomes *-dāti-* only if the base lexeme ends in *-da-*, *-na-* or *-ysa-* (see Degener, *Suffixe* 276).

In fact, there is no dittography of *dā*: the copyist, after writing *sira*, was about to write *dā* but, as soon as he had written the consonant sign *da* without the vowel mark, he realised the omission of *sa*, corrected *da* to *sa* and went on writing the subsequent *akṣaras dā* and *ṣta* thus obtaining the adjective *sadāṣṭa* “content”, a variant spelling of *saṃduṣṭa-*, a well-known loanword ultimately going back to Skt. *santuṣṭa-* “satisfied, contented”, cf. LKh. *Rāma* 121 *KT* 3.70 *saṃduṣṭa*, *JS* 5v2 (18) *saduṣṭā*, OKh. Z 12.57 *asaṃduṣṭā* “discontented”. The Late Khotanese spelling with *-ā-* occurs also in P 2928.37 *KT* 3.106 *sadāṣṭa hamye bīhī* “he became quite content”. Accordingly, I read and translate the passage as follows: *te hve sa jaṣtā sahyā ai’ṣtū sira sadāṣṭa ṣtauna* “Thus he said to her: ‘O Queen, I endure (and) persist happy (and) content’”.

## References

Abbreviations of Khotanese texts as in Emmerick 1992. The following sigla have been adopted for MSS of *Sudhanāvādāna*: A = P 2957.3—161, C = Ch 00266.44—223, P = P 2025.80—267.

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*JS* — M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's Former Births"* (Philadelphia, 1955).

*KBT* — H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (London, 1951); revised edn. (Cambridge, 1981).

*KT* 1—7 — H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies Being Khotanese Texts* (Cambridge, 1945), i; (1954), ii; (1956), iii. Vols. 1—3 were republished in one volume (1969; repr. 1980); (1961), iv; (repr. 1979); (1963), v; (repr. 1980); (1967), vi; (1985), vii.

*MW* — M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899).

*SGS* — R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies* (London, 1968).

*Z* — R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta: a Khotanese Poem on Buddhism* (London, 1968).