

VĀSTA

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In texts from the areas where the language of Gostana-deśa (Khotan) was written there are frequent references to apparel. The value of the discussion of textiles from Krorain by H. Lüders¹ for the Indology of Buddhist Central Asia down to about 1000 A.D. has suggested this similar list,² which I am happy to offer to my friend Kaj Barr.

I. DRESS

1. *urānām* P 2790.18, KT 2.111 was conjecturally translated in AM 11,13 *haṃdaṇṇa ttrāṇ urānāṇ vī hā (haṃ)grrīye* 'he has gathered up in the Inner Office such, coverings, and the rest', assuming a derivation **urāna-* from *var-*: *ur-* 'to cover'. See infra *baṭha-*, *nyūrra-*. This would be formed like Av *dāmāna-*, *nmāna-* 'house', suffix *-āna-*.

2. *auvya*, once in Staël H 59, KT 2.75 *ājsimjāṃ auvya bastā ysarrimje ṅūcā jsā pyaṣṭū* 'bound in your silver cloth, decorated with a golden attachment'. Possibly P 2024.13, KT 2.77 *kāja-*

¹ Textilien im alten Turkistan. Add W. B. Henning, TPS 1946, 150 ff.

² Sigla: BS = Buddhist Sanskrit; O = Or 8212.162, KT 2.1-10, facsimile in Saka Documents I; C = Ch cvi 001, KT 2.59-60, facsimile in Saka Documents I; P = P 5538b, KT 3.121-124; Deśanā = P 3513,76 v 1-84 v 4, KBT 62-66, tr. Indological Studies, W. N. Brown Volume; Manj = P 4099, KBT 113-135; SudC = Ch 00266, KBT 20-30; SudP = P 2025, KBT 13-20; Sum = Ch. c. 001,852-1061, KBT 135-143; Suv = Or 9609, KT 1.232-241 and KT 5.106-119; SuvP = P 3513,59 v 1-75 v 1, KT 1.242-249; Pok. = J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch; Donum = Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum; Bagchi = P. Bagchi, Deux lexiques sanskrit-chinois; TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society; AM = Asia Major, new series.

nauwa pvaica 'coverings woven with gold' may contain a second component *-auwa-*. The base will be *ā-vaf-* 'to weave in'. Similar use of *vaf-* appears in Sogd.C (Soghd. Texte II 5.26) *zyrnwšē qwrty* 'brocaded jacket' (see E. Benveniste, JA 1936, 1.224), Arm (HAG 149) *zar̄na-uouxt* rendering Gr τρίχαστον 'thin veil of hair', NPers *zarrbāft* 'brocade'.

3. *kaimeja*, a piece of dress in P 2834.8, KBT 45 *ū keṃmajāṃ āstana vāsta* 'clothing such as keṃmaja and the like'. It occurs five times in C 20, 23, 25, 26, 27. Here 25 has *damarāšīnai maista kaimejā šau* 'one great covering for the dharmarājikā stūpa'. It seems likely that Deśanā 79 r 2 inst. pl. *kamacāṃ* is the same word, the different spelling pointing to foreign origin.

4. *kaumadai* 'trousers', from the bilingual P 85 (BSOS 9.532) *sūthaṃna, kaumadai*, see infra *sūthaṃna*. O 156 has *kaumadai šai u haḍa baista chā*³ 'one trousers and dress twenty feet'. Also P 4649.10, KT 2.124 *thauna śacī jsa kaumade hajsādā* 'made trousers from cloth śacī', Ch 0043.22, KT 2.39 *kāmada* may be the same word incompletely spelled; C 3 *u kabālīja baysgyi hvāhyū kāṃmadā še* 'and of blanket cloth one thick broad trousers'. The corresponding Krorain is *kamaṃte* (see F. W. Thomas, Acta Or. 12.46, n. 3; H. Lüders, Text. 6; T. Burrow, Language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents 81; H. W. Bailey, ZDMG 90.576).

StačIH 46, KT 2.75 *kāmbaṃdā haurā hauḍe še u chāṃ-syū šau* 'he gave as a gift one *kāmbaṃda-* and one *chāṃ-syū*', and C 162 *kaubaida* is different and may be BS *kāyabandhana-*, Krorain 149 *kayabaṃdhana* in a list of clothing.

5. *khapa* in a list of four words for apparel, P 2026, KT 3.50 *haḍa khapa vāsta pamūha*, and in M'I a.1.00168, b 6 KT 5.214 *th<au>na khapa*. It was proposed earlier to compare this with the first syllable of ZorPahl. *kapāh* 'mantle' (TPS 1954, 155), with *kh-* in place of *k-*.

³ *chai*, pl. *chā* 'sprout, twig', BS *ankura-*, Tib *myu-gu*, gen. pl. Si 143 v 1 *chāṃ*. From *chā* 'twigs' to *chā* as a measure 'feet', equivalent to Chin 尺 *š'ī* 'foot of about ten inches', recalls OE *gird* '1. twig, 2. yard of 16½ or of 3 feet'. In KT 4.53 it was uneasily derived from Chin 丈 *šang* 'ten feet'. In E 23.143 the wheel of the Cakravartin is *hauḍa chā* 'seven feet', which in BS Lal. Vist. 14.11 is *sapta-tālam* 'seven tāla-' (here recognised by R. E. Emmerick).

6. *khai*, SudP 172, beside SudC 110 *khgi* and with *ttuve* also SudC 138,159, SudP 211,240. In 159 *rana ttī jsā khai ttuve* corresponds to P 2957.104 *raṇṇā ttī jsāṃ vāstā* 'the jewel and also the robe'.⁴ In *khai* one could find **xāfyā-* 'clothing' from the *khap-* of *khapa* supra, with *-vy-* replaced by *-y-* (familiar in *hīvyā-*, *hīya-*), and so accord with the *vāstā* of P 2957.104 and BS Divy 449.13 *vastrāṇi*.

7. *khoca*, *khauca*, here two meanings are to be discerned. In E 16.9⁵ *heinā-khoca* is fairly certainly the rendering of Tib *gdon-dmar* 'red faces, red-faced' used by the Tibetans for themselves; this was seen by Sten Konow, NTS 11.34–35 and further reading of the Tibetan texts confirms his view (against Asiatica, Festschrift Weller 19–20). This would mean that *khoca* is here the 'skin' as 'covering' (see BSOAS 21.540; KT 4.3). The second meaning is some piece of 'clothing'. Thus in C 29 *namavīṇa thavalakāñā khauca haudūsā sera pyaṣṭalika* 'in a felt bag a *khauca*, seventeen satera (ounces or coins?), decorated' and 15 *sau barā khaucā pajsāsā sera* 'one receptacle, *khauca* fifty satera', and 14 loc. pl. *u dairśvā khaucoā*, with adj. 5 *u khaucīja khauska sā*. A fragment Kha 0013c, 10a 5, KT 5.125 has *khauca dirsa sai<ra>* 'khauca thirty satera'. The base will be 'to cover'. The form requires a base ending in a consonant which coalesces with *-č-* to retain Khot *-c-*; hence *xaud-* would suit, a base familiar in OPers *xauda-*, Av *xaoda-*, Oss Dig *xodū*, Pašto *xōl*, *xōlaī*, *xvalaī*, Skt *khola-m* 'covering' for the head either 'helmet' or 'hat'. This base is also in the verb Khot *prahauy-* 'to put on, wear'; in *pechva-* 'to cover' (only in the phrase P 2787.75, KT 2.104 *maula pechvā-mę* 'covering with a headdress') from **pali-kh'aud-*. This is the IE base (s)k(h)eu- 'to cover'. See also *khauyasa*.

