

GLASENAPP - STIFTUNG  
BAND 7

HEINRICH LÜDERS  
KLEINE SCHRIFTEN

HEINRICH LÜDERS  
KLEINE SCHRIFTEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
OSKAR VON HINÜBER



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN  
1973



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1973

## VORBEMERKUNG

Zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstage 1939 überreichten Freunde und Schüler Heinrich Lüders (25.6. 1869–7.5. 1943) eine Teilsammlung seiner kleinen Schriften, die ‚Philologica Indica‘. Diese Auswahl soll der vorliegende Band in zweifacher Weise vervollständigen. Einmal werden hier die älteren Arbeiten von Lüders zur Epigraphik, die meist in den oft nicht leicht erreichbaren frühen Bänden der Epigraphia Indica versteckt sind, erneut zugänglich gemacht. Zum anderen schien es geboten, vor allem die Schriften zur indischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte aus der Zeit nach dem Erscheinen der Philologica Indica zu sammeln, so daß nun alle wichtigen Aufsätze von Lüders entweder hier oder in den Philologica Indica nachgedruckt vorliegen.

Zugleich konnte erstmals eine umfassende Bibliographie von H. Lüders in Angriff genommen werden, die die ganze Breite und Vielseitigkeit seines Schaffens erkennen läßt. Der einzige mir bekannt gewordene Ansatz zu einer solchen Bibliographie ist das von W. Siegling für das nie zum Druck gelangte Jahrbuch der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von 1943 ausgearbeitete Schriftenverzeichnis. Leider weist dies Verzeichnis vielfältige Lücken auf, die durch systematische Recherchen wie durch Zufallsfunde geschlossen werden mußten. So sind mir z. B. die Angaben über die Mahābhārata-Druckprobe, die in dem vorliegenden Bande S. 23 (Spalte 1140) erwähnt wird, nur aus den Prolegomena S. II des ersten Bandes der kritischen Ausgabe des Mahābhārata bekannt geworden. Daß die angestrebte Vollständigkeit der Bibliographie wirklich erreicht wurde, bleibt daher mehr Hoffnung als Gewißheit.

Folgenden Herren bin ich für ihre Unterstützung bei der Ausarbeitung der Bibliographie zu Dank verpflichtet: Prof. Dr. L. Alsdorf, Hamburg, Dr. D. George, Berlin, Dr. M. Witzel, Tübingen, Prof. Dr. W. Rau, Marburg. Mein ganz besonderer Dank gilt Herrn W. Tornier von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, der mir das Schriftenverzeichnis von W. Siegling zugänglich machte. Bei der Ausarbeitung der Indices unterstützte mich Frl. Renate Söhnen. Vor allem bin ich jedoch Herrn Karl Jost vom Steiner Verlag verpflichtet, der sich mit großem Verständnis und Entgegenkommen aller editorischer Fragen annahm.

Mainz, 14. April 1973

Oskar von Hinüber

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Abkürzungen und Zeichen

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AGWG NF	Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Neue Folge
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
AO	Acta Orientalia
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Khar. Dok.	Kharoṣṭhi-Dokumente
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen
NGWG	Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ab 1922: Phil.-hist. Klasse)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

Die im Inhaltsverzeichnis mit einem Asteriskus versehenen Titel sind in ‚Philologica Indica‘ abgedruckt. Die aufgenommenen Arbeiten sind durch die Seitenzählung des vorliegenden Bandes gekennzeichnet.

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2. Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge und Wortstudien:
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Daśanāmaka. ZDMG 92. 1938. 15–27 . . . . . 76	
Sanskrit <i>kaḍāra-viklidha</i> . AO 16. 1938. 131–145. . . . . 89	
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Nepathya. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Theaters. ZDMG 95. 1941. 258–267 . . . . . 120	
3. Epigraphik und Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente:	
Kaḍaba plates of Prabhūtarsha; Śaka-Saṃvat 735. EI 4. 1896/97. 332–349 . . . . . 133	
Bemerkungen zu dem Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript des Dhammapada. NGWG 1899. 474–494 . . . . . 151	
Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballāla II; Śaka-Saṃvat 1114. EI 6. 1900/01. 89–97 . . . . . 172	
Two pillar inscriptions of the time of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara. EI 6. 1900/01. 108–133 . . . . . 181	
Koṇḍaviḍu pillar inscription of the time of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara; Śaka-Saṃvat 1442. EI 6. 1900/01. 230–239 . . . . . 207	
A Buddhist inscription in Swat. JRAS 1901. 575 f. . . . . 217	
Amarāvati inscription of Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara; Śaka-Saṃvat 1437. EI 7. 1902/03. 17–22 . . . . . 219	
Two inscriptions of Tammusiddhi; Śaka-Saṃvat 1129. EI 7. 1902/3. 119–128. . . . . 224	
Two further inscriptions of Tammusiddhi. EI 7. 1902/03. 148–155. . . . 234	
Epigraphical notes. IA 33. 1904. 33–41, 101–109, 149–156. . . . . 242	
Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription of Irugapa; A. D. 1422. EI 8. 1905/6. 15–24 268	

Jaina inscriptions of the temple of Nēminātha on Mount Ābū. EI 8. 1905/06. 200–229 . . . . . 278	
Taxila vase inscription. EI 8. 1905/06. 296–298 . . . . . 308	
Three early Brāhmī inscriptions. EI 9. 1907/08. 239–248 . . . . . 310	
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The era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja rājātirāja. In: D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, Calcutta 1940. 281–289 .....	481
Von indischen Tieren. ZDMG 96. 1942. 23–81.....	490
Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien. ZDMG 98. 1944. 1–14	

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## REGISTER

Sachregister .....	551
Verzeichnis der Personennamen .....	551
Verzeichnis der Ortsnamen .....	555
Verzeichnis der <i>kula</i> , <i>gaccha</i> , <i>gana</i> etc. der Jainas .....	556
Verzeichnis der behandelten Wörter .....	556
Verzeichnis der behandelten Textstellen .....	560

# I. Literaturgeschichte und Textausgaben

## Über die literarischen Funde von Ostturkistan.

Wenn dem Vertreter der indischen Philologie der Auftrag wird, am heutigen Tage über eine Frage seiner Wissenschaft zu sprechen, so ist ihm damit eigentlich auch schon das Thema gestellt: die Funde von Ostturkistan. Kein anderes Unternehmen der letzten zwanzig Jahre hat so befruchtend auf den verschiedensten Gebieten der indischen, der iranischen und der ostasiatischen Altertumswissenschaft gewirkt, hat dem Auge des Forschers so ungeahnte Weiten erschlossen und so tiefe Einblicke in die Zusammenhänge zwischen Ost und West eröffnet wie die archäologische Erforschung Zentralasiens. Deutschland hat sich in friedlichem Wettstreit mit anderen Völkern an der Hebung der Schätze beteiligt, und in dem Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde ist eine Fülle von Denkmälern geborgen, die sonst früher oder später der Spitzhacke des türkischen Bauern zum Opfer gefallen oder durch die Geldgier des einheimischen Schatzgräbers in alle Winde zerstreut wären. Mir selbst ist damit eine Aufgabe zugefallen, die ich dankbar als eine Gunst der Sarasvati empfinde; ich darf innerhalb der Grenzen meiner Wissenschaft mitarbeiten an der Erschließung und Aufhellung dieser kostbaren Reste einer vergangenen Zeit. So habe ich auch persönlich wohl Anlaß, Ihnen heute von jenen Entdeckungen zu berichten, die uns unbekannte Völker und unbekannte Sprachen und unbekannte Literaturen kennen gelehrt haben und vor unsern Blicken das Bild einer Kultur wieder neu erstehen lassen, die in Nacht und Nebel versunken zu sein schien.

Ostturkistan ist eine gewaltige Mulde, von mächtigen Schneeketten eingefafßt; im Norden dehnt sich der himmelragende Tienschan, im Westen lagert sich das Pamir vor, das Dach der Welt, im Südwesten die Karakoramkette und im Süden der Kwenlün, das Rückgrat Asiens. Nach Osten bildet das Sumpfgebiet des Lob eine Scheide gegen die salzdurchdrungene Gobi. Der größte Teil des Gebietes ist wasserlose Wüste. Von den Rändern der Mulde aber stürzen zahlreiche Bäche und Flüsse herab, von denen einige so stark sind, daß sie sich selbst durch den Wüstensand den Weg bis zum Tarimbecken bahnen. Hier war die Möglichkeit für Ackerbau gegeben, der bei dem minimalen Regenfall ganz auf Bewässerungsanlagen angewiesen ist; hier entstanden feste Siedelungen, die eine mehr als lokale Bedeutung erlangten als



Stützpunkte für den Verkehr von China nach dem Westen, denn für den Seidenhandel, an dem das Abendland seit den letzten Tagen der römischen Republik beteiligt war, standen nur die beiden Wege am Nord- oder am Südrand der Wüste von Ostturkistan offen.

Das Land ist seit dem Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. ein Tummelplatz der in ewiger Unruhe begriffenen Völker Ostasiens gewesen. Historische Nachrichten, insbesondere der Chinesen, ergänzt durch unsere Funde, zeigen, daß es nacheinander indische Stämme und Tocharer, Hunnen, Saken und Ostiranier, Tibeter, Türken, Kirgisen und Mongolen bei sich zu Gäste gesehen; von Osten her versuchte ständig, wenn auch mit vielfach wechselndem Erfolge, China Hand auf das Land zu legen, das ihm als Durchgangspforte zum Westen unentbehrlich war. Ein anschauliches Bild der Verhältnisse, wie sie sich im siebentem Jahrhundert gestaltet hatten, also zu einer Zeit, die der Entstehungszeit der Mehrzahl unserer Handschriften nicht allzufern liegt, hat uns Hiuen-Tsang gegeben. Als er im Jahre 629 nach Indien pilgerte, um die Stätten zu schauen, wo der Stifter seiner Religion gewandelt, und die heiligen Schriften seines Glaubens zu sammeln, wählte er den nördlichen Weg. Nach der beschwerlichen Durchquerung des westlichen Teils der Gobi gelangte er nach Kao-ch'ang, d. i. Chotscho, der Hauptstadt des heutigen Turfan, wo der Fürst ihn mit fast erdrückenden Ehren aufnahm. Zehn Jahre später erlag Kao-ch'ang der Macht Chinas und wurde für eine Weile zu einer Präfektur des Kaiserreiches gemacht. Von Kao-ch'ang zog der Pilger weiter durch drei Staaten, die er in seiner Sprache als A-k'i-ni, Ku-cih und Poh-lu-ka bezeichnet. Bei der Heimkehr schlug er die südliche Straße ein durch die Reiche von Kaschgar, Yarkand und Khotan. Hinter den Sümpfen von Ni-yang, der östlichen Grenzstadt Khotans, begann die Wüste, wo der Sand durch den Wind in ständiger Bewegung gehalten wird, wo kein anderes Wegzeichen mehr erscheint als die aufgehäuften Knochen verendeter Zugtiere und wo der einsame Wanderer alle Augenblicke ein Winseln und Klagen zu hören vermeint, das ihn verwirrt, so daß viele jämmerlich umkommen. Hier lagen die alten Reiche von Tu-ho-lo, d. i. Tokhāra, und Che-mo-t'o-na. Aber schon damals waren die tocharischen Städte nur noch Ruinen, und hinter den hohen Mauern von Che-mo-t'o-na, die der Zerstörung widerstanden hatten, wohnte nur das Schweigen des Todes. Blühendes Leben aber regte sich in den Reichen von Kao-ch'ang bis Khotan. Überall war der Buddhismus die herrschende Religion; viele Tausende von Mönchen lebten in den Klöstern des Landes, am Nordrande sämtlich Anhänger der Schule der Sarvāstivādins, in Yarkand und Khotan Bekenner des Mahāyāna. Die Religion war aber auch fast das einzige,

was der Bevölkerung gemeinsam war. Der chinesische Reisende ist ein scharfer Beobachter. Überall bemerkt er Verschiedenheiten im Charakter und in der Tracht, in Sitten und Gebräuchen, in Sprache und Schrift. Die letztere ist allerdings in allen Fällen der indischen entlehnt, aber in mannigfacher Weise verändert. Von der Sprache Kaschgars wird ebenso wie von der Khotans behauptet, daß sie von der Sprache anderer Länder verschieden sei; die Sprache von Yarkand unterschied sich von der von Khotan; die Sprache von Poh-lu-ka wich ein wenig von der des benachbarten Ku-cih ab. Jene Staaten waren also nicht nur politische Gebilde, sondern nationale Verbände, wenn auch sicherlich der Rasse nach vielfach gemischt, der Niederschlag der Völkerwanderungen der ersten vor- und nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte. Eine neue Kulturperiode beginnt für das Land mit der Ausbreitung der Macht des türkischen Stammes der Uiguren. Sie saugen die vorhandenen Volksbestandteile auf und formen das Volk, nach dem das Land noch heute seinen Namen trägt. In Chotscho entsteht ein Reich, dessen Glanzzeit in die erste Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts fällt. War bis dahin Ostturkistan in religiöser Beziehung eine Provinz Indiens gewesen, so tritt nun neben den Buddhismus das nestorianische Christentum und der Manichäismus, dessen Stellung gefestigt ist, seit der Herrscher von Chotscho, Buyuy Chān, zu ihm übergetreten ist. Bald freilich erhebt sich ein Feind, der sich stärker erweisen sollte als Buddhismus und Christentum und Mānis Lehre, der Islam. In Kaschgar finden die ersten Bekehrungen statt; dort herrschen die ersten islamischen Dynastien. Der Einfall der Kirgisen, die Völkerstürme, die seit dem 12. Jahrhundert wieder von Osten heranbrausen, brechen die Macht auch des östlichen Reiches. Die alten Religionen fristen wohl noch eine Zeitlang ein kümmerliches Dasein; europäische Reisende berichten noch in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts von Christen und Götzendienern im alten Uigurenreiche. Aber der Siegeszug des Islams ist unaufhaltsam. Seit dem 14. Jahrhundert gehört ganz Turkistan dem mohammedanischen Kulturkreise an, und daran hat auch die 1758 erfolgte Besitzergreifung des Landes durch China nichts geändert.

Wenn aber auch das Wort der Lehre Gautamas, Christi und Mānis verklang, die Werke, die frommer Sinn in jener alten Zeit geschaffen, haben den Verfall überdauert. Klosterbauten, die durch Wandmalereien oder Inschriften oder Handschriftenfunde als christlich erwiesen werden, sind in den Ruinen von Bulayiq und in Chotscho entdeckt worden. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Stadt hat sich eine große manichäische Anlage erhalten. Hier fand sich ein Wandgemälde, das vielleicht das wertvollste Stück der an Originalfresken einzig dastehenden Berliner Sammlung bildet, die Darstellung eines manichäischen Priesters, um-

ringt von den Gläubigen, Männern und Frauen, in ihrer charakteristischen Tracht. Das Bild wurde in dem Augenblicke, als die deutsche Expedition anlangte, von schatzsuchenden Bauern herabgerissen und konnte so gerade noch zur rechten Zeit vor der Zerstörung bewahrt werden. Zahllos sind die Reste buddhistischer Denkmäler. Es ist unmöglich, ohne die Benutzung von Abbildungen einen Begriff von der Bautätigkeit jener Zeit zu geben, die sich in Tempeln, Stūpas und Klöstern erschöpfte. Für die Geschichte der ostasiatischen Kunst liefern sie mit ihren Fresken, ihren Terrakotten und Stückstatuen ein unschätzbares Material. Indien hat der zentralasiatischen Kunst nicht nur die Stoffe, sondern auch die Formen geliefert. Jener Ableger griechischer Kunst, der in der nordwestlichen Ecke Indiens, in Gandhāra, zu so hoher Blüte gediehen war, ist nach Turkistan verpflanzt worden; noch die handwerksmäßig hergestellten Fresken, die der letzten uigurischen Stilperiode angehören, lassen vielfach in der Gesamtkomposition wie in Einzelheiten die alten Vorbilder erkennen. Daneben läuft ein Strom rein hellenistischer Kunst, und vor allem macht sich ein starker iranischer Einfluß bemerkbar, der oft merkwürdige Parallelen im Abendlande aufweist. So hat z. B. STRZYGOWSKI gezeigt, daß die Deckenmalerei in der Nāgahöhle von Schortschuq ihr Gegenstück in den Mosaiken von S. Costanza bei Rom hat. Je tiefer wir zeitlich herabkommen, um so bunter wird die Mischung verschiedener Stile, um so verwickelter werden die Probleme, zu deren Studium die Veröffentlichungen STEINS, GRÜNWEDELS und von LE COQS schon jetzt Gelegenheit geben. Es wird für Jahrzehnte die reizvolle Arbeit des Archäologen und Kunsthistorikers sein, die vielfach verschlungenen Fäden, die von West nach Ost und von Ost nach West ziehen, aufzuspüren und zu entwirren; den Sprachforscher und Philologen hat Turkistan vor eine nicht minder mühevollere, aber auch nicht minder lohnende Aufgabe gestellt. Der Lößstaub, der in erstickenden Stürmen einherwirbelt, der alles begrabende wandernde Dünensand sind treue Hüter auch der literarischen Schätze gewesen; sie haben Turkistan für uns zu dem gemacht, was Ägypten in den letzten Jahrzehnten für die klassische und vorderasiatische Altertumswissenschaft geworden ist.

Der erste Handschriftenfund, der zur Kenntnis der europäischen Gelehrtenwelt gelangte und den Anstoß zur archäologischen Erforschung Zentralasiens gegeben hat, war ein Birkenrindenmanuskript, das zwei Türken im Jahre 1890 in einem Stūpa bei Qum-Tura fanden. Sie verkauften es an den englischen Leutnant BOWER, der sich damals in Kutscha aufhielt. BOWER übergab seinen Fund der Asiatischen Gesellschaft in Calcutta, und im folgenden Jahre veröffentlichte der philologische Sekretär der Gesellschaft, HOERNLE, einen Bericht über die

Handschrift, die großes Aufsehen hervorrief. Vor allem imponierte das Alter der Handschrift. Indische Handschriften pflegen, an abendländischen gemessen, verhältnismäßig jung zu sein; der zerstörende Einfluß des Klimas und der unvermeidliche Insektenfraß zwingen zu fortwährender Erneuerung. Die ältesten in den westlichen Teilen des Landes und in Nepal erhaltenen Palmblatthandschriften gehen bis in den Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts zurück. Außerdem waren nur zwei vereinzelte Palmblätter bekannt, die im Jahre 609 aus Indien über China nach Japan gekommen waren, wo sie in dem berühmten Kloster von Horiuzi als ehrwürdige Reliquien aufbewahrt wurden. Jetzt lag eine vollständige umfangreiche Handschrift vor, in Guptacharakteren geschrieben, und daher unzweifelhaft aus dem nordwestlichen Indien und spätestens aus dem 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. stammend. Die genaueren Untersuchungen haben später ergeben, daß sie in die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts gehört. Die Möglichkeit solcher Entdeckungen regte zu weiteren Nachforschungen an. Die russische archäologische Gesellschaft bat den russischen Generalkonsul in Kaschgar, die englische Regierung beauftragte ihre politischen Agenten in Kaschmir, Ladak und Kaschgar, nach ähnlichen Handschriften Umschau zu halten; ein Missionar der mährischen Brüdergemeinde in Leh sammelte aus eigenem Antriebe. So gelangten die Handschriften, die nach ihren Sammlern als die PETROVSKI-, MACARTNEY- und WEBER-Manuskripte bekannt sind, nach Petersburg und Calcutta. Ihren Grundstock bilden Handschriften aus einem größeren Funde, den bald nach der Entdeckung des BOWER-Manuskripts türkische Bauern in Kutscha machten und der geraume Zeit im Hause des Qāzi als Spielzeug für die Kinder lag.

Inzwischen war eine andere, nicht minder wichtige Entdeckung gemacht worden, die allerdings erst einige Jahre später bekannt wurde. Im Frühling des Jahres 1892 erwarb der französische Reisende DUTREUIL DE RHINS in Khotan drei kleine oblonge Hefte, die mit andern Funden der Expedition nach Paris gesandt wurden. Im Jahre 1897 legte SENART auf dem Orientalistenkongreß in Paris die Handschrift vor. Wir sind jetzt an Überraschungen aus Zentralasien gewöhnt; damals riefen, wie ich mich persönlich wohl erinnere, SENARTS Mitteilungen unter den Mitgliedern der arischen Sektion freudiges Staunen hervor. Der Fund erwies sich als ein Birkenrindenmanuskript, in Kharoṣṭhī-Charakteren geschrieben, die bisher nur aus Inschriften des äußersten Nordwesten Indiens bekannt waren; der Vergleich mit der epigraphischen Schrift zeigte, daß es aus dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. stammte. Den Inhalt bildete eine Sammlung von Strophen, die größtenteils im Pali-Kanon wiederkehren, aber hier in einem Prakritdialekte auftreten, der bis dahin in literarischen Werken nicht gefunden war.

Das Manuskript war ein Fragment; mit um so größerer Freude wurde es begrüßt, als im Anschluß an die Bemerkungen SENARTS der Petersburger Sanskritist VON OLDENBURG mitteilen konnte, daß ein anderer Teil desselben Manuskripts, und zwar der größere, nach Petersburg gelangt sei.

Es ist begreiflich, daß man sich durch diese mehr oder weniger dem Zufall verdankten Erfolge veranlaßt sah, die systematische Durchforschung des Landes vorzunehmen. Die Russen waren die ersten auf dem Plan. 1898 arbeitete der Akademiker KLEMENTZ in den Ruinenstätten im Norden, und im folgenden Jahre gab RADLOFF auf dem Orientalistenkongresse in Rom die Anregungen, die zur Begründung der internationalen Assoziation zur Erforschung Zentral- und Ostasiens führten. Was dem Boden abzurufen sei, zeigten dann die Grabungen, die MARC AUREL STEIN 1900—1901 mit Unterstützung der indischen Regierung in der Gegend von Khotan unternahm. STEINS Reise brachte auch noch einen Nebengewinn. In den letzten Jahren waren zahlreiche Handschriften und Blockdrucke in mysteriösen Schriftzeichen in Kaschgar zum Verkauf angeboten und hatten willige Abnehmer gefunden. Europäische Gelehrte zerbrachen sich den Kopf darüber; allmählich begann man mißtrauisch zu werden. STEIN vermochte diese Dokumente als Fälschungen nachzuweisen. Es gelang ihm, des nicht unintelligenten Hauptes dieser Gesellschaft zur Herstellung zentralasiatischer Altertümer habhaft zu werden, ihn zu überführen und aus seinem eigenen Munde die Beschreibung der Fabrikationsmethoden zu vernehmen. Seitdem sind Fälschungen nicht mehr zum Vorschein gekommen; sie dürften heute, wo das Auge geübter ist, auch kaum irgendwelche Aussicht auf Erfolg haben.

Die reichen Ergebnisse der STEINSchen Reise stachelten zu erneuter Tätigkeit an. Hatten STEINS Forschungen dem Südwesten gegolten, so ging die erste deutsche Expedition unter GRÜNWEDEL und HUTH 1902 nach Turfan im Norden der Wüste. Inzwischen hatte sich durch die Bemühungen PISCHELS ein deutsches Komitee zur Erforschung Zentralasiens gebildet, das mit staatlicher Unterstützung in den Jahren 1904—1907 nochmals zwei Expeditionen unter der Führung von LE COQS und GRÜNWEDELS nach dem Norden aussandte. Kutscha und Turfan wurden jetzt gründlicher durchforscht, als es das erstemal möglich gewesen war, und haben die Mühe glänzend gelohnt. Augenblicklich ist der unermüdliche VON LE COQ wiederum in der Umgegend von Qyzil tätig. 1906—1908 machte STEIN eine zweite Reise, die ihn weit über Khotan hinaus nach dem Osten und von dort an den Nordrand und quer durch die Taklamakanwüste führte. Seine schönsten Entdeckungen machte er im Gebiete von Tun-huang. Hier fand er den langvergessenen west-

lichsten Teil der großen Mauer auf, die einst China vor den Einfällen der Hunnen zu schützen bestimmt war. Hier spielte ihm ein glücklicher Zufall und kluge Diplomatie einen über Erwarten großen literarischen Schatz in die Hände. Wenige Jahre vor seiner Ankunft hatte ein taoistischer Priester in den Hallen der tausend Buddhas, einem System von ungefähr 500 Höhlen, das wabengleich eine Bergwand bei Tun-huang durchzieht, ein vermauertes Gemach gefunden, das eine nach Tausenden von Handschriften zählende Bibliothek enthielt. Nach den Daten der Manuskripte zu urteilen, muß der Raum im Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts verschlossen worden sein. STEIN wußte sich einen bedeutenden Teil dieser Handschriften zu sichern; ein anderer gelangte in die Sammlungen des französischen Sinologen PELLIER, der in den Jahren 1906—1907 Turkistan bereiste. Sogar die Reiche des fernen Ostens haben sich an der Erforschung Turkistans beteiligt. 1902 entsandte Japan den buddhistischen Priester Grafen OTANI, der in Kutscha mit ziemlichem Erfolge Ausgrabungen veranstaltet haben soll, und die Reste der Höhlenbibliothek von Tun-huang sind, um sie vor Zerstörung zu bewahren, in die Nationalbibliothek von Peking überführt worden. So ist, abgesehen von den archäologischen Funden, allmählich eine ungeheure Menge von Handschriften und Blockdrucken in den Bibliotheken und Museen von Petersburg, London, Oxford, Calcutta, Berlin, Paris, Tokio und Peking geborgen. Fast jedes Material, das sich zur Beschreibung mit Feder oder Pinsel darbietet, ist vertreten: Palmblätter, Birkenrinde, Holz, Bambusrohr, Leder, Papier und Seide. Fast unübersehbar ist die Zahl der Alphabete. Man zählt etwa ein Dutzend verschiedener Sprachen, zum Teil wieder dialektisch geschieden, und darunter eine ganze Reihe, von denen man bisher nichts oder so gut wie nichts wußte. Es ist gewiß ein Zeichen für die Kraft der jüngsten der Philologien, daß es in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit gelungen ist, Ordnung in diese Massen zu bringen, unbekannte Schriften zu entziffern und unbekannte Sprachen zu deuten und ihre Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmen; daß den Orientalisten trotz alledem nicht das Ergetzen kommt, zu schauen, wie sie es zuletzt so herrlich weit gebracht, dafür sorgen die Texte schon selber.

Schon unter den ersten Funden, die nach Calcutta und St. Petersburg kamen, fanden sich Bruchstücke von Handschriften, die in einer Abart der indischen Brāhmī geschrieben, aber sicher nicht in Sanskrit verfaßt waren. Da die Schrift wenigstens in ihren Grundzügen klar war, gelang es HOERNLE, indische Namen und Ausdrücke der buddhistischen Terminologie und indische Bezeichnungen für Arzneimittel zu entziffern, die den Inhalt der Handschriften charakterisierten. LEUMANN stellte dann fest, daß es sich um zwei verschiedene Sprachen handle,

die er als die Sprachen I und II unterschied. Über die erste Sprache war man eine Zeitlang im unklaren; man vermutete Zusammenhang mit dem Alttürkischen. Das Verdienst, ihren wahren Charakter festgestellt zu haben, gebührt SIEG und SIEGLING, die im Jahre 1907 sie als eine indogermanische Sprache erkannten. Zahlwörter, Verwandtschaftsnamen, Bezeichnungen von Haustieren und Körperteilen machen das zweifellos. Merkwürdig ist, daß diese Sprache engere Beziehungen zum Griechischen und Lateinischen und Germanischen erkennen läßt, dagegen keine Ähnlichkeiten mit den benachbarten arischen Sprachen zeigt. Es scheint daher, daß sie dem westlichen Zweige der großen indogermanischen Familie angehört, wenn es auch zur Zeit kaum möglich ist, etwas über ihre genauere Stellung zu sagen. Welche Schicksale das Volk, das diese Sprache redete, an die äußerste Grenze der indogermanischen Welt verschlagen hat, wissen wir nicht. Jedenfalls muß es bedenklich erscheinen, sein Vorhandensein in Turkistan als ein Argument für die Theorie der asiatischen Heimat der Indogermanen zu verwerten. Den Namen der Sprache liefert uns ein Kolophon, den F. W. K. MÜLLER in einer uigurischen Handschrift entdeckt hat. Danach war das Werk, das den Titel Maitrisimit trägt, aus dem Sanskrit in die Tocharische und von da in das Türkische übersetzt. Nun sind zusammen mit der türkischen Handschrift Bruchstücke von drei verschiedenen Handschriften des Werkes in der Sprache I gefunden. In einer dritten Sprache liegt das Werk bis jetzt wenigstens nicht vor. Der Schluß, daß die Sprache I das Tocharische sei, ist danach unabweislich. Der Name Tochara haftete innerhalb der Grenzen Turkistans noch im 7. Jahrhundert an der versandeten Oase östlich von Khotan. Zweifelhaft ist es noch, wie weit die Tocharer mit dem Volke identisch sind, das im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Baktrien besetzte und von dort aus seine Herrschaft bis weit nach Indien hinein ausdehnte, und das von den Chinesen als Yüe-chi, von den abendländischen Schriftstellern als Indoskythen bezeichnet wird. Aus der Tatsache, daß von den letzten indoskythischen Herrschern Kaniska, Huviska und Vāsudeva auf ihren Münzlegenden eine Sprache gebrauchten, die nicht mit der Sprache I, sondern mit der Sprache II übereinstimmt, kann aber auf keinen Fall geschlossen werden, daß dieser die Bezeichnung »tocharisch« zukomme. Selbst wenn jene Fürsten wirklich Tocharer gewesen sein sollten, läßt sich die Verwendung der zweiten Sprache ungezwungen aus den politischen Verhältnissen erklären.

Das Tocharische liegt uns, wie SIEG und SIEGLING zuerst feststellten, in zwei Dialekten vor, die vielfach weit auseinandergehen und die man vorläufig durch die Buchstaben A und B unterscheidet. A macht den altertümlicheren Eindruck. Nach den Fundorten zu urteilen, war

die Heimat des Tocharischen der Nordrand der Wüste von Kutscha bis Chotscho. Die beiden Dialekte bestanden nebeneinander; doch sind in den Mingo bei Qyzil bis jetzt nur Handschriften der Gruppe B zutage getreten. Auf Holztäfelchen geschriebene Karawanenpässe in dem Dialekt B, die sich wegen der Erwähnung eines Königsnamens datieren lassen, hat PELLIOU bei Kutscha gefunden und LÉVI entziffert; sie beweisen, daß der Dialekt B im 7. Jahrhundert die Umgangssprache von Kutscha war. Die Texte in dem ersten Dialekte füllen einen stattlichen Band, der der Veröffentlichung harret; Proben und grammatische Untersuchungen des zweiten Dialektes haben uns, außer HOERNLE, MIRONOV und LEUMANN, LÉVI und MEILLET gegeben. So vieles auch im einzelnen noch unsicher sein mag, so sind doch die Grundzüge der Sprache schon deutlich. Sie zeigt, wie es kaum anders zu erwarten war, kein altertümliches Gepräge. Weitgehender Schwund der Vokale hat insbesondere die Nominalflexion zerrüttet; Kasusbezeichnungen werden, wie es scheint, in großem Umfange durch Suffixe ausgedrückt, die der Sprache auf den ersten Blick ein fremdartiges unindogermanisches Aussehen geben. Klarer tritt ihre Herkunft in den Verbalformen hervor, die charakteristische indogermanische Erscheinungen, wie die Perfektreduktion, den *s*-Aorist usw. erkennen lassen. Die Zahl der Texte ist groß genug, um diese Sprache über den Wert einer Kuriosität herauszuheben; schon ist sie mit Glück für die Etymologie anderer indogermanischer Sprachen herangezogen worden. Ob uns die tocharischen Texte auch inhaltlich viel Neues bieten werden, läßt sich heute noch nicht beurteilen. Es sind zweifellos im wesentlichen Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen buddhistischer und medizinischer Sanskritschriften. Unter den Pariser und Berliner Fragmenten der Gruppe B finden sich Reste von Dramen, die ihre Stoffe der buddhistischen Legende entnehmen. Auch sie gehen, wie schon die Erwähnung des Vidūṣaka verrät, auf indische Originale zurück und liefern so die willkommene Bestätigung für die Pflege dramatischer Kunst in den buddhistischen Kreisen Indiens, die uns andere Entdeckungen in Turkistan hatten ahnen lassen.

Sprachwissenschaftliches Interesse knüpft sich zunächst auch an die Texte in der Sprache II, um deren Aufhellung sich HOERNLE, v. STAËL-HOLSTEIN, KONOW, PELLIOU, GAUTHIOT und vor allem LEUMANN bemüht haben. Sie liegt uns in zwei Gruppen von Texten vor. Die eine wird durch geschäftliche Urkunden repräsentiert, die meist vollständig datiert sind, wenn auch die zugrunde liegende Ära vorläufig unbekannt ist; die zweite Gruppe bilden umfangreiche buddhistische Texte, zum Teil ebenfalls mit Daten versehen. Während aber von den tocharischen Fragmenten sicherlich viele aus Werken der Sarvāstivādin stammen, scheinen die Texte der Sprache II meist der späteren Mahā-

yānaliteratur anzugehören; so die Vajracchedikā, das Aparimitāyuhśūtra, das Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra, das Saṃghātasūtra, die nur teilweise übersetzte Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāparamitā. Daß die Sprache dieser Texte und die Sprache der Urkunden zusammenhängen, blieb eine Zeitlang verborgen. Während HOERNLE den indoiranischen Charakter der Geschäftssprache richtig erkannte und in ihr Anklänge an die sogenannten Ghalchahdialekte des Pamir fand, bezeichnete er die literarische Sprache kühn als prototibetisch. Sie hat mit dem Tibetischen nichts zu tun. LEUMANN stellte fest, daß die Geschäftssprache nur ein jüngerer Dialekt der literarischen Sprache sei und daß auch diese wieder in einer älteren und einer jüngeren Varietät vorliege. LEUMANN glaubte einen neuen Sproß der arischen Sprachfamilie entdeckt zu haben; er stellte ihn als das Nordarische dem Südarischen, dem Indischen, und dem Westarischen, dem Iranischen, zur Seite. In der Tat tritt uns hier eine Sprache entgegen, die durch Laute und Formen als iranisch gekennzeichnet, aber so stark mit indischen Wörtern durchsetzt ist, daß man sie als ein indianisiertes Iranisch bezeichnen kann. Das aber ändert, wie KONOW mit Recht betont hat, nichts an der Tatsache, daß die Sprache zu den iranischen zu zählen ist; das Englische ist trotz seiner romanischen Elemente eine germanische Sprache. Das Volk, das diese Sprache für seine heiligen Schriften wie für seine Urkunden verwendete, muß im Süden des Landes gewohnt haben. Nur in dieser Gegend sind Texte in dieser Sprache gefunden worden; ein einziges Blatt, das aus Schortschuq stammt, wird durch einen Zufall dorthin verschleppt sein. Der literarische Charakter der buddhistischen Texte weist in dieselbe Richtung; nach Hiuen-Tsang war das Mahāyāna das herrschende System in Yarkand und Khotan. Die indische Schrift, der schrankenlose Gebrauch indischer Lehnwörter, die nicht nur buddhistische Termini, sondern auch Ausdrücke des täglichen Lebens umfassen, machen es wahrscheinlich, daß die Sprecher längere Zeit auf indischem Boden saßen. Nun sind in Indien in nachchristlicher Zeit nur zwei iranische Völkerschaften als Eroberer aufgetreten, die Palhavas oder Pahlavas und die Śakas. Die Pahlavas werden doch aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Pahlavi gesprochen haben; was wir indischen Inschriften und Münzlegenden über die Sprache der Śakas entnehmen können, stimmt aber auffallend gut mit dem sogenannten Nordarischen überein, so vor allem die merkwürdige Bezeichnung des stimmhaften *z* durch die Ligatur *ys* und der Gebrauch der Zerebrallaute. Die Annahme, auf die wir so geführt werden, daß die neue Sprache das Sakische sei, erklärt zugleich, warum Kaniška und seine Nachfolger sich ihrer auf ihren Münzen bedienten. Die Śakas zogen, von den Yüe-chi gedrängt, nach Süden und waren die Herren im nörd-

lichen Indien, ehe die Yüe-chi dort anlangten. Es wäre daher ganz begreiflich, wenn diese die offizielle Sprache ihrer Vorgänger übernommen hätten. Man mag die Festlegung der beiden neuen Sprachen als tocharisch und sakisch zur Zeit noch als Hypothesen bezeichnen, aber sie stützen sich gegenseitig, und wenn eines Tages die eine durch ein direktes Zeugnis bestätigt werden sollte, wird, meine ich, auch die andere damit bewiesen sein.

Das Sakische ist nur ein kleiner Teil des Zuwachses, den die Iranistik gewonnen hat. Im Jahre 1904 gelang es F. W. K. MÜLLER, ein paar Fragmente auf Papier, Leder und Seide, die aus der Gegend von Turfan stammten, zu entziffern. Er konnte das Alphabet als eine Abart des Estrangelo bestimmen, die Sprache als Mittelpersisch und Türkisch und den Inhalt als Stücke aus der verloren geglaubten manichäischen Literatur. Das war der Anfang einer langen Reihe von glänzenden Entdeckungen, deren Ergebnisse zum größten Teile in den Schriften unserer Akademie gebucht sind. Eine Menge der dogmatischen und liturgischen Werke jener Religion ist wiedergewonnen, die von Vorderasien bis nach China vordrang und sich trotz blutiger Verfolgungen jahrhundertlang an den Küsten des Mittelmeers als Rivalin des Christentums behauptete, alles freilich in Trümmern, und doch ein unschätzbare Besitz, denn zum ersten Male vernehmen wir hier aus den eigenen Werken die Lehre, für deren Kenntnis wir bisher auf Augustins Streitschriften, die Acta Archelai, die Abschwörungsforneln der griechischen Kirche, den Fihrist al-'ulum des an-Nadīm und andere gegnerische Darstellungen angewiesen waren. Man wird es diesen Berichten zugestehen müssen, daß sie sich einer Objektivität befleißigen, wie sie in religiösen Kontroversen nicht immer beobachtet ist. Die Grundzüge der Lehre, die ethische und physische Elemente in phantastischer Weise zu einer unlösbaren Einheit verbindet, sind, soweit eine Nachprüfung schon jetzt möglich ist, richtig gezeichnet; im einzelnen tritt freilich mancher Zug jetzt deutlicher hervor. Wenn KESSLER noch geneigt war, vorzugsweise an babylonische Quellen zu denken, so kann es jetzt als sicher gelten, daß wenigstens die unmittelbare Grundlage des Manichäismus der Zoroastrismus ist. Wenn wir von dem ausgesprochenen Dualismus, der beiden Religionen eigen ist, ganz absehen, bezeugen das schon die Namen. Die ganze Mythologie des Avesta kehrt hier wieder. Ein Stück aus dem von Māni selbst verfaßten Schapurakan nennt den Mihir und die Dämonen Āz, Ahriman, die Pairikas, den Āzidahāka; in einem Bruchstück, das nach der Überschrift aus einem eigenen Liede des Māni stammt, wird er der Sohn des Gottes Zarvān genannt, der im Zoroastrismus die Zeit repräsentiert und später zum höchsten Prinzip erhoben wird; in einem

Hymnus wird neben Mihir Frēdōn angerufen, der Thraētaona des Avesta und Fēridūn des Shāhnāme; Māni wird der starke, mächtige Srōš genannt, Jesus Gott und Vahman, d. i. Vohumano. Māni erhob den Anspruch, auch der Vollender des Christentums zu sein. In dem von MÜLLER aufgefundenen Stücke seines Evangeliums nennt er sich den Abgesandten Jesu, wie uns das schon Augustin berichtet hatte. Nach den Fragmenten zu urteilen, scheint es aber zu einer wirklichen Einschmelzung der christlichen Bestandteile nicht gekommen zu sein. Die Schichten liegen meist ziemlich unvermittelt nebeneinander. So geht der Beschreibung des Weltendes aus dem Schāpūrakān unmittelbar eine Schilderung des jüngsten Gerichtes oder, wie es hier genannt wird, des Kommens des Erkenntnisbringers, voraus, die sich eng an die Worte des Matthäusevangeliums anschließt. Auch andere Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte der Kreuzigung und Auferstehung Jesu, eine Stelle aus dem Hirten des Hermas zeigen, wie sich der Manichäismus christliche Schriften ohne weiteres zu eigen machte. Māni erkannte auch den Buddha als seinen Vorläufer an. Deutliche Spuren buddhistischen Einflusses scheinen aber in den Fragmenten erst in späteren Stücken wie den Sündenbekenntnissen aufzutreten. Es wäre also immerhin möglich, daß hier eine spätere Entwicklung des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus vorläge. Er könnte hier auf altbuddhistischem Boden eine buddhistischere Färbung angenommen haben, wie er im Westen vielleicht verchristlicht wurde.

Äußerlich zeichnen sich alle manichäischen Handschriften durch Sorgfalt in der Ausstattung aus; viele sind mit Bildern geziert, die als Prachtstücke der Miniaturenmalerei gelten können. Diese Freude am künstlerischen Buchschmuck war altes Erbe; schon Augustin wendet sich in flammenden Worten gegen diese Bibliophilen: *incendite omnes illas membranas elegantesque tecturas decoris pellibus exquisitas, ut nec res superflua vos oneret, et Deus vester inde solvatur, qui tanquam poena servili etiam in codice ligatus tenetur.* Mit der Pflege der Malerei ehrte man das Andenken des Meisters, dem die Legende ähnliche fabelhafte Zeichenkünste zuschreibt wie dem Giotto und dessen Name bei den Persern stets Māni der Maler lautet und in demselben Sinne gebraucht wird wie bei uns einst der Name Rafaels.

Sprachlich zerfallen die iranischen Schriften manichäischen Inhalts in drei Gruppen. Die einen sind in einem Dialekte verfaßt, der dem Pahlavi, der offiziellen Sprache des Sasanidenreiches, sehr nahe steht. Wir kennen diese Sprache aus einigen Inschriften und Texten der zoroastrischen Religion, vor allem der Übersetzung des Avesta. Dennoch bedeuten die von MÜLLER und SALEMANN herausgegebenen turkistanischen Texte eine unendliche Förderung unseres Wissens. Die

Schrift der bisher bekannten Denkmäler ist ganz unzulänglich; sie gibt nicht die Aussprache der Zeit wieder, und sie verwendet für die gewöhnlichen Wörter aramäische Kryptogramme, so daß man z. B. malkā schrieb, wo man shāh las. In der Schrift der Fragmente ist das vermieden, so daß wir hier zum ersten Male ein wirkliches Bild der eigentlichen mittelpersischen Sprache erhalten.

Eine zweite Gruppe ist in dem Dialekte des nordwestlichen Persiens abgefaßt, der zweifellos die Sprache der aus dieser Gegend stammenden Arsakiden, der Vorgänger der Sasaniden, ist. ANDREAS hat vermutet, daß das sogenannte Chaldäo-Pahlavi, das in Inschriften der Sasanidenkönige erscheint, mit dieser Sprache identisch sei. Er hat jetzt ein reiches inschriftliches Material für die Untersuchung dieser Frage in Händen, und wir dürfen hoffen, in naher Zukunft die Bestätigung seiner Ansicht aus seinem eigenen Munde zu vernehmen.

Wenn nicht der Zahl, so doch der Bedeutung nach an erster Stelle steht die dritte Gruppe, die teils in dem manichäischen, teils in einem jüngeren, dem sogenannten uigurischen Alphabete, geschrieben ist. ANDREAS hat in der Sprache dieser Fragmente sofort nach ihrem Bekanntwerden das Soghdische erkannt, einen fast verschollenen ostiranischen Dialekt; nur durch einen Zufall waren uns bei Albērūni die Monatsnamen, wie sie in dieser Sprache lauteten, erhalten. Die Entdeckung des Soghdischen hat alsbald andere wichtige Entdeckungen nach sich gezogen. F. W. K. MÜLLERS Scharfsinn gelang der Nachweis, daß in der berühmten mehrsprachigen Inschrift von Kara-Balgassun, die über die Einführung des Manichäismus im Uigurenreiche berichtet, der schwer lesbare Text in uigurischen Charakteren, den man bisher als uigurisch angesehen hatte, in Wahrheit in Soghdisch abgefaßt sei; er konnte weiter feststellen, daß iranische Ausdrücke in chinesischen astrologischen Schriften des 8. Jahrhunderts nicht neupersisch, sondern wiederum soghdisch seien. Der Beweis, daß das Soghdische nicht nur von den Manichäern gebraucht wurde, sondern die allgemeine Verkehrssprache der iranischen Bewohner Turkistans war, während dem Pahlavi die Rolle einer Schriftsprache zukam, wurde durch andere Funde erbracht.

