

KHOTAN

(41,457 words)

a town and oasis in the southern Tarim Basin that was the site of an important kingdom with an Iranian-speaking population.

KHOTAN (Hotan), a town (lat 37°06' N, long 79°56' E) and major oasis of the southern Tarim Basin in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China and an important kingdom with an Iranian-speaking population. The indigenous name for the people was Old Khotanese *hvatana*, the land was *hvatana-kšira* (later *hvaṃ-kšira*), and the language *hvatana* (see below). The term *hvatana* may be from *hvata* "self" and be a self-reference to the Khotanese as the "(rulers) themselves" (pointed out by Konow, "Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt," *SPAW*, phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin, 1935, no. 20, p. 30 [= 799]). In Indic, the land is called Gostana, literally "cow [= earth] breast" (Tibetan *sa-nu* 'earth breast'), a name which was also applied to Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka (q.v.) and legendary founder of Khotan. The Tibetan name for Khotan was Li-yul "the land of Li," with unexplained "Li." The older Chinese form was 黨闐 *yutian* from older **Hwa(h)den*, and the modern form is 喀什 *hétian*.

For the early history of Khotan, see below and CHINESE TURKESTAN i. See also R. E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (2nd ed., Tokyo, 1992) for miscellaneous information and bibliographies; and H. Kumamoto, "Kōtan-go bunken gaisetsu," in *Kōza Tonkō* 6: *Tonkō ko-go bunken* II: *Kōtan-go bunken*, Tokyo, 1985, pp. 101-40.

KHOTAN i. Geography

Located between the northern foot of the Kunlun mountains and the edge of the Taklamakan desert (Figure 1), the city of Khotan had a population of 184,500 in 2000, mainly Uyghurs (about 84 percent). It is a major administrative center of the Khotan (Hotan) Prefecture, a vast area that covers over 249,146 km² and has a population of about 1.74 million inhabitants, mostly

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concentrated in the piedmont oasis, such as Niya, Keriya (q.v.), and Guma (Xinjiang Bureau of Statistics). The oasis also shelters the cities of Karakash and Lop and more than 300 villages.

At an elevation ranging from 1,350 to 1,500 m and situated on regular slopes made of alluvial fan deposits, Khotan has long been known for its flourishing, oasis-based agriculture system. Because of severe natural conditions of aridity with only 33 mm rainfall per year and an average annual sunshine duration of 2,500 to 2,900 hours, sophisticated irrigation has always been vital, water being supplied almost exclusively by the rivers and streams that come down from the Kunlun mountains. Through recent hydro-agricultural programs and the modernization of agriculture, cotton crops have gradually gained ground over traditional agriculture.

The Khotan region is strategically situated at convergence of the ancient roads running along the Kunlun range, where abundance of water could be found in the middle of the arid land. The oasis of Khotan is located on a southern branch of the famous Silk Road, which was the main caravan route connecting China and western Eurasia with India via the Karakum pass, Afghanistan, and Central Asia across the Pamirs (see TAKLAMAKAN, COMMERCE iii; CHINESE-IRANIAN RELATIONS i). Two large rivers, fed by the spring snow melt from the Kunlun glaciers, the Karakash Darya ('River of Black Jade') and the Yurungkash Darya ('River of White Jade'; PLATE I), flow into the oasis and merge in the desert 120 km north of the town of Khotan to form the endoreic Khotan Darya river. In the past, the Khotan Darya was connected to the Tarim river, but, today, the stream vanishes in the sands of the Taklamakan, about 250 km north of the city of Khotan. It was this guaranteed annual water supply and the irrigation works that ensured Khotan's importance on the Silk Road.

The discovery of ancient Khotan is due mainly to two famous explorers, the Swedish geographer Sven Hedin (q.v.) and the British-Hungarian archeologist Aurel Stein (q.v.), who, in 1896 and 1910, explored and described in detail the agrarian settlements and buried cities spread out along the abandoned riverbeds of the southern Taklamakan desert. In addition to the archeological evidence, its past can be patched together from historical sources, mainly the Han and Tang Chinese chronicles (see CHINESE TURKESTAN i).

The oasis of Khotan was probably occupied by Iranians

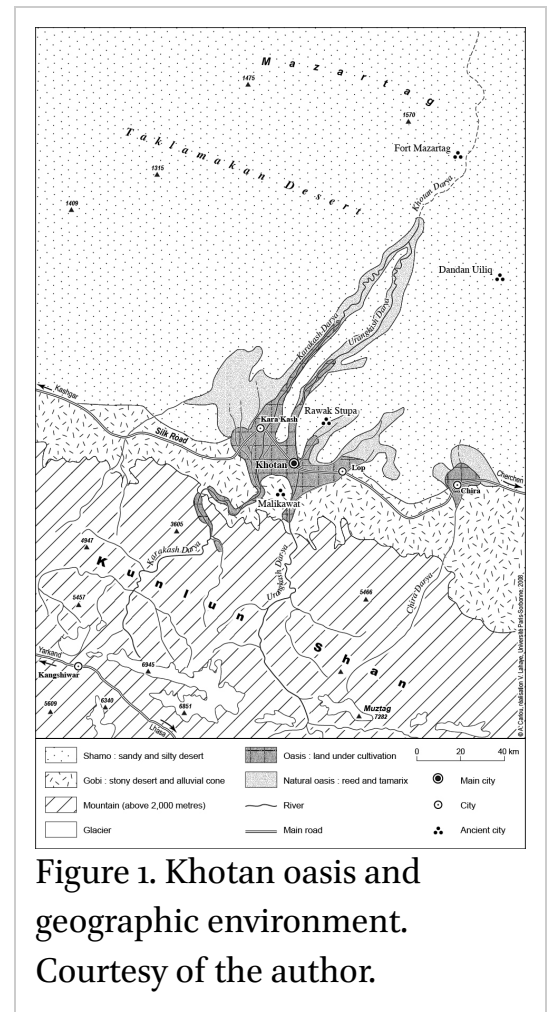


Figure 1. Khotan oasis and geographic environment. Courtesy of the author.



Plate I. The Yurungkash Darya (White Jade River) in April 2008. People of the Khotan oasis try their luck at finding stone jade

early on, although the burial practices of the graves excavated at Sampula may not be as conclusive as thought by some (Mallory and Mair, pp. 155-56). The ancient city of Khotan is first mentioned in historical sources such as the *History of the Former Han* (period from 125 BCE to 23 CE), in which Khotan was known as Yutian (Hulsewé and Loewe, pp. 96-97).

among the alluvial deposits of the river. Photograph © A. Cariou, courtesy of the author.

For at least a thousand years, from about the time it was conquered by the Chinese in 73 CE and into the 13th century, the multicultural kingdom of Khotan, which was Buddhist in religion until the Muslim conquest around 1000 CE, was a center for the exchange and transmission of people and goods, as well as languages, religions, and art, which show Persian, Indian, Greek, Tokharian, and Chinese influence (see [BUDDHISM i](#); [GANDHĀRAN ART](#); Boulnois, p. 81). At [Dandān Ūiliq](#) (q.v.), Buddhist monasteries, temples, and paintings of Buddhist and Hindu deities in Graeco-Buddhist style were discovered.

The economic prosperity of that period is explained by urban and commercial development supported by culture made possible by organized irrigation. Khotan is thought to be the first place outside China to cultivate the mulberry to produce and, from the 5th century CE, export silk (q.v.) and silk rugs, making it a center for silk production in the Tarim Basin (Beal, II, p. 309; Chen Yu, pp. 131-34). Stein (1907, p. 134) suggested that Khotan was the place named *Serindia* by ancient geographers. Khotan was also famous for its nephrite jade (q.v.), extracted from the mountains and alluvial deposits from the rivers, such as the Yurungkash River, also called the White Jade River (Bonavia, pp. 307-8). This made it the starting point of the “Jade Road” which spread this semi-precious stone into the whole of China. When [Marco Polo](#) (q.v.) visited Khotan in 1275, he found a land divided into estates and an abundance of cotton, flax, hemp, wheat, wine, and other produce (Marco Polo, I, p. 136).

After the Muslim conquest in the 11th century and the eventual abandonment of the Silk Road in the 14th century, economic activity in the oasis declined. The area of the oasis itself has steadily contracted over time, as is shown by comparison of the archeological data from excavations of cities, agrarian settlements, and remains of orchards in the region. This trend is viewed as a continuation of thousands of years of desertification that is due both to natural factors (such as climate change, especially in hydrology) and to human pressures on marginal lands through practices such as overgrazing. In present-day Khotan, the old town of flat-roofed houses and narrow, winding streets is gradually being replaced by the wide squares and straight avenues of modern Chinese urbanism. The city remains a market center for local agriculture, especially for cotton, grapes, and other fruits. It is also still an active commercial center for export of jade and silk goods to China and India. These luxury products and the area’s historical fame have opened up new perspectives, as it increasingly becomes a major stop for tourists visiting the ancient trading posts on the Silk Road.

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KHOTAN ii. History in the Pre-Islamic Period

Earlier period. The documentation on the oasis/kingdom of Khotan started when the Chinese became aware of its existence. This was due to the report of the envoy Zhang Qian, who, some time after 140 BCE, was sent by the emperor Wudi (r. 141-87 BCE) of the Former (Western) Han

dynasty to seek an alliance with the Greater Yuezhi against the Xiongnu (q.v.). The story of his adventures (the capture by the Xiongnu, escape, and eventual return after more than ten years) is told vividly in the possibly spurious 123rd chapter on Dayuan (Farḡāna; q.v.) in the *Shiji*, the first of the series of dynastic histories, as well as in the 61st chapter of the *Hanshu*, a dynastic history of the Former Han (the latter is translated in Hulsewé, pp. 207-28). The information on Khotan (Yutian) is incorporated in the *Hanshu*, where the relative position and the size of the kingdom famous for the abundance of jadestone are recorded (Hulsewé, pp. 96 f.). Under the Later (Eastern) Han, China sent a series of armies (Chavannes, 1906, pp. 221, 224, 228, 230, 231; Hill, 2009, pp. 17-19, 188-95), beginning with the last quarter of the 1st century CE, to subdue the city-states located on the southern rim of the Tarim basin. At that time, Khotan was in constant conflict with the neighboring Yarkand (q.v.) and Kashghar (q.v.) in the west, while it was under the influence of a greater power of the Xiongnu in the north, and the rising power of the Kushans further west was beginning to penetrate the area that was later to be called the Chinese Turkestan (q.v.). The history of the Later Han, the *Hou Hanshu*, records at least six names of Khotanese kings in the first two centuries CE (Chavannes, 1907, pp. 171 ff.). The history of the Liang, the *Liangshu*, adds two more during the Later Han and another one under Wei Wendi (r. 220-26), but it is impossible to recover an indigenous Khotanese form from any of these.

The earliest local documentation on Khotan possibly comes from the Later Han in the form of the so-called Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins. These coins, discovered mostly in Khotan since the end of the 19th century, bear short legends in Chinese as well as in Prākṛit in the Kharoṣṭhī script. If the reading of the Kharoṣṭhī legends as *yuti/yudi rāja* is correct (Cribb, 1984, pp. 130-35, and 137 f.), the coins were issued by Khotanese kings. On the other hand, the attempts to identify some of the names in the Kharoṣṭhī script with those Khotanese kings in the *Hou Hanshu* have been less successful (Cribb, 1984, pp. 139 f.; followed by Wang, pp. 37 f.). In fact, it is the absolute lack of matching between the two sources that led earlier scholars (cf. Enoki, 1965, p. 240; Idem, 1992, p. 394) to date these coins to either much earlier or much later periods. However, from what we know about the names of Khotanese kings in both Chinese and Khotanese forms during the Tang and Five Dynasties, apart from the royal family name *Viśa'* (that is, *Viśa*), there is apparently no necessary connection between the two forms, no transcription or simple translation of the native name being used in Chinese. Considering this, the second half of the Later Han period (2nd to early 3rd century CE), when Khotan was under the influence of both China and the Kushans, would be quite adequate a dating for these coins.

Another piece of information on Khotan, equally difficult to locate chronologically, comes from the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661 (Boyer et al., p. 249). This document, found by Aurel Stein in Endere between Khotan and Niya to the east, is unique in both script and dialect (Burrow, 1936, p. 430). It may or may not belong to the 3rd century CE, as do other numerous datable Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya and Kroraina. This document, a contract of the purchase of a camel written in Prākṛit, is dated to the third year of the reign of the Khotanese king *Vijita-siṃha* (Burrow, 1940, p. 137). In addition to the earliest local form of the king's name, it gives an Iranian epithet *hīnāza* (army leader) as well as a few other, clearly Iranian, personal names.

Thus it shows that the royal family, as well as a substantial part of the population, was Iranian at that time.

For the history between these earliest documentations and the period when, in the 8th to 10th centuries, we have relatively abundant local documents in the Khotanese language, as well as in Chinese (and to a lesser extent in Tibetan), we have to rely exclusively on the Chinese sources. These are basically of two groups. The first is the official dynastic histories which occasionally give records of tribute from Khotan in the annalistic part of successive emperors. In addition, they usually have a chapter on the Western Regions, which includes a section on Khotan (Yutian). The second group includes collections of biographies of eminent monks, who either traveled to the Western Regions and returned to China, or came to China from India (or from one of the oasis states in Central Asia). These writings, as well as catalogues of the Buddhist scriptures (Tripiṭaka) in Chinese, occasionally contain records on Khotan. As early as 1820, the French Sinologist Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788-1832) translated a section of Khotan in the Chinese encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Collection of Books Old and New)—a vast classified compilation in 10,000 volumes completed in 1725. This book contains records on Khotan from the histories of the Former (Western) Han, Later (Eastern) Han, Three Kingdoms, Jin, Liang, Northern Wei, Northern Zhou, Sui, Tang (including the source book *Cefu Yuangui*), Later Jin, Later Han (of the Five Dynasties), Song, and Ming dynasties. It also includes important sections on Khotan from the *Travels* of Faxian (around 400), Songyun (in 519), and Xuanzang (in 644). Abel-Rémusat's translation is somewhat antiquated, and at times misleading, yet it was the main source for the chapter "Historical Notices of Khotan" in Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan* published in 1907.

Of the three pilgrims who visited Khotan roughly 120 years apart, Faxian gives an elaborate description of Mahāyāna temples and Buddhist rituals in Khotan (Legge, pp. 16-20; Beal, 1888, pp. 8-12; Giles, pp. 4-6), but otherwise he hardly provides any historical information. Songyun (Chavannes, 1903b, pp. 395-97) reports on a legend of the conversion of a Khotanese king to Buddhism. He also states that the power of the Hephthalites (q.v.) in the west reaches Khotan. Xuanzang's account (Beal, 1884, II, pp. 309-22; Watters, II, pp. 295-302) on Khotan is by far the longest. His remarks on the name of Khotan have been much discussed (Pelliot, pp. 408-18; Hambis, p. 37). According to Xuanzang, the country's official name was *Kustana* (meaning 'Earth-breast' in Sanskrit), while the local population called it *Huanna* (which exactly reflects the Late Khotanese form *hvaṃna-* as opposed to the Old Khotanese form *hvatāna-*). The traditional Chinese name Yutian and/or forms similar to it are, according to him, either foreign or non-standard. The official name is justified in the foundation legend, which he tells at length. In the version of the *Travels*, it is the ministers of the son of King Aśoka (q.v.; ca. 272-31 BCE) who fled India and founded Khotan, where the earth rose in the form of a breast. In the *Life* (Beal, 1888, p. 203) and in the Tibetan *Prophecy of the Li* (that is, Khotan) *Country* (Thomas, pt. 1, pp. 100 f.; Emmerick, 1967, pp. 19-21), it is the banished prince himself who, having been fed by the breast from the earth, later founded the kingdom. Although found in two independent sources, which shows that the story was widespread, it is a legend devised to claim a noble origin of the lineage and should not be confused with historical data (against this see

Emmerick, 1979, p. 167; Idem, 1983, p. 263). No colonialization of Khotan by India in the 3rd century BCE is to be considered seriously. The same is true of the Tibetan *Prophecy*, which narrates the stories of fifty-six kings and one regent of Khotan (Emmerick, 1969, pp. 76-77) who founded monasteries. The purpose of the work being the commemoration of the pious foundation of each king, no exact dates are given in it, and there is also no guarantee that all the kings are listed. Even though the names of the kings and their sequence may mostly be accurate, it is difficult to use this text as historical data unless it is otherwise independently corroborated (cf. Pulleyblank, *apud* Emmerick 1969, p. 100).

On the other hand, Khotan is prominent in the history of Chinese Buddhism. One of the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in 25,000 verses, was brought from Khotan in 282 CE. Since then, a great number of important translations were made from the Sanskrit texts brought from Khotan, made by Khotanese monks, or both. Dharmakṣema, who translated the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra*, and Buddhahadra, who translated the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in sixty volumes (both active in the early 5th century), are among the most famous ones (for the list of translated works see Kumamoto, 1999; for the earlier period up to the 4th century see Zürcher, who goes in much greater detail). These facts, gleaned from collections of biographies of eminent monks, as well as from the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, can tell about the religious situation of Khotan at respective times, but hardly about anything else. However, with the advent of the unified China in 618 under the Tang dynasty, which followed the short-lived Sui (581-618), the situation greatly improved.

Under the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song. At the beginning of the 7th century, the Western Turks under Tong-yehu Kehan (that is, *Toŋ Yaβγy Xayan) expanded their rule over the Western Regions, and Khotan became their vassal state also. The way the Western Turks ruled was that each king of such a vassal state was conferred the Turkish title of *Iltābār*, and that a Turkish *Tudun* was stationed there to supervise the government and taxation. Tong-yehu Kehan was assassinated in 628 (or in 630, after arranging safe passage for Xuanzang on his way to India; see Chavannes, 1903a, pp. 194-95), and the fight for power ensued within the Turks resulting in the decline of their grip on the oasis states. It was the time when the emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty was contemplating an expansion to the Western Regions. In 632, the king of Khotan named Yuchi Wumi for the first time sent to the Tang an envoy, who was warmly received there. In 640, the Tang conquered Gaochang in Turfan. In 644, Xuanzang, on his way back from India, was welcomed in Khotan and was cordially escorted to the border of China. In 646, Yipishegui Kehan of the Western Turks sent an envoy to the Tang asking for the hand of a Chinese princess. Taizong requested five countries including Kucha, Kashghar, and Khotan as a gift in exchange. In 648, the Tang defeated Kucha. The king of Khotan, Fushe Xin, being afraid of the Tang, sent his son to the Tang army, offering 300 camels. The Chinese general Xue Wangbei came to Khotan, and Fushe Xin then accompanied him to China, where the Khotanese king was conferred the title of *Youxiaowei Dajiangjun* (The Great General of the Right Brave Guard). He left his sons in the Tang capital Chang'an and returned to Khotan.

In 650, Ashina Helu of the Western Turks revolted against the Tang. It took the Tang until 657 to

defeat the Western Turks and to establish their suzerainty over the Western Regions. In 658, the Tang moved the Anxi (Pacifying the West) Protectorate from Turfan to Kucha, with four garrison posts in Kucha, Khotan, Qarashahr, and Kashghar. The remaining forces that once constituted the Western Turks continued to attack the Tang even after that. In 659 and 665, Khotan was attacked and had to be rescued by the Tang army. Such attacks were supported by the Tibetans who started to expand to the north at that time. In 661, a Khotanese king, accompanying the emperor Gaozong, enjoyed music in Luoyang. He must have been forced to stay in China due to the fighting in Khotan.

In 670, the Tibetans occupied Khotan and then Aqsu, and the Tang had to abandon the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The next twenty years saw repeated restorations and losses of the Four Garrisons, during which period Khotan was alternately occupied by the Tibetans and the Chinese. Under the Chinese, in return to the services rendered by the Khotanese king Fushe Xiong in attacking the Tibetans, the territory of Khotan was made the *Pisha* Protectorate with ten subdivisions, and the king was made *Pisha Dudu*. Finally, in 692, the Tang succeeded in stabilizing the situation by permanently stationing 30,000 Chinese troops in the Western Regions. For about sixty years after that, these oasis states remained under the Chinese control. It was during this period that visits of Khotanese monks to China reached their peak, and they translated the Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit, current in Khotan, into Chinese. The most productive among them were Śikṣānanda, who translated the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty volumes, and Devaprajña, who also translated a part of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. A number of texts they translated into Chinese have come down to us in the Khotanese language as well, although in somewhat different versions.

From the end of the 7th to the middle of the 8th century, Khotan was ruled by the Vice Military Governor (*Jiedu Fushi*) of the Anxi Protectorate. The main forces of the army were stationed in Kucha. Khotan was next to it in importance; Korean pilgrim Huichao states that in 727 a large Chinese army was stationed in Khotan (Fuchs, p. 456; Yang et al., p. 57). The post of the Vice Military Governor was occupied either by a Chinese general, or by a Khotanese king (it is known that in 760 the Chinese court appointed Yao, the younger brother of the Khotanese king Yuchi Sheng, to be Vice Military Governor). In either case, the local administration was maintained by the Khotanese, with official titles both in Chinese (Ch. *cishi*, used in Khot. as *tsīṣī*; Ch. *changshi*, used in Khot. as *cāṃṣṣī*) and Khotanese (Khot. *spāta*, used in Ch. as *sabo*; Khot. *pharṣa*, used in Ch. as *posha*). From this period, numerous documents in Chinese and Khotanese concerning the local government of Khotan have survived; they were chiefly unearthed from the Domoko oasis to the east of Khotan and are preserved in the Hoernle and Stein collections in the British Library in London, in the Hedin collection in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, and in the Petrovsky and Malov collections in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Among them are two Chinese documents, Hedin 24 (Pulleybank apud Bailey, 1961, pp. 136-38; new reading in Zhang and Rong, 1997, pp. 340-43) and M.T. c iii (Chavannes, 1913, pp. 216-17), both dated 786, which were issued from the office of Vice Military Governor. For this period we have a precious testimony by the Chinese pilgrim Wukong that in the year 787 the Khotanese king Yuchi Yao, whom we know to be Viśa' Vāhaṃ in Khotanese

documents and whose reign began in 767 (Zhang and Rong, 1997, pp. 351-56), was still reigning there (Lévi and Chavannes, p. 363).

Following the Chinese defeat by the Abbasid forces at Talas in 751, An Lushan's rebellion began in 755. In 756 the Khotanese king Yuchi Sheng came to support the emperor with 5,000 troops, most probably including the Chinese garrison forces. Khotan was thus exposed to other military threats, especially from the south. At that time the Tibetans under Khri srong lde btsan (r. 755-96) started to expand toward the east, and by 763 they captured the eastern part of the present-day Gansu, effectively isolating the Chinese garrisons in the Tarim basin from the central government. From 763 until the eventual occupation by the Tibetans, the Chinese administration in Khotan continued, as the documents bearing the dates in this period show. After fending off aggressions for more than thirty years, Khotan succumbed to Tibet in 798 or shortly after that, but before 801 (Zhang and Rong, 1997, pp. 348-50).

During the Tibetan rule, the royal house of the Viśa' (usually transcribed as *Yuchi* in Chinese, but earlier also as *Fushe*, *Pisha*, etc.) family continued, as we have the panegyric to the king Viśa' Kīrtti (a Khotanese manuscript in the British Library, IOL Khot 50/4; Skjaervø, 2002, p. 285), mentioning the 16th year (not "the 6th" as in Bailey, 1968, p. 91) of the Tibetan rule. However, the Tibetan document P.t. 1089 of the Pelliot collection from Dunhuang reveals that the rank of the king of Khotan was considered far more inferior than that of the Tibetan military governor stationed at Mazar Tagh. It seems that the unified military rule of the Tibetan empire rapidly disintegrated after their king Glang Darma was assassinated in 842. But locally the Tibetan influence upon Khotan lingered (see Uray, 1981, pp. 81-90; idem, 1988, pp. 515-28; Takeuchi, 1990, pp. 175-90; idem, 2004, pp. 341-48). A large number of Tibetan manuscript fragments from the Khotan area, originally studied by F. W. Thomas and later catalogued by Takeuchi in 1997-98, belong to this period. We find some personal names, previously attested in Khotanese manuscripts, written there in the Tibetan script.

For the second half of the 9th century, we have virtually no information on Khotan. This was the time when, on the one hand, the Chinese in Dunhuang regained independence from the Tibetans after the successful campaign, which started in 848 and was headed by Zhang Yichao who had the title of the Military Governor of the Return to Righteousness Army (*Guiyijun Jiedushi*) conferred upon himself by the Tang in 851. On the other hand, a group of the Uyghurs, who had been driven away from Mongolia around 840 (Drompp, pp. 7-8), came to the south to settle in Ganzhou (Zhangye) by 880. The founding of the Uyghur kingdom in Ganzhou to the west of China (for the history of this group of Uyghurs see Hamilton, 1955; for the period of the Five Dynasties [907-60] and for the period of the early Song [960-1028] see Pinks, 196), which later included Suzhou (Jiuquan), resulted in the isolation from China of Shazhou (Dunhuang) which lay further westward. In order to survive on the trade route between Khotan and Ganzhou, the rulers of Shazhou had to maintain a working relationship with both. We have four or five important Khotanese documents from Dunhuang, which probably belong to the late 880s and concern the difficulties on the road of the Khotanese envoys which were entrusted with escorting Khotanese princes in their pilgrimage to the Wutaishan (a "Mecca" of the Mañjuśrī belief) in China. During this time, however, no mention of Khotan or the Khotanese

(princes or otherwise) is made in the numerous Chinese documents from Dunhuang. Neither is there any record of Khotanese envoys in the official Chinese sources which are regrettably defective regarding this period.

It is only in the 10th century that we are relatively better informed on Khotan and the Khotanese. The sources are divided into four groups: 1) Chinese dynastic histories and classified collections of their sources, which record the arrivals of envoys from Khotan and occasionally the dispatch of the Chinese envoys to Khotan; a fragment of the *Travel to Khotan* by Gao Juhui, which survives as a quotation in the *Xin Wudai-shi*, deserves special mention (Pulleyblank); 2) Khotanese texts found in Dunhuang, from which the names of the Khotanese kings and their regnal years can be obtained; 3) Inscriptions of patrons and donors in the cave temples of Dunhuang; 4) Chinese documents from Dunhuang, which occasionally mention Khotan and the Khotanese. It should be mentioned that no Khotanese texts, which can be considered to belong to this period for sure, have come out from the Khotan area. All available materials come from Dunhuang, and the texts are all in the variety of the Khotanese language that is called Late Khotanese. Among them is one official letter from the Khotanese king Viśa' Śūra, which is dated 970 and addressed to Cao Yuanzhong, the ruler of Shazhou. It had certainly been sent from Khotan and was found in Dunhuang (Pelliot collection in Paris, Khotanese MS P 5538 recto). A fragment of another official letter (Pelliot collection in Paris, Khotanese MS P 4091), with expressions similar to those in MS P 5538, must also have come from Khotan. All other manuscripts probably also derive from Dunhuang, as some of them explicitly state that they were in fact written there.