8. *khauyasa* 'piece of cloth, rag', only P 2834.49, KBT 46 + KT 5.387 *u cū tte āhāṃ kauṣḍi bidā ba khauyasa byādā tta . . . āuṣṭyā* 'and as to what small piece of cloth she found upon the hole and pit, so she wrapped him in it'. The form *khauyasa* may represent *xāu-z-* with *-z-* enlargement beside the *-d-* of *xaud-*, see supra *khoca*.

9. *khauska*, C 5 *u khaucīja khauska sā* 'and one *khauska* made

⁴ Translation in BSOAS 29,1966, 'The Sudhana poem of Rddhiprabhāva.

⁵ Note that in E all chapter numbers above 2 are too high by 1.

of *khauca*'. Also P 2024. recto b, KT 2.78 *khāṃskyava śā*. Since *ś* became *ś*, this could be taken as derivative (diminutive?) of *khauṣa*.

10. *khauṣa*, C 4; 22 *u kāṃra kaḡā khauṣa* 'and a *khauṣa* of *kaura* skin' (for *kāṃra* see infra s.v. *kanga*). It was proposed TPS 1954, 148 to connect with ZorPahl *kaṣṣ*, *kaṣṣak*, NPers *kaṣṣ* 'shoe', Arm *kaušik* from the base *kap-* 'to contain' (to Lat *capistrum*, *capsus*). With *na-* occurs P 5538a 77, KT 2.129 *vari . . . śā cvai daštām u gva u khijsā-teṭrika u nakhauṣai ejsinā ṣṭāre* 'a vessel of which the handle and ears and convex face (?) and holder are of silver' (see AM 11.17-20). The word *khauṣa* occurs also in another official document Or 6395, 1.9, KT 5.3 *u khauṣa u biḡi⁶ tā <mū>padatā hamaiyi yaṃdi* 'as to . . . and *khauṣa* and *biḡa*, those *Mūpadatta* makes himself'.

11. *cile*, pl. 'clothes', in E 2.44 *cile varata baysgu muḡiñī* 'there many garments of the dead'; E 23.329 *rrusto cilo* 'red garb of the *bhikṣus*', adj. MT a.1.0033, 10 KT 2.71 *cilaja namata* 'felt for clothes'. Later *cala* in P 2834.57, KBT 47 *ū gaṃṭca vihārāsta cala bastā* 'she put on him clothes for going out, for walking'. Since BS *cela-*, *caila-* would by normal Prakrit change have given Khot **cila-*, it seems more satisfactory to treat this Khot *cilā-* as Iranian from a base *kay-*: *či-*, like the *cae-* and *ci-* of Lat *caelum*, *oilium*.

12. *cauṣkā* 'clothing', in P 2782.16, a summary of the *Sad-dharmapundarika-sūtra*, KT 3.58 *tī tta khu myāṃ cauṣkā bañṇpḍā raṃṇā avīhā*: 'just as they fasten inside a *cauṣka* a priceless jewel, BS *Saddhp parivarta* 8 (ed. U. Wogihara, 185.15) *vastra-*. Also Jāts 22 r 2 *jaṃbuñā cauṣkañā mura pura yuḡāṃḍā* 'they hatched their young birds in the golden *cauṣka-*', in the parallel text Chin shows *śankhaśikha*, headdress. Without *-ka-*, *cauṣa-* occurs in P 2891.16, KT 3.80 *baysga cauṣi ttauda brrathq drvana-ka-gūnā* 'thick covering (of clouds), hot storm-winds, dark-coloured'. To Khot *cauṣa-* corresponds Sarikoli *caul* 'rag' (R. B.

⁶ *biḡa-* is comparable to *hviḡa-* 'edible, food', beside *hvaḡa-*, and *biḡa-* will then be **baḡa-* (from **bartā-*) with *-ya-* suffix, from *bar-* to wear', as in Ch 0048.8, KT 2.41 *sve bidā baridā* 'they wear on the shoulder'; or *var-* 'to cover', see infra *baḡha-*. Also S 2471.290, KBT 100 *tearmā cīvara haṣṭai biḡa pāste*.

⁷ The meaning 'dark' for *drvanaka-* is from the context; possibly to be traced to a base *drab-*, IE *dhrebh-* Pok. 252.

Shaw *tsaul*, quoted by G. Morgenstierne, NTS 1.41) from **čauša-*, and the *-dzos* of Oss Dig *fāldzos*, Iron *fāldzus* 'surroundings'.

13. *ttāva* 'headdress', only P 2787.76, KT 2.104, the meaning gained by comparison of 75 *jñānīnai maula pehvāme* 'covering with a mauli-headdress of knowledge' and 76 *narvakalpa-jñānīnai ttāva*. This is then the Khot. equivalent of West Iran NPers (Arabicised) *tāj* 'crown'. Syr *l'g-*, *l'g-*, Arm *l'ag*. In *ttāva* occurs the same *-āva-* form as in *kāva-* 'advantage, anuśamsā', unlike *hau*, *ho* (found also in *hoka-*) 'word'.

14. *ttīraha* 'clothing', in Hedīn 59 a 2 *pamūha u ttīrahā*, also Hedīn 39 b 1, 68 b 1, see KT 4.149–150, explained as from *ttī-* older **taxta-* (as *sīta-* 'learned' from **saxta-*) to the base in Oss Dig *tāxun*, *tāydlon* 'to weave, prepare', *āndāx* 'thread' (to Lat *texo*), and a second component *raha-* 'clothes', connected with NPers *raxt* 'wearing apparel', see *raha* infra.

15. *ttuve* 'dress', SudC 138,159, SudP 239 *ttuai*, only with *khai* 'clothes', as dyadic phrase or compound. This is from *tau-*: *tu-* 'to cover' as in *tturaka-* P 2893.167, KT 3.81 *hūlaihä: hīwī tturakā* 'the covering of the (arrow-) cover', see BSOAS 23.33. Ch 0043.22, KT 2.39 *šīyu hiji tturaka tturaka jsa* 'white and red, with various *tturaka*' may contain this same word. From this *tau-* 'to cover' came Arm *vtauak* 'undergarment', *vtauat* 'veil'.

16. *thauna-*, later *thau*, *thauṅaka-*, passim, the commonest word for 'cloth', sometimes 'silk'. The meaning is assured by Suv 35 b 7, KT 5.113 *thauna prahauyāñā*, BS *vastra-prāvṛta-*, Suv 36 v 2, KT 1.236 *thauna prohauyāñā*, BS *vastrāṇi prāvartavyāñi*. In Dumaqu c 1, KT 2.63, and Hedīn 15; 16 *thauna* means 'silk', see KT 4.53. Krorain has *thavaṅnae* (see BSOS 7.512) and Kuci Skt *thavaṅa* (written with *-c-* for *-v-*), see Bagehi I 48,279. The word passed to Uigur *ton*; see TPS 1945, Asica 26, Oss Dig *tunā*, Iron *tyṅ*.