Unter den Handschriften, die aus dem Norden des Landes stammen, fanden sich Blätter in syrischer Schrift und Sprache, die, von SACHAU herausgegeben, sich als Reste von Gesangbüchern und Ḥudhrās der nestorianischen Christen entpuppten. Für die Tätigkeit der nestorianischen Mission, die von Assyrien und Babylonien ausgehend sich bis in das Innere Chinas erstreckte, zeugten weiter zwölf Blätter aus einem reizenden Büchlein, einer Pahlaviübersetzung der Psalmen mit den Kanones des Mār Abhā, die noch heute in der nestorianischen

Kirche in Gebrauch sind. Die Handschrift muß den Charakteren nach aus der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts stammen; die Übersetzung liegt aber etwa 150 Jahre vor den ältesten Handschriften des Pešitāpsalters und verspricht für die Geschichte und Textkritik des syrischen Originals von größter Bedeutung zu werden. Dazu kommen nun in syrischer Schrift, aber in einer Sprache, die sich durch gewisse Eigentümlichkeiten als eine jüngere Abart des manichäischen Soghdisch erweist, umfangreiche Bruchstücke eines Perikopenbuches, Stücke aus dem Glaubensbekenntnisse, aus Legenden und Märtyrerakten und anderer christlicher Literatur. Die meisten liegen jetzt von MÜLLER herausgegeben vor; sie zeigen, daß die Christen sich des Pahlavi und des Soghdischen genau so zur Verbreitung ihrer Lehre bedienten wie ihre manichäischen Rivalen.

Auch die dritte Religion, der Buddhismus, hat sich des Soghdischen zur Propaganda bedient. Stücke aus der Vajracchedikā, dem Suvarṇaprabhāsa u. a. enthält die Berliner Sammlung; die Höhle von Tun-huang aber ist die eigentliche Schatzkammer für die buddhistisch-soghdischen Texte gewesen, die in einer eigenartigen Schrift aramäischen Ursprungs geschrieben sind. Unter den von GAUTHIOT veröffentlichten Texten ist das interessanteste das Vessantarajātaka, dieses Prunkstück der erbaulichen Erzählliteratur, das uns hier in einer neuen Version entgegentritt. GAUTHIOT hat auch die älteste Form dieser Schrift und dieser Sprache in einigen Briefen wiedererkannt, die STEIN in der Wüste zwischen Tun-huang und dem Lop-nor zusammen mit chinesischen Dokumenten aus dem Anfang des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entdeckte und die unzweifelhaft Jahrhunderte älter sind als die literarischen Texte. Nach alledem kann über den Charakter des Soghdischen heute kein Zweifel mehr bestehen: es war die Sprache der iranischen Bevölkerung von Samarkand und Ferghana, die vom 1. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert in Turkistan und weiter bis in die Mongolei und China als eine Art lingua franca gesprochen wurde; eins der STEINschen buddhistischen Manuskripte trägt den Vermerk, daß es in Singanfu geschrieben sei. Anklänge an das Soghdische zeigen noch heute gewisse Dialekte in den Hochtälern des Pamir; insbesondere scheint das Yaghnōbi auf den Namen des Neusoghdischen Anspruch machen zu können.

Wenn ich noch erwähne, daß die STEINsche Sammlung auch ein Dokument enthält, das, in hebräischen Lettern und nach Margoliouth um das Jahr 100 der Hedschra geschrieben, das älteste judäopersische und überhaupt das älteste neupersische Schriftstück ist, so mag das genügen, um die Bedeutung, die Turkistan für die Iranistik gehabt hat, zu ermessen, und doch verdankt eine andere Disziplin dem Lande vielleicht noch mehr, die türkische Philologie. Ihr mangelten alte Literatur-

werke bisher gänzlich; das früheste türkische Buch war das 1069 in Kaschgar verfaßte Qutadyu Bilig. Jetzt ist ihr aus dem alten Uigurenreiche eine Fülle von Handschriften und Blockdrucken zugeströmt, die der Sprache und größtenteils auch der Schrift nach zwei Jahrhunderte und mehr vor jenem Fürstenspiegel liegen. Eine stattliche Anzahl von Texten, und doch nur ein kleiner Teil des Vorhandenen, liegt uns in den Ausgaben von RADLOFF, THOMSEN, MÜLLER, VON LE COQ und STÖNNER vor. Die Schriftarten sind so abwechslungsreich wie ihr Inhalt. Man verwendete das manichäische Estrangelo, das sogenannte uigurische Alphabet, die Brāhmī und die eigenartige Runenschrift, die der geniale THOMSEN vor zwanzig Jahren zuerst auf den Steinen am Orkhon und Jenissei gelesen hat. Inhaltlich scheiden sich die Texte nach den drei Religionen. Die christliche Literatur ist bisher allerdings nur spärlich vertreten; das größte Stück handelt von der Anbetung der Magier, die hier nach Weise der Apokryphen ausgeschmückt ist. Unter den buddhistischen Werken nehmen die Schriften der späteren Zeit einen breiten Raum ein: das Saddharmapundarika, das Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra, von dem Berlin und Petersburg sich rühmen können, fast vollständige Manuskripte zu besitzen, Proben aus der Literatur der Reisesegen und der nicht immer erfreulichen Dhāraṇīs und daneben die Beichtformulare mit ihrer lebendigen Schilderung aller erdenklichen Sünden. Aber auch Fragmente von Interlinearversionen älterer Werke sind erhalten, nicht ohne Wert auch für die Originale, weil sie, obwohl zeitlich die jüngsten, zum Teil den ältesten erreichbaren Text wiedergeben. Literargeschichtlich am interessantesten sind allerlei Bruchstücke indischer Legenden; wer hätte es geahnt, daß man sich in Chotscho einmal die alte Sage des Mahābhārata erzählte von Bimbāsena oder richtiger Bhimasena und seinem Kampf mit dem Dämon Hiḍimba oder von der Gattenwahl indischer Prinzessinnen oder von dem König Caṣṭana, dem griechischen ΤΙΑΚΑΝΟC, und seiner Bezwingung des seuchenbringenden Rākṣasa? Auch von den Manichäern besitzen wir Beichtformulare, die sicherlich erst nach buddhistischen Mustern verfaßt sind, so das Chuastuanift mit seinem auch für die Dogmatik wichtigen Inhalt, und ein anderes, das die weitgehende Toleranz gegen den Buddhismus erkennen läßt: hier wird die Sünde, die einer gegen den eigenen Religionsgenossen begangen hat, in einem Atem mit der Sünde genannt, die sich einer durch Entheiligung eines dem Śākyamuni geweihten Ortes im Vihāra hat zuschulden kommen lassen. Dazu kommen Fragmente von Hymnen, Predigten, Göttergeschichten und dogmatischen Abhandlungen; auch ein vollständiges kleines Wahrsage- oder Traumbuch in Runenschrift, das an ähnliche Erzeugnisse Chinas erinnert, ist wohl manichäischen Ursprungs. Besonderer Wert kommt

zwei Berliner Blättern zu, die durch ihr Äußeres als manichäisch und nicht buddhistisch gekennzeichnet sind. Das eine erzählt von der Ausfahrt des Bodhisattva oder, wie er hier heißt, des Bodisav und seinen Begegnungen; das andere enthält die abstoßende Geschichte eines Jünglings, der in der Trunkenheit die verwesende Leiche einer Frau umfängt. Die letzte Geschichte ist ursprünglich buddhistisch; VON OLDENBURG hat aber darauf hingewiesen, daß sie auch als die erste Parabel in der persischen Version des Barlaam und Joasaph vorkomme. Dadurch wird die Vermutung MÜLLERS und VON LE COQS, auf die die eigentümliche Namensform Bodisav geführt hatte, daß uns hier Reste einer manichäischen Version des berühmten Romans vorliegen, so gut wie sicher. Dann ist es aber weiter auch nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß das Original ein manichäisches Werk, vielleicht in soghdischer Sprache war. Es wäre ein merkwürdiger Fall von ungewolltem Synkretismus, wenn die Manichäer bewirkt hätten, daß der Stifter des Buddhismus zum christlichen Heiligen wurde.

Es gibt auch von den übrigen Völkern des ostasiatischen Festlandes, die es zu einer eigenen Kultur gebracht haben, kaum ein einziges, das nicht literarische Spuren in Turkistan hinterlassen hätte. MÜLLER hat in gewissen Fragmenten die Schrift wiedererkannt, die die Hephthalitischen oder weißen Hunnen auf ihren Münzen verwenden. Wir haben mongolische Briefe und Blockdrucke in der rätselvollen tangutischen Schrift und Sprache. Zahlreich sind dietibetischen Handschriften, von denen erst wenig, Bruchstücke eines Sūtra und ein paar religiöse Gedichte, VON BARNETT und FRANCKE herausgegeben ist, und ungeheuer groß ist die Zahl der chinesischen Schriftstücke, von denen die ältesten, die STEIN aus dem Sande gegraben, jetzt in einer prachtvollen Publikation CHAVANNES' vorliegen. Von den Papierhandschriften scheinen einige bis in das 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. hinaufzugehen; sie sind jedenfalls die ältesten Papierproben der Welt, nur um Jahrzehnte von dem Zeitpunkte entfernt, da Ts'aj-lun seine Erfindung machte, die ein Segen für die Menschheit geworden ist, wenn wir auch über den Überschwang dieses Segens zu seufzen beginnen. Weitaus die meisten Urkunden sind aber auf Holztäfelchen, einige auch auf Bambusstäbchen geschrieben; sie zeigen uns den Zustand der ältesten chinesischen Bücher. Die Holzstückchen, von denen das älteste aus dem Jahre 98 v. Chr. datiert ist, stammen aus den Archiven der Garnisonen, die hier im äußersten Westen des Reiches an der großen Mauer stationiert waren. Wir erhalten die genauesten Aufschlüsse über das tägliche Leben dieser Militärkolonien in den ersten Jahrhunderten um Christi Geburt, über die Verpflegung, Löhnung und Bewaffnung der Soldaten, den optischen Telegraphendienst, die Postverwaltung — eine Ergänzung nach der realen Seite zu

dem Bilde, das Dichter einer späteren Zeit von den Mühsalen und Gefahren der Grenzwacht gegen die Barbaren des Westens entwerfen. Die Masse der späteren chinesischen Manuskripte scheint sich aus Werken des buddhistischen Kanons und geschäftlichen Dokumenten zusammenzusetzen. Daß sich aber auch unter sie gelegentlich ein Fremdling verirrt hat, zeigt eine Publikation, die vor fünf Jahren in Peking unter dem Titel »verlorene Bücher der Steinkammer von Tun-huang« erschien. Sie enthält einen manichäischen Traktat und ist ein erfreuliches Zeichen auch dafür, daß China gewillt ist, die ihm anvertrauten Schätze nicht nur zu hüten, sondern auch nutzbar zu machen.

Wenn ich von den Funden, die mich am nächsten angehen, zuletzt spreche, so geschieht es nur aus einer Art Höflichkeit, über deren Berechtigung sich vielleicht streiten läßt. An Bedeutung stehen die Handschriften in indischen Sprachen jedenfalls nicht hinter denen irgend-einer anderen Gruppe zurück. Historisches Interesse besitzen vor allem die Dokumente auf Leder und Holz, die STEIN am Niyafusse gefunden hat. Sie enthalten nach den von RAPSON und BOYER veröffentlichten Proben zu urteilen, Verfügungen und Berichte der Lokalbehörden, Vorladungen, Haftbefehle, offizielle und private Korrespondenzen, alles in Kharoṣṭhī geschrieben und in einem Prakritdialekte abgefaßt. Eigenartig ist die Form der Holzbriefe. Zwei Täfelchen, bisweilen rechteckig, öfter aber keilförmig, sind mit den Seiten, die die Schrift tragen, genau aneinandergelegt und durch einen Faden, der durch Löcher in den Täfelchen geht, verschnürt und mit einem Tonsiegel verschlossen, höchstwahrscheinlich eine auf China zurückgehende Erfindung. Die Zeit der Prakritdokumente wird durch chinesische Holztafeln bestimmt, die mit ihnen vermischt waren und von denen eine aus dem Jahre 269 n. Chr. datiert ist. Im 3. Jahrhundert saßen also in Khotan Inder, der Sprache und Schrift nach aus Gandhāra stammend, vermischt mit einer chinesischen Bevölkerung. Es ist daher nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß ein historisches Faktum der Sage zugrunde liegt, wonach Khotan in den Tagen des Aśoka von chinesischen Kolonisten unter Führung eines verbannten Sohnes des Kaisers besiedelt wurde und von den Bewohnern von Takṣasīlā, die der indische König, ergrimmt über die Blendung seines Sohnes Kunāla, die sie nicht gehindert hatten, in die Wüste im Norden der Schneeberge zu führen befahl. In den Kreisen dieser indischen Kolonisten ist sicherlich auch das Kharoṣṭhī-Manuskript des Dhammapada entstanden, das den Namen DUTREUIL DE RHINS' trägt. Es ist meines Erachtens keineswegs eine für den Privatgebrauch angefertigte Anthologie, sondern der Rest einer besonderen Überlieferung des Buddhawortes, der bisher freilich der einzige seiner Art geblieben ist.



Unendlich vermehrt haben sich dagegen seit der Zeit, da PISCHEL die ersten Blätter eines Blockdruckes des Saṃyuktāgama entdeckte, die Reste der kanonischen Literatur in Sanskrit. Was bisher aus Vinaya und Dharma von PISCHEL, LÉVI, FINOT und DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN herausgegeben wurde, ist nur ein kleiner Teil von dem, was gerettet worden ist. Von dem Udānavarga, der allerdings das beliebteste Buch gewesen zu sein scheint, enthält allein die Berliner Sammlung weit über 500 Blätter und Bruchstücke von Blättern, die aus etwa 100 verschiedenen Handschriften stammen, so daß der Text nahezu vollständig herzustellen ist. PISCHEL erkannte, daß diese Reste dem im Original verlorenen Kanon der Schule der Sarvāstivādins angehörten. Er bemerkte auch schon, daß die Sanskrittexte nicht Übersetzungen des Pali-Kanons seien, des einzigen Kanons, der uns vollständig erhalten ist. Eingehendere Untersuchungen haben gezeigt, daß beide, der Sanskrit- wie der Pali-Kanon, auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückgehen, die, wie Übersetzungsfehler beweisen, in dem östlichen Dialekt abgefaßt war, der in der Gegend von Buddhas Wirksamkeit als Umgangssprache gesprochen wurde. Das ist ein Ergebnis, das für die Geschichte des Buddhismus von einschneidender Bedeutung ist. Wir sind jetzt in den Stand gesetzt, aus den Trümmern der Überlieferung den Kanon wieder zusammenzufügen, der in den ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten in Magadha bestand. Damit ist freilich das ursprüngliche Wort Gautamas noch nicht gewonnen; was der Buddha selbst gelehrt, wird stets ein Gegenstand der Spekulation bleiben, wenn ich auch nicht glaube, daß wir das Recht haben, schon jetzt resigniert unser ignorabimus zu bekennen. Was aber die Kirche von ihm lehrte in einer Zeit, in die keine direkte Urkunde zurückreicht, das ist jetzt durch die turkistanischen Funde in unsere Hand gegeben.

Und noch ein zweites Gebiet ist uns jetzt in ganz anderer Weise zugänglich geworden als bisher, das der vorklassischen Sanskritdichtung. Vor dreißig Jahren schien das Kāvya mit Kālidāsa zu beginnen, den man ins 6. Jahrhundert versetzte. Davor schienen Jahrhunderte völliger Unfruchtbarkeit zu liegen, und MAX MÜLLER prägte das Schlagwort von der Sanskrit-Renaissance. Jetzt kann es als sicher gelten, daß Kālidāsa am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts lebte, daß sein Name den Gipfelpunkt der höfischen Kunstdichtung bezeichnet, und daß ihr ein Frühling vorausging, herber, aber auch kräftiger und abendländischem Empfinden bisweilen sogar mehr zusagend als die Zeit, da sich die ganze, seltsam schimmernde Blütenpracht östlicher Rede entfaltete. Inschriften und ein paar glückliche Funde in Indien selbst haben uns die erste Kunde jener Frühzeit gebracht; Turkistan lehrt uns jetzt einen ungeahnten Reichtum an Hymnen, Epen, Novellen

und Anthologien kennen, die wahrscheinlich größtenteils dieser Periode angehören. Die Stoffe sind stets religiös, aber die Form ist die des weltlichen Kāvya. Das unterscheidet diese Dichtung von der altbuddhistischen. Die alte Kirche stand der Dichtung durchaus nicht feindlich gegenüber. Man machte sich die volkstümliche Gāthāpoesie zu eigen, indem man ihr ein buddhistisches Mäntelchen umhängte. Aber es erklingen daneben auch neue Töne. Gerade die ersten Zeiten tieferer religiöser Erregung haben große Dichter erstehen lassen, die allerdings noch nicht den Ehrgeiz besaßen, ihre Namen der Nachwelt zu übermitteln. Manche der Strophen, die sie dem Meister selbst oder seinen Jüngern in den Mund legen, gehören zu dem Schönsten, was die Literatur aller Zeiten hervorgebracht hat. Aber erst als man an Stelle der Volkssprachen das Sanskrit zur Kirchensprache gemacht hatte, zweifellos um der Lehre eine weitere Verbreitung zu sichern, erst da kam man dazu, nach den Regeln höfischen Sanges zu dichten. Wie sehr sich unter dem Einflusse dieser Kunstdichtung allmählich das Ohr selbst der Mönche in den turkistanischen Klöstern verfeinerte, zeigen unsere Handschriften. Unablässig hat man an den alten, vielfach noch unbeholfenen Übersetzungen der kanonischen Werke herumgebessert, um den Text in Sprache und Metrik mit den strengeren Anforderungen einer späteren Zeit in Einklang zu bringen.

Zwei Namen aus jener Frühzeit nennt das Mittelalter mit ehrfürchtiger Bewunderung, Mātṛceta und Āsvagoṣa. Beide gehören, wie es scheint, dem Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts an. Mātṛcetas Ruhm gründet sich auf seine beiden Buddhahymnen, die nach I-Tsing im 7. Jahrhundert jeder Mönch in Indien, einerlei ob Anhänger des Hinayāna oder des Mahāyāna, zu rezitieren wußte, und die zu der Legende Anlaß gaben, daß ihr Verfasser schon in einer Vorgeburt als Nachtigall den Buddha mit seinen Liedern erfreut habe. Sie waren bisher nur aus tibetischen und chinesischen Übersetzungen bekannt; aus den Fragmenten der Berliner Sammlung haben sich etwa zwei Drittel des Textes wiederherstellen lassen. Das Werk hat als frühestes Beispiel buddhistischer Sanskritlyrik bedeutenden literargeschichtlichen Wert, wenn uns auch der Enthusiasmus, mit dem I-Tsing von ihm spricht, nicht recht verständlich wird. Dogmatische Korrektheit wird uns kaum für die Monotonie entschädigen, mit der hier Beiwort auf Beiwort gehäuft wird; auch die Alamkāras, die den eigentlichen Schmuck des Kāvya ausmachen, sind nur spärlich verwendet. Unvergleichlich höher als Dichter steht jedenfalls Āsvagoṣa. Von seinen im Original erhaltenen Epen, dem Buddhacarita und dem Saundarananda, liegen Bruchstücke auch aus Turkistan vor. Nur hier haben sich Reste seines aus dem Chinesischen bekannten Sūtrālamkāra erhalten, Palmbblätter, zerfetzt

und zerstoßen, aber doch genug, um eine Idee des Stiles dieser Novellensammlung zu geben. Zu diesen gesellte sich ein ganz unerwarteter Fund, Reste von Dramen, von denen wenigstens eins im Kolophon ausdrücklich als sein Werk bezeichnet wird. Von den beiden Palmblatthandschriften, die sie enthalten, ist die eine ein in Zentralasien angefertigtes Palimpsest; die andere ist vielleicht noch zu Lebzeiten des Dichters im nördlichen Indien geschrieben, die älteste Brähmihandschrift, die wir kennen. Ein Blatt stammt aus einer dramatischen Allegorie; die Weisheit, die Standhaftigkeit und der Ruhm unterhalten sich über die Vorzüge des Buddha; vielleicht war das nur ein Voroder Zwischenspiel. Derbe Komik lassen die Fragmente des Dramas erkennen, in dem eine Hetäre die Hauptrolle zu spielen scheint. Das sicher von Ásvaghoṣa herrührende Drama behandelt die Geschichte der beiden Hauptjünger des Meisters, des Śāriputra und des Maudgalyāyana, bis zu ihrer Bekehrung. Zur Beurteilung der Individualität des Dramatikers Ásvaghoṣa reichen die Bruchstücke nicht aus, wohl aber gestatten sie wichtige Schlüsse für die allgemeine Geschichte des indischen Schauspiels. Wir finden hier, von unbedeutenden Abweichungen abgesehen, dieselben Formen wie in der klassischen Zeit. Die Rede ist in Prosa mit Versen untermischt; die Frauen und niederen Personen sprechen Prakritdialekte, die hier allerdings auf einer älteren Lautstufe stehen; die komische Person, der Vidūṣaka, ist auch hier schon ein ewig Hunger leidender Brahmane in der Begleitung des Helden, und die Art seiner Späße ist dieselbe wie in der Śakuntalā. Das alles zeigt, daß das indische Drama am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. schon vollkommen in seiner Eigenart ausgebildet war. Die von Gaṇapati Śāstri in Südindien aufgefundenen Dramen des Bhāsa, eines Dichters, den Kālidāsa selbst als einen Vorgänger erwähnt, haben das vollauf bestätigt.

Es ist ein buntes Bild, das die turkistanische Forschung uns darbietet, heute noch fast verwirrend in dem flackernden Lichte zufälliger Funde, das die vielen noch vorhandenen Dunkelheiten oft nur um so stärker empfinden läßt. Es wird noch jahrelanger Arbeit bedürfen, ehe wir klarer sehen lernen; wird das Ergebnis der Mühe entsprechen? Viele werden vielleicht mit einem Achselzucken antworten. Weitere Kreise haben kaum ein Verständnis für die Arbeit des Gelehrten, der sich mit den Völkern und Sprachen des südlichen und östlichen Asiens befaßt. Den Sinologen läßt man allenfalls gelten; das Chinesische ist ja »Kolonialsprache«. Der Sanskritist aber gilt ganz besonders als ein stiller Mensch, der in weltenfernen Räumen toten Göttern dient. Aber diese Götter sind nicht tot. Die Erkenntnis, die Gautama Buddha in der heiligen Nacht unter dem Bodhibaume erlangte, ist noch heute

das Credo von Millionen von Menschen, und tausend und abertausend Lippen stammeln noch heute bei Sonnenaufgang das Gebet, das vor Jahrtausenden ein Ṛṣi schaute. Und jene Länder sind nicht mehr fern; nur noch 18 Tagereisen trennen uns von Colombo, in dessen Hafen die Dampfer ausruhen von ihrer Fahrt nach den Enden der Erde. Die Welt ist enger geworden; die Völker Asiens sind uns näher gerückt und werden uns noch viel näher rücken. Ob das zu einer friedlichen Durchdringung führen wird oder zum Kampfe, das weiß heute niemand. Uns aber erwächst jedenfalls die Pflicht, jene alten Kulturen verstehen zu lernen, sie verstehen zu lernen auf dem einzig möglichen Wege historischer Forschung. In der Geschichte dieser Forschung bildet auch die Entdeckung des turkistanischen Altertums und Mittelalters nur ein Kapitel, aber eines der wichtigsten. Wir freuen uns, daß wir zu denen, die die Bedeutung dieser Studien erkannt und hochherzig gefördert haben, auch Seine Majestät den Kaiser zählen dürfen. Sein Eingreifen hat nicht nur die wiederholte Aussendung von Expeditionen ermöglicht; seinem persönlichen Interesse verdanken wir es auch, daß der Akademie jetzt die Mittel zu Gebote stehen, die die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der Funde gestatten. So möge dieses Tages Feier ausklingen in ehrerbietigen Dank, mit dem sich der Wunsch verbindet, daß es uns vergönnt sein möge zu beweisen, daß der Ertrag die willig dargebrachten Opfer lohne.

of Aundh. Ādipavan. Fasc. 1. 2. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927/28. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Man wird nicht leug en können, daß das Studium des Mahābhārata trotz der allgemein anerkannten Bedeutung, die das Werk für das indische Geistesleben besitzt, von der Forschung vernachlässigt worden ist. Von den zahlreichen literar- und kulturgeschichtlichen Problemen, die mit dem Epos verknüpft sind, kann kaum ein einziges bisher als gelöst bezeichnet werden. Zwar fehlt es an Einzeluntersuchungen, die allein uns weiterführen können, nicht ganz, aber sie entbehren fast alle der sicheren Grundlage, da sie sich im allgemeinen nur auf den Text der in Calcutta und Bombay gedruckten Ausgaben stützen. Diese Ausgaben sind sehr achtungswerte Leistungen, aber es fehlt ihnen der kritische Apparat. Wir wissen nicht, auf welchen Handschriften sie beruhen, nach welchen Grundsätzen die Herausgeber den Text hergestellt haben. Die Bombayer Ausgabe gibt im wesentlichen die Rezension Nīlakaṇṭhas wieder, die aber nicht gerade auf hohes Alter Anspruch erheben kann, da Nīlakaṇṭha, wie Printz, KZ. 44, 70 ff. gezeigt hat, erst dem letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts angehört. Auch die 1906—1910 in der Nirṇayaśāgara Press gedruckte Ausgabe des Epos, die dritte, die im Westen weitere Verbreitung gefunden hat, ist für kritische Zwecke unbrauchbar. Sie ist nach dem Titelblatte 'hauptsächlich auf die südindischen Texte gegründet', die Herausgeber haben aber auch vieles aufgenommen, was nicht in den südindischen Handschriften steht.

Als man sich zum ersten Male einer genaueren Prüfung der Handschriften zuwandte, zeigte es sich, daß der Text, den sie bieten, oft erheblich von dem der Ausgaben abweicht. Das gilt nicht nur für die südindischen Handschriften, von denen Winternitz 1898 Ind. Ant. 27, 67 ff. und 1903 WZKM. 17, 70 ff. und ich selbst 1901 GN. Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1901, 33 ff. und in meiner Abhandlung 'Über die Grantharecension des Mahābhārata' Proben veröffentlicht haben. Schon 1883 hatte Sørensen in seiner Arbeit 'Om Mahābhārata's stilling i den Indiske literatur' die Kollation einer Kopenhagener Handschrift der Bangālī Version mitgeteilt, aus der hervorging, daß auch im nördlichen Indien die Textüberlieferung keineswegs einheitlich war. Das Bedürfnis nach einer kritischen Ausgabe des Mahābhārata war somit erwiesen, und nach mancherlei Vorverhandlungen beschloß 1904 die Internationale Assoziation der Akademien, das Werk in Angriff zu nehmen. Es wurde mit der Kollation der in den europäischen Bibliotheken vorhandenen Handschriften begonnen; der Weltkrieg und der im Anschluß daran erfolgte Zerfall der Assoziation machten dem geplanten Unternehmen ein Ende. Es war daher für alle, die an der Sache interessiert

## Sprache — Literatur — Kultur

### Orientalische Literaturen

The Mahābhārata for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph. D. With the co-operation of Vaijanath K. Rajavade, M. A.; V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law, J. P.; R. Zimmermann, S. J., Ph. D.; V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.; N. B. Utgikar, M. A.; and other scholars and illustrated by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., Chief

waren, eine große Freude, als 1918 das in Poona begründete Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute die Herstellung der kritische Ausgabe in Indien übernahm. Die Kollationierung der in Indien befindlichen Handschriften wurde in großem Maßstabe organisiert, und ich konnte mich bei einem Besuche des Instituts in der Weihnachtswoche 1927 auch persönlich von der Vortrefflichkeit der technischen Einrichtung der Kollationsarbeiten überzeugen; Genauigkeit und Übersichtlichkeit werden durch das angewandte Verfahren aufs beste verbürgt.

Schon 1923 erschien als erste Frucht der Arbeit des Instituts die Ausgabe des Virāṭaparvan durch Narayan Bapuji Utgikar. Sie war als ein erster Versuch gedacht, dem später eine endgültige Ausgabe folgen sollte. Die Wahl gerade des Virāṭaparvan war nicht glücklich, denn dieses Parvan gehört zu denen, die in den Handschriften die größten Textverschiedenheiten aufweisen. Es stellt daher der Herstellung des Textes ungewöhnliche Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Dazu kam, daß das benutzte handschriftliche Material nicht ausreichte, um eine einigermaßen vollständige Übersicht über die Lesarten zu gewähren. Es bestand aus zwölf nordindischen Handschriften, von denen elf in Nāgarī-, eine in Bangālī-Charakteren geschrieben waren, und vier südindischen Handschriften, einer in Grantha-, einer in Telugu- und zweier in Malayālam-Schrift. Daß z. B. eine einzige Handschrift nicht genügt, um den Text der wichtigen Grantharecension zu sichern, war schon aus meiner Arbeit über diese Rezension zu ersehen, in der ich die vielfach auseinandergelassenen Lesarten von zwei Granthahandschriften gegeben hatte. Die Anführung der Lesarten der gedruckten Ausgaben war andererseits für eine kritische Ausgabe völlig überflüssig. Ebenso konnte man zweifelhaft sein, ob die sehr umfangreichen 'Notes', die größtenteils Erklärungen von Wörtern und Textstellen enthalten, einen Platz in einer kritischen Ausgabe verdienen. Auch vom technischen Standpunkte aus ließ diese Ausgabe noch mancherlei zu wünschen übrig. Die Lesarten sind unter dem Text gegeben, aber die der nördlichen und südlichen Handschriften getrennt, was die Übersichtlichkeit nicht gerade erhöht. Noch viel störender ist es, daß alle Verse, die der Herausgeber nicht in den Text aufgenommen hat, in einem Anhang gedruckt sind, ohne daß im Texte oder in den Noten ein Hinweis auf solche Einschübe gemacht würde, und gänzlich unzulässig ist es natürlich, daß für die eingeschobenen Verse, die nicht weniger als 286 Seiten füllen, die Lesarten überhaupt nicht angegeben sind.

Trotz alledem ist der erste Probedruck nicht umsonst gewesen. Man hat die Mängel, die ihm anhafteten, erkannt und sie in der Ausgabe des Ādiparvan, von der jetzt zwei Lieferungen vorliegen, völlig beseitigt. Der Text ist hier

auf breiter Grundlage aufgebaut. Für den in der ersten Lieferung enthaltenen Text sind 50 Handschriften benutzt worden, zu denen für die zweite Lieferung noch 5 weitere hinzugezogen sind, darunter drei Newārī-Handschriften, von denen eine bis ins 14. Jahrhundert zurückgeht. Von der nordindischen Rezension sind die Kāsmīrī, Newārī, Maithilī, Bangālī und die verschiedenen Devanāgarī-Versionen vertreten, von der südindischen Rezension die Telugu, Grantha und Malayālam-Version, und damit vermutlich sämtliche in Indien vorhandenen Versionen. Mir ist jedenfalls auf den europäischen Bibliotheken keine weitere bekannt geworden, und es wäre höchstens die Frage, ob in Indien Handschriften des Mahābhārata in Nandināgarī existieren.

In Indien ist im allgemeinen bei Werken, die überhaupt in verschiedenen Versionen überliefert sind, die Schriftart für die Version charakteristisch. Die Schreiber, mit fremden Schriften nicht vertraut, kopierten die in dem ihnen geläufigen Alphabete geschriebenen Handschriften. Allein die Grenzen, die durch die Schriftart gezogen werden, sind zum Teil doch verwischt. Schon vor 20 Jahren, als ich die Druckprobe einer kritischen Ausgabe für den Hamburger Orientalisten-Kongreß vorbereitete, war ich zur Aufstellung einer Devanāgarī-Mischversion gekommen, zu der z. B. was das Ādiparvan betrifft, die Handschriften Chambers 527a der Berliner Staatsbibliothek, Burnell Sanskrit MS. 399 und 501 der Bibliothek des India Office und Add. 5569 des Britischen Museums gehören. Zu demselben Ergebnisse ist Sukthankar gelangt. So stehen z. B. die Devanāgarī-Handschriften D 9—12 offensichtlich unter dem Einfluß der südlichen Überlieferung. Aber auch von den Handschriften der Kāsmīrī-Version sind K 3 mit Lesarten der Vulgata, K 4—6 mit solchen der südlichen Handschriften kontaminiert. Diese Mischrezensionen sind sicherlich meist dadurch entstanden, daß die Besitzer der Handschriften beim Studium des Textes Lesarten aus den Handschriften einer anderen Version in ihr Exemplar eintrugen. Besonders reich an solchen Eintragungen ist z. B. die Bangālī-Handschrift der Pariser Nationalbibliothek Sanscr. Beng. 20 B C. Spätere Abschreiber nahmen dann nach eigenem Gutdünken bald die eine, bald die andere Lesart auf. Ein deutliches Beispiel für die Entstehung von Mischversionen liefert die für die Ausgabe benutzte Kāsmīrī-Handschrift K 4. In dieser ist ein langer Zusatz aus der Devanāgarī-Version auf ein besonderes Blatt geschrieben und die Stelle, wo er eingefügt werden soll (hinter 1, 1, 53<sup>b</sup>), durch die Worte *atra śoḍha-pātram ekam* am Rande des Originals bezeichnet. Wäre diese Handschrift noch einmal abgeschrieben worden, so würde der Einschub einen äußerlich nicht mehr zu unterscheidenden Teil des Textes gebildet haben.

Mischversionen sind aber auch durch die Kommentatoren zustande gekommen. Der Kommentator war in den meisten Fällen offenbar auch Redaktor, und er zog für die Herstellung des Textes auch Handschriften anderer Versionen heran. So hat z. B. Ratnagarbha in reichstem Maße auch südindische Handschriften benutzt, bei Nilakaṇṭha macht sich die Beeinflussung durch den südindischen Text nur gelegentlich bemerkbar. Diese Mischversionen sind natürlich für die Herstellung des Textes von geringem Werte, und ich halte es für durchaus berechtigt, daß vom dritten Adhyāya an 14 Handschriften dieser Gattung, zwei der Kāsmīri-Gruppe, sieben der Devanāgarī-Gruppe, eine Grantha-Handschrift und sämtliche vier Handschriften mit dem Kommentar des Ratnagarbha nicht mehr benutzt sind; sie sind für den kritischen Apparat nur ein Ballast. Dagegen ist es sehr erfreulich zu hören, daß von Adhy. 26 an noch ein altes Śāradā-Manuskript auf Birkenrinde zu Gebote steht, voraussichtlich der einzige vollkommen echte Vertreter der Kāsmīri-Version.

Das ist um so mehr zu begrüßen, als die Kāsmīri-Version den relativ ältesten Text des Epos bietet. Mit keiner der übrigen nördlichen Versionen stimmen aber die südlichen Handschriften so genau überein wie mit der Kāsmīri-Version. Andererseits zeigt diese keine der offenkundigen Zusätze der südlichen Rezension. Die räumlich weite Getrenntheit der beiden Handschriftengruppen schließt die direkte Abhängigkeit der südlichen Rezension von der Kāsmīri-Version nahezu aus. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß da, wo die beiden in Lesarten zusammenstimmen, die Lesungen des ältesten Textes, der erreichbar ist, vorliegen. Zu dieser Beurteilung des Verhältnisses der Kāsmīri und der südlichen Handschriften, die Sukthanka vertritt, war auch ich bereits bei der Herstellung der Druckprobe gelangt, wenn mir auch von der Kāsmīri-Version nur die ziemlich nachlässig geschriebene Handschrift der Bibliothek des India Office 2137 vorlag. Ich erwähne das nur, weil ich glaube, daß, wenn zwei Leute unabhängig voneinander und, abgesehen von jener Kāsmīri-Handschrift, auf Grund eines völlig verschiedenen Materials zu dem gleichen Ergebnisse kommen, darin eine Gewähr für seine Richtigkeit liegt. Selbstverständlich kann auch die Kāsmīri-Version Textänderungen enthalten, und der Herausgeber ist meines Erachtens im Rechte, wenn er gelegentlich der Bangālī-Version, mit der die Maithilī-Version und der Text des Arjunamīśra im allgemeinen zusammengehen, da wo sie mit den südlichen Handschriften übereinstimmt, den Vorzug gegeben hat.

Sind aber die Fundamente auch richtig gelegt, so bereitet die Ausföhrung im einzelnen doch oft noch große Schwierigkeiten. Unzählige Male wird der Herausgeber vor die Frage

gestellt, welche Lesart der verschiedenen Versionen er aufnehmen soll, ohne sie nach rein äußeren Gesichtspunkten entscheiden zu können. Hier hängt oft alles von einem gewissen philologischen Takte des Herausgebers ab, und es muß Sukthanka, der in dem Vorwort von seiner Arbeit in dieser Hinsicht allzu bescheiden spricht, das Lob gesendet werden, daß er seine Auswahl mit Umsicht und Überlegung getroffen hat. Ich bin in Poona so manche schwierige Stelle persönlich mit ihm durchgegangen, und ich muß gestehen, daß mir die Gründe, die ihn für die Bevorzugung der einen oder der anderen Lesart bestimmt haben, durchweg einleuchtend erschienen. Die Beurteilung wird dem Leser in ausgezeichnete Weise dadurch erleichtert, daß alle Stellen, in denen man über die Berechtigung der aufgenommenen Lesart schwanken könnte, durch eine darunter gesetzte Wellenlinie im Drucke hervorgehoben sind.

Vielleicht ist es nicht überflüssig, die Schwierigkeiten der Textherstellung an einem Beispiel zu erläutern. In 1, 1, 201 ab hat Sukthanka *bhāratasya vapur hy etat satyam cāmṛtam eva ca* in den Text gesetzt. Die Handschriften bieten zum Teil *amṛtam* anstatt *amṛtam*, und Edgerton, JAOS. 48, 189 ist mit Entschiedenheit für die Aufnahme dieser Lesart eingetreten. Der Sinn des Satzes ist nach ihm: »For this form of the (Mahā-)Bhārata is Truth, — yes, and falsehood too!« Nach E. soll das *eva* andeuten, daß hier ein Paradoxon beabsichtigt ist. Ich kann eine solche Funktion des *eva* für die Sprache des Epos nicht anerkennen. Schon im PW. wird richtig bemerkt, daß *eva ca* und *eva vā* als erwünschte Ausgänge eines Halbsloka überaus beliebt seien. Ein paar Verse vorher, in 193, steht *sa hi satyam ṛtam caiva pavuram puryam eva ca*, wo *eva ca* doch sicher nur versfüllend ist. In den 149 Ślokas des ersten Parvan findet sich der Ausgang *eva ca* im ganzen 6mal, in den 241 Ślokas des zweiten Parvan 10mal, *tathaiiva ca* 3mal, *eva tu* einmal. Ich kann auch nicht zugeben, daß *amṛtam* die lectio difficilior ist; einem gedankenlosen Abschreiber mußte im Gegenteil die Ersetzung von *amṛtam* durch *amṛtam* hinter *satyam* sehr nahe liegen. Irgend welchen Sinn vermag ich mit der Lesart *amṛtam* nicht zu verbinden. E. meint, es solle hier zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, daß das Epos alles enthalte, Wahrheit wie Unwahrheit. Er beruft sich auf Parallelen wie Bhagavadgītā 10, 4 f. Es ist aber schließlich doch noch etwas anderes, ob Gott als die Quelle aller Zustände der Wesen, darunter auch entgegengesetzter wie Furcht und Furchtlosigkeit, Ruhm und Unehre, hingestellt wird, oder ob ein Erzähler von dem, was er bei feierlicher Gelegenheit vortragen will, behauptet, es sei sowohl Wahrheit als auch Lüge. Aber selbst wenn man annehmen wollte, daß schrankenloser Mystizismus sich zu einer solchen Äußerung in bezug auf das Epos verstiegen hätte, so ist damit nichts gewonnen. Der Vers bezieht sich gar nicht auf das Epos, sondern auf den Anukramapī-Adhyāya, das Inhaltsverzeichnis des Werkes, dessen Vortrag später, in V. 206, in überschwenglicher Weise als dem Studium des ganzen Werkes gleichwertig bezeichnet wird. Mit V. 198 beginnt die Phalastuti dieses Adhyāya: »Wer in brünstigem Verlangen, immerdar eifrig bestrebt, an Wahrheit und Recht hangend, diesem Kapitel sich widmet, der Mensch wird von der Sünde erlöst. Wer dieses Kapitel des Bhārata, das Inhaltsverzeichnis, gläubig immerdar von Anfang an hört, der geht in Nöten nicht zugrunde. Wer als Morgen- und Abendgebet etwas flüstert,

wird alsbald von der Sünde erlöst, solange es bei Tag und Nacht mit dem Inhaltsverzeichnis vereint ist.« Daran schließen sich dann die oben angeführten Worte, die dem ganzen Zusammenhang nach doch nur besagen können, daß dies (Kapitel); *etat* mit Genusattraktion an *vapurā* eine Form des Bhārata-(Gedichtes), Wahrheit und Unsterblichkeit ist. Der Herausgeber hat also, wie mir scheint, mit Recht *amṛtam* in den Text aufgenommen. Auch in dem folgenden Verse 202 ist die von dem Herausgeber angenommene Lesung *yathaitāni varishāni tāhā bhāratam ucyaite* gewiß die älteste, die sich aus den Handschriften gewinnen läßt. Allein die ursprüngliche kann sie nicht sein. Die vorübergehenden Vergleiche verlangen mit Notwendigkeit, daß gesagt werde, wovon denn das Bhārata das Beste ist. Von dem Bhārata kann hier aber überhaupt nicht die Rede gewesen sein, da es sich in dem ganzen Zusammenhang nur um die Verherrlichung des Anukramapī-Kapitels handelt, von dem zweifellos auch in V. 203 wieder gesprochen wird. Die Beziehung auf das Anukramapī-Kapitel wird überdies auch dadurch gefordert, daß die Verse 201 und 202 jedenfalls aufs engste zusammengehören, wahrscheinlich sogar als ein einziger Satz gedacht sind. Offenbar liegt hier ein Fehler vor, der in die Zeit vor der schriftlichen Fixierung zurückgeht. Mit Sicherheit läßt sich der Text kaum wiederherstellen; dem Sinne nach würde etwa *bhāratasya tathocyate* zu lesen sein: »Wie die Butter (das Beste) von der sauren Milch, wie der Brahmane (das Beste) unter den Zweifüßlern, das Meer das Beste unter den stehenden Gewässern, die Kuh das Beste unter den Vierfüßlern ist — wie diese das Beste sind, so wird (dies Kapitel) das Beste vom Bhārata-(Gedichte) genannt.« Daß das richtige Verständnis der Stelle früh geschwunden und viel daran herumgedoktert worden ist, zeigen die Lesarten *yathaitānītiśāsānām tāhā bhāratam ucyaite*, *tathaiivam* (oder *tathaitad*) *itihāsānām mahābhāratam ucyaite*, *navanīlavariṣṭham hi mahābhāratam ucyaite*.

Das Ziel der kritischen Ausgabe muß es sein, die älteste Form des Textes herzustellen, die auf Grund des handschriftlichen Materials zu erreichen ist. Freilich ist das nicht etwa der ursprüngliche Text des Epos; ich bin überzeugt, daß es überhaupt niemals gelingen wird, das Urbhārata wiederherzustellen. Wohl aber wird es möglich sein, durch eingehende Untersuchungen ältere und jüngere Bestandteile zu unterscheiden und Veränderungen und Entstellungen des Textes festzustellen, und für solche Untersuchungen soll gerade die kritische Ausgabe die feste Grundlage liefern. Die Ansicht, daß das Epos durch allmähliche Überarbeitung und Erweiterung seine jetzige Form angenommen hat, scheint mir eine starke Stütze darin zu finden, daß dieser Prozeß, wie die Ausgabe erkennen läßt, auch durch die schriftliche Fixierung noch nicht zum Abschluß gekommen ist. Gerade die ersten Adhyāyas sind reich an Einschüben. Von besonderem Interesse sind die Zusätze, die teils in nordindischen, teils in südindischen Handschriften in der Suparṇā-Geschichte gemacht sind. Wir können an der Hand der Handschriften verfolgen, wie die alte Sage im Laufe der Zeit in dem Bestreben nach besserer Motivierung des Erzählten immer weiter ausgefüllt wird. Lehrreich für die Erweiterung des Textes ist auch der lange Einschub, der sich in manchen Hand-

schriften hinter Vers 26, 53, 60, 62 oder 64 des Anukramapīparvan findet. Zunächst wurde offenbar im Süden die Geschichte von Brahmās Besuch bei Vyāsa eingeschoben. Vyāsa bemüht sich, Brahmā einen Begriff von der Vielseitigkeit seiner Dichtung zu geben, und empfängt dafür das höchste Lob des Gottes. Daß diese Erzählung im Süden entstanden ist, wird, wie mir scheint, nicht nur durch ihr Vorkommen in sämtlichen Grantha-, Telugu- und Malayālam-Handschriften (mit Ausnahme von M 1), sondern auch durch die Erwähnung der Pāsupata-Philosophie erwiesen. Sie ist dann aber auch in Devanāgarī-Handschriften übergegangen; sie findet sich in der Rezension des Nilakaṇṭha und des Ratnagarbha und einer Reihe von Handschriften der Mischversion (D 2, 4, 5—12, 14) und ist vermutlich aus Devanāgarī-Handschriften später zum Teil sogar in Handschriften der Kāsmīri-Version (K 4, 6) eingefügt. In nordindischen Handschriften ist aber die Geschichte dann nochmals durch die Erzählung von der Niederschrift des Werkes durch Gaṇeśa erweitert, die übrigens einer Reihe von europäischen Gelehrten zu einem merkwürdigen Mißverständnis Anlaß gegeben hat. Brahmā empfiehlt Vyāsa, sein Werk durch Gaṇeśa aufschreiben zu lassen. Gaṇeśa übernimmt das Schreiberamt unter der Bedingung, daß Vyāsa so schnell diktiere, daß sein Schreibstift niemals stocke. Andererseits verpflichtet sich Gaṇeśa niemals etwas niederzuschreiben, was er nicht verstünde. Das macht sich Vyāsa zunutze. Er dichtet ab und zu knifflige Verse, über die selbst Gaṇeśa trotz seiner Allwissenheit einen Augenblick nachdenken und daher mit dem Schreiben einhalten muß; die so entstehenden Pausen benutzt Vyāsa, um weiter zu dichten. Ugraśravas, dem die Erzählung in den Mund gelegt ist, sagt, er kenne 8800 solcher Ślokas, ebenso viele Suka und vielleicht auch Saṃjaya. Diese Bemerkung hat z. B. L. von Schroeder (Indiens Literatur und Kultur, S. 459), Holtzmann (Die neunzehn Bücher des Mahābhārata, S. 6), Macdonell (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 284) veranlaßt, von einem ursprünglichen Epos in 8800 Versen zu sprechen, und noch bei Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur I, S. 271, ist zu lesen, Ugraśravas erkläre, er kenne das Gedicht in diesem Umfange, obwohl C. V. Vaidya, The Mahābhārata: A Criticism, p. 2 f., 32 f., den Sachverhalt längst klagestellte hatte. Bühler hat gezeigt, daß die Gaṇeśa-Legende Rājasekhara bekannt war, also um 900 existierte. Ein Datum für ihre Einfügung in das Mahābhārata erhalten wir damit allerdings nicht, ebensowenig aus der Tatsache, daß Ksemendra die Legende übergeht, da er sicherlich nach Kāsmīri Handschriften arbeitete. Wir müssen uns damit begnügen, daß durch das Zeugnis der Handschriften jene Legende samt der Geschichte

von Brahmās Besuch, in die sie eingefügt ist, als ein Zusatz erwiesen wird, der aus dem Texte des Mahābhārata zu verschwinden hat, ein Ergebnis, daß auch für die Geschichte der Entwicklung Gaṇeśas von Wichtigkeit ist.