From the first kind of sources above, combined with the information on the names and years of reign of the Khotanese kings from the second, we learn that the Khotanese king Viśa' Saṃbhava (called Li Shengtian in the Chinese sources) sent envoys with tribute to China (Later Jin) in 938, and China in return sent envoys led by Gao Juhui to Khotan. Zhang and Rong pointed out (1993 [reprint of an article originally published in 1989], p. 120) that the *Xin Wudaishi* records an earlier visit of a Khotanese priest to China during the period of 923-26, which may be the earliest record of a Khotanese in China after the Tibetan rule. From the inscriptions in the cave temples, as well as from some Chinese documents, we know that the relations between Dunhuang and Khotan became very close after the Cao family came to power in the former around 920 (Cao rulers bore the title *Jiedushi*, or Military Governor, but they were practically kings of Dunhuang). The daughter of Cao Yijin (920?-934 or 935) was married to Viśa' Saṃbhava, and the third daughter of the latter was married to Cao Yuanzhong (one of the sons of Cao Yijin and the *Jiedushi* in 946-74). Viśa' Saṃbhava (Li Shengtian) is the patron of Cave No. 98 of Dunhuang, and the picture of his third daughter depicted as Queen of Shazhou is found in Cave No. 61. Another cave, No. 444, has an inscription of two Khotanese princes, who were most probably younger brothers of the Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi, who writes in one of the surviving verses in Khotanese with his name as author, "my mother, the great Chinese Queen" (Pelliot collection in Paris, Khotanese MS P 3510, fol. 7, line 6; published by Bailey, 1951, p. 52). Similarly, another daughter of Cao Yijin was married to the Uyghur Khagan of Ganzhou. Cao Yuande, the eldest son of Yijin and the *Jiedushi* in 934/4-940?, treated the Uyghur Khagan as a son, to whom

Cao Yuanshen, Yuande's younger brother and the *Jiedushi* in 940?-945, was an elder brother(-in-law). Cao Yuanzhong, the youngest brother, married his daughter to a Uyghur Khagan, to whom he acted as father-in-law.

According to Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang (Zhang and Rong, 1993, p. 112), the earliest datable document that attests to the existence of the Khotanese in Dunhuang is the Chinese MS P 4640 from the Pelliot collection in Paris. It is a series of records of expenditure on cloth and paper from the storehouse official of the *Guiyijun*. Closer to the end of the document, where transactions of the year 901 are recorded, Khotanese envoys are listed as recipients. Next comes the Chinese MS S 1366 from the British Library, which is a series of records of expenditure of flour and oil by the reception official of the *Guiyijun*. It is dated around 920 and, among other, records the payments made after a funeral to a Khotanese priest and a Khotanese envoy.

Documents like these—recording the payments for flour, oil, cotton, millet, wine, and firewood to the Khotanese—are found among the Dunhuang Chinese manuscripts, the latest of which, MS P 2744 dated 980-82, mentions two Khotanese envoys and a Khotanese priest. In addition to them, we have a few Chinese documents from Dunhuang, which are dated not by the Chinese but by the Khotanese eras (*nianhao*) in the Chinese style (for the discussion of these eras see Zhang and Rong, 1999, pp. 181-92). These are letters written by persons with Chinese names. It still remains questionable whether they were Chinese employed by the Khotanese government, or rather Khotanese with Chinese names (at least when writing in Chinese).

Songshi, the official history of the Song, records that in 971 a Khotanese envoy arrived at the court with the tribute of a captured elephant when Khotan defeated Kashghar. The above-mentioned letter of the Khotanese king Viśa' Śūra to Dunhuang also refers to the war with Kashghar. According to the Khotanese sources, the king Viśa' Dharma, who succeeded Viśa' Śūra in about 978, was still ruling in 982. Zhang and Rong (1993, p. 122) point out that as late as in 994 a Khotanese priest Jixiang came to China. The prolonged war with Kashghar ended up with the conquest of Khotan by the Turkish Qarā-khanids (see ILAK-KHANIDS). Islamic sources record that by 1006 Yusof Qāder Khan (r. 1026-32) was calling himself the ruler of Khotan (Barthold, p. 273, p. 281, fn. 2; Pritsak, p. 295, fn. 3; Samolin, pp. 80-82). In 1009 the ruler of Khotan sent tribute to China under the name of the *Heihanwang* King (Black Khan, that is, Qarā Khan). If this mission came through the ordinary route, it means that the new regime of Khotan had established a relationship with the Cao family in Dunhuang, which lasted, according to the Chinese official histories, at least up to 1023. Ganzhou was conquered by the Tangut Xixia dynasty in 1026, and Guazhou near Shazhou in 1028. Although the Chinese sources record several missions from Shazhou between 1030 and 1052, it is likely that by 1030 Shazhou was already under the control of the Tanguts.

See also CHINESE-IRANIAN RELATIONS i. In pre-Islamic Times; CHINESE TURKESTAN ii. In pre-Islamic Times.

Hiroshi Kumamoto

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KHOTAN iii. History in the Islamic Period

Islamization. While Khotan's pre-Islamic history has attracted extensive scholarly attention, its Islamic history remains poorly studied. An apparent paucity of sources led one scholar to assert that "[T]here was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost" (Hambis, p. 38). Indeed, it must be conceded that few known works can reliably be attributed to Khotanese Muslim authors until the 19th century. Nevertheless, Khotan, owing to its peripheral position in Chinese Central Asia, played a recurring role in Islamic history as the land beyond Kashgar and Yarkand and a site of resistance military invasions therefrom, as well as a base from which to strike back in that direction. Moreover, a Khotanese Islamic historical tradition has long existed in the form of legends related to the region's Islamization in the 11th century. By taking such sources into account, and by considering patterns in Khotan's relations with its neighbors, it is possible to make up for some deficiencies in available sources and reconstruct the region's history up to the formal end of independent Islamic authority in the 1950s.

As of the mid-10th century, Khotan was a buffer state situated between the Muslim Ilak-khanids (q.v.) or Qara-khanids (388-607/998-1212), Song China (960-1279), and Tibet. The *Ḥodud al-ālam* (written 372/982-83) places it "within the land of China" (*Āl-Īn*) but "on the boundary of China and Tibet," while its ruler styled himself "Lord of the Turks and the Tibetans" (*al-Malik al-Turk wa'l-Tubbat*) (tr. Minorsky, pp. 85-86, 96, 260). The population of Khotan was majority Buddhist.

The date of Khotan's conquest by the Ilak-khans ruling from Kashgar (q.v.) is a matter of debate. The earliest conflicts dated to the late 350s/960s at the latest, at a time when Khotan secured recognition from the Song court (Millward, pp. 155-56; Pritsak, 1953, pp. 25, 28). However, its conquest was completed during the reign of the co-*qaḡan* (see KHAGAN) Yusof Qāder Khan (d. 423/1032) and before 407/1016-17, when he had coins struck in his name at Khotan. The *Ketāb al-Yamini* (composed after 410/1019-20) by Abu Naṣr Moḥammad 'Otbi (q.v.; d. ca. 427/1036) also refers to him as the "Khan of Khotan" at the time of his co-*qaḡan* Naṣr b. 'Alī's war with Maḥmud of Ġazna in 397/1006-7 (Barthold, pp. 273, 281; Pritsak, 1951, p. 295, n. 3).

The 407/1016–17 coins bear the title “King of the East and of China” (*malek al-mašreq wa’l-Šin*), where “China” reflected earlier Khotanese claims to be rulers of China (Biran, 2005, p. 99; Wen, pp. 334-36). This claim emerged during the power vacuum left after the T’ang dynasty’s (618-907) withdrawal of its garrisons from the Tarim basin in 755. Where the orientalist V. V. Barthold (q.v.; d. 1930) earlier regarded the persistent confusion between Khotan (*k.t.n*) and China (*š.y.n*) as a scribal error (Minorsky, p. 24), it is now understood as an assertion of identity, and one that has persisted in the depiction of Khotan in Chinese Turkestan through the present. Certain ruins near Khotan are still identified as the capital of the “Khan of Khans of Čin and Māčin,” indicating China and South China, respectively (Stein, p. 249).

In the geographical imagination as reflected in legends and historical writings from Chinese Turkestan, Khotan has since come to stand for Turan as depicted in the *Šāh-nāma* (q.v.), while the boundaries of Iran have been extended to Kashgar and Yarkand (Dawut, pp. 135-38; Thum, pp. 20-23). In legend, the conflict between the Persian world and the non-Persian land beyond has been mapped onto the Qara-khanid-Khotanese war between Muslims and non-Muslims. Not far from Khotan (in Bāštoğraq, Lop) is the alleged tomb of Siāvaš (see KAYĀNIĀN vi), while the Qara-khanids themselves were known as the “house of Afrasiab” (*āl-e Afrāsiāb*). The drama of Siāvaš, the Iranian prince who, in the *Šāh-nāma*, is granted Khotan by the ruler of Turān, but is ultimately betrayed by him, plays out on the actual Khotanese landscape. Meanwhile, Siāvaš is now regarded locally as an Islamic saint, the son of the ruler of the “Seven Cities” of the Tarim basin, while Turān has been relocated in China. In the Khotanese version of the story, Siāvaš himself founded Khotan for his wife, who was the daughter of the ruler of China. Siāvaš was eventually buried there, symbolically securing the place of Islam in Khotan.

The precise date of the Qara-khanid conquest, then, is less significant today than its reflection of how people conceived of Khotan’s place in the world, as the events surrounding it have passed into legend. Mollā Musā Sayrāmi (1252-1335/1836-1917) described Khotan at the dawn of the 20th century as the “Land of Martyrs” (*šahidāna Kōtan*) on account of its many shrines where the heroes of Islamization are believed to be buried (Sayrāmi, pp. 329–32): Qum Rabāṭ Pādšāhim, also known as the “Pigeon Shrine” (*kāptār mazār*), marks a place where, according to legend, the Qara-khanid forces fell into an ambush by Khotanese Buddhists during an advance on Khotan at the end of the 10th century (Dawut, pp. 142–43, 146–47; Stein, p. 179). The Qara-khanid general Imam Šāker fell from his horse, and, rather than be captured, he thrust a knife into his own chest (or belly). A pair of pigeons flew from the wound, and the descendants of those pigeons continue an aerial circumambulation of the shrine to this day. The same flock, which was maintained by pilgrims’ donations, was thought to guide pilgrims a further ten kilometers to the oasis of Ziba. (During the same battle, Imam Šāker’s son also disappeared, and the site of his presumed death is marked with a simple shrine called “Only Son” [*Yalğuz Oğul*].) While Qum Rabāṭ Pādšāhim itself was flooded by the construction of a reservoir under the People’s Republic of China, the memory of the conquest remains.

The “Legend of the Four Sacrificed Imams” (*Tadkera-ye tört emām-e dabihtar*), also called “Legend of the Imams of Khotan” (*Tadkera-ye emāmān-e Kōtan*), celebrates four imams who accompanied Yusof Qāder Khan but were killed in battle with the Khotanese (Thum, pp.

139–41). According to the story, Yusof Qāder Khan appointed as the shaikh of their shrine a man named K̲ez̲r Bābā, who was conceived in western Turkestan but born locally, confirming the interconnection between Khotan and Central Asia proper. The known versions of this legend date at the earliest to the 12th/18th century.

Despite the conquest, Islamization was slow. According to another legend, in 1026, seven imams, all of whom were brothers, and their daughters came to Khotan to complete its conversion (Dawut, pp. 144-45). They were instead defeated in battle by Buddhist leaders whom the legends call Čoqti Rašid and Noqti Rašid. A pair of shrine complexes—one for the imams, called Seven Imams (now called *imami äptäh* in Uyghur), and another for their daughters—became important pilgrimage and burial sites. (The shrine of Qoçqar Ata has a similar legend but locates it in the 13th century [Tokhti].) The Khotanese language did not die out immediately after this occupation, either, and Maḥmud Kāšġari (fl. 464-76/1075-94) claimed that the people of Khotan at his time still spoke Turkic poorly (Golden, p. 17).

Other accounts assert that there were much earlier attempts at Islamization, notably in connection with a place bearing a Persian name, Kuh-e Mār “Snake Mountain” (Dawut, pp. 123-25, 139-41). Legend holds that a descendant of Ḥasan b. ‘Ali named Moḥebb K̲v̲āja came from Arabia to spread Islam and, on his death, was transformed into a snake. Snake Mountain appears to have been sacred to the Khotanese Buddhists, as indicated in the account of Xuanzang (602-64), not unlike many sacred sites in Chinese Turkestan.

Such revelations of continuity in sacred sites across Islamization previously led scholars to reduce local Islamic practices to mere reinterpretations of Buddhism or other pre-Islamic religions (e.g., Stein, p. 247). However, modern scholarship understands such narratives as sites of contestation over an ancient past that remains very much alive (Thum). The repetition of the stories of Khotan’s Islamization either reflected patterns of conflict encouraged by its peculiar geographical position in relation to Kashgaria and China, or shaped how Khotanese people mobilized, or both.

Under the Qarā K̲etay (q.v.) *and Mongol empire*. By 433/1041–42, the Qara-khanids were divided into two branches, and Khotan fell under the rule of the eastern one centered around Kashgar. By 1142, the Qara-khanids were vassals of the Qarā K̲etay (Millward, 56-57). This period remains a murky one, as Khotan appears to have lost its former importance as an entrepot between Kashgar and Yarkand to the west and China to the east, such that it bore little mention in known sources.

In 1210, the Qarā K̲etay leader Küçlüg (1156-1218) deposed his father-in-law the Gürk̲ān (Ḥaydar, pp. 185-87; Jovayni, pp. 65-66, 70-73; Millward, pp. 59-60; Sayrāmi, pp. 329-32). Küçlüg then released the vassal Qara-khanid ruler of Kashgar, whom the Gürk̲ān had imprisoned. However, the rulers of Kashgar and Khotan were not grateful to Küçlüg, but instead rose against him. Küçlüg conquered rebellious Khotan in 1213 and famously compelled its inhabitants to choose between dressing in the Qarā K̲etay manner or abandoning Islam. Reportedly, the majority chose to change their manner of dress. Küçlüg then challenged the clerics of Khotan to a

“debate” meant to prove the inferiority of Islam to his adopted Buddhism. One of them, Imam ‘Alā’-al-Din Moḥammad Kōtani, humiliated Küčlüg, who in retaliation tortured the cleric and had him nailed to a post outside his own madrasa. This story is repeated in several histories. According to Jovayni in his *History of the World-Conqueror*, the people of Khotan therefore welcomed the Mongols when, in 1216-18, they conquered Khotan and killed Küčlüg (Jovayni, pp. 66-68, 73-74), as Chinggis (Čengiz; q.v.) Khan’s armies permitted the free practice of Islam.

Yet Mongol rule placed Khotan in a difficult position between different branches of the empire. In 1227, while the western Tarim basin fell under the Chaghatayid *ulus* (see CHAGHATAYID DYNASTY) centered around Central Asia, Khotan was technically part of the realm of the Great Khan who ruled China. The Great Khan Ögedei Qa’an (Ūktāy Qa’ān; r. 627–639/1229–1241) placed the Khwarazmian Maḥmud Yalāvač (d. 1254) in charge of the administration of Central Asia. Maḥmud’s son Mas‘ud Beg (d. 1289) succeeded him in 1241. Mas‘ud Beg was compelled to leave the post after Ögedei’s death during Töregene’s regency but returned to it under the next Beijing-based ruler Güyüg Khan. In 1252, Möngke Khan (r. 1251-59) granted Mas‘ud Beg the governorship of Khotan along with the rest of Central Asia as far west as Almaliq and Farḡāna (Biran, 1997, pp. 97–98; Jovayni, p. 597).

Khotan’s place within the Mongol Empire thus remained in flux, as it often straddled the boundaries between these two administrations (Biran, 1997, pp. 34, 38, 42-44, 87). In 1266, the Chaghatayid Baraq (d. 1271) seized Khotan during a rebellion against the Great Khan Qubilai (r. 1271-94). A peace treaty followed, and in 1268, Qubilai apparently ceded Khotan to Baraq. Subsequently, however, Qubilai attempted to exert control in the Tarim basin by establishing postal stations, dispatching artisans, and levying taxes, which efforts included a 1271 census of Khotan. Weaving silk had been an important industry in Khotan for some time, but Marco Polo upon his visit in the early 1270s also noted that Khotan was a center for cotton production, possibly as a result of the Mongol development of the area (Polo, pp. 188-91).

In 1274-75, prince Hoqu rebelled, probably as a reaction to Qubilai’s efforts, and in the process laid waste to Khotan. Subsequently in 1276, Qubilai established a garrison there and continued his efforts to develop and secure the region through the “pacification bureau” (Chinese *xuanweisi*). Clashes with Chaghatayid ruler Qaidu (ca. 1230–1301) at Khotan in 1281 and 1283 prompted Qubilai to extend the postal network across the southern rim of the Tarim Basin via Khotan, thus demonstrating its integration into the realm of the Great Khan. In 1287, Qubilai provided famine relief there, and then established agricultural colonies. In 1288 and 1289, however, Qubilai’s artisans, farmers, and soldiers all retreated from Khotan, effectively ceding control of it to Qaidu.

Duḡlāt. While the events of the Mongol period in Khotan are relatively obscure, they established the model and precedents for Islamic rule there for the next several centuries. According to the *Tārikh-i Rašidi* of Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥaydar Duḡlāt (1499/1500-1551), Khotan was part of the fiefdom that the Chinggisid Chaghatay Khan (r. 1226-42) granted to Ortu Börä, the progenitor of the Duḡlāt clan and Ḥaydar’s own ancestor (Ḥaydar, pp. 7-8, 188). This territory, which stretched from Khotan to the western end of the Farḡāna valley, was called

Manglai Suya, meaning “facing the sun,” and Ortu Börä’s descendants retained it as their birthright. Because the Duġlāts descended from Mongols, that region became known as “Moġulestān.”

According to legend, when the Chagatayid Esen Boqa Khan (r. ca. 1310-18) died without an apparent successor, one of Ortu Börä’s descendants located his lost son, Tuġluq Temür Khan (1329/30-1363), who eventually rose to supreme power in the Chagatai *ulus* (Ḥaydar, pp. 7–8, 188). Power was thenceforth held in reality by a Duġlāt in partnership with a Chinggisid khan, who was usually relatively weak.

The Duġlāt amir Ḳodāydād (r. 765-850/1363 or 64-1446 or 47) later incorporated Khotan more firmly into the Moġul realm (Ḥaydar, pp. 37, 53-54). Ḳodāydād accomplished this in part by granting Khotan to his half-brother Ḳežršāh and making Khotan in turn subordinate to Kashgar and Yarkand, which Ḳodāydād placed under the rule of his own son. This hierarchy differed from the situation under the Qarakhanids, when Khotan appears to have held a separate but roughly equal status to Kashgar. This status is complicated somewhat by the *History of the Ming* (*Ming shi*), which obliquely notes Khotan’s incorporation into Yarkand and Kashgar under Ḳodāydād. However, Khotan and Kashgar are treated separately as “tributaries.” Khotan is mentioned as having sent emissaries or traders to the Ming court in 1406, and again in 1420, 1422, and 1424, before new restrictions on these “tribute” missions led to a decrease in formal contact (*Ming shi*, *juan* 332).

The subordination of Khotan to Yarkand and Kashgar lasted only until the reign of Moḥammad Ḥaydar Mirzā (r. 869 or 70-885/1465-80), under whom Ḳežršāh’s descendant Khan Naẓar Mirzā and his brother Qol Naẓar Mirzā proclaimed their independence and that of Khotan (Ḥaydar, pp. 166-68; Stein, p. 249). A pattern of military action and betrayal emerged that resonated in later conflicts and their narratives: First, the khan’s nephew Abā Bakr Mirzā (d. after 920/1514), the son of the previous ruler, begged the khan’s permission to lead forces from Kashgar and Yarkand to subdue Khotan. Abā Bakr made two attempts: The first attack ended in a truce. The second time, Abā Bakr tricked Khan Naẓar Mirzā into attending a peace conference, but instead assassinated him as he reached out to place his hand upon a Qur’an. Abā Bakr captured Khotan and put Qol Naẓar Mirzā to death. In 884/1479, Abā Bakr himself used Khotan much as the brothers had, as a base from which to launch his own conquest of Kashgar in 885/1480. Abā Bakr later sent successful expeditions against Tibet via Khotan. He reportedly also excavated ruins in search of treasure, as later corrupt rulers of Khotan were said to do.

Obscurity under the late Duġlāts and the Yarkand khanate. By the time that Mirzā Ḥaydar wrote in 954/1547, Khotan, despite being “among the well-known cities of the world,” had “nothing to write about” (tr. Thackston, p. 190). Indeed, in accounts of the era of Duġlāt rule, Khotan itself appears only as a minor political player, or as a place of temporary refuge from politics in Kashgar and Yarkand. The same was true under the Yarkand Khanate (920-1117/1514-1705). Khotan barely merits any mention in the major historical works from this period, not even in the chronicle (dated early 1080s/1670s) of Šāh Maḥmud Čuras (fl. 11th/17th c.). During this period, the Maḳdumzāda *kʷājas*—descendants of the Sufi leader Mawlānā Jalāl-al-Din Ḳʷājagi

Aḥmad Kāsāni Maḳdum-e Aʿzam (866–949/1461–1542; see JUYBĀRIS; on the title *kʿāja*, see ALQĀB VA ʿANĀWIN ii)—established themselves across the Tarim basin and had leaders and adherents in Khotan. Eventually, in the 1680s, they in turn came to serve the khanate of the Zunghar Mongols.

The *Tadkera-ye ʿazizān* of Moḥammad Ṣādeq Kāšgari (fl. 13th/18th c.) recounts the role of Khotan in a rebellion among the Maḳdumzāda *kʿājas* against their Zunghar overlords in the early 1750s, when Zunghar rule was weakening (Qāshqāri, p. 175). The Maḳdumzāda leader Kʿāja Ṣeddiq was forced out of Yarkand but fled with his forces to Khotan, where the people greeted him with open arms. Khotan once again played the role of a rallying point from which to attack Yarkand, as Ṣeddiq and his new Khotan-based army successfully expelled the Zunghar-aligned governor there.

That governor, Ġāzi Beg, was himself Khotanese, while the governor of Kashgar, Qoʻsh Kifāk Beg, was also from Khotan. Qoʻsh Kifāk Beg, who by this point was aligned with the *kʿājas*, wrote to Ġāzi Beg, chastising him for ruining the reputation of the Khotanese, which had remained suspect since the days of Yusof Qāder Khan’s conquest. That is, Khotan had remained in legend the object of holy wars conducted from the Muslim cities of Kashgar and Yarkand, which marked it as a land apart from the rest of Moḡulestān. Since Islamization, the Khotanese had therefore been obliged repeatedly to demonstrate their belonging to the Muslim community as well as their political loyalty. Qoʻsh Kifāk Beg’s criticism of Ġāzi Beg for serving non-Muslim masters, even when his fellow Khotanese had committed themselves to holy war, reflects a self-consciousness surrounding Khotanese identity.

Perhaps this awareness of Khotanese separateness contributed to the perception of the lack of a Khotanese historical tradition, compounded by Khotan’s relative distance from Yarkand, a history of warfare between the cities, and maybe at this point the emergence of dialectal differences that now mark Khotanese Uyghur as distinct from other dialects (Yakup). Obviously, people wrote in Khotan, but their texts may have circulated locally, rather than to places where foreign travelers collected the manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan that are known best to scholarship today.

Qing. The Manchu-led Qing empire (1636/44–1911) defeated the Zunghar Khanate in the 1750s, and with it gained suzerainty over the Tarim Basin. This conquest eventually resulted in the displacement of the Maḳdumzāda *kʿājas* from political authority and their replacement with Turkic Muslim officials called *begs* (q.v.), who in turn answered to the military administration in the Ili Valley. Khotan hosted an imperial agent (*amban*) and a tiny garrison of about 200 soldiers, reflecting the low emphasis that the Qing placed on this distant outpost (Newby, pp. 18–19). Khotan had been famous since antiquity for its jade, and now it became the source not only of jade for the market in China but also for the use of the imperial court (Millward, p. 103).

Under the *beg* system, traditional structures of patronage that had supported Persian-language writing seem to have broken down across the region, giving way instead to translation from Persian into Turkic (Thum, p. 60). For example, in 1190/1776, Qoʻsh Kifāk Beg, now serving the

Qing, commissioned a Turkic translation of the Persian *Taḍkerat al-awliā'* (q.v.; Mukhlisov, pp. 26–27). In 1267/1851-52, Moḥammad Niāz b. Ġafur Beg compiled a range of stories from Persian sources and translated them into Turkic in a book called the *Qeşaş al-ġarāyeb wa'l-'ajāyeb*. He did so for the benefit of his patron, the ruler of Khotan, who according to the text was insufficiently literate in Persian to read the originals (Moḥammad Niāz; Sultanov, p. 27). Indeed, Khotan may have been a more significant center of cultural production during this period than has been recognized, particularly with regard to translation. Another mysterious manuscript is a translation into Chaghatay of an unidentified Chinese novel copied in Khotan in 1859, apparently commissioned by a *beg* there (British Library, London, MS Or. 5329). More research is certainly needed.