17. *dasa* 'thread', Av dh 21 v 5, KT 3.12 *śśīya kapāysūṅja dasa bañāñā* 'a white cotton thread is to be bound on', E 21.39 *kho ju ye daso jsīndi samu* 'as when one beats the thread' (variant Kha 1.219, 1 v 3 (omitted in KT 5.164) <*kho*> *j*<*u*> *ye daso j*<*s*> *ī*<*ndi*>. Possibly Deśanā 79 r 2 *ysarattaśāṅ* is 'golden-threaded' with *-tt-* here written for *-d-* as first syllable of second component (*-tt-* for *-d-* is found in BS loan-words as P 2783.76,

KT 3.76 *kallalā*, beside Si 11 r 4 *kadalā* and in a BS text Kauśika-sūtra 57, KT 5.358 *gaṃgā-nallī*-). The *dāsai* of Deśanā 80 r 2 may also belong here. Cognates are NPers *dasah*, Bal *dasag* 'thread', Munj *lāsa* 'rope of goat's wool', *sam-lasiko* 'neck-rope', and Yidya *loso*, *lāsa*. BS has *daśā*- in Lank 365.12 *acchinna-daśakaiḥ*, Mmk 322.20 *acchinnāgra-daśake paḥe*, Pali *dasā*- and *dasa-ṃ*.

18. **pamūha** 'clothing' frequent, though not in E, also unpublished OKhot. P 2898.6, KT 2.117 *pamūha*-, SudC 72 *pamvaha*, SudP 122 *pamuḥa*, second component Ch 0048.7, KB' 72 *hinā-pamūhai haḍā*; P 71 *pūmaha hajsā*⁸ (for *pamūha*), BS *prāvaraṇam ullāraya*. The verb is *paṃjs-*: *pamāta-* 'to put on', later P 2928.15, KT 3.105, JātS 30 v 4 *pamyā*-, P 2928.23, KT 3.106 *śairka-vamyē* 'well dressed'. Thus E 4.55 3 pl. *paṃjsāre*, 25.406 3 pl. *pamātāndā*; nominal 25.406 *paṃjsau* 'dress'. West Iran ZorPahl *patmōxtan*, *patmōčēt*, *patmōčan*; BS loan-word *moca-*, *mocika-*, *maucika-*, see JRAS 1955.21.

19. **paha** 'bag', which holds a bowl (*pātra-*) and water-pot, Ch 0045.1, K' 3.16 *saka pāratta paha jsa pyūva* 'coral(?) bowls removed from the bags' (read *pāttara*); P 2891.30, KT 3.80 *paha jsa nūḍā utcāla kauysā* 'he removed the water-pot from the bag'. To this then corresponds BS *sthavikā-*, *sthapika-*, (Mahāvī 8951 *pātra-sthapika-*), Pali *thavikā-*, Jaina Pkt *thaiā*, RV *sthivī-*. Probably this *paha* also in C 11 *u paha drau vī haysnālikā śacī śau*, and 27 *u paha drau vī syadai hvaradai thauracaiḥ śau*, where *drau vī* is not yet clear. See TPS 1961, 135 correcting E, S. Konow, NTS 13.199-202, J. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. II ii 299. From Prakrit came Khot *thavalaka-*, see infra.

20. **pāḍaka** covering, Manj 113 *khu pūṃausra pāḍaka vāsta* as one inserts it (the head) into a covering garment, dyadic, *vāsta* equivalent to *pāḍaka*. Elsewhere *pāḍaka-* (Or 11252, 9 a 7, Or 11344, 8 a 2, Hedīn 20.3) refers to letters and may be the 'envelope' used for the missive. In *pāḍaka-* 'covering' then occurs **partaka-*, with *-āḍa-* as in *kāḍara-* 'sword', *pāḍa-* 'nourished', *ysāḍa-* 'old' from *-arta-*. Here then is the Khot form to ZorPahl *partak* (DkM 64.21, Nir 171, 13), NPers *pardah* 'covering', whence

⁸ In this *hajsā*, BS *ullāraya* 'gake off doff' we have an older **fra-muča-* to compare with Av Vid 6.27 *framuxti* in the phrase *maḥ aobranam framuxti* 'with the taking off of shoes', OInd *pramuncati*, Oss Dig *rāmodzun*, Iron *rāmudzyn* 'to take away'.

Arm (HAG 229) *partak* 'veil', Syr *prdq-* 'tent', Georg *p'ardag-i* 'curtain, rug', mop'*ardageba* 'to curlain'. Pašto *paṛūnai* 'veil, mantle' from **part-* is compared (G. Morgenstierne, EVP 59, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan 62) to Nūristāni Kati *ace-paṛa* 'eyelid', and Pok 803 puts OInd *paṛa-*, *paṛṛa-* under *pel-*, queried by M. Mayrhofer, SktED as Austroasiatic (un-acceptable).

21. *pāsta*, from the context in SudP 267 *sā rahakṣaja mūñe brriye jsa satta nūje astama jsida tlyai vaska nūvara kauṣṭa pāsta prrahaunḍya* (read *-ṣṭa*) 'one rākṣasī dwells there, through love she entices the beings, at last kills them; she put on for him a new flayed skin-coat'; SudC 177 *kauṣa pāsta*, P 2957.117, KBT 37 *nūvarā kauṣṭā pāsti*. For 'flayed' note JātS 28 r 2 *kuṣṭāde kaṃge* 'they flayed off the skin', with *kuṣ-* 'to flay' in Sarikoḷi *keig-*: *kaxt* (Shaw, quoted G. Morgenstierne, NTS 1.9). Since *pāsta* has *-ā-* in all three manuscripts it may have retained an OIran *-ā-*, not developed *-ā-* from *-ū-*. With this Sanglečī *pāsk* 'skin' could be joined, and possibly Av *paṣta-*, if correctly glossed by ZorPahl *pōst*. If however the older Khot form was **pūsta-* it would go rather with OPers *pavastā* 'envelope' (E. Benveniste, BSL 47, 40-49; R. G. Kent, Old Persian 196), and RV *pavāste* of sky and earth, later ZorPahl *pōst* 'skin'. Secondarily it would belong with Khot *pūstaa-* 'book', Toch *postak*, BS *pusta-*, *pustaka-*, *postika-*.

22. *prrastharmaḍa-* occurring in invocations of sacred objects in P 2026, KT 3,51: 68-69 *pīḍā bvākaḍā prrastharmaḍā beysūfū* *prraibaikāyā beysā hālai* '(homage) to the pictures, memorials, carpets, the buddhas in the buddhas' images; 71 similar; 74 *prrastharmaḍām diyagarām u araṇādiśau hālai* 'to the carpets, the lamps, the hermitages'; 78 adds *sthūpas*, *caityas*, and *gandhakuṣis*. It goes well with Sogd Bud VJ 847,1128 *prštrn*, Rustam frag. 8 *pr'yštrn* 'carpet, mat'. See BSOAS 10.906. Note also from *pali-star-* Bal *pastark* 'saddle' (G. Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 20.290), Arm *pastar*, Gk *στρούμνη*, from **palistarana-*. In *prrasthar-* we have either Iran *parā-star-* or, rather, a Pkt loan-word, from *prastaraṇa-*.