Die längeren Einschübe sind in der Ausgabe in einen Appendix verwiesen. Das ist an und für sich durchaus zu billigen, da die Aufnahme größerer Stücke in den kritischen Apparat diesen allzusehr anschwellen würde. Lästig ist nur, daß man sich auf diese Weise über die Einschübe bis zum Abschluß des Bandes nicht unterrichten kann. Da der Druck eines Bandes voraussichtlich geraume Zeit in Anspruch nehmen wird, so sind kritische Untersuchungen, für die gerade die Kenntnis der Einschübe oft von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung ist, damit für lange Zeit erschwert, wenn nicht gar unmöglich gemacht. Aus den Noten zu der Ausgabe läßt sich z. B. vorläufig nicht erkennen, daß der Text des ersten Parvan zunächst durch die Geschichte von Brahmās Besuch und dann weiter durch die Gaṇeśa-Legende erweitert ist; ich habe mich bei der oben gegebenen Darstellung der Verhältnisse, abgesehen von der kurzen Bemerkung des Herausgebers im Vorwort S. VI, auf das in meiner 'Druckprobe' angeführte Material gestützt, das aber natürlich unvollständig ist. Ich möchte daher dem Editorial Board vorschlagen, doch den Appendix schon jetzt drucken zu lassen, ihn besonders zu paginieren und bogenweise den Lieferungen der Textausgabe beizugeben, damit der Benutzer alles zur Verfügung hat, was die Handschriften bieten.

Wie schon der Bombayer Druck des Mahābhārata mit Holzschnitten geschmückt war, so sind auch dieser Ausgabe farbige Bilder beigegeben, die Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, dem Chief von Aundh, verdankt werden und die eine gute Probe der in Anknüpfung an die Freskenmalerei von Ajanta entstandenen indischen Kunst geben. Sie erinnern uns daran, daß das alte Epos aus der Urväter Tagen für den Inder noch heute ein lebendiges Buch ist, eine Quelle der Erbauung und Belehrung, für die er den künstlerischen Schmuck nicht entbehren mag.

Es ist Aussicht vorhanden, daß die Ausgabe künftig schneller voranschreiten wird. Die Schwierigkeiten der Bearbeitung sind gerade für den Anfang erheblich, aber sie werden nicht immer gleich groß sein. Die Bücher des Mahābhārata sind offenbar schon seit langer Zeit einzeln überliefert worden. Das mag, wie mir ein in Indien lebender englischer Freund mitteilte, mit dem merkwürdigen Glauben zusammenhängen, daß es Unglück bringe, ein vollständiges Mahābhārata im Hause zu haben. Handschriften des ganzen Werkes sind jedenfalls vielfach erst aus Handschriften einzelner Parvans zusammengestellt worden. So enthalten z. B. die vollständigen Exemplare der

Bibliothek des India Office Nr. 1907 ff. und 496 ff. und der Berliner Bibliothek 324 ff. alle das Ādiparvan in der Version des Arjunamīra; das Sabhāparvan ist aber in den beiden Londoner Handschriften in der Version des Devabodha, in der Berliner Handschrift dagegen in der des Nilakaṇṭha enthalten. Die handschriftliche Überlieferung ist daher auch für die einzelnen Bücher eine ganz verschiedene gewesen. Nach meiner Kenntnis der Handschriften wird gerade in einigen der längsten Bücher, sicherlich im Śāntiparvan und im Anuśāsanaparvan, wie ich glaube, auch im Araṇyaparvan, der kritische Apparat viel weniger umfangreich sein als im Ādiparvan oder Virāṭaparvan. Der rasche Fortgang des Unternehmens wird aber wesentlich auch von der materiellen Unterstützung abhängen, die ihm zuteil wird, und man kann nur wünschen, daß dem »Appeal for Contributions«, den das Editorial Board im vorigen Jahre hat ergehen lassen, ein reicher Erfolg beschieden sein möge. Der Bezugspreis ist so gering, daß die Anschaffung der für jeden Indologen unentbehrlichen Ausgabe auch Bibliotheken und Privatpersonen mit bescheidenen Mitteln möglich ist. So ist zu hoffen, daß nicht äußere Umstände die Vollendung dieses Werkes verzögern werden, das, wenn es in den eingeschlagenen Bahnen fortgeführt wird, einst einen Ruhmestitel der Geschichte der einheimischen indischen Wissenschaft bilden wird.

Berlin.

Heinrich Lüders.

## Nachträge zum Kaumāralāta

Von Heinrich Lüders, Berlin

In den Sitzungsberichten der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1930, S. 502ff., habe ich die leider nur spärlichen, in Qyzil entdeckten Reste einer Palmblatthandschrift der Grammatik des Kumāralāta veröffentlicht. Im Laufe der Zeit haben sich noch ein paar Bruchstücke dazugefunden. Bei dem Interesse, das das Kaumāralāta als die älteste uns bekannte Sanskritgrammatik, die nicht dem Panineischen System angehört, und als die Quelle des Kātantra beanspruchen kann, und bei der Bedeutung, die sie auch für die Textgeschichte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons besitzt, halte ich es für angezeigt, auch diese kleinen Bruchstücke zu veröffentlichen, um der weiteren Forschung alles uns erhaltene Material zugänglich zu machen.

Das Bruchstück 2 ist etwas vergrößert worden. Es ist das linke Ende eines Blattes. Spuren einer Blattzahl auf der als b bezeichneten Seite beweisen, daß dies die Vorderseite war. Auf der Rückseite ist die Schrift größtenteils abgerieben.

- V 1 . . . . eṣa pūnām navav . g . [h] masaṃjñ[o] veditavya . . . . .  
 2 ṅasaṃjño veditavyaḥ || vi[bha]ktyantaṃ pada . . . . .  
 3 s . a praṇetṣnām sūtrakṛ[t] . . . . .  
 4 . . . . . eyo . i . . [dadh]i . . . . .  
 R 1 . . . yana kakārādi yamā . . . . .  
 2 . . . oḥ — yatrādhika[ra] . . . . . [m]ā . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . i . . . . .

Die Worte der ersten Zeile stammen aus dem Kommentar. Das dritte Wort ist wahrscheinlich zu *navavargaḥ* zu ergänzen: „die Neunergruppe der *pus* hat die Bezeichnung *ma*, muß man wissen“. Bei Pāṇini 1, 1, 69, Candra 1, 1, 2 bezeich-

net *pu* den *pavarga*. Sollten hier etwa mit *pu* die sämtlichen Labiale, der *pavarga* mit Hinzufügung von *u*, *ū*, *va* und *upadmānīya*, gemeint sein? Mehr als eine Vermutung kann das unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen natürlich nicht sein. Das folgende Sūtra, das den Terminus *ṅa* lehrte, ist verloren; die erhaltenen Worte *ṅasaṃjño veditavyaḥ* stammen aus dem Kommentar.

Das nächste Sūtra lautete offenbar *vibhaktiyantam padam* „was auf eine Endung auslautet, heißt *pada*“. Die Regel ist im Grunde mit Pāṇ. 1, 4, 14 *suptiṅantam padam* identisch. Nach Pāṇ. 1, 4, 104 *vibhaktiś ca* kann *vibhakti* mit *suptiṅ* wechseln; die Kāśikā erklärt *trīṇi trīṇi vibhaktisaṃjñās ca bhavanti suptiṅas ca*. Die Definition des Kātantra 1, 1, 20 bedeutet demgegenüber einen Fortschritt: *pūrvaparayor arthopalabdham padam*, was Durgasiṃha erklärt: *pūrvaparayor prakṛtivibhaktyor arthopalabdham satyāṃ samudāyaḥ padasaṃjño bhavati*.

Der Text der beiden letzten Zeilen der Vorderseite und der ganzen Rückseite ist zu lückenhaft, als daß sich, wenigstens vorläufig, etwas über den Inhalt sagen ließe. Das Bruchstück zeigt aber in seiner jetzigen Gestalt deutlicher noch als vorher, daß das erste Buch der Kaumāralāta eine ausführliche Erklärung größtenteils selbständiger *saṃjñās* enthielt.

Erheblich vergrößert ist das Bruchstück 5. Es lautet jetzt:

- V 1 *dadh[i] idam — dadh = idam — nārī (īśvarī — nā)r = īśvarī — madhu uṣṇam (— madh = uṣṇa)m — jambū ūnatam — jambūnatam — pī[t](r ṛṣa)bhah p(i)[t]ṛṣabhaḥ mā[t]ṛ [ṛ] . . . . .<sup>1)</sup> ta . . . . .*  
 . . . . .  
 2 *ti kimartham — te ete . . . . . — || hemantādī[ṣ](v) = ā[n](tya)[h] — hemantādīṣv = abhidheyeṣu antyaḥ (akārah<sup>2)</sup>) sve yuge sah = aiva pareṇa ya . . . . . [pa]dyate yathā [h]e . . . . .*

1) Der Abstand des rechten kleinen Bruchstücks von dem größeren läßt sich nicht genau bestimmen.

2) Das letzte Ende der Vertikale des initialen *a* ist sichtbar.

- 3 . . . . . (e)vam sārāṅgapiśaṅgakar-  
 ka[n](dhu)[k](u)[laṣ](ā)[j]<sup>1)</sup> . . . . . trādīṣv = anusara — ||  
 anyatr = āpy = ārṣe (—) . . . . . (hema)n[t]ādīṣu sve  
 yu pa . . . . .  
 4 . . . . . [y] . . . . . [y]o . . .  
 [o] . . . . .  
 R 1 . . . . .  
 . . . . . ṅa ikār(i)bhūtaḥ . . . . .  
 . . . . . [y] . [n] . . . . . t . [t] . . . [ta]tra [s] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 2 *sapur = ir = v[o] bhaviṣyateḥ — [bha](viṣyat = i)ty = asya  
 rū[pas]ya (vakā)raḥ sa khalu sapur = ikārībhavati yad =  
 dh(y) = ā[ha] bheṣyate vo mahāphalam = iti — ta . . . . .  
 . . . . . (bhāva)[ya]tyād[i]nām — . . . . .*  
 3 *sapur = ikārībhavati bhā(vayat = i)[ty] = (e)vamādīnām  
 rūpānām yad = dh[y] = āha — kṛṣṇān = dharmān =  
 viprahāya śuklān = (bh)ā(ve)ta bhikṣavaḥ yad = dhy =  
 āha dhā[r]e . . . . . vāhinīm = iti — ta . . . . .  
 . . . . .*  
 4 . . . . . ra . . (ā)diśab(d)ena hi dhāreti  
 vāceti mantreti . . . . . ty = evamādīny = (u)ktān = īti  
 [v]i . i . . . . . [saṃ]j(ṅ)ayor = ma . e  
 . . . . .

Die erste und die zweite Zeile bis zum Doppelstrich enthalten die Beispiele und die Gegenbeispiele für die Regel über das Zusammenfließen zweier einfacher homogener Vokale in die Länge. Die Beispiele *dadhi idam — dadhīdam, jambū ūnatam — jambūnatam, pīṛ ṛṣabhaḥ — pīṛṣabhaḥ* ließen sich schon früher herstellen; neu hinzugekommen sind *nārī īśvarī — nārīśvarī* und *madhu uṣṇam — madhūṣṇam*, deren Lesung, wenn auch zum Teil auf Ergänzung beruhend, völlig

1) Ich habe früher *kulaṣa* lesen wollen, da das Längezeichen des *ṣa* nicht sichtbar ist. Da das Längezeichen aber in der Mitte des Buchstabens angesetzt zu werden pflegt, ist es sehr wohl möglich, daß es weggebrochen ist.

sicher ist. Die Beispiele *dadhīdam* und *pitṛṣabhaḥ* führt auch Durgasiṃha in seinem Kommentar zum Kātantra an; anstatt der übrigen bietet er *nadhīate*<sup>1)</sup>, *madhūdakam*, *vadhūḍhā*<sup>2)</sup>, auch in dem turkestanischen Kommentar hat sich *madhūdakam* erhalten. Von dem Beispiel für den Zusammenstoß von ṛ und ṛ haben sich nur schwache Spuren erhalten. Das erste *akṣara* war wahrscheinlich *mā*, wenn auch das ā-Zeichen abgerieben ist, das zweite wahrscheinlich *tṛ*, doch ist nur das ṛ völlig erhalten. Dahinter muß ṛ gestanden haben; was von dem Buchstaben noch sichtbar ist, stimmt allerdings mit dem ṛ auf Bruchstück 14 nicht ganz überein. Wir gelangen so zu der Lesung *mātṛ ṛ . . .*, bei der das *mātṛ* auffällt, da im grammatischen System wohl Wurzeln, aber keine Nominalstämme auf ṛ angesetzt werden, *mātṛ* also keine richtige Form ist. Die Lesung wird aber durch das Beispiel in Durgasiṃhas Kommentar *mātṛkāreṇa*<sup>3)</sup> gestützt. In dieser Absonderlichkeit tritt wieder die nahe Verwandtschaft von Kaumāralāta und Kātantra deutlich zutage.

Das letzte Beispiel *te ete* ist offenbar ein Gegenbeispiel, um zu zeigen, daß sich die Regel nur auf einfache Vokale bezieht; der Text ist zu *samāna iti kimartham — te ete* zu ergänzen. Die Regel des Kaumāralāta wird also wie Kāt. 1, 2, 1 *samānaḥ savarṇo dīrghībhavati paraś ca lopam* das Wort *samānaḥ* enthalten haben. Auf Grund der folgenden Regel können wir den Wortlaut der Regel noch genauer bestimmen.

Die folgende Regel liegt jetzt fast vollständig vor; die beiden letzten *akṣaras* lassen sich mit Sicherheit ergänzen. Sie lautet: *hemantādiṣv āntyaḥ*. Auch der Text des Kommentars ist jetzt etwas vollständiger. Das *ya* vor der Lücke weiß ich allerdings nicht zu ergänzen; ebenso bleibt mir die Be-

1) So ist statt *iha te* der Ausgabe zu lesen, da es sich um ein Beispiel für *ī* aus *ī + ī* handeln muß.

2) So ist doch wohl mit den Handschriften CDE für *vadhūḍham* zu lesen.

3) Der Text der Ausgabe ist nicht in Ordnung. Es ist mit den Handschriften DE *pitṛṣabhaḥ* | [Beispiel für ṛ + ṛ] *mātṛkāreṇa* | [für ṛ + ṛ] *kīkāraḥ* | [für *ī + ī*] *kīkāreṇa* | [für *ī + ī*] zu lesen.

deutung von *anusara* (sic) am Schluß unklar. Im übrigen besagt die Regel nach dem Kommentar: „In (den Nomiṇa) *hemanta* usw. (wird) das auslautende (*a* des ersten Gliedes des Kompositums mitsamt dem folgenden Laute zu) *a*. Das *āntyaḥ* der Regel ist also in *a antyaḥ* aufzulösen, und *a* bezeichnet hier das Produkt der Veränderung. Die Wortstellung ist dieselbe wie nachher in *sapur ir vo bhaviṣyateḥ*. Für die weitere Erklärung der Regel verweise ich auf meine früheren Ausführungen<sup>1)</sup>. Da die in dem Kommentar gemachten Angaben *sve yuge sahaiva pareṇa* in der Regel selbst nicht ausgedrückt sind, so müssen sie durch *anuvṛtti* aus der vorhergehenden Regel fortgelten, und da *saha pareṇa* im Sūtra wahrscheinlich durch *sapuh* bezeichnet war, so lautete die vorhergehende Regel wahrscheinlich: *sapur dīrghaḥ samānaḥ sve*, „ein einfacher Vokal (wird) vor homogenem (Vokal) mitsamt dem folgenden (Vokal) zur Länge“. Was *yuga* betrifft, so hatte ich die Vermutung geäußert, daß es im Kaumāralāta der Ausdruck für Kompositum sei. Es zeigt sich jetzt, daß das nicht möglich ist, da *yuge* in der Regel *hemantādiṣv āntyaḥ* nicht gesagt ist, also wie *sve* und *sahaiva pareṇa* durch *anuvṛtti* fortgelten muß, die Bestimmung „im Kompositum“ aber für die Regel über die Substituierung der Länge für die beiden einfachen homogenen Vokale nicht paßt. Ich möchte jetzt annehmen, daß *yuge* ein *adhikāra* für die sämtlichen Sandhiregeln ist, der dem *samhitāyām* in Pāṇ. 6, 1, 72 entspricht.

Neu ist die folgende Regel: *anyatrāpy ārṣe*, „auch anderswo in der Sprache der Ṛṣis“. Den spärlichen Resten des Kommentars ist nichts weiter zu entnehmen. Die Regel zeigt nur aufs neue, daß Kumāralāta die Sprache des buddhistischen Kanons eingehend berücksichtigte.

Auf der Rückseite wird die Anordnung der Zeilen dadurch etwas verändert, daß die dritte Zeile, wie sich jetzt zeigt, schräg nach oben geschrieben ist und die vierte Zeile in der

1) Zu berichtigen ist nur, daß auch in dem Worte *kulaṣā* Kumāralāta mit Patañjali übereinstimmt, da, wie oben bemerkt, die Ergänzung zu *kulaṣā* in der Handschrift möglich ist.

Mitte des Blattes beginnt. Das ließ sich vorher nicht erkennen. Über den Inhalt der ersten Zeile läßt sich nichts sagen, wenn auch ein paar Buchstaben hinzugekommen sind. In Zeile 2 sind die Worte *sapur ir vo bhaviṣyateḥ*, die ich bereits richtig ergänzt hatte, wie jetzt deutlich wird, das Sūtra. Glücklicherweise ist auch der Kommentar dazu soweit erhalten, daß die wenigen Ergänzungen als vollkommen sicher gelten können: „in der Form *bhaviṣyati* wird das *v sapur* zu *i*“; es heißt ja: *bheṣyate vo mahāphalam*. Ich hatte die Ergänzung von *mahā* zu *mahāphalam* schon vermutet und ich glaube, daß sich auch meine Erklärung von *sapur* als „mitsamt dem folgenden Laut“ bestätigt. Aus *bhaviṣyate* wurde danach zunächst *bha-iṣyate* und weiter nach den gewöhnlichen Sandhigesetzen *bheṣyate*. Da die Regel nur fakultativ sein und nur für die Sprache des Kanons gelten kann, muß *vārṣe* in dem Sūtra durch *anuvṛtti* ergänzt werden. Vielleicht bezog sich darauf die Schlußbemerkung des Kommentars, die bis auf *ta* verlorengegangen ist. Der Ausdruck *rūpa* ist im Kommentar offenbar in demselben Sinne gebraucht wie in Pāṇ. 1, 1, 68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ Sabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*.

Den Inhalt des folgenden Sūtra habe ich schon früher festgestellt; jetzt läßt sich der Wortlaut des Sūtra und des größten Teiles des Kommentars genauer herstellen. Das Sūtra lautete: *(yo bhāva) yatyādīnām*, die Erklärung etwa: *(yakārah sa khalu) sapur ikāribhavati bhāvayatīty evamādīnām rūpānām*, „das *y* der (Formen) *bhāvayati* usw. wird mitsamt dem folgenden Laute zu *i*“. Daran schlossen sich die beiden Beispiele, die ich bereits besprochen habe, und eine Bemerkung, die bis auf den ersten Buchstaben *ta* und einen andern Buchstaben verloren ist und wahrscheinlich ähnlichen Inhalt hatte wie die mit *ta* beginnende Bemerkung im Kommentar zu dem vorhergehenden Sūtra. Zum Schluß wird dann noch bemerkt, daß wegen des Wortes *ādi* auch Formen wie *dhāreti*, *vāceti*, *mantreti* usw. gelehrt seien.

Einer kleinen Änderung in formaler Beziehung bedarf vielleicht meine frühere Auffassung des im Sūtra wie im Kommentar gebrauchten *sapur*. Ich hatte es als die mit der

Nominativendung versehene Form von *sapu* betrachtet, die nach den Sandhiregeln im Texte zu *sapur* umgestaltet werden mußte, und war so dazu gekommen, *pu* als die *saṃjñā* für den „folgenden Laut“ zu erklären. Aus den neuen Lesungen des Bruchstücks 2 scheint aber hervorzugehen, daß *pu* als Bezeichnung gewisser Laute des Alphabets verwendet wurde, und ich halte es daher für nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß die *saṃjñā* für den „folgenden Laut“ im Kaumāralāta nicht *pu*, sondern *pur* war. Analog dürfte auch in dem in 4 R 2f. vorkommenden *saṭhur*, *aṭhur*, für das ich die Bedeutung „mitsamt“ bzw. „ohne den vorhergehenden Laut“ erschlossen habe, *ṭhur* die *saṃjñā* für den „vorhergehenden Laut“ sein.

Die letzten Worte des Blattes, die dem Kommentar des folgenden Sūtra angehören müssen, lassen sich vorläufig nicht deuten.

Da das vergrößerte Bruchstück 5 beweist, daß die Zeilen bisweilen nicht ganz gerade und nicht bis zum Ende des Blattes geschrieben wurden, halte ich es jetzt für sicher, daß die beiden Bruchstücke 11 und 12 zu einem Blatte gehören, wenn sich auch der Abstand zwischen ihnen nicht genauer bestimmen läßt. Das erste Stück ist jetzt auch etwas vergrößert.

- V 1 . . . . . *y* . . .  
 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . *laṃghaye* = [*t*]<sup>1</sup>) *muṃprākā* . . . . . [*a*]*paśab-*  
*dam* = *āha* — *apa deṣe* . . . . .  
 3 . . . . . *iṣu pari vyaktaṃ* . . . . . *praty* = *āgataḥ*  
*putr[ai]* . . . . . *au* . . . . .  
 4 . . . . . *īyasaṃjñā*  
 R 1 . . . . . [*sa*]*(m)*[*j*]*ñāḥ ta(t)[r](a)* . . . . . (*ni*)*ḥ-*  
*sṛtaḥ nirāsrava* . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . *iti* — *parā it(y = ayaṃ)* . . . . . *k . ama*<sup>2</sup>)  
*iti* — *dur* = *ity* = *aya(m) kutsād* . . . . .

1) Das *t* von *ti* ist beschädigt, aber die Lesung sehr wahrscheinlich. Das darauf folgende *mu* verstehe ich nicht.

2) Vielleicht ist *parākrama* zu lesen.



3 . . . . . *sam* = *ity* = *ayaṃ srotādi* . . . . . *bhāvā-*  
*diṣu vītāsraḥ vīta* . . . . .

4 . . . . . *o* . . . . . [*i*] . [*ā*] . . . . . *o* . . . . . *e* . . . . .

Auf der Rückseite von Bruchstück 10 werden die *karma-pravacanīyas* gelehrt. Die Liste lautet *anu, ā, su, abhi, adhi, ati, api, apa, upa, pari, prati*. Auf der Vorderseite unseres Bruchstücks finden wir Beispiele für *ati, apa, pari* und *prati*. Zwischen *ati* und *apa*, zwischen *apa* und *pari* sind Lücken im Texte. Es kann daher kaum zweifelhaft sein, daß die Vorderseite Beispiele für die *karmappravacanīyas* in der in dem Sūtra angegebenen Reihenfolge enthält und daß auch das . *īyasamjñā* in Zeile 4 zu *karmappravacanīyasamjñā* zu ergänzen ist. Daraus folgt weiter, daß das Blatt, von dem das Bruchstück stammt, unmittelbar auf das Blatt, dem das Bruchstück 10 angehört, folgte.

Auf der Rückseite sind, wie ich schon früher festgestellt habe, die *upasargas* gelehrt. In Zeile 1 war die Definition gegeben, von der sich nur *samjñāḥ* erhalten hat. Es folgten Bedeutungsangaben und Beispiele für jeden einzelnen *upasarga*.

Es haben sich endlich noch drei kleinere Bruchstücke gefunden (14—16), die ich nicht einzuordnen vermag. Das Bruchstück 14 ist paläographisch von Interesse, weil es das selten vorkommende Zeichen für initiales *ṛ* enthält. Das darauf folgende Zeichen kann, da es hinter *ū ṛ* steht und offenbar eine Liste der langen Vokale gegeben war, kaum etwas anderes als das initiale *ī* sein. Leider ist der obere Teil dieses Zeichens nicht ganz deutlich.

14<sup>1)</sup>

a 1 . . . . . *ū ṛ [ī]* . . . . .

2 . . . . . (*śa*)*b*[*d*]*ajātenā*[*m*]*i*[*k*]*ā* . . . . .

b 3 . . . . . *k* . . . . . *m* . [*k*] . *m* . . . . .

4 . . . . . [*sv*].<sup>2)</sup> — || [*ha*] . . . . .

1) Mittelstück.

2) Über *sv*. ist noch ein Zeichen geschrieben.

15<sup>1)</sup>

a 1 . . . . . — *k* . [*m*] . . . . .

2 . . . . . *ḥ kāmā iti*

3 . . . . . *ī* . . . . .

b 3 . . . . . [*l*]*u* . *v* .

4 . . . . . — *etebhyo* = *pi*

16<sup>2)</sup>

b 1 . . . . . *kaḥ pa* . . . . .

2 . . . . . *re pratyaye* . . . . .

a 3 . . . . . *par[e] yakāri* . . . . .

4 . . . . . *o* . . . . . *ī* . . . . .

1) Rechtes Endstück.

2) Mittelstück.

## Das Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka

Von HEINRICH LÜDERS †

[Die augenscheinlich für den Druck bestimmte Ur-schrift dieses Aufsatzes hat sich unter den Resten des Manuskript-Nachlasses von HEINRICH LÜDERS vorgefunden. Einiges, was zufolge äußerer Gewalt fehlte, konnte nach den erhaltenen Vorarbeiten ergänzt werden, andere Lücken im Zusammenhang habe ich zu schließen versucht, wovon die Klammern [ ] Rechenschaft geben.

Sommer 1947.

WALTER SCHUBRING.]

Das interessanteste unter den Jātakas, die auf die Pāṇḍavasage Bezug nehmen, ist das Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka (545), das im Jātakakommentar (IV, 14, 24; 182, 19) auch als Puṇṇakajātaka zitiert wird. Es gehört dem Mahānipāta an und ist in verschiedene *khaṇḍas* geteilt.

Die Prosaerzählung des ersten Khaṇḍa, des Catuposathakhaṇḍa, beginnt mit einer kurzen Einführung der Hauptperson des Jātaka, des weisen Vidhura. Er ist der Minister (*amacca*) des Königs Dhanañjaya-Korabba, der im Kurureiche in der Stadt Indapatta herrscht. Er ist ein ausgezeichnete Kenner und Verkünder des Artha und Dharma. Dann wird zunächst die Vorgeschichte des Königs berichtet. Vier Brahmanen in Benares haben sich als Asketen in den Himālaya zurückgezogen. Sie kommen auf einer Wanderung nach der Stadt Kālacampā im Aṅgareiche und werden dort von vier Haushaltern freundlich aufgenommen. Eines Tages machen die vier, jeder für sich allein, einen Ausflug. Der erste geht in die Tāvatiṃsawelt, der zweite in die Nāgawelt, der dritte in die Supannawelt, der vierte in den Migācira-Park des Koravyakönigs. Zurückgekehrt erzählen sie ihren Gastfreunden von den Herrlichkeiten, die sie geschaut haben, worauf diese sich bemühen, sich durch gute Werke die Wiedergeburt an jenen Stätten zu erwerben. Sie werden denn auch nach dem Tode der Reihe nach als Sakka, als König der Supannas, als Varuṇa, der König der Nāgas, und als Sohn der ersten Gemahlin des Königs Dhanañjaya wiedergeboren, während die vier Asketen nach ihrem Tode in die Brahmanwelt eingehen. Der Koravyaprinz gelangt nach dem Tode seines Vaters auf den Thron. Er ist ein gerechter König, aber ein Freund des Würfelspiels.

Eines Tages begibt sich der König in den Park, um dort in der Einsamkeit unter Fasten den *samaṇa-dhamma* zu betätigen. Der gleiche Wunsch führt Sakka, Varuṇa und den Supannakönig dorthin. Am Abend

treffen die vier an einem Teiche zusammen. Sie kommen ins Gespräch, und Sakka wirft die Frage auf, wessen Tugend die größte, wer der wahre *samaṇa* sei. Jeder preist die Tugend, die er selbst betätigt, als die höchste, Varuṇa die Freiheit von Zorn, die ihn abhält, seinem Feinde, dem Supannakönig, zu zürnen, der Supanna die Mäßigung im Speisegenuß, die er dadurch beweist, daß er den Nāgakönig nicht tötet, Sakka die Enthaltensamkeit von sinnlicher Liebe, die er durch das Verlassen der Götterwelt zeigt, und König Dhanañjaya die Gleichgültigkeit gegen Besitz, von der seine Flucht in die Einsamkeit zeugt. Auf Vorschlag Dhanañjayas begeben sich alle vier in die *dhammasabhā* und legen dem weisen Vidhura die Streitfrage vor. Er entscheidet, daß derjenige ein wahrer *samaṇa* sei, der die vier genannten Eigenschaften in sich vereinige. Die vier Könige loben ihn wegen seiner Weisheit und beschenken ihn, Sakka mit einem himmlischen Gewande, der Garuḷa mit einem goldenen Kranze, Varuṇa mit einem um den Hals zu tragenden Juwel und König Dhanañjaya mit tausend Kühen samt einem Stier, zehn mit edlen Rossen bespannten Wagen und sechzehn Dörfnern.

Dieser ganze Abschnitt bildete zur Zeit, als das Jātakabuch zusammengestellt wurde, noch keinen Bestandteil des Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka. Das geht deutlich daraus hervor, daß die als Titel dienende Überschrift *paṇḍu kisiyāsi dubbalā* der erste Pāda der ersten Gāthā des zweiten Abschnitts ist und daß das Catuposathakhaṇḍa als Catuposathajātaka im Dasanipāta (441) erscheint. Hier wird allerdings in unserer Jātakasammlung der Text garnicht gegeben, sondern auf das „Puṇṇakajātaka“ verwiesen. Das Catuposathajātaka war aber offenbar ursprünglich ein selbständiges Jātaka, das erst von dem Kommentator an die Spitze des Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka gestellt wurde. Er hat sich dann bemüht, auch eine Verbindung des Catuposathajātaka mit dem Folgenden herzustellen, indem er den Varuṇa dem Vidhura seinen Halsschmuck schenken läßt, was, wie wir sehen werden, den Ausgangspunkt der Handlung des Jātaka bildet. In den Gāthās wird nur die Belohnung Vidhuras durch Dhanañjaya erwähnt<sup>1)</sup>. In der ursprünglichen Erzählung war das Verlangen der Nāgakönigin wahrscheinlich ganz allgemein damit begründet, daß sie von dem Weisen, dessen Ruhm die Welt erfüllte, Kunde erhalten hatte.

Als selbständiges Stück ist das Catuposathajātaka nichts weiter als eine Verherrlichung des *samaṇa*, die in der Weise so vieler epischer Itihāsas und Saṃvādas vier Königen aus der Welt der Götter und Menschen in den Mund gelegt ist und schließlich in der dem Vidhura zugewiesenen Strophe ihren Gipfelpunkt findet. Irgend etwas speziell Buddhistisches enthalten die Gāthās nicht. Sie lauten der Reihe nach:

1. Wer keinen Zorn hegt gegen den, der Zorn verdient, der gute Mann, der niemals ergrimmt, der, auch wenn er erzürnt ist, den Zorn nicht offen zeigt, den Mann fürwahr nennt man in der Welt einen *samaṇa*.

1) G. 11, Die Gāthā kehrt J. 546, 40 wieder.

2. Wer mit leerem Bauch den Hunger erträgt, beherrscht, asketisch, mäßig in Speise und Trank ist, um der Nahrung willen nichts Böses begeht, den Mann fürwahr nennt man in der Welt einen *samaṇa*.

3. Wer Spiel und Liebesgenuß gänzlich aufgibt, keine Unwahrheit in der Welt redet, sich des Schmuckes<sup>1)</sup> und des Geschlechtsverkehrs enthält, den Mann fürwahr nennt man in der Welt einen *samaṇa*.

4. Die Besitz und alles, was der Gier entspringt, in richtiger Erkenntnis aufgeben — den beherrschten, festen, selbstlosen, wunschlosen, den Mann fürwahr nennt man in der Welt einen *samaṇa*.

5. Das alles sind richtige Aussprüche — hier ist kein falscher Ausspruch; den aber, für den diese zutreffen wie Speichen in der Nabe wohl vereinigt, den mit den vier Eigenschaften versehenen, den Mann fürwahr nennt man in der Welt einen *samaṇa*.

Ob die Vorgeschichte der vier Könige alt oder eine Erfindung des Prosaerzählers ist, mag dahingestellt sein; in einem anderen Punkte ist die Prosaerzählung sicherlich unursprünglich. Nach G. 7 und 8 sind die vier Könige der Nāgakönig, Garuḷa, der Sproß der Vinatā (*Venateyya*), der Gandhabbakönig und der beste König der Kurus. In der Prosa erscheint anstatt des Gandhabbakönigs Sakka, der sonst nirgends als Herrscher der Gandharvas auftritt. Jeder der vier tugendhaften Könige preist, wie oben bemerkt, gerade die Eigenschaft des *samaṇa*, die ihm selbst eigentlich am fernsten liegt. Dabei hat aber der Dichter der Gāthās sicherlich garnicht an die durch die Geschichte gegebenen Verhältnisse gedacht, wie der Prosaerzähler angibt, sondern an die allgemeinen charakteristischen Eigenschaften der Gattung, der die vier Sprecher angehören. Daß für den irdischen König das Hängen am Besitz charakteristisch ist, ist ohne weiteres verständlich. Die Haupteigenschaft der Schlangen ist der Zorn, der Garuḷas der Hunger, der Gandharvas die Liebe, wie Rām. 4, 59, 9 der Geier Sampāti sagt:

*tikṣṇakāmās tu gandharvās tikṣṇakopā bhujāṅgamāḥ |  
mrgāṅgām tu bhayaṃ tikṣṇaṃ tataḥ tikṣṇakṣudhā vayam ||*

Darum also hebt der Nāgakönig die Freiheit von Zorn hervor, der Garuḷa die Bezeichnung der EBlust, und wenn der Sprecher der dritten Gāthā die Keuschheit preist, so kann er nur der König der Gandharvas sein, für die die sinnliche Liebe typisch ist. Der Name des Gandharvakönigs ist in der Gāthā nicht genannt, und da die verschiedensten Namen für die Herrscher dieser Götterklasse auftreten<sup>2)</sup>, ist es müßig, darüber Vermutungen anzustellen. Auch der Name des Nāgakönigs wird in den Gāthās nicht erwähnt, doch hat der Prosaerzähler sicherlich recht, wenn er ihn Varuṇa nennt, da in der folgenden Geschichte von Vidhura und Puṇṇaka der Nāgakönig diesen Namen führt. Der alte vedische Gott war schon in der Zeit der Entstehung der Gāthās zu einem Nāga herab-

1) *vibhūsanatthānā* scheint nach Ausweis des Metrums, wie schon FAUSBØLL bemerkt hat, für ursprüngliches *vibhūsanā* eingesetzt zu sein.

2) HOPKINS, Epic Mythology, S. 152ff.

gesunken, wenn er auch gelegentlich noch im Kreise der großen Götter erscheint<sup>1)</sup>. Ebenso ist der Prosaerzähler im Recht, wenn er den Kurukönig Dhanañjaya und den Weisen, der in der Gāthā 5 nur als *kattar*, also nicht mit Namen bezeichnet wird, Vidhura nennt, da, wie wir sehen werden, die beiden auch in der folgenden Geschichte durch die Gāthās bezeugt sind. Dagegen beruht es nicht auf alter Überlieferung, wenn der Prosaerzähler dem Vater des Dhanañjaya denselben Namen gibt wie dem Sohne (V, 256, 25); wir werden der falschen Auffassung von Dhanañjaya als einer Art Familiennamen noch wieder begegnen.

Mit dem folgenden Abschnitt, dem *Dohaḷakhaṇḍa*, beginnt die eigentliche Geschichte des Vidhura. Ich gebe den Inhalt im Anschluß an die Prosaerzählung, indem ich zugleich auf Punkte nebensächlicher Art, in denen sie mit den Gāthās nicht übereinstimmt, hinweise.

Vimalā, die Gattin des Nāgakönigs, bemerkt, daß das Juwel am Halse ihres Gatten fehlt. Der Nāga gesteht ihr, daß er es dem weisen Vidhura, dem Sohn des Brahmanen Candra<sup>2)</sup>, geschenkt habe. Er rühmt ihm als einen hervorragenden Prediger (*dharmakathika*), der durch seine Lehrvorträge die Könige von ganz Indien am Hofe des Dhanañjaya zu fesseln wisse. In Vimalā erwacht die Lust, den Vidhura zu hören, da sie aber weiß, daß ihr Gemahl ihn schwerlich deswegen herbeiholen werde, gibt sie vor, ein Schwangerschaftsgelüste nach dem Herzen des Weisen zu empfinden; sie werde sterben, wenn sie es nicht erhalten würde, doch müsse es in rechtmäßiger Weise hergebracht werden. Der Nāgakönig weiß nicht, wie er ihren Wunsch erfüllen soll, und ist tief bekümmert. Seine schöne Tochter Irandatī fragt ihn nach der Ursache seiner Betrübnis. Er teilt ihr den Grund mit und fordert sie auf, sich einen Gatten zu suchen, der imstande sei, den Vidhura herzuschaffen. Sie begibt sich in der Nacht auf einen Berg im Himālaya, bestreut dort den Boden mit Blumen, tanzt und singt dazu das Lied (G. 7):

„Welcher Gandhabba oder Rakkhasa, welcher Nāga, Kimpurisa oder Mensch, wer ist so klug, um alle meine Wünsche zu erfüllen? Er wird lebenslänglich (*digharattam*) mein Gatte werden.“

In diesem Augenblick reitet der Neffe des Vessavaṇa, Puṇṇaka, der Heerführer der Yakkhas, auf seinem Zauberroß über den Gipfel des Kāḷaberges zu einer Versammlung der Yakkhas auf der Manosilā-Ebene. Er hört das Lied, verliebt sich in das Mädchen, das in einer früheren Geburt seine Frau gewesen ist, und ruft ihr zu: „Sei guten Mutes, ich werde dein Gatte sein, dein Gemahl, du mit den tadellosen Augen. Denn meine Klugheit ist derart. Sei guten Mutes, du wirst meine Gattin sein.“ Der Kommentar erklärt *tathāvidhā*: *Vidhurassa hadayamaṃsaṃ āharāṇasamatthā* und gibt dementsprechend in der Prosa als den Inhalt der Gāthā an: Meine Liebe, ich bin durch meine Klugheit imstande,

1) J. 543, 125 *Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Kuvero Somo Yamo Candimā yāpi Suriyo*; J. 513, 16 *Somo ca rājā Varuṇo ca rājā Paṇḍipatī Candimā Suriyo ca*.

2) So lesen die singhalesischen Handschriften anstatt des in den Text aufgenommenen *Canda*.

das Herz des Vidhura auf gesetzmäßige, rechtliche Weise herbeizuschaffen; sei unbesorgt. Aber wie aus dem Folgenden mit aller Deutlichkeit hervorgeht, weiß Puṇṇaka noch gar nichts von der Herbeischaffung des Vidhura. Die Worte *paññā hi mama(m) tathāvidhā* können sich nur im allgemeinen darauf beziehen, daß Irandatī in ihrem Liede behauptete, daß es ein kluger Mann sein müsse, den sie zum Gatten begehrte. Sie ergreift ihn bei der Hand und führt ihn zu ihrem Vater, der ihm die Sache erklären werde. Puṇṇaka freit um sie, indem er 100 Elefanten, 100 Pferde, 100 mit Maultieren bespannte Wagen und 100 Lastwagen voll Edelsteinen bietet. Varuṇa berät den Antrag mit seiner Frau, die darauf besteht, dem Freier die Tochter nur um das in rechtmäßiger Weise herbeigeschaffte Herz des Weisen zu geben. Varuṇa teilt dem Puṇṇaka diese Forderung mit. Puṇṇaka erkundigt sich, welcher Weise gemeint sei, und erfährt, daß es Vidhura, der *kattar* des *Koravyarāja* Dhanañjaya sei. Er ist bereit, die Bedingung zu erfüllen, läßt sich ein Zauberroß kommen und reitet durch die Luft zu seinem Oheim Vessavaṇa Kuvera, dem er von seiner Werbung Mitteilung macht. Dabei gibt er eine ziemlich ausführliche Schilderung von Bhogāvati<sup>1)</sup>, der Stadt des Varuṇa. Nachdem er sich von Vessavaṇa Kuvera verabschiedet hat<sup>2)</sup>, reitet er wieder durch die Luft davon.

Unterwegs kommt Puṇṇaka auf den Gedanken, dem Dhanañjaya den Vidhura im Würfelspiel abzugewinnen. Um einen verlockenden Einsatz zu haben, begibt er sich zunächst nach Rājagaha, der Stadt des Aṅgākönigs. Dort, auf dem Gipfel des Vepullaberges, liegt das wunderbare Juwel Manohara<sup>3)</sup>. Er nimmt es an sich und setzt den Luftritt bis Indapatta fort. In der *sabhā* der Kurus angelangt, fordert er die dort versammelten Fürsten zum Würfelspiel heraus. Auf die Frage des Königs nach Name und Geschlecht gibt er an, ein junger Brahmane aus dem Kaccāyanageschlecht namens Anūnanāma zu sein und aus dem Lande der Aṅgas zu stammen. Als Einsatz bietet er das Juwel und sein Zauberroß an, und als der König den Wert des Einsatzes bezweifelt, schildert Puṇṇaka ausführlich das Juwel, auf dem die ganze Götter- und Menschen-

1) So ist wohl in G. 25, die verderbt ist, zu lesen.

2) In der Prosa ist die Erzählung von dem Besuche der Vessavaṇa durch einen ziemlich törichtigen Zug erweitert. Vessavaṇa gibt auf die Rede des Puṇṇaka nicht acht, weil er gerade einen Streit zwischen zwei Göttern wegen eines Vimāna zu entscheiden hat. Puṇṇaka stellt sich in die Nähe des Gottes, zu dessen Gunsten Vessavaṇa die Sache entscheidet, und als er diesen mit den Worten entläßt: „Geh du! wohne in deinem Vimāna!“, da nimmt Puṇṇaka die Worte für sich in Anspruch, ruft einige Götter als Zeugen dafür an, daß der Oheim ihn fortgeschickt habe, und reitet fort. Von alledem steht in der Gāthā 33 nichts. Hier heißt es im Gegenteil, daß Puṇṇaka sich von Vessavaṇa Kuvera verabschiedete:

*sa Puṇṇako bhūtapatiṃ yasasīm  
āmantayi Vessavaṇaṃ Kuveraṃ.*

Den Besuch bei Vessavaṇa macht Puṇṇaka offenbar, um, wie es sich gehört, die Einwilligung des Familienoberhauptes zu der Heirat mit der Nogatochter einzuholen, wenn das auch in den Gāthās nicht ausdrücklich gesagt ist.

3) G.40: *Manoharaṇṇāma mahānubhāvaṃ*; G.46: *Manoharaṇṇāma maṇi māyāyaṃ*.

welt dargestellt ist. Die Schilderung des Juwels fällt nicht weniger als 41 Gāthās und ist als *Maṇikhaṇḍa* bezeichnet.