During the so-called “Muslim uprisings” (Chinese *Huimin qi yi*) that broke out across Chinese Turkestan in 1864, Khotan became the center of one of several new Islamic states. Hodong Kim, triangulating between a number of conflicting accounts, has dated the Khotan uprising to 22 Rabi' I 1281/25 August 1864 (Kim, pp. 49–52, 60, 65–66). Sources indicate that the revolt began in part because news had reached Khotan of the revolt in Kucha that began on 4 June of that year. Local dissatisfaction with the Qing was already strong, on account of over-taxation, and Qing officials became suspicious of a man who had just returned from the *ḥajj* and was subsequently appointed chief judge of Khotan, Ḥabib-Allāh Mofti Ḥāji. Ḥabib-Allāh learned that the officials planned to arrest him, and so he fled to his son's house. Meanwhile, a *Badaḳšāni* (see *BADAḲŠĀN*) living in Khotan and his countrymen attempted to establish their own control over Khotan, but the locals would not accept an outsider as their ruler, and so they approached Ḥabib-Allāh and asked him to lead them in a holy war. Ḥabib-Allāh, who belonged to a sizable and prominent family, gathered his followers in nearby Qaraqash, whence he successfully attacked the Chinese garrison with the aid of foreign commanders from Afghanistan and the Farġāna valley. Other challengers emerged to contest Ḥabib-Allāh's rule, including one Zakariya Iṣān from Ziba (the site of frequent battles, located between Khotan and Yarkand), but none succeeded. The international character of the violence points to Khotan's continued importance as an entrepot for trade.

The main Khotanese source for this period comes from Moḥammad A'lam (n.d.), a participant in the Khotan uprisings who completed a history of it on 18 Šaban 1311/17 December 1894 (Hamada; Hofman, Vol. 4, pp. 156–59; Kim, p. 50). A British traveler met with Ḥabib-Allāh Ḥāji in 1865 (Johnson), and in the early 1890s, a French expedition collected a great deal of oral literature there (Grenard, 1899; Grenard, 1897-98, Vol. 1, pp. 47-59, 88–97). Nevertheless, the history of Khotan itself in this period remains relatively obscure, and we must rely in large part on Musā Sayrāmi's account written in Kucha.

Ḥabib-Allāh's uprising differed from those in other places in that the Turkic-speaking Muslims of Khotan did not only attack Chinese, Manchus, and other non-Muslims, but also the Chinese-speaking Muslims (Hui or *Dungāns*) who had played a key role in the rebellions elsewhere (Hamada, pp. 9-10, 12; Sayrāmi, pp. 113-17). Many non-Muslims, including those from the Chinese garrison, converted under threat of violence, but according to Moḥammad A'lam, Ḥabib-Allāh's commanders later found them to have converted falsely and therefore massacred

them. Shaikh Naẓir-al-Din K̲vāja, a member of the Kucha K̲vāja faction, who was at the time ruling Yarkand, then asked Ḥabib-Allāh to submit to him but received a prideful refusal in response. According to Sayrāmi, Ḥabib-Allāh's rejection stemmed from the identity of Naẓir-al-Din K̲vāja's emissary, who had only a year before served the Qing as an interpreter, and who appeared Chinese to Ḥabib-Allāh in speech and in dress. Naẓir-al-Din K̲vāja then sent his son with a fighting force to conquer Khotan, and a familiar pattern was repeated: Once again, there was a battle at Ziba, wherein Naẓir-al-Din K̲vāja's son was killed. Soon Ḥabib-Allāh sued for peace, however, and offered his nominal submission to Kucha, giving as his reason their common cause and religion. Perhaps Ḥabib-Allāh's emphasis on Islamic identity, along with his rejection of people who presented aspects of being like the Chinese, was informed by an abiding self-consciousness of Khotanese identity.

Ḥabib-Allāh's rule ultimately could not withstand the conquests of Ya'qub Beg (1820–77), who was then consolidating power in Chinese Turkestan from his base in Kashgar. Initial skirmishes between Kashgarian and Khotanese forces were inconclusive. Moḥammad A'lam and Sayrāmi agree that Ya'qub Beg defeated Ḥabib-Allāh by trickery, much as Abā Bakr deceived Khan Naẓar Mirzā: In December 1866, Ya'qub Beg requested permission from Ḥabib-Allāh to visit the shrine of the Sixth Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādeq (q.v.) in Khotan and invited him for a feast at Ziba. The following January, when Ḥabib-Allāh arrived for the feast, Ya'qub Beg ambushed him and sent him to Yarkand for execution. His forces forged a letter of invitation bearing Ḥabib-Allāh's seal, which they used to trick the guards at Khotan's gates into letting them enter the city. Several days of violence followed.

The resulting popular resentment prompted Ya'qub Beg to appoint a "local" as the *ḥākem* of Khotan, and he chose the Yarkandi Niāz Beg (d. 1878). According to the sources, Niāz Beg also followed the model of Abā Bakr: Niāz Beg constructed a grand palace for himself in Khotan, in which he hid buried treasure extracted both from the local population and from his own excavations of nearby ruins (Sayrāmi, pp. 270–80; Schomberg, pp. 148–52; Stein, p. 239). Supporters of Ya'qub Beg later blamed his death on Niāz Beg, claiming that Niāz poisoned him. While this theory is almost certainly false (Kim, pp. 168–69), it raises an old question: Was it Khotan's continued reputation as a site of treachery that made this story believable as a repetition or echo of the past, or was it Niāz Beg's own actions facilitated by his powerful position in Khotan? Niāz Beg did choose to rejoin the Qing in 1877, and he found himself so widely reviled and bereft of opportunity that he killed himself. While Niāz Beg may have deserved a tyrannical reputation, he constructed shelters and waystations along the difficult desert road from Khotan to Yarkand and endowed Islamic institutions. Niāz Beg also patronized a versified account of Ya'qub Beg's conquests, the *Amir-e 'āli* by 'Oṣur Āk̲und b. Esmā'il b. Moḥammad Ġārebi, although it does not provide much detail about Khotan ('Oṣur Āk̲und).

The provincial period and the end of the Islamic era. In 1877, Ya'qub Beg's state fell to Qing armies. The occupying forces began the project to transform the region from a military protectorate into the province of Xinjiang, which it was declared to be in 1884. This marks the beginning of Chinese Turkestan's "provincial period." Khotan, following its final conquest in January 1878, was integrated into the province as a "directly administered prefecture" (Chinese *zhili zhou*), as

its population was in the majority Turkic-speaking Muslim, and the provincial authorities considered it to be an especially sensitive and difficult area. Initially, it was garrisoned mainly by Hui forces who had joined the reconquering army in Gansu.

Over the following decades, Turkic-speaking Muslims remained the overwhelming majority in Khotan, at over 99% according to statistics compiled locally in 1908, while the imposition of Qing imperial and then Chinese political and judicial systems gradually brought about social and cultural change (Xie; Yi; Zhang Shicai et al.). Chaghatay-language documents indicate the persistence of Islamic law, as well as the gradual incorporation of Chinese terminology and units of measurement under the influence of taxation and of government-directed land reclamation, which intensified from 1900 (Guangxu 26) onward.

The transition from the Qing empire to the Republic of China in Xinjiang entailed little substantive change in the administration. However, from 1912, Khotan was part of the Kashgar-based administration of Ma Fuxing (1864–1924), a Hui military officer who held the rank of circuit intendant. In 1924, the governor Yang Zengxin (1864–1928) ordered the Aksu circuit intendant Ma Shaowu (1874–1937) to execute Ma Fuxing and seize power. Afterwards Ma Shaowu was reappointed head of the new Khotan circuit (*dao*), which was split off from the Kashgar circuit.

Many foreign travelers, particularly archaeologists, left memoirs of their visits to Khotan during this period, notably Aurel Stein. Otherwise, the historical record is scanty. The Khotan archives hold a number of manuscript sources produced there (Sulayman), but the manuscripts themselves, as well as records of local government, are inaccessible to researchers.

A rebellion against Chinese rule broke out in Khotan in February 1933. Moḥammad Amin Boḡrā (1901–65), who takes credit for the uprising's conception and early leadership, describes it in his general history of Chinese Turkestan (Boḡrā, pp. 399–408, 416–23, 433–35, 452–54; Shinmen, pp. 138, 140–42). While Boḡrā's role in writing his own history may assign him a larger-than-life role in the revolution, his family did play a major role, and he remained a significant leader for decades after. In Jumada I 1351/September 1932, Boḡrā established the "Khotan Organization for National Revolution" (*Kotan melli enqelāb taškelāti*) with the aim of arming the people of Khotan and establishing an independent Turkic nation-state. However, with the return of the preacher Ṭābet Dāmollā (1883–1934, from Artush) from the *hajj*, the organization began to incorporate members with a religious, and in particular Sufi, orientation. During Ramadan, Ṭābet Dāmollā Ḥājjī lectured on the Quran and took the opportunity to explicate passages on the importance of jihad. This brought an important local religious leader into the organization, Moḥammad Niyāz 'Alam Ākhund, whom the organization elected as its official leader at a meeting on 5 Šawwal 1351/1 February 1933. An uprising had meanwhile begun in Qumul (Hami) and Turfan, which spurred the Khotanese revolutionaries to action. The armed revolution began twelve days later as the provincial government attempted to rally soldiers to capture the rebels.

On 15 August 1933, Sābet Dāmullā established an "Administration Office of the Khotan

Government” (*Kotan edāraṣi*) in Kashgar, and on 10 September the office created the Eastern Turkestan Independence Association (Shinmen, pp. 148–49). The East Turkestan Republic declared at Kashgar on 12 November thus joined the interests of leaders from several oases, and Khotan’s influence was strong. Boḡrā, however, was soon forced to flee to India in early 1934 when Hui forces from Gansu, nominally aligned with the Republic of China, sacked Kashgar and decimated the soldiers led by his brothers, both of whom were killed. That July, the Hui forces left Kashgar for Khotan.

From July 1934 to October 1937, the Hui commander of the Nationalist Army’s 36th Division, Ma Hushan (1910–54), established an independent state in Khotan called “Dungānestan” (Forbes, pp. 125–35, 141–42). (The term *Dungān* indicates Chinese-speaking Muslims.) Its borders stretched from Qarḡiliq at the western edge of Khotan proper to Gansu province in the east. Insofar as anything is known about this short-lived country, it was nominally loyal to the Republic of China. Ma Hushan presented his state as a bulwark against the provincial government of Sheng Shicai (governed 1933–1944), who was at the time backed by the Soviets. Ma Hushan, whom his subjects called the *pādśāh*, led a military government but also one that observers characterized as “colonial,” as its leadership consisted of Chinese-speaking Muslims from Gansu who taxed local Turkic-speaking Muslims in coin but imposed upon them a flood of near-worthless paper money.

In spring 1937, Ma Hushan took advantage of an uprising in Kashgar, marched west, and seized the city. Boḡrā, then in exile in Afghanistan, also attempted to regain power in Kashgar. That summer, however, Soviet forces advanced southward and routed the Muslim forces. Ma and his officers fled to India, while their armies went eastward to Gansu and Qinghai and southward across Tibet, bringing Dungānestān to an end. Khotan was thenceforth brought under the rule of the provincial government. The subsequent era is poorly documented. However, a branch of the *Xinjiang Gazette* (*Shingjāng Geziti*) was established at Khotan in 1939, and it reported local news (Freeman, pp. 238, 244).

Moḡammad Amin Boḡrā returned to China in 1943, and then to Xinjiang in 1945, where he worked in the Nationalist-backed provincial government from 1947 to 1949 (Benson, pp. 97–98, 101–2, 108–9). There he forcefully argued in the press for the Turkic ethno-national identity of his homeland’s people, the colonial nature of Qing and Chinese rule, and the need for the independence of Chinese Turkestan. However, the entrance of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) into Chinese Turkestan in October 1949 prompted Boḡrā to flee over the mountains to India and eventual exile in Turkey.

PLA forces captured Khotan in December 1949 (Dillon, 2014, pp. 211–31). They took the most dangerous road, across the Taklimakan desert from Aksu, presenting a different tactic than the usual approach from Yarkand. This mission was treated with urgency because Khotan was seen as a final and critical frontier in the new country’s border defense. Pro-Nationalist forces stationed there not only garrisoned an important road into Tibet, but also borders with India and Pakistan. Subsequently, through the early 1950s, the PLA established not only a military presence, but also a set of political organs intended to displace local structures of authority.

These efforts continued through a major incident in December 1954 in which remaining followers of Boğrā organized resistance to Chinese rule through an apparent combination of nationalist and Sufi organizations (Dillon, 2003, pp. 52–55). Reasons for their opposition included land reform and the oppression of Islam. Their Salām movement successfully attacked a “reform through labor” (Chinese *laogai*) prison farm before being repelled. Further uprisings took place in March 1956, May 1956, and April 1957. Despite conflict between Khotanese people and Chinese army and paramilitary forces, documents collected in Khotan indicate the persistence and even expansion of central Islamic institutions, such as pious endowments (*waqf*) and courts, through at least 1958 (Xinhua; Zhang, pp. 882–83). Such institutions were damaged irreparably by land reform and the deprivations of the Great Leap Forward (1958–62).

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KHOTAN iv. The Khotanese Language

Khotan was located along the route that is termed the southern Silk Road, which followed the

southern rim of the Tarim Basin (see TAKLAMAKAN). The language of the country, Khotanese, was a Middle Iranian language of the Eastern Middle Iranian type and was spoken before the advent of Islam in this area circa 1000 CE. Three principal stages of Khotanese are known, which may conveniently be termed Old (OKhot.), Middle (MKhot.), and Late Khotanese (LKhot.).

The indigenous name for the people was *hvatana* [hwadana], attested in the 4th century at the city of Niya, to the east of Khotan, as Khotana (in *kharoṣṭhī* script). The land was *hvatana-kšira* [hwadanə-kšira] (MKhot. *hvatam-kšira* [hwa^dã-kšira], LKhot. *hvaṃ-kšira* [hwã-kšira]), and the language *hvatana* 'in Khotanese'. The term *hvatana* could be from *hvata* 'self' and be a self-reference to the Khotanese as the "(rulers) themselves" (pointed out by Konow, 1935, p. 30 [799]). In Indic, the land is called Gostana (Emmerick, 1968b, pp. 88-90), literally "cow = earth breast" (Tibetan *sa-nu*), a name that was also applied to Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka (q.v.) and legendary founder of Khotan (see Skjærvø, 1998, with references). The Tibetan name for Khotan was Li-yul 'the land of Li', with unexplained "Li." The older Chinese form was 于闐 *yutian* from older **Hwa(h)den*, and the modern form is 和田 *hetian* (for Persian *kotan*).

The three principal stages of Khotanese, Old, Middle, and Late, may be assigned approximately to the 5th-6th, 7th-8th, and 9th-10th centuries, respectively. Old and Middle Khotanese are represented by manuscripts found in the area of Khotan proper and eastward as far as Endere, east of Niya, while Late Khotanese is the language of the manuscripts found at Dunhuang (q.v.). Traditionally, in Khotanese studies, only two stages of the language have been distinguished, Old and Late (= Middle and Late) Khotanese, but the main linguistic changes took place between Middle and Late Khotanese.

Grammatical descriptions of the language are found in Leumann, 1912; Konow, 1916, 1932, 1941a, 1949; Dresden, 1955; Bailey, 1958; Emmerick, 1968a, 1989 in *CLI*, pp. 204-29 (q.v. for further details), and 2009. Numerous publications of individual texts contain glossaries. H. W. Bailey's *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* (1967) contains useful discussions of select Iranian and non-Iranian words in that text, while his *Dictionary* (1979) contains only words of Iranian descent, leaving out the entire Indic vocabulary. Emmerick and Skjærvø (1982-97) contains studies by several authors of individual words and grammatical forms.

DECIPHERMENT AND NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

Khotanese documents first arrived in the West in the late 19th century, when A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (q.v.) received a number of manuscripts in a "cursive" Indian script, mostly containing legal documents, but also some Buddhist texts in formal script, from British agents in Kashgar (q.v.) and from M. Aurel Stein (q.v.), who first traveled to Khotan in 1900-1901 and to Khotan and Dunhuang in 1906-8. Some of these, mostly official documents, were in what Hoernle called "cursive" Indian script; others were Buddhist texts in formal script (see Hoernle, 1897, 1899a, 1899b-1901, 1906). Already in his 1901 article, Hoernle proposed that the language of the documents was an Indo-Iranian dialect exhibiting features connecting it with the Pamir languages (pp. 32-33). In the same article, he identified the dating formula and several personal

names. He also correctly determined several numerals. The Buddhist texts in formal script, which Hoernle (followed by Stein, 1907, p. 150) hypothesized was “proto-Tibetan,” but which later turned out to be Old Khotanese, were not deciphered till later. The first to realize that the documents represented two stages of the same language, rather than two different languages, was Ernst Leumann, who, in his report on the problems of decipherment of Tokharian and Khotanese, rejected Hoernle’s “proto-Tibetan” hypothesis (1907a, col. 707 = 1907b, p. 657).

Leumann’s *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur* (1912) contained several important studies of the orthography and phonology of Old and Late Khotanese, and the identity of the language of the documents from Khotan was established by Sten Konow (q.v.) at about the same time (Konow, 1914, p. 343). In this article, Konow identified the terms *hvaṃna* and *viśa’* found in many documents with Chinese *Huan-na* 渾那 ‘Khotan’ and 尉遲 *Yuchi* (also, incorrectly, *Weichi*; Tibetan *Bijaya*), the name of the dynasty of Khotan under the Tang.

There was less agreement about what to call the language. Konow at one stage followed Alexander von Staël-Holstein, who suggested that the Kushanas spoke “Old Khotanī” (1908, p. 1370) and thought the term “Tokharian” referred to the language of Khotan (e.g., Konow, 1912, pp. 564-65; 1914, p. 13). Albert von Le Coq was apparently the first to suggest, on the basis of the geography and history of the area, that it was “the lost language of the Saka” (1909, p. 318); and Heinrich Lüders argued that the language of the “Śaka kṣatrapas” showed several close similarities with the language of Khotan, among them the use of the ligature <ys> to spell the voiced z, for which there is no sign in the Brahmi alphabet, and so proposed the name Śaka for the language (1913). It should be kept in mind, however, that little was known about the languages of the area at that time and that features that were as yet known only from Khotanese were later found also in other Iranian languages. Also, none of the “Śaka kṣatrapas” have obviously Khotanese names. (*Ysamotika* cannot be derived “without difficulties” from *zam-* ‘earth’ and *zamawat-* [=?], as Lüders thought [1913, p. 413]; an apparently related name *Zamōdo* is found in the Bactrian document A [see Sims-Williams, 2000, p. 32]).

Meanwhile, in several publications (e.g., 1908, 1912), Leumann maintained that the language was “North Aryan,” a separate branch of Indo-Aryan, but Konow (1912), in his review of Leumann, 1912, conclusively disproved Leumann’s theory. Similarly, Johann Kirste (q.v.) argued that the term “arisch” was inappropriate and that, since most of the manuscript remains had been found at Khotan, the language ought to be called Khotanese (1912, p. 395; he did not consider the Dunhuang manuscripts). He was followed in this by Hoernle (letters to Stein of 10 January 1913 and to Miss Lorimer of 4 February 1914 [British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS Eur D 815]; courtesy of Ursula Sims-Williams).

By 1916, the nature of the language was well established, thanks to the manuscripts of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (*Diamond Sutra*) and *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* (q.v.) discovered by Stein, which were edited and translated by Konow in Hoernle, 1916, accompanied by their Sanskrit and Tibetan versions and a linguistic sketch of Khotanese. Here, not wishing to take a stand on the exact linguistic position of the “unknown language,” Konow simply called it Khotanese. Later, he began referring to it as “Saka,” as in his editions of the *Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra*

(1929a) and the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* (1932), where he also discussed the various proposals in some detail and decided to keep following Lüders in calling the language “Saka.” He argued that it was obviously a Scythian language, and, according to Herodotus (7.64), the Persians called the Scythians Sakas, so the term was appropriate (1932, pp. 2-4). With Ernst Leumann’s publication of the *Book of Zambasta* in 1933, however, it became known that the Khotanese referred to their language as *hvatanau* ‘Khotanese’. Konow noted this in his review (1934, p. 6), but, although he pointed out that there must have been “other Saka dialects,” he concluded that the use of “Saka” was more convenient.

By 1935, however, Konow had studied the Tumshuqese documents and thought he found the term *havadana* referring to this language, as well. From this, he drew the tentative conclusion that Havadana was the old name of the original tribe that later split into two groups and that the Havadanas who went to Khotan applied the term to the country after making themselves masters there. The immigration of the original Havadanas, he suggested, might be the end of the southward displacement of the Sakas by the Yuezhi (1935, pp. 30-32 [799-801]). The Tumshuqese word may not be what Konow thought it was, however (it may be an infinitive “to speak”; see Konow, 1935, p. 42, text VII, 6-7). In his grammar from 1941, Konow used “Khotanese Saka,” and, in his 1941b edition of the medical text *Jīvaka-pustaka* and later, he used simply “Khotanese,” reverting to “Khotanese Saka” in his article on the “Oldest Dialect of Khotanese Saka” (1947).

Harold W. Bailey (q.v.) began publishing articles on Khotanese in the 1930s and his edition of all the known Khotanese texts under the title *Khotanese Texts* in 1945. From the second volume (1954) on, however, the title pages have *Indo-Scythian Studies being Khotanese Texts Volume....* This practice was followed by Mark Dresden (q.v.), whose edition of the *Jātakastava* (1955) bears the subtitle *Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) Text*. Bailey used the term “Saka” in his 1958 article for *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (on Khotanese and Tumshuqese) and for the facsimile publications for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* [q.v.] (1960-67), which contained both Khotanese and Tumshuqese texts. His student, R. E. Emmerick (q.v.), entitled his grammar *Saka Grammatical Studies* (1968a; which did not cover Tumshuqese) but otherwise used the term “Khotanese.” The term “Saka” was still used by various authors in the 1970s but then became increasingly rare.

DOCUMENTATION

Manuscript collections. The largest collection of manuscripts from Khotan is in the British Library, London (the older British Museum and India Office Library collections). Smaller collections are found in Paris, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Munich, Kyoto, Washington, D.C., Harvard and Yale Universities, and various places in China (Turfan, Urumqi, Lüshun, Beijing; see Emmerick, 1992a, pp. 4-5; Duan Qing, 1993; 2006). The largest collections of manuscripts from Dunhuang are in the British Library (the Stein collection) and in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (the Pelliot collection). There is no information about Khotanese manuscripts left at Dunhuang or brought to Beijing, though a few have surfaced on the antiquities market.

The text corpus. Most of the manuscripts from the Old and Middle Khotanese periods were found in the region of Khotan itself, especially the sites of Khadaliq and Dandān Öiliq (q.v.) east of the city of Khotan and Mazār-e Tāg north of the city, but some were found as far east as Endere. The Late Khotanese manuscripts, as far as can be ascertained, all come from Dunhuang.

There are religious (Mahayana Buddhist) texts; various kinds of literary texts other than religious ones, such as medical, divinatory, and calendrical texts; economic and legal texts; and private and official letters. On the Buddhist texts, see BUDDHISM iii. BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN KHOTANESE AND TUMSHUQESE (more recent publications include Canevascini, 1993; Skjærvø, 2004; De Chiara, 2013-14; on secular documents see Kumamoto, 1996a; Emmerick and Vorobeva-Desyatovskaya, 1995; and Skjærvø, 2004, 2016a).

Among the letters (*pīḍaka-*) we find orders (*parau*) from superior to inferior officials; reports (*haṣḍi*), usually from inferior to superior officials or private persons or to religious superiors (*vīñatta- < vijñapti*); legal documents (*pīḍaka-*, *pādā-*) regarding purchase (*gārya-vāḍa* ‘document of purchase’, *pāra-vastū pīḍakā* ‘promissory note, notice of debt[?]’), land or water leases, adoption agreements, various disputes (*gvāra-*), and other issues (see Skjærvø, 2016a); various kinds of vouchers (*kṣau*, 抄 and 鈔; see ČĀV), orders, and receipts for goods; military records or registers of recipients of ropes, grain, flour for baking (Skjærvø, 2001 [2005]), taxpayers, people eligible for guard and canteen service, age, etc. (see Bailey, 1961; Skjærvø, 2002, passim; and Zhang Zhang, 2016).

Among these documents are both originals and drafts or copies. The Middle Khotanese documents are frequently original letters that also contain copies of answers to the same or other letters. Those from Dunhuang (cf. Wen Xin, 2017) are most often drafts or letter templates, occasionally original letters, among them the ornately written letter from the king of Khotan (P 5538a; Bailey, 1968, pls. XXX-XXXIII). Syllabaries are common in manuscripts from all periods.

There are three Chinese-Khotanese lists of phrases and words (Takata; Skjærvø, 2002, pp. 35-36, 44-45, 515), one Sanskrit-Khotanese phrase list (Kumamoto, 1988), and a Turkish-Khotanese word list (Emmerick and Róna-tas, 1992).

CHRONOLOGY

Evidence for the earliest Iranian-speaking population in Khotan is provided by the 3rd-century Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered at Niya and neighboring sites, which contain Iranian loanwords (Burrow, 1935; Bailey, 1949, pp. 121-28). In particular, on his second expedition in 1906-8, Aurel Stein found a wooden sales document at the site of Endere dated in the regnal year of *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajha Vijida Siṃha* ‘General Vijida Siṃha, great king, king over kings, of Khotan’, with *hinajha* = Khotanese *hīnāyasa-* (pronounced *hīnāza*) ‘army leader, general’ (Stein, 1921, pl. XXXVIII; transcription in Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, p. 249; translation in Burrow, 1940, p. 137; see also Emmerick, 1992a, p. 2 and n. 7 with further references). This is also the earliest attestation of the title of the royal house of Khotan, *Vijida*

(from Indian *avijita* ‘unconquered’), known from Tibetan as *Bij’aya*, Khotanese *viśya*, *viśa*’ (pronounced *vižya*, *viža*).

Old Khotanese. The Old Khotanese literary texts are all undated, and one must rely mainly on paleography and grammar for a relative chronology. Archeological evidence is also of some assistance. Thus, the site of Farhad Beg Yailaki was abandoned before the sixth century, according to Stein (1921, pp. 1254-56), and the manuscripts found there must be from the 5th century or earlier (see Skjærvø, 2002, pp. 561-62). The earliest manuscripts have been dated to the 5th and 6th centuries also on paleographic grounds (Sander, 1986, p. 167; 2005, pp. 134-35, 140; Canevascini, 1993, pp. xiii-xiv). This, in turn, agrees with the 5th-century date one may assume for the earliest (undated) translations of the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* and the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, based on comparison with the Chinese translations, which are dated (see Canevascini, 1993, p. xii; Skjærvø, 2004, I, p. li).

An early Khotanese text is that woven into a 5th/6th century carpet found at Sampula near Khotan in 2007/8, which says *spāvatā meri sūmā hōḍā* ‘soma was given to general Meri’. Here *spāvatā* (< **spāda-pati*) is the preform of the common *spātā* (Duan Qing, 2020, p. 35).