23. *prahoṇe* 'clothing', *prahaṇa-*, *prahauna-* passim. Hence also Krorain 318 *prahuni* (see BSOAS 11.783); as second component E 15.34 *āṣgina-vrahoṇe* 'blue-clad', 23.309 *rrusta-vrahaṇa-*;

Godfrey 2.5, KT 2.76 *hamāña-vrrahaunī piñmīnai thau* 'woollen cloth for summer wear', P 2025.42, KT 3.47 *šiya-vrrahā satta* 'a person in white clothes'. The *parhūna*, *parhyana* of the Skt-Chin lexicon (Bagchi II 435,525), glossed by Chin 裳 *šang* (H. Giles Dict 9734 'clothes on the lower part of the body') is likely to be this same word. The verb is *prahauy-*, *prohauy-*: *prahoṣṭa-*, (-*hau-*), *pruhoṣṭa-*, (-*hau-*), *prrihaušṭa-*, passim. For the meaning note Suv 36 v 2 *thauna prohauyāña*, BS *vastrāṇi prāvaritavyāni*; Saṃghāṭa-sūtra 13 b 2, KT 5.329 *prahoṇā prrahaušṭe*, Gilgit 37,11 a 4 *uttarāsangaṇi kṛlvā*. For connexions, see supra *khoca*.

24. **pvaica** 'covering', P 2024.4,10,12,13,17,25 (*pveca*), 41 (*pvaicām jsa*), Ch 00272.94,95, KT 2.51, O 156,157, P 2789.8, KT 2.110, see BSOAS 23.37. For *-aica*, *-eca* cf. *hambeca* 'summary' from *hambirsta-* 'joined', which would suggest **pvistya-* to *pvīys-* 'to cover': but *-ve-* is umlaut to *-au-*, as in *hauta*, *hvelte* 'power', which would allow **pvasta-*, possibly therefore connected with OPers *pavastā-* 'envelope'. Note that a base Khot *pva-* occurs in Si 124 v 2 *pvāñū* 'to be smeared', for BS *lepa*, and E 22.13 *pvānāna skamphaina* 'with lac as a cosmetic'.

25. **phaurthaka**, only O 156 *cīvarau phaurthaka šau bāšīnai šā pvaica* 'robes and one phaurthaka of byssus (?), one covering'. See infra *bāšīnai*.

26. **baṃ**, pl. *bana*, Kha ii 3,a 1-4, KT 5.174 (see BSOAS 11.765), a measure associated with *gūñū* 'sack', from **banda-*.

27. **balohā** 'piece of cloth', Tib *ras*, in Si 147 v 4 *balohā*, 148 r 2 *balohā*; 154 v 4 loc. sg. *balohaña*, 149 v 1 *baloha:ña*; possibly also S 2469.3 *balāṃhā*. Thus 147 v 4 *surakā balohā haṃdrri vya baññā* 'to be bound up in a clean cloth', Tib. *ras gcañ-mahi nañ-du phur-la* (*phur* 'wrap'). The word remains isolated.

28. **byiha** 'covering'. Note P 2892.166, KT 3.81 Uigur *kārñā-lūkā*⁹ 'bow-case' glossed by *byihq-dūnai hame* 'it is a (thing) covering the bow', taking *byiha-* as ptc pres, governing compound as if **abi-ahyat-drauna-ka-* (*ah-* 'to put, throw'), cf. ZorPahl *kan-lir* 'quiver' from **kanat-tigri-* 'covering the ar-

⁹ That is, *qoruluq*, *qornguluq*, see K. U. -Kóhalmi, Acta Or. Hung. 11.293-297 on the word *qurluq* 'quiver, bowcase'.

rows'. Possibly also in Hedin 37 b 1, KT 4.148 *byiha-thauna* 'covering cloth'.

29. **maṇḍūla-**, Deśanā 79 r 2 (see BSOAS 24.73, and Indological Studies, W. N. Brown Volume 19) *ysarattaśāṃ maṇḍūlyāṃ kamacāṃ pyīstā* 'covered with gold-threaded maṇḍula- (and) kamaca'. It was claimed as Iranian in BSOAS 26.72 ff. and compared with OPers *μσνδύσας*.

It is now to be compared also with BS *mandurakam* in the Mahāvī 9183, Tib *ras bal-gyi stan* 'coverlet of cotton and wool'. Divy 19.22–23 (quoted Edg. Dict s.v. *eraka-*) *evaṃ-rūpaṃ āstaraṇaṃ pratyāstaraṇaṃ tad-yathā erako merako jandurako mandurakaḥ*. Pali however has Vin 1.196,6 *eragu moragu majj(h)āru*. In BS *manduraka-* we may have an Iran word.

30. **mvakalai**, only P 2897.43, KT 2.116, some covering for the hand: *gaušta śau gūkyaina mvakalai gaušta* 'on (or in) the hand one gūkyaina, a mvakalai on the hand'. In *gūkyaina* the first syllable is clearly *gū-*, but has perhaps been miswritten for the similar *śū-* (see infra *śukyaina*), that is, a 'hand cloth'. In *mvakalai* one can see various connexions: 1. **mūka-* with *-la-* suffix, 2. **mū-* with *-kala-* suffix, or 3. **mavat-kara-ka-* 'rubbing the hands' for 'napkin', as in Oss Iron *kāl-märzän* 'cloth for the head or hand' (Stājy cārmdāräg 1523). For *-ka* note also *nvāya-*, *nvāga-*, *nvāka-*, *nvākaka-* 'song', from **ni-vāka-*. See infra *rahamūna*.

31. **raha-** 'clothes', seems to be attested in *ttiraha* (supra) and E 6.86 *rrahamūna*, E 20.58 *rrahamūne* inst. sg. 'by the washerman' (BS Pali *rajaka-*), formed from *rraha-* 'clothes' and the base *mav-*: *mū-* 'to press'. For *rraha-* note ZorPahl *raxtak* 'clothes', NPers *raxt* 'wearing apparel' as DkM 203.3 *čēgōn raxtak* (*lyhtk*) *hač pašn* 'as clothes from wool', DkM 290.4 *pašm raxtak* (*lyhtk*) 'wool clothes', base *rak-* as in OInd. *racayati*, *āṇṇce*. KT 4.149–150 *raha-* was so traced, but with a possible alternative connexion with Germanic *las-*, Vedic *las-* in *las-pūjanī* 'needle'.

32. **rrānā**, only N 52.9 (Petersburg): *pharāka-padya ratana nāste ysirru āljsatu u bišūnya ratana u rrānā yande* 'takes jewels of many sorts, gold, silver and jewels of all kinds, and makes a rrāna-'. Comparison with Sogd Bud *r'n'kh*, and Oss Dig *ronā*

Iron *ron* 'belt' (see TPS 1945, Asica 24) would give a meaning 'belt', but one might think also of ZorPahl *rānpān* 'armour for the thigh', and assume that *rrāna* was some covering for the thigh.

33. *vānā*, associated with *pamūha-* 'clothes', thus Or 11344, 11 b 2 *vānā gāryeṃ mūrā haṣṭūsi* 'I bought *vānā*, eighteen *mūrā*-coins'; Hedīn 59 (quater), a 2 *vānā pārrva* 2 *pamūha u Hīraha*. BS *vāṇa-* 'textile' seems a likely connexion (others see KT 4.161).