Es folgt das *Akkhakaṇḍa*. König Dhanañjaya ist zum Spiel bereit und setzt seinerseits alles, was sein ist, außer seiner Person und seinem weißen Schirm ein. Der Spielplatz wird hergerichtet. Puṇṇaka ruft die versammelten Fürsten, den Pañcāla, den Sūrasena, die Macchas, Maddas und Kekakas zu Zeugen dafür an, daß das Spiel ohne Betrug und Gewalttat vor sich gehe. Das Spiel beginnt. Der König verliert; Puṇṇaka gewinnt<sup>1)</sup>. Er fordert den König auf, ihm das Beste, was er besitzt, zu zahlen. Der König bietet ihm Elefanten, Rinder und Rosse, seinen Schmuck und seinen ganzen Schatz an Juwelen an, aber Puṇṇaka verlangt den *kattar* Vidhura. Als der König Einwendungen macht, schlägt Puṇṇaka vor, dem Vidhura selbst die Entscheidung zu überlassen. Alle Fürsten begeben sich in die Dhammasabhā, und hier richtet Puṇṇaka an Vidhura die Frage (G. 99):

„Haben die Götter den Kurus wirklich einen Berater namens Vidhura zugewiesen, der am Rechte festhält? Bist du der Sklave des Königs oder bist du ein Verwandter? Welches ist deine Bezeichnung in der Welt?“

Vidhura setzt ihm auseinander, daß es vier Arten von Sklaven gebe: die im Hause geborenen, die um Geld gekauften, solche, die es freiwillig geworden, und solche, die durch Furcht in die Sklaverei getrieben sind. Er selbst sei vom Mutterleibe her ein geborener Sklave<sup>2)</sup>. Er bleibe des Königs Sklave, auch wenn er zu einem andern gehe; der König könne ihn daher nach dem Recht ihm übergeben. Puṇṇaka triumphiert: jetzt habe er zum zweiten Male gesiegt, da der *kattar* selbst die Frage so entschieden habe. Auch der König stimmt zu: da Vidhura selbst erklärt habe, daß er sein Sklave, nicht sein Verwandter sei<sup>3)</sup>, so solle Puṇṇaka mit ihm fortziehen, wohin er wolle.

Auf die Bitte des Königs hält Vidhura dann noch einen kurzen Vortrag (G. 107—112) über das rechte Verhalten des im Hause lebenden Mannes, eine Episode, die als *Gharāvāsapañha* bezeichnet ist. Darauf geht der König nach Hause.

1) Die von dem Spiel handelnde Stelle habe ich ausführlich in meiner Abhandlung über das Würfelspiel im alten Indien, S. 4ff. behandelt. Ich bemerke hier nur, daß das Spiel, das der Gāthadichter im Auge hatte, wie überall in den Gāthās der Jātaka, das alte Spiel mit Vibhītakanüssen ist. Der Prosaerzähler denkt aber an das spätere Spiel mit Langwürfeln, und auf dieses bezieht sich auch das in einer birmanischen Handschrift eingeschobene Spiellied des Königs. Auch die Erzählung von der Hilfe, die dem König von seiner Schutzgöttin gewährt wird, ist eine Erfindung des Prosaerzählers, da eine solche Hilfe nur bei dem Spiel mit den Langwürfeln möglich ist.

2) *Vidhuro ti saṃkhā katamāsi loke*. Der Pāda ist offenbar verderbt, und die Übersetzung gibt nur im allgemeinen den Sinn wieder.

3) G. 101: *addhā hi yonito aham pi jāto bhavo ca rañño abhavo ca rañño*. Der dritte Pāda scheint zu bedeuten: „Meine Existenz gehört dem König und meine Nichtexistenz gehört dem König“.

4) G. 103: *evaṃ ce no so vivar' etha pañham dāso 'ham asmi na ca kho 'smi nāti*.

Es folgt das Lakkhakhanda. Vidhura bittet den Puṇṇaka, ihm drei Tage Frist zu gewähren, um seiner Familie Anweisungen zu geben. Puṇṇaka ist damit einverstanden und bezieht einen der drei, Koṅca, Mayūra und Piya-keta genannten Paläste des Vidhura, wo er aufs beste gepflegt wird<sup>1)</sup>. Vidhura beauftragt seine Gattin Anujjā und diese wiederum ihre Schwiegertochter Cetā<sup>2)</sup>, seine Söhne zusammenzurufen. Als sie versammelt sind, teilt Vidhura ihnen mit, was geschehen ist, und ermahnt sie, sich dem König gegenüber stets mit ihrer untergeordneten Stellung zu begnügen<sup>3)</sup>.

1) In G. 119 und ebenso in G. 122; 241 wird Vidhura *dharmapāla* genannt, das FAUSBÖLL als Eigennamen faßt. Allein der Kommentator hat sicherlich recht, wenn er das Wort als Appellativum, „Hüter des Rechts“, erklärt: *dharmapālo ti dhammassa pālako gopāyiko*. J. 527, 43 wird auch ein König *dharmapāla* genannt: *dhammañ ca me desaya dhammapāla*. In den Gāthās desselben Jātaka finden sich als Beiwörter des Königs *kāmapāla* (41), *ratthapāla* (55), *bhūmipāla* (3; 26; 29; 33). Vielleicht hat das *dharmapāla* der Gāthās den Prosaerzähler auf den Gedanken gebracht, den ältesten Sohn des Vidhura Dharmapālakumāra zu nennen (VI, 290, 25). In den Gāthās kommt der Name des Sohnes nicht vor.

2) G. 121: *āmantaya vammadharāni Cete puttāni indivarapupphasāme*. COWELL übersetzt: „O Cetā, who wearest they bracelets as an armour“, DUROIT: „Cetā, die du dichten Brustschmuck trägst“. Selbstverständlich ist *vammadharāni* Akk. Plur. und mit *puttāni* zu verbinden. P. *vammadhara* entspricht Sk. *varmahara* oder *kavacahara* „Panzer tragend“, das, wie Pān. 3, 2, 10 (*vayasi*) gelehrt wird, den ins Jünglingsalter getretenen Knaben bezeichnet. Genau in diesem Sinne findet sich das Wort nach dem PW. Raghuv. 8, 93; Kathās. 39, 122.

3) G. 122—125. Die beiden letzten Gāthās bieten einige Schwierigkeiten. FAUSBÖLL nimmt *janasandho* als Eigennamen. In der Tat findet sich Janasandha als Name eines Königs in den Gāthās 257, 2 und 468, 1, nach der Prosaerzählung ist aber Janasandha in 257, 2 ein König von Benares, in 468, 1 ein König von Benares und Kosala. Hier müßte es Name des Kurukönigs sein, für den aber durch G. 20 der Name Dhanañjaya gesichert ist. *janasandha* wird hier also Appellativum sein, wie auch der Kommentator anzunehmen scheint, der es durch *mittaganthanena mittajanassa samdhānakaro* (so ist mit B<sup>a</sup> anstatt *samdhānakaro* zu lesen) erklärt. Das Beiwort „ein freundschaftliches Verhältnis zwischen den Leuten herstellend“ würde vortrefflich in den Zusammenhang passen. *Pahūtakāma* wird G. 116 auch Puṇṇaka genannt. Der Kommentator erklärt es offenbar richtig durch *mahābhoga* „große Genüsse gewährend“, während COWELL es hier durch „very earnestly“, DUROIT durch „der Lustergebene“ wiedergeben. Besonders schwierig sind die Worte *samāsanaṅ hotha mayā va sabbe ko n'ida rañño abbhātiko manusso*. COWELL wollte *ko na idha rañño abbhadhiko* lesen und übersetzte: „Ye are all of an equal position; which of you is not more than a king“. DUROIT schließt sich ihm zum Teil an: „In gleicher Lage seid ihr alle wie ich, denn welcher Mensch ist hier des Königs Diener“. Beide Übersetzungen sind unmöglich richtig. Im TPD. wird *abbhātika* in *abhi + \*ati-ka* zerlegt und als Bedeutung „superior, of higher rank, more appreciated (by, gen.)“ gegeben. Aber auch diese Erklärung befriedigt nicht. Sollte nicht *abbhātiko* mit metrischer Verkürzung für *abbhātiko* stehen und *bhāti* hier im Sinne von „Vetter“ gebraucht sein? Die beiden Strophen wären dann etwa zu übersetzen: „Wenn der im Kurulande wohnende König, leutselig und große Genüsse gewährend, euch fragen sollte: ‚Gedenket ihr des alten Verhältnisses, wie es früher war? Hat euer Vater es euch vormals mitgeteilt? Setzt euch alle mit mir zusammen. Welcher Mensch ist hier (unter euch), der nicht (mein) Vetter wäre?‘“, dann sollt ihr mit gefalteten Händen so sprechen: „Nicht doch, Majestät; denn das ist nicht das Recht. Wie könnte, Majestät, ein Mann von anderer Kaste mit dem tigergleichen König zusammensitzen?“ Die Auseinandersetzung nimmt Bezug auf das Doppelverhältnis des Vidhura und seiner Söhne zu dem König, auf das wir noch genauer eingehen werden.

Im Anschluß daran hält er den Verwandten und Freunden<sup>1)</sup> einen langen Vortrag über das Leben des Fürstendiener (G. 126—171), der das Rājavasatikhaṇḍa füllt. Ich komme am Schluß auf ihn zurück.

Der folgende Abschnitt ist Anantarapeyyāla betitelt. Vidhura geht am dritten Tage, von seinen Verwandten begleitet, zu dem König, um sich zu verabschieden. Er empfiehlt die Verwandten der Fürsorge des Königs. Der König, dem es schwer fällt, sich von dem Weisen zu trennen, macht den Vorschlag, den Puṇṇaka zu töten. Vidhura weist das aber als gegen das Recht verstoßend zurück. Er begibt sich in sein Haus, wo die sämtlichen Bewohner in Klagen ausbrechen. Er ordnet an, was zu tun ist, gibt an, wo das Geld aufbewahrt ist, welche Schulden zu bezahlen sind, und erklärt dann dem Puṇṇaka, er sei bereit, die Fahrt anzutreten. Puṇṇaka befiehlt ihm, sich an dem Schwanz des Pferdes festzuhalten<sup>2)</sup>. Das Pferd steigt in die Lüfte auf und gelangt nach dem Kālāgiri. Alle Bewohner des Reiches klagen und drohen, sich ins Feuer zu stürzen, wenn Vidhura nicht in sieben Tagen zurückkehren sollte. Der König tröstet sie, der Weise werde sich schon zu retten wissen.

Der folgende Abschnitt ist nach dem Schauplatz der Handlung Kālāgirikhaṇḍa genannt. Auf dem Kālāgiri beschließt Puṇṇaka den Vidhura zu töten und ihm das Herz zu entreißen. Er versucht ihn durch allerlei furchtbare Gestalten, die er annimmt, zu Tode zu erschrecken. Diese Versuche scheitern natürlich an der Unerschrockenheit des Weisen. Die Gāthās wissen nichts davon; es handelt sich hier offenbar um eine Erweiterung des Prosaerzählers. Nach G. 208f. packt Puṇṇaka den Vidhura und läßt ihn mit dem Kopf nach unten in der Luft über einem Abgrund schweben. Vidhura erkennt, daß sein Entführer kein junger Brahmane, sondern ein dämonisches Wesen ist. Auf sein Befragen erzählt ihm dann Puṇṇaka ausführlich, wer er ist und warum er sein Herz begehrt. Vidhura fordert ihn auf, ihn schleunigst wieder heraufzuziehen; er wolle ihn über die Eigenschaften des guten Mannes belehren. Puṇṇaka geht darauf ein und setzt Vidhura auf den Gipfel des Berges. In der Prosaerzählung wird umständlich berichtet, wie er dem Weisen Wasser zum Baden, himmlische Gewänder, Wohlgerüche und Kränze bringt, ihn mit himmlischen Speisen erquickt und seinen Sitz ausschmückt. Dann trägt Vidhura ihm ein Lehrgedicht über das genannte Thema vor (G. 225—229), durch das er zu der Erkenntnis kommt, daß er im Begriffe steht, um eines Weibes willen an dem Manne, der ihn drei Tage lang beherbergt hat, zum Verräter zu werden. Er erklärt sich bereit, Irandatī aufzugeben und Vidhura freizulassen. Allein dieser besteht darauf, zu dem Nāgakönig gebracht zu werden. Puṇṇaka heißt

1) G. 126 werden neben den Freunden auch die Feinde genannt: *so ca mitte amitte ca nātayo sūhadajjane . . . Vidhuro etad abravi, amitte ist aber offenbar aus amacceverderbt*; vgl. G. 190 *anusāsitvāsakaṃjanaṃmittāmaccecasuhajje puttādāre ca bandhave*.

2) In G. 193 ist anstatt *hand'esa hidāni taramānarūpo* vielmehr *hand' ehi dāni taramānarūpo* zu lesen; vgl. G. 113 *ehi dāni gamissāmi*.

ihn, sich hinter ihm aufs Pferd zu setzen, und reitet zu dem Palast des Varuṇa. Dort angelangt, begibt sich Puṇṇaka mit Vidhura, der hinter ihm hergeht, zu dem Nāgakönig und meldet ihm, daß er den Weisen auf rechtliche Weise hergebracht habe.

Für den letzten Abschnitt fehlt ein Titel. Varuṇa wundert sich, daß Vidhura ihn nicht begrüßt, worauf dieser ihm antwortet, daß man mit dem Manne, von dem einem der Tod drohe, keinen Gruß tausche, er wünsche aber zu wissen, wie der Nāgakönig zu seiner Macht und zu seinem wunderbaren Palaste gekommen sei. Varuṇa antwortet ihm, daß er sie seinen guten Werken in seiner früheren menschlichen Existenz verdanke, worauf Vidhura ihn ermahnt, auch fernerhin gerecht zu herrschen, um einst in die Götterwelt aufzusteigen. Varuṇa ist erfreut über die Rede des Weisen, und nachdem er sich von ihm selbst hat bestätigen lassen, daß er auf rechtliche Weise hergebracht sei, führt er ihn zu seiner Gattin Vimalā. Zwischen ihr und Vidhura entwickelt sich ein Gespräch, das nahezu wörtlich mit dem vorher zwischen dem Nāgakönig und Vidhura geführten übereinstimmt. Zum Schluß bietet Vidhura nochmals furchtlos sein Herz an, aber Varuṇa erklärt sich befriedigt, die Weisheit, von der er Probe abgelegt, sei das Herz der Weisen, Puṇṇaka solle die Irandatī erhalten und Vidhura nach Indapatta zurückführen. Puṇṇaka schenkt dem Vidhura das kostbare Juwel, setzt ihn, diesmal vor sich, auf das Zauberpferd und bringt ihn in die Dhama-sabhā der Kurus. Der Kurukönig empfängt ihn hochbeglückt; Vidhura berichtet ihm seine Erlebnisse und überreicht ihm das Juwel. Der König preist den Weisen unter dem Bilde des Baumes<sup>1)</sup> und ordnet ein Freudenfest an. Das Volk ehrt den Weisen durch Geschenke und schwenkt die Gewänder.

Das Vidhuraṇḍitaḷātaka ist ein Märchen, allerdings wie fast alle Märchen, die in die Jātakasammlung aufgenommen sind, mit stark lehrhafter Tendenz. Speziell buddhistische Anschauungen treten in den

1) G. 303. Die beiden ersten Gāthās lauten: „Ein Baum ist vor meinen Toren gewachsen. Weisheit ist sein Stamm; aus Tugenden bestehen seine Zweige. In Attha und Dhamma steht sein Reifen. Kühe sind seine Früchte; mit Elefanten, Kühen und Rossen ist er bedeckt. Von Tanz, Gesang, Musik ist er umtönt (lies *sonana-* und mit C<sup>ks</sup> *-nādito*). Den riß ein Mann aus und trug ihn fort. Der ist jetzt in sein Haus (lies *san nīketam*) zurückgekehrt. Bezeugt diesem Baum eure Ehrfurcht.“ Nach der Prosaerzählung beziehen sich diese Strophen auf einen Traum, den der König gehabt und aus dem er die glückliche Wiederkehr Vidhuras erschlossen hat. Allein von einem Traum steht nichts in den Gāthās, und es dürfte selbst im Traum schwer sein, einen Baum zu sehen, dessen Stamm die Weisheit, dessen Zweige und Äste die Tugenden, dessen Früchte die fünf Produkte der Kuh sind (*paññakkhandho silāsākhappasākho pañcagorasaphalo* VI, 324, 12f.). Wir haben hier vielmehr eine der ältesten, vielleicht die älteste Schilderung eines Mannes unter dem Bilde eines Baumes vor uns, wie sie noch in der klassischen Dichtung beliebt ist; vgl. die Kāvya-darśa 2, 209ff. für die *samāsokti* angeführten Beispiele:

*rūḍhamūlah phalabharaiḥ puṣṇann anīsam arthinaḥ |*  
*sāndracchāyo mahāvṛkṣaḥ so 'yam āsādīto mayā ||*  
*analpavīṭapābhogaḥ phalapuṣpasamrddhimān |*  
*succhāyaḥ sthairyavān daivād eṣa lābḍho mayā drumah ||*

Gāthās nirgends hervor. Selbst in der Prosa verrät sich der Erzähler nur selten durch eine Wendung als Buddhist; so in bezug auf Vidhura: *Buddhalīlāhāya mahājanassa dhammaṃ desento* 256, 2f.; *Buddhalīlāhāya sādhanaradhammaṃ desento* 309, 29; *Buddhakiiccaṃ sādhenṭo viya mahājanassa dhammaṃ desento* 329, 8f. *Jambudīpatale Buddhuppādo viya vattati* 262, 9f. Vielleicht ist auch in einem Punkte die ursprüngliche Erzählung abgeändert worden, weil die darin zutage tretende Roheit buddhistischem Empfinden widersprach. Nach der Prosa bekommt Vimalā, als sie von dem hervorragenden Lehrtalent Vidhuras erfährt, das Verlangen, den Weisen zu hören. Sie überlegt: „Wenn ich sagen werde: „Majestät, ich habe Verlangen, seine Predigt zu hören; bring ihn hierher, so wird er ihn mir nicht herbringen. Wie wäre es, wenn ich behauptete, es wäre mir ein Schwangerschaftsgelüste nach seinem Herzen entstanden, und mich deshalb krank stellte<sup>1)</sup>?“ (262, 14ff.), und demgemäß handelt sie. Man wird mir zugeben, daß diese Begründung sehr schwach ist; in den Gāthās ist sie mit keiner Silbe angedeutet. Sollte nicht in der ursprünglichen Erzählung Vimalā wirklich ein Gelüste nach dem Herzen des Vidhura empfunden haben? Nach indischem Glauben gehen nicht nur die körperlichen, sondern auch die geistigen Eigenschaften des Geschöpfes, nach dessen Fleisch die Schwangere gelüftet, auf das Kind über. Suśruta, Śār. 3, 15 führt das breit aus: Beim Essen von Godhāfleisch gebiert sie einen Sohn, der viel schläft und gut laufen kann, beim Essen von Kuhfleisch einen starken, der alle Beschwerden erträgt; infolge des Gelüstes nach Büffelfleisch einen heldenhaften, rotäugigen, haarigen; infolge von Eberfleisch gebiert sie einen schläfrigen, heldenhaften, infolge von Antilopenfleisch einen tapferen (?), schnellfüßigen Sohn, der sich immer im Walde umhertreibt, infolge von Šmarafleisch einen scheuen, einen immer furchtsamen infolge von Rebhuhnfleisch.“ Wenn also Vimalā das Herz des Vidhura zu essen begehrt, so wird der Grund ursprünglich gewesen sein, daß sie einen weisen Sohn zu gebären wünscht; denn „Weisheit ist das Herz des Weisen“ (G. 290).

Das Märchen von Vidhura und Puṇṇaka war ursprünglich in der Sprache des östlichen Indien abgefaßt. In den Gāthās sind bei der Übersetzung ins Pali noch manche Eigentümlichkeiten der östlichen Sprache stehengeblieben oder nach Ausweis der Metrums wiederherzustellen<sup>2)</sup>. In G. 3 und 5<sup>3)</sup> und in dem Liedchen der Irandatī (G. 7) sind sogar die Nominative Sing. auf -e bewahrt<sup>4)</sup>.

1) 262, 16f. *yan nūnāham tassa me hadaye dohaḍo uppanno ti gilānālayam karēyyan ti*. FAUSBØLL hat, wie seine Interpunktion zeigt, den Satz ebenso wenig verstanden wie COWELL und DUTOIT.

2) Näheres darüber an anderem Orte.

3) *dullabhe hi Vidhuraṣṣa dassane ko Vidhuraṃ idham ānāyissati*. Der Kommentator erklärt den ersten Satz richtig als *asamaḍhuraṣṣa Vidhuraṣṣa dassanam eva dullabham*, und in der birmanischen Handschrift ist *dullabham* und *dassanam* geradezu in den Text gesetzt. Der Übersetzer ließ die Formen auf -e in diesem Fall wohl stehen, weil er sie als Lokative auffaßte.

4) G. 7 *ke gandhabbe ca rakkhase*  
*nāge kimpurise ca mānuse*

Daß die Heimat des Gāthādichters im östlichen Indien lag, geht ferner aus seiner Vertrautheit mit den Örtlichkeiten und Lokalsagen des Ostens hervor. Das wunderbare Juwel, das Puṇṇaka als Einsatz bei dem Spiele verwenden will, liegt auf dem Gipfel des Vepulla in der Nähe von Rājagaha (G. 36ff.)<sup>1)</sup>. In der Prosa wird es mit dem Juwel identifiziert, das eines der sieben Kleinodien des Cakravartin ist<sup>2)</sup>. Auch in der Prosa von J. 479 heißt es, daß dem Kāṅgākönig das Juwelenkleinod vom Vepulla kam<sup>3)</sup>. Das ist jedenfalls nicht die allgemeine Anschauung; nach Mahāvastu II, 158, 15 kommt das Juwel ebenso wie die übrigen sechs Kleinodien des Cakravartin *nabhato*. Die Identifizierung wird daher sekundär sein; der Gāthādichter hat sie offenbar garnicht gekannt, da er dem Vepullajuwel zweimal den Namen Manohara gibt<sup>4)</sup> und es einen Beryll nennt, der Geld herbeizaubern kann<sup>5)</sup>. Auch stimmt der figürliche Schmuck des Juwels, der so ausführlich geschildert wird, nicht zu der Beschreibung des *maṇiratna* des Cakravartin, wie sie in den Pali Suttas<sup>6)</sup> gegeben wird. Das Manoharajuwel auf dem Vepulla-berge gehört also der Lokalsage von Rājagaha an.

In der Gegend von Rājagaha liegt auch der Kālāgiri<sup>7)</sup>, auf dem Puṇṇaka den Vidhura zu töten beabsichtigt (G. 196). Kālāgiri, wofür im Kommentar zum Suttanipāta (201) Kālāpabbata steht, ist sicherlich mit Kālāsīlā identisch, einem Felsen, der sich nach Digh. N. II, 116 am Isigili, dem Rṣigiri der Sanskrittexte, bei Rājagaha erhob.

Auch Puṇṇaka wird durch ein unabhängiges Zeugnis als eine Sagen-gestalt des östlichen Indien erwiesen; in der Mahāmāyūrī wird bemerkt, daß dort vier große Yakṣaheerführer wohnen, die die östliche Himmels-

*ke paṇḍite sabbakāmade  
digharattaṃ bhātā bhavissati.*

Es ist nicht ohne Interesse, daß in G. 43 auf die Verschiedenheit zwischen der westlichen und östlichen Sprache hingewiesen wird. „Deine Sprache ist nicht die eines Kauravya“, sagt der Kurukönig in Indapatta zu dem Yakkha, der vorgibt, aus dem Lande der Aṅga zu stammen.

1) Vepulla wird als einer der fünf Rājagaha umgebenden Berge öfter in der buddhistischen Literatur erwähnt. Er ist offenbar mit dem heutigen Vipulagiri identisch; siehe CUNNINGHAM, ASR. Vol. I, S. 21. Auf den Namen des Berges geht wohl auch das *vipulaḥ* in Mbh. 2, 21, 2f. zurück:

*Vaiḥāro vipulaḥ śailo Varāho Vṛṣabhas tathā |  
tathā Rṣigiris tāta śubhās Caityakapaṅcamāḥ ||  
ete pañca mahāśṛṅgāḥ parvatāḥ śītaladrūmāḥ |  
rakṣantīvābhisamāhatya samāhatāṅgā Girivrajam ||*

2) 271, 23 Rājagahanagarasāmanā Vepullapabbatabhantare cakkavattirañño pari-bhogamaṇiratanaṃ atthi mahānubhāvam; 327, 9 ayaṃ sabbakāmadado cakkavatti-paribhogamaṇi.

3) J. IV, 232, 14 Vepullato maṇiratanaṃ agāmi.

4) G. 40 Manoharaṃ nāma mahānubhāvam; G. 46 Manoharo nāma maṇi mamāyam.

5) G. 40 veḥuriyam; G. 39; 46 dhanāharam.

6) Z. B. Digh. N. II, 175 Maṇi veḥuriyo subho jātimā atthamso superikammakato acho vippasanno sabbākārasampanno. Das ist nichts weiter als die stereotype Beschreibung eines Juwels; vgl. Digh. N. I, 76; Majjh. N. II, 17; III, 121.

7) So ist überall anstatt Kālāgiri zu lesen.

gend beschützen: Dīrgha, Sunetra, Pūrṇaka und Kapila<sup>1)</sup>. Wenn der Gāthādichter den Puṇṇaka in G. 44 vorgeben läßt, er sei ein Aṅga, so zeugt auch das wieder von seiner Verbundenheit mit dem Osten.

Auffällig ist aber, daß er in G. 36 Rājagaha, das sonst überall als Hauptstadt von Magadha gilt, die Stadt des Aṅgakönigs nennt: *Rājagahaṃ sarammaṇaṃ Aṅgassa rañño nagaraṃ durāyutaṃ*. Der Kommentator bemerkt, damals habe das Reich von Magadha dem König von Aṅga gehört (*tadā Aṅgarañño va Magadharajjaṃ ahoṣi*). Zur Zeit des Buddha herrschte jedenfalls Seniya Bimbisāra, der König von Magadha, auch in Campā, der Hauptstadt von Aṅga. Nach Mahāv. 5, 1, 1 berief Bimbisāra den Śreṣṭhisohn Soṇa Kolīvisa in Campā zu einer Versammlung der Gemeindevorsteher seines Landes, und nach Digh. N. I, 111 wies er dem Brahmanen Soṇadaṇḍa Campā für seine Einkünfte an. Es scheint aber, daß die Einverleibung Aṅgas in Magadha erst durch Bimbisāra erfolgte. Majjh. N. II, 163 wird angegeben, daß der Aṅgakönig dem Brahmanen Ghoṭamukha für seinen täglichen Unterhalt 500 *kaḥāpanas* ausgesetzt hatte und daß Ghoṭamukha nach dem Tode des Buddha eine *upaṭṭhānasālā* in Pāṭaliputta erbaute. Die Sage weiß allerdings auch von einer Zeit, da der Aṅgakönig in Magadha herrschte. Im Camppeyyaj. (506) wird erzählt, daß zwischen den beiden, durch den Campāfluß getrennten Reichen beständig Krieg herrschte; bald eroberte der König von Magadha Aṅga, bald der König von Aṅga Magadha<sup>2)</sup>. Zur Zeit der Erzählung war der Aṅgakönig siegreich gewesen, aber mit Hilfe des Campeyyaka Nāga nahm der Magadhakönig den Aṅgakönig gefangen, tötete ihn und beherrschte beide Reiche. Viel Gewicht ist indessen auf diese Erzählung nicht zu legen, da sie sich nur in der Prosa findet und die Gāthās in keiner Weise auf sie Bezug nehmen. Daß der Aṅgakönig nach der Zeit des Bimbisāra in Magadha geherrscht haben sollte, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich. Man könnte daher versucht sein, aus der Angabe der Gāthā zu schließen, daß die Dichtung von Vidhura und Puṇṇaka vor der Zeit der Bimbisāra entstanden sei. Allein hier ist doch Vorsicht geboten. Der Gāthādichter könnte auch absichtlich die Erzählung durch jene Angabe in eine ferne Vergangenheit verlegt haben. Vielleicht war er selbst ein Aṅga und machte zu Verherrlichung seines Heimatlandes den Aṅgakönig zum Herrn von Rājagaha.

Die Geschichte von Puṇṇaka und Vidhura kennt das Epos nicht; sie hängt nur insofern mit der Pāṇḍavasage zusammen, als zwei Gestalten, die dieser Sage angehören, Vidhura und Dhanañjaya, in sie verflochten sind.

1) S. 235 *pūrvāyāṃ Ananda diśāyāṃ catvāro mahāyākṣasenāpatayaḥ prativasanti ye pūrvāṃ diśaṃ rakṣanti paripālayanti || tadayaṭhā Dīrghaḥ Sunetraḥ Pūrṇakaḥ Kapilaś ca*. Auch S. 236 wird Pūrṇaka unter den *dharmabhṛtṛ* des *Vaiśravaṇa* genannt: *Vaiśravaṇasya mahārājasya dharmabhṛtṛṇāṃ nāmāni: Setāgiriḥ Haimavataḥ Pūrṇakaḥ Khadrakovidhaḥ*.

2) J. IV, 454, 13 *kaḥāci Magadhārājā Aṅgarattham gaṇhāti kaḥāci Aṅgarājā Magadharattham*.

Die Gleichheit des Vidhura mit dem Vidura des Epos ist seit langem angenommen, aber niemals, soviel ich weiß, bewiesen worden. Warum der Name *Vidura* hier ebenso wie in anderen Stellen des Jātakabuches zu *Vidhura* umgestaltet ist, ist schwer zu sagen. Vielleicht ist er dem Vidhura angeglichen worden, der im Bunde mit Sañjīva im Pali-Kanon das Paar der Hauptschüler des Arhat Kakusandha bildet<sup>1</sup>). Die Form *Vidhūra* in G. 3; 5; 6<sup>2</sup>) zeigt offenbar metrische Dehnung. Daß die Schreibung mit *dh* jedenfalls nicht ursprünglich ist, geht aus der Beischrift des Bharhut-Reliefs *Vitura-Punakiya jataka* hervor. Hier ist das *Vidura* der Ostsprache durch *Vitura* ersetzt, weil man das *d* fälschlich als ein aus *t* entstandenes *d* auffaßte, während man in *Punaka*, das natürlich Schreibung für *Punnaka* ist, die Form der Ostsprache, die das linguale *ṇ* nicht kennt, unverändert beibehielt.

Die Identität des Weisen mit dem Vidura des Epos beruht aber nicht nur auf der Namensgleichheit. Vierzehnmals wird Vidhura in den Gāthās *kattar* genannt, achtmal *Kurumam kattusettho*. Als Bedeutung von *kattar* wird im PD „an officer of the king“, „the king's messenger“ angegeben. COWELL übersetzt es mit „minister“, DUTOIT mit „Helfer“, FRANCIS (V, 113f.) in der Anrede mit „mine Ancient“. Allein mit dem *kattar* der Gāthās ist unzweifelhaft dasselbe gemeint, wie mit Sk. *ḥṣattṛ*, dem gewöhnlichen Beiwort des Vidhura im Epos<sup>3</sup>). Wahrscheinlich ist *khattar* erst in Ceylon, als man sich über die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks nicht mehr klar war, zu *kattar* umgestaltet worden, indem man das Wort als „Macher“, von *kr*, oder vielleicht als „Zerschneider“, von *kṛt*, deutete. Dafür spricht entschieden, daß sich Dīgh. N. I, 112; 128 die alte Form *khattar* noch erhalten hat.

*ḥṣattṛ*, von *ḥṣad* „zerlegen, schlachten, Speisen zubereiten“ gebildet, bezeichnete ursprünglich den „Vorschneider, Vorleger, Zuteiler der Speisen in einem vornehmen Haushalt“. Das geht noch deutlich aus den Stellen im AV. hervor<sup>4</sup>):

AV. 5, 17, 14:

*nāsya ḥṣattā niṣkagrivaḥ sūnānām ety agrataḥ  
yasmin rāṣṭre nirudhyate brahmajāyācītyā*

„nicht geht ein *ḥṣattṛ* mit einem *niṣka* um den Hals vor den Fleischtellern<sup>5</sup>) her in dem Reiche, wo die Frau eines Brahmanen aus Unverstand zurückgehalten wird.“

1) Majjh. N. I, 333; die Strophen 1, 337 = Theragāthā 1187ff.; Samy. N. 15, 20, 5 (gedruckt Sañjīva); Nidānakathā Jāt. I, 42, 26 (mit C<sup>s</sup>C<sup>v</sup> wohl Vidhuro statt Vidhūro zu lesen).

2) *ko (yo) Vidhūram idham ānayissati*. In G. 3 *dullabhe hi Vidhūrasa dassame* ist *Vidhūrasa* vielleicht nur Druckfehler; vgl. G. 5. Auch in J. 413, 1 *rājā apucchi Vidhūram* ist *Vidhūram* wohl Fehler der Handschriften.

3) 1, 124, 7; 125, 15; 192, 17; 2, 79, 31. 35; 80, 3; 3, 5, 7; 5, 33, 2. 6; 11, 8, 2.

4) Im RV. begegnet das Wort nur in 6, 13, 2, wo es in dem etwas allgemeineren Sinne von „Austeiler“ gebraucht ist. Von Agni wird dort gesagt: *asi ḥṣattā vāmasya deva bhūreḥ*.

5) *sūnā* ist der Teller, auf dem das Fleisch aufgetragen wird, wie aus RV. I, 161, 10; 162, 13 (GELDNER hier richtig); 10, 86, 18 deutlich hervorgeht. Daraus entwickelt

AV. 3, 24, 7:

*upohaś ca samūhaś ca ḥṣattārau te Prajāpate  
tāv iha vahatām sphātim bahum bhūmānam akṣitam*

„Bringer und Häufer sind deine beiden *ḥṣattṛ*, Prajāpati. Mögen sie hierher Fettigkeit bringen, unerschöpfliche Fülle.“

Ebenso sicherlich auch in AV. 9, 6, wo die Bewirtung des Gastes als ein Opfer ausgedeutet wird (Vers 49—51): *yat ḥṣattāram hvayaty ā śrāvayaty eva tat* „wenn er dem *ḥṣattṛ* zuruft, läßt er damit den rituellen Zuruf vernehmen“, *yat pratiśṛṇoti pratyāśrāvayaty eva tal. yat pari-veṣṭārah pātrahastāḥ pūrve cāpare ca prapadyante camasādhvaryava eva te* „wenn (der *ḥṣattṛ*) auf den Zuruf antwortet, so antwortet er damit auf den rituellen Zuruf. Wenn die Aufwärter mit Bechern in den Händen vorn und hinten gehen, so sind das die mit den Trinkgefäßen beschäftigten Priester“.

In der Folgezeit wird der *ḥṣattṛ* noch öfter in den Yajustexten<sup>1</sup>), in Chānd. Up. 4, 1, 5 und in Mahābhārata als Diener eines Fürsten erwähnt. Auch die Lexikographen pflegen das Wort noch zu verzeichnen; die alte vedische Bedeutung kennen sie allerdings nicht mehr. Sie erklären *ḥṣattṛ* als „Wagenlenker“ (*sārathi*)<sup>2</sup>) und als „Türhüter“ (*dvāḥ-stha*)<sup>3</sup>). Nach Sāyaṇa und anderen Kommentatoren soll er insbesondere der Aufseher des Frauenhauses sein<sup>4</sup>). Die Erklärung durch *niyukta* in Hem. An. 2, 159, Med. t 7, beruht wohl auf Vārtt. 6 zu Pāṇ. 3, 2, 135, wo der *ḥṣattṛ* als *yukta*, als „Beamter“, bezeichnet wird. Wenn aber auch aus den Yajustexten nichts Positives über die Tätigkeit des *ḥṣattṛ* zu entnehmen ist, so enthalten sie doch nichts, was die Bedeutungsangaben der Lexikographen rechtfertigte. Jedenfalls war der *ḥṣattṛ* in der spätvedischen Zeit kein Wagenlenker. In den *namas*-Formeln des Śatarudriya (Vāj. S. 16, 26; Kāṭh. 17, 13; Maitr. S. 2, 9, 4; Taitt. S. 4, 5, 4, 2) und in der Liste der Opfermenschen beim Puruṣamedha in Taitt. Br. 3, 4, 1, 7<sup>5</sup>) wird er neben dem *saṃgrahītṛ* genannt. Ebenso steht in der Aufzählung der *ratnīn* bei der Schilderung des Rājasūya (Maitr. S. 2, 6, 5; Kāṭh. S. 15, 4; Taitt. S. 1, 8, 9, 2; Taitt. Br. 1, 7, 3, 5; Śat. Br. 5, 3, 1, 7ff.; Kāty. Śr. S. 15, 3, 9) der *saṃgrahītṛ* vor oder

sich weiter die Bedeutung „Fleischbank, Schlachtbank“. Die *sūnā* war, wie auch die Ableitung von *siv* verrät, aus Gras geflochten. Vgl. Āśv. Gṛh. 4, 8, 22. 27 (hier: *kuśa-sūnā*); Gobh. Gṛh. 4, 2, 12; Śāṅkh. Śr. 17, 3, 2, 3.

1) Außer in den nachher angeführten Stellen noch Śat. Br. 13, 5, 2, 8.

2) Am. 2, 8, 59; 3, 3, 62; Śāśv. 316; Hal. 2, 293; Vaij. 115, 295; Hem. Abh. 760; Hem. An. 2, 159; Med. t 7; Namamālā bei Ujjv. zu Up. 2, 94. So auch Sāyaṇa zu Taitt. Br. 3, 4, 1, 7.

3) Am. 3, 3, 62; Śāśv. 316; Hal. 2, 269; Vaij. 79, 169; 106, 47; Hem. Abh. 721; Hem. An. 2, 159; Med. t 7; Namamālā.

4) Sāyaṇa zu Taitt. S. 1, 8, 9, 2 *ḥṣattā nāma yaṣṭihasto 'ntahpurādhyakṣaḥ*; zu Śat. Br. 5, 3, 1, 7 *ḥṣattā nāma yaṣṭihasto 'ntahpurādhyakṣaḥ sarvesam niyantā pratihārāparaparyāyaḥ*; Raṅga-Rāmānuja zu Chand. Up. 4, 1, 5 *ivikāvṛtīr etasya rūjāntahpurarakṣaṇam*.

5) In der Liste in Vāj. S. 30, 13 ist er versehentlich durch den *anukṣattṛ* ersetzt, der schon in 30, 11 = Taitt. Br. 3, 4, 1, 9 genannt ist.



hinter dem *kṣattr*. In dieser Liste wird aber auch der *govikarta*<sup>1)</sup> und der *bhāgadugha*<sup>2)</sup> genannt, was beweist, daß der *kṣattr* nicht mehr ein einfacher Zerleger des Fleisches oder Zuteiler von Speisen war. Der *kṣattr* scheint sich vielmehr schon in der Brāhmaṇazeit zu einer Art Haushofmeister entwickelt zu haben, einem Beamten, dem die Sorge für den gesamten königlichen Haushalt oblag<sup>3)</sup>. Auf eine solche höhere Stellung läßt auch die Erzählung in der Chānd. Up. schließen, wonach der *kṣattr* neben seinem Herrn, dem *rājan* Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa, auf dem Dache des Hauses schläft. Deutlich ist der *kṣattr* in den älteren Teilen des Mahābhārata als Truchseß gekennzeichnet. Mbh. 5, 148, 4; 8 heißt es sogar, daß Pāṇḍu, als er in den Wald zog, die Herrschaft dem älteren Bruder Dhṛtarāṣṭra und dem jüngeren Bruder, dem *kṣattr* Vidura, übertrug:

*jyēsthāya rājyam adadad Dhṛtarāṣṭrāya dhimate |  
yaviyase tathā kṣattre Kurūnām vamsavardhanaḥ ||  
visṛjya Dhṛtarāṣṭrāya rājyaṃ ca Vidurāya ca |  
cacāra pṛthivīm Pāṇḍuḥ sarvām parapurañjayah ||*

Die Tätigkeit des Vidura als *kṣattr* besteht im Zusammenbringen des Schatzes, in der Verteilung der Gaben, in der Beaufsichtigung der Diener und der Erhaltung des Ganzen (V. 9):

*kośasamvanane dāne bhṛtyānām cānvavekṣaṇe |  
bharaṇe caiva sarvasya Viduraḥ satyasamgaraḥ ||*

Allerdings ist Vidura trotz seiner hohen Stellung nur der erste Diener des Königs. Es wird ausdrücklich gesagt, daß er auf niedrigerem Sitze als der auf dem *simhāsana* thronende Dhṛtarāṣṭra und nach ihm Platz zu nehmen hat und bescheiden wie ein Diener den Yakwedel schwingt (V. 6; 11):

1) In den Taitt. Texten fehlt dieser. Sayana erklärt das Wort in Śat. Br. falsch als *mṛgayāsahāyabhūto gohimsako vyādhaḥ*. Die richtige Bedeutung „Rindzerleger“ ergibt sich aus Mbh. 4, 2, 7, wo Bhīmasena erklärt:

*ārāliko govikartā sūpakartā niyodhakah |  
āsam Yudhiṣṭhirasyāham iti vaksyāmi pṛcchataḥ ||*

Nilakaṇṭha gibt allerdings auch hier ganz abwegige Erklärungen, führt aber doch einen Śloka an, in dem wenigstens die Bezeichnung der *govikart* zur Küche noch hervortritt:

*ārāliko 'nnapāki syāt sūpakartā tu śākakṛt |  
tailānam pācate yas tu govikartā sa ucyate ||*

2) Sayana erklärt das Wort in Taitt. S.: *yo rājñāḥ pṛāptam śastham bhāgam prajābhyo gṛhṇāti sa bhāgadughaḥ*, in Śat. Br.: *rājñāḥ pṛāptam śastham bhāgam prajābhyo gṛhītva rājñe dogdhi prayacchatīti bhāgadughaḥ*. Die Erklärung ist wiederum falsch. Zu dem in einem Yajus vorkommenden *Pūṣṇo hastābhyām* (Vaj. S. 1, 10) bemerkt das Śat. Br. (1, 1, 2, 17): *Pūṣā bhāgadugho 'śanam pāñibhyām upanidhātā*, woraus deutlich hervorgeht, daß der *bhāgadugha* der Zuteiler von Speisen war. Aus demselben Grunde wird er Vaj. S. 30, 13 mit dem Aufwärter zusammengestellt: *svargāya lokāya bhāgadugham varṣiṣṭhāya nākāya pariveṣṭāram*.

3) An und für sich ist also die Bedeutung *samnidhātā kośādhyakṣah*, die Hariśvāmin für *kṣattr* in der Erklärung der alten Gāthā gibt, nicht unwichtig, wenn ich daß gerade dort *kṣattr* noch den einfachen Speiseverteiler bezeichnet

*nīcaih śhītvā tu Vidura upāste sma vinītavat |  
preṣyavat puruṣavyāghro vālavayanam ukṣipan ||  
simhāsanaśho nṛpatir Dhṛtarāṣṭro mahābalaḥ |  
anvāsyamānaḥ satatam Vidureṇa mahātmanā ||*

In wesentlich anderer Stellung tritt uns der *kṣattr* im Virāṭaparvan entgegen. Hier lesen wir 4, 63, 50ff.:

*tato dvāḥsthah praviśyaiva Virāṭam idam abravīt |  
Bṛhannaḍāsahāyas te putro dvāry Uttarah śhītah ||  
tato hr̥ṣṭo Matsyarājaḥ kṣattāram idam abravīt |  
praveśyetām<sup>1)</sup> ubhau tūrṇam darśanepsur aham tayoḥ ||  
kṣattāram Kururājas tu śanaiḥ karna upājapat |  
Uttarah praviśatv eko na praveśyā Bṛhannaḍā ||*

„Darauf trat der Türhüter ein und sagte zu Virāṭa: ‚Dein Sohn Uttara steht, von Bṛhannaḍā begleitet, an der Tür.‘ Darauf sagte der Matsyaka-könig erfreut zu dem *kṣattr*: ‚Beide sollen schleunigst eingelassen werden; ich wünsche sie zu sehen.‘ Der Kurukönig aber flüsterte dem *kṣattr* ins Ohr: ‚Uttara möge allein eintreten; Bṛhannaḍā ist nicht einzulassen.‘ Hier ist doch offenbar mit dem *kṣattr* dieselbe Person gemeint wie mit dem *dvāḥstha*, der *kṣattr* also nichts weiter als ein einfacher Türhüter, wie die späteren Lexikographen angeben<sup>2)</sup>. Er zeigt sich hier aufs neue, wie das vierte Parvan des Mahābhārata sprachlich wie sachlich einer jüngeren Periode der Epik angehört.