Middle Khotanese. We have no dated documents from the Old Khotanese period, but several from the Middle Khotanese period, from most of the 8th century, the latest (Hedin 20) being from the 36th regnal year, presumably of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ, that is, probably, 802 CE (Zhang and Rong, 1997). The latest dated document from Dunhuang (Ch.00272) is from the 14th regnal year of the period Tianxing, 999 CE, shortly before the conquest of Khotan by the Muslim Qarakhanids (q.v.) circa 1000 (Gronke, 1986; Hamilton, 1979, p. 51; the period Tianshou is now thought to be earlier, see Zhang and Rong, 1999).

In this period (7th-10th centuries), Khotan was dominated by the Chinese and the Tibetans, as is evident also from secular documents. In 658, Khotan was officially placed under the protectorate of Anxi at Kucha (安西都護府 ‘Protectorate to Pacify the West’) and became one of the Chinese Four Garrisons (四鎮; Chavannes, 1903, pp. 113, n. 2, 118). In 665, the Tibetans attacked Khotan and, in 670, took the Four Garrisons and held them until 692 (see Beckwith, pp. 34-36, 54). There is a reference to the turbulent history of Khotan in the *Book of Zambasta* (15.9), where the author complains about the *heinā khoca u huna cimṅga supīya* ‘Red-faces (= Tibetans), Huns (Xiongnu?), Chinese, and Supīyas’, who have destroyed the land of Khotan (on the Supīyas, see Bailey, 1985, pp. 79-81). This reference would seem to postdate the first Tibetan occupation (although the main text of the *Book of Zambasta* is probably earlier). The Tibetans were then driven out, but less than a century later they gradually reconquered the Four Garrisons, Khotan last in 791 or 792 (Chavannes in Stein, 1907, pp. 533-36; Beckwith, pp. 150, n. 35, 155). The end of this second Tibetan occupation is uncertain (Hamilton, 1979, pp. 49-50, is based on Pulleyblank’s reading of the date of the document Hedin 24 [in Bailey, 1961, p. 136], which is [X]五十四, as year “54,” but Zhang and Rong [1997, p. 342] later read the date as year 貞元十四 ‘Zhengyuan 14’ = 798).

The Middle Khotanese secular documents (legal, economic, private letters), as well as Chinese

documents from the same sites (some documents have the same text in both Khotanese and Chinese) are frequently dated, and the literary texts occasionally give the names of donors known from the non-literary texts (Skjærvø, 1991, p. 270).

Already in his first publications, Hoernle noticed that two Chinese documents from Dandān Öiliq were dated in 768 and 786 (Hoernle, 1901, p. 31). Later, Stein noted that all the Chinese papers from ruin vii at Dandān Öiliq were from 782-89 (1907, p. 277) and that the Chinese coins from the sites of Dandān Öiliq and Rawak (q.v.) were from reigns between 713 and 760 (ibid., p. 283). Later, Sten Konow suggested that the king Väśa' Vāhaṃ of some documents was the same as 尉遲曜 Yuchi Yao in the Chinese sources, who, it was thought, ruled from 756 (Konow, 1914, pp. 349-50; 1929b, esp. pp. 73-76). According to the Chinese sources, when his father, 尉遲勝 Yuchi Sheng, left Khotan (756) to help put down An Lu-Shan's (q.v.) rebellion, which began in 755, he left his son Yuchi Yao as vice-commissioner (*jiedufushi* 節度副使; in Khotanese he may have been called the *yauvarāya* 'young king'; see Skjærvø, 1991, p. 265), but he never returned, and his son then officially became king in 767 under the name Viśa' Vāhaṃ (see Zhang and Rong, 1987, p. 90; 1997, pp. 346-47; Kumamoto, 1996a, pp. 38-40; Zhang, 2017, pp. 149-50).

Documents that specifically mention Viśa' Vāhaṃ are dated in the years 17 and 20 of his reign only, but Zhang and Rong have argued that a number of documents dated in the years 32-36 (see Skjærvø, 1991, pp. 266-67) also belong to this king's reign. If this is correct, he must have ruled at least until 803, which makes the place in the succession of Viśa' Kīrta, who is known from two texts, one a metrical panegyric, mentioning the "masters" (= Tibetans), unclear (Skjærvø, 1991, p. 266). At present, it seems likely that most of the Middle Khotanese documents are from the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ. Two other kings, Viśya Sihya and Viśa' Dharma, who succeeded one another according to four legal documents written on wooden tablets, may be identical with the kings 尉遲珪 Yuchi Gui, who may have ruled circa 737-46, and Yuchi Sheng (see above). Yet another king, Viśya Vikraṃ, may have ruled 692-706+ (Skjærvø, 1991, p. 260; see also Inokuchi; Skjærvø, 1991, pp. 262-65).

Most of the manuscripts from Dandān Öiliq and adjacent sites are from the 8th century or earlier (Stein, 1907, pp. 266, 283-84, 521; 1921, p. 208; 1933, pp. 68-69), which led Stein to conclude that the site of Dandān Öiliq was abandoned by the end of the 8th century. It is now clear, however, that some of the documents from Khotan are probably from the early 9th century (Hedin 20, see above), and the question of dating is being reinvestigated. One document (British Library, MS Or. 11344/17) suggests that the reason for the lack of further documentation may have been the attack of the Uygurs in 802 (Skjærvø, 2002, p. 115, and 2016a).

Late Khotanese. Many Late Khotanese manuscripts contain dates in the 10th century. The manuscript of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (the *Diamond Sutra*) contains a date corresponding to 14 April 941; the Khotanese colophons in Ch. c.001 (a long scroll commissioned by Śāṃ Khīñā Hvāṃ' containing a miscellany of texts) are all dated in a Hare Year, probably the year 943 (Emmerick, 1992a, p. 22). The *Jātaka-stava* (Stories in praise of the [Buddha's] births; Dresden, 1955, p. 446) and one of the Vajrayāna texts, which contain a date that may correspond to 10 August 971, were written by a certain Cā Kīmā Śānā during the reign

of Viśa' Śūra (Bailey, 1961, p. 151; Hamilton, 1979, p. 51).

Hoernle discussed the dates of some of Stein's Dunhuang manuscripts in his 1911 article (pp. 469-71; see also Stein, 1921, pp. 1448-55; Kumamoto, 1982). Later works include Wang Binghua (in the first part of Wang and Duan, 1997) and Kumamoto (1986; see also Kumamoto, 1996a). E. Pulleyblank placed the reigns of Viśa' Saṃbhava (Saṃbhata; Chinese 李聖天 Li Shengtian), Viśa' Śūra, and Viśa' Darma in the 10th century. On the discussions of the dates of other kings and their regnal periods (*Tianxing* 天興 era, Khot. *Thyenä-hūna* 950-; 天壽 *Tianshou*, Khot. *Thyaina-śīva* 963- [?]), see Hamilton, 1979, 1984; Kumamoto, 1986, 1996a, 1996b; Wang in Wang and Duan, 1997; Zhang and Rong, 1999.

By these chronological data, it is possible to follow the evolution of the Khotanese language for at least half a millennium.

THE WRITING SYSTEM

Hoernle, who was the first to discuss the scripts of the manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan (see BRĀHMĪ), classified the two types of scripts in the Khotanese manuscripts as upright and cursive Gupta, although he recognized that the term "cursive" was inappropriate, as the letters were not connected (Hoernle, 1911, p. 450). He was aided in the decipherment by syllabaries found in some of the Dunhuang manuscripts, which contained all the basic letters as well as several ligatures and the numerals (*ibid.*, pp. 450-60, with four plates of syllabaries).

The upright, or formal, ductus is found in numerous variants in all periods of the language used for Buddhist literary texts. The cursive ductus also exhibits numerous variations. In both the Middle and Late Khotanese periods, we may distinguish between a formal and a less formal style of the cursive ductus (see Skjærvø, 2002, pp. lxxi-lxxii and pls. 4-8).

The Brāhmī script used for Khotanese contained several non-Indic ligatures used to express special Khotanese sounds, most notably the two series of affricates, alveo-palatal and dental, and the voiced and unvoiced sibilants (see Leumann, 1934). Two vowel signs were invented, one for a central vowel [ə] (or [ɪ]) transcribed as *ä* and one for the corresponding diphthong transcribed as *ei* (for *a + ä*, see Emmerick 1998). The aspirated voiced stops of the Brāhmī script (*bh*, *dh*, *gh*) were redundant and were used mostly in Indic words, occasionally in Khotanese ones (e.g., *dhāta*- beside *dāta*- 'Law, *dharma*').

Khotanese had several phonemes for which the script had no individual letters; to express these, ligatures and other devices were used, e.g., <tc> for [ts], <ts> for [tsh], <js> for [dz], <ys> for [z]. For the rolled *r*, a special letter was invented, transcribed *rr* (though it is not a ligature of *r + r*).

A diacritical mark also was invented, a bowl-like curve placed below the letter (commonly transcribed as an apostrophe) to express what was probably rhotacization (retroflexion) of the vowel. This sign has been interpreted as derived from a letter only found in Tumshuquese, where it represents the sound *ž* (or perhaps *ʎ*?) derived from Old Iranian intervocalic *š* (e.g.,

pyežu ‘listen!’ Khot. *pyū*’; Skjærvø, 1987, pp. 84-85, 90) or derived from <h> and representing a kind of breathing (see on phonology, below).

Of the voiced sibilants, only *z* had a special graph [ys]; the other two were spelled with the corresponding unvoiced *ś*, *ṣ*. In Old Khotanese, the voiced and unvoiced sibilants could be distinguished by writing the voiced single and the unvoiced double, whereas, in Middle and Late Khotanese, the unvoiced was usually written single, while the voiced was marked with the subscript curve (e.g., OKhot., MKhot. LKhot. *ṣavā-*, OKhot. *ṣṣavā-* ‘night’; OKhot. *ṣā* [zə] ‘that’, MKhot., LKhot. *ṣi*’; OKhot. *śāta-* /*žada-* ‘second’, MKhot., LKhot. *śe*’ /*že*’).

In Late Khotanese, a colon <: > is used in Chinese and Turkish after syllables with *h* or *hv* to represent *x*, *γ*, and *f*, respectively, e.g., *uhū:ysä* = Turkish *uyuz*, *hvū: śai’ne* ‘wife, (royal) consort’ = Chinese 婦人 *furen* (cf. Emmerick and Pulleyblank, p. 32).

The numerals are the regular Brāhmī ones, with the addition of a sign for ½, probably derived from the letter <hā> for *hālai* ‘half’.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The use of the Brāhmī script and the numerous Indic loanwords lend the language a strong Indic look, which led Leumann to deny its Iranian appurtenance. The Indic loanwords are from two sources in particular: one, the local Northwestern Middle Indic (Prakrit) language found in the Niya documents and the numerous religious texts found in Afghanistan, which today is commonly termed *Gāndhārī* (q.v.); the other, the Sanskrit of the Buddhist texts copied and read in the area, which may reflect both standard Sanskrit and Sanskrit through the lens of *Gāndhārī*. Often, Old Khotanese has the *Gāndhārī* form and Late Khotanese the Sanskrit form. Examples: OKhot. *Grjakūla-*, LKhot. *Grddhakūṭa-* (Skt. *Grḍhrakūṭa*, a mountain), OKhot. *Nairamña*, LKhot. *Nīramjana* (Skt. *Nairañjana*, a river), and OKhot. *lovapāla-*, LKhot. *lokapāla-* ‘world protector’ (= Skt.). See also Degener, 1989b.

The phonology is at first glance of the Indic rather than Iranian type. There is a series of aspirated unvoiced stops (*kh*, etc.) and a series of retroflexes (*ṭ*, etc.). The second feature it shares with several East-Iranian languages, however, and the first represents a tendency to eliminate the Old Iranian unvoiced spirants seen also elsewhere in East-Iranian. To what extent the script might obscure a more Iranian-type phonology, especially in the early stages of the language, is still being investigated. In the later stages, the phonology appears to be close to what the script suggests, which may be a secondary development. On the other hand, Khotanese participates in a series of typical East-Iranian phonological developments (*āy* > *ay*, *č* > *ć*, *ǰw* > *ǰuw*, etc.).

The morphology and syntax are typically East Iranian, with the exception of the preterite of transitive verbs, which is formed by means of a possessive active participle (“I am having-done”), matching the use of “to have” in Sogdian and elsewhere (“I have done”; see below). This construction too is known from Sanskrit and may be an areal phenomenon in Khotanese.

PHONOLOGY

Vowels. All the vowels expressed in the Brāhmī script were phonemes in Old Khotanese (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o, ai, au*), with *e* and *o* expressing long [ē, ō]. In addition, the meter suggests that there were short variants [ĕ, ǒ] (Emmerick and Maggi).

In the oldest stage of the language (and the oldest manuscripts), there were two new vowels, a central vowel [ə] (or [ɪ]) spelled <ä>, which contrasted with [i] (e.g., nom. *balysä* [balzə] ‘Buddha’, gen. *balysi* [balzi]) and a diphthong [aə] (or [aɪ]) spelled <ei> and contrasting with <ai> (e.g., nom. *pīsei* ‘teacher’, gen. *pīsai*, see Emmerick 1970, pp. xix-xx; 1998).

There may have been nasal allophones before nasals, as suggested by spellings with otherwise unnecessary *anusvāra* <˙> (a simple point above the letter), as in *balysā˙nu* ‘of the buddhas’ instead of *balysānu*. It is common to transcribe this “unetymological *anusvāra*” as an ogonek—a subscript “hook” (*balysạ̄nu*).

Finally, vowels may have been rhotacized (retroflexed), indicated by a subscript curve in the Brāhmī script (see on the script, above). The rhotacization was caused mainly by a neighboring voiced retroflex *ṣ* and may have become phonemic when the *ṣ* was lost. The rhotacized vowel then caused a following or preceding *n* to become retroflex *ṇ* (see historical phonology, below; cf. Emmerick, 1989, p. 214). In Emmerick and Pulleyblank (pp. 54-55, which see for full discussion), it is suggested that the feature expressed by the subscript curve (which Emmerick, 1992b, pp. 158-69, suggested was derived from the letter *h*) might be “breathiness,” citing, in particular, the verb *ā˙-* ‘sit’ < **āh-*; but the participle *āṇa-*, which they also cite, with its *ṇ*, points to rhotacization. Since Old Iranian intervocalic *h* usually disappeared without a trace (e.g., *urmaysde* < **ahuramazdāh*), the forms with *ā˙-* are at any rate hard to explain.

Consonants. All the consonant signs of the Brāhmī script are used (except <jh>, which only occurs in alphabets in Khotanese Brāhmī script), but the aspirated voiced stops <gh, dh, bh> do not correspond to any separate phonemes (see on the script, above). The following description does not necessarily apply to Indic loanwords.

There were four series of stops—velar, retroflex, dental, and labial—and two series of affricates, alveo-palatal and dental, all in three variants: unvoiced, unvoiced aspirated, and voiced: /k, kh, g; ṭ, ṭh, ḍ; t, th, d; p, ph, b; ṣ (č), ṣh (čh), dž (j); ts, tsh, dz/. The values of these graphs in the 10th century have been established on the basis of a Chinese version of the *Diamond Sutra* from Dunhuang written in Brāhmī script (Emmerick and Pulleyblank, especially pp. 29-47).

Stops are often written double. In initial position *tt-* is usually written instead of *t-*, and *gg* is used in initial position and often after nasal. Double *ṭhṭh* is found in a few words.

Of the retroflex stops, *ṭ* is only found in the group *ṣṭ*, while *ṭh* and *ḍ* are phonemes.

The Khotanese aspirated stops correspond to the Old Iranian fricatives (e.g. *khara-* ‘donkey’, Av. *xara-*; *phārra-* ‘fortune’, OIr. *farnah-*). Evidence from the 10th-century manuscripts renders it

likely that these phonemes were actually stops, and this may have been the old state of affairs, as suggested by the aspirated affricates that developed through palatalization (e.g., *tso* [tʂo] 'go!' < *čyawa; *gvach-* [gwatʂh-] 'be digested' < *wi-pačya- (Emmerick and Pulleyblank, pp. 32-34).

The two-way opposition in the affricates (unless one regards <kʂ> as <tʂh> with Emmerick and Pulleyblank), probably alveo-palatal vs. dental, [tʂ] vs. [ts], rather than retroflex vs. alveo-palatal, [tʂ] vs. [tʂʰ], contrasts with the three-way opposition in the sibilants, presumably *s* [s] ~ *ś* [ʂ] ~ *ṣ* [ʂ̣], *z* ~ *ź* [ʒ] ~ *ž* [ʒ̣].

The nasals were all allophones of /n/ before the corresponding consonants (*ṅ*, *ñj*, *mb*, etc.). In addition, the palatal nasal <ñ> was either a single phoneme or a variant of the group /ny/ (cf. *sāña-* 'means' < Indic *sājñā-*, *ñāp-* = *nyāp-* 'become known' < Indic *jñāpaya-*; *nyāttara-* = *ñāttarai* 'lower' < **nita-*). The retroflex <ṅ> was an allophone of /n/ before or after a rhotacized vowel (see above) and was also used after syllables with *r* according to Sanskrit rules (e.g., *prrahauna* and *prrahaṅa* 'clothes').

Of the two *r*'s, one (<*r*>) was presumably a flap, the other (<*rr*>) rolled (as in Spanish). The simple *r* is found in both Iranian and Indic words, the *rr* mainly in Iranian words in initial position and intervocalically when representing Old Iranian *-rn-* or *-ršn-* (see below). It is also frequently found in the groups *prr-* and *krr* (from OKhot. on) and *trr*, *ttrr* (especially LKhot.).

HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Vowels. Khotanese phonology is characterized by syncope of unstressed initial and interior vowels and palatalization, which affected both vowels (fronting) and consonants, both diachronically and synchronically.

Initial vowels were lost in prefixes (e.g., **apa-* and **upa-* > *pa-*, **abi-* > *bä-*, *ba-*, and **awa-* > *va-*).

Syncope of internal vowels is seen in words such as *gyasta-*, *jasta-* 'god' (cf. Av. *yazata-*, with irregular *-st-*, cf. Tumshuqese *jezda-*, by popular etymology with *jasta-* 'cleaned, healed?') and *mästa-* 'big' (Av. *masita-*, with fronting of *a* > *ä* before *i*). It is a regular feature of suffixes and endings (e.g., *śśädāti-* 'goodness' < *śśära-* + *-tāti-*, with *r-t-* > *ḍ*; *baḍe* 'he rides' < **bara-tai*).

Palatalization of vowels and consonants was caused by a following **i* or **y*, which were frequently lost (e.g., *mästa-* 'big'). When the phoneme causing the palatalization was lost, the palatalization often remained the only distinguishing feature (e.g., nom. *ūtca* [ūtʂa] 'water', loc. *ūca* [ūtʂa] < **usačā*, **usačayā*; *hālstä* 'spear', gen.-dat. *hālstä* < **rštiš*, **rštīyah*). See also morphophonology, below.

The diphthongs **ai* and **au* became *ī* and *ū* (e.g., *hīnā-* 'army', cf. Old Persian *hainā-*; *ysarūna-* 'golden' < **zara-gauna-*, cf. Persian *zar-gūn*).

Consonants. Khotanese belongs to the Northeast-Iranian dialect group (see iran vi. iranian

languages and scripts, in *Elr.* XIII, pp. 344-45, 376) and is characterized by the development of Old Iranian *čw > ś and *jw > ź (e.g., *aśśa-* ‘horse’, Av. *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*; *bisā* [bižā] ‘tongue’, OPers. *hazān-*, Pers. *zabān*).

Voiced stops had already been dropped between vowels and in some other positions by the time of the earliest manuscripts (e.g., *dai* ‘fire’ < **dāgah*; *pai* ‘foot’ < **pādah*, Pers. *pāy*; *mura-* ‘bird’, Av. *mərəya-*, Pers. *morǰ*).

Initial *d-* may have become spirantized (as in Sogdian) and thus avoided phonemic merger with the newly voiced intervocalic *t* (e.g., *dāta-* = *δāda-*). More likely, perhaps, the result of old intervocalic *t* was sufficiently different from *d* to avoid merger. Apparently, it was a dental flap that was soon lost, leaving a hiatus, even when written (e.g., *tsuta-* [ts^hu^da] ‘gone’, < *čyuta-*, later *tsua-*, *tsva-*).

Whether initial *g-* (*gg-*) and *b-* (which merged with initial *w-*) were spirantized is also moot (e.g., *ggara-*, *gara-* ‘mountain’ [gara or γara], *bar-* ‘carry’ [bar- or βar-]). Note that Khotanese *b-* and Indic *v-* (in loanwords) are not confused.

Unvoiced consonants between vowels and in certain groups were in general voiced (e.g., *jsa* [dza] ‘from’ < **hača*; *māta* [māda] ‘mother’; *bārgga-* ‘wolf’, *dā(r)-dda-* ‘third’ < **drida-* < **θrita-*; *tcārba-* [tsārba-] ‘fat’ < **čarpa-*, Pers. *čarb*), but intervocalic *p* became *v* (e.g., *ttavaa-* ‘fever’ < **tapa-ka*) and intervocalic *k* was lost, notably in the *-ka-* suffix (e.g., *suraa-* ‘clean’ < **suxra-ka-*, cf. Pers. *sork* ‘red’, or rather **subra-ka*, cf. Armenian *sowrb* from Iranian, Vedic *śubhrá* [see Schmitt, p. 446; see “Morphology,” below]). Intervocalic *θ*, however, became *h* (e.g., *rraha-* ‘chariot’, Av. *raθa-*). Initial *xw-* became *hv-* (e.g., *hvatä* ‘by oneself’, Av. *x^vatō*).

The group *-rt-* became retroflex *-ḍ-* (e.g., *muḍa-* ‘dead’, Av. *mərəta-*, Pers. *mord*; *hūḍa-* ‘given’ < **frabrta-*).

As in other East-Iranian languages, the Old Iranian alveo-palatal affricates č, ĵ became dental affricates *ts*, *dz* (e.g., *tcāta-* [tsāda] ‘a well’, Av. *cāt-*, Bactr. *sado* [tsād]; *jsan-* [dzan] ‘kill’ < **jan-*, Av. *jan-*; *paṃjsa-* [pādzsa] ‘five’ < *panča*). The voicing of intervocalic *-č-* occurred after the general syncope of unstressed vowels (cf. *pasūste* < **saučatai*, with *-st-* rather than *-zd-*; Sims-Williams, 1983a, p. 359). The group *sč-* also became *tc* [ts] (e.g., *pātco* ‘afterward’ < **pasčām*).

A new alveo-palatal series (č [tš] spelled <c, ky> and ĵ [dž] <j, gy>) was produced by retention of old č and ĵ before *i*, *ī*, *y*, which prevented them from becoming *ts*, *dz* (e.g., *cu* [ču] ‘what’ < **čim* = Av. *jin-* ‘destroy’ < **jinā-* = Av.). Already in the Old Khotanese period these merged with palatalized *k* and *g*, which led to alternate spellings <c/ky, j/gy> (e.g., *khārga-* ‘mud’, loc. *khārja*). Old initial čy-, however, became *ts* [ts^h], while intervocalic *-čy-* became *ch* [tš^h] (e.g., *tsāta-* ‘rich’ < **čyāta-*, Av. *šāta-* ‘happy’; *gvach-* ‘be digested’ < **wi-pačya-*).

Before *r* and *t*, the unvoiced fricatives were voiced as in other East-Iranian languages and then developed variously (e.g., *brī* ‘dear’, Av. *friia-*; *drai* ‘three’ < **θrāyah*; *grūs-* ‘call’, Av. *xraosa-*, *gruš-* ‘be called’ < **xrusya-*; *baura-* ‘snow’, Av. *vafra-*; *mara* ‘here’ < **imaθra*; *ttira-* ‘bitter’ < **taira-* <

**tayra-* < **taxra-*; *hauda* ‘seven’, Sogd. *avda* <’βt’ > ‘seven’; *dutar-* [δudar] ‘daughter’, Av. *duxtar-*, Sogd. *δuyda*). Whether initial *br-*, *gr-*, *dr-* were pronounced with fricative β-, δ-, γ- (as in Sogdian) or with stops is moot.

The development of initial **w-* and **y-* was similar to that seen in Modern Persian: **w-* > *b-* (= *b-* or β-?) or *g-* according to the phonetic context, and **y-* to *ǰ-* (*dž*) (e.g., *bāta-* ‘wind’, Av. *vāta-*, Pers. *bād*; *bārgga-* ‘wolf’, Av. *vāhrka-*, Pers. *gorg*; *ggu-*, preverb, Av. *vi-*, Pers. *go-*; *jau* ‘fight’, OIr. *yauda-*; *gyasta-* ‘god’, Av. *yazata-*). Khotanese initial *y-* is found only in Indic words, while *v-* is also found in Khotanese words, where it usually represents older **awa-* (in the common verb *yan* ‘to do’ < **kr-naw*, *y* is the outcome of old *k* treated as intervocalic).

The oldest Indic loanwords also show these various developments, which provides a chronology (e.g., OInd. *vīpāka-* ‘fruition (of acts)’ > *vīvāga-*, later *vīvāta-*, *vīvā*; OInd. *mudrā-* > Khot. *mūrā-* ‘coin’, unit of payment).

Old initial *r-* usually became OKhot. *rr-*, while initial OKhot. *r-* is found primarily in loanwords. Among groups with *r*, note *rn* and *ršn* > *rr* and *rd* > *l* (as in Persian; e.g., *kārra-* ‘deaf’, Av. *karəna-*, Pers. *karr*; *tarraa-* ‘thirsty’ < **tṛšna-ka-*, Pers. *tešna*; *salī* ‘year’, Av. *sarəda-*, Pers. *sāl*) and **r* > *l* before sibilant (e.g., *pālsuā-* ‘rib’, Av. *parsu-*; *bulysa-* [bulza-] ‘long’, Av. *bərəzañt-* ‘high’ [but Pers. *boland* < **brdant-* < Indo-Ir. **brjant-*]; *kālsta-* ‘sown’, **kršta-*, Pers. *kešt*).