34. *vāsta*, passim, Sī 146 r 5 *surakā vāsti*, Tib *ras dkar-po géaṅ-ma* 'clean white cloth'; SuvP 71 v 3 *vāsta*, BS 3.82 *vastrāṇi*; 72 v 2, BS 3.88 *vāsa-*. Also N 176.7 (Petersburg) *śāra śāra vāsta padīmāre prahoṇe* 'they make various excellent clothes (and) dresses'. But E 7.38 *ne vā dahā vāslāna byode* 'nor is a male found really'. Dyadic also in P 2928.15, KT 3.105 *śāra vāsta prrahauna*. In *vāsta-* I see an Iran **vas-ta-* with lengthened *-ā-* before two syllables (cf. *pārysa-* and *pārysa-* 'servant' for both forms), not a Pkt of *vastra-*, Pali *vattha-*. BS occurs in Khot E 4.82 *kāśāya-vastra-*. Khot initial *str-* is kept (*stramj-* 'to stretch', *striha-* 'stiff', *strīyā-* 'woman') and after a preverb *pastrīs-*, *pastrīya-* 'stiffened'. In Khot *hvāṣṣa-* 'vegetation' we have **hu-vaxša-*, as in Oss Dig *xuāsā*, Iron *xos* 'herb', not Av *vāstra-*.

The BS *vāsayati* 'to wear' occurs from a Pkt in Khot *na-vāys-*, Vajr 4 a 2 *brrū haḍā navāysye*, BS *pūrvāhṇa-kālasamaye nivāsyā*; P 2834.26, KBT 46 (the tale of Nanda) *navāysye cīvara u laṣṭa pāttarā asthīye* 'he put on his robe and took up his staff and bowl'. Infra also *attaravāysā*.

35. *śacī*, pl. *śaca* 'piece of cloth' (type *āśārī*, pl. *āśārya*, *-y-* absent after *-c-*)- C 11 *haysnālikā śacī sau*, C 12 *hainai thauna śacī u haysnālikā thauna śaca drāya*; P 4649.10, KT 2.124 *thauna śacī jsa kaumade hajsādā* 'made trousers from a *śacī* of silk'. With large numbers: P 2958.206, KT 2.120–121 *dvīssa śaca*; 209 *ssa pajsāsa śaca* (see also 204, 208–210, 219–222); P 2024.23, KT 2.77 *dvāsa śaca āra u ttaṣṭikau kāḍara sau drrai śaca āra*. It is in Chinese *sien-ṣṣi* white silk.

36. *suj'inakirta*, Krorain 318 'needle-work', NPers *sūzan-gird*, and Arabicised *sūsanjird* (V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*. 383). The Persian assures the short first *-a-*. Khot has 'needle' in Kha 0013 c, 6 a 3, KT 5.125 *sumjsaṇu*, Oṭani 3 b 3, KT 5.314 *sumjsiṇam* (for *-ñū*) *nūhāna* 'on the point of a needle', Vimala-

kīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra, tr. E. Lamotte, p. 256 (recognised here by R. E. Emmerick); later P 84 *saujsaṅga*, BS *sūca* (BSOS 9.538). A similar nasal in Wapetsi *suwzən* (G. Morgenstierne, NTS 4.162). For 'thread' Khot has P 85 *ācana*, BS *sūtra*.

37. *haḍa* 'covering', P 2026.52, KT 3.50 *haḍa khapa vāsta pamūha*, four words for clothing; Ch 0048.7-8, KT 2.41 *ttye hinā-pamūhai haḍā baštā sve bidū barīdā* 'for this a covering made of a red robe suits, they wear it on the shoulder'; O 157 *kaumadai śā u haḍa baišta chā* 'one trousers and twenty feet covering'; P 2891.20-21 *maṇ haḍā saṃgūrūna sastā hvaṇḍvā āvūṇ* 'I came among the men appearing with my vermilion-coloured covering' (*saṃgūra-*, to OPers *sikabru-*, Arm *sngoyr*, Krorain *sānapru*, NPers *šangarf*, see BSOAS 24.482); SudC *phara haḍave jsau pajsemevyauḍa śairka* 'they honoured him well with many dresses' (innate accusative). P 2834.33, KBT 46 in the etymology of the name of Candana: *ttanai ttye haḍe vara ttaṅa biša cadaṇ buī jsa buša pastāva* 'then from his clothes there in that house perfumes issued with candana smell'. Probably *ibid.* 45 *haḍa*. The *haḍa-* was measured in *chā* 'feet' as was *thauna-*. In *haḍa-* can be seen **arta-* if the *h-*, as often in Khot, is added to an initial vowel; or **harta-* from a base *har-*; or **fra-rtā-* with the regular *ha-* from *fra-*. Two loan-words in Georgian and Armenian made it possible to decide for **arta-*. Georgian *ardag-i* renders Gk σινδών. Thus Msaḵalt'a 14.12 *oc' da at'i ardagi da oc' da at'i k'vart'i* Arm *eresoun pastaḥakal eu eresoun patmoučan handerdzic'*, for LXX τριάκοντα σινδόνας και τριάκοντα στολές ἱματίων Mark 4.51 *emosa ardagi*, περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα, 52 *dauḥeva ardagi*, καταλιπών τὴν σινδόνα; Luke 23.53 *c'argragna ardagsa* ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι; Šavt'eli (ed. N. Marr, Odopisey 101, verse 4) *sibrdznis ardagi* 'cloak of wisdom'. For Georg *ardag-* the Dictionaries vary, Cherkezi Dict 'linen cloth'; Meckelein Dict 'Rockschürze', Čubinov, ed. 2, 'apron (*perčdnik*)'. Gk σινδών is 'fine cloth, usually linen'. Note that OIran *-rt-* and *-rd-* are both represented by Georg *-rd-*, as in *hroardag-i* 'command, ukase'¹⁰ (also *roardak'i*), Arm *hrovartak*, and Georg *vard-i* 'rose flower', Av *varōda-*, Sogd Man *wrō*, Khot *vala-*, NPers *gul*.

¹⁰ N. Marr, Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii IV, Ippolit Ixviii.

Arm *arta-* occurs only in the compound *artaxourak*, and verbal *artaxourim*. The word *artaxourak* is a 'covering' either of a tent or of a head. It renders Gk κάλυμμα in Num. 3.26 *xorann eu artaxourakk' eu nouartank' xoranin vkayout'ean*, ἡ σκηνή και τὸ κάλυμμα και τὸ κατακάλυμμα τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου, and Gk τιάρρα in Daniel 3.21 *patmoučanōk' eu varteōk' artaxourakōk' eu zankapanōk' iureanc'*, ἔχοντες τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν και τὰς τιάρρας αὐτῶν σὺν τῷ ἱματισμῷ αὐτῶν; and Sebēos, ed. Patkanian, 63 *handerdzs l'agauorakans artaxouraks oskezaucs*, tr. F. Macler, 'des vêtements royaux, des tiarres dorées'. The verb *artaxourim* 'I am crowned' is quoted from Jovhannēs Kat'ōhikos, 10th century.

The second component *xoyr* derives from OPers *xauda-*, Av *xaōda-*, Oss Dig *xodä*, Iron *xūd* 'covering' either 'helmet' or 'hat' (see supra *khoca*). In *arta-* we see the same word as Georg *arday* 'covering, mantle'. Hence a dyadic compound¹¹. The base could be the *ar-* of Av *ara-* 'fitting', OInd *ara-*, *ala-*, Gk ἀραρίσκω, Lat *art-* (*ars*, *artem*). The further Armenian word *zartaxoyr*, *zartaxour*, in spite of many critiques, cannot yet be used.

II. EQUIPMENT

38. *āysīra-* 'armour, cuirass' from **zarya-* to *zar-* 'to cover', see Donum 12 ff., and KT 4.125. It is an equipment: Hedin 21.2 *āysīrāṃ āstaṃna pariškāri* 'the equipment, the armour and the rest'. As a spiritual weapon P 2022.41, KT 3.44 *hajūtā jsā āysīra* 'wisdom is the armour'. E 25.276 *praharaṇa sūste u āysīra padande* 'he prepared the missiles and made the armour'; JātS 30 v 4 the *āysīre* of the tortoise's shell.