Es ist für die chronologische Stellung der kanonischen Palitexte einschließlich der Gāthās der Jātakas von Bedeutung, daß sie in ihren Angaben über die Stellung des *kṣattr* durchaus mit den spätvedischen Texten und den älteren Bestandteilen des Epos übereinstimmen. Dīgh. N. I, 112ff. wird erzählt, wie der vornehme und reiche Brahmane Soṇadaṇḍa in Campā, während er am Tage im oberen Stockwerke seines Palastes liegt, die Menschen in Scharen zum Gaggarāteiche strömen sieht. Er fragt seinen *khattar* nach der Ursache, und als er erfährt, daß die Leute den Buddha zu sehen wünschen, schickt er ihn aus, um dem Meister zu melden, auch er werde ihn aufsuchen. Dieselbe Geschichte wird mutatis mutandis Dīgh. N. I, 128ff. von dem Brahmanen Kūṭadanta in Khānumata berichtet. Die Erzählung erinnert auffällig an das in der Chānd. Up. geschilderte Gespräch des Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa mit seinem *kṣattr* auf dem Söller des Hauses, das damit endet, daß der *kṣattr* ausgesandt wird, um den Raikva aufzufinden. Buddhaghosa erklärt (I, 280) *khattar* in den Suttas als einen hohen Beamten, der alle Fragen beantworten kann (*khattā vuccati pucchita-pucchita-pañham vyākaraṇasamattho mahāmatto*). In G. 45ff. des Vessantarajātaka (547) wird erzählt, wie König Sañjaya seinen *kattar* zu Vessantara schickt,

1) Warum sollte nicht diese Form anstatt *praveśyatām* in den Text aufgenommen werden?

2) Ganz anders in dem älteren Epos. Man vergleiche z. B. die Szene 5, 33, 1ff., wo der *kṣattr* Vidura durch den *dvāḥstha* bei Dhṛtarāṣṭra eingeführt wird.

um ihm die Verbannung mitzuteilen. In G. 48f. wird der *kattar* auf seinem Wege zu dem Prinzen geschildert: er hat sich das Haupt gewaschen, sich mit Sandel gesalbt, ein schönes Gewand, Armschmuck und Juwelenohrringe angelegt:

*sa kattā taramāno va Sivirājena pesito |*  
*āmuttatahathābharāṇo suvattho candanabhūsito ||*  
*sisaṃ nahāto udake so āmuttamaṇḍikuṇḍalo |*  
*upāgami purāṇaṃ rammaṇaṃ Vessantaranivesanaṃ ||*

Im Ummadantij. (527) wird Ahipāraka, der seinem König seine Frau, die schöne Ummadantī, anbietet, in G. 4 ein wohlhabender Beamter (*amacca*) des Königs genannt (*iddho ca phito ca subāhiko ca amacco te aññataro janinda*). Er wohnt in einem Hause, das wie das Haus eines vornehmen Mannes von einer weißen Mauer umgeben ist (G. 1 *nivesanaṃ kassa nudaṃ Sunanda pākārena paṇḍumayena guttaṃ*). Seine Frau trägt reichen Schmuck (G. 8ff.). Der König nennt ihn seinen Freund (G. 38; 40 *sakhā mamaṃ Ummadantī tuvañ ca*). In G. 32; 38; 40 aber redet der König ihn *katte* an, in G. 42 *kattaputta*<sup>1)</sup>. Wenn der Prosaerzähler Ahipāraka zu einem *senāpati* macht (J. V, 210, 24; 215, 1; 217, 27; 227, 14), so setzt er sich damit in Widerspruch zu den Gāthās<sup>2)</sup>.

Genau so wie der *kattar* Ahipāraka wird Vidhura in unserem Jātaka geschildert. Auch er wird *amacca* genannt (G. 99). Er lebt in fast fürstlicher Pracht: er bewohnt drei Paläste (G. 117) und hat zahlreiche Dienerschaft (G. 182; 197); seine Frau ist mit Sandel und wohlriechenden Essenzen gesalbt (G. 120).

Eine ganz andere Bedeutung hat *kṣattr* in der Rechtsliteratur; aus der Amtsbezeichnung ist hier der Name einer Mischkaste geworden. Nach Baudh. 1, 16, 8; 1, 17, 7; Manu 10, 12, 16; Yājñ. 1, 94; Nār. 12, 104f.; 110; 112; Kauṭ. 165, 4<sup>3)</sup> ist der *kṣattr* der Sohn eines Śūdra und einer Kṣatriyā. Dieselbe Angabe findet sich Am. 3, 3, 62; Śāsv. 316; Viśva (nach Komm.); Hem. Abh. 897; Hem. An. 2, 159; Med. t 7. Abweichend wird Gaut. 4, 17 der *kṣattr* als der Sohn eines Vaiśya und einer Brahmanin erklärt<sup>4)</sup>, ebenso in einem von Raṅga-Rāmānuja zu Chānd. Up. 4, 1, 5 zitierten Merkvers: *vaiśyād brāhmaṇakanyāyāṃ*

1) Der Kommentator erklärt (226, 6) *kattaputtā ti piṭā 'ssa kattā va tena taṃ evaṃ ālapati*, allein *putta* steht hier nur im Sinne der Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Gruppe.

2) Ein *senāpati* ist der Gatte der Ummadantī auch in zwei Versionen der Erzählung im Kathāsaritsāgara (15, 63ff. und 91, 3ff.), während er in der dritten Version (83, 62ff.) ein *mantrīmukhya* genannt wird. Ob zwischen der Prosaerzählung der Jātaka und dem Kathāsaritsāgara ein Zusammenhang besteht, bedarf der Untersuchung. In der Bearbeitung der Jātaka in der Jātakamālā, die sich eng an das Original anschließt, wird Ahipāraka nur als Beamter (*amātya*) des Königs bezeichnet (83, 11; 84, 5; 87, 15). Das ist durchaus begreiflich, da zu Ārya-Sūras Zeit der Ausdruck *kṣattr* als Amtsbezeichnung nicht mehr gebräuchlich war.

3) Die im Kauṭ. gebrauchte Form ist *kṣatta*, fem. *kṣatta*.

4) So richtig BÜHLER, SBE. II, 198. Die Reihenfolge in der Aufzählung ist bei den *pratiloma*-Kasten dieselbe wie bei den *anuloma*-Kasten in 4, 16. Zuerst kommen die *anantara*, dann die *ekāntara*, dann die *dvyanantara*. Es ergibt sich also das Schema:

*kṣattā nāma prajāyate*. Wiederum anders wird Am. 2, 10, 3 gesagt, daß der *kṣattr* der Sohn eines Śūdra mit einer Āryā sei, wo Āryā nach 2, 6, 14 soviel wie Vaiśyā ist. Damit stimmt die von Ujvaladatta zu Up. 2, 94 zitierte Nāmamālā überein, die *vaiśyāyāṃ api śūdraje* lehrt. Hem. An. 2, 159 wird aber auch allgemein „Sohn eines Sklaven“ (*dā-saja*), Med. t 7 „Sohn einer Sklavin“ (*bhujīśyātānaye 'pi syāt*)<sup>1)</sup> als Bedeutung von *kṣattr* angeführt. Auffällig ist, daß Manu 10, 13 der *kṣattr* und der *vaidehaka*, obwohl sie *pratiloma* sind, mit *anuloma*-Mischkasten wie *ambasṭha* und *ugra* auf eine Stufe gestellt werden.

Abgesehen von der allgemeinen Bezeichnung *bhujīśyātānaya* in der späten Medinī, trifft auch nicht eine einzige dieser Angaben auf den *kṣattr* Vidura des Epos zu. Allerdings gehört auch Vidura trotz seiner angesehenen Stellung einer niederen Kaste an, wie sich aus der ausführlichen Auseinandersetzung seiner Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse in Mbh. 1, Adhy. 105f. ergibt. Nach dem Tode des Vicitravīrya veranlaßt seine Mutter Satyavatī den Vyāsa, den sie vor ihrer Vermählung mit Śāntanu von Parāśara empfangen hat, seinem Stiefbruder, in dessen Witwen, Ambikā und Ambālikā Nachkommenschaft zu erwecken. Vyāsa erzeugt mit der Ambikā den Dhṛtarāṣṭra, der blind geboren wird, da Ambikā vor dem furchtbaren Anblick des Ṛṣi die Augen geschlossen hat, mit der Ambālikā einen zweiten Sohn, der den Namen Pāṇḍu erhält, weil die Mutter bei der Annäherung des Ṛṣi erblaßt ist. Als Vyāsa den dritten Sohn mit der Ambikā erzeugen will, schickt diese, da sie sich vor dem Aussehen und dem Gestank des Ṛṣi fürchtet, eine *dāsi* zu ihm, mit der er den Vidura erzeugt. Vidura ist also, wie Mbh. 1, 100, 27 ausdrücklich gesagt wird, der Bruder des Dhṛtarāṣṭra und des Pāṇḍu, und damit der Oheim der Pāṇḍavas. Andererseits sagt er Mbh. 5, 41, 5 von sich selber, daß er in einen Śūdramutterleibe geboren sei: *śūdra-yonāv ahaṃ jātah*, woraus hervorgeht, daß die *dāsi* als Śūdrā galt.

*sūta* — *kṣatriya-brāhmaṇī*  
*māgadhā* — *vaiśya-kṣatriyā*  
*āyogava* — *śūdra-vaiśyā*  
*kṣattr* — *vaiśya-brāhmaṇī*  
*vaidehaka* — *śūdra-kṣatriyā*  
*caṇḍāla* — *śūdra-brāhmaṇī*.

Der *kṣattr* und der *vaidehaka* haben hier Manu und Yājñ. gegenüber die Plätze getauscht. Falsch ist die Erklärung von J. J. MEYER (Kauṭilya Übers. 770), der Umstellungen annehmen muß. Dagegen hat MEYER mit seiner Erklärung von 4, 16 offenbar BÜHLER gegenüber recht. Hier ist das Schema:

*savarṇa* — *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriyā*  
*savarṇa* — *kṣatriya-vaiśyā*  
*savarṇa* — *vaiśya-śūdrā*  
*ambasṭha* — *brāhmaṇa-vaiśyā*  
*ugra* — *kṣatriya-śūdrā*  
*niśāda, daruśyanta, paraśava* — *brāhmaṇa-śūdrā*.

*niśāda* gilt überall als der Sohn eines Brahmanen und einer Śūdra; das nur hier als Kastenname belegte *daruśyanta* scheint ein weiteres Synonym zu sein.

1) Nach Med. y 99 ist *bhujīśyā* Synonym von *dāsi*. Die Angabe geht offenbar auf das Epos zurück.

Für den Sohn eines Brahmanen und einer Śūdrā werden in den Dharmasāstras und im Kauṭīliya zwei Namen angegeben, *niṣāda* und *pāraśava*<sup>1)</sup>. Yājñ. 1, 91 lehrt *viprāt . . . śūdryāṃ niṣādo jātaḥ pāraśavo 'pi vā*, ebenso Kauṭ. 164, 19 *brāhmaṇasya . . . śūdryāṃ niṣādaḥ pāraśavo vā*. Auch Gaut. 4, 16 bezeichnen, wie schon bemerkt, *niṣāda* und *pāraśava*, und außerdem *dauṣyanta*, dasselbe. Baudhāyana, der 1, 16, 7; 17, 13; 14 den Ausdruck *niṣāda* gebraucht, bemerkt 1, 17, 3f., daß einige den *niṣāda pāraśava* nennen: *brāhmaṇāt . . . śūdryāṃ niṣādaḥ | pāraśava ity eke*. Manu, der ebenfalls im allgemeinen (10, 18; 34<sup>2)</sup>; 36; 39) *niṣāda* gebraucht, sagt 10, 8: *niṣādaḥ śūdrakanyāyāṃ yaḥ parāśava ucyate*. Govinda und Nārāyaṇa erklären, wie BÜHLER bemerkt, daß der zweite Name hier hinzugefügt sei, um den *niṣāda* von einer gleichnamigen Fischerkaste zu unterscheiden, der Mbh. 13, 48, 12 derselbe Ursprung zugeschrieben wird wie sonst dem *kṣattr: (jāyate) śūdrān niṣādo matsyaghaṇaḥ kṣatriyāyāṃ vyatikramāt*. Es scheint aber auch zwischen dem *anuloma niṣāda* und *pāraśava* ein Unterschied bestanden zu haben. Nārada 12, 108 sucht ihn darin zu finden, daß *niṣāda* der Sohn eines Kṣatriya und einer Śūdrā, *pāraśava* der höherstehende Sohn eines Brāhmaṇa mit einer Śūdrā sei: *śūdryāṃ kṣatriyāt tadvan niṣādo nāma jāyate | śūdrā pāraśavaṃ sūte brāhmaṇād uttarāṃ sutam*<sup>3)</sup>. Allein das steht im Widerspruch zu allen älteren Quellen und wird eine Verlegenheitserklärung sein. Anders liegt die Sache bei Baudhāyana. Er lehrt 2, 3, 29f. *dvijātīpravarāc chūdryāṃ jāto niṣādaḥ || kāmāt pāraśava (iti putrāḥ)*. Govindasvāmin erklärt das dahin, daß der Sohn eines Brahmanen von einer Śūdrā-Ehefrau *niṣāda*, der von einer Śūdrā-Konkubine *pāraśava* sei. Das ist offenbar richtig. Auch Manu 9, 178 wird angegeben, daß der *pāraśava* die Frucht der Liebe eines Brahmanen zu einer Śūdrā sei: *yaṃ brāhmaṇas tu śūdryāṃ kāmād utpādayet sutam | sa pārayann eva śavas tasmāt pāraśavaḥ smṛtaḥ*. Vasiṣṭha scheint die gleiche Auffassung zu haben. Er lehrt zunächst in 18, 8 *ekāntarādvyantarātryantarāsu jātā brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyair ambasthagraniṣādā bhavanti*. Die Regel bereitet die größten Schwierigkeiten. J. J. MEYER, Kauṭ. 770, nimmt Chiasmus an, was ich in einem Sūtratext für ausgeschlossen halte, und kommt schließlich dabei doch nur zu dem Ergebnis, daß der Vaiśya mit der Śūdrā den *ambastha* erzeugt, was dem einstimmigen Zeugnis aller anderen Quellen widerspricht. Meines Erachtens ist der Text hier wie an vielen anderen Stellen interpoliert, und zwar von einem vollständigen Ignoranten. Eine *tryan-*

1) Danach auch bei den Lexikographen; Am. 3, 3, 209 *śūdryāṃ vipratānaye . . . pāraśavo mataḥ*; Vaij. 72, 7 (*brāhmaṇāt sūte*) *niṣādaṃ tu śūdrā pāraśavaś ca saḥ*; Hem. Abh. 896 (*dvijātī*) *pāraśavanīṣādau śūdryaṃ sūti*; Hem. An. 4, 306f. *pāraśavaḥ . . . śūdryāṃ vipratānaye*; Med. v 60f. *pāraśavaḥ pumān . . . dvijāc chūdrasute 'pi ca*.

2) Hier scheint es sich aber, wie auch GOVINDA bemerkt, um den *pratiloma niṣāda* zu handeln.

3) J. J. MEYER, Kauṭ. S. 766 übersetzt falsch: „die Śūdrā gebiert von einem Brahmanen den *pāraśava*, den letzten seiner Söhne.“

*tarā*, „eine, bei der die dazwischen stehenden drei sind“, d. h. eine Frau, deren Kaste durch drei andere von der Kaste des Ehemanns getrennt ist, kann es überhaupt nicht geben, und der Ausdruck kommt in den entsprechenden Auseinandersetzungen in der Smṛtiliteratur sonst auch nirgends vor. Ferner kann der Vaiśya in absteigender Linie nicht einmal eine *ekāntarā* haben, geschweige denn eine *dvyantarā*; er gehört überhaupt nicht hierher. Streicht man *tryantarā* und *vaiśya*, so ist alles in Ordnung. Es werden zunächst die beiden *ekāntarā*-Fälle, dann der einzige *dvyantarā*-Fall gelehrt: Vaiśyā und Brāhmaṇa erzeugen den *ambastha*, Śūdrā und Kṣatriya den *ugra*, Śūdrā und Brāhmaṇa den *niṣāda*. Mag man die vorgeschlagene Erklärung aber annehmen oder nicht, jedenfalls gibt die Regel an, daß der Sohn eines Brahmanen von einer Śūdrā ein *niṣāda* ist. Dann aber fährt der Text in 18, 9 fort: *śūdrāṇāṃ pāraśavaḥ*, was doch nicht heißen kann: „(the son of a Brahman and) of a Śūdra woman (is) a *pāraśava*“, wie BÜHLER übersetzt, sondern: „der *pāraśava* gehört zu den Śūdras“. Daran schließen sich noch weitere Bemerkungen über die Niedrigkeit des *pāraśava* und der Śūdras. Der Wechsel des Ausdrucks in Sūtra 8 und 9 scheint doch einen Unterschied zwischen dem *niṣāda* und dem *pāraśava* anzudeuten, der wiederum darin bestanden haben wird, daß der *niṣāda* der in der Ehe erzeugte Sohn ist, während der *pāraśava* der außereheliche Sohn ist, der deshalb auch nach der Meinung Vasiṣṭhas direkt zur Kaste der Śūdras zu rechnen ist<sup>1)</sup>.

1) Nach Hem. An. 4, 307 soll *pāraśava* auch den mit der Frau eines anderen erzeugten Sohn bedeuten (*tanaye ca parastrīyāḥ*). Die Medinī hat das übernommen (v 61 *parastrītanaye*). In dieser Bedeutung, die wohl auf das *parastrī paraśum ca* im Gaṇa *haritādāyaḥ* (Pāṇ. 4, 1, 100) zurückgeht, ist das Wort in der Literatur nicht zu belegen. J. J. MEYER, Kauṭ. Übers. S. 259; 767f., behauptet, *pāraśava* habe im Kauṭ., wenigstens an einigen Stellen, und öfters im Mbh. die umfassendere Bedeutung „Bastard“. Für das Kauṭ. ist das schon deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil dort 164, 19 ausdrücklich *śūdryāṃ niṣādaḥ pāraśavo vā* gelehrt wird. Aber auch im einzelnen liegt nicht der geringste Grund für die Annahme MEYERS vor. Kauṭ. 163, 13f. wird zunächst festgesetzt, daß in dem Falle, daß zwei Frauen da sind, eine von gleicher, eine von ungleicher Kaste, aber nur ein einziger Sohn, dieser als Erbe alles bekommen und die Verwandten erhalten soll. Dann wird die Ausnahme dazu konstatiert: *brāhmaṇānāṃ tu pāraśavas trītyam aśam labheta | dvāvāṃsau sapiṇḍaḥ kulyo vāsanaḥ svadhādānāhetoḥ | tadabhāve pitur ācāryo 'nēvāsi ca*, „Von Brahmanen aber soll der *pāraśava* den dritten Teil (des Vermögens) bekommen, zwei Teile ein *sapiṇḍa* oder ein anderer Familienangehöriger, weil dieser das Totenopfer darbringen muß. Wenn ein solcher nicht vorhanden ist, dann der Lehrer oder der Schüler des Vaters“. Warum soll *pāraśava* hier nicht die gewöhnliche Bedeutung haben? Die allgemeinere Bedeutung „Bastard“ soll ferner Kauṭ. 236, 3 vorliegen, „wo der *pāraśava* und der Sohn einer Dienerin nebeneinander auftreten, dort beides außerehelich erzeugte Kinder des Fürsten“. Aber an der Stelle ist von einem Fürsten garnicht die Rede; es handelt sich vielmehr um einen verräterischen, im Dienste des Königs stehenden hohen Beamten. Nachdem auseinandergesetzt ist, daß der König den *mahāmātra* durch einen mißvergnügten Bruder umbringen lassen soll, wird gesagt, daß an Stelle des Bruders auch ein *pāraśava* oder der Sohn einer Dienerin verwendet werden könnten: *tena pāraśavaḥ paricārikāputraś ca vyākhyātam*. Da es unter den *mahāmātras* sicherlich zu allen Zeiten Brahmanen gab, sehe ich nicht ein, warum sich *pāraśava* nicht auf

Wir wollen danach annehmen, daß Vidura, der von Vyāsa mit der untergeschobenen Śūdrā erzeugte Sohn, der Kaste nach ein *pāraśava* war. Seltsamerweise heißt es aber Mbh. 1, 102, 23, daß Pāṇḍu König war, da Dhṛtarāṣṭra die Herrschaft nicht übernehmen konnte, weil er blind war, Vidura nicht, weil er ein *karāṇa* war:

*Dhṛtarāṣṭras tv acakṣuṣtvād rājyaṃ na pratyapadyata |  
karāṇatvāc ca Viduraḥ Pāṇḍur āsin mahipatiḥ ||*

Die Lesart *karāṇatvāc ca* wird von den besten Handschriften geboten und ist auch durch DEVABODHA bezeugt, aber die Bezeichnung des Vidura als *karāṇa* ist mit allem, was wir sonst über das Wort als Kastennamen ermitteln können, unvereinbar. Nach Manu 10, 22 ist *karāṇa* der Sohn eines *vṛātya* Rājanya<sup>1)</sup>, nach Gaut. 4, 21, Yājñ. 1, 92 und den Lexikographen<sup>2)</sup> der Sohn eines Vaiśya und einer Śūdrā. Mbh. 1, 107, 35f. wird Yuyutsu, der Sohn des Dhṛtarāṣṭra von einer Vaiśyā<sup>3)</sup>, *karāṇa* genannt:

*Gāndhāryāṃ kliṣyamānāyām udareṇa vivardhatā |  
Dhṛtarāṣṭraṃ mahābāhuṃ vaiśyā paryacarāt kila ||  
tasmīn saṃvatsare rājan Dhṛtarāṣṭrān mahayaśāḥ |  
jajñe dhīmāms tatas tasyām Yuyutsuḥ karāṇo nṛpa ||*

Auch Mbh. 1, 57, 99 erhält er das Beiwort *karāṇa*. Nun ist aber, ebenso wie *kṣattr*, doch auch *karāṇa* ursprünglich wohl eine Amtsbezeichnung gewesen, die erst später zu einem Kastennamen wurde, und für Yuyutsu mag *karāṇa* noch in dem älteren Sinne gebraucht sein. Nach einer Angabe Kullūkas zu Manu 10, 6 wird dem *pāraśava*, *ugra* und *karāṇa* die Oberaufsicht über Geld und Getreide, königlicher Dienst und Schutz der Festungen und des Frauenhauses zugeschrieben<sup>4)</sup>. Ein derartiges

den Sohn eines Brahmanen und einer Śūdrā beziehen soll; gegen *mahāmātra*s anderer Kasten wurde offenbar der *paricārikāputra* gebraucht. Auf die Bedeutung von *pāraśava* im Mbh. werden wir noch zurückkommen. Ob der „irgendwo erzeugte“ (*yatrakvacanotpāditaḥ*), der Viṣṇu 15, 27 als der zwölfte in der Liste der Söhne angeführt wird, mit den *niśāda* und *pāraśava* identisch ist, wie lange vor MEYER schon BÜHLER annahm, ist zum mindesten zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls aber kann doch jener reichlich dunkle Ausdruck nicht die zahlreichen klaren Zeugnisse dafür entkräften, daß *niśāda* und *pāraśava* den Sproß eines Brahmanen von einer Śūdrā bezeichnen. Auch was MEYER über den *parajāta* in Kauṭ. 164, 11 bemerkt, überzeugt mich nicht. Meines Erachtens kennt auch Kauṭ. nur zwölf Arten von Söhnen, doch würde es zu weit führen, hier näher darauf einzugehen.

1) Das wird Vaij. 76, 110 noch genauer spezifiziert: *prākprasūtasvajātīḥ sā (kṣatriyā vṛātyā) varuṣaṃ karāṇas ca saḥ*.

2) Am. 2, 10, 2; Vaij. 73, 33; Hem. Abh. 897.

3) Er wird daher öfter *vaiśyāputra* genannt (2, 74, 25; 5, 23, 13; 9, 29, 86; 96; 15, 15, 8; 17, 1, 6; Einschub 1, 528. 1149. In 1, 107, 35 lesen aber die südindischen Handschriften *veśyā sā tv Ambikāputraṃ kanyā paricāra ha*. Auch 5, 23, 13 haben die Granthahandschriften *veśyāputraḥ*. Ich halte es nicht für unmöglich, daß *veśyā* die ursprüngliche Lesart ist, doch wird man weitere handschriftliche Beglaubigung abwarten müssen. Außer *vaiśyāputra* wird Yuyutsu aber 5, 23, 13; 6, 43, 99 auch *rājaputra* genannt.

4) Später ist *karāṇa* soviel wie Schreiber und Spion (Vaij. 78, 147; 137, 45; 80, 205; Hem. Abh. *śeṣa* 106.

Amt kommt auch Yuyutsu zu. Während die Pāṇḍavas in der Einsiedelei Satayūpas weilen, üben Yuyutsu und der Purohita Dhaumya im Namen Yudhiṣṭhira den Schutz der Stadt aus (19, 23, 15: *puraguptim pracakratuh*), und vor dem letzten Auszug macht Yudhiṣṭhira Parikṣit zum König in Hastināpura, Vajra in Indraprastha, übergibt aber die Verwaltung des Reiches dem Yuyutsu (17, 1, 6: *rājyaṃ paridadau sarvaṃ vaiśyāputre Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*). Vielleicht ist *karāṇa* auch Mbh. 1, 102, 23, wo es von Vidura gebraucht ist, in diesem Sinne zu verstehen, wenn auch zuzugeben ist, daß dort eigentlich nur die Angabe der Kaste am Platze gewesen wäre. Man hat das in Indien später selbst empfunden und für *karāṇa pāraśava* eingesetzt, also gerade den Kastennamen, den wir nach dem oben Dargelegten erwarten sollten<sup>1)</sup>. Nilakaṇṭha bezeichnet *karāṇa* geradezu als falsche Lesart (*apapāṭha*). Daß Vidura in der Tat, wie dem Amte nach ein *kṣattr*, so der Kaste nach ein *pāraśava* war, wird durch ein unabhängiges Zeugnis erwiesen. Mbh. 1, 106, 12ff. wird angegeben, daß Bhīṣma ihn mit einem *pāraśavi*-Mädchen des Königs Devaka, also wie es sich gehört, mit einem Mädchen der gleichen Kaste verheiratete:

*atha pāraśaviṃ kanyāṃ Devakasya mahīpateḥ |  
rūpayawanasampannām sa śuśrāvāpagāsutaḥ ||  
tatas tu varayitvā tām ānāyya puruṣarṣabhaḥ |  
vivāhaṃ kārayāmāsa Vidurasya mahātmanaḥ ||  
tasyām cotpādayāmāsa Viduraḥ Kurunandanaḥ |  
putrān vinayasampannān ātmanaḥ sadṛśān guṇaiḥ ||*

Bedeutet *kanyā* hier Tochter, so würde daraus hervorgehen, daß auch der Sprößling eines Kṣatriya mit einer Śūdrā *pāraśava* genannt wurde<sup>2)</sup>, wie Nārāyaṇa zu Manu 9, 178 in der Tat angibt. Ich halte es für wahrscheinlicher, daß ein aus der Vereinigung eines Brahmanen mit einer Śūdrā stammendes Mädchen gemeint ist, das als Sklavin dem Devaka gehörte.

Genau die gleichen Familienverhältnisse ergeben sich für den *kattar* Vidhura des Jātaka. In der Prosa (262, 5) wird Vidhura allerdings der Sohn des Brahmanen Candra (*Candrabrahmaṇaputta*) genannt, allein das ist eine Erfindung des Prosaverfassers, die seiner krassen Unwissenheit entspringt. Die Angabe wird durch die Erzählung selbst widerlegt. In G. 99 legt Puṇṇaka dem Vidhura die Frage vor, ob er ein Sklave oder ein Verwandter des Kurukönigs sei (*dāso si rañño uda vāsi nāti*), und dieser entscheidet sie in G. 101 (siehe oben S. 108) dahin, daß er ein

1) Daß hier eine spätere Verbesserung vorliegt und der Herausgeber mit Recht *karāṇatvāc ca* in den Text aufgenommen hat, scheint mir daraus hervorzugehen, daß in einer Anzahl von Handschriften noch gegen das Metrum *pāraśavatvāc ca* steht. Man hat also zunächst mechanisch *karāṇa* durch *pāraśava* ersetzt und erst nachträglich das Metrum durch Streichung des *ca* geglättet.

2) Für gewöhnlich ist aber der Sohn eines Kṣatriya und einer Śūdrā ein *ugra*, und Nārada 12, 108 nennt ihn ausdrücklich einen *niśāda*, im Gegensatz zu dem *pāraśava*; siehe oben S. 121.

geborener Sklave sei und daher der Sklave des Königs, aber auch jedes anderen, an den der König ihn etwa verschenken sollte<sup>1</sup>). Der Prosaverfasser ahnt nicht, worauf die Frage beruht. Er hilft sich damit, dem Vidhura allgemeine Erwägungen in den Mund zu legen: *ayaṃ maṃ evaṃ pucchati, ahaṃ kho paṇ' etaṃ rañño nātīti pi rañño uttarito ti pi rañño na kiṃci homiti pi saññāpetuṃ sakkomi, imasmim' pana loke saccasamo avassayo nāma n'atthi, saccam eva kathetuṃ vatṭati*. Die Frage, die den Höhe- und Kernpunkt des ersten Teiles der Erzählung bildet, läßt sich überhaupt nur verstehen, wenn man die Identität des Vidhura mit dem epischen Vidura annimmt, der als der von Vyāsa mit einer Sklavin erzeugte Sohn zugleich von der Mutter her ein Sklave und vom Vater her der Oheim der Pāṇḍavas ist.

Aus dieser Doppelstellung erklärt sich auch der Rat des Vidhura an seine Söhne, eine Aufforderung des Königs, den Sitz mit ihm zu teilen, abzulehnen, da es einem Manne aus niedriger Kaste (*nihinajacco*) nicht zieme, mit dem tigergleichen König den Sitz zu teilen (G. 124f.). Vidhura und seine Söhne sind eben, obwohl der König sie Vettern nennt, aus niedriger Kaste, und das *samāsana*, das Sitzen zweier Personen auf dem gleichen Sitze, ist nur Angehörigen der gleichen Kaste gestattet, wie es in dem allerdings nachträglich hinter Mbh. 5, 35, 12 eingeschobenen Verse heißt:

*pitāputrau saḥāsītāṃ dvau viprau dvau ca pāṭhivau  
dvau caiva vaiśyau śūdrau ca na tv anyāv itaretarau.*

Dem Gāthāverfasser waren also die Abstammungs- und die Familienverhältnisse des Vidura, wie sie im Epos erscheinen, genau bekannt. Beiderseits wird ihm eine zahlreiche Familie zudiktiert. Wenn in G. 121 seine Frau Anujjā, seine Schwiegertochter Cetā genannt wird, welche beiden wir sonst nicht kennen, so werden wir darin Erfindungen des Gāthādichters sehen dürfen. Vor allem jedoch ist Vidura der Kenner der Nīti und des Dharma. Als solchen weist ihn schon sein Name aus, und Mbh. 15, 28, 11ff. erklärt Vyāsa, Dharma sei durch den Fluch Māṇḍavyas zu Vidura geworden (was Dharma selbst 3, 315, 22 bestätigt). Er steht daher dem Yudhiṣṭhira gleich, der ja ebenfalls eine Inkarnation des Dharma ist, wenn er auch wie ein Diener erscheint:

*yo hi Dharmah sa Viduro, Viduro yaḥ sa Pāṇḍavaḥ  
sa eṣa rājan dṛśyate Pāṇḍavaḥ preṣyavat sthitaḥ.*

*Dharma cārthe ca kuśalaḥ* wird er Mbh. 1, 108, 19 genannt, *dharmārthakuśalaḥ śuciḥ* 5, 34, 1, *sarvadharmajñāḥ* 11, 9, 9, *dharmavittamaḥ* 11, 10, 3, womit ich nicht alle Stellen genannt habe. Viduras Belehrungen über Fragen der Nīti und des Dharma füllen bisweilen mehrere Kapitel, wie er denn auch 15, 28, 13 über die großen Nītilehrer der Götter und

1) Die Ansicht MEYERS, S. 768, daß *pāraśava* allgemein den unehelichen Sohn bezeichne, scheint mir auch für das Mbh. unbegründet zu sein. In genauer Übereinstimmung mit der Smṛti heißt es Mbh. 13, 48, 5 *paraṃ śavād brāhmaṇasyaiva putraḥ śūdrāputraṃ pāraśavam tam āhuḥ*.

der Asuras, Bṛhaspati und Śukra gestellt wird. So ist das ganze Prajāgaraparvan des Udyogap. 5, 33—40, über 1500 Strophen umfassend, nichts weiter als ein Vortrag, den Vidura dem Dhṛtarāṣṭra über die Pflichten der Fürsten und Fragen des Dharma hält. Diese Viduravākyaṇi werden in der Parāśarasmṛti neben denen der Vyāghra, Vitaṇḍaka, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Vaiśampāyana usw. als eine Quelle des Dharma angeführt<sup>1</sup>). Sie bilden noch heute eine beliebte Lektüre: HOLTZMANN, Mbh. 3, 64 erwähnt neben der Viduranīti in Sanskrit<sup>2</sup>) gleichnamige Werke in Marathi, Gujarati und Kanaresisch.

Aber auch Sammlungen von Sprüchen über die Vergänglichkeit des Lebens und den Saṃsāra werden ihm 11, 2—7 in den Mund gelegt<sup>3</sup>), vgl. auch 5, 63, 9. Mit Vorliebe wird die Weisheit, die Vidura verkündet, in die Form von Itihāsa oder Saṃvādas gekleidet. So trägt er 5, 33, 103 die Unterredung zwischen Prahlāda und Sudhanvan, 2, 68, 65; 5, 35, 2 die zwischen Virocana und Sudhanvan, 5, 36, 1 die zwischen Ātreya und den Sādhyas vor, 11, 5, 2 die bekannte Parabel vom Mann im Brunnen, 5, 64, 1 den alten Itihāsa von den Vögeln und dem Jäger.

Genau die gleiche Rolle nun wie Vidura im Epos spielt Vidhura in den Jātakas. [4] Nur eine scheinbare Ausnahme macht das Sambhava-jātaka (515). Der König Yudhiṣṭhila<sup>5</sup>), der danach strebt, Großkönig zu werden:

*mahattaṃ pattuṃ icchāmi vijetuṃ paṭhavim' imaṃ,*

jedoch nur auf rechtliche Weise, bittet seinen Purohita Sucīrata, ihm zu sagen, was Nutzen (*attha*) sei und was Recht (*dhamma*). Dieser verweist ihn in G. 5 auf Vidhura, der das allein vermöge:

*nāññatra Vidhurā rāja etaḍ akkhātuṃ arahati.*

Vidhura, den jener aufsucht, lehnt jedoch die Auskunft ab und schickt Sucīrata zu seinem Sohne Bhadrakāra, der sich aber gleichfalls versagt. So auch dessen jüngerer Bruder Sañjaya, während endlich Sambhava, der Benjamin der Familie, soweit wir sie kennen, die rechte Antwort weiß. Sañjayas Begründung ist (G. 17):

*sadā maṃ gilati maccu sāyaṃ pāto Sucīrata*

1) Aufrecht, Cat. Bodl. 266 b:

*Vaiyāghryā Vyāsaḡitās ca Vitaṇḍakakṛtās ca ye  
tathā Viduravākyaṇi Bhṛgor Aṅgirasas tathā  
Vaiśampāyanaḡitās ca ye cānye evamādayaḥ.*

2) BURNELL, Classified Index S. 141 b 11, 185 a; BHANDARKAR, Deccan College Cat. S. 383; ein Druck Bombay 1886 (Klatt, Lit.-Bl. 4, S. 88, Nr. 1686).

3) 11, 47—65 sind größtenteils eine Wiederholung von 11, 255—268. Der Abschnitt 11, 2—7 ist offenbar eine spätere erweiterte Fassung von 11, 9.

[4] Als Andeutung davon, daß das Sambhava-jātaka behandelt werden sollte, sind in der Urschrift G. 1—6 in Übersetzung mit wenigen einführenden Sätzen erhalten.]

[5] Der Prosaverfasser nennt ihn Dhanañjaya Korabya von Indapatta und läßt ihn im Kommentar zu G. 8 aus dem Yudhiṣṭhila-gotta sein. Jedoch gerade diese G. und ihre Wiederholungen bezeichnen ihn eindeutig als Yudhiṣṭhila. Das gleiche Mißverhältnis besteht zwischen der Prosa-Einleitung und G. 1 des Dasa-brāhmaṇajātaka (495).]

„Früh und spät schnappt der Tod nach mir“; Bhadrakāra hatte abgelehnt mit den Worten (G. 13):

*maṃsakācaṃ avahāya godhaṃ anupatām' ahaṃ.*

„Die Tragstange mit Fleisch lasse ich im Stich und mache Jagd auf eine *godhā* (einen Waran)“. Wir erkennen auch hierin, man vgl. ZDMG 96, S. 30, eine bildliche Wendung und wollen es dem Prosaverfasser glauben, daß sie eine Liebesangelegenheit Bhadrakāras andeutet, indem dieser den gewohnten Genuß verschmäht und einer Delikatesse nachjagt. BREHM belehrt uns ja, daß das Fleisch des Waran besonders wohl-schmeckend ist. Auch Sañjaya macht bei seiner Ablehnung angeblich eine Liebessache geltend (S. 61 unten): er sei täglich zweimal in Lebens-gefahr, wenn er die Dame auf dem jenseitigen Ufer der Gaṅgā besuche. In den Versen steht auch hiervon nichts. Die Gaṅgā erscheint allerdings dort in Vidhuras Entschuldigung (G. 9):

*Gaṅgaṃ me pidahissanti, na naṃ sakkomi brāhmaṇa  
apīdhetum mahāsindhūṃ, taṃ kathaṃ so bhavissati?*

Diese Worte können verschieden gedeutet werden, allein so viel dürfte feststehen, daß wir auch hier ein bildliche Redeweise vor uns haben. Das ist auch die Meinung des Prosaverfassers, wenn er sagt: *mahājanassa cittaṃ gaṅhissāmiti Gaṅgaṃ pidahanto viya vinicchayaṃ vicāreti* „weil er die gute Meinung aller gewinnen wollte, überlegte er hin und her wie einer, der die Gaṅgā zum Stehen bringen möchte“. Zum Vers stimmt das freilich nicht. Der will doch wohl sagen, daß „man“ (was vermutlich Yudhiṭṭhila und Sucīrata einschließt) „ihm die Gaṅgā sperren“, d. h. die ihm zuströmenden Gedanken um eines besonderen Anliegens willen zum Stillstehen bringen wolle, er könne jenen aber nicht Einhalt gebieten<sup>1)</sup>. Diese nur figürliche Gaṅgā nun hat den Prosaisten veranlaßt, den Vorgang nach Benares, dem Zentrum der Weisheit und deshalb notwendig Wohnsitz des Vidhura, zu verlegen, wie denn schon im Kommentar zu G. 7 gesagt wird, daß er dort Purohita sei. Folgerecht wird er in der Prosa S. 60 oben ein *brāhmaṇa* genannt, ist G. 59 ein Kommilitone des Sucīrata und kann deshalb mit ihm speisen. Nirgends jedoch findet sich eine Andeutung von Vidhuras Brahmanentum in den Gāthās des Sambhavajātaka<sup>2)</sup>. Im Gegenteil redet er den Sucīrata

[1] Der Kommentar zur Strophe deutet die „Gaṅgā“ auf die *nānācittagati* der Menge, die dem Vidhura (*maṃhaṃ*) im Wege sei (zu lesen *Gaṅgaṃ pidahissanti*). Der Auffassung von DUTOIT kann ich mich nicht anschließen, geschweigeneden der von FRANCIS („o'erwhelmed by such a mighty theme“). Doch empfindet DUTOIT es mit Recht als notwendig, den 2. und 3. Pāda mit dem 1. zu kontrastieren, weshalb er *apīdhetum* kausal nimmt, was aber *abhidhāpetum* lauten müßte. Soll man *pidahissan* (1. Sg.) *ii* in zwei Wörtern lesen? — Zum *so* des 4. Pāda ergänzt der Komm. *okāso*, es könnte aber aus Mg. *se* geändert sein, das manchmal *taḍ* vertritt: „wie könnte deshalb (*taṃ*) dies(e) Belehrung) geschehen?“]

[2] Im Dhūmakārijātaka (413), und zwar in G. 1, heißt er freilich in der Tat ein Brahmane:

*rājā apucchi Vidhuraṃ dhammakāmo Yudhiṭṭhilo:  
api brāhmaṇa jānāsi ko eko bahu socati?*

als Brahmanen an (G. 9f.) und zeigt dadurch, daß er selbst keiner ist. Unser Ergebnis ist also, daß Vidhura sich hier nicht unterscheidet von demjenigen, den wir sogleich kennenlernen werden. Seine Weisheit tritt nur deshalb nicht in den Vordergrund, weil das Jātaka auf die des jugendlichen Sambhava hinzielt, die nicht zu verachten sei.

Wir kehren zum Vidhuraṇḍitajātaka zurück. In seinem] Catuposaṭhakaṇḍa preisen Dhanañjaya und die drei Götter den Vidhura (G. 10):

*tvam dhammagū dhammavidū sumedho.*

Er wird *atthadassimā saṃkhātā sabbadhammānaṃ* genannt (G. 106). Er ist der *dhammapāla* (G. 119, 122, 241). Als der König vorschlägt, den Puṇṇaka zu töten, mahnt er ihn, nichts Ungesetzliches zu tun: *atthē ca dhamme ca yutto bhavassu* (G. 178). In [dem schon gestreiften] Jātaka 413 tritt er als Itihāsaerzähler auf. In unserem Jātaka trägt er drei Lehrgedichte vor: über das Tun des Haushalters (den *gharāvāsa*) G. 107 bis 112, über das Leben des Fürstendiener (die *rājavāsati*) G. 127—171, über die Eigenschaften des guten Mannes (die *sādhunārassa dhammā*) G. 223—229. Von diesen drei Lehrstücken rührt das dritte sicherlich von dem Verfasser der Dichtung selbst her, da es auf die durch die Erzählung gegebenen Verhältnisse zugeschnitten ist. Vidhura redet den Puṇṇaka in G. 223 an: „Handle so wie der andere vorher gehandelt hat<sup>1)</sup>, Jüngling, halte dir die feuchte Hand fern<sup>2)</sup>, sei niemals verräterisch gegen deine Freunde<sup>3)</sup> und begib dich nicht in die Abhängigkeit von schlechten Weibern.“ Puṇṇaka fragt weiter (G. 224): „Wie wird man einer, der dem Vorangegangenen nachgeht, und wie verbrennt man sich die feuchte Hand? Wer ist die schlechte Frau, wer ferner der Freundesverräter? Erkläre mir auf meine Frage diesen Gegenstand.“ Vidhura antwortet (G. 225f.): „Wer einen unbekanntenen und vorher nicht Gesehenen auch nur zum Niedersitzen einlädt, zu dessen Vorteil soll der Mensch handeln. Den nennen die Weisen einen, „der dem Vorangegangenen nachgeht“. In wessen Haus ein Mensch auch nur eine Nacht wohnt, bei wem er Speise und Trank empfängt, gegen den soll er auch in Ge-

Allein angesichts der überwältigenden gegenteiligen Ergebnisse dürfen wir hier wohl einfach *brāhmaṇam* verbessern, handelt es sich doch um einen solchen in dem nun folgenden Itihāsa, dessen G. 7 schließt:

*so eko bahu socati Dhūmakāriya brāhmaṇo.*

Die erste Hälfte von G. 1 leitet auch die G. 1 des Dasabrahmaṇajātaka (495) ein, deren 3. Pāda lautet: *brāhmaṇe Vidhura pariyesa* „suche Brahmanen (bestimmter Art), Vidhura“. Es ließe sich denken, daß hiernach das Wort *brāhmaṇa* irrig in die Gāthā des Dhūmakārij. geraten wäre. Jedoch bedarf es dieser Vermutung kaum.]

1) *yātānuyāyī ca bhavāhi mānava. yātānuyāyīn* wird im PD falsch mit „following old habits“ übersetzt. Das Wort ist ähnlich gebildet wie sk. *gatānugatika*, das aber, wie Pañc. 1, 342; Hit. 1, 9 zeigen, in anderem Sinne gebraucht wird.

2) *addaṃ ca pāṇim parivajjayassu*. Wie schon ROUSE bemerkt hat, ist das letzte Wort offenbar verderbt; sollte es für *parimajjayassu* stehen?

3) *mā cassu mītesu kadāci dūbhi*; es ist mit den singhalesischen Hss. *cassa* zu lesen.

danken nichts Böses hegen; die feuchte erhobene Hand verbrennt sich der Freundesverräter<sup>1)</sup>.“ [Die weitere Beschreibung können wir auf sich beruhen lassen.