Intervocalically, *š* was voiced to *ž*, which merged with intervocalic *g* and *t* (into a flap?) and was lost while causing rhotacization (retroflexion) of adjacent vowels and *n* > *ṇ* (e.g., *gū*’ [gūr] ‘ear’, instr.-abl. *gūṇa* (< **gūža-*, cf. OPers. *gauša-*); OKhot. *nāšāy-* [nəžā(ṛ)y-] ‘to place’ < **ni-šādaya-*, later *ṇā’y-*, *ṇāy-* [ṇāṛy-, ṇāy-]); OKhot. *hvaṇd-*, MKhot. *hvañd-* ‘man’ (Tumshuqese *hvažand-*); *pāša-*, *pāga*’, *pāta*’- [pəžar, pəḡar, pəḏar] ‘strength’ < **pauša-*, later *pa*’- [paṛ]. The development before *m* was similar, e.g., *tceiṇman-* ‘eye’ < **čašman-*.

Intervocalic sibilants in loanwords were also voiced (e.g., OInd. *ākāśa-* ‘space’ > *āgāśa-* [āḡāža]; OInd. *āsana-* ‘seat’ > *āysana-* [āzana-]; OInd. *āsādaya-* ‘obtain’ > *āysai-* [āzai-]).

MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

As in other eastern Middle Iranian languages, the nominal and verbal morphological categories of Khotanese are quite archaic and remained remarkably stable throughout the history of the language. The case system is close to that of Old Persian, and all the moods of the verb are represented. Dual forms survive only in “two” and “both,” and the old past tense forms (imperfect, aorist, perfect) have been lost. The main innovations are (as in Sogdian and Chorasmian, qq.v.) the extended declensions (*ka-* and *kā-*stems) and the transitive past tense.

Palatalization. Endings (and suffixes) containing original *-y-* normally caused palatalization (diachronically and synchronically; see Hitch 1990 on synchronic palatalization).

Palatalization in word formation is seen in nouns in **-ya-* (e.g., *kīra-* ‘work’ < **karya-*, *ysīrra-* [zīrra-] ‘gold’, Av. *zaraniia-*, Pers. *zarr*) and verbs in **-aya-* (e.g., *ber-* ‘to rain’ < **bāraya-*; *bulj-*

[buldž-] ‘to praise’, Av. *bərəjajīia-*, cf. *buljsaā-* [buldzaā-] ‘praise’).

In nouns, synchronic palatalization is seen primarily in the locative singular (endings **-ayā*, **iyā*); in some *ā*-stems also in the genitive-dative (= instrumental-ablative; ending **-ayāh*); and in *i*-stems everywhere except the nominative singular (endings **-yam*, **-yah*, etc.; e.g., *a*-stems: *dasta-* ‘hand’, loc. sing. *dīsta*, cf. OPers. *dastayā*; *ura-* ‘belly’ [Av. *udara-*], loc. *uīra*; *ā*-stems: *kanthā-* ‘city’, loc. *kīntha*; *hotā-* ‘power’, gen.-dat. *hvete*; *i*-stems: *hūni-* ‘blood’ [Av. *vohuni-*], sing. acc. *hūñu*, gen.-dat. *hūñā*; *mulysdi-* [mulzdi-] ‘compassion’ [Av. *mərəždi-*], gen.-dat. *mulśdā* [mulzdə]; *tcari-* [tsari-] ‘face’, loc. sing. *tcīra*, nom.-acc. pl. *tcīrā*).

In verbs, palatalization occurred in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular indicative (endings **-ahi* and **-ati*) and 1st, 2nd, 3rd singular optative (endings **-yām*, *-yāh*, *-yāt*; e.g., *puls-* ‘ask’ [Av. *pərəsa-*], indic. 2nd sing. *pulśā*, 3rd sing. *pulśtā*, opt. sing. 1st *pulśo*, 3rd **pulśa*; *gan-*, *yan-* ‘do’ [cf. OPers. *kunau-*], indic. sing. 2nd *yañā*, 3rd *gīndā*; *haur-* ‘give’ [OPers. *frabara-*], sing. 2nd *herā*, 3rd *heḍā*).

Nouns and adjectives. The most common declensions are the masculine *a*-declension (OIr. *a*- and m. *i*-stems), the feminine *ā*- (OIr. *ā*- and f. *i*-stems) and *i*-declensions (OIr. f. *i*- and *ī*-stems), the masculine and feminine *r*- declensions, and the neuter *n*-declension. Residual declensions include diphthong declensions and masculine *n*- and *nd*-stems, and a few *h*-stems. The secondary stems are primarily *k*-extensions of the old vowel stems (*akā-*, *-ākā-*, *-ikā-*, etc.). The intervocalic *k* was lost before the earliest documents, but is still present as *g* in early loanwords in Middle Indic (Niya documents *jheniḡa*, *jheniya*, Khot. *ysīnīya*).

There are several productive noun and adjective formations, from verbs, nouns, or adjectives (see Degener, 1989a). The productive suffix *tāti-* ‘-ness’ (cf. OIr. *-tāt-*) makes nouns from adjectives; in older words, syncope is the rule (e.g., *dīdāti-* < *dīra-* ‘lowly’), but later the suffix is attached as is to vowel stems (e.g., *śārattāti-* ‘goodness’). The productive suffix *āmatā-* makes action nouns from verbs, and *-auñā-* makes abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives (e.g., *pyūvāmatā-* ‘listening’ [but *tsūmatā-* ‘going’]; *arahaṃdauñā-* ‘arhatship’; *dukhā-ttauñā-* ‘poverty’ < *dukhāta-* [< Indic]; *tsāttauñā-* ‘wealth’ < *tsāta-* ‘rich’). Adjective formations include the suffixes of relationship and possession *īnaa-* and *ānaa-*, which are frequently used to render Sanskrit compounds (e.g., *śśandeinei ājāvāṣā ūcīnei ājāvāṣā* ‘the snake of earth’ [śśandaā-], the snake of water [ūtca-]; Sanskrit *kṣiti-ūragaś ca salila-ūragaś ca*). Prefixes include the privative *a-*, *hu-* ‘good’, *duṣ-* ‘bad’. Compounds are also relatively common (see Degener, 1987), e.g., *uspurra-vīraa-* ‘whose works (*kīra-*) have been completed’; *yāḍa-śśāḍaa-* ‘who has done good deeds (śśāḍaa)’; *mārā-pātara-* ‘parents’. Older compounds include *uysnaura-* ‘living being’ (< **uzana-* ‘breath’ + *bara-* ‘carrying’), *śśūjāta-* ‘one another’ (cf. *śśau* ‘one’, *śāta-* /*žā^da-* ‘other’).

Comparative and superlative are formed with the productive suffixes *-(ā)tara-* and *(ā)tama-*. There are a few original forms with syncope (e.g., *māštara-* < **maśyah-* + *-tara-* beside *māštara-* ‘bigger’) beside secondary ones (e.g., *tcārbātara-* ‘fattier’, *āṣaṇa-pajsama-jserātara-* ‘who is to be made [tcera-] worthier of worship’); *śśāra-* ‘good’ has the suppletive forms *hastara-*, *hastama-* ‘better, best’. The superlative *bryāṇdama* ‘dearest’ mirrors an Indo-Iranian phrase type

consisting of a genitive plural and a superlative (cf. Vedic *devánāṃ devátama-* ‘the most god-like of gods’, Av. *daēuuanqm daēuuō.təma-* ‘the most demon-like of demons’, Bactrian *baganodamo* ‘most god-like, most divine’; see Sims-Williams, 2018).

Personal and possessive pronouns. The nominative forms are 1st sing. *aysu* [azu] < **azam*, 2nd sing. *thu*, apparently from **tuhu* (cf. Sogd. *t^uγú*, both perhaps from **tuwu*; see Sims-Williams, 1983b, p. 48); the 1st pl. *buhu*, *muhu* probably has its vowels from 2nd pl. *uhu* (< **yūžam?*), which may have its *h* from *muhu*. For other case forms, see below. Possessive pronouns include sing. 1st *mamānaa-*, 2nd *tvānaa-*, pl. 1st *mānia-*, *mājaa-*, 2nd *umānia-*, *umājaa-*.

Demonstrative pronouns. These include the “unmarked” *ṣ-/tt-* ‘that’ ([*z-/t-*] < **aiša-/aita-*), the near-deictic (reduplicated) *ṣ-ṣ-/tt-t-* ‘this’, and the far-deictic *ṣāra-/ttāra-* ‘yonder’ (LKhot. *ṣū’rā*, gen.-dat. *ttūrye*, etc.). The reduplicated pronoun has forms such as sing. nom. m. *ṣātā*, *ṣel’* [*zədə*, *zəə*], f. *ṣā’*, acc. m. *ttutu* (later *ttū*), f. *ttuto* (later *ttuo*, *tvā*). In Late Khotanese, we also find forms expanded by *-ka* (*ṣai’kā* ‘that’, acc. sing. *ttūkā*, etc.).

Relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. These are formed from the stems *k-* (oblique *kam-*) ‘who’ and *c-* (oblique *tcam-*) ‘which’. “Which?” is *kāma-*. Indefiniteness is expressed variously as *kye ṣā kye* ‘whoever’, *kye/cu ju halcā* ‘who/whatever’, *cerā duru gāvu* ‘however many’, etc. Note also *ye* ‘one’ (cf. Germ. *man*).

Demonstrative-relative pairs include *cerā ... tterā* ‘as many ... so many’, *candu ... ttandu* ‘as much ... so much’, *cītā (cīyā, cī) ... ttītā (ttīyā, ttī)* ‘when ... then’.

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are *hāvia-* (*hīvia-*) ‘own’, *hamata-* ‘(one)self’, and *hvatā* ‘by oneself’; *hāvia-* is commonly used to express possession (e.g., *jasti hīvī parau* ‘the lord’s command’, *hvaṃ’dānu hīvyā śandā* ‘the men’s ground’, cf. the use of MPers. *xwēš*). Reciprocity is expressed by *śśūjāta-* ‘one another’ (e.g., *hvāñindā śśūjātāna* ‘they speak with [= say to] one another’).

Adverbs. Neuter forms of adjectives can be used as adverbs (e.g., *śśāru* ‘well’). Common adverbs include adverbs of degree and manner: *bihīyu* ‘extremely’, *kāde* ‘very’, *samu* ‘only’ (Skt. *eva*), *thatau* ‘quickly’; of time: *vaysña*, *vaṃña* ‘now’, *īmu* ‘today’, *ysai (ysai)* ‘(very) early’; of place: *mara* ‘here’, *ttara* ‘there [where you are]’, *vara* ‘there’ (OIr. **imaθra*, **aitaθra*, **awaθra*), *ku*, *kuṣṭa* ‘where’, *ttatīka* ‘here’; from Indic: *andumaśu* ‘finally’, *avaśśā* ‘certainly’, *ttatvatu* ‘truly’. The suffix *-lsto* (MKhot., LKhot. *-ṣṭā*) added to the locative of nouns or to adverbs of place expresses direction, e.g., *bisśālsto* ‘to the house (*bisā-*)’, *kṣīruvo’lsto* ‘to the lands’, *hālsto*, *hāṣṭā* ‘thither’, *ciṃgvāṣṭā* ‘to among the Chinese (*ciṃga-*), to China’. The suffix *au* denotes languages, e.g., *hiṃduvau* ‘in Indian’. Adverbial phrases are common, e.g., *ttu bāḍu ttye scātā* ‘at that time, at that time’, *cu pracai* ‘why?’ *ttāna/ttye pracaina* ‘therefore’.

Numerals. The numerals are of the usual type (similar to Persian), with the exception of *śśau* ‘one’. Teens are formed with the cardinal + **dasam*, with various phonetic developments of the initial *d-*, e.g., *śśūndasu* ‘11’, *dvāsu* ‘12’, *tcahulasu* ‘14’ (with *-l-* < *-r-d-*). The decades include forms such as *bāstā* ‘20’, *dārsā* ‘30’, *tcahulsā* ‘40’, *haudātā* ‘70’. Compounds of the decades are formed

by an infix *pare-* ‘beyond, over’, e.g., *dvāvarebistā* ‘22’ (later *dvārebistā*), *pusparekṣaṣṭā* ‘65’, *hauparepaṃjāsā* ‘57’. Higher numbers are *satā* ‘100’ and *ysāru* ‘1000’. For “10,000,” *byūrru* (Av. *baēuuar/n-*) is the literary word, while, in the Middle Khotanese documents, *ysā’ca-* ‘thousander’ is used.

The ordinals take the suffix *-ma-* (*tcūrāma-*, *tcūrma-* ‘4th’, *dasāma-* ‘10th’, etc.), with the exception of *paḍauysa-* ‘1st’, *śāta-* [žə^da-] ‘2nd’, *dā(r)dda-* ‘3rd’, *pūha-* ‘5th’.

Gender. Of the most common noun stems, *a*-stems and most consonant stems are masculine, *ā-* and *i*-stems are feminine, and *n*-stems and a few *a*-stems are neuter. Adjectives form their feminine by turning *a*-stems into *ā*-stems. The old feminine adjective stems in *-ī* (beside *-ā*) are represented by *māstā*, feminine of *māsta-* ‘big’. Adjectives with the suffixes *-ānaa-* and *-īnaa-* (< **-āna-ka-*, **-aina-ka*) have feminine stems *-āṃjā-* and *-īṃjā-* (< **-āna-čī-* + *-ā-*, **-aina-čī-* + *ā-*; e.g., *myānaa-* ‘middle’, f. *myāṃjā-*; *brītīnaa-* ‘of desire [*brītaā-*]', f. *brītīṃjā-*).

Declension. The case system is similar to that of Old Persian, with syncretism of the genitive-dative and instrumental-ablative singular, but also the nominative-accusative plural. In addition, in the feminine, the genitive-dative is the same as the instrumental-ablative.

Most of the endings represent older forms directly, with **-a* and **-ā* > *-a*; **-ah* (and **-ahya*) and **-ai* > *-ä*, *-i*; **-āh* > *-e*; **-am* > *-u*, **-ām* > *-o*. In the *k*-declensions, **-aka* and **-akā* > *-ā*; **-akah* (and **-akahya*) > *-ei*, *-ai*; **-akāh* > *-e*; **-akam* and **-akām* > *-au*; **-ik-ah* and **-ik-am* > *-ī*, **-ik-ā* > *-ya*, etc. (see also Sims-Williams, 1990; Hitch 2015; 2016).

The nominative-accusative plural of masculine *a*-stems ends in *-a*, which cannot be from older **-āh* (> *-e*), but, conceivably, from the neuter ending **-ā* or, perhaps, the accusative plural *aṃh*. Feminine *ā*-stems have forms in *-e* < **-āh*; other feminine stems and consonant stems have *-ä* < **-ah*. See also below.

The masculine instrumental-ablative ending is *-āna* (sometimes syncopated *-na*) from the pronouns. The feminine instrumental-ablative has the genitive-dative ending, usually with the postposition *jsa* (cf. Av. *hacā*, Pers. *az*). In Middle and Late Khotanese, the ending *-na* often functions like a postposition and interchanges with *jsa*. The relative pronoun has *kama jsa* ‘from whom’ (< **kahmāt*), cf. the relative adverb *kū* ‘where’, instr.-abl. *kūṃ jsa*, *kū jsa* ‘wherefrom’.

The vocative singular of *a*-stems ends in *-a*, of feminine *ā*-stems in *-ä* < **-ai*. The vocative plural is identical with the instrumental-ablative plural (without *jsa*).

The genitive-dative plural endings are *-ānu* < **-ānam* of *a*- and *ā*-stems and *-ānu* < **-īnam* of *i*- and consonant stems. Khot. *nu* (cf. Sogd. *-nw*) is from East Iranian **nam*, probably an archaism going back to a short ending **om* which can be reconstructed for Indo-European (Peyrot).

The instrumental-ablative plural ending *-yau* is theoretically from **-aibyām* (or similar form); it usually takes the postposition *jsa* ‘from, with’.

The locative plural is Old Khotanese *-uvo* < **aišuwām* (and similar forms), Middle Khotanese *-vā*, in some manuscripts *-vau*.

The “pronominal” ending of the nominative-accusative plural masculine **-ai* is common (e.g., *biśśä*, Av. *vīspōi* < **wiśwai*). Pronouns and “pronominal” adjectives regularly take their genitive-dative and locative singular endings from the *n*-stems (e.g., from *tta-* ‘that’: m., f. loc. sing. *ttiña*, f. gen.-dat. sing. *ttiñe*; *handara-* ‘other’: m. loc. sing. *handarña*, etc.).

Adjectives in *-ānaa-* and *-īnaa-* with feminine *-āṃjā-* and *īṃjā-* thematized < **āna-čī* and **aina-čī* also have *-ṃja* in the masculine locative singular < **na-ka-ya* (e.g., *maraṇīṃja mahāsamudro* ‘in the ocean of death [OInd. *maraṇa-*]’).

Many masculine *a*-stems can have plural endings from the *n*-stems (nom.-acc. *ksīrañä* ‘lands’, loc. *ksīrañuvo*, etc.). Singular forms from *n*-stems in the *a*-declension are rare in Old Khotanese (note loc. *ysraṃña* < *ysāra-* ‘heart’), more common later.

Some masculine *a*-stems have the nominative-accusative plural ending *-e*, which may represent the old ending **-āh*, perhaps also **ayah*. This also appears to be the ending of the rare neuter *a*-stems (e.g., *datu* ‘wild animal,’ pl. *date*). Neuter nouns and masculine *a*-stems with *n*-stem endings take adjectives in the feminine nominative-accusative plural (e.g., *puñṅgye ttīmañä* ‘seeds of merit’ < nt. *ttīman-*; *kīśśāngye bāysañä* ‘luxuriant woods’ < m. *bāysa-*).

Of the consonant stems, we may note the *r*-stems denoting relatives, which have oblique endings like *i*-stems in the feminine (e.g., nom. *pāte* ‘father’, acc. *pātaru* [later *pye*, *pyarä*], gen.-dat. *pīrā* < **piṅrah*; but nom. *māta* ‘mother’, gen.-dat. *merä*; nom. *dūta* ‘daughter’, gen.-dat. *duīrā*, nom.-acc. pl. *dutarä* [later *dvarä*]; etc.).

The masculine *n*-stems *urmazdān-* ‘sun’, *rrāysan-* ‘ruler’ (cf. *rrāysanaunda-* ‘dominant’), and *mulysgyaṣṣaun-* ‘merciful’ (< **mulysdi-*) and the masculine *nd*-stems *rrund-* ‘king’, *hāyaund-* ‘master’, and *hvaṅnd-* ‘man’, later *hvaṅd-* (< **uśiwant-* ‘the aware one’ or **auśawant-* ‘mortal’) from old *nt*-stems have nominative singular in *-e* < **-āh*: *urmaysde* < **ahuramazdāh* (gen.-dat. sing. = nom.-acc. pl. *urmaysdānä*), *rrāyse*, *mulysgyaṣṣe*, *rre*, and *hve*’ and vocative *hīye* (Skjærvø/, 2016b, pp. 407, 418). The secondary stem *pandāa-* ‘path’ has nom. *pande*, acc. *pando* (< OIr. **pantāh*, *pantām*).

Of the old *h*-stems, only the nominative is found, e.g., *mase* ‘the size of’.

The personal pronouns form their cases in various ways: 1st sing. acc. *muho* (Tumshuqese *mvo*, both from **muwo* with *-w-* from 2nd sing. **tuwo?*); 2nd sing. *uho* (ultimately from **ḡuwām*); 1st pl. *ma* (< **ahma*) or *maha*; and 2nd pl. *uhu*, *uho*. The genitive-dative forms include old genitive and dative forms: 1st sing. *mamä*, 2nd sing. *tvī* (Tumshuqese *tīya*, < **ta/ubyah*), 1st pl. *māvu*, *mānu*, *mā*, 2nd pl. *umāvu*, *umānu*, *umā*. The instrumental-ablative forms are sing. 1st/2nd *muho/uhō jsa*, 2nd also *tvī jsa*, 2nd pl. *umyau jsa*. The enclitic forms, including 3rd person, are: gen.-dat. sing. *mä*, *tä*, *yä* and *ī* (< **hai*), pl. *nä*, *-ū* (< **wah*), *nä*; instr.-abl. 3rd sing. *-ī jsa* and *-n jsa* (*-ṃ jsa* or, without the nasal, *-jsa*); 2nd pl. *-ū jsa*, 3rd pl. *-n jsa*.

Of the cardinal numbers, ‘one’ *śsau* is inflected like *tta-* (*śye*, *śśāna*, *śśīña*); ‘two’ has the old dual forms m. *duva*, f., nt. *dvī*, gen.-dat. *dvīnu*; and ‘three’ *drai*, *draya* has gen.-dat. *drainu*. The cardinal numerals above ‘three’ are inflected like *i*-stems, e.g., *tcahaura* ‘four’, gen.-dat. *tcuīrnu*, instr.-abl. *tcūryau*; *paṃjsa* ‘five’, gen.-dat. *paṃjinu*; *dasau* ‘ten’, gen.-dat. *daśśānu*; *haṣṭātā* ‘eighty’, loc. *haṣṭevo*; *ysāre* ‘thousand’, loc. *yservo*, etc.

Pre- and postpositions. Common prepositions and postpositions include *anau*, *vina*, *vānau* ‘without’, *patā* ‘before’; *jsa* ‘from’ (< **hačā*), *nuva*, *nuvaiya* ‘behind’ (< **ni-padi-ya*), *vara(ta)* ‘to’ (e.g., in letters), *vaṣṭa* ‘throughout’, *vātā* (*patā*) ‘on’, etc. (< **pati*), *vīrā* ‘on’, etc. (< **upari*), *vaska* ‘for the sake of, in pursuit of’ (< **paskāt*), as well as several of Indic origin, e.g., *kādana*, *kāḍāna* ‘on account of, for the sake of’ (< *kṛtena*), *pracaina* ‘because of’ (instr.-abl. of *praca-* < Indic *pratyaya* ‘cause’), *udīśśā* ‘on account of, with respect to’ (< *ud-dīśya*). On the use of cases, see Emmerick, 1965.

The verb. The Khotanese verb has all the moods of Old Iranian (indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative) and active and middle (some verbs are conjugated in both the active and the middle with different meanings; see Canevascini 1991 on the reflexive function of the middle). The past tense or preterite (also called perfect, e.g., in Emmerick, 1968a) is formed from a past stem in the nominative singular and plural plus the enclitic copula. The present perfect is formed with the non-enclitic copula (but 3rd sing. *štā*) and the pluperfect with the preterite of ‘be’ (*vāta-*).

The past stem of intransitive verbs is the past participle (e.g., *āta-* ‘come’ < **āgata-*: past sing. 1st m. *ātā mā*, f. *āta mā* = 1st pl. m., f. *āte mā*, etc.; present perfect 3rd sing. *hāmātā štā* ‘has become’), but of transitive verbs it is from an active participle with the ablauting suffix *-ānd-/-āt-* < **ānt-/-āt-* and the masculine nominative singular ending *-e* < **āh*, feminine *-ātā* (e.g., *buḍe* ‘he carried’, f. *buḍātā*, pl. *buḍāndā*; 1st sing. m. *buḍaimā*, f. *buḍātā mā*, 1st pl. *buḍāndā mā*, etc.; present perfect 3rd sing. *hvate štā* ‘has said’, 3rd pl. *dātāndā indā* ‘they have seen’; see Sims-Williams, 1997, pp. 322-23). This formation of the transitive past tense is reminiscent of the Sanskrit periphrastic perfect formation *bhṛtavān asmi* ‘I carried’.

The verbal system is characterized by a large number of intransitive/passive–transitive pairs (e.g., *vasus-* ‘be purified’ ~ *vasūj-* ‘purify’ < OIr. **awa-suxsa-/saučaya-*, *naṣṭav-* ‘burn’ [intr.] ~ *naṣṭev-* [tr.] < **niš-tapa-/tāpaya-*). Causatives formed with the suffix *-āñ-* (cf. Pers. *-ān-*) and denominatives formed with the suffix *-ev-* (< Indic *āpaya-*) are rare (e.g., *gvachāñ-* ‘make digest’, *pajsamev-* ‘do homage’ < *pajsama-*).

There are four present conjugations, all from Old Iranian thematic presents, with a few survivals of athematic forms (*īmā* ‘I am’ < *ahmi*, etc., *āste* ‘he sits’ < *āstai*). Most verbs belong to the “regular” conjugation (from OIr. *aya*-stems), which has the 3rd sing. present ending active *-ātā*, middle *-āte*, and past stem in *-āta-*, or the “irregular” conjugation (OIr. *a*-stems), with 3rd sing. present ending act. *-tā*, mid. *-te*, and past stem in *-ta-* and numerous phonological changes. A few stems in *ai-* (from OIr. *-āya-*, *-āwaya-*, Indic *-ādāya-*) have 3rd sing. present ending act. *aitā*, *-aiyā*, mid. *aite*, *aiye*, 3rd pl. act. *-aindā*, mid. *-yāre* (e.g., *dai- dāta-* ‘see’ < **dāya* **dīta-*; *ysai- ysāta-*

'be born' < *zāya- zāta-; paṭhai- paṭhuta- 'burn' [tr.] < *pari-ṡāwaya- *pari-ṡuta-; praysai- 'have faith' < Indic prasādaya-). Old Iranian stems in -da-, -d(a)ya-, -ṡ(a)ya-, -h(a)ya- have stems in -y-/-v- with 3rd sing. present in act. -ttä, mid. -tte (e.g., nättä 'sits', 3rd pl. nīndä < *ni-hīda-; saittä 'seems', 3rd pl. saindä < *sadayā-; dättä 'appears', 3rd pl. diyāre < *didya-; hvaittä 'thrashes' < *hwahaya-; hamätte 'changes' (intr.) < *fra-miṡya-; butte 'knows', 3rd pl. buvāre < *bauda-). Stems in ai can be described as ending in a vowel and taking the endings of the "regular" conjugation with the expected contractions, stems in -y-/-v- as ending in a vowel and taking the endings of the "irregular" conjugation (see Hitch 2017).

Past stems (past participles) are of the common Iranian types. The "regular" verbs take -āta-, "irregular" ones take -ta-. After vowels, the t remains in OKhot., but is then lost, e.g., panata- 'risen' (pres. panam-), tsuta-, MKhot. tsva- 'gone' (pres. tsū-), dāta-, dya- 'seen' (pres. dai-), ysāta-, ysāva-, ysā- 'born'. The t remains after s, e.g., basta- 'bound', but is assimilated after other consonants, e.g., buḍa- 'carried' (< *bṛta-, pres. bar-), pyūṡta- 'heard' (pres. pyūṡ-), padanda- 'made' (pres. padīm-), purrda- 'vanquished' (pres. purr-), byauda- 'found' (< *abi-āfta-, pres. byeh-, byev-). OIr. -axta- > -īta-, -īya-, e.g., sīta- 'learned' (pres. sāj-). New types include analogical forms in -āta-, -ānda-, -aunda-, -autta-, e.g., huṡṡ-āta- 'grown' [beside huṡta], paysān- paysānda- 'to recognize', brem- braunda- 'weep', ysānāh- ysānautta- 'to bathe' [intr.] < *snāf-, dukhev- dukhautta- 'make suffer' < Indic duḥkhāpaya-). There are a few suppletive pairs, e.g., hīs- āta- 'come' (< *ā-isa- ā-gata-).