39. *ūrabada* 'belt', only C 6, from *ūra* '-belly', Av *udara-*, and **banda-*, see supra under *kaumadai*.

40. *kāṅga*, *kaṅga*, *kaga* 'skin', often with animal names, C 4.22 *kāṃra kāgä* 'sheep skin' (West Iran Avramānī *kaurū* 'sheep', quoted by G. Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.273); also in a plant name P 2893.178, KT 3.89 *kaura hvāši*, unidentified, see

¹¹ This *arta-* and *haḍa-* were compared earlier in TPS 1954, 155 in preference to the proposal of E. Bénveniste, TPS 1945, 69, to see an equivalent of Gk ὀρθή τιάρρα worn by the Persian kings; no meaning 'upright' for Iran **pta-* seems to be found.

TPS 1954,148); 19 *birga kagyä* 'wolf skin', 20 *rüškagü* 'marten(?) skin', b 3 *üla kagü* 'camel skin', D V 3 b 1, KT 5.289 *güha kaṅga* 'ox skin', E 2.12 *ggüṅno kaṅgo* 'deer skin' (to *ggüysna-*), P 2024, recto b, KT 2.78 *jüşdi kaga*, gen. pl. *jüşdi kaḡām* 'ass skin'; but also the skin of rice, Si 15 v 5 *rrüysu . . . cui kaṅga haryāsa hame* 'rice of which the skin becomes black', Tib *śun-lpags*. The oblique case also Ch 00265.25, KT 3.18 *kaṅgyä biṅdä*; adj. P 5538 a 70, KT 2.129 *kaṅḡinai baṅḡām* 'leather cuirass', C 17 *kaḡja śkaumaka* 'leather skins'. Comparison with *kan-* 'to cover' in *pacan-*, BS *chādaya-* was proposed in Indo-Iranica, Mélanges Morgenstierne 9–11.

41. *karastä* 'covering', C 19 *birga kagyä karastä še* 'one karasta- of wolf skin', cognate with Wakhī *karast* 'fur cloak', *kurust* 'bark of tree', Yidya *karast* 'skin', Sangleči *korost* 'skin', Patoh' *krāsta* 'felt, woollen cloth', to Lit *karnà* 'bast' and Lat *corium*, see Annali, Istituto universitario orientale, Napoli I 125–26.

42. *nyürra-* 'harness' in E 25.405 *aśša . . . aśü-nyürräna nyürda* 'horses harnessed with horse-harness', and later P 2790.20, KT 2.111 *pharākä vä nürä haṅgrī* 'much equipment has been brought together there', see AM 11.13. From *ni-var-* 'to cover' (regular *-iva-* to *-yü-*), NPers *nuwār* 'belt', see infra *baḡha-*.

43. *baṅḡāma-* 'cuirass', E 25,278,425, and later Hedin 24 v 2 *baṅḡām*, 21.5 gen. pl. *baṅḡāmām*, P 5538 a 70 *kaṅḡinai baṅḡām* 'a cuirass of skin', as a spiritual weapon P 2022.41, KT 3.44 *parahṅnai bagau* 'the cuirass of śīla', cf. Pali Theragāthā 614 *śīlaṅ kavacam abbhutaṅ*. Also E 25.278 *haṣṡa śśākṡavatü baṅḡāmu padande* 'he made the eight commandments the cuirass'. The word may be a compound, or contain a suffix *āma-*, note Arm *varšamak* (HAG 245) *σοῦδαριον*, NPers *vāšāmah*, *bāšāmah* 'woman's veil', and Chorasm. *w's'myk*, Georg *varšamangi*, *varšamagi* (Togan Volume 432), Sogd Bud P 7.6 'skw'm'k 'demeure'.

44. *baḡha-*, only E (his): 25.277 *prāmūkṡa-saṅvarä baḡhi māñäte styüdä* 'the prālimokṡa control resembles a firm cuirass', and 397 *tlye pürä ysaiye baḡhāna haṅtsa* 'this son will be born with a cuirass', corresponding to the same tale in Chin Taishō issaikyō 2042,126, col. 3 鎧甲 *k'ai-kia* 'mailed armour' dyadic phrase (tr. J. Przyłuski, La légende de l'empereur Açoka

401, *vētu d'une armure*'). The word *baḥa-* and its cognates are treated in JRAS 1953, *Analecta indosythica* 110 ff. The base is *var-* 'to cover', with many derivatives, Oss DI *uārl* 'shield', Arm *vert* (Kings I 17.5 *zrahs verts* 'armour and mail'). Here also belongs Arm *nouartan* 'covering' from *ni-var-* 'to cover' (see supra under *haḍa-*). With *-t-* and *-s-* in Khot *beṣa* 'shield', see KT 4.126, from an older **bgils-* from **vr-t-sa-*. Supra *nyūrra-* 'harness' from **ni-varna-*.

45. *ysārātaru*, only E 25.278 *upāsaka-saṃvarā kho ye ysārātaru bāste* 'the upāsaka (layman's) control is as one draws on a cuirass'. The *-ārāta-* is comparable to E 14.76 *ggārātātā* 'she bought', older **arīta-*, later *nysgrīya-* 'ransomed', *garya-*, ZorPahl *arīl*, NPers *arīd*; and with Kha 1.13,142 r 3, KBT 4 *dārātāndū* 'they held, from **dṛata-* to *dṛjs-* 'to hold', and would indicate **zri-tar-a-* from *zar-* 'to cover', well attested as in Oss Iron (Stājy *cārmārāg* 1018 et al.) *zāldzāg* 'armour', translating Georg *abjar-i*, Av *zairīmya-* 'covering', OInd *harmya-*, *harmikā*, *harmuḥa-*, Av *zrāda-*, ZorPahl *zryh*, NPers *zirih*, Arm *zrah*, Arab *zarad-*. The *-tar-a-* is the suffix of instrument with *-a-*. In *kāḍara-* 'sword' the analysis may be *kar-tar-a-* or *kart-ar-a-*.

46. *hāysā* 'skin', only E 21.35 *kho hāysā daundā putā* 'as a skin blown up, puffed up'. Cognates are listed in BSOAS 21.539-540: Av adj. *izaēna-* (like Khot *ijīnai* from **izyainaka-*), Yidya *ize* 'skin bag', Bal *hīz* 'leather churn', Oss Dig *wizā* 'net, veil', *wizin* 'bag', Iron *xyz*, *xyzāg*, *xyzyn*.

47. *hurā* 'belt, scarf' in E 23.168 *hurā stura pūhgitā myāni samu kho ysarnnai nikā vūḍā* 'a strong thick scarf is fastened at the waist, inset like a golden niška'. The belt or scarf was a marked feature of the Maitreya image (A. Getty, 'The gods of the northern Buddhists, ed 2,21). BS in Śikṣāsamuccaya 276.3 has the *parikara-bandha-s* 'fastening of a girdle'. Here *hurā* has been taken as derived from the noun *hurā* 'thigh', as in Si 13 v 1 *hurā*, BS *ūru-*, Tib *brla*.