Mit der *rājivasati* endlich (G. 127—171) habe ich mich bereits 1901 in meiner Arbeit über die Grantharecension des Mahābhārata beschäftigt (dort S. 63ff.), um sie als unabhängiges Zeugnis dafür zu verwerten, daß diese Rezension vielfach die alten Lesarten bewahrt hat. Die dort verheißene literargeschichtliche Betrachtung sei hier kurz nachgeholt. Für die Gleichungen und wörtlichen Anklänge möge der Hinweis auf Gāthā 127<sup>2)</sup>; 130f.; 132; 137 u. 139; 141; 145; 153 Mbh. 4, 4, 7; 31 (in S, S. 23); 39; 14; 10; 9; 37 genügen; nach Maßgabe des Sachverhalts sind sie in Raghu Vira's kritischer Ausgabe des Virāṭaparvan (Mbh. ed. Sukthankar, Vol. 5) angedeutet, auf die sich die obige Stellenangabe bezieht. Beide Texte gehen offenbar, so sagte ich a. a. O., auf ein selbständiges vorbuddhistisches Lehrgedicht über das Hofleben zurück.] Eine Andeutung davon, daß die epische Rājivasati die Bearbeitung eines solchen Lehrgedichtes ist, das dem Vidura in den Mund gelegt war, scheint mir noch in den Worten vorzuliegen, mit denen Yudhiṣṭhira dem Dhaumya für seine Belehrung dankt:

*anūṣiṣṭāḥ sma bhadrāṃ te naitadvaktāsti kaścana  
Kuntīm ṛte mātaraṃ no Viduraṃ ca mahāmatiṃ*

„Wir sind belehrt, Heil dir! Es gibt niemand, der dies verkünden könnte außer unserer Mutter Kuntī und dem weisen Vidura.“ Auch die Einfügung der Rājivasati in das Epos spricht für ihre einstige Selbständigkeit. So wie sie heute im Mahābhārata steht, hat sie eine doppelte Einleitung. Der epische Dichter hat die einführende Strophe des Lehrgedichts (4, 4, 7), die durch die Übereinstimmung mit der Gāthā als alt erwiesen wird, beibehalten, es aber für nötig befunden, das ganze Lehrgedicht nochmals mit einer Einleitung zu versehen (4, 4, 6):

*vidite cāpi vaktavyaṃ suhrdbhir anurāgataḥ  
ato 'ham api vaksyāmi hetumātraṃ nibodhata.*

Die wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen machen es sicher, daß eine der beiden Versionen der Rājivasati von der anderen abhängig ist. In der Frage nun, welches die ältere ist, läßt sich trotz des beschränkten Materials, das zur Verfügung vorliegt, zum mindesten wahrscheinlich machen, daß der Text ursprünglich in Prakrit abgefaßt war. Der Pāda (G. 141): *sammato 'mhitī ārūhe* mußte bei der Übertragung ins Sanskrit zur Vermeidung des Hiats in *ārohet sammato 'smīti* umgesetzt werden,

1) *adubbhapāṇiṃ dahate mittadubbho*. [Für das erste Wort, mit dem der Kommentator nichts anzufangen weiß (*adrūbhakam*), vermute ich *addubbhapāṇiṃ*. Feucht wird die Hand durch das Wasser, mit dem der Spender seine Gabe bekräftigt (JOLLY, Recht und Sitte, S. 112.)]

[2] *poso* in der Gāthā ist nicht, wie S. 63 gesagt ist, aus *presso* verderbt, sondern stammt von *\*pūrṣa = puruṣa* (WACKERNAGEL, Gr. I, § 51; GEIGER, Pali § 30.)]

während kein Grund vorliegt, warum der Text, wenn er von Haus aus Sanskrit war, nicht als *ārūhe sammato 'mhitī* übernommen sein sollte. Nur wenn man den Pali-Text als Grundlage betrachtet, wird es ferner verständlich, warum in der Strophe 4, 4, 10, die im übrigen mit der Gāthā so genau parallel geht, *yānaṃ* für *kocchaṃ* steht, obwohl *yānaṃ* neben *gajaṃ ratham* ziemlich überflüssig ist. Der Übersetzer mußte *kocchaṃ* vermeiden, weil das Wort dem Sanskrit fremd ist. Auch die Änderung der ersten Hälfte der Einleitungsstrophe 4, 4, 7 war bei der Übertragung ins Sanskrit nicht zu umgehen, da der erste Pāda *nisiditvā sunoṭha me* aus sprachlichen und metrischen Gründen eine wörtliche Wiedergabe nicht zuließ.

Wenn ich glaube, daß der epische Dichter ein in der Volkssprache abgefaßtes Lehrgedicht über das Leben am Hofe, das von Vidura vorgetragen wurde, bearbeitet hat, so ist damit doch keineswegs gesagt, daß er es aus der Dichtung von Vidura und Puṇṇaka kannte. Ich bin überzeugt, daß auch die volkssprachliche Rājivasati ursprünglich ein selbständiges Gedicht war, das in das Jātaka nur eingelegt ist. [Das ist nicht ohne Parallele: noch] ein anderes Lehrgedicht, in dem Vidura als Sprecher auftritt, hat sich in der Jātakasammlung als selbständige Dichtung erhalten<sup>1)</sup>.

[1] Die Beweisführung, daß die Gāthās des Dasabrahmaṇajātaka (495), welches allein in Frage kommt, so aufzufassen seien, liegt uns nicht vor.]

## **II. Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge und Wortstudien**



## XXXI

## THE LINGUAL LA IN THE NORTHERN BRAHMI SCRIPT

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.

IT is generally supposed that the lingual *la* is a very rare letter in the inscriptions north of the Narmadā before the time of the Guptas. From the Sānchi inscriptions Bühler<sup>1</sup> quotes one instance only: *Vālī-vahanikāyā* in B,<sup>2</sup> 344 (EI., ii, 378, No. 199): the *lī* is reproduced in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, table ii, 41, xviii:<sup>3</sup> the form of the letter is practically the same as that appearing in the Allahabad Prasasti. The second instance is furnished by the word *Alīkāyām* in the inscription B, 43 (JBBRAS., xx, 269 f.), the find-place of which is unknown, but which must come from Northern India: there is no reproduction of this inscription. A third *la* is found in *kālavāḥasa* in the archaic Mathurā inscription B, 94 (EI., i, 396, No. 33). According to the reproduction of this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.*,<sup>4</sup> there seems to be a great difference between the Sānchi and the Mathurā signs. But this is actually not the case. Two beautiful impressions before me clearly show that the sign in the plate has been "corrected". In reality the long line slanting upwards, which in the reproduction forms the tail of the *la*, is not connected with it, but is the *i*-stroke of the *ti* of the mutilated word *prati[ṣṭhāpito]* in the next line. The whole difference of the two signs thus consists in the greater cursiveness of the Sānchi sign.

<sup>1</sup> EI., ii, 368.

<sup>2</sup> B refers to my "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400" in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, where further references may be looked up.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 33, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The sign given in Bühler's *Palaeographie*, table ii, 41, xx, has been taken from the reproduction in the *Ep. Ind.*

This certainly is a short list, but I think I can show that the apparent scarcity of the letter is due only to misreadings of the texts, and that on the contrary the *la* occurs in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India just as frequently as in those of the western and southern parts of the country.

In the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā we often find the name of a *gaṇa* which we are accustomed to read *Koṭṭiya*, since Bühler first established that reading. Doubts, however, will arise when we take, e.g., the word supposed to be *Koṭṭiyāto* in B, 28 (EI., i, 395, No. 28), and compare the form of the second letter with the ordinary form of the *ta* and the *ṭta* in the Mathurā inscriptions. Just as in the Aśoka alphabets, the *ta* generally consists of a semicircle open to the right; see the "archaic" inscriptions B, 94 (EI., i, 396, No. 33; *āyāgapato*); B, 95 (EI., i, 397, No. 35; *āyāgapatā*); B, 100 (EI., ii, 200, No. 5; *āyāgapato*); B, 103 (EI., ii, 200, No. 8; *āyāgapato*); B, 105 (EI., ii, 207, No. 30; *āyāgapato*); B, 107 (EI., ii, 207, No. 32; *āyāgapato*), and the Kuṣāna inscriptions B, 16 (EI., ii, 201, No. 11; *Grahaceṭena*); B, 32 (EI., i, 384, No. 5; *kumṭubiniya*<sup>1</sup>); B, 37 (EI., ii, 203, No. 16; *kuṭumbiniye*); B, 56 (EI., i, 386, No. 8; *kuṭumbiniye*). Sometimes, however, a vertical bar is added at the top of the character: this bar is quite distinct in B, 34 (EI., i, 385, No. 6; *kuṭubiniye*<sup>2</sup>); B, 121 (EI., i, 389, No. 14; *kuṭubiniye*<sup>2</sup>). If an *i*-stroke is added to the character, it is often hardly possible to say whether the first or the second form is used; see B, 38 (EI., viii, 181; *kuṭiye*); B, 39 (EI., i, 385, No. 7; *Kumārabhaṭi*); B, 42 (EI., i, 387, No. 9; *°Ceṭiye*); B, 45 (EI., i, 396, No. 30; *kuṭibini*<sup>3</sup>): and there are some more cases where the character is not quite distinct, although probably

<sup>1</sup> Not *kumṭubiniya*, as Bühler read.

<sup>2</sup> More probable than *kuṭumbiniye*, as Bühler read.

<sup>3</sup> The lower part of the *ṭi* is mutilated.

the first form is used; see B, 36 (EI., ii, 202, No. 15; *kuṭumbiniye*); B, 38 (EI., viii, 181; *trepitakasya*); B, 70 (EI., i, 388, No. 12; *kaṭubiniye*<sup>1</sup>); B, 73 (EI., ii, 205, No. 22; [*ku*]ṭubanie). As regards the origin of the bar, which does not seem to have been noticed by Bühler, it appears that it was first employed only in ligatures with *na*, *ṣa*, and *ṭa*, in order to avoid the fusion of the upper line of the subscript *ta* with the base-line of the superscript letters, and that later on it was considered an essential part of the character, and was therefore added to the letter also when it stands alone or as superscript letter of a ligature. Accordingly, in the ligature *ṭta* the bar of the subscript letter is always quite distinct, whereas the superscript *ta* is sometimes plain, as in B, 85 (EI., i, 390, No. 18; *śilapatto*), and sometimes furnished with the bar, as in B, 24 (EI., i, 382, No. 2; *Bhaṭṭisenasya*).<sup>2</sup>

Now if we look again at the second sign of the word read *Koṭṭiyāto* by Bühler, it appears at once that it cannot possibly be *ṭta*. That sign has a distinct *serif* never found in a genuine *ta*. Moreover, there is no vertical bar in the middle of the sign, and its upper portion at least has not a semicircular shape. On the other hand, the sign is practically identical with the Sānchi form of the *la*. The

<sup>1</sup> Not *kuṭubiniye*, as Bühler read.

<sup>2</sup> The *ṭta* of *Jayabhāṭṭasya* in B, 32 (EI., i, 384, No. 5) is quite indistinct and uncertain. There is only one inscription at Mathurā where the *ta* is supposed to have quite a different form. In B, 118 (EI., ii, 208, No. 33), which in several respects is an abnormal inscription, Bühler read in the first line *Vardhamānapaṭimā*, in the second line *kuṭibini*. Here the two letters supposed to be *ṭi* and *ṭi* do not show the semicircular form occurring in all other inscriptions, and both of them have a *serif* at the top. There can be little doubt that the second word really is *kuṭibini* or *kuṭivini*, the third letter being quite peculiar. It is true there occurs a less cursive form of *ṭa* in this inscription in *baḍima*<sup>2</sup>, but anybody familiar with the Mathurā records knows how often different forms of the same letter are found side by side in these inscriptions. The first word may be *°padima* or *°paḍima*, though on comparing the letter with the *di* in *Dināye* the former alternative would seem to be the more plausible one.

only difference lies in the appendix at the bottom, which in the Sānchi form seems to be a straight line, while here it is slightly curved. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the true reading is *Koḷiyāto*. And in turning to the other inscriptions that contain the name of this *gaṇa*, we find that the reading everywhere is *Koḷiya* or *Koḷeya*,<sup>1</sup> not *Koṭṭiya* as assumed by Bühler.

Almost the same form as in B, 28 appears in B, 32 (EI., i, 384, No. 5; *Koḷiyato*); B, 17 (EI., ii, 201, No. 12; *Koḷ[i]yā . .*); B, 29 (EI., i, 383, No. 4; *Koḷiyato*); B, 84 (EI., i, 389, No. 15; *Koḷiyāto*); B, 54 (EI., i, 391, No. 21; *Koḷiyāto*); B, 75 (EI., i, 392, No. 22; x, 117, No. 11; *Koḷiyāto*); EI., x, 110, No. 3 (*Koḷeyāto*); EI., x, 111, No. 4 (*Koḷiyāto*). Often the sign is stretched in a vertical direction; see B, 18 (EI., i, 381, No. 1; *Koḷiyāto*); B, 27 (EI., i, 382, No. 3; *Koḷi[yāto]*); B, 39 (EI., i, 385, No. 7; *Koḷiyato*); B, 77 (EI., ii, 205, No. 24; *K[oḷiyāto]*); B, 121 (EI., i, 389, No. 14; *Koḷiyāto*); EI., x, 112, No. 5 (*Koḷiye*). The same form is found also in B, 122 (EI., ii, 209, No. 37; *Koḷiyato*), but the *i*-stroke is attached here to the middle of the letter, because there was no room for it at the top. In other cases the sign is stretched in a horizontal direction; see B, 47 (EI., ii, 204, No. 20; *Koḷiyāto*); B, 56 (EI., i, 386, No. 8; *Koḷiye*). In B, 53 (EI., ii, 203, No. 18; *K[oḷiyāto]*) the *la* shows a very large hook at the bottom. Of B, 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, iii, 30, No. 2) and B, 22 (*ibid.*, iii, 31, No. 4) no reproductions have been published except the drawings by General Cunningham, which are quite misleading. I have two impressions of B, 19, which show that the name of the *gaṇa* is much damaged, but there is just enough visible to make it certain that here also it was *Koḷi[yāto]*, the *la* being probably of the vertically stretched type. Of B, 22, which seems to be lost now, I have

<sup>1</sup> It is often very difficult to distinguish between the signs for medial *i* and *e* in these inscriptions, but in some cases the *e* seems to be certain.

a rubbing which distinctly reads *Koḷeyāto*, the sign for *la* resembling that of B, 56. The form *Koḷiya* or *Koḷeya* thus being established in all cases where it is possible to check the reading, it has, of course, to be restored also in those inscriptions of which no reproductions are available, as in the short fragment B, 124 (*Vienna Or. Journ.*, iii, 233, note 3; *Koḷiya*), or where the letter in question is entirely lost or quite indistinct, as in B, 20 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, iii, 31, No. 3; *Ko[liyato]*); B, 25 (EI., ii, 202, No. 13; [*Koḷi]yāto*); B, 36 (EI., ii, 202, No. 15; [*Koḷi]yāto*<sup>1</sup>); B, 73 (EI., ii, 205, No. 22; *Ko[liyāto]*). The form *Koḷiya* is in perfect harmony with the traditional *Koḷiya* found in the *Sthavirāvalī* of the Kalpasūtra, *ḍa* and *ḷa* being interchangeable letters. The later commentators give *Kauṭṭika* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the name, and this form has to be substituted everywhere for *Kauṭṭika* in my List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.

There is another name in the Mathurā inscriptions containing a *ḷa* that has not been recognized hitherto. In B, 116 (EI., i, 397, No. 34) Bühler read *Aya-Hāṭṭi[ye] kule*; in B, 16 (EI., ii, 201, No. 11) *Arya-Hāṭṭakiyāto kulato*; and in B, 48 (EI., i, 387, No. 11) *Āryya-Hāṭṭikiyāto kulato*. A look at the photolithographs will be sufficient to show that here again *ṭṭi* has been misread for *ḷi*, and *ṭṭa* and *ṭi* for *ḷa*, the true readings being *Aya-Hāḷiye*, *Arya-Hāḷakiyāto*, and *Āryya-Hāḷakiyāto*.<sup>2</sup> Taking into account the phonetic laws of the later Prakrit, in this case also the form of the name of the *kula* perfectly agrees with *Hāḷijja*, the form used in the *Sthavirāvalī*, though it is hardly in favour of the assertion of the later commentators that *Hāḷijja* goes back to Skt. *Hāridraka*.

<sup>1</sup> According to the photolithograph only the upper portion of *Koḷi* is preserved.

<sup>2</sup> The true value of the sign in B, 16 seems to have been recognized later by Bühler himself; in his *Indische Palaeographie*, table iii, 39, iii, he gave a *ḷa* that is apparently the sign occurring in B, 16.

Two more instances of the occurrence of a *la* are found in the Mathurā inscriptions B, 29 (EI., i, 383, No. 4) and B, 53 (EI., ii, 203, No. 18). In B, 29 Bühler read [Kho]ṭṭimi[tt]asya mānikarasya [gī] . . . I read, from an impression, *Khalumittasya mānikarasya dhītu*, “of the daughter of the jeweller Khaḷamitta (*Khaḍamitra*).” The *la* is here just as distinct as in the word *Koliyāto* in line 1. In B, 53 Bühler read *Śūrasya Śramaṇakaputrasya Goṭṭikasya lohikākarakasya*, “of the worker in metal, Goṭṭika, the Śūra, the son of Śramaṇaka.” In my “Epigraphical Notes” (*Ind. Ant.*, xxxiii, p. 104 f.) I have tried to show by a comparison with another inscription that Śūra is the real name and *goṭṭika* a qualifying epithet. I have then connected *goṭṭika* with Skt. *goṣṭhika*, “member of a Panch.” But in that I was wrong. The impression before me<sup>1</sup> leaves no doubt that the second letter of the word is the same as the second letter of *Koliyāto* in line 1. The reading *goḷikasya*, therefore, is certain, though I am at present unable to offer an explanation of the term.

In my opinion the *la* is clearly extant also in the word *Kalalusya* in the inscription of unknown origin edited by Mr. Banerji in EI., x, 110, No. 3. The distinct hook at the base-line of the second letter of that word makes it impossible to read *da* as done by the editor.

The frequent occurrence of the *la* in the Mathurā inscriptions proves that the common opinion that this sign was borrowed from the southern alphabets can no longer be upheld. There is absolutely no reason why it should not have formed part of the Brāhmī alphabet from the very beginning. And this is fully confirmed by the Aśoka inscriptions. Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, p. 37) has noticed that there is a modification of the *da* in the representative of Skt. *duḍḍī* or *dulī* in the fifth edict of the Delhi-Sivalik, Mathia, and Radhia inscriptions, and in the representative of Skt. *dvādaśa*, which elsewhere becomes

<sup>1</sup> The reproduction in the *Ep. Ind.* is inaccurate.

*duvāḍasa*, in the sixth edict of the Mathia and Radhia inscriptions. The sign is formed by the addition of a dot at the lower end of the vertical of the *da*. Bühler thought it possible that it was meant for *la*. What kept him from speaking with more confidence on this point was probably the belief that the *la* was properly restricted to Southern India. Now, when this opinion has proved to be erroneous, we may safely assert, I think, that the sign really is *la*. And there is nothing to prevent us from considering the sign of the Aśoka inscriptions the original form from which the cursive forms of the Mathurā inscriptions have been developed by changing the impracticable dot into a hook.

Bühler's statements, however, have to be modified also in other respects. The *la* is far more frequent in the Aśoka inscriptions than was assumed by him. In the Radhia inscription we have clearly the *la* in *dulī* (v, 3) and *duvāḷasa*<sup>o</sup> (vi, 14), as stated by Bühler. But it is just as distinct in *elalce* (v, 11). It is therefore a priori very likely that this word was written in the same way also in v, 5, and I think I can recognize, if not a dot, at any rate a thickening of the lower end of the vertical of the sign, so that here also the reading *elakā* is the more probable one. Moreover, if Skt. *dvādaśa* has become *duvāḷasa* in vi, we should expect to find the *la* also in the representative of Skt. *pañcadaśa* in v, 8 and 10. In fact, the *la* is quite distinct in *paṁṁḷasaṁ* in v, 8, and I am almost sure that in v, 10 also we have to read *paṁṁḷasāye*, the lower end of the sign again being thickened.<sup>1</sup>

The state of things is the same in the Mathia inscription. Here also the *la* has distinctly a dot in *duvāḷasa*<sup>o</sup> in vi, 1, and in *paṁṁḷasāye* in v, 11. In *dulī* in v, 3, *elakā* in v, 6, and *paṁṁḷasaṁ* in v, 9, the letter shows the

<sup>1</sup> In the *kha*. also we find often only a thickening of the end of the vertical instead of the dot, at any rate in the plate; see e.g. the second *nilakhitaviye*, v, 11; *paṭivekhāmi*, vi, 15, etc.

thickening, and only in v, 12 the photolithograph would be rather in favour of reading *edake*. But I think it quite possible that here also the true reading is *elake*, and I hope that Professor Hultsch will soon clear up this point with the help of impressions.

In the Delhi-Sivalik inscription we have distinctly *dalē* in v, 4, as recognized by Bühler, and even more distinctly *elakā* in v, 8. In v, 17 *elake* is more probable at any rate than *edake*. But the representative of Skt. °*daśa* seems to show *ḍa*: *paṃnaḍasam* in v, 12; *paṃnaḍasāye* in v, 15; *ḍuvāḍasa*° in vi, 1.

Only three of the test-words are found in the Delhi-Mirat inscription. In v, 11 the reading *elake* is absolutely certain, but in v, 5 we have *paṃnaḍasam*, and in v, 9 probably *paṃnaḍasāye*. In the Allahabad inscription only *dudē* is found in v, 21, probably with the *ḍa*, besides *paṃcadasam*, which has preserved here the original dental. None of the words occur in the preserved portion of the Rāmpūrva inscription.

There may be some more instances of a *ḷa* in the Aśoka inscriptions, but the reproductions available are not sufficient to decide this point. In the Jaugada inscription ii, 6, e.g., Bühler read *Coḍā Paṃḍiyā*, but to judge from the plate there is a considerable difference in the shape of the two signs supposed to be *ḍa*, and I should not feel surprised if the first one on closer inspection should turn out to be *ḷa*.

The question of the *ḷa*, of course, is not merely a palæographical one. If the sign occurs in the pillar edicts of Aśoka and in the Mathurā inscriptions, we may safely conclude that the sound also existed in the Old-Ardhamāgadhī and in the Old-Prakrit dialect of Mathurā. This is in perfect harmony with certain facts in the language of the recently discovered Buddhist dramas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Preuss. Turfan-Expeditionen. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft i.

Here we find *ḷa* in *dālīma*° and *lavalī*° (frag. 8), which are Old-Śauraseni, and in *(pa)vvatāḷim* (frag. 62), which probably belongs to the same dialect. Moreover, the *ḷa* is the regular representative of *ḍa* between vowels in Pali, and it thus appears that it formed part of the consonantal systems of most of the Old-Prakrit dialects. I think it can be shown that in Sanskrit, also, the *ḷa* was far more widely used than is commonly supposed, and that in several cases the neglect of the evidence furnished by the inscriptions has led to wrong etymologies. But a discussion of this question lies outside the scope of the present paper.

## Daśanāmaka

Von Heinrich Lüders-Berlin

Die Strophe I, 23 des Mṛcchakaṭika lautet in den Ausgaben:

*eśā nānakamūśikāmakaśikā macchāśikā lāsikā  
 ṇinnāśā<sup>1)</sup> kulanāśikā avasikā kāmāha<sup>2)</sup> mañjūsikā |  
 eśā veśavahū śuveśaṇilā veśaṅgaṇā veśiā  
 eśe śe daśanāmake mai kale ajjāvi maṃ ṇecchadi ||*

Die Strophe ist dem Śakāra in den Mund gelegt in der Szene, wo er die im Dunkeln vor ihm fliehende Vasantasenā sucht. Er zeigt sich hier in seiner ganzen Tölpelhaftigkeit. Die Namen, mit denen er die Hetäre lockt, sind sicherlich seiner Ansicht nach witzige Scherznamen, während sie in Wahrheit mehr oder weniger grobe Schimpfworte sind. Zur Erklärung des ersten Namens bemerkt Pṛthvīdhara: *nāṇaṃ śivāṅkaṃ taṅkakādivittam tasya moṣaṇāśilāḥ kāmo yasya<sup>3)</sup> tasya kaśikā carmakāṣṭhikā | caurāṇāṃ kiṃcit tayā copakaranam bhavati | tad atra kaśoktā | kaśā cāśvatāḍanī | carmasaḍikocyate<sup>4)</sup>*. Lallā Dikṣita schreibt das nach. Die Übersetzer fassen das Wort im allgemeinen im gleichen Sinne auf; WILSON: „the taper lash of that filcher of broad pieces, Kāma“; REGNAUD: „outil (fouet) dont se sert Kāma (le dieu de l'amour) pour dérober les pièces de monnaie“; BÖHTLINGK: „die Peitsche des Geldstücke stehlenden Liebesgottes“; KELLNER: „Peitsche

1) *nīśāśā* in der Ausgabe von STENZLER.

2) *kāmāssa* in der Ausgabe der NSP.

3) Diese Erklärung von *kāma* ist sicherlich falsch, denn *nānaka-mūśikāma* kann doch unmöglich Bahuvrīhi sein.

4) Lies *carmasaḍikocyate*. *Saḍikā* ist Weiterbildung von *sāda* „Stachelstock“ (*sāḍo daṇḍaḥ* Mahābhāgya 3, 438, 13), *carmasaḍikā* also „Lederpeitsche mit Stachel“.

des spitzbübischen Liebesgottes“; RYDER: „whip of robber Love“. Nur FRITZE übersetzt abweichend: „Der Diebe Geißel, die ihnen gestohlene Batzen abzujagen weiß.“ Wie das aus den Worten des Textes herausgelesen werden kann, verstehe ich nicht. Gegen die Auffassung der übrigen Übersetzer lassen sich verschiedene Bedenken geltend machen. Schon die Länge des Namens ist auffallend. Während alle andern Namen aus einem oder höchstens zwei Worten oder einem zweigliedrigen Kompositum bestehen, würde dieser ein Kompositum von nicht weniger als vier Gliedern sein. Auch hat der Name im Grunde keinen rechten Sinn. Unmöglich kann die Hetäre die Peitsche für den Geld stehlenden Liebesgott genannt werden, und wenn man Kāma als den Eigentümer der Peitsche nimmt, so bleibt es völlig unklar, was denn die Peitsche mit dem Geldstehlen zu tun hat<sup>1)</sup>. Das hat auch der indische Kommentator empfunden. Er ist auf den Ausweg verfallen, *kaśā* als ein Diebswerkzeug zu erklären, und ihm haben sich WILSON und REGNAUD angeschlossen. Allein Pṛthvīdhara's Erklärung entbehrt jeder Grundlage und ist offenbar nur ein Verlegenheitsprodukt. Noch unwahrscheinlicher wird die bisherige Deutung des Namens dadurch, daß es sehr zweifelhaft ist, ob *mūśi* überhaupt „stehend“ bedeutet. Allerdings ist *mūṣ* als Nebenform von *muṣ* nicht nur durch den Dhātupāṭha (17, 25), sondern auch durch das von den Lexikographen gelehrte *mūṣita* für das Sanskrit bezeugt; siehe Am. 3, 1, 88 *mūṣitam muṣitārthakam*; Hem. Abh. 1483 *muṣitamūṣite*. Nach dem PW ist im Romakasiddhānta<sup>2)</sup> *muṣaka* oder *mūṣaka*, Bhāg. Pur. 5, 14, 5 *mūṣaka* in der Bedeutung „Dieb“ belegt. Man wird aber nicht bestreiten können, daß man anstatt *mūśi* eher *mośi* (sk. *moṣin*) erwarten sollte<sup>3)</sup>. Allen diesen Schwierigkeiten entgeht man, wenn man

1) CAPPELLER, Festgruß an Otto von Böhtlingk, S. 20, bemerkt, die Peitsche des Liebesgottes heiße Vasantasenā in parodistischem Anklang an Wendungen wie Urv. 5, 9. Ich weiß nicht, wie das zu verstehen ist.

2) AUFRECHT, Oxf. Cat. 339b, 26.

3) Nach WHITNEY, Wurzeln, S. 123 ist *moṣin* in den Brāhmaṇas und der späteren Literatur belegt. An und für sich wäre vielleicht auch

*nāṇakamūśikāmakāsikā* als zwei Wörter, *nāṇakamūśikā* und *makāsikā*, faßt. *Mūśikā* ist Ableitung von Sk. *mūṣā* „Schmelztiegel“. Das Deminutivsuffix *-ka* ist auch in *makāsikā* und *mañjūśikā* gebraucht, und „Schmelztiegelchen für die Taler“ ist ein durchaus passender Spottname für die Hetäre, die ihrem Liebhaber das Geld abnimmt. *Makāsikā* ist das Deminutiv zu P. *makasa*, Sk. *maśaka* „Stechmücke“, hier natürlich, da auf die Hetäre bezogen, als Femininum gebraucht. Wie der Śakāra dazu kommt, die Hetäre so zu benennen, wird man verstehen, wenn man sich des bekannten Spruches Hitop. 1, 59 erinnert:

*prāk pādayoḥ patati khādati prṣṭhamāmsam  
karṇe kalaṃ nanu virauti śanair vicitram |  
chidraṃ nirūpya sahasā praviśaty aśankah  
sarvaṃ khalasya caritaṃ maśakaḥ karoti ||*

„Vorn läßt sie sich einem zu Füßen nieder, im Rücken sticht sie ins Fleisch; dem Ohr summt sie lieblich und leise etwas Schönes vor, nimmt sie aber eine Blöbe wahr, so dringt sie im selben Augenblick furchtlos ein: ganz wie der Bösewicht treibt es die Mücke.“

Ich bin überzeugt, daß man hier wie an andern Stellen<sup>1)</sup>

*muśi* (= Sk. *muṣin*) möglich, daß Śat. Br. 1, 4, 3, 16 in *Manu-ṣigṛhitāḥ* „von dem (Dämon) Verstandstehler besessen“ vorliegt. Aber *muśi* würde gegen das Metrum sein.

1) Als Beispiel sei hier die Strophe I, 51 genannt: *kaścālukā gocchaḍalittavenṭā śāke a śukkhe talide hu maṃśe | bhatte a hemantialattisiddhe liṇe a vele ṇa hu hodi pūdi*. Pṛthvidhara erklärt *liṇe a vele* als *ṇam ca vairam ca*, Lallā Dikṣita, der hier einmal selbständig ist, als *lināyāṃ ca velāyāṃ | gate samaya ity arthaḥ*. WILSON, der im übrigen die Strophe gänzlich mißverstanden hat, und selbst RYDER haben die letztere Erklärung angenommen, aber trotz allem, was Lallā Dikṣita über die Fehlerhaftigkeit der Sprache des Śakāra faselt, kann *liṇe vele* selbstverständlich niemals für *lināyāṃ velāyāṃ* stehen. Die andern Übersetzer haben *liṇe a vele* wie Pṛthvidhara gefaßt und, mit Ausnahme von KELLNER, der völlig in die Irre geht, wenigstens den allgemeinen Sinn der Strophe richtig getroffen. So übersetzt z. B. БОНТИНГ: „Ein Kürbis, dessen Stiel man mit Kuhmist bestreicht, gedörrtes Gemüse, gebratenes Fleisch und in einer Winternacht gekochter Reis, Schulden und Feindschaft faulen nimmer.“ Allein diese Auffassung von *liṇe a*

den Text längst würde richtig verstanden haben, wenn man sich nicht der Leitung der Kommentatoren anvertraut hätte.

Den folgenden Namen *macchāsikā* übersetzte WILSON ursprünglich mit „blue-bottle“, REGNAUD, der ihm folgt, mit „mouche à viande“. Die Bedeutung „Schmeißfliege“ wird aber für *matsyāsikā* weder im Sanskrit noch im Prakrit irgendwo gelehrt. WILSON ist zu seiner Übersetzung offenbar durch Lallā Dikṣita, der für ihn seinen Kommentar zum Mṛcchakaṭika verfaßte, verleitet worden. In diesem Kommentar wird *macchāsikā* durch *matsyamacchikā matsya śuṣkamāmsam ity eke* erklärt, und WILSON nahm *macchikā* offenbar für *makṣikā*. Lallā Dikṣita hat aber einfach Pṛthvidhara's Bemerkung *macchāsikā matsyabhakṣikā | matsyaṃ śuṣkamāmsam ity eke* falsch abgeschrieben. *Macchāsikā* kann also nichts weiter sein als „Fischesserin“, und „blue-bottle“ ist denn auch später in WILSON's Übersetzung<sup>1)</sup> durch „fish-eater“ ersetzt. KELLNER hat die „Fischesserin“, wie es scheint, als Fischerin aufgefaßt und ist so zu seiner Übersetzung „Anglerin“ gekommen. Die „Anglerin“ würde ganz gut für die nach Männern angelnde Hetäre passen; Bhartṛhari 2, 60 stellt den Liebesgott selbst als Angler hin, der die Männerfische mit dem Köder der Frauenlippen fängt und dann im Feuer der Liebe brät. Allein diese Auffassung läßt sich doch

*vele* läßt sich weder inhaltlich noch stilistisch noch sprachlich rechtfertigen. Die allgemeine Behauptung, daß Feindschaft niemals aufhöre, mag hingenommen werden, aber das gleiche läßt sich doch nicht allgemein von Schulden behaupten. Schließlich gibt es doch auch Schulden, die bezahlt werden. Der Parallelismus erfordert außerdem, daß *vele* ebenso ein näherbestimmendes Adjektiv erhält wie *kaścālukā, śāke, maṃśe* und *bhatte*. Dazu kommt, daß, wenn „Schulden und Feindschaft“ gemeint sein sollten, das *a* (= *ca*) entweder zweimal oder wenigstens hinter, aber nicht vor *vele* stehen müßte, und daß für *liṇe*, das auch FISCHER, Prakr. Gr. § 56, = Sk. *ṇam* setzt, metrische Dehnung angenommen werden muß, was gänzlich unwahrscheinlich ist. Meines Erachtens kann *liṇe a vele* nur soviel wie Sk. *liṇam ca vairam* sein, und die Worte besagen, daß heimlich im Herzen gehegter Haß nimmer vergeht, so wenig wie die übrigen nach der Weise der indischen Gnomik damit in Verbindung gesetzten Dinge.

1) Works, Vol. XI, p. 25.

kaum mit dem eigentlichen Wortsinn von *macchāsikā* vereinigen. Sicher scheint mir zu sein, daß *macchāsikā* sich dem durch die übrigen Namen gegebenen Rahmen einfügt und daher ein Schimpfwort oder wenigstens eine herabsetzende Bezeichnung ist. Der Genuß von Fischen wird in den Dharmasāstras zwar nicht schlechthin verboten — nur einige Arten gelten als unrein<sup>1)</sup> —, aber Fische scheinen immer eine gering geachtete Speise gewesen zu sein. Im Pañcasāyaka<sup>2)</sup> wird denn auch unter den Merkmalen einer Liebhaberin (*nāyikā*), die die Natur eines Yakṣa besitzt und von anständigen Männern nicht zu verehren ist, erwähnt, daß sie Fisch, Fleisch und ähnliches genieße (*matsyamāṃsādibhojyā*).

Zu *lāsikā* „Tanzmädchen“ möchte ich nur bemerken, daß die *lāsikā* auch sonst in die Nähe der *gaṇikā* gerückt wird. So schließt z. B. die Aufzählung der Gewerbe Milindap. 331 *gaṇikā lāsikā kumbhadāsiyo*.

Der folgende Name<sup>3)</sup> ist in STENZLER'S Ausgabe *ṇīsāsā*. Pṛthvidhara erwähnt diese Lesart in seinem Kommentar und erklärt das Wort durch *niḥsvānām āsā* „die Hoffnung der Besitzlosen“, was selbstverständlich in diesem Zusammenhang eine unmögliche Bezeichnung ist<sup>4)</sup>. Die richtige Lesart ist sicherlich *niṇṇāsā*, das Pṛthvidhara durch *nimnanāsā* erklärt; Lallā Dikṣita hat das nachgeschrieben. Zwei von Godāboles Handschriften haben *niṇṇanāsā* gegen das Metrum sogar in den Text gesetzt. WILSON übersetzte, dem Kommentar folgend, „pug-nosed“. STENZLER'S Handschrift D hat am Rande die Glosse *nakaṭi loke*. STENZLER verwies dafür auf hindust. *nak<sup>a</sup>tā* „noseless“ und mar. *nak<sup>a</sup>tā* „that has a

1) Āpast. 1, 17, 38f.; Manu 5, 15f.; Yājñ. 1, 175, 177f.; Gaut. 17, 36; Vas. 14, 41f.; Baudh. 1, 12, 8; Viṣṇu 51, 21.

2) R. SCHMIDT, Beitr. zur ind. Erotik, S. 249. Im Anaṅgaraṅga wird die *yakṣasattvā* als *madhumāṃsasaktā* charakterisiert, im Bhār. Nāṭyaś. als *madyagandhāmiṣapriyā* (ebd. S. 247, 251). Übrigens ist nach der Smaradīpikā auch die *padmīnī gavyamīnapriyā nityam* (ebd. S. 222).

3) Dieser und die beiden folgenden Namen sind kurz schon von THIEME, ZDMG 91, 110 besprochen. Ich stimme mit seiner Auffassung, außer was *avaśikā* betrifft, durchaus überein.

4) *ṇīsāsā* findet sich im Mṛcch. noch einmal in VIII, v. 36; hier ist es = *niḥsvāsa* „einer, dem der Atem ausgegangen ist“.

snub or squab nose“. Das schien die Auffassung des Kommentators zu bestätigen, und so haben denn auch die Späteren *niṇṇāsā* alle in gleicher Weise durch „camuse“ (REGNAUD), „Stumpfnäschen“ (BÖHTLINGK, FRITZE, KELLNER), „snubnose“ (RYDER) wiedergegeben. Ich halte das für falsch. In der ganzen Liste ist kein anderer Name, der auf die äußere Erscheinung der Hetäre anspielt, und erst recht keiner, der sich einer solchen gutmütig scherzenden Bezeichnung zur Seite stellen ließe. Das zahme „Stumpfnäschen“ paßt nicht zu dem Charakter des Śakāra, wie ihn der Dichter nun einmal gezeichnet hat. Daß *niṇṇāsā* auf *nimnanāsā* zurückgehen könnte, läßt sich natürlich nicht bestreiten, zumal *nimnanāsāgrah* Bhāg. Pur. 4, 14, 44 vorkommt und *pīnasa* „Schnupfen“ aus *\*pīnanaśa*<sup>1)</sup> denselben Silbenausfall zeigt, aber am nächsten liegt es doch, *niṇṇāsā* aus *nirnāsā* „nasenlos“ zu erklären. Der Glossator hat mit seinem *nakaṭi* ganz recht, aber er hat es offenbar in ganz anderm Sinne als „Stumpfnäschen“ gemeint. MOLESWORTH, Mar. Engl. Dict., gibt für *nak<sup>a</sup>tā* allerdings „1. nose-cut; 2. that has a snub or squab nose, camous“. Auch MEHTA-MEHTA, Guj. Engl. Dict. verzeichnen für *nak<sup>a</sup>tum* „1. nose-cut; noseless; 2. camous“, fügen aber als dritte Bedeutung „shameless“ hinzu. Was *nak<sup>a</sup>tī* wirklich bedeutet, zeigt PLATT'S, Urdū Engl. Dict.: „*nak<sup>a</sup>tā* nose-clipt, noseless;—shameless, immodest, barcfaced;—disgraced, dishonoured;—one whose nose has been cut off;—a rogue<sup>2)</sup>);—a shameless fellow;—one who has a small flat nose, . . . f. *nak<sup>a</sup>tī* a nose-clipt woman;—a shameless or brazen-faced woman.“ Daß ein Wort, das eigentlich eine Frau mit abgeschnittener Nase bezeichnet, die Bedeutung „schamloses Frauenzimmer“ annehmen konnte, erklärt sich daraus, daß das Abschneiden von Nase und Ohren eine der gewöhnlichsten Strafen war, die insbesondere Ehebreche-

1) SCHULZE, KZ 29, 266; WACKERNAGEL, Aind. Gr. I, 279. BLOOMFIELD'S dort angeführte Erklärung von ved. *rujanās* ist sehr zweifelhaft.

2) Darauf geht wohl die Übersetzung von *nak<sup>a</sup>tā* durch „Stupfnäschen, Schelm“ bei PRINTZ, Bhāṣā-Wörter, S. 29, zurück, aber „rogue“ ist hier nicht im scherzhaften Sinne zu verstehen.



rinnen drohte; siehe Kauṭ. 4, 10, 12; Yājñ. 2, 286. Die Erzählungsliteratur bietet Beispiele genug. Kathās. 61, 142ff. wird die Geschichte von der Frau erzählt, die ihren Mann an ihren Liebhaber, den Bhilla, verrät und dafür von dem König mit Abschneiden der Ohren und der Nase bestraft wird. Öfter vollzieht der betrogene Ehemann die Strafe selbst. So wird in der Kathās. 19, 26ff. erzählten Geschichte von Devadāsa und seinem ungetreuen Weibe der Ehebrecher von dem König mit Einziehung seines Vermögens bestraft, während Devadāsa selbst seiner Frau die Nase abschneidet. In der bekannten Geschichte von den drei selbstverschuldeten Unfällen, Tantrākhyāyika 18ff., schneidet der Weber der Barbiersfrau, die er für seine ehebrecherische Gattin hält, die Nase ab. In den jüngeren Fassungen (Südl. Pañc. S. 10ff.; BSS. I, 27ff.; Pañcākhy. S. 26ff.) werden ihr dann noch von Rechts wegen die Ohren abgeschnitten, weil sie ihren Mann fälschlich der Verstümmelung beschuldigt hat. Das Ohren- und Nasenabschneiden ist aber eine Strafe, die die Frau nicht nur wegen Ehebruch trifft. Kauṭ. 4, 10 wird sie der Frau auch wegen Beihilfe beim Diebstahl und Ehebruch angedroht, und Daśak. N. S. P. S. 102 werden die Hetäre Kāmamañjarī und ihre Mutter in der Gerichtsverhandlung vor dem König durch „die Andeutung von Ohren- und Nasenabschneiden“ dazu gebracht, den Dieb des Zauberbeutels anzugeben. Ich glaube, daß wir nach alledem „Ohnenas“ wohl als ein Schimpfwort für ein schamloses Frauenzimmer betrachten dürfen, das der Śakāra auf die Hetäre anwendet, genau so wie er sie im folgenden *kulanāsikā* nennt. FRITZE übersetzt das „Pest für edle Häuser“, aber der Ausdruck ist sicherlich nicht dahin zu verstehen, daß sie Ehemänner oder Söhne aus guten Familien zugrunde richtet<sup>1)</sup>, sondern daß sie durch ihre Schandtaten die eigene Familie ins Verderben bringt. Das hat offenbar auch Prṥhvīdhara gemeint, der zu *kulanāsikā* bemerkt

1) Auch WILSON's „the gulf of the poor man's substance“ scheint sich auf *kulanāsikā* zu beziehen und eine Ausdeutung des Ausdrucks in diesem Sinne zu sein, und dasselbe meint wohl auch KELLNER, der „Familienzerstörer“ übersetzt.

*kulaṃ vaṃśas tan nāsayati pātityajananāt*, und BÖHTLINGK und RYDER sind ihm mit Recht gefolgt, wenn sie das Wort mit „Geschlechtsschänderin“ oder „destroyer of her kin“ übersetzen.

*Avaśikā*, die „Zügellose“, wird von Prṥhvīdhara durch *anāyattā | dānenāpi kasyāpy āyattā na bhavati* erklärt, *kāmāha mañjūsikā* durch *kāmasya mañjūsikā pātraviśeṣaḥ | kandarpabhājanam iva | vartulībhūtaḥ kāma ivety arthaḥ*. Die Übersetzer haben den Ausdruck in der mannigfachsten Weise aufgefaßt. WILSON gibt es durch „Love's dining dish“ wieder, REGNAUD entsprechend durch „assiette du dieu de l'amour“. BÖHTLINGK übersetzt „Schmuckkästchen des Liebesgottes“, KELLNER „Kāmas Blumenkörbchen“, FRITZE „Gefäß des Liebesgottes“, RYDER „love-box“. Das letzte trifft meines Erachtens das Richtige. *Mañjūsikā*, „kleine Kiste, kleiner Kasten“ steht hier offenbar im Sinne von „Behälter“, „Sitz“ wie sonst *karaṇḍa*. Bhar. 1, 98 = Pañcat. 1, 191 wird das Weib *sarvamāyākaraṇḍa* „ein Korb aller Listen“, Divy. 396, 23 Ānanda *guṇakaraṇḍa* „ein Korb der Tugenden“, Bhāg. Pur. 5, 14, 4 der Stand des Haushalters *kāmakaraṇḍa* „ein Korb der Begierden“ genannt; Mṛcch. VIII, v. 36 spricht der Śakāra von der Hetäre als „*dośakalaṇḍī*“, einem „Korb der Sünde“.

Was die letzten vier Namen betrifft, so bemühen sich alle Übersetzer, in den Ausdrücken zu wechseln; so gibt z. B. KELLNER die Worte durch „Buhlerin, Dirne, Hure, Vettel“ wieder, RYDER durch „courtezan, clothes-line, wanton creature, maid of sin“. Das ist sicherlich nicht im Sinne des Dichters. Er hat absichtlich vier Namen gewählt, die alle mit *veśa* zusammengesetzt oder davon abgeleitet sind, um die Dummheit des Śakāra zu illustrieren. Der ist mit seinem Witze gänzlich am Ende; er kann schließlich nur noch das eine Wort, und zwar nicht das der anständigen Sprache gemäße *gaṇikā*, sondern das der niederen Sprache angehörige *veśyā* abwandeln, und dieses selbst bildet in seiner rohen Nacktheit den effektvollen Abschluß der Liste. Ich bin daher überzeugt, daß auch *śuveśanīlayā* nicht *veśa* „Tracht“ ent-

hält, wie Prṥthvīdhara meint, der es durch *śobhanānām veśānām* (lies *veṣāṇām*) *alaṃkāṛāṇām nilaya āśrayo yasyām sā* erklärt. *Suveśanilayā* ist nicht „the walking frippery“ (WILSON), „courtisane qui sert d'échafaudage à de belles parures“ (REGNAUD), „Zierpuppe“ (BÖHTLINGER), „Zierpüppchen“ (FRITZE), „clothes-line“ (RYDER), was doch nur *śuveśanilaye* sein könnte, sondern „die in einem feinen Hurenhaus Wohnende“: *śobhano veśo nilayo yasyāḥ sā*.