Old preverbs include most of the common ones (Emmerick, 1968a, pp. 229-44), e.g., *abi-: baṡ- 'establish' < *abi-ṡtaya-; *apa-: pajsem- 'pass (time)' < *apa-jāmaya- 'make go away'(?); ā-: āvun- aurāta- 'bless' < *ā-frnā- ā-frīta-; *frā-: hanaśś- 'be destroyed' < *fra-nasya-; haur- hūḍa- < *fra-bara- fra-bṛta; hāruv- hārsta- 'grow' < *frā-rauda- *frā-rusta-; *ni-: nājsāṡ- 'show' < *ni-čaṡa-; *pari-: parrīj- parrāta- 'deliver' < *pari-raičaya- *pari-rixta-; pati-: pyūṡ-, pyūv- 'listen' < *pati-gauṡa-; *upa-: panam- 'rise' < *upa-nama-; *wi-: bāysān- 'wake up' < *wi-zānā-; guhay- guhastā- 'wound' < *wi-xadaya- *wi-xasta-. New preverbs include tca- (tcabalj- 'scatter') with the compound forms ggujsa- and pajsā- (ggujsabalj- 'overcome, scatter(?)', pajsabalj- 'beat (a drum)').

Endings. Most of the endings are directly from Old Iranian (e.g., active singular 2nd -ä < *ahi, 3rd -tä < *ati, plural 1st mä < *amahi, 2nd ta, < *-ata, 3rd -īndä < *anti, but 1st sing. -īmä < *-āmi; middle singular 1st -e < *ai, 2nd -a < *-aha, etc.). The 3rd plural indicative and optative middle have the old r-endings (indic. -āre < *-ārai [with secondary -e], opt. -īro, -īru < *īrām); the optative ending was also extended to the 2nd plural (replacing the descendant of OIr. *-adwam > *īyu?).

The copula is archaic and has enclitic forms (sing. 1st īmä, encl. mä; 2nd -ī, pl. mä, sta, īndä; opt. 3rd sing. ya (soon replaced by īyā), subj. 3rd sing. āya, pl. āro). The 3rd sing. aštä, encl. štä (negated nāštä) denotes existence. The copula is suppletive with optative present v- (e.g., sing. 1st vyo, 3rd vya, pl. 3rd vīro), past vāta- (Skjærvø, 1981, pp. 461-63).

Moods. The subjunctive, optative, and injunctive are used fairly indiscriminately, the injunctive

being the least common (e.g., from different manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*: OKhot. *śuru ṇu vātā yan-ä* [opt. act.] *hvāṣṭa nā paysān-da* [inj. mid.] *u aysmū nu vātā yan-āte* [subj. mid.] *u pajsamu nā yan-ä* = (archaizing) MKhot. *śuru ṇu vātā yan-tyä* [opt. act.] *u hvāṣṭa nā paysān-āte aysmū nu vātā yan-āte pajsama nā yan-tyä* = (standard) MKhot. *śuru ṇā ve yan-āte hvāṣṭa-m paysān-āte āysda-m ni yaṃ-da* [inj. mid.] *u pajsamu ni yan-ä* ‘(he who) may do good to them, may revere them, watch over them, and do homage to them’).

The optative preterite is used in clauses expressing hypothetical or counterfactual conditions (Skjærvø, 1981, pp. 461-63).

Passive. The passive is formed with the auxiliaries *hām-* and *vāta-* ‘become’, also in the case of compound expressions such as *ānatā yan-* ‘protect’, *ānatā hām-* ‘be protected’, *hāmurā yan-/hām-* ‘forget/be forgotten’. An animate agent is expressed by the genitive-dative, e.g., *īmu mamā puñṅyē ttīmañā prānde kälste hāmāre* ‘today, by me, seeds of merit will be scattered (*prānde* < *prān-* < **parākana-*) and sown (*kälste* < **krṣṭa-*)’ (Skt. *mayā ... avaruptāni bhaviṣyanti*), an inanimate agent by the instrumental-ablative, e.g., *āchyaṃ skuta vāta* ‘they had been touched by illnesses’ (Skt. *roga-sprṣṭāni*).

Potentialis. Khotanese, like Sogdian, has a potential expressed with the auxiliaries *yan-* ‘do’ (transitive, active), expressing possibility (“can, cannot,” Skt. *śakyam*), and *hām-* ‘become’ (intransitive, passive), expressing passive possibility or anteriority and completion (Sanskrit absolute). Examples: *ne haṃkhāṣṭu yanīndā* ‘they cannot count’, (LKhot.) *haṃkhiṣṭa hime* ‘it can be counted’ (both Sanskrit *śakyam gaṇayitum*); (MKhot.) *cītā hā tsue himāte* ‘when he has gone thither’ (Skt. *upetya*).

Participles and infinitives. There are several verbal adjectives: present participle active *anda(a)-*, middle *-āna(a)*; participles of necessity: in *-ⁱa(a)-*, *-āñā(a)-* (e.g., *tcēra-* ‘which ought to be done’ < **čārya-*, *haurāñā-* ‘which ought to be given’). On the past participle, see above.

There are two infinitives: one from the present stem with the ending *-ä* and one from the past stem with the ending *-ie* (cf. Av. *-taiiaē°*), e.g., *ne haute biśśā dukha nāsem-ä* ‘I cannot calm all sufferings’; *ne hautāre dātu pyūṣ-ṭe* ‘they cannot listen to the Law’.

Note also the use of a verbal noun in *-āmatā-* or an infinitive plus *kṣam-* ‘please’ to render Sanskrit *-tu-kāma-* ‘wishing to do’, e.g., *huṣṣāmata kṣamīyā* ‘increase might please (him)’ and *huṣāñāte kṣamīyā* ‘it might please (him) to make grow’ (both Skt. *vivarddhayitu-kāmo bhavet*).

Conjunctions and particles: Conjunctions. Coordinating and disjunctive conjunctions include the common *u* ‘and’, enclitic *rro* ‘and’, *au* (later *ā*), *vā* (< **uta vā*) and *au vā* ‘or’, *haḍe*, *hāḍe* ‘but’. Subordinating conjunctions include several made from the relative-interrogative stems *k-* and *c-*, e.g., *ka*, *ko* (< *ka* + *-u*) ‘if’, *kū* ‘where’, *kho* ‘when, as’, *cu* (later *ci*, *ca*; *ttāna cu*) ‘because’, *cu mānau* ‘although’, *cu bāḍu* ‘at what time, when?’, *cu pracai[na]* ‘for what reason, why?’, *cītā* ‘when’, *kāmu buro* (... *ttāmu buro*) ‘as long as (... so long)’.

Negations. Statements are negated with *ne*, *nā* (later *ni*, *na*), imperative and exhortations with

ma. Emphatic negations can be expressed by *ne ne* and *ma ne, nā härṣtai, härgyu ne, nā gāvu* ‘not at all’. Other negations include *ne/nā ... ne/nā* ‘neither ... nor’ and *na-ro* ‘not yet’.

Particles. Common enclitic particles include enclitic *ju* (< *cu*, later *ji, ja*), used with personal and demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, conjunctions, etc., and *vā* ‘and, but, moreover’ (different from *vā* ‘or’, probably short form of *vātcu*, below, e.g., *ttā ju* ‘for they’, *ce ju* ‘he who’, *ce ju šā cu* ‘whoever’, *kho ju* ‘when’), negations *ne ju* ‘although not, not at all’, *ma ju* ‘but do not let’, *kho rro ju* ‘and just like’, *cīyā vā* ‘and/but when’, *cai* (< *ce* + *-ī*) *rro ju vā pyūṣḍe* ‘and he who does listen to it’. Narrative sequences are often introduced by *pātcu* (encl. *vātcu*, later *pātcä, vātcä*), *vā* ‘next, then’ (also *pātcu vā*). The enclitic (emphatic?) particle *mī* is especially common from Middle Khotanese on. The most common emphatic particle is *-ī*.

Directional particles, especially common from Middle Khotanese on, include *hā, ttā, vā*, which express direction to 3rd, 2nd, and 1st person, respectively, sometimes replacing the personal pronouns. They can be extended with the locative particle *-lsto*, later *-āṣṭā* (e.g., *vālsto* ‘hither [to me/us]’, LKhot. *aysa hvāñū ttāṣṭa* ‘I say to you’).

The vocative may take *hai, he* ‘O’.

Questions. Direct and indirect questions are introduced by question words, for instance interrogative pronouns and adverbs (*ce* ‘who?’ *cu* ‘what?’ *cītā* ‘when?’ *cerä* ‘how many?’ *cūḍe* and *ce kädāna* ‘why?’ *kho* ‘how?’ etc.). Disjunctive questions take *o ne* ‘or not?’ The imperative can take a particle *ne* (e.g., *dya ne thu* ‘won’t you look?’ > “look!” [Skt. *paśyā-hi*]; cf. Sogd. *LA = nē*, see Sims-Williams, 1996, pp. 181-82).

Direct speech. Direct speech is commonly introduced by the particle *se* (later *si, sa*), perhaps related to *shyty* in the Aramaic inscriptions of *Aśoka*, which G. Morgenstierne (q.v.) suggested might be derived from **sahyati* ‘is said’ (apud Birkeland, p. 233 n. 1). It is used with words of speaking, thinking, knowing, etc. Note *ttye tta* (or *ttai* < *tta* + *-ī*) *hämātu se* ‘it occurred to him that’ (Skt. *tasyaitad abhavat*). In questions: *ttu ne ne bve se kāmā šā padmagarbhā* ‘I do not know (that): Which one is Padmagarbha?’ Without *se*: *mahākāśavī tta hve badra crrāmā tvānai horä ttrāmu ...* ‘Mahākāśyapa said to him (-ī): O Badra, as is your gift, so ..; (LKhot.) *tta hve pvīryau* ‘He said (to them): Listen!’

Word order. Normal prose word order is subject + indirect object + direct object + verb. Fronting of the verb is not uncommon, notably in legal language, e.g., (MKhot.) *nāti mī yagurä ttuā ütca ... hauḍä mī ṣi’ yagurä tti mūri 2000 500. nāṃdūṃ-m-ūṃ mihi braṃgalä... tti mūri uspurri 2000 500* ‘Yagura received (*nāti* ‘took’) that water ... That Yagura paid (*hauḍä* ‘gave’) those 2500 *mūrās*. We, Braṃgala (etc.) received them (-*ūṃ*), (i.e.) those 2500 *mūrās* complete’. Fronting can be replaced by *cu* (... *ṣṭe*) ‘as for’.

STAGES OF THE KHOTANESE LANGUAGE

Traditionally, in Khotanese studies, two stages of the language have been distinguished: Old and Late Khotanese, including in the latter category all texts not in regular Old Khotanese and

thus applying the term to both the 8th-century texts from Khotan and the 10th-century texts from Dunhuang. The main linguistic divide occurs between the 8th- and 10th-century texts, however, and it is therefore more useful to distinguish three periods: Old Khotanese (ca. 5th-6th centuries), Middle Khotanese (ca. 7th-8th centuries), and Late Khotanese (9th-10th centuries, to the end of Khotanese literature). See also Emmerick, 1979, 1987, 1989.

Old Khotanese. This is phonetically and morphologically still basically close to the “Old Middle Iranian” type. While intervocalic voiced stops had already been lost, in the oldest strata of Old Khotanese intervocalic *g* and *t* still remained, and the final vowels *-i*, *-ä*, and *-u* were still distinct. Occasionally the final syllable *-tä* was lost after long vowels and diphthongs (e.g., *ākṣūtä* > *ākṣū* ‘begins’). In the late Old Khotanese period, however, *g* and *t*, together with the intervocalic voiced sibilant *ž*, merged into one phoneme, which was frequently written *t* regardless of its origin and was presumably realized as a kind of flap or continuant. The final vowels *-i* and *-ä* were no longer distinct phonemes. Old Khotanese texts were also copied well into the Middle Khotanese period, but these usually give themselves away by Middle Khotanese and pseudo-Old Khotanese forms introduced by the scribe(s). This feature is typical of several parts of the main manuscript of the *Book of Zambasta*, upon which much of Emmerick’s description of “standard” Old Khotanese in his *Saka Grammatical Studies* is based.

Middle Khotanese. Here, the intervocalic “glide” phoneme was completely lost and the ensuing vowel sequences suffered various modifications, although archaizing spellings are occasionally found. Contraction of equal vowels: OKhot. *suhāvatāna-* (Skt. *sukhopadhāna-*) > MKhot. *suhāvāna-*; OKhot. *ttagata-*, *ttatata-* ‘wealth’ > MKhot. *ttata-*; OInd. *ākāśa-* ‘space’ > *āgāśa-* [*ā^gāžā*], later *ātāśa-* [*ā^dāžā*], LKhot. *āvaśa’-*, *āśa’-* [*āžā-*]; unequal vowels: OKhot. *suhāta-* > MKhot. *suhya-*; the endings 3rd sing. present OKhot. *-ätä* > MKhot. *-e*, *-ä* and 3rd sing. preterit OKhot. *-äte* > MKhot. *-ye*. Occasionally, the hiatus is maintained, as in *āe* for OKhot. *ātä* ‘he came’. These developments also provide clues to stress, for instance, the 3rd sing. present *hämäte* ‘becomes’ became *hämä*, but the 3rd sing. m. preterite *hämätä* became *himye*; the adverb *thatau* ‘quickly’ first became *thätäu*, then *thyau* (see Maggi, 1990 [1993], p. 182). Archaizing spellings are of the type *hamyetä* for MKhot. *himye* + OKhot. *hämäte*.

Already in Old Khotanese, there was a tendency for *l* to be lost before sibilants while, apparently, rhotacizing the preceding vowel. This became the rule in Middle Khotanese (e.g., OKhot. *pā’sa-* ‘pig’ < **pālsa-*, Av. *parāsa-*; OKhot. *ggei’s-* ‘turn’ (intr.), MKhot. *ge’s-*; OKhot. *puls-* ‘ask’, MKhot. *pu’s-*).

Final *-u* was generally replaced by *-i* and *-ä* (except in *ttu*), and final *-e* merged with *-i/-ä* and final *-o* with *-u*. Final *-nä* and *-mä* were further weakened to *-ṃ*, notably in the genitive-dative plural ending *-ānu* > *-ānä* and *-āṃ*, and in the nominative-accusative singular, genitive-dative singular, and locative singular of stems in *-ana-* and *-ama-* > *-aṃ*. The original finals reappeared in hiatus (e.g., *nāṃdūṃ-m-ūṃ* ‘we received them’ < *nāṃdä mä* + *-ṃ* < *nä*). The enclitic *-ṃ* after long vowels usually takes the hiatus-filler *-t-* (e.g., *tvā-t-ūṃ* ‘this [acc.] to them’ < *ttuto nä*).

In some Old Khotanese manuscripts used in the Middle Khotanese period, Middle Khotanese

forms are indicated on the original words, e.g., OKhot. *tsuātāndä* ‘they went’ (with *-ā* added to *tsu*) for MKhot. *tsuāṃdä*; OKhot. *śiraetete* ‘of goodness’ (with *-e* added to *ra*) for MKhot. **śiretä*; OKhot. *ttyāṃnu* (with *-y-* and *-ṃ* added to *ttā*) for MKhot. *ttyāṃ*; OKhot. *uvpeikṣa-* (with a subscript *pe*) for MKhot. *upekṣa-*.

The accusative singular merged with the nominative, and the endings *-u*, *-o*, and *-au* were replaced by *-i/-ä*, *-a*, and *-ā* respectively. In nouns where the accusative was palatalized, the accusative form is used in the nominative (e.g., *Śaṃdrāma māsta gyaštā* ‘the great goddess Śrī’).

Spellings such as *kṣṇṇä* for *kṣuṇä* ‘regnal year’ and *rrāṃdä* for *rruṃdä* ‘king’ are found for the first time.

Typical new grammatical forms include the locative plural in *-vā* (dialectal, for OKhot. *-uvo*?), and the feminine accusative singular pronoun OKhot. *ttuto* > *ttuo* > MKhot. *ttuā* and *tvā*. The personal pronouns 1st and 2nd plural are *mahe*, *mihe* and *umä*, *amä* and similar forms. The enclitic 2nd singular pronoun is *-e* (OKhot. *tä*), which (synchronically) replaces any final vowel, rather than combining with it (e.g., OKhot. *trāme tä tce’mañä* ‘thus are your eyes’ > MKhot. *ttrāmä tvī tce’mañä* and *ttrām-e tce’mañä*; replacing *-a*: *tcamna* + *-e* ‘whereby your’ > *tcamn-e*). The feminine stems in *āmatā-* and *-āti-* become *āmā-* and *ā-*stems.

The 1st singular indicative ending *-imä* becomes *-ümä* and *-ūṃ* (probably from the by-form *ämä*), while *-ime* becomes the ending of the 1st singular subjunctive/optative active instead of *-iñä* and *-ä*. The 2nd plural imperative active/middle has the new ending *-yari* (e.g., *ārryari* ‘grind [the flour]!’). In the preterite of intransitive verbs, the 1st singular masculine enclitic copula *mä* becomes *-ṃ* and the ending *-ä mä* > *-ūṃ* (e.g., *ātūṃ*, *āvūṃ* ‘I came’), and, similarly, in the preterite of transitive verbs, the 1st plural masculine in *-āndä mä* > *āṃdūṃ* (e.g., *budāṃdūṃ* ‘we carried’). The stem *nājsaṣ-* ‘show’ became *nijsw(’)*- (pres. 3rd sing. *nijsuṣḍä*), and the preterite of *haur-* ‘give, pay’ is usually *haudä* (OKhot. *hūde*).

The present participles of *jsā-* ‘go’, *ā-* ‘sit’, and *ṣṭ-* ‘stand’ (*jsāna*, *āṇa*, *ṣṭāna*), which already in Old Khotanese may have been used to modify the verb, have become invariable particles used with verbs and other words, apparently to express ongoing events (e.g., late OKhot. *ttānu āysanānu pīro gyasta balysa dātaimä āṇaṃdä kye āṇa dātu hvāñāre* ‘on those seats, I saw lord buddhas sitting, who are (= were) proclaiming the law’).

Late Khotanese. Here, as it appears from the orthography of the manuscripts, the vowel system has changed radically, with, at least, some loss of both quantity and quality distinctions. Long *ā* (and nasalized *ā̃*) to a large extent merged with *au* and *ū* into a single back rounded phoneme (e.g., *rruṃd-*, *rrāṃd-*, *rraud-* ‘king’), and short and long *ī* merged with *ai* into one front vowel (e.g., *siddham*, *saiddham* ‘welfare!’; see Emmerick, 1979, and in *CLI*, p. 209). Final *-i/-ä* and final nasals were frequently not marked. The Chinese text in Brāhmī script analyzed by Emmerick and Pulleyblank, however, suggests that the changes may not have been so drastic, and that, for instance, *i* and *u* were still distinct from *ī* and *ū* (Kumamoto, 1995 [paper from 1991]; Emmerick

and Pulleyblank, pp. 45-47). Final syllables were lost in weakly stressed words (e.g. *a* < MKhot. *aysä* 'I', *pha* 'much' < MKhot. *pharä*).

In syllables with OKhot. *-l-* before *s, z*, which lost the *l* in Middle Khotanese, the vowel was raised in Late Khotanese, e.g., *hälysdä* 'present', MKhot. *hi'ysda*, LKhot. *haiysda* (etc.); OKhot. *puls-* 'ask', MKhot. *pu's-*, LKhot. *pvais-* (beside *pvai's-*, *pves-*, *pvis-*, etc.).

The fact that the documents/letters from Dunhuang are, many of them, drafts and exercises, no doubt lends the language a more irregular look than it deserves. Even religious texts differ considerably in their orthography; for instance, in the *Bhadracaryā-deśanā* (Asmussen), vocalization is much more careless than that of the *Deśanā-parivarta* of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* (Skjærvø, 2004) contained in the same manuscript.

It seems clear, however, that *-ām* and *-au* merged in a single phoneme [ɔ], which caused the merger of the genitive-dative plural ending *-ām* and instrumental-ablative *-yau*, as well as locative *-vā*, written variously, e.g., gen.dat. pl. (*-ānu*) *jast-ām hvṇṇḍ-au* 'of gods (and) men', loc. pl. (*-vā*) *prriyvā ... hvṇṇḍ-ām* 'among ghosts (and) men'.

There is some vacillation in certain consonant groups, for instance, *ṭh* and *kṣ*, which may indicate similar pronunciation, e.g., *śśaṭhā-*, *śakṣā-* 'deceit' (from Sanskrit). The graphs <ṣṭh> and <ṣc> alternate, which may be due to graphic similarity rather than phonetic identity, e.g., *nuṣṭhura-*, *nuṣcura-* 'harsh' (from Sanskrit).

These developments led to some new morphological devices and even some new grammatical categories; for instance, nouns and adjectives ending in long vowels or diphthongs now formed the nominative-accusative plural with the ending *-ta-*, *-va* (e.g., nom. sing. *nā* 'nāga', nom.-acc. pl. *nāta*). OKhot. *dātia-* 'of the Law', MKhot. *dāyia-* was replaced by *dāvia-* (cf. OKhot. *dātīnaa-* 'of the Law', MKhot., LKhot. *dāvīnaa-*). Past stems in *-āta-*, which became *ya-* in Middle Khotanese, could lose their *-y-* after palatal consonants (*bārāsāte* 'shone' > *birāse*).

The OKhot. present stem *hvāñ-* 'speak' became *hūñ-*, and the past stem *byauda-* 'found' became *bīd-*. The 1st singular optative active has the endings *-īm*, *-īne* (*īna*, also middle), and *-īme*. In the preterite, the 1st singular masculine transitive/intransitive has *-eṃ*, *-ai*, *-i(ṃ)* (cf. OKhot. *vātāmā* 'I was' > *vyiṃ*, *vyi*, *yai*; OKhot. *yādaimā* 'I did' > *yideṃ*, *yudai*, etc.), and the 1st plural masculine intransitive has *-aṃdūṃ* (*-adūṃ*, *-adū*) in analogy with transitive *āṃdūṃ* (e.g., *hamyadūṃ* 'we became', OKhot. *hāmāta mā*).

Late Khotanese also has a narrative optative, reminiscent of the "preterital optative" in Old Persian, Avestan, and Sogdian, e.g., *biśā hālā pattavīya* 'it shone in all directions' (see Dresden, 1970, pp. 136-39).

Lexicon. The lexicon is basically Iranian and Indic (Sanskrit and Prakrit). From Greek there is OKhot. *satīra-*, later *sera* (from *statēr*) and *draṃmaa-* (probably from *drachmē*). There are a few Tibetan and Chinese terms (see Skjærvø, 2002, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii), and the documents concerning the Uygurs contain some Turkish words.

Among Zoroastrian terms from pre-Buddhist times are *urmaysde* 'sun' (< **ahura-mazdāh*) and *śśandrāmatā-*, the Buddhist goddess Śrī (< **śwantā aramati-*, Av. *Spəntā Ārmaiti*, the earth). See CHINESE TURKESTAN ii; Skjærvø, 1998.

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KHOTAN v. Khotanese Literature

Khotanese literature is the body of writings contained in a large number of manuscripts and manuscript folios and fragments written from the 5th to the 10th century in the Khotanese language, the Eastern Middle Iranian language of the Buddhist Saka kingdom of Khotan on the southern branch of the Silk Route (in the present-day Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China). Most of the manuscripts were recovered from the Khotan area and the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (q.v.) near Dunhuang (q.v.; Gansu Province) chiefly by expeditions from the West and Japan between the end of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. Khotanese collections are now housed in libraries and museums in Paris, London, Munich, Berlin, Bremen, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Hotan and other towns in the Hotan Prefecture, Ürümqi, Peking, Lüshun, New Delhi, Kyoto, Washington, D.C., Cambridge, Mass., and New Haven. Most Khotanese texts were edited or re-edited by H. W. Bailey (q.v.) in his *Khotanese Texts* (KT I-V) and *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (KBT). The St. Petersburg collection was published in facsimile and transcription with translation by R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja in *Saka Documents* (SD) VII and *Saka Documents Text Volume* (SDTV) III except for MS SI P 6 (the main manuscript of the Book of Zambasta, q.v.), MS SI P 49 (Dharmasārīrasūtra, q.v.), and a few Chinese-Khotanese documents (see below). The London collection was catalogued and re-edited with translation by P. O. Skjærvø, 2002 (*Catalogue*). A first batch of the manuscripts in the National Library of China was published with facsimiles by Duan Qing, 2015. Other major facsimile editions are Bailey, 1938; Vorob'ëv-Desjatovskij and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1965; and the six portfolios of *Saka Documents* edited by Bailey (SD I-IV, accompanied by the edition in SDTV I, with translation and notes) and Emmerick (SD V-VI). Detailed information on Khotanese literature may be found in Emmerick, 1992b; Maggi, 2009b; and Skjærvø, 2012.

The older manuscripts were produced in the region of Khotan at least from the mid-5th (see

below) to the early 9th century, while the younger, partly dated, Dunhuang manuscripts date largely from the 10th century, though some may go back to the late 9th century (see U. Sims-Williams, 2017 for a survey of the main collections of manuscripts from Khotan). Of the manuscripts from Khotan, only part of the documents are dated, usually according to the regnal years of the local Viśa' kings, whose chronology is still imperfectly known. On the other hand, for virtually all the literary manuscripts only an approximate dating on paleographic grounds is possible, with the exception of a manuscript of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, whose colophon gives evidence for the second half of the 8th century (see Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 20). The texts are written in a variety of linguistic stages usually grouped under the labels of Old Khotanese—in a sense the sacred language of Khotanese Buddhism—and Late Khotanese. Khotanese manuscripts, including most of those containing Old Khotanese texts, were written by speakers of Late Khotanese and, thus, a number of them display a mixture of Old and Late Khotanese features. The absence of Old Khotanese texts from Dunhuang and the greater freedom of the Dunhuang translations of Buddhist texts suggest that the writing and copying of Old Khotanese texts ceased because of a break in the tradition of Buddhist learning during the social and political turmoil under Tibetan rule from after 790 to the mid-9th century (Kumamoto, 1999, pp. 359-60). P. O. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, pp. lxx-lxxi, and KHOTAN iv.) proposes an intermediate Middle Khotanese stage of development (cf. Yoshida, 2005, p. 235, n. 1).