III. LOAN-WORDS

48. *attaravāysā* śau C 4 'innermost of the three garments', the others *saṃghāfi* and *uttarāsanga*, Mahāvī 8936 *antarvāsas-*,

Tib *mthañ-gos* 'dress for lower part of the body', Pali *antara-vāsaka-*. The BS *-nt-* is not to be distinguished from *-tt-* in later cursive.

49. *kabala* 'blanket', passim, P 2786.213, P 2958.189; O 161 *baysgye kabala* 'thick blanket', Ch 00272.62 *pamūhaja kabala* 'blanket for clothes', C 7,8,11,13; adj. C 3 *kabalīja* 20 *kabalīnai rūśkaḡā thūda-pa* 'a blanket marten(?) skin fur coat'; BS *dhāraṇī* Ch c 001,1020, KBT 141 *kambale*; P 2787.59, KT 2.103 *paṇḍyī-kabala-śaila ijījainai āysa baida* 'on the pāṇḍukambala-śilā seat', see BSOAS 19.55–57; 21.540; Mahāvastu 2.456.10 *pāṇḍu-kambala-praticchannāni*. Toch B *kampāl*.

50. *kāśāya-vastra* only E 4.82: *gyastūña thauna kāśāya-vastra rrusana*; also translated E 23.229 *rrusto cilo*, and E 23.309 *rrusta-vrahaṇa*. A Krorain form is 606 *kašara*, Toch A *kāšār*, *kāšāri*, Toch B *kašār*, Sogd VJ 1497 *kr'z'kh*, Uigur *kz'ry* (F. W. K. Müller, Maitrisimit und "Tocharisch", 397), later *k'r'z' twn *karaza ton* (Uigurica 3.57), *kr'z'* (A. von Gabain, Briefe der Hüen-tsang-Biographie, 30). Jaina Pkt has *ratta-paḡa-*, Jaina Skt *rakta-paḡa-* 'red-mantled' for *parivrājaka-*. See BSOAS 13.130.

51. *kuratu* 'shirt', in the Skt-Chin lexicon (Bagchi 99), rendered by Chin 衤 *šan* 'shirt'; not found in Khot, but frequent in West Iran, Sogd C *qwrty*, Man *kwrd'k*, Oss *kurāt*, Georg *k'urt'ak'-i*, NPers *kurtah*, *kurtī*, Šuynī *kurta*, *kurtī*, *korče* 'jacket', see Donum 7–10.

52. *gūñā* 'sack', Kh ii 3, a 1–4; b 1,2,7–9, with 6 gen. pl. *gūñām*, KT 5.174, for the Krorain *goni*, see H. Lüders, Text. 6; BSOAS 11.765; here as in *dārañā* from Pkt to BS *dhāraṇī* the *-ñā* replaces *-nī*.

53. *cīvara* represents BS *cīvara-* in Vajr 4 a 3 *navāysye pāttarā cīvara*, Bs *nivāsya pātra-cīvaram ādāya*, and Vajr 4 b 2 *pāttarā cīvarā pajsīḡhyī*, BS *pātra-cīvaraṇi pratiśāmya*, but Vajr 5 b 2 has *śau sve cīvarā prahaṡḡi*, BS *ekāṇsam uttarāsangaṇi kṛtvā*, Ch c 001,859, KBT 135 *śau sve cīvarā prahaṡḡe*; also O 156 *haḡa baista chā u cīvarau phaurthaka śau*.

54. *thavalaka* in C v 1 *pūstyāna tcairma thavalaka śā* 'one leather bag for books'; C v 5 *pūstyāna namavīja thavalakā śā* 'one felt bag for books' can represent the Pkt to Skt Lex *sthavi-s*

'bag', BS *sthavikā*, Pali *thavikā*, and Jaina Pkt *thaiā*. See supra *paha*.

55. **murkhuṭā**, only Kha 1.185, 1 a 4, KT 5.155 <ttī> *jsāṇi murkhuṭā pyanye kamalī buṣkve* 'he covered his head with the coverings of a . . . and also of a mukuta-'. This *murkhuṭa-* is from BS *mukuṭa-* 'covering for the head', more usually in BS *makuṭa*, with two changes: inserted *-r-* in three short syllables, as in JātS 10 v 4 *mursala-* 'hammer' for older *musala-*, and *-kh-* replacing older *-k-*. See also infra *maula*.

56. **maula** 'headdress', as E 4.44 *maula hāra cāte prahoṇe* 'headdresses, hāra-necklaces, necklaces, garments'. On *cāte*, E 14.137 *kyite* 'necklace', see TPS 1956,107 where Arm *ēttak* 'necklace' is adduced. Further E 6.31 *maulu ysarrno baste* 'he fastened on a golden headdress', Deśanā 78 v 3 *hāra kaiyūra kaiṣṭa maula paraima*, a list of ornaments, JātS 14 r 2 *raṇṇyo brrūṇadai maulna*, P 2787.75, KT 2.104 *jūānīnai maula pechwāṃe* 'covering with the headdress of knowledge', see supra *llāva*. This is Pkt to BS *mauli-*, Pali *moli-*, AMg *ma'ūḍa-*, BS *makuṭa-*.

57. **sūthamṇa**, the BS gloss to Khot P 85 *kaumadai* 'trousers', see supra *kaumadai*, Krorain 149 *soṃstaṃni*, Mahāvvy 5849 *sunthapā*, Tib *dor-ma* 'trousers', Tib-Skt Diet (facsimile Bacot) 81 b 1 *sunthānaṇi*, Skt-Chin Lex (Bagchi I 208, 50 a 3) *tsanthaya*,

Chin 袴 *k'u*; frequent also in NIndo-Aryan Hindi *sūthan*, *suthnā*, *suthnī*, Nūristāni Aškun *ṣātū*, Waigeli *sota* (see Donum 14–16, G. Morgenstierne, The Waigali language 297), Sanskritised *svasthāna-*, *svasthagana-*. For Romani *sosten* 'trousers', see J. Gypsy Lore Soc. series 3, 35,179–180.

58. **svarṇa-sūttāra** E 14.137 'gold thread, brocade', also Deśanā 78 v 2 *cu ra svarṇa-sūttarrū pēsārā grauna* 'what also are brocade and crowns, garlands'; Mahāvvy *suvarṇa-sūtra-*; Saddhp 211.1 *suvarṇa-sūtra-*, 247.1 *sauvarṇa-sūtrāṇi*. Possibly also *ysarattaśāṃ*, see supra *dasa*.

59. **thūḍa-pa**, only C 20 *kabalīnai rūṣkagū thūḍa-pa* 'a fur coat of blanket and marten(?) skin'. This is Tib *thul-pa* 'fur coat'.

60. **phrramaina**, only C 22 in *phrramaina kabala śā* 'one blanket cloth, silver gilt', with Tib *phra-men*, listed by G. Tucci, The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings 79: *phra-men*, *hphra-men*, *phra-*

myen, Chin 金塗銀 *kin-t'u-gin*. A list of metals is quoted from Tibetan by M. Lalou, turquoise, gold, phra-men, silver, brass, copper (JA 1955,195).

61. *lahāpī*, only C 4 *u hūḍaiga lahāpī sau* 'one napkin, cloth to wipe the hands', the Tib *lag-phyis*.

62. *gūkyaina* in P 2957.43, KT 2.166 *sau gūkyaina hajsāḍai hūḍaiga* 'he made one *gūkyaina*, a napkin'. Though the *gū-* is clear it seems that it is written for *sū* 'hand', see infra *śukyaina*.