Die ersten drei Pādas der Strophe besagen also: „Ein Tiegelchen ist sie, in dem die Taler schmelzen, ein Stechmückchen, eine Fischesserin, ein Tanzmädchen, ein Ohnenas, der Tod ihrer Familie, ein Durchgänger, ein Kästchen der Liebe, ein Hurenmädgel ist sie, eine Prachthurenhausinsassin, ein Hurenweib, eine Hure.“ Die Liste enthält nach meiner Auffassung zwölf, nach den früheren Erklärern elf Namen, aber auf keinen Fall zehn, und doch scheint der Śakāra im letzten Pāda von zehn Namen, die er für die Hetāre gemacht habe, zu sprechen. Prṥthvīdhara bezeichnet *daśa* daher geradezu als widersinnig: *nyūnam adhikaṃ vā kṛtam | daśeti vyartham*. Die Übersetzer, außer RYDER, mühen sich ab, die Zehnzahl der Namen herauszubringen, indem sie entweder einen Namen fortlassen oder zwei zu einem einzigen zusammenfassen, aber auf diese Weise läßt sich der anscheinende Widerspruch nicht beseitigen. Nun sagt aber der Śakāra gar nicht, daß er zehn Namen für die Hetāre, sondern daß er ein *daśanāmaka*, „einen Zehnnamenspruch“, für sie gemacht habe. Dies *daśanāmaka* ist ein technischer Ausdruck, die Bezeichnung einer literarischen Gattung.

Jāt. 380 ist ein richtiges Märchen. Ein Einsiedler hat in einem Lotuskelch ein wunderschönes Mädchen gefunden. Er zieht es als seine Tochter auf und gibt ihr den Namen „Zweifel“, weil er sie mit dem Zweifel, was wohl in dem Lotus sein möge, herausgezogen hat. Der Götterkönig stattet sie mit einem kristallinen Palaste, mit Kleidern und Schmuck und Speise aus. Durch einen Waldläufer erfährt der König von der überirdischen Schönheit des Mädchens, verliebt sich in sie und begibt sich mit großem Gefolge zu dem Einsiedler,

um ihn um die Hand seiner Tochter zu bitten. Der Einsiedler erklärt sich bereit, dem König das Mädchen zu geben, wenn er ihren Namen erraten könne. Ein Jahr lang trägt der König dem Einsiedler alle möglichen Namen vor, aber der richtige ist nicht darunter. Da will der König fortziehen, aber das Mädchen überredet ihn, auszuharren. Er läßt seine Minister zusammenkommen und befiehlt ihnen, ein *daśanāmaka*<sup>1)</sup> zu machen. Aber auch das nützt nichts; der richtige Name steht nicht darin. Nachdem wieder ein Jahr mit dem Namensuchen vergangen ist, will der König die Sache aufgeben, läßt sich aber doch von dem Mädchen bestimmen, noch einmal einen Versuch zu machen. Er läßt durch seine Minister ein *satanāmaka*<sup>2)</sup> anfertigen. Aber auch das führt nicht zum Ziele, obwohl wiederum ein Jahr darüber hingeht, und erst als der König am Ende des dritten Jahres endgültig Abschied nimmt, spricht er zufällig den richtigen Namen aus und gewinnt damit das Mädchen. Der Singular *daśanāmakaṃ*, *satanāmakaṃ* ist hier offenbar der Titel eines Buches, das *daśanāmakāni*, *satanāmakāni*, „Zehnnamenstrophen“, „Hundertnamenstrophen“ enthält, so wie im Titel *jātakam* für *jātakāni*, *dhammapadam* für *dhammapadāni* usw. gebraucht wird.

In der 61. Erzählung der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, die von der Allwissenheit des Buddha handelt, werden in einer langen Reihe von Versen alle Wissenschaften, Künste und Fertigkeiten aufgezählt, in denen der Meister bewandert ist. Die Stelle ist leider nicht im Originaltext, sondern nur in der chinesischen Übersetzung erhalten<sup>3)</sup>. Da heißt es unter anderm, daß er das Śāstra der zehn Namen (*shī-chung ming-tsu lun*) kenne. Es scheint also ein besonderes Lehrbuch für die Herstellung von *daśanāmakas* gegeben zu haben, und diese selbst waren offenbar in erster Linie Zusammenstellungen von

1) In der Ausgabe, Jāt. III, 251, 21 *daśanāmaṃ kāretvā*, aber die beiden singhalesischen Handschriften haben *daśanāma*, die birmanische Handschrift *daśanāmakaṃ*. Gleich darauf lesen alle Handschriften *tassā daśanāmake pi nāmaṃ na hoti*.

2) In der Ausgabe, Jāt. III, 252, 27 *satanāmaṃ kāresi* wie in den singhalesischen Handschriften; die birmanische Handschrift hat *satanāmakaṃ*.

3) Sūtrālaṃkāra, traduit par HUREL, p. 311f.

Götternamen in Zehnergruppen, also Vorläufer der späteren *nāmaśataka*, *nāmāṣṭaśataka* und *nāmasahasra*, von denen eine ganze Reihe in das Mahābhārata aufgenommen sind. So finden wir dort ein Suryanāmāṣṭaśata (3, 3), ein Viṣṇunāmasahasra (13, 149), ein Śivasahasranāmastotra (12, 284), eine Namenliste des Skanda (3, 232), ein in Prosa abgefaßtes Nārāyaṇastotra (12, 338), das nach der Zählung im Texte von B merkwürdigerweise 199 Namen enthält, u. a. m.<sup>1)</sup>

Es gibt im Mahābhārata aber auch wirkliche *daśanāmakas*. Mbh. cr 4, 39, 7 sagt Uttara zu Arjuna:

*daśa Pārthasya nāmāni yāni pūrvam śrutāni me |  
prabrūyās tāni yadi me śraddadhyāṃ sarvam eva te ||*

„Die zehn Namen des Sohnes der Pṛthā, die ich früher gehört habe, wenn du mir die verkündest, will ich dir alles glauben.“

Arjuna antwortet: *hanta te 'haṃ samācakṣe daśa nāmāni yāni me*, „Wohlan, ich künde dir meine zehn Namen“, und nun folgt das *daśanāmaka*:

*Arjunaḥ Phalguno Jiṣṇuḥ Kirīṭi Śvetavāhanaḥ |  
Bibhatsur Vijayaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ Savyasācī Dhanamjayaḥ ||*

Auf die Bitte des Uttara gibt dann Arjuna weiter in zehn Versen die Erklärung jedes einzelnen Namens.

Arjuna's *daśanāmaka* ist auch inschriftlich überliefert. Bei Bezwāda im Kistna Distrikt ragen zu beiden Seiten des Flusses zwei Hügel auf, die heute die Telegraphenhügel heißen. Der nördliche galt schon im Mittelalter als der Indrakila-Berg, wo Arjuna Askese übte, um die Pāsupāta-Waffe von Śiva zu erlangen. Im 9. Jahrhundert lebte in Bezwāda ein Mann namens Trikōṭi-Bōyi, der in der glücklichen Lage war, sich genau zu erinnern, daß er vor Zeiten ein Yakṣa gewesen war, der Arjuna den Weg zum Indrakila gezeigt hatte. Er ließ daher auf dem Berge eine Säule errichten, auf der in Reliefs die ganze Geschichte von Arjuna's Askese und

1) Das Śatarudriya, Vāj. S. 16, 1ff.; Maitr. S. 2, 9, 1ff.; Kāṭh. 17, 11ff.; Taitt. S. 4, 5, 1ff., zeigt, daß die Erweiterung der Namenlisten schon in vedischer Zeit eingesetzt hat.

seinem Kampfe mit Śiva dargestellt ist. Auf dem Sockel ließ er eine in Sanskrit abgefaßte Inschrift anbringen, in der der Welt von seinen einstigen nahen Beziehungen zu Arjuna Kenntnis gibt und die er an Stelle eines Segenswunsches mit dem *daśanāmaka* des Arjuna einleitet, hier mit der Lesart *Pārthaḥ* für *Jiṣṇuḥ*, die sich auch in einer Devanāgarī-Handschrift des Mbh. findet. Dies *daśanāmaka* lebt noch heute als Zauberspruch im Munde der Leute. Krishna Sastri bemerkt, daß man die zehn Namen herzusagen pflegt, um sich bei Gewittergefahr zu schützen<sup>1)</sup>.

Ein *daśanāmaka* ist auch die in den kanonischen buddhistischen Werken oft wiederkehrende<sup>2)</sup> feierliche Bezeichnung des Meisters, die in der Palifassung lautet: *arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā*<sup>3)</sup>.

Eines der ältesten und vollkommen regelmäßig gebildeten *daśanāmakas* ist das Loblied des Upāli auf den Buddha, Majjh. N. 56<sup>4)</sup>. Es besteht aus zehn Strophen, von denen

1) H. Krishna Sastri, Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep. 1915–16, p. 95 ff.

2) Z. B. Dīgh. N. 1, 62; 2, 93 usw.

3) Man hat später die Liste etwas verändert, sich aber immer bemüht, an der Zehnzahl festzuhalten. Fräulein Dr. von GABAIN teilt mir freundlichst eine Bemerkung aus dem Wörterbuch Fo-hüe-ta-tsitien, S. 251f. mit: „Am Anfang der Zeiten gab es 10000 Namen. Mit fortschreitender Verblendung der Menschen verminderten sie sich auf zehn Namen. In Indien zählt man gewöhnlich zehn Namen: 1. Tathāgata; 2. Arhat; 3. Samyaksambuddha; 4. Vidyācaraṇasampanna; 5. Sugata; 6. Lokavid; 7. Anuttara; 8. Puruṣadamyasārathi; 9. Śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām; 10. Buddha-Lokanātha, und in Anbetracht der Teilung von Nr. 10 in Buddha und Lokanātha gibt es 11 Namen. Das Ch'eng-shī-lun (B. Nanjo Nr. 1274: Satyasiddhiśāstra von Harivarman) faßt Anuttara und Puruṣadamyasārathi zu einem Namen zusammen, so daß Lokanātha der zehnte wird. Denn alle vorhergehenden zusammen bedeuten Lokanātha; darum heißt eben der zehnte Name so. — Das Ta-lun-pie-k'ai läßt mit „Buddha“ die zehn Namen beendet sein und hält Lokanātha für einen besonderen Beinamen. Denn aller vorhergehenden Namen Bedeutung sind durch diesen einen zusammengefaßt. Das ist, was die Inder mit Bhagavat bezeichnen.“

4) Das Upālisūtra ist auch im Sanskrit-Kanon vorhanden; siehe Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, S. 29.

jede schließt *bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi*. Davor stehen jedesmal zehn Epitheta des Bhagavat im Genitiv, so daß das ganze Lied aus zehn *daśanāmakas* besteht. Als Probe möge die erste Strophe dienen:

*dhārassa vigatamohassa pabhinnakhilassa vijitavijayassa |  
anighassa susamacittassa vuddhasilassa sādhipaññassa |  
vessantarassa vimalassa bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi ||*

Im Sinne von Preisgedicht muß auch das *daśanāmaka* in der Strophe des *Mṛcchakaṭika* verstanden werden. „Da habe ich ihr nun einen Zehnnamenspruch gemacht, und trotzdem will sie mich nicht!“, schließt der grobe Tölpel seine Liste von Schmeichelnamen. Ganz mit Recht sagt *Prṭhvīdhara*: *yadi devatāyā aṣṭau daśa dvādaśa nāmāni paṭhyante tadā sā prasannā bhavati | iyaṃ tv etāvātāpi na prasanneti bhāvaḥ*. Da *daśanāmaka* eine literarische Gattung bezeichnet, braucht man keinen Anstoß zu nehmen, wenn es hier in freierer Weise auch für die aus zwölf Namen bestehende Liste gebraucht sein sollte. Es ist aber ganz wohl möglich, daß der Dichter absichtlich die Liste um zwei Namen erweiterte, um anzudeuten, daß der *Śakāra* so dumm ist, daß er nicht einmal richtig bis zehn zählen kann.

## Sk. *kaḍāra-viklidha*.

Von

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In der Prosa des *Takkāriyajātaka* (IV, 245, 17; 246, 6 f.) ist von einem Brahmanen die Rede, der *piṅgalo*<sup>1</sup> *nikkhantadāṭho* genannt wird. Das zweite Adjektiv übersetzte Rouse ‚had lost all his teeth‘, Dutoit ‚seine Zähne waren ihm ausgefallen‘, Hertel (ZDMG. 60, 783) ‚der keine Zähne mehr besaß‘. Daß das falsch ist, geht aus dem Kommentar zu *Jāt.* 519, 11 hervor, wo die in der *Gāthā* in der Beschreibung eines *Dānava Rākṣasa* gebrauchten Worte *luddo kaḷāro* durch *dāruṇo nikkhantadanto* (V, 91, 24) erklärt werden. Daß sich der Kommentator den Menschenfresser als zahnlos vorgestellt haben sollte, ist undenkbar. *Nikkhantadanta* oder *-dāṭha*<sup>2</sup> bedeutet vielmehr ‚mit herausgekommenen, d. i. vorstehenden, Zähnen versehen‘. Dazu stimmt, daß im weiteren Verlauf der Erzählung im *Takkāriyajātaka* für die Verbindung *piṅgala nikkhantadāṭha* das Kompositum *kaḷārapīṅgala* eintritt (246, 16. 18 f. 23. 25). Rouse, Dutoit und Hertel fassen den Ausdruck offenbar als gleichbedeutend mit *piṅgala* und lassen daher *kaḷāra* unübersetzt. Selbstverständlich ist aber auch hier *kaḷāra* im Sinne von *nikkhantadāṭho* zu verstehen. *P. kaḷāra* bezeichnet dasselbe was im epischen und klassischen Sanskrit durch *karāla* ausgedrückt wird. *Karāla* wird mit Vorliebe von dämonischen Wesen gebraucht. Die *Rākṣasi Śūrpaṅkhā* ist *karāla nirṇato-dari*, ‚mit vorstehenden Zähnen und vorstehendem Bauche‘ (*Rām.* 3, 18, 13; 6, 94, 6), ebenso die *Rākṣasi Vinatā* (*Rām.* 5, 24, 20). Der

<sup>1</sup> In der Ausgabe an der ersten Stelle fälschlich als Eigenname gefaßt.

<sup>2</sup> Zu *dāṭha* ‚Vorderzahn‘ siehe die Bemerkungen Festschrift Wackernagel, S. 306. *Jāt.* II, 59, 26 wird von einem durch einen Sturz umgekommenen Habicht gesagt, daß er *akkhāhi nikkhantehi* ‚mit herausgetretenen Augen‘ sein Ende fand.

Todesgott ist *karāla* (Rām. 6, 35, 33). Ein Rākṣasa ist *karālavādāna* (Viṣṇup. 4, 4, 23). Beliebt ist die Verbindung *daṃṣṭrākarāla*, die nicht nur eine dauernde Eigenschaft bezeichnet, sondern auch im Sinne von ‚die Zähne bleckend‘ von Menschen und Tieren im Affekt gebraucht wird; so z. B. von dem zornigen Vālin (Rām. 4, 15, 4).

*Piṅgala* geben die Übersetzer in der Jātakastelle durch ‚tawny-brown‘ (Rouse), ‚lohfarbig‘ (Dutoit), ‚von rotbrauner Farbe‘ (Hertel) wieder. Die Farbe, die durch *piṅga*, *piṅgala* bezeichnet wird, ist ein Gelb, das ins Grünliche, wohl auch ins Rötliche hinüberspielt. Charakteristisch ist der wiederholt belegte Ausdruck *madhupiṅgala* ‚honiggelb‘. Die Farbe des Auripigments kommt dem *piṅga* nahe (Kum. 7, 33). Somadeva vergleicht die *piṅga* genannten Flechten des Śiva mit dem *sandhyāpiśaṅgapūrvādriśṅga* (Kathās. 1, 18). In Pūrṇabhadras Version des Pañcatantra (207, 3) wird der Schnurrbart und der Körper des Brahmarākṣasa ‚*piṅga*‘ wie Feuer genannt (*suhutahutavahapiṅgaśmaśruśarīrah*).<sup>1</sup> *Piṅgala* ist die Farbe des Affenfells, des Blitzes, des Goldes. Hanumat wird *vidyutsampātapiṅgalaḥ* genannt (Mbh. 3, 146, 76). Sugrīva ist *hemapiṅgalaḥ* (Rām. 1, 1, 68). Rāma belagert Laṅkā mit den *piṅgala* Affen, die gleichsam eine zweite Mauer aus Gold bilden (Ragh. 12, 71).

Wenn *piṅga*, *piṅgala* von Menschen oder menschenähnlichen Wesen gesagt wird, so liegt es für uns nahe, das Wort auf die Farbe der Haut oder des Haupthaars zu beziehen. In der Tat wird *piṅga* so gebraucht, wie schon die aus dem Pañcat. angeführte Stelle zeigt. *Piṅga* sind insbesondere die Haarflechten Śivas und der Ṛṣis;<sup>2</sup> so von Śiva Kathās. 1, 18 *piṅgottuṅgajaṭājūṭagataḥ . . . śaśi*; 50, 191 *baddhapiṅgajaṭājūṭam*; Hem. Abh. 199 *piṅgajatekṣaṇaḥ*; von Nārada Vikr. 5, 19 *gorocanānikaṣapiṅgajaṭākalāpaḥ*; von Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) Varāh. Laghuj. 2, 17 *ṣatpiṅgalakesaḥ*. Ebenso *piṅgala* im Prakrit vom Haupthaar der Piśācas: *jaliyajalaṇapiṅgalakesā* Jacobi, Ausg. Erz. 22, 4.

<sup>1</sup> In Kosegartens Text (182, 18) *-śmaśrukeśaśarīrah*.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch die von J. J. Meyer, Hindu Tales, p. 70 gesammelten Stellen.

Weitaus am häufigsten aber wird *piṅga*, *piṅgala* von der Farbe der Augen gebraucht. Einige sagen, heißt es Kauś. Br. 25, 10, daß der Hotṛ für die Riten des Viṣuvat-Tages weiß und gelbäugig sein solle (*śukla etasyāhnaḥ piṅgākṣo hotā syād iti haika āhuḥ*). Krodha, der Zorn, tritt als ein schwarzer, gelbäugiger Mann mit einem Stock in der Hand auf (*pūruṣaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ piṅgākṣaḥ daṇḍāpānī*, Śat. Br. 11, 6, 1, 7; 13). Śivas Auge hat einen gelben Stern (*vilocanaṃ yad antarniviṣṭāmalapiṅgatāram*, Kum. 7, 33). Agni ist gelbäugig (*piṅgākṣa*, Mār. Pur. 99, 45. 59), ebenso Garuḍa (*vidyudviṣpaṣṭa-piṅgākṣaḥ*, Mbhc. 1, 295\*), Rāvaṇa (*piṅgākṣaḥ*, Rām. 3, 54, 4), Mars (*piṅgākṣaḥ*, Varāh. Laghuj. 2, 15). Honiggelbe Augen hat die Sonne als *graha* (*madhupiṅgākṣaḥ*, Varāh. Laghuj. 2, 13), Śivas Stier (*madhupiṅgalalocanam*, Mbh. 13, 14, 240) und Hanumat (*nirīkṣantam amitraghnam locanair madhupiṅgalaiḥ*, Mbh. 3, 146, 82; *dṛṣṭvā tam atha sāvajñaṃ locanair madhupiṅgalaiḥ*, ebd. 146, 86). Die gelben Augen des gelbäugigen Hanumat leuchten wie Sonne und Mond: *piṅge piṅgākṣamukhyasya bṛhatī parimaṇḍale | cakṣuṣī samprakāṣete candrasūryāv iva sthitau*, Rām. 5, 1, 57. An den honiggelben Augen erkennt man die Mächtigen (*madhupiṅgalair mahārthāḥ*, Bṛhats. 68, 64).

Insbesondere sind gelbe Augen und vorstehende Zähne das charakteristische Merkmal dämonischer Wesen. Rām. 5, 1, 139 wird erzählt, wie die Götter die Surasā, die Mutter der Schlangen, auffordern, Hanumat bei seinem Sprunge nach Laṅkā zu hindern; sie solle zu dem Zwecke Rākṣasa-Gestalt annehmen, grausig, hoch wie ein Berg solle sie dastehen, mit vorstehenden Zähnen, gelben Augen und das Maul bis zum Himmel aufreiβend: *rākṣasaṃ rūpam asthāya sughoram parvatopamam | daṃṣṭrākarālam piṅgākṣam vaktraṃ kṛtvā nabhaḥsprśam*. Das Antlitz des Rākṣasa Kabandha, das das Ungeheuer auf der Brust trägt, hat ein gelbes Auge und große Hauer (*piṅgena . . . ekenorasi ghoreṇa nayanena . . . mahādaṃṣṭropapannam*, Rām. 3, 69, 30). Der Rākṣasa Hiḍimba ist *piṅgākṣaḥ . . . daṃṣṭrākarālavādānaḥ*, Mbhc. 1, 1516\*, *piṅgākṣaḥ karālaḥ*, ebd. 1, 139, 2. Unter den verschiedenen Rākṣasis, die die Sītā umgeben, erblickt

Hanumat auch eine *karālāṃ bhugnavastrāṃ*<sup>1</sup> *ca piṅgākṣiṃ vikṛtanānām*, Rām. 5, 17, 8.

Die Beziehung von *piṅgala* auf die Farbe der Augen war dem Inder offenbar so geläufig, daß das Wort dann auch ohne weiteren Zusatz von Menschen und Tieren im Sinne von ‚gelbäugig‘ gebraucht wurde. Das ist besonders in der älteren Literatur der Fall. Taitt. Br. 3, 4, 1, 17 heißt es in der Liste der beim Puruṣamedha zu opfernden Menschen: *sūryāya haryakṣām | . . . āhne śuklāṃ piṅgalām | rātriyai kṛṣṇām piṅgākṣām*. Der Parallelismus zeigt ebenso wie die Symbolik, daß *piṅgala* hier gelbäugig ist: der hellfarbige Mensch mit den gelben Augen entspricht dem Tage mit der Sonne wie der dunkelfarbige mit den gelben Augen der Nacht mit dem Monde. Śaṅkara erklärt denn auch *śuklāṃ piṅgalām* durch *śuklavarnadeham piṅgalākṣam*. Die Bestätigung liefert die entsprechende Stelle in der Vāj. Samh. (30, 21): *sūryāya haryakṣām . . . āhne śuklāṃ piṅgākṣām rātriyai kṛṣṇām piṅgākṣām*. Śat. Br. 14, 9, 4, 13—15 = Bṛh. Ār. Up. 6, 4, 14—16 werden Speisevorschriften gegeben, durch die man die Geburt verschiedenartiger Söhne bewirken kann. Zur Wahl gestellt werden ein Sohn, der *gaurāḥ* ist und einen Veda studiert, ein Sohn, der *kapilāḥ piṅgalāḥ* ist und zwei Vedas studiert, ein Sohn, der *śyāmo lohitaḥ* ist und drei Vedas studiert. Deutlich entspricht hier *piṅgalāḥ* dem *lohitaḥ*, und Dvivedagaṅga hat daher sicherlich recht, wenn er *piṅgalāḥ* durch *piṅgākṣāḥ* erklärt. Manu 3, 8 verbietet ein Mädchen zu heiraten, das *kapilā* oder *piṅgalā* ist. Auch Mbh. 13, 104, 133, Mār. Pur. 34, 76 wird die Heirat mit einer *piṅgalā* verboten. Medhātithi, der älteste Manu-Kommentator, bezieht *kapilā* auf die Farbe der Haare (*yasyā kadruvarṇāḥ kanakavarṇā vā keśāḥ sā kapilā*), *piṅgalā* auf die der Augen (*piṅgalā akṣirogeṇa maṅḍalākṣi kapilapiṅgalākṣi vā*), ebenso Kullūka (*kapilakeśām, piṅgalākṣim*).

Nach Taitt. S. 7, 1, 6, 2 soll die Somakuh *rōhiṇī piṅgalā* sein, nach Kāty. Śr. S. 7, 6, 14 *babhrūḥ piṅgalā*, nach Baudh. Śr. S. 6, 10 *aruṇā piṅgalā*. Auch hier kann *piṅgalā* nicht auf die Haarfarbe

<sup>1</sup> Offenbar *bhugnavaktrāṃ* oder *bhagnavaktrāṃ*, ‚mit schiefem Mund‘, zu lesen; vgl. B 5, 17, 26 *karālā bhagnavaktrāḥ ca vīṛṣpā vikṛtanānāḥ*.

gehen, da das eine Tautologie oder einen Widerspruch mit dem vorhergehenden Worte bedeuten würde. Die Kommentatoren beziehen es auf die Farbe der Augen (Śaṅkara: *piṅgala piṅgalākṣi*; Yājñikadeva: *piṅgalā piṅgākṣi piṅgale madhuvarṇe akṣiṇi yasyāḥ*), und daß das richtig ist, geht aus anderen Stellen der Ritualliteratur hervor, wo die Somakuh mit dem unzweideutigen Ausdruck *piṅgākṣi* bezeichnet wird, so *babhrūḥ piṅgākṣi* Śat. Br. 3, 3, 1, 13 ff.; Tāṇḍy. Br. 21, 1, 3; *aruṇāyā piṅgākṣyā* Taitt. S. 6, 1, 6, 7; *rōhiṇī piṅgākṣi* Hir. Śr. S. 7, 5. Nicht anders als von der Somakuh kann aber *babhrūḥ piṅgalāḥ* doch verstanden werden, wenn es Maitr. S. 2, 5, 1; 5; 8 von einem Opfertier gebraucht wird oder Kāth. 15, 1 von dem Tier, das als *dakṣiṇā* gegeben werden soll. Daß man in der Opferwissenschaft auf die Augenfarbe der Tiere achtete, zeigen andere Angaben. Ein Bock mit weißen Augen (*śyetākṣāḥ*) ist dem Rudra geweiht (Vāj. S. 24, 3; Maitr. S. 3, 13, 4). Den Pitṛs gehört nach Śat. Br. 3, 3, 1, 14 eine rote Kuh mit weißen<sup>1</sup> Augen (*rōhiṇī śyetākṣi*), nach Maitr. S. 3, 7, 4 vielmehr eine rote Kuh mit schwarzen Augen (*rōhiṇī kṛṣṇākṣi*), u. a. m. Auch in der späteren Mantik spielt die Augenfarbe der Rinder noch eine Rolle, wie das Kapitel über die Merkmale der Rinder (61) in Varāhamihiras Bṛhatsaṃhitā zeigt; ein weißer Stier mit gelben Augen (*piṅgākṣāḥ*) wird hier (V. 17) als besonders vortrefflich gerühmt.

Ich bin überzeugt, daß auch an zahlreichen anderen Stellen, wo der Zusammenhang keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt für die Feststellung der Bedeutung bietet, *piṅgala*, auf Menschen und Tiere bezogen, als gelbäugig zu verstehen ist. Das gleiche gilt für das Pali. Der Verfasser der Prosaerzählung des Chaddanta-jātaka (V, 42, 14) beschreibt einen ungeschlachten, häßlichen Jäger; er nennt ihn unter anderem *tambadāḥhikam nibbidhapiṅgalam*. Ich weiß nicht zu sagen, was *nibbidha* hier bedeutet,<sup>2</sup> aber *piṅgala* geht

<sup>1</sup> Die Bedeutung von *śyeta* ist aber nicht sicher; Yājñikadeva erklärt *śyetākṣi* in Kāty. Śr. S. 7, 6, 14 durch *araktākṣi*.

<sup>2</sup> Francis übersetzt *nibbidhapiṅgalam* ‚disfigured with scars‘, und Dutoit schreibt das nach: ‚mit Narben gefleckt‘. Die Übersetzung ist ebenso unmöglich

offenbar auf die Gelbheit der Augen. Im Kommentar zu Gāthā 1 des Mahāpiṅgalajātaka (240) wird in der Erklärung von *Piṅgala*, dem Namen des Königs, derselbe Ausdruck gebraucht:<sup>1</sup> *Piṅgalenāti piṅgalakkhena | tassa kira dve pi akkhīni nibbidhapiṅgalāni bilā-lakkhivaṇṇāni ahesum | ten' ev' assa Piṅgalo ti nāmaṇ akamsu*. Daß die Erklärung des Namens richtig ist, geht aus den Gāthās selbst hervor, wo der König zweimal *akaṇhanetto* (Komm. *piṅgalanetto*) genannt wird. Petav. 4, 3, 1 ist von einem Könige der Surāṭṭhas, *Piṅgalaka*, die Rede; im Kommentar wird bemerkt, daß er den Namen wegen seiner gelben Augen erhalten habe (*piṅgalacakkhutā Piṅgalo pākatanāmo*). Auch später hat man *Piṅgala* als Eigennamen stets auf die Farbe der Augen bezogen. Kathās. 21, 122 erklärt die Brahmanin Piṅgalikā ihren Namen selbst damit, daß ihre Augen durch den Rauch der Opferfeuer von Kind auf gelb gefärbt (*piṅgalita*) waren.

Völlig klar ist die Bedeutung ‚gelbäugig‘ für *piṅgala* auch an zwei Stellen, wo es neben *kaḷāra* erscheint. Petav. 2, 4, 1 sagt Nandasena zu der Petī, die einst seine Gemahlin war: *kālī dubbanna-rūpāsī pharusā bhīrudassanā | piṅgalāsī kaḷārāsī<sup>2</sup> na taṃ maññāmi mānusim*, ‚Schwarz bist du, von häßlicher Farbe, rauh, furchtbar anzusehen. Gelbäugig bist du, raffzahnig bist du. Ich glaube, du bist kein menschliches Wesen‘. Der Kommentator erklärt *kālī* durch *kālavanna jhāmaṅgārasadisā*, *piṅgalā* durch *piṅgalalocanā*, *kaḷārā* durch *kaḷāradantā*. In der langen Beschreibung des häßlichen Brahmanen, der die Kinder des Vessantara wegtreibt, fehlt auch *kaḷāro* und *piṅgalo* nicht (Jāt. 547, 474. 476). Im Kommentar wird *kaḷāro* durch *sūkaradāṭṭhehi samannāgato*, *piṅgalo* durch *bilālakkhī-sadisēhi akkhīhi samannāgato* erklärt. Wir dürfen daher sicherlich auch in der Jātakastelle, von der wir ausgingen, *kaḷārapīṅgala* übersetzen ‚mit vorstehenden Zähnen und gelben Augen‘.

wie die im Pali Dictionary vorgeschlagene ‚(with) disgustingly red (eyes)‘, die auf der Annahme beruht, daß *nibbidha* = *nibbiṇṇa* sei.

<sup>1</sup> Hier liest nur eine birmanische Handschrift so, die übrigen *nibbiṭṭha-*

<sup>2</sup> Die Ausgabe hat die schlechten Schreibungen *kālā* und *kaḷārāsī*.

P. *kaḷāra*, sk. *karāla* gehört zu einer Klasse von Wörtern, in denen, wie ich in der Festschrift für Wackernagel, S. 307 f. zu zeigen versucht habe, ein aus *q* entstandenes *l* mit einem *r* der folgenden Silbe im Laufe der Sprachentwicklung den Platz tauscht. Zu den dort angeführten Beispielen läßt sich noch das Wort für Kokosnuß stellen, bei dem die Metathesis allerdings über zwei Silben hinüber erfolgt ist. Im Pali lautet es *nāḷikera*. Damit stimmt, abgesehen von der Erweichung des inlautenden *k* zu *g* und der späteren Schreibung *l* für *l̄*, *nāḷigerāna*, das sich in einer Prakrit-Inschrift zu Nāsik (Ep. Ind. VIII, 82) findet. Als Grundform wäre darnach *nāḷikera* anzusetzen. Diese Form wird auch tatsächlich in Maheśvaras Kommentar zu Am. 2, 4, 168 angeführt. Gewöhnlich aber lautet das Wort im Sanskrit, wo es erst in nachvedischer Zeit erscheint, *nāḷikera* oder *nāḷikela*.<sup>1</sup> Beide Formen sind aus der Volkssprache ins Sanskrit übernommen. *Nāḷikera* geht auf eine Form zurück, wie sie im Pali vorliegt; wie immer ist später *l* für ursprüngliches *l̄* eingetreten. Ebenso ist *nāḷikela* spätere Schreibung für *nāḷikela*, das sich zu p. *nāḷikera* verhält wie pr. *veruḷiya* (für *veruḷiya*) zu p. *veḷuriya*. Die Form mit der Metathesis ist offenbar später die gewöhnliche gewesen; sie ist bekanntlich als *nārgil* ins Persische aufgenommen worden und wird schon durch das ἀργέλλιον des Cosmas Indikopleustes bezeugt.<sup>2</sup>

Als Grundform von p. *kaḷāra*, sk. *karāla* sollten wir darnach *kaḷāra* erwarten, und dieses Wort wird in der Tat von den Lexikographen verzeichnet, aber seltsamerweise als Synonym von *piṅga*, *piṅgala*: *kaḷāraḥ kapilaḥ piṅgapīśaṅgau kadrupiṅgalau* Am. 1, 5, 16; *hariḥ kadruḥ kaḷāraś ca piṅgalaḥ parikīrtitaḥ* Hal. 4, 50; *babhruḥ kadruḥ kaḷāraś ca piṅge* Hem. Abh. 1397; *kaḷāraḥ dāsapiṅgayoḥ*

<sup>1</sup> Die beiden Formen wechseln in Handschriften und Ausgaben, so z. B. Ragh. 4, 42 *nāḷikerāsavam* (Stenzler), *nāḷikelāsavam* (BSS.). Das in den PW. angeführte *nāḷikera* dürfte aber, ebenso wie *nāḷikela*, fehlerhafte Schreibung sein. An den im PW. zitierten Stellen lesen neuere Ausgaben *nāḷikera* (Am. Śārng. 1029) oder *nāḷikela* (Suśr.; Trik. 492, aber 258 *nāḷikera*).

<sup>2</sup> Patrologia graeca, Vol. 88, Buch 11.

Hem. An. 3, 523; *kaḍāraḥ piṅgale dāse*<sup>1</sup> Med. r 130. Uṇadis. 3, 135 wird *kaḍāra* von *gaḍ* mit dem Suffix *-āra* abgeleitet; als Bedeutung gibt Ujjvaladatta *piṅgalaḥ an.*<sup>2</sup> Auch nach Yādavaprakāśa bezeichnet *kaḍāra* eine Farbe, doch beschränkt er die Bedeutung auf bräunlich: *babhruḥ kaḍāraḥ kapilo vidagdho duṣṭaraktavat* (Vaij. 197, 35).<sup>3</sup> In der Sanskrit-Literatur scheint *kaḍāra* im Sinne von gelb nur Śiśup. 5, 3 belegt zu sein;<sup>4</sup> dort wird der von einem Heere aufgewirbelte Staub *karabhakaṅṭhakaḍāram*, ‚gelb wie der Hals eines jungen Kameles‘, genannt.

Die Angaben der Lexikographen sind äußerst verdächtig. Es ist doch kaum anzunehmen, daß *kaḍāra*, das wir mit Sicherheit als Urform des Wortes für raffzahnig erschließen können, zugleich auch gelb bedeutet haben sollte. Die Übereinstimmung der Lexikographen beweist gar nichts, da einer von dem anderen abzuschreiben pflegte. Ebenso wenig beweist der Beleg in Śiśup., da Māgha natürlich nach den Wörterbüchern arbeitete und das seltene Wort offenbar um des Anuprāsa willen wählte. Mehr Gewicht scheint auf den ersten Blick zu haben, daß *kaḍāra* in der Bedeutung ‚gelb‘ auch im Apabhraṃśa vorkommt. In dem Pārśvastotra des Kumārapālapratibodha<sup>5</sup> wird von einem Löwen gesagt, er sei *taḍi-kaḍāra-kesara-kaḍappa-ṭivīḍikkiya-kandharu*, ‚dessen Hals durch eine gewaltige Mähne geschmückt ist, die gelb wie der Blitz ist‘. Meiner Ansicht nach hieße es aber den Charakter dieser im Kāvystil abgefaßten Dichtung verkennen, wollte man leugnen, daß ein Mann wie Somaprabha, der ebenso gewandt in Sanskrit wie in Prakrit und Apabhraṃśa schrieb, ein Sanskrit-Wort in sein Apabhraṃśa einfließen lassen konnte. *Kaḍāra* war ihm sicherlich in der Bedeutung ‚gelb‘

<sup>1</sup> Worauf die Bedeutung *dāsa* zurückgeht, vermag ich nicht zu sagen.

<sup>2</sup> Auf Hemacandras Uṇadigaṇavivṛti werden wir später eingehen.

<sup>3</sup> Als Farbenbezeichnung erscheint *kaḷāra* auch in der Abhidhānappadīpikā (98). Natürlich ist das nur Entlehnung aus den Sk. Kośas. Das von Hemacandra Deśn. 2, 10 angeführte *kaḍāraṇ* ‚Kokosnuß‘ fällt wohl nur lautlich mit unserem *kaḍāra* zusammen.

<sup>4</sup> Siehe Aufrecht, Hal. S. 173.

<sup>5</sup> Alsdorf, Kumārapālapratibodha S. 127.

aus Hemacandras Wörterbuch bekannt und für die Wahl des Wortes war augenscheinlich wiederum der Anuprāsa entscheidend.<sup>1</sup>

Ich glaube nun aber auch, daß sich die Fehlerquelle der Lexikographen nachweisen läßt. Der erste, der das Wort aufnahm, mag es nun Amarasīḥa oder einer seiner Vorgänger gewesen sein, wird *kaḍāra* der grammatischen Literatur entnommen haben, wo es verhältnismäßig häufig vorkommt. Pāṇini lehrt 2, 2, 38 *kaḍāraḥ karmadhāraye*.<sup>2</sup> Darnach können in einem Karmadhāraya *kaḍāra* und ähnliche Wörter sowohl an erster wie an zweiter Stelle stehen; man kann *kaḍāra-Jaiminiḥ* oder *Jaimini-kaḍāraḥ* sagen. *Kaḍāra-Jaimini* ist offenbar eine Art Spitzname; er erinnert sofort an *Kaḷāra-Janaka*, den Namen, den König Janaka von Videha, der Sohn des Nimi, im Pali führt (Majjh. Nik. II, 82; Jāt. VI, 129, 11). *Kaḷāra* ist hier aber sicherlich ‚raffzahnig‘, denn Mbh. 12, 303, 7; Buddhac. 4, 80 erscheint der Name als *Karāla-Janaka* und sicherlich ist auch der *Karāla Vaideha Kauṭil*. 1, 6 damit identisch.<sup>3</sup> Patañjali, der die Frage aufwirft, ob in der Regel nicht *kaḍārādayaḥ* hätte gesagt werden müssen, nennt als weitere Beispiele *gaḍula* ‚bucklig‘ (*gaḍula-Śāṇḍilyaḥ*) und *khaṇḍa* ‚verkrüppelt‘ (*khaṇḍa-Vātsyaḥ*). Ihm fallen bei *kaḍāra* also sofort zwei Wörter ein, die ähnliche entstellende Gebrechen bezeichnen, und das spricht entschieden dafür, daß er das Wort richtig als ‚raffzahnig‘ verstand. Das gleiche läßt sich aus der Anordnung des *gaṇa* folgern. Er lautet in der Kāśikā:

<sup>1</sup> *Kaḍāra* wird in der Bedeutung ‚gelbbraun‘ (*naṇugempu*) aus kanaresischen Wörterbüchern auch in Kittels Kannaḍa-English Dictionary aufgeführt (unter *kaḍāra* und *naṇugempu*). Das Wort ist einfach aus den Wörterbüchern des Amarasīḥa, Halāyudha u. a. m., die die Vorlage bildeten, übernommen.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaḍāra* wird von Pāṇini noch zweimal erwähnt, da in 1, 4, 1 (*ā kaḍārād ekā samjñā*) und 2, 1, 3 (*prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*) auf die Regel 2, 2, 38 Bezug genommen wird.

<sup>3</sup> An der Identität ist um so weniger zu zweifeln, als auch in den Pali-Quellen *Kaḷāra-Janaka* als ein schlechter König hingestellt wird, der den Familienbrauch, beim Erscheinen der ersten grauen Haare das Leben im Hause aufzugeben, nicht befolgte. Vgl. Zachariae, WZKM. 28, 200, Anm. 1; Charpentier, ebd. 230, Anm. 4; Hultzsch, ZDMG. 73, 230.



*kaḍāra*, *gaḍula*, *kāṇa*<sup>1</sup> ‚einäugig‘, *khañja* ‚hinkend‘, *kuñṭha* ‚lahm‘(?), *khañjara* ‚hinkend‘(?), *khalati* ‚kahl‘, *gaura* ‚weiß‘, *vrddha* ‚alt‘, *bhikṣuka* ‚bettelhaft‘, *piṅgala* ‚gelbäugig‘, *tanu* ‚mager‘, *vaṭhara*<sup>2</sup> ‚einfältig‘.<sup>3</sup> Fast alle Wörter beziehen sich auf körperliche krankhafte Eigenschaften; es wird daher auch *gaura* von der weißen Hautfarbe und *piṅgala* von der Gelbäugigkeit zu verstehen sein, aber *kaḍāra* ist von diesen Farbenbezeichnungen weit getrennt. Erst Vardhamāna hat in seinem Gaṇaratnamahodadhi 2, 89f. *kaḍāra* mit ihnen zusammen geordnet, ein deutliches Zeichen, daß er *kaḍāra* in dem von den Lexikographen gelehrten Sinne nahm: *kaḍāraḥ piṅgalo gauro bhikṣukaḥ khalatis tanuḥ | sauṇḍaḥ kuñṭo vrkaḥ khañjo baṭharo gaḍulas tathā | vrddhakoḍāv imau kāṇaḥ kuṭakhelau ca kīrtitau*.

Zu der falschen Auffassung von *kaḍāra* hat meines Erachtens der Gebrauch des Wortes in einer Verbindung geführt, die uns zuerst im Mahābhāṣya begegnet und in der späteren grammatischen Literatur beständig wiederholt wird. Pāṇ. 6, 2, 54 wird gelehrt, daß *īṣāt* als erstes Glied eines Kompositums seinen Akzent bewahren kann. Die Beispiele in der Kāśikā sind *īṣātkaḍāraḥ | īṣātpiṅgalaḥ | īṣatkaḍārāḥ | īṣatpiṅgalāḥ*. Die gleichen Beispiele werden schon im Mahābh. unter Pāṇ. 6, 2, 52, Vārtt. 6 angeführt. Nach Pāṇ. 2, 2, 7 kann *īṣat* mit einem Nomen, das nicht mit einem *kṛt*-Suffix gebildet ist, zu einem Tatpuruṣa-Kompositum verbunden werden. Patañjali, der die Regel auf ein Wort, das eine Eigenschaft bezeichnet, einschränkt, führt als Beispiel *īṣatkaḍāraḥ* an. Die Kāśikā gibt als Beispiele *īṣatkaḍāraḥ | īṣatpiṅgalaḥ | īṣadvikaṭaḥ | īṣadunnataḥ | īṣatpītam | īṣadraktam*. Pāṇ. 2, 2, 18 lehrt, daß *ku*, eine *gati* und *pra* usw. das erste Glied eines Tatpuruṣa bilden, wobei für *ā* die Einschränkung gilt, daß es im Sinne von ‚ein wenig‘ gebraucht ist.

<sup>1</sup> Ein Beispiel für die Regel aus der Literatur bietet Rājāt. 8, 879, wo Janakasiṃha, ein Minister, der nach 8, 573 einäugig war, Janakakāṇa genannt wird.

<sup>2</sup> So zu lesen statt *vaṭara*.

<sup>3</sup> Ähnlich Candra im Komm. zu 2, 2, 48, wo aber die Regel in einer Weise ausgedehnt ist, die sicher nicht der Auffassung Pāṇinis entspricht.

Patañjali führt als Beispiele *ākaḍāraḥ āpiṅgalaḥ* an, die Kāśikā beschränkt sich auf das zweite. Ich halte es für ausgeschlossen, daß *kaḍāra* neben *piṅgala* hier etwas anderes bedeuten könnte als *kaḷāra* neben *piṅgala* im Pali oder *karāla* neben *piṅgala* in den oben angeführten Stellen aus der späteren Sanskrit-Literatur. Vorstehende Zähne und gelbe Augen haben offenbar seit alter Zeit in dem Bilde von Dämonen und häßlichen Menschen zusammengehört. Andererseits ist es begreiflich, daß in einer Zeit, da *kaḍāra* ein veraltetes Wort war, weil man im Sinne von raffzahnig nur noch *karāla* gebrauchte, ohne sich des Zusammenhangs mit *kaḍāra* bewußt zu sein, die Auffassung Platz greifen konnte, daß *kaḍāra* eine Farbenbezeichnung wie das danebenstehende *piṅgala* sei. An einer einzigen Stelle, soweit ich sehe, hat sich noch eine Spur des wahren Sachverhalts erhalten. Hemacandra, der, wie oben bemerkt, in seinen Wörterbüchern *kaḍāra* als Farbenbezeichnung aufführt, lehrt in seiner Uṇādigānavivṛti 405 die Bildung von *kaḍāra* und *kaḷāra*. Das erstere leitet er von *kaḍ* ‚made‘ ab mit der Bedeutung ‚gelb‘ und ‚mit ungleichmäßigen oder häßlichen Zähnen‘ (*piṅgalo viṣamadaśanaś ca*), das zweite von *kaḷ* ‚śabdasaṃkhyānayoḥ‘ mit der Bedeutung ‚von ungleichmäßiger oder häßlicher Gestalt‘ (*viṣamarūpaḥ*). Er muß also eine Quelle gehabt haben, aus der die richtige Bedeutung von *kaḍāra* noch ersichtlich war. Im übrigen ist ihm weder die Identität von *kaḍāra* und *kaḷāra* noch der Zusammenhang der beiden Formen mit *karāla* bekannt, da er dieses in 475 von *kr* ‚karaṇe‘ mit der Bedeutung ‚hoch‘ (*uccam*) ableitet.