Apart from a number of documents on wood (Bailey, *KT* IV, pp. 41-50 and 144-72; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 557-75; Rong and Wen, 2008; Wen, 2014; Duan, 2015, pls. 26-38, pp. 67-118) and a few inscriptions on paintings (Bailey, *KT* III, p. 148, and V, pp. 255, 262; Emmerick, 1968c and 1974a; Dudbridge and Emmerick, 1978; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 583-85; Filigenzi and Maggi, 2008; Wen and Duan, 2009), on a jar (Bailey, *KT* V, p. 383; Maggi, 2001, pp. 537-38; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 584), and on carpets (Duan, 2010a and 2020), Khotanese texts are written on paper. The paper manuscripts are either books of the *pustaka* type (oblong loose leaves imitating the Indian palm leaf manuscripts) or Chinese rolls (from one to several folios joined to form rolls up to several meters in length). For information on the paper and the manuscripts' production, see Duan, 1992, pp. 18-21, Sander, 1988, and Dragoni, 2017. For the larger and the dated literary manuscripts see BUDDHISM iii.

For writing Khotanese, various forms of a Central Asian development of the Indian Brāhmī script were used. These may be grouped under the general labels Book Script and Documentary Script (usually but inappropriately referred to as Formal and Cursive respectively; see Maggi 2021, § 2). The Book and Documentary Scripts evolved virtually independently from each other and were basically reserved for different uses: the Book Script was used for literary, chiefly religious texts, while the Documentary Script was employed for everyday writing and, occasionally, also for literary texts. There are both carefully drawn and cursive varieties of the Documentary Script. The Book Script has four increasingly calligraphic stages of development: (1) Early Turkestan Brāhmī, type 2, 5th-6th centuries; (2) Early South Turkestan Brāhmī, 6th-7th centuries; (3) South Turkestan Brāhmī, 7th-9th centuries; (4) Late South Turkestan Brāhmī, 10th century (see Sander, 1984, 1986, and 1989, esp. pp. 112-18 for the dating, and cf. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. lxxi-lxxii; Sander, 2005, proposes somewhat later dates).

A large part of Khotanese literature is in verse. Khotanese metrics was studied by E. Leumann, S. Konow, M. J. Dresden, and R. E. Emmerick but is still imperfectly understood. It is unknown whether Old Khotanese metrics, known chiefly from the *Book of Zambasta* is a derivation from as yet unidentified Indian models or is an indigenous system. In several works published between 1908 and 1924, E. Leumann developed the view that Old Khotanese metrics is of Indo-European descent with connections to Greek and other metrical systems and is exclusively quantitative (see the sketch in Leumann, 1933-36, pp. xxii-xxxv, and the bibliography in Emmerick, 1973a, pp. 138-39). His theory was criticized because of the many variants he admitted for the basic metrical patterns and because he emended the texts to fit them in with the postulated patterns, and its comparative part was generally rejected and was also abandoned by his son, M. Leumann (Leumann, 1971, p. 458). Konow hesitated between a quantitative model with Indian antecedents and an accentual model with possible parallels in other Iranian poetic traditions (see the bibliography in Dresden, 1962, esp. p. 43, n. 9, where an attempt is made, though without significant results, to compare Old and Late Khotanese metrics with that of other Middle Iranian poems). Emmerick considered that Old Khotanese metrics, originally quantitative and presumably derived from Indian meters, is at a stage of transition toward an accentual type that becomes exclusive in Late Khotanese poetry. He overestimated the role of the accent, however, in that he thought that a light syllable (i.e., a syllable with a short vowel followed by one or no consonant) could be counted as heavy if stressed and vice versa, and underestimated the role of quantity, which he admitted only in the cadences (Emmerick, 1968a, pp. 437-40; 1968b; 1973a; and 1973b). Our knowledge of Old Khotanese metrics has been recently reassessed by D. Hitch (2014).

Three meters, called A, B, and C, were first recognized by E. Leumann. Each meter is characterized by a basically fixed number of morae, a light syllable being worth one mora, a heavy syllable being worth two morae. A stanza consists of two verses with the same structure, and each verse consists of two halves (*pāda*) separated by a caesura with the exception of meter B (see below). There is complete freedom in the sequence of light and heavy syllables in the *pāda* openings before cadences, while in the cadences, that mark the end of the *pādas*, the distribution of light and heavy syllables is less free than elsewhere. The most common cadences consist of two feet: dactyl + trochee (- ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘) in meters A and B, and trochee + iamb or pyrrhic (- ˘ ˘ ˘) in meter C, with an ictus on the first syllable of each foot. There is a hierarchy between internal cadences (in odd *pādas*) and final cadences (in even *pādas*): these mark the end of verses and are characterized by the coincidence of ictus and accent (cf. Emmerick, 1968b, p. 2), which is not mandatory in internal cadences. A heavy syllable may be substituted for the light ones in the dactyls, and two light syllables may be substituted for one of the heavy syllables in any single cadence (in which case, in final cadences, the coincidence of ictus and accent must always take place on the first syllable of the foot). The main metrical structures for the three meters are as follows (other more or less frequent structures exist; the number of morae preceding the cadences is sometimes one mora longer or shorter than expected): A = 5 morae + - ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ | 5 morae + ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘; B = 5 + 6 morae + ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘; C = - ˘ ˘ ˘ - ˘ | 5 morae + ˘ ˘ ˘ (cf. Maggi, 1992, pp. 46-51; Emmerick and Maggi, 1991). Also in Late Khotanese metrics, which has never been studied in detail, a stanza consists of two (rarely three) verses and each verse consists of two

pādas, but Late Khotanese metrics is based on different principles, as it is apparently regulated by the number of stresses. At least two meters exist, one with three stresses and about eight syllables per *pāda* (e.g., *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, chapter 3 of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, and *Book of Vimalakīrti*) and another with four stresses and about twelve syllables per *pāda* (e.g., *Bhadracaryādeśanā* and *Jātakastava*; cf. Dresden, 1962; Emmerick, 1968a, pp. 437-38; 1968b, pp. 18-20; 1973a, p. 147; 1973b, pp. 138-39).

Khotanese manuscripts contain both literary texts and documents. Very little information is available concerning the origins of Khotanese literature. We know virtually nothing about the oral literature of Iranian descent apart from faint echoes in the legends on the foundation of Khotan and in the stylistic tendency to variation rather than repetition (Skjærvø, 1998 and 2012, pp. 127-28). The beginnings of written literature presumably coincided with the first Buddhist works in Khotanese, whose earliest manuscripts are written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī script, type 2, and date accordingly from the 5th-6th centuries. This applies to some folios and fragments of Old Khotanese translations of the *Ratnakūṭa* (*Kāśyapaparivarta*), *Saṅghātasūtra*, and *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, and to one folio of the *Book of Zambasta*, as well as to such secular wooden documents in Early Late Khotanese as F. II.i.006. The existence of a folio of the *Book of Zambasta* in Early Turkestan Brāhmī implies that the work was composed no later than the 5th century, and the fact that it often has the character of a translation in the widest sense and that one passage aims at defending the translation of Buddhist texts (23.2-6) suggests that the work may have been the very first written literary text in Khotanese (see Maggi, 2004b).

The greater part of the extant literary texts are Buddhist works, most of which were presumably translated from Sanskrit, though the Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* seems to have been translated from Chinese because it corresponds closely to a peculiar Chinese version that is at variance with the Indian text (see Loukota 2019). The Khotanese adopted various translation techniques for rendering the terminology of their originals (see Emmerick, 1983; Degener, 1989; Skjærvø, 2012, pp. 126-139). As many Indian words (Sanskrit and Prakrit) had already entered the Khotanese vocabulary presumably before the earliest extant texts and translations, a solution at hand was to use those loanwords as well as to continue taking over Sanskrit technical terms. On the other hand, many Indian terms were rendered by genuine Khotanese words. It is noteworthy that, in the Old Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, the name Śrī of the Indian goddess of fortune is either taken up as such or translated by the Zoroastrian name *śśandrāmatā-*; compare Avestan *spəntā- ārmaiti-*, the 'holy right thinking' and the guardian of the earth (Emmerick, 2002, pp. 7-9 with reference to earlier literature). The Khotanese Buddhist terminology never developed, however, into a fixed system of equivalences such as was evolved by the Tibetans. So one Sanskrit term may be rendered by more than one Khotanese equivalent, and one Khotanese word may translate different Sanskrit terms. The translators also resorted, especially in Old Khotanese, to interpretative translations in line with the Buddhist exegetical tradition.

The Khotanese versions vary widely with regard to their faithfulness to the originals and range from close translations to free paraphrases and recastings. The prose translations of *sūtras*, particularly the older ones, reproduce their originals as closely as possible, because *sūtras* were

regarded as the words of the Buddha, whereas metrical renderings are obviously freer than prose translations. The Khotanese did not content themselves with mere literal renditions, but took great care not to misrepresent the meaning of their originals. The desire to provide clear renderings of the original meaning sometimes induced the translators to amplify the text and even to insert comments. The greatest freedom is reached in the edifying tales, which are recast rather than translated, as they were felt to be liable to modification, rearrangement, and improvement.

The following new transcriptions, identifications, and text editions with translation of Buddhist texts, including previously unpublished, at times substantial materials, have been made after the treatment of Khotanese Buddhist literature in BUDDHISM iii.: Adhyardhaśatikā (Emmerick and Vorobëva-Desjatovskaja, *SDTV III*, pp. 24-34; Duan, 2015, pls. 14-15, pp. 29-34), *Agrapradīpadhāraṇī* (Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 224, identified by Chen, 2012, pp. 265-70), *Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī* (*Catalogue*, pp. 370-73), *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* (*SDTV III*, pp. 38-40; Duan, 1993; 2015, pl. 17, pp. 41-44), *Aparimitāyuhśūtra* (Duan, 1992, with comm., Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels, and glossary), *Aśokāvadāna* (Dragoni, 2013), *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī* (*SDTV III*, pp. 239-50, with facs. on pls. 190-98), *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (*SDTV III*, pp. 71-75, 222 and *Catalogue*, pp. 20-24), *Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanirdeśa* (*SDTV III*, p. 225, identified by Chen 2010), *Book of Vimalakīrti* (*Catalogue*, pp. 489-99; ed., tr., and comm. of lines 224-367 by Maggi, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2007, 2009a, and 2013), *Book of Zambasta* (*SDTV III*, pp. 212-13; Duan, 2015, pl. 16, pp. 35-38; on two unpublished, previously unknown folios of the main manuscript now in private possession, see U. Sims-Williams, 2018), *Deśanā I* (*Catalogue*, pp. 542-46), *Deśanā II* (*Catalogue*, pp. 547-50), *Guṇāparyantastotra* (*Catalogue*, p. 136; Hartmann and Chen, 2017); *Hastikakṣyasūtra* (*Catalogue*, pp. 577-78, identified by Chen, 2012, pp. 273-76; cf. Liu and Chen, 2014), *Homage of Hūyī Kīma-tcūna* (Duan, 1992, pp. 66-76, with glossary, and *Catalogue*, 27-31), *Invocation of Prince Tcū-syau* (*Catalogue*, pp. 499-502), *Jñānolkadhāraṇī* (q.v.; *SDTV III*, pp. 21-24, *Catalogue*, pp. 349, 355, and 451; Duan, 2015, pl. 5, 9-10), *Karmavibhaṅga* (Maggi, 1995, with comm., Sanskrit parallel, and glossary), *Mahāvaiṣṭyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtrācintyaṣayapradeśa* (*Catalogue*, pp. 332-33, identified by Chen, 2012, pp. 270-73), *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* (ed. and tr. of lines 1-54 and 278-313 by Emmerick, 1997a and 1998), *Namo text of MS Ch. 00268.1-131* (*Catalogue*, pp. 502-7), *Namo text of MS Ch. 00276* (*Catalogue*, pp. 303-4), *Nandimitrāvadāna* (*SDTV III*, pp. 34-35; identification and thorough treatment by Chen, 2018), *Ratnadvīpa text* (*Catalogue*, pp. 368-70), *Ratnakūṭa* (Skjærvø, 2003; Maggi, 2015; see Martini, 2010 on its transmission in Khotan), *Rāsmivimalaviśuddhaprabhānāmadhāraṇī* (fragments in *SDTV III*, p. 233, identified by Yoshida, 1997, p. 568; *Catalogue*, pp. 24-25, 383-84, identified by Yoshida, 2004, pp. 27-28; and Duan, 2015, pl. 19, pp. 47-51; a recently discovered complete manuscript in a private collection was published by Duan, 2019; cf. Chen, 2012, pp. 276-278), *Samantabhadra text* (*Catalogue*, pp. 144-45, 199-200, 228, and 312), *Sanghāṭasūtra* (Canevascini, 1993, with comm., Sanskrit original, and glossary; additional material in Duan, 2010b; Maggi, 2017), *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* (fragments identified by Wille 2006, p. 487 in the Crosby collection [Washington, D.C., Library of Congress; unpublished] and the Stein collection [London]), *Sudhanāvadāna* (De Chiara, 2013-14), *Sumukhasūtra* (Emmerick, 1997-98), *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (*Catalogue*, pp. 220, 223,

266-68, 329, 409-23), *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* (SDTV III, pp. 179-212, with Sanskrit original, and facs. in SD VII, pls. 139-51; see also Emmerick, 1995; Skjærvø, 1999b; and the index of fragments in *Catalogue*, pp. 608-9; complete ed. by Skjærvø, 2004, with tr., comm., Sanskrit parallel, glossary, and indexes; additional material in Duan, 2006; 2015, pls. 8-9, pp. 15-17), *Trīśaraṇa* (*Catalogue*, pp. 486-87), *Vajrayāna* text of MS Ch. ii.004 (*Catalogue*, pp. 292-96), *Vajrayāna* verses of MS Ch. i.0021b (*Catalogue*, pp. 550-56), *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (SDTV III, pp. 213-14), *Viśākhā* and *Vipaśyin texts* (*Catalogue*, pp. 330-31), and *Viśeṣavatī-dhāraṇī* (*Catalogue*, p. 18, identified by Paul Harrison, personal communication).

Recent research on the important indigenous Buddhist composition known as the *Book of Zambasta* has shown that an entirely lost chapter consisting of 55 verse-lines originally existed between chapters 21 and 22 (Maggi, 1998, pp. 287-88) and that chapters 17-18 are in reality a single chapter (Maggi and Martini, 2014), and has led to the identification of a number of passages as quotations, usually unsourced, from Buddhist texts that are mostly not otherwise preserved in Khotanese: *Aniyatāvatāramudrā* in 13.146-49 (Martini, 2013, pp. 46-50), Nāgārjuna's *Bodhisambhāra* in 11.32 (Maggi, 2006), *Maitrībhāvanāprakaraṇa* translated as chapter 3 (Duan, 2007; see also Martini 2011 for a detailed study), *Milindapañha* (or similar texts) in 2.139 (Maggi, 2019), *Ratnakūṭa* in 8.38-39, 9.16, 19 (if not from Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*), and 13.42 (Martini, 2008 and 2010, pp. 139-155), *Samantamukhaparivarta* in 4.34-39 (Dhammadinnā, 2013, pp. 339-344), *Vinayaviniścaya-Upālipariṣcchā* in 13.33-38 (Martini, 2013, pp. 31-38), and *Vīradattaparipṛcchā* in 2.186 (Maggi, 2018b, pp. 205-6). New identifications of sources in chapter 6, which claims to contain a verse from each *sūtra* (cf. BUDDHISM iii., p. 503), are due to Duan Qing (in Liu and Chen, 2014, p. 294, n. 3), who recognized a quotation from *Hastikakṣyasūtra* (6.41), and to Chen Ruixuan and D. Loukota Sanclemente (2018 and 2020), who recognized quotations from *Gaṇḍavyūha* (6.4), *Lalitavistara* (6.5), *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (6.7), *Avāivartikacakra* (6.11), *Tathāgataḡuhya(ka)* (6.12), *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhī* (6.13), *Candragarbha* (6.18), *Sūryagarbha* (6.19), *Ratnaketuparivarta* (6.20), **Sucintisūtra* (6.25), *Daśadharmaka* (6.27), *Ratnakaraṇḍa(ka)* (6.36), *Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśa* (6.37), *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* (6.38), *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana* (6.39), *Strīvivartavyākaraṇa* (6.42), *Gaganagañjaparipṛcchā* (6.44), *Susthitamatidevaputrparipṛcchā* (6.45), *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetragaṇavyūha* (6.46), *Aśokadattaparipṛcchā* (6.47), *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa* (6.53), *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* (6.55), *Tathāgataśrīsamaya* (6.56), *Acintyaprabhāsanirdeśa* (6.57), and *Vinayaviniścaya-Upālipariṣcchā* (6.58). Further quotations were recognized by Gudrun Melzer (in Chen and Loukota 2020): *Prajñāpāramitā* (6.28), *Sāgaramatipariṣcchā* (6.30), *Tathāgatamahākaruṇānirdeśa* (6.31), and *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhī* (6.33).

Among the sources of the “very long Old Khotanese text that ... discusses the duties of a bodhisattva” (see BUDDHISM iii., pp. 501-502) and is now termed *Bodhisattva compendium*, Fan Jingjing (2017) identified the *Itivṛttaka* (*Catalogue*, p. 344), Nāgārjuna's *Bodhisambhāra*, and the *Bodhisattvabūmi* (*Catalogue*, pp. 342-43).

Since Khotan was a major center of Buddhist studies in the 1st millennium (cf. BUDDHISM i.), Buddhism also pervades secular documents and non-doctrinal literary texts. Even the Hindu story of Rāma and Sītā was changed into a Late Khotanese *avadāna* (q.v.) in verse. The

Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa* opens by praising the long duration of the teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha as the result of his long exertion in former births, among which was his life as Rāma. The story is not merely given a Buddhist setting: the myth itself is turned into a Buddhist myth in that it is said that Rāma also defeated Ambarīṣa and Mahādeva, which amounts to saying that the Buddha defeated Śiva and Viṣṇu, the chief gods of the Hindu pantheon (Emmerick, 2000, pp. 233-34). The story is told in a concise and lively style, as is usual in Khotanese *avadānas*, and abounds in material of a fabulous nature, with monkeys, ants, ravens, and donkeys appearing in the narration (MSS P 2801 + P 2781 + P 2783; Bailey, *KT III*, pp. 65-76; ed. Bailey, 1940a; tr. Bailey, 1940b; tr. of lines 71-78, 109-18, and 168-73 by Emmerick, 1997c and 2000).

The beginnings of two further *avadānas* are extant: the *Kaniṣkāvadāna* in prose (appended to the *Panegyric on King Viśa' Saṃgrāma*; see below) with the episodes of King Kaniṣka having a monument and a monastery built and of Kaniṣka's spiritual adviser Aśvaghoṣa casting a lump of clay on the newly built monument with the subsequent appearance of an image of the Buddha (MS P 2787.155-95; Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 107-8; ed. Bailey, 1942, with tr. and comm.; tr. Bailey, 1965, pp. 107-8); the so-called *Love story* about the love of a householder's son and the daughter of one of King Prasenajit's ministers (P 2928.4-41; Bailey, *KT III*, pp. 105-6; ed. Maggi, 1997, with tr., comm., glossary, and facs.).

A few magic texts such as amulets and omen texts give expression to the most extreme form of "folk" Buddhism. The apotropaic power of amulets (*rakṣā*) may reside in a drawing (MS Kha. i.50; ed. Emmerick, 1968c, p. 142, with tr. and facs. on pl. II; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 585, with tr.), in a sacred formula (*dhāraṇī* [q.v.] as in MS Kha. i.89a; Bailey, *KTV*, p. 137; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 203, with tr.; and in the newly found amulet from Dandan Öilik [see [DANDĀN ÖILIQ](#)]: Skjærvø, 2007; Duan, 2009; and 2015, pls. 1-3, pp. 1-5), in a text (MS Kha. i.53; Bailey, *KTV*, p. 131; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 193, with tr.; MS Kha. i.310; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 477, with tr.; MS Reuter 2; ed. Bailey, *KTV*, p. 395), and in a text combined with drawings, as in the case of the three folios that depict six of fifteen demons causing children's diseases and contain the relevant Late Khotanese excerpt, with a Chinese parallel text, from the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, a collection of sacred formulas against demons (MS Ch. 00217 c, a, b; Bailey, *KT III*, p. 135; ed. Maggi, 1996, with tr., facs., and comm.; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 583, with tr.). Omen texts are contained in MSS Hedin 17, which foretells the consequences of aches in various parts of the body, and 22.6-7 (ed. Bailey, *KT IV*, pp. 31-32 and 35, with tr. and comm. on pp. 109-17, 127, and 129), Hardinge 078.2 (Bailey, *KTV*, p. 283; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 126-27, with tr.), Kha. vi.4.1 (predicting the outcome of twitching in various parts of the body: Bailey, *KT III*, p. 130, and *IV*, pp. 113-14, with tr.; ed. Leumann, 1963, pp. 83-86, with tr.; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 260-61, with tr.), and Or. 11252.1 (forecasting men's fates on the basis of the year of the duodecimal animal cycle in which they are born: Bailey, *KT III*, pp. 13-15; ed. Bailey, 1937, pp. 924-30, with tr. and comm.; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 82-85, with tr.).

Besides the great bulk of Buddhist texts, literary works also include a number of both indigenous and translated non-doctrinal texts in Late Khotanese: lyric poetry, epistolary poetry, burlesque poetry, panegyrics, a geographical text, medical texts, and a few bilinguals. Their interpretation is at times difficult because our knowledge of the vocabulary rests mainly on

religious texts.

Lyric poetry is devoted to the magnification of love. Some of the verses are quite beautiful, and it is a great pity that not more of them are extant. Nine lyrical verses on love are found at the end of the Staël-Holstein miscellaneous roll (see below). The main collection of lyrical verses is the so-called *Lyrical poem*, a difficult text known from six partly overlapping manuscripts from Dunhuang and dealing with “the coming of spring, various flowers and birds, songs of the bards (*māgadha*), and homage to the amorous sports of young lovers” (Bailey, 1964a). The tradition of the text is not homogeneous: the *Lyrical poem* proper consists of thirty verses and is preserved virtually entirely in three manuscripts, two of which agree closely, while the third differs (mss. Ch. 00266.1-42, P 2025.7-79, and P 2956); three shorter manuscripts (P 2022, P 2896.49-55, P 2985) contain verses from the *Lyrical poem* but in a different order (Bailey, *KT* III, pp. 34-48; synoptical ed. in Dresden, 1977, with facs.). Though the lyrical stanzas make up about two thirds of the poem, this closes with the admonition not to follow worldly pleasures (ed. of verses 22-29 by Kumamoto, 2000, with tr. and comm.).

Epistolary poetry is represented by a comparatively large number of letters in verse that are contained in several Dunhuang manuscripts. Though the verses, which mostly appear as unfinished drafts, are in the form of letters written by travelers during their journeys and addressed to their families, teachers, and friends in the homeland, they are not drafts of letters that were actually intended to be sent but elaborate literary works of an at times lofty poetic mode developing the theme of separation from the homeland (see Kumamoto, 1991a, 1993, and 1996b, pp. 93-94).

The only specimen of burlesque poetry is a ten-line fragment from Dunhuang containing a humorous poem. It was written by one Kīma-śānā, who is possibly to be identified with the contemporaneous Zhang Jinshan (*cā kīmā-śānā*) mentioned in the colophon of the *Jātakastava* (q.v.) and other Late Khotanese religious texts (MS P 2745; Bailey, *KT* II, pp. 92-93; ed. Kumamoto, 1995, pp. 243-45, with tr. and comm.).

Panegyric literature comprehends three eulogies that extol the figures and deeds of three kings of the Khotanese Viśa’ dynasty. Though they refer to historical persons and events contemporary with their composition and can be regarded as historical documents, they are characterized by an elevated rhetorical mode and a very elaborate style that recall that of Sanskrit inscriptional eulogies (*praśasti*). The metrical *Panegyric on King Viśa’ Kīrtta* (r. from 791 CE; see Kumamoto, 1996a, p. 42), which is preserved by a manuscript from the region of Khotan, celebrates the King’s funding, in his 16th regnal year (806), of religious activity for the sake of welfare during his reign (MS M.T. b.ii.0065; Bailey, *KT* II, p. 72; *SDTV* I, pp. 90-91, with tr., and facs. in *SD* III, pl. lxvi; ed. Konow, 1939, with tr.; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 285, with tr.). The other panegyrics are known from two Dunhuang manuscripts. The metrical *Panegyric on King Viśa’ Dharma* (r. from 978; see Pulleyblank, 1954, p. 94), which opens with a lengthy Vajrayānist invocation mentioning the Buddha Vairocana, was written on the occasion of an embassy the King sent to Dunhuang in his 5th regnal year (982) to ask the hand of a Chinese princess (MS Ch. i.0021a.a; Bailey, *KT* II, pp. 53-55; ed. *SDTV* I, pp. 68-70, with tr., and facs. in *SD* III, pls. xlix-li;

Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 522-24, with tr.). The long *Panegyric on King Viśa' Saṃgrāma* (r. 9th century? see Kumamoto, 1986, pp. 235-39, and Skjærvø, 1991, p. 269), which is followed by way of comparison by the *Kaniṣkāvadāna*, praises the King, on the occasion of the ceremony performed by monks at the end of the rainy season, for his religious merits imparting spiritual and material well-being to the land of Khotan and for erecting a monastery (MS P 2787.1-154: Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 101-7; tr. and comm. by Bailey, 1965). Another eulogy of King Viśa' Saṃgrāma is found at the beginning of a verse letter (MS Or. 8212.162.14-36: Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 1-3; *SDTV I*, pp. 19-20, 25, and 29-30, with tr. and comm., and facs. in *SD I*, pls. ix-x; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 45-47, with tr.).

Apart from a long list of cities of Eastern Central Asia in the Staël-Holstein roll (see below), the only known geographical text is the so-called *Itinerary*, a description of a southward journey through Gilgit and Chilās to Kashmir, at that time under the rule of King Abhimanyugupta (r. 958-72), who is mentioned in the text (MS Ch. i.0021a.b: Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 55-57; ed. Bailey, 1936, with tr. and comm.; Bailey, *SDTV I*, pp. 70-73, with tr. and comm., and facs. in *SD II*, pls. lii-lvi; Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 524-26, with tr.; cf. Morgenstierne, 1942, pp. 269-71).