63. *chāṃsyū*, only StaëIH 46, KT 2.75 *kāṃbaṃḍū haurū hauḍe se u chāṃ-syū sau* 'he made a gift of one *kāṃbaṃḍa-* and one *chāṃ-syū*'. A second case occurs in MT c 0015, 3, KT 5.221 *llā chāṃ-sū hauḍem* 'I gave a *chāṃ-sū*'. Could it be Chin

長袖 K 1174,253 *lšan-siu* from *d'iang-ziau* 'long-sleeve'?

64. *śukyaina*, P 2925.48, KT 3.102 *āṣkyau jsa habaḍai hūḍaiga śukyaina* 'a napkin filled with tears, a hand cloth'. This can be traced to Chin 手巾 K 895,384 *şou-kin*, from *śiau-kien* 'napkin'. See supra *gūkyaina*.

65. *yaḍama*, P 2024.41, KT 2.78 (quoted BSOAS 23.37) *śīyā pvaicāṃ jsa jsā yaḍama şvaudū* 'we drew on raincoats with white coverings', Turkish *yalma* 'raincoat'.

66. *yaragaka*, P 2024.51, KT 2.78 (quoted BSOAS 23.37) in *yaragakava pvaica* 'a covering of pelt' from Turk. *yaryaq* 'pelt, skin'.

67. *thauracaiha-*, only C 2,7,10,16,28, and 5 *thāṃracaihi*, of still uncertain meaning. The epithets are: white, red, thick, for left and right, and beaten by roller. It could derive from a foreign **thor-čig*, which may be Tibetan. But I have only Tib *thor-čog* 'plaited tuft of hair', and the Buddhist 'uṣṇiṣa-'. The epithet *gaḍā-hvasta-* has *hvasta-* 'beaten' and *gaḍā-* first component, from **gartaka-* 'roller' from *gart-* 'to turn, roll', as also in E 23.117 *ggadāya* 'in the throat' named as the 'turning limb', ZorPahl *gartan* 'neck'. It is the Iran Khot word for Pkt E 8.33 *kūlai* 'beetle' from older **koḷaka-*.

68. *hūḍaiga* 'napkin'. P 2925.48, KT 3.102 *āṣkyau jsa habaḍai hūḍaiga śukyaina* 'a napkin filled with tears, a hand cloth'. see supra *śukyaina*. Also O 148 *hūḍaiga pasta hūḍai* 'he ordered to

give a napkin', and C 3,4,30; and 28 *hūḍaigi*. The StaëIH 4, KT 2.72 has *u riḡi-jūm hūlyega 30 chā paṃjsa tsūna u hvāhā:tte 10 7 tsūna* 'a cloth(?) of riḡi colour, 30 feet and five inches and in width 17 inches'. In the same line occurs also *pyilyaiga* which has also not been traced. Both words seem to contain the same second component.

In the sense of a 'covering' occurs also *hūlaihā*: in P 2892.166, KT 3.81 (BSOAS 11.291) *kyešā, hūlaihā: hame* 'the Turkish 'kiš 'quiver' is the 'covering' (of the arrows)'. Ibid. 166 *ttupī, hūlaihā: hīwī bāṃnq hame* 'the Turkish 'tup 'root' is the base of the covering (= quiver)'; also 167 *kapūhā:kā, hūlaihā: hīwī tturakā hame* the Turkish 'qapyaq 'covering' is the covering of the (arrow-)cover'; and 167 *yihārāḡā:kā, hūlaihā: mūṃākā hame* not yet identified in Turkish or Khotanese.

IV. MATERIALS

69. *kapāysa-* 'cotton', Jivp 95 r 3 *kapāysa*, BS *karpāsa-*; P 2893.199, KT 3.90 *kapāysā Hīṃ*, Or 11252, 8 a 4, KT 2.18; adj. Av dh 21 v 5 *śśīya kapāysīṃja dasa* 'white cotton thread', see supra *dasa*. Pali has *kappāsa-*, Uigur *kāpāz*, Al-Kāšyārī *kb'z*, New Eastern Turkī *k'bz*; see also P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo I 433 ff.

70. *kāṃha* 'hemp', Or 6396.1,10, KT 5.4 *kāṃha thauna*, Hedin 67 b 3, KT 4.49 *kāhā thau* 'hemp cloth'. The meaning is assured by O 11 *ttai bq, kāṃha thāṃ*, that is, Chin 大麻 *ta-ma*. The adj. is MT c 0016,1 KT 5.221 *kāṃhīnai rruṃ* 'hemp oil'. See KT 4.78. Krorain has *ṣaṃṇapaṭa* 'hemp cloth'.

71. *kūmbā*, later *kāmbā*, in medical texts, but not found in connexion with cloth. Si 142 v 1 *kūmbā*, BS *ataṣī*, Tib *zar-ma* 'flax'; also P 2893.46,79,88. Elsewhere Sogd Bud *kynp'*, see BSOAS 11.724; Al-Kāšyārī Kančakī word *knb' kānbā* 'a plant', Chorasm. *knbynk* 'linen' (W. B. Henning, Togan volume 436). See BSOAS 13.404.

72. *namata* 'felt', see BSOAS 19.53-54. MT a 1.0033,11, KT 2.71 *cilaja namata* 'felt for clothing', adj. KT 2.60-61, C v 5 *namavija*, recto 29 *namaviña*, Krorain *namata (-tha, -da)*, BS

namata-, adj. *nāmatika-*, Pali *namataka*, *nantaka-*, Skt Lex *namata-*, *nawala-*, Sogd *namt*, ZorPahl *namat*, Av *namata-*, *nimata-*, Oss Dig *numād*, *nimāt*, Iron *nymāt*, NPers *namad*, Sanglečī *numōd*, Georg *nabad-i*, from the base *nam-* 'to beat' as in Oss *nāmun*, *nād*. Tumšūq Saka *nimata*, *namađe*.

73. *peṃa-* 'wool', passim, P 2893.148, KT 3.88 *peṃaḡ jsā ñūšty-āñi* 'to be tied up in wool', C 13,15 *paima*, P 2893.39, KT 3.84 *thaṃgalakaña peṃakaña* 'in a thin piece of wool'; adj. Ačma 7, KT 2.62 *peṃīnai thau* 'woollen cloth'. This is ZorPahl *pašm* (*pšm* DkM 203.3; 290.4, see supra *raha*), NPers *pašm*, Oss Dig *fāns*, Iron *fūsm*, Yidya *pām*. But Chorasm. *w'nync* 'sheep wool' (Togan volume 431), and probably Sogd Bud P 19.20 *wrnh*; Av *varānā-* may cover two words, 1. 'wool', 2. 'covering'. Pašto has *waṛaī* 'wool'.

74. *būšīnai*, only O 157 *cīvarau phaurthaka šau būšīnai* 'cīvaras and one phaurthaka made of byssus'. This connects **būša-* with Uigur *bwz* **böz* from a form of Gk βύσσοϛ, Syr *būš-ā*. In the Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī Ch c 001,160, KT 5.375 *vastre* is translated in Chin by 白氈 *po-tie* 'white wool' for 'cotton', see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II 70. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 574 has cited also Mong *bus*, *bös*, Manchu *boso*. Al-Kāšgarī has *böz* 'cotton cloth'; see also P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo I 434, Uigur *böz* 'cotton goods', Chin *po-tie*. I have considered that *buysa-* 'goat' and *buysīña* adj. 'goat's' are excluded by the *-ys-*.

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