Medical texts belong to the Indian Āyurvedic tradition, which spread in Central Asia along with Buddhism. In fact, the *Vyadhipraśamanaparivarta* (Chapter on healing illness) of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* refers to principles similar to those of Āyurvedic medicine (Nobel, 1951). Fragments of medical texts, an unidentified work on poultices (Sanskrit *piṇḍa-*), and substantial portions of prose translations of two Sanskrit medical treatises are extant: the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta and the *Jīvakapustaka*. For the fragments, see Emmerick, 1992b, p. 45; the St. Petersburg fragments SI P 45.1-3 and SI P 102 b4-15 are now published in Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *SD VII*, pls. 23-25 and 105, and *SDTV III*, pp. 36-37 and 134-35; four unpublished fragments from a single medical text in the Crosby collection are reported by Emmerick, 1992a, p. 673, and 1993, p. 59); the unidentified text on poultices (Sanskrit *piṇḍa-*) is contained in mss. P 2893.32-267 + Ch. 00265, that once formed one single manuscript (see Maggi, 2008) and, in the absence of a known title, may be termed *Piṇḍasāstra* (see Maggi, 2018a, 251, n. 30, and, for a partial edition and translation, Luzziatti, 2018-19).

The Late Khotanese *Jīvakapustaka* (q.v.) is known from an incomplete Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual manuscript of 71 folios, presumably from the 10th century (MS Ch. ii.003: Bailey, *KT I*, pp. 136-95; ed. Konow, 1941, with tr. and glossary; new ed. Tāme, 2014, with tr. and glossary; see Chen, 2005, for the Sanskrit). The work is an otherwise unknown compilation of prescriptions taken from various sources (see Emmerick, 1979, pp. 235-37) and organized by type of preparation in four complementary chapters introduced by the Sanskrit auspicious formula *siddham* 'success' and devoted respectively to an antidote, to drugs mixed with ghee, to drugs mixed with sesame oil, and to powders. The Khotanese version is based on the corrupt Sanskrit, which the translator could not fully understand (Emmerick, 1979, p. 243).

A Late Khotanese version of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* (about 650 CE; Emmerick, 1975-76) is contained in 64 of the 65 folios of manuscript Ch. ii.002, whose fol. 100 contains a different medical text (Bailey, *KT I*, pp. 1-104; facs. in Bailey, 1938, pp. 1-67; cf. Emmerick, 1980-82). MS P

2892 is a variant of fols. 5-14 (Bailey, *KTV*, pp. 315-24). Of the original thirty-one chapters, the still extant ones are those on the theoretical foundations (1), drugs (2), food (up to 3.26.12), piles and genital fistulae (from 13.27), yellow disease (14), hiccoughs and uncomfortable breathing (15.1 and 15.15-23), swollen testicles (18.53), dry excrement and heart diseases (19), madness and epilepsy (20), diseases due to wind (one of the three humors of Indian medicine together with bile and phlegm) and rheumatism (21), liquor disease (22), erysipelas (23), swellings (24), healing wounds (25), and diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, teeth, and throat (26.0-68 and 26.75-90). The Khotanese version, presumably from the 10th century CE, contains an introduction in verse (ed. Emmerick, 1983, 19-21, with tr.), from which we know that the work was translated from Tibetan—though the translator also consulted the Sanskrit original and corrected mistakes in the Tibetan version (Emmerick, 1971)—in order to improve medical knowledge and public health in the country.

No grammatical work is known. Among the texts from Dunhuang, however, there are a word list and a few bilingual texts that originated presumably from the need felt by members of the Khotanese community in Dunhuang (on which see Kumamoto, 1996b) to acquire some knowledge of foreign languages for practical purposes. The word list is a Turkish-Khotanese bilingual, which arranges systematically, and partially glosses in Khotanese, Old Turkish words for parts of the body and technical terms concerned with archery and horse equipment, presumably to be used in military instruction (MS P 2892.166-85: Bailey, *KT III*, pp. 81-82; ed. Emmerick and Róna-Tas, 1992, with tr., comm., indexes, facs., and ref. to earlier literature). The most extensive bilingual text is a veritable conversation manual and contains Sanskrit words and sentences followed by a Khotanese rendering (MS P 5538b.9-87: Bailey, *KT III*, pp. 121-24; ed. Kumamoto, 1988, with tr., comm., and glossaries). The other bilingual texts are short collections of sentences and a few single words in Chinese, in Brāhmī script with Khotanese translation (mss. Ch. 00271.2-5, Or. 8212.162.1-12, P 2927.4-25 and S 5212a: Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 1 and 49, and *KT III*, pp. 103 and 136; see also Bailey, *SD I*, pl. ix, and *SDTV I*, pp. 17-19; Takata, 1988, pp. 197, 203-7, 217-27, and 435-37; and Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 44-45 and 515; and cf. Kumamoto, 1996b, pp. 94-96).

While literary texts provide us with information on the culture and religious beliefs of the Khotanese, a considerable number of secular documents, which are written on paper and, more rarely, on wood, refer to contemporary persons and events, and thus give us glimpses into the society, daily life, and the political situation in Khotan, mainly in the 8th-10th centuries. Unlike many literary texts, the documents are particularly difficult to interpret because, apart from a few bilingual documents, they are not translations of texts known to us in other languages. Furthermore, practically all of them are written in Late Khotanese, a common feature of which is the dropping of syllables, especially the final ones, with the consequent shortening of the inflectional endings; and they contain some words and a great many names and titles from Chinese, Old Turkish, and Tibetan that are hard to recognize when adapted to Khotanese phonology and spelling conventions. Khotanese documents are mostly kept in London (Hoernle and Stein collections: ed. Bailey, *KT II* and V, partly *SDTV I*, with tr. and comm.; and Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, with tr.), Paris (Pelliot collection: ed. Bailey, *KT II*, partly *SDTV I*, with tr. and

comm.), Stockholm (Hedin collection: ed. Bailey, *KT IV*, with tr. and comm., partly *SDTV I*, with tr. and comm.), and St. Petersburg (Petrovskii, Oldenburg, Malov, and Strelkov collections: ed. Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *SDTV III*, with tr.). New documents have come to light in recent years (see Emmerick, 1984; Duan and Wang, 1997; Skjærvø, 2001; Duan, 2005, 2013, and 2016; Ogiwara, 2015; and others published in Chinese and surveyed by Zhang, 2014, pp. 57-58). On the documents in general, see Kumamoto, 1982, pp. 2-36; Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1992a, pp. 44-75; and Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. lxxv-lxxviii, lxxiv-lxxviii. The documents can be divided into two chronological groups: the ones found in the Khotan area (on which see Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, 1992b; Kumamoto, 1996a; Skjærvø, 2008; Zhang, 2016), which probably go from the 5th to the beginning of the 9th century but belong mostly to the 8th century, and the ones discovered at Dunhuang, which are often much lengthier and date to the 10th and perhaps in part to the 9th century. Among the extant documents there are originals and copies or drafts. Miscellaneous manuscripts may contain one or more document copies or drafts and even literary texts. Thus, the Staël-Holstein miscellaneous roll, which is said to come from Dunhuang and whose present whereabouts is unknown, contains, besides two versions of a Tibetan document, three Khotanese documents dated 925 CE and nine lyrical verses in Khotanese (Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 72-76; ed. Thomas and Konow, 1929, with tr., comm., and facs.; Bailey, 1951, with tr. and comm.; cf. Pulleyblank, 1954; Hamilton, 1958, with ref. to earlier literature; and Hamilton, 1977, pp. 515-21). The colophons and the rarer introductions that are found in a number of literary manuscripts, including the Khotanese introduction (see Yoshida et al., 2001, p. 50; Maggi, 2009b, pp. 342-43) and colophons of the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (see Emmerick, 1974b; Bailey in Lokesh Chandra, 1976, pp. 1-2 and 430; and von Hinüber, 2014) are also of historical interest and comparable to documents, as they are sometimes dated according to the regnal years of the Khotanese kings and contribute to our knowledge of Khotanese prosopography (see Bailey, 1944; Dresden, 1955, pp. 403-4 with n. 21; and Sander, 1988).

Khotanese documents, a few of which are Chinese-Khotanese bilinguals (see Kumamoto, 2001 and 2007, for the St. Petersburg ones), are typologically quite varied (see Kumamoto, 1996a, and Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. lxxiv-lxxv). Besides several private letters (*pīḍaka-*; e.g., MS M.T. a.i.0033 addressed by a man to his wife: Bailey, *KT II*, p. 71; facs. Stein, 1921, pl. cli; ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *SDTV I*, pp. 73-74, with facs. in *SD III*, pls. lv, lxix; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 270-71), numerous official letters are preserved, which include messages from superior to subordinate officials (*parau-* “order,” e.g., MS Hedin 3: ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *KT IV*, pp. 22, 67-71), messages between peers (*parmācā-*, lit. “exchange,” e.g., MS D. v.4: Bailey *KT V*, p. 259; ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *SDTV I*, pp. 42-43, with facs. in *SD I*, pls. xix-xx; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 560; see Yoshida, 2007, pp. 465-67), messages from inferior to superior officials (*haṣḍi-* “report, petition,” e.g., MS Hedin 2.1-7 addressed to a *ṣṣau* official and followed by the *ṣṣau*'s order as a reply to it: ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *KT IV*, pp. 21-22, 61-67) and messages to religious superiors (*vīñatti-* “report,” ultimately from Skt. *vijñapti-*, or *haṣḍi-*, e.g., MS Hedin 7 and 7v respectively: ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *KT IV*, pp. 25-26, 82-92). Among the messages to subordinate persons there is a highly formal letter of the king of Khotan (MS P 5538a: Bailey, *KT II*, pp. 125-29; tr. and comm. Bailey, 1964b, pp. 17-26; ed. and tr. Bailey, *SDTV I*, pp. 58-61, with facs.

in *SD* II, pls. xxx-xxxviii). Reports from subordinate officials (*haṣḍi-*) include diplomatic reports such as the official letter draft written by a Khotanese envoy called Thyai Paḍä-tṣā from Dunhuang to the Khotanese court presumably in 866 concerning an embassy from Khotan to the Uighur khan in Ganzhou (MS P 2741: Bailey, *KT* II, pp. 87-92; ed., tr., and comm. *SDTV* I, pp. 61-67, with facs. in *SD* II, pls. xxxix-xlvi; see Zhang and Rong, 1984, 25-27, and cf. Kumamoto, 1991b, 101-3). Many orders and petitions are about administrative matters, but a number of petitions to and orders by various officials deal with legal cases and disputes (*gvāra-*; see Skjærvø, 2016). Legal documents (*pīḍaka-*, *pāḍā-*) include purchase contracts (*gārya-vāḍā-*, e.g., MS Or. 6397/1 = Hoernle 7: Bailey, *KT* II, p. 66; facs. Hoernle, 1897, pl. v; ed. and tr. Bailey, *SDTV* I, p. 54, with facs. in *SD* II, pl. xxviii; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 9), promissory notes (*pāra-vastua-* [*pīḍaka-*], e.g., MS Or. 6397/2: Bailey, *KTV*, pp. 5-6; ed. and tr. Bailey, *SDTV* I, p. 55, with facs. in *SD* II, pl. xxviii; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 9-10), adoption contracts (*perm[y]a-vāḍa-*, e.g., MS Or. 9268B: Bailey, *KT* II, p. 14; ed., tr., and comm. Bailey, *SDTV* I, pp. 6-9, with facs. in *SD* I, pls. iv-v; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 68-69), and other contracts. In the land purchase contracts, estates are defined in a way similar to that found in Bactrian land purchase deeds (see Skjærvø, 2017). Economic documents comprise vouchers (*kṣau-*, from Chinese 鈔 *chao*, e.g., MS Or. 6396/1: Bailey, *KTV*, p. 4; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 7-8; see Bailey, *KT* IV, p. 55), receipts for goods (e.g., mss. Or. 9611/a-i and Or. 9612: ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 77-78) or money (e.g., MS Hardinge 073 I.1: Bailey, *KTV*, p. 272; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 123), and account books (e.g., MS P 2024, a commercial document recording expenses and incomes in terms of rolls of cloth used as a monetary unit: see Kumamoto, 1995, pp. 230-38), including a monastic account book (MS SI P 103.52: ed. and tr. Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *SDTV* III, pp. 157-59, with facs. in *SD* VII, pl. 126; see Emmerick, 1996). Administrative documents include records and registers regarding water rights (e.g., MS Kha. ix.61, 62, 62a: Bailey, *KTV*, p. 187; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 564), recipients of grain, etc. (e.g., MS M.T. 094: ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 60-61), debtors (e.g., MS Har. 060: ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 41), taxpayers (e.g., MS Har. 057: ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, p. 41), tax collectors (e.g., MS Kha. ii.3: Bailey, *KTV*, p. 174; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 571-72), lists of names of people eligible for guard service and other corvée work (e.g., MS Or. 11344/1: Bailey, *KT* II, pp. 30-31; ed. and tr. Skjærvø, *Catalogue*, pp. 104-6), and more.

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KHOTAN vi. Khotanese Art

Khotanese art refers to the body of material evidence of pre-Islamic painting and sculpture unearthed in archaeological sites of the Khotan oasis (in the present-day Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China), mainly in Buddhist ruined structures, or acquired in the local antique market.

Our knowledge of Khotanese art is still largely based on the materials brought to light by Marc Aurel Stein (q.v.) through the excavations he carried out in several sites of the oasis (Dandān Ōiliq [q.v.], Balawaste [q.v.], Khadalik, Farhad Beg Yailaki, Tarishlak, Domoko [see DUMAQU], Rawak Vihara [q.v.], to name the major ones), during the first two decades of the 20th century (Stein, 1907; 1921, chaps. IV and V; 1928, chap. IV, sections i-iii). Further discoveries, but on a more limited extent, were made by the expeditions led by members of the Count Ōtani Kōzui team (1902-4), and by Ernst Trinkler, from Bremen (Germany), in the 1920s (Gropp). In the same years, a significant amount of fragments of murals and sculpture, as well as other artifacts, was acquired by Stein, Trinkler, Nikolay F. Petrovskiy, and other Westerners from local dealers (for the British collections, cf. Waugh and Sims-Williams; for the Petrovskiy collection, see Elikhina, 2010-11); apart from the alleged sites of provenance, for the bulk of these fragments the original architectural and iconographic contexts are unknown.

After a long hiatus, archaeological fieldwork was resumed in the Khotan oasis in the 1990s, with new excavations at Dandān Ōiliq by Christoph Baumer and by Sino-Japanese expeditions (Zhang, Qu, and Liu; *Dandan wulike yizhi*), and more recently (2010s) with investigations in the Domoko area, in the eastern portion of the oasis (Chinese expedition, cf. *Dandan wulike yizhi*,

pp. 293-333; *Buddhist Vestiges*). The Sino-French diggings at Karadong, on the Keriya (q.v.) river, just beyond the north-eastern fringes of the Khotan oasis, also deserve to be mentioned for the remarkable mural paintings brought to light in two Buddhist temples (Debaine-Francfort and Idriss; see below).

The main collections of Khotanese artistic finds are currently housed in the following locations: the British Museum, the National Museum in New Delhi, the Übersee-Museum in Bremen, the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, the Tokyo National Museum, and the National Museum of Korea in Seoul; as to Xinjiang, Khotanese artifacts are kept in the Xinjiang Archaeological Institute in Urumchi, the Hetian Cultural Museum in Khotan city, as well as in other minor museums (e.g., Domoko).

In Khotanese Buddhist temples, all reproducing essentially one and the same architectural layout (a central shrine surrounded by one or more corridors for ritual circumambulation), sculpture and painting were complementary artistic media. The central shrine usually housed one major sculpture (or sculptural group) on a pedestal, whereas the walls of the shrine and corridors were entirely covered with paintings of religious themes. In some cases, the two media were more organically combined, with painting providing a background to clay sculptures in high relief (Rawak), as seen in late Gandharan Buddhist sites (e.g., Hadda, Afghanistan).

However fragmentary, the material record on pictorial arts confirms what ancient written sources indicate about the prevailing doctrinal orientation in Khotan, described as a prestigious center of Mahāyāna Buddhism (see BUDDHISM i. IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES). Along with the Buddha, by far the most favorite subject, we find depictions of Bodhisattvas (q.v.), *lokapālas*, minor deities, frequently of ultimate Brahmanical origin, and worshippers. Apart from sporadic depictions of local legends (in painting), Khotanese art shows no interest in narrative themes.

Sculpture. A group of baked clay figurines from Yotkan and other sites of the oasis, traditionally assumed to date from a relatively early period (4th-5th centuries CE), based on similarities with Gandharan art (q.v.), may represent the earliest known evidence of Khotanese art altogether. A rich collection of terracotta figurines, both human (male figures, often playing on musical instruments) and animal (most frequently monkeys), either self-standing or originally applied to pots, is housed in the Hermitage Museum (D'iakonova and Sorokin; Elikhina, 2008 and 2010-2011).

The bulk of Khotanese sculpture is represented by clay images, in which the legacy of late and post-Gandharan art and the close contacts with the sculpture of the Upper Indus Valley and Kashmir (cf. Forte, 2015), along with the Gupta elements these traditions had absorbed, are patent in iconography, style and workmanship. On the other hand, its relationship with other artistic centers of the Tarim Basin has not yet received the attention it deserves.

As a rule, in Khotanese Buddhist temples a major cult image, typically a large sculpture of the Buddha, was placed on a pedestal either in the middle of the shrine (more frequently closer to

its rear wall) or, in some cases, in a niche in the rear wall. Sculptures of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas or *lokapālas*, depending on the ritual and iconographic program, could also be added in the corners of the cella or in rows along its walls, on bases or benches. With the exception of Rawak (see below), where a number of whole images were also preserved, clay sculptures have generally been recovered in an extremely fragmentary state of preservation.

The site of Rawak stands out for the impressive display of clay images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (PLATES I, II), disposed in an uninterrupted row along the wall surrounding the square sacred area, and on what remained of a thin outer wall preserved only at the southwestern corner of the enclosure (Stein, 1907, pp. 304-6, 482-506; Gropp, pp. 13-16, 221-42; Rhie, pp. 276-315). Although its ambitious iconographic program cannot be entirely reconstructed (only the southwestern and most of the southeastern sides of the wall have been dug), we know that the sculptures were differentiated in size, possibly on a hierarchical base, and that included colossal images of the standing Buddha (ca. 3 m high), in three cases encircled by a large mandorla filled with rows of small standing or seated Buddhas (Stein, 1907, fig. 62, pl. XVIIIc). This iconographic formula was popular at Qizil and other sites of the Kucha (q.v.) oasis (late 6th – first half of the 7th centuries, cf., for instance, Howard and Vignato, figs. 134-38); in the south of the Tarim Basin, it is found at Endere, east of Khotan (mural painting in shrine E.ii, late 7th-early 8th centuries CE, Stein, 1907, pl. X). Sculptural fragments belonging to similar representations of the Buddha are also known from other sites of the Khotan oasis (small standing or seated Buddhas and fragments of mandorlas, e.g., at Dandān Ōiliq, late 7th-8th centuries, cf. Whitfield and Farrer, p. 165). These parallels, along with evident links to the late Buddhist art and architecture of the Gandharan area, Hindu Kush (q.v.), and western Ṭoḡarestān—including the large “star-shaped” or “cruciform” *stūpa*—disprove the chronology assigned to Rawak (4th to mid-5th centuries CE, cf. Rhie, pp. 276-315, to mention the most recent reappraisal), making the period between the 6th to 8th centuries CE a more reasonable option.



Plate I. Clay sculptures at the Rawak *stūpa*. After Aurel Stein, *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*, London, 1903, frontispiece.

Painting. This category is represented by murals (preserved either *in situ* or in fragments), and wooden painted panels (Williams; Whitfield; Whitfield and Farrer). The latter, of rectangular shape, often with a triangular top, were placed as votive offerings in front of the pedestals of major sculptures in Buddhist shrines (PLATE III). In most cases, both faces of the panel were decorated with one or more cult images (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, deities, or legends).

As to mural paintings, due to the generally poor state of preservation of the walls, we are better informed on a variety of single subjects (testified by a great number of fragments) than on the

compositional contexts they belonged to (PLATE IV). We can nonetheless surmise that the iconographic programs of Khotanese Buddhist shrines mainly included images of the Buddha of variable size, standing or seated on lotus blossoms, accompanied, in a range of different schemes, by Bodhisattvas and/or deities. Among the most frequent compositions is the one conventionally named “Thousand Buddhas” (the earliest known evidence of which is found in the paintings of Ajanta, in India, late 5th century CE), occupying the upper portion of the walls or their entire surface: rows of small images of the seated Buddha, differentiated by the direction to which their heads are turned, the symbolic gesture (*mudrā*) they perform, or the color of their mantle.

We owe to Joanna Williams the most accurate and comprehensive analysis of the iconographic repertoire of Khotanese painting, whereas the new evidence provided by recent excavations helps to clarify the context of certain specific subjects, earlier documented by isolated and sporadic fragments.

The Buddha Vairocana was one of the most favorite cult images in the Khotan oasis, both in wall paintings and in painted wooden panels. The subject, which has been traced to the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, a Buddhist text which enjoyed large popularity in Khotan, can be described as a cosmic representation of Śākyamuni, standing or seated, wearing a simple loincloth (instead of the canonical cloak) and with a variety of emblems and motifs (not all of which have been satisfactorily explained) drawn on different parts of his body.

A number of Khotanese depictions of the Buddha have been tentatively assigned to the category of the “Auspicious Images”, i.e., painted reproductions of sculptures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas or Buddhist narratives traditionally held to have “flown” from India to Central Asia and East Asia. Such sculptures as well as their painted reproductions were thought to be endowed with miraculous power. Mentions of “Auspicious Images” of the Buddha at Khotan are found in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Songyun and Xuanzang, who visited the oasis in the 5th and in the 7th century respectively (for a



Plate II. Rawak, head of Buddha (6th-7th century). Red clay with traces of color, 25.4 x 17.8 x 17.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1930, accession no. 30.32.3. Image in the public domain.



Plate III. Votive panel from the Khotan oasis (Xinjian, China).

recent overview of “Auspicious Images” at [Dunhuang](#) [q.v.], and their close relationship with Khotan, see Anderl).

Among the Bodhisattvas, *Avalokiteśvara* (q.v.) has been identified in a good number of fragments (mainly on account of the image of the Buddha Amitābha in his headdress); more sporadic and hypothetic are the depictions of Maitreya and other Bodhisattvas. As to the *lokapālas*, *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Sañjaya*, both objects of special worship as protectors of Khotan, have been identified in murals and in painted wooden panels (on *Sañjaya*, see Forte, 2014).

Our understanding of the role played by Brahmanical deities in Khotanese Buddhism, already witnessed in Stein’s record (images of *Maheśvara* and *Gaṇeśa*), has been improved by the wall paintings unearthed during recent diggings at *Dandān Ōiliq* (temple D 13: Baumer; temple CD 4: Matsumoto, ed., pp. 71-79, Zhang, Qu, and Liu, p. 158, fig. 5, color plate 5; temple CD 10: *Dandan wulike yizhi*, pl. 9). In particular, groups of male (first and foremost *Skanda/Kārttikeya*, in one case, temple D 13, along with *Maheśvara* and, probably, *Mahākāla*) and female deities (including the goddess *Hārītī* as well as animal-headed figures) shed light on the worship of *grahas*, i.e., spirits harmful to pregnant women as well as to children, in a Buddhist context (Lo Muzio, 2017; 2019).

The current view on the chronology of Khotanese painting (late 7th-8th century) largely follows Stein’s reconstruction, based on a *terminus ante quem* (late 8th century) provided by dated Chinese documents from *Dandān Ōiliq*, on the one hand, and on common sense, on the other. Even considering a range of stylistic and iconographic variations, the general consistency among the materials found in different sites of the oasis (*Dandān Ōiliq*, *Balawaste*, *Khadalik*, *Tarishlak*, *Farhad Beg Yailaki*, *Domoko*) is good evidence for dating them to the same chronological span; also, the artistic homogeneity among mural paintings and wooden painted panels should discourage the hypothesis to dissociate them with regard to chronology (cf. Whitfield, who accepts a late date for murals, but assigns the wooden panels to the 6th century, pp. 158-65, nos. 130-35). Even if we have a chronological sketch of Khotanese painting, a finer periodization is still lacking; furthermore its formative stages are poorly known. The paintings found at *Karadong*, northwest of the Khotan oasis, on the *Keriya* river, show idiosyncratic traits in iconography and style; at the same time they have much in common with late Khotanese artistic and ritual context, to begin with the iconographic program and lexicon. A date in the 3rd century, as proposed by their discoverers,

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, former Petrovskii Collection, Inv. GA-1120. Illustration reproduced by permission of the State Hermitage Museum.



Plate IV. Mural painting from Toplukdong Site no. 1 (Domoko): the lokapāla *Sañjaya*. Photograph courtesy of Guo Wu (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences).

based on radiocarbon testing (Debaine-Francfort and Idriss, p. 82), seems therefore too early, and it is not corroborated even by the elements of Classical origin highlighted in the ornamental repertoire (meander) and iconography (the gesture of “Lateran Sophocles”, in which some of the Buddhas are portrayed), as these are recorded in the Khotan oasis and elsewhere in the Tarim Basin as late as the 6th to 8th centuries CE.

Better candidates for an earlier dating are the fragments of murals brought to light by uncontrolled diggings in the east of the Domoko area, representing a garland supported by plump, haloed *amorini* and, only in one fragment, part of a possible narrative scene. The Domoko fragments seem to recall nothing of what we know of Khotanese iconography and style. The findings are known from a cursory description, with a tentative chronology (2nd-3rd centuries CE), based on generic resemblances with Gandharan art (*Buddhist Vestiges*, pp. 118-27). A thorough iconographic and stylistic analysis may help to better define the art-historical and chronological context the Domoko *amorini* belong to.

Our knowledge of Khotanese art would surely benefit both from further fieldwork, hopefully based on scientific methods, and from a finer art historical investigation on the material unearthed so far, aimed at an assessment of diversity in style, iconography and technical features. A much desirable goal is also a comprehensive analysis of the links between Khotanese art and the production of other leading artistic centers both in the Tarim Basin, first and foremost the Kucha oasis, and out of its boundaries (Gandharan area, Hindu Kush, and western Central Asia, in particular Ṭokarestān).

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