Mir scheint das, was sich über die Bedeutung von *kaḍāra* feststellen läßt, von prinzipieller Bedeutung für die Beurteilung des Wertes der einheimischen Wörterbücher zu sein. Es zeigt sich, daß man ihren Angaben, auch wenn sie geschlossen auftreten, kein unbedingtes Vertrauen schenken darf, andererseits aber eine Kenntnis auch ihrer Irrtümer für das Verständnis der klassischen Literatur unerläßlich ist.

Die gewonnenen Ergebnisse gestatten uns, wie ich glaube, auch die richtige Deutung und Ableitung eines Wortes zu geben,

das bisher von indischen Kommentatoren wie von modernen Erklärern in der verschiedensten Weise aufgefaßt worden ist. Śat. Br. 13, 3, 6, 5 wird vorgeschrieben, daß am Schlusse des Āsvamedha der Adhvaryu eine Spende auf den Kopf eines im Wasser stehenden Mannes gießen soll, der weiß, kahl, *viklidha* und gelbäugig ist: *suklāsya khalatér viklidhāsya piṅgākśāsya mūrdhāni juhōti*. Die gleiche Bestimmung findet sich Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 15, 3: *khalatér viklidhāsya suklāsya piṅgākśāsya mūrdhāñ juhōti*, und Kāty. Śr. S. 20, 8, 16: *avabhṛteṣṭyante 'psu magnāsya piṅgalakhalativiklidha-suklāsya<sup>1</sup> mūrdhāni juhōti*. In anderen Śrautasūtras wird den vier hier genannten Eigenschaften noch eine ganze Reihe anderer hinzugefügt;<sup>2</sup> Āpast. Śr. S. 20, 22, 6: *avabhṛtena pracaryātreyaṃ śipiviṣṭaṃ khalatiṃ viklidhaṃ suklaṃ piṅgākṣaṃ tilakāvalam avabhṛtam abhyavanīya tasya mūrdhañ juhōti*; Baudh. Śr. S. 15, 37: *athaiṣa ātreya vihrtaḥ śuklo viklidhas tilakavān piṅgākṣaḥ khalatir vikataḥ kunakhī kubjaḥ śipiviṣṭo nagna upamajjati | tasya mūrdhni juhōti*; Hir. Śr. S. 14, 5, 4 *ātreyaṃ khalatiṃ viklidhaṃ suklaṃ piṅgākṣaṃ śipiviṣṭaṃ tilakāvalam avabhṛtam avanīya . . . tasya mūrdhañ juhōti*; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 16, 18, 18f. *athātreyaṃ sahasreṇāvakṛīya yaḥ suklaḥ piṅgākṣo valinas tilakāvalo viklidhaḥ khaṇḍo baṇḍaḥ khalatis tam ādāya nadīṃ yanti | athainam udake 'bhīpragāhya yadāsyaodakaṃ mukham āsyandētāthāsmā adhvaryur mūrdhany āsvatedaniṃ juhōti bhrūṇahatyāyai svāheti*. Das Vādhūlasūtra (AO. 4, 202) beschränkt sich auf die Angabe, daß der Mann *suklaḥ viklidhaḥ* sein solle. Die Spende wird nach den Texten des weißen Yajurveda und Baudhāyana dem Jumbaka, nach Āpastamba und Hiraṇyakeśin in Übereinstimmung mit dem Taitt. Br. dem Tode, dem Brahmanenmord, dem Jumbaka oder Jumbuka (Āpast. *mṛtyave svāhā bhrūṇahatyāyai svāhā Jumbakāya svāhā*; Hir. *Jumbukāya svāheti* | . . . *Cumbukāya svāhety ekeṣāṃ | mṛtyave svāheti dvitīyāṃ | bhrūṇahatyāyai svāheti trtīyāṃ | brahmahatyāyai svāhety ekeṣāṃ*), nach Śāṅkhāyana

<sup>1</sup> *Piṅgala* ist nach dem Kommentar wiederum soviel wie *piṅgākṣa*.

<sup>2</sup> Einige der hier gebrauchten Wörter sind von unsicherer Bedeutung.

dem Brahmanenmord allein dargebracht. Jumbaka ist nach den beiden Brāhmaṇas Varuṇa. So erklärt sich, daß der Mann, auf dessen Haupt die Spende ausgegossen wird, die genannten Gebrechen haben muß: ‚das ist die Form Varuṇas; gerade mit dieser Form findet man Varuṇa ab‘ (*etād vai Vāruṇasya rūpām | rūpēṇaivā Vāruṇam āva yajate*). Auch in den Mantras, die bei der Schichtung eines bestimmten Altars verwendet werden, heißt es Taitt. Ār. 1, 2, 3 *paṭāro viklidhaḥ<sup>1</sup> piṅgāḥ | etād Varuṇalākṣaṇam*, ‚mit zeugartiger Haut versehen,<sup>2</sup> *viklidha*, gelbäugig, das ist Varuṇas Merkmal‘.<sup>3</sup> Varuṇa tritt uns hier ganz wie ein Dämon entgegen.<sup>4</sup> In der Erklärung von *viklidha* gehen die Kommentatoren weit auseinander. Nach Sāyaṇa soll es ‚schweißtriefend‘ oder ‚feucht‘ bedeuten (*viklidhaḥ svedanaśīlaśarīraḥ viklinnadeho vā* Taitt. Br.; *viklidhaḥ vividhakledanayuktaḥ* Taitt. Ār.). Er leitet es also von *viklid* ab, was natürlich unmöglich ist. Nach Ānartīya (zu Śāṅkh. Śr. S.) soll es soviel wie ‚aussätzig‘ (*kuṣṭhin*) sein. Caland, a. a. O., und, wenn auch zweifelnd, Dumont, L'Āsvamedha, S. 227, 284, 351, 373, haben das angenommen, es läßt sich aber auch nicht das geringste zugunsten dieser Erklärung anführen. Harisvāmin (zu Śat. Br.) und Karka (zu Kāty. Śr. S.) erklären *viklidha* durch *dantura*, also durch dasselbe Wort, das von den Lexikographen als Synonym von *karāla* gelehrt wird. Sie haben damit sicherlich das Richtige getroffen. In der Beschreibung des dämonenähnlichen Menschen würde man die für die Dämonen charakteristischen vorstehenden Zähne geradezu vermissen.

<sup>1</sup> Der Akzent ist vielleicht falsch. Im Śat. Br. und im Taitt. Br. ist das Wort Oxytonon.

<sup>2</sup> Das ist die Erklärung Sāyaṇas, die aber kaum richtig ist.

<sup>3</sup> Auf die Ausdeutung des Verses braucht hier nicht eingegangen zu werden.

<sup>4</sup> In merkwürdiger Verkennung des Sachverhalts bemerkt Caland, Verh. Ak. Wet. Amsterdam, Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XXV, No. 4, p. 257, die meisten der im Taitt. Br., Śāṅkh. Śr. S. und Āpast. Śr. S. angeführten Epitheta bezögen sich offenbar auf das lichte Wesen des Varuṇa. Daß hier gerade umgekehrt an Varuṇa in seiner finsternen Form gedacht ist, geht schon daraus hervor, daß er im Spruche bei Āpastamba und Hiraṇyakeśin zusammen mit dem Tode und dem Brahmanenmord genannt wird.

Für *viklidhá* ‚raffzahnig‘ bietet sich auch eine, wie mir scheint, annehmbare Etymologie dar. Wie schon im kleineren PW. bemerkt wird, zerlegt sich das Wort ungezwungen in *vi* und *klidha*. *Klidha* entspricht lautlich genau nhd. *Lid*, mhd. *lit*, ahd. *lit*, *hlit* ‚Deckel‘, ags. *hlid* ‚Deckel‘, ‚Tür‘, engl. *lid* ‚Deckel‘, an. *hlid* ‚Tor‘. Das Wort gehört zu as. *hlidan*, ags. *hlidan*, ‚bedecken‘, ‚verschließen‘; es bezeichnet ursprünglich offenbar einen Verschuß irgendwelcher Art. Nehmen wir dieselbe Bedeutung für *klidha* an, so würde *viklidha* wörtlich das sein, ‚bei dem der Verschuß auseinandergeht oder fehlt‘, ‚offenstehend‘. *Klidha* in *viklidhá* würde dann auf den Verschuß der Zähne oder der Lippen eingengt sein, ähnlich wie im Nhd. *Lid* auf den Verschuß der Augen. Es ist nicht unmöglich, daß auch *kaḍāra*, *karāla* ursprünglich einfach ‚klaffend‘ bedeutete und erst allmählich auf das Offenstehen des Mundes durch die vorstehenden Zähne beschränkt wurde, wenn auch gerade in den älteren Belegen nur die Bedeutung ‚raffzahnig‘ zutage tritt. Später wird jedenfalls *karāla* auch in dem allgemeineren Sinne gebraucht, so z. B. von einem Loch in der Wand (*sandhiḥ karālaḥ* Mṛcch. 3, 13).<sup>1</sup> Der Akzent spricht nicht gegen die Auffassung von *viklidhá* als Bahuvrihi. Pāṇini lehrt 6, 2, 177, daß ein Wort, das einen Körperteil bezeichnet, in einem Bahuvrihi nach einem *upasarga* endbetont ist, wenn es sich um einen dauernden Zustand handelt, außer *parśu*. Als Beispiele führt die Kāśikā *prapṛsthá*, *prodará*, *pralalāṭá*, Patañjali auch *praspháj* an. In akzentuierten Texten sind *avakeśá*, *vikarṇá*, *vikeśá*, *viśaphá* belegt. Diesen Wörtern konnte sich *viklidhá* leicht anschließen.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Von dem, was die Lexikographen außer *dantura* als Bedeutung von *karāla* anführen, geht *vikṛta* (Vaij.), *vikāṣa* (Hā.), *raudra* (Hem. An.), *bhāma* (Mañkha), *bhāṣaṇa* (Med.) deutlich auf das durch die vorstehenden Zähne entstellte Gesicht zurück. Im Prakrit scheint *karāla* im Sinne von grausig beliebt zu sein; hier ist auch *karāḷita* ‚gepeinigt‘ nicht selten. Auch die Bedeutungen ‚hoch‘, ‚breit‘, ‚groß‘ usw. (*tuṅga* Śāśv., Am., Hem. An., Vaij., Med.; *ucca* Mañkha, Hem. Uṇ.; *uru* Hem. An.; *viśāla* Vaij.; *vyāpta* Mañkha) gelten eigentlich wohl nur für *karāla* in Verbindung mit *daṇṣṭrā*, sind dann aber verallgemeinert.

<sup>2</sup> Vielleicht schwankte der Akzent; im Taitt. Ār. haben wir, wie oben bemerkt, *viklidhaḥ*.

Auf Grund unseres Materials können wir, wie ich glaube, mit Sicherheit sagen, daß *viklidhá* das vedische Wort für ‚raffzahnig‘ war, das bis in die Zeit der Brāhmaṇas lebendig blieb; in die Śrautasūtras ist es wahrscheinlich aus den Brāhmaṇas übernommen. Es wurde durch *kaḍāra* verdrängt, das in der Zeit von Pāṇini bis Patañjali galt, um dann seinerseits durch das der Volkssprache entlehnte *karāla* ersetzt zu werden. Gerade weil *viklidhá* ein altes, später gänzlich verschollenes Wort ist, trage ich kein Bedenken, das in ihm enthaltene *klidha* mit den angeführten germanischen Wörtern, denen es bisher an Verwandten in den übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen zu fehlen schien, in Verbindung zu setzen.

## Die Vidyādhara in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst

Von Heinrich Lüders

ALSDORF hat in einem Aufsätze „Zur Geschichte der Jaina-Kosmographie und -Mythologie“ in dieser Zeitschrift, Bd. 92, S. 464 ff. zu beweisen gesucht, daß die mythologische Gestalt des Vidyādhara ihren Ursprung oder doch wenigstens ihre Popularität in der späteren Literatur der Bṛhatkathā verdanke. Er führt zur Begründung unter anderem an, daß die Vidyādhara in der alten buddhistischen Überlieferung völlig fehlen. Allein, das ist doch nicht ganz richtig, und da ich selbst zum Teil Schuld an diesem Irrtum bin, fühle ich mich verpflichtet, den Sachverhalt klarzulegen.

ALSDORF hat die im Dictionary der Pali Text Society unter *vijjādhara* verzeichneten Belege des Wortes zusammengestellt. Sie stammen allerdings, mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, sämtlich aus der nichtkanonischen Literatur. Mil. 267 werden alle Dinge aufgezählt, die es in der Welt gibt. In der Liste fehlen auch die Vidyādhara nicht: *atthi loke yakkhā rakkhāsā kumbhaṇḍā asurā dānavā gandhabbā petā pisācā, atthi kinnarā mahoragā nāgā supañṇā siddhā vijjādhara*. Hier werden die Vidyādhara sicherlich zu den halbgöttlichen Wesen gerechnet, wenn sie auch den letzten Platz in der Reihe einnehmen. An andern Stellen aber bezeichnet *vijjādhara* unzweifelhaft einen Menschen. Mil. 200 wird die Frage aufgeworfen, wie es komme, daß Devadatta, wenn er gleichzeitig mit dem Bodhisattva wiedergeboren war, bisweilen eine höhere Stellung einnahm als dieser: *yadā Devadatto nagare Bārāṇasīyaṃ Brahmaḍattassa rañño purohitaputto ahoṣi tadā Bodhisatto chavakacaṇḍālo ahoṣi vijjādharo, vijjaṃ pariṇipitvā akāle ambaphalāni nibbat-*

*tesī*, „als Devadatta in der Stadt Benares der Sohn des Purohita des Königs Brahmaḍatta war, da war der Bodhisattva ein Leichen-Caṇḍāla<sup>1)</sup>, ein Vidyādhara; einen Zauberspruch murmelnd, ließ er außer der Zeit Mangofrüchte wachsen“. Die Geschichte, auf die hier angespielt wird, findet sich im Ambajātaka (474; IV, 200f.). Ausführlich werden hier die Manipulationen beschrieben, die die Hersagung des Zauberspruches begleiten. Der Ausdruck *vijjādhara* wird hier nicht von dem Bodhisattva gebraucht. Es ist völlig klar, daß er im Mil. nichts weiter als Zauberer bedeutet.

Die gleiche Bedeutung hat *vijjādhara* im Dhajaviheṭṭhajātaka (391; III, 303 ff.), das im Mil. 153 angeführt wird, um zu beweisen, daß ein *paritta*, ein schützender Zauberspruch, wirksam sein könne. In dem Jātaka wird erzählt, wie ein Vidyādhara in Benares, nachdem er einen Zauberspruch hergesagt (*vijjaṃ parivattetvā*), um Mitternacht in das Schlafzimmer der Hauptgemahlin des Königs eindringt und sie notzüchtigt. Auf den Rat des Königs drückt sie, als er wiederkommt, mit Zinnober ihre Hand auf seinem Rücken ab. Der König schickt Leute aus, um den Mann mit dem Handabdruck festzunehmen. Sie finden ihn, wie er in der Morgenfrühe auf einem Leichenfelde auf einem Beine stehend die Sonne verehrt. Als er sich entdeckt sieht, sagt er wieder einen Zauberspruch her (*vijjaṃ parivattetvā*) und fliegt durch die Luft davon<sup>2)</sup>. Der König verbannt darauf alle Asketen (*pabbajita*) aus seinem Reiche, bis der Götterkönig eingreift und durch Vorführung eines guten Mönches (*bhikkhu*) den König bewegt, das Verbot aufzuheben. In den Gāthās des Jātaka wird der Vidyādhara nicht erwähnt; sie enthalten auch nicht die leiseste Andeutung der ganzen Vidyādhara-Geschichte, sondern haben nur den Zweck, die Ehrfurcht vor dem Mönche zu empfehlen.

Asketen, die sich übernatürliche Kräfte erworben haben,

1) *Chavakacaṇḍāla*. Im Pali Dict. wird auf Jāt. V, 450 verwiesen, wo *chavaka* durch *sunakhamamsakhādakacaṇḍāla*, „ein Caṇḍāla, der Hundefleisch ißt“, erklärt wird.

2) Nach dem Mil. macht er sich durch den Zauberspruch unsichtbar (*khaṇena adassanaṃ gato mantabalena*).

sind offenbar auch gemeint, wenn im Sambulajātaka (519; V, 94) der Prinz den Verdacht, den er gegen die Treue seiner Frau wegen ihres langen Ausbleibens hegt, mit den Worten begründet (in der Prosaerzählung): *Himavante bahū vana-carakatāpasavijjādhara-dayo vasanti*. Für diese Auffassung spricht die Zusammenordnung mit Waldläufern und Asketen. Dieselbe Bedeutung wird *vidyādhara* auch Mahāvastu 2, 106 haben, wo von Sudhana und Vasantaka gesagt wird, daß sie auf ihrer Wanderung im Himavat Tausende von verschiedenartigen Kräutern und Vidyādhara erblicken: *nānāprakārāṇi ca auṣadhīsahasrāṇi paśyanti vidyādharaṇi ca paśyanti*.

Warum hier Kräuter und Vidyādhara zusammen genannt sind, wird klar, wenn wir in Jāt. 510,22, der einzigen bisher aus der kanonischen Literatur nachgewiesenen Stelle, die das Wort *vijjādhara* enthält, das folgende lesen:

*vijjādhara ghoram adhiyamānā adassanaṃ osadhehi vajanti |  
na maccurājassa vajant' adassanaṃ tam me matī hoti carāmi  
dhammaṃ ||*

„Die Vidyādhara, grausige Kunst<sup>1)</sup> erlernend, machen sich durch Mittel, die aus Kräutern hergestellt sind, unsichtbar, nicht aber machen sie sich vor dem König Tod unsichtbar. Darum ist es mein Entschluß, nach dem Dharma zu leben.“ Auch hier sind die Vidyādhara deutlich nur Zauberer. Warum ALSDORF das Alter der Gāthā bezweifelt, verstehe ich nicht.

Ein Vidyādhara tritt endlich auch in dem Samuggājātaka (436; III, 527) auf, das bekanntlich die älteste Fassung einer berühmten, in die Rahmenerzählung von 1001 Nacht verflochtenen Geschichte enthält<sup>2)</sup>. Einstmals, heißt es da in der Prosaerzählung, als der Bodhisattva als Einsiedler im Himavat lebte, kam öfter ein Dānava-Dämon zu ihm, um den Dharma

1) Der Kommentator bemerkt: *ghoraṃ vā gandhāriṃ vā vijjaṃ sāvetaṃ osadhiṃ ādāya te paccatthikānaṃ adassanaṃ vajanti*. Die *gandhāri* genannte Zauberkunde wird Dighan. 1, 213 erwähnt und dort wird auch ausführlich auseinandergesetzt, worin sie besteht.

2) COSQUIN, Le prologue-cadre des Mille et une Nuits (Revue biblique internationale, 1909), p. 15 ff.

zu hören, im übrigen freilich hält er an seiner Gewohnheit, Reisende zu überfallen und zu fressen, fest. Eines Tages fängt er ein schönes Mädchen, die vom Besuche ihrer Eltern zurückkehrt. Er verliebt sich in sie, bringt sie in seine Höhle, macht sie zu seiner Frau und versorgt sie aufs beste mit Speisen und Schmuck. Um sie zu hüten, sperrt er sie aber in einen Kasten, den er verschluckt. Eines Tages hat er den Wunsch zu baden. Er begibt sich zu einem Teiche, speit den Kasten aus und läßt zuerst die Frau baden. Dann heißt er die Frau sich in der Nähe des Kastens niedersetzen, um etwas frische Luft zu schöpfen, und steigt selbst zu dem Badeplatz herunter. „Zu dieser Zeit geht ein Vidyādhara, der Sohn des Windes genannt, mit einem Schwerte umgürtet, in der Luft dahin“ (*tasmiṃ samaye vāyussa putto nāma vijjādhara sannaddhakhagga ākāsenā gacchati*). Als die Frau den Vidyādhara erblickt, macht sie ihm ein Zeichen, er solle herunterkommen. Der Vidyādhara tut es; die Frau steckt ihn in den Kasten und schlüpft, als der Dānava herankommt, selbst hinein. Der Dānava verschluckt den Kasten wieder, ohne ihn zu untersuchen, und macht sich auf den Heimweg nach seiner Höhle. Unterwegs kommt ihm der Gedanke, den Einsiedler wieder einmal zu besuchen. Der Einsiedler, der mit übernatürlicher Schauenskraft begabt ist, begrüßt ihn mit der Gāthā:

*kuto nu āgacchatha bho tayo janā  
svāgataṃ ettha nisīdathāsane |  
kaccittha bhonto kusalaṃ anāmayāṃ  
cirassam abbhāgamaṇaṃ hi vo idha ||*

*Kaccittha* ist altüberlieferte Lesart, denn der Kommentar erklärt die Worte durch *kacci bhotha bhavatha*. Sie ist trotzdem völlig sinnlos und offenbar aus *kacc' atthi* verderbt: „Wo kommt ihr denn her, ihr drei? Willkommen! Setzt euch hier auf dem Sitze nieder. Geht es euch gut und seid ihr gesund, meine Herrschaften? Es ist ja schon lange her, daß ihr nicht hierher gekommen seid.“

Der Dānava, über die Anrede erstaunt, erwidert mit der Gāthā:

*aham eva eko idham ajja patto  
na cāpi me dutiyo koci vijjati |  
kim eva sandhāya te bhāsitaṃ ise  
kuto nu āgacchatha bho tayo janā ||*

„Ich bin allein heute hierher gekommen, und niemand ist vorhanden, der mich begleitet. Was hast du im Sinn, o Ṛṣi, daß du sagst: ‚Wo kommt ihr denn her, ihr drei?‘“

Der Einsiedler fragt den Dānava, ob er wirklich den Grund für seine Anrede wissen wolle, und als dieser darauf besteht, spricht er die Gāthā:

*tuvañ ca eko bhariyā ca te piyā  
samuggapakkhita nikiṇṇam<sup>1)</sup> antare |  
sā rakkhītā kucchigatā va te sadā  
vāyussa puttena sahā tahiṃ ratā ||*

„Du bist der eine und dann deine liebe Frau, die in den Kasten gesteckt und im Innern verborgen ist. Die vergnügt sich, obwohl sie behütet und immer in deinem Bauche ist, darin mit dem Sohne des Windes.“

„Als der Dānava das hörte, dachte er: ‚Vidyādhara sind listenreich. Wenn dieser ein Schwert in der Hand haben sollte, wird er mir den Bauch aufschlitzen und sich davon machen.‘ Vor Furcht zitternd, spie er schnell den Kasten aus und stellte ihn vor sich hin.“ Diese Sätze sind nur eine Paraphrase der dritten erzählenden Gāthā:

*saṃviggārūpo asinā vyākato  
so dānavo tattha samuggam uggili |  
adakkhi bhariyaṃ sucimālabhāriniṃ  
vāyussa puttena sahā tahiṃ ratam ||*

Dann heißt es weiter: „Kaum war der Kasten geöffnet, als der Vidyādhara einen Zauberspruch murmelte (*vijjaṃ parijapitvā*), das Schwert ergriff und in die Luft flog.“ Der Dānava verbreitet sich dann noch in fünf Gāthās über die Treulosigkeit der Weiber und die Notwendigkeit, sie zu meiden,

1) *-pakkhūta* und *nikkiṇṇam* sind metrische Verkürzungen für *-pakkhūtā* und *nikkiṇṇā*.

und, nachdem er dem Einsiedler für seine Aufklärung gedankt, jagt er die buhlerische Frau fort.

Auffällig ist, daß der Prosaerzähler so geflissentlich betont, daß der Vidyādhara ein Schwert hatte. Er sucht damit zu erklären, daß der Dānava den Kasten ausspeit, obwohl das ein ziemlich weit hergeholt Grund ist, da der Dānava von dem Schwerte gar nichts wissen kann, und schließlich bedarf doch auch das Ausspeien des Kastens nach den Eröffnungen des Einsiedlers gar keiner näheren Begründung. In Mil. 153, wo das Jātaka ebenso wie das Dhajaviheṭṭhājātaka angeführt wird, um zu beweisen, daß man sich durch die Kraft eines Schutzspruches aus der Not retten könne, ist von dem Schwerte denn auch gar keine Rede. Da heißt es nur, daß der Vidyādhara durch den Mund des Dānava in ihn einging und sich mit der Frau vergnügte; „als der Dānava es merkte, da spie er den Kasten aus und öffnete ihn. Kaum war der Kasten geöffnet, als der Vidyādhara, wie er wollte, entflo.“ Die Erwähnung des Schwertes beruht natürlich auf den Worten *asinā vyākato* in G. 4. Der Kommentator vermeidet es sie zu erklären; die englischen Übersetzer lassen das unverständliche *vyākato* einfach fort: „the demon by the sword was greatly terrified“; Dutoit übersetzt: „vor (sic) Angst ergriffen ob des Schwertes Kraft.“ Diese Übersetzung von *asinā vyākato* ist natürlich ebenso unmöglich wie die im Pali Dictionary vorgeschlagene: „brought to a decision by the sword“. *Vyākaroti* bedeutet „erklären“, „auseinandersetzen“, „Fragen beantworten“, bei den Buddhisten insbesondere auch „durch übernatürliche Erkenntnis Ereignisse voraussagen“, auch hier muß es etwas wie „aufgeklärt“ bedeuten, wobei zu beachten ist, daß die Aufklärung durch übernatürliche Erkenntnis geschehen ist. Ich sehe keine allzugroße Schwierigkeit in der Annahme, daß *vyākaroti* wie sonst Verba des Sagens auch einmal mit dem Akkusativ der Person verbunden werden konnte, wenn ich auch keinen Beleg für diese Konstruktion beizubringen weiß<sup>1)</sup>.

1) Divy. 65 sagt der Buddha Ratnaśikhin zu dem König Vāsava: *bhaviṣyasi . . . Śaṅkha nāma rājā cakravartī*. Darauf teilen die Minister dem König Dhanasammata mit: *deva Ratnaśikhinā samyaksambuddhena*

Allenfalls könnte *vyākato* Fehler für *vyākate* sein und absoluter Lokativ vorliegen wie in den von SPEIJER, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 286 angeführten Beispielen *tenābhyupagate*, „als von ihm zugestimmt war“, Daś. 107 usw. Mit *vyākato* ist aber offenbar *asinā* zu verbinden, und ich bin überzeugt, daß es alter Fehler für *isinā* ist. Mit *isi* ist der Einsiedler auch in G. 2 bezeichnet. Die Gāthā ist also zu übersetzen: „Aufgeregt, als er von dem Ṛṣi aufgeklärt war, spie da jener Dānava den Kasten aus. Er erblickte die weiße Kränze tragende Gattin, die sich darin mit dem Sohne des Windes vergnügte.“ Das Schwert des Vidyādhara spielte meines Erachtens in der ursprünglichen Erzählung gar keine Rolle, es ist erst auf Grund einer falschen Lesart in die Prosaerzählung eingedrungen. Ebenso geht, wie vor vielen Jahren schon Künste gesehen hat, in Jāt. 15 die törichte Prosageschichte auf die falsche Lesart *kālāhi* oder *kālehi* für *kalāhi* zurück<sup>1</sup>). Für die Beurteilung der Jātakaprosa, die vereinzelt immer wieder ihre Verteidiger findet, scheinen mir solche Fälle besonders lehrreich zu sein.

Die Skepsis kann freilich auch über das Ziel hinausschießen, und ich bekenne, daß ich selbst zu weit gegangen bin, wenn ich ALSDORF gegenüber gelegentlich geäußert habe, daß im Samuggajātaka ursprünglich nicht ein Vidyādhara, sondern ein Affe der Liebhaber der Frau war. Mir ist schon vor einiger Zeit bei genauerer Prüfung der Texte der Irrtum klar geworden, vor dem schon die Tatsache hätte bewahren müssen, daß auch im Mil. von einem Vidyādhara die Rede ist. Allerdings kommt in den Gāthās der Ausdruck nicht vor. Der Liebhaber wird dort nur der Sohn des Windes (*vāyussa putto*) genannt und Vāyuputra, Vāyusūnu ist im Rāmāyaṇa ein anerkannter Name des Affenkönigs Hanumat. Es liegen aber auch von dem Pali-Jātaka gänzlich unabhängige Zeugnisse dafür vor, daß „der Sohn des Windes“ tatsächlich eine Bezeichnung des Vidyādhara war. In Hārāvalī 140 wird

*Vāsavo rājā cakravartirāje vyākṛta iti.* Hier ist aber *Vāsavo rājā* doch eher als der Gegenstand der Verkündigung zu denken.

1) Siehe die englische Übersetzung des Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 47.

*vātaputre viṭadharau* gelehrt<sup>1</sup>). Das kann Puruṣottamadeva nicht geschrieben haben; die ursprüngliche Lesart muß *vātaputre* (oder *-tro*) *vidyādharo* gewesen sein. *Vidyā* scheint später in *viṭa* verändert zu sein, weil *vātaputra* auch die Bezeichnung einer dem *viṭa* ähnlichen Person war. Vaij. 141, 138f. werden unter den Bühnenfiguren aufgezählt:

*vidūṣakaḥ kelikilaḥ prahāsī pratibho 'pi ca |*  
*veśyācāryaḥ pīṭhamardaḥ ṣiḍgo<sup>2</sup>) vātasuto viṭaḥ ||*

Auch die Medinī verzeichnet (r 295): *vātaputro mahādhūrte* *Bhīmasene Hanūmati*, wahrscheinlich nach Viśva 1698, wo ebenfalls *mahādhūrta* für *vātaputra* gelehrt wird<sup>3</sup>).

Man mag der Angabe der Hārāvalī, da sie erst durch eine Emendation des Textes gewonnen ist, nicht allzu große Beweiskraft beimessen, sie wird aber, wie mir scheint, dadurch gestützt, daß *vātika*, „der Windige“ ebenfalls die beiden *vātaputra* zugeschriebenen Bedeutungen in sich vereinigt. Mbh. 3, 257, 3f. sind die *vātikas* hämische Schwätzer in der Umgebung des Duryodhana, die vor dem König das Opfer, das er dargebracht hat, herabsetzen:

*apare tv abruvaṃs tatra vātikās taṃ mahīpatim |*  
*Yudhiṣṭhīrasya yajñena na samo hy eṣa te kratuḥ ||*  
*naiva tasya krator eṣa kalām arhati ṣoḍaśim |*  
*evaṃ tathābruvan kecid vātikās taṃ janeśvaram ||*

Nilakaṇṭha erklärt *vātikāḥ* durch *vātarogopahatacetasā ucitābhāṣaṇānabhijñāḥ*. Man könnte versucht sein als höfische Schwätzer auch die *vātikas* aufzufassen, die Mbh. 9, 61, 16f. im Anschluß an Lobreden der Pāṇḍavas den Bhīma wegen seines Sieges über Duryodhana preisen:

*Duryodhanavadhe yāni romāṇi hṛṣitāni naḥ |*  
*adyāpi na vikṛṣyante tāni tad viddhi Bhārata ||*  
*ity abruvan Bhīmasenaṃ vātikās tatra saṃgatāḥ |*

1) Handschriftliche Lesart ist *vātaputre viṭaravau*.

2) Ausgabe: *pīṭhamardaḥ ṣiḍgo*.

3) ZACHARJAE, Beitr. z. ind. Lexicographie S. 73, wo auch weiteres über das im folgenden besprochene *vātika* bei den Lexikographen angeführt wird.

Solche Reden werden als unangemessen getadelt, und Kṛṣṇa sagt, es sei nicht recht, einen geschlagenen Feind noch weiter zu schlagen:

*tān hr̥ṣṭān puruṣavyāghrān Pañcālān Pāṇḍavaiḥ saha |  
bruvato 'sadr̥ṣaṃ tatra provāca Madhusūdanaḥ |  
na nyāyyaṇi nihataṃ śatruṃ bhūyo hantuṃ narādhipāḥ ||*

Ich bin aber überzeugt, daß diese *vātikas* dieselben sind, von denen vorher (Mbh. 9, 55, 13f.) erzählt ist, daß sich ihnen die Härchen sträubten, als sie den Duryodhana zum Keulenkampf antreten sahen:

*tathāyāntaṃ gadāhastam varmaṇā cāpi daṃśitam |  
antarikṣacarā devāḥ sādhu sādhu ity apūjayan |  
vātikāś cāraṇā<sup>1)</sup> ye tu dr̥ṣṭvā te har̥ṣam āgatāḥ ||*

Wie die *vātikas* hier zusammen mit den *cāraṇas* und andern in der Luft weilenden Gottheiten den Keulenkampf beobachten, so sind sie zusammen mit *siddhas* und *cāraṇas* Zuschauer beim Zweikampfe Aśvatthāmans und Dhṛṣṭadyumnas (Mbh. 7, 160, 45):

*Draṇi-Pārṣatayor yuddham ghorarūpaṃ bhayānakam |  
dr̥ṣṭvā sampūjayām āsuḥ siddhacāraṇavātikāḥ ||*

Auch Arjuna und Karṇa kämpfen, wie es Mbh. 7, 6132 heißt, *praśasyamānau samare siddhacāraṇavātikaiḥ*. In der Bombay-Ausgabe (7, 145, 78) ist das seltenere *-vātikaiḥ* durch *-pannagaiḥ* verdrängt.

Die Rolle, die hier die *vātikas* spielen, wird an andern Stellen des Epos den Vidyādhara zugeteilt, so bei dem Zweikampf des Droṇa und Yuyudhāna (Mbh. 7, 98, 33f.):

*tad yuddham Yuyudhānasya Droṇasya ca mahātmanaḥ |  
vimānāgragatā devā Brahma-Somapurogamāḥ ||  
siddhacāraṇasaṃghāś ca vidyādharamahoragāḥ |  
gatapratyāgatākṣepaiś citrair astraviḡhātibhiḥ |  
vividhair vismayaṃ jagmus tayoh puruṣasiṃhayoh ||*

1) Nilakaṇṭha: *vātikāḥ vātēna saha gacchanti te ākāsacāriṇaḥ cāraṇāḥ siddhaviśeṣāḥ*.

beim Zweikampf des Bhīma und Karṇa (Mbh. 7, 139, 55):

*devar̥ṣisiddhagandharvāḥ sādhu sādhu ity apūjayan |  
mumucuḥ puṣpavar̥ṣaṃ ca vidyādharaṇāś tathā ||*

Auch in der Nāsik-Inschrift Nr. 2<sup>1)</sup> werden Vidyādhara, Cāraṇas und Siddhas unter den Luftgottheiten genannt, die über das Schlachtfeld des Königs Siri-Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa dahingehen: *pavana-garuḷa-sidha-yakha-rakhasa-vijādhara-bhūta-gadhava-cāraṇa-cada-divākara-nakhata-gaha-vicīṇasamarasirasi*. Daß die *vātikas* mit den Vidyādhara identisch sind, scheint mirdanach unbestreitbar. War aber der „Windige“ ein Ausdruck für den Vidyādhara, so wird man auch *vātaputra* oder *vāyussa putto*, den „Sohn des Windes“, als einen seiner Namen anerkennen müssen. Nichts aber zwingt uns, in dem Vidyādhara des Samuggajātaka ein göttliches oder halb-göttliches Wesen zu sehen. Er ist ein Zauberkundiger, der durch die Luft fliegen kann wie in den übrigen den Jātakas entnommenen Stellen.

Es liegt aber noch ein anderes buddhistisches Zeugnis für den Vidyādhara vor, das sich sogar datieren läßt. Auf dem sogenannten Prasenajit-Pfeiler des Steinzauns von Bhārhut findet sich ein Relief<sup>2)</sup>, auf dem ein Mann und eine Frau, beide vornehm gekleidet, dargestellt sind. Der Mann steht aufrecht da und bindet sich den Turban auf oder wickelt ihn ab. Die Frau sitzt zu seiner Linken auf einem Block, vermutlich einem Stein, und hält eine Blume in der rechten Hand empor. Steine im Hintergrunde deuten eine felsige Landschaft an. In der linken Ecke über dem Kopfe der Frau ist, wie es scheint vor einem Baume, ein seltsamer Gegenstand abgebildet. Man sieht ein schräggestelltes längliches Viereck mit einem kleinem in eine Spitze auslaufenden Vorsprung in der Mitte, der vielleicht von zwei kleinen runden Vorsprüngen flankiert ist. Bänder ziehen sich um den viereckigen Gegenstand herum, und unter ihm ragt noch ein anderer, ebenfalls mit Bändern

1) Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 60.

2) Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Tafel XV.



versehener länglicher Gegenstand hervor. In der oberen Ecke, rechts von dem Kopfe des Mannes, steht in zwei Zeilen die Inschrift:

*vijapi*  
*vijadharo*

Das letzte *akṣara* des ersten Wortes ist sicherlich *pi*, das zweite aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach *ja*, wenn es sich auch von dem *ja* in der zweiten Zeile erheblich unterscheidet. Allenfalls könnte man *viāpi* lesen.

Barua und Sinha<sup>1)</sup> haben die dargestellten Personen mit dem Vidyādhara und der Frau des Dānava im Samuggajātaka identifiziert, und ich möchte glauben, daß sie damit das Richtige getroffen haben. Das merkwürdige Gebilde im Hintergrund könnte ein Versuch sein, den geöffneten Kasten mit dem danebenliegenden Deckel darzustellen. Die felsige Landschaft stimmt zu dem Schauplatz der Geschichte. Vielleicht wollte der Künstler den Vidyādhara in dem Augenblicke darstellen, wo er Toilette macht, um mit der Frau in den Kasten zu steigen. HOERNLE<sup>2)</sup> glaubte, daß sich darauf das erste Wort der Inschrift bezöge, das er *vijaṭi* las und als *vijāṭi* „(die Flechten) aufwickelnd“ erklärte. Aber diese Erklärung ist nur unter der Voraussetzung möglich, das *pi* ein Schreibfehler für *ṭi* ist, und selbst, wenn man das annehmen wollte, ist die Form *vijaṭi* oder *vijāṭi* nicht gerade wahrscheinlich, da im Sk. wohl *vijaṭa* „mit aufgelösten Flechten“, im Pali das davon abgeleitete Denominativum *vijaṭayati* vorkommt, aber ein *vijaṭati*, auf das *vijaṭi* zurückgehen müßte, nicht existiert. HULTZSCH<sup>3)</sup> wollte *Vijapi* als Namen des Vidyādhara fassen und führte ihn auf *Vijayin* zurück, indem er Übergang des *y* in *v* und weiter Verhärtung des *v* zu *p* annahm. Wenn sich auch für beide Lautübergänge Beispiele anführen lassen, so ist doch die doppelte Verschiebung des *y* wenig wahrscheinlich. Eher könnte man *Vijapi*, da die Vokallänge in der Schrift oft nicht

1) Barhut Inscriptions, p. 90.

2) Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 26f.

3) ZDMG Vol. XL, S. 66; Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, p. 231.

bezeichnet wird, mit *Vidyāvī* oder *Vidyāvit* gleichsetzen, mit Rücksicht auf den oben angeführten Ausdruck *vijjāṃ parijappati* vielleicht sogar mit *Vidyājalpi* — *Vijjājappi* könnte zu *Vijjāpi* (*Vijapi*) geworden sein — aber befriedigend ist das alles nicht. Am nächsten liegt schließlich doch die auch schon von HOERNLE erwähnte Erklärung als *Vijalpī*. Im Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa 51, 50ff. werden zwei böse Genien genannt, *Vijalpā* und *Kalahā*. Sie sind Personifizierungen abstrakter Begriffe; von *Kalahā* heißt es *Kalahā kalahaṃ gehe karoti*, von *Vijalpā* *avajñānṛtaduṣṭoktir Vijalpā*. *Vijalpā* ist also die personifizierte boshafte Geschwätzigkeit. Ebenso wird *vijalp* im Sinne von „schwätzen“ Śak. II, 18 gebraucht: *parihāsavijalpitāṃ sakhe paramārthena na grhyatām vacaḥ*. HOERNLE dachte daran, *Vijapi* als Femininum und die „Schwätzerin“ als Namen der Frau zu fassen. Das ist möglich. Der Name könnte in dem Relief über *vijadharo* eingemeißelt sein, weil auf der anderen Seite über dem Kopfe der Frau kein Platz für ihn war. Vielleicht ist er sogar erst später hinzugefügt worden; dafür spricht, daß er in kleineren und weniger gut geformten Charakteren geschrieben ist als das darunter stehende *vijadharo*. Das wahrscheinlichste ist es aber doch, daß *Vijapi* = Sk. *Vijalpī*, Nom. von *Vijalpin*, der Name des Vidyādhara ist; ist es ein Zufall, daß auch „Sohn des Windes“, der Name, den er in den Gāthās führt, wie oben gezeigt, im Sinne von „Schwätzer“ gebraucht wird?

Wenn aber auch über die Bedeutung des *vijapi* vorläufig keine Gewißheit zu erlangen ist, so läßt sich zugunsten der Deutung Barua-Sinha's doch noch ein anderer Umstand geltend machen. Über dem Vidyādhara-Relief ist ein andres Relief<sup>1)</sup>, in dem wiederum ein Mann und eine Frau in fürstlicher Kleidung, diesmal nebeneinanderstehend dargestellt sind. Die Frau legt die rechte Hand auf die Schulter des Mannes; in der linken hält sie einen kleinen schwer erkennbaren Gegenstand. Der Mann scheint ebenfalls mit der Rechten einen kleinen Gegenstand gegen die Brust zu drücken; in der

1) CUNNINGHAM, a. a. O. Tafel XIV.

linken Hand, die herunterhängt, hält er einen andern, wiederum unbestimmbaren Gegenstand. Oben zwischen den beiden Köpfen steht *Kaṇḍariki*. Barua und Sinha, a. a. O. S. 86f. haben Kaṇḍariki mit Kaṇḍari zusammengebracht, dem Namen des Helden einer in das Kuṇāla-jātaka (536; V, 437f.) eingeschachtelten Geschichte, die wiederum auf Umwegen in die Rahmenerzählung von 1001 Nacht eingedrungen ist<sup>1)</sup>. Nach der Prosaerzählung ist Kaṇḍari ein König von Benares, der sich durch seine Schönheit auszeichnet. Seine Gattin führt den Namen Kinnarā. Eines Tages erblickt sie einen abstoßend häßlichen Krüppel, der sich unter einem Jambubaume in unmittelbarer Nähe des Palastes aufzuhalten pflegt, faßt Liebe zu ihm und gibt sich ihm hin, indem sie sich allnächtlich von der Seite des schlafenden Königs wegstiehlt und in dem Gezweige des Jambubaumes zu dem Geliebten heruntersteigt. Pañcālacaṇḍa, der Purohita des Königs, kommt hinter ihre Schliche. Auf seinen Rat geht der König eines Nachts unbemerkt der Königin nach, die von ihrem Liebhaber, da sie etwas zu spät kommt, mit einer Ohrfeige empfangen wird. Dabei fällt einer ihrer Ohrringe, der die Form eines Löwenkopfes hat, zur Erde. Der König hebt ihn heimlich auf und entfernt sich. Am nächsten Morgen befiehlt er der Königin, in vollem Schmuck vor ihm zu erscheinen. Sie macht allerlei Ausflüchte wegen des fehlenden Ohrrings, aber sie helfen ihr nichts. Der König überführt sie, indem er ihr den Ohrring vor die Füße wirft. Er befiehlt sie zu enthaupten, aber der weise Pañcālacaṇḍa erklärt ihm, daß alle Weiber schlecht und treulos seien, und überredet ihn, um das zu erkennen, mit ihm eine Reise durch Indien zu machen. Auf dieser Reise, deren Abenteuer zum Teil im einzelnen geschildert werden, haben die beiden Freunde reiche Gelegenheit, sich von der Untreue der Frauen zu überzeugen, und als sie nach Benares zurückgekehrt sind, begnügt sich der König damit, die Kinnarā zu verstoßen.

Kaṇḍari ist ein sehr ungewöhnlicher Name. Wie schon HOERNLE, Ind. Ant. X, S. 259 bemerkt hat, kommt ein

1) COSQUIN, a. a. O. p. 19.

Kaṇḍarika im Sk. vor. Geschichten von ihm finden sich im Harivaṃśa (1256f.), und da hier auch ein gewisser Pāñcāla als sein Freund erwähnt wird, so scheint ein Zusammenhang zwischen jenem Kaṇḍarika und dem Kaṇḍari des Jātaka zu bestehen, allein was von Kaṇḍarika erzählt wird, hat mit der Jātakageschichte nichts zu tun und braucht daher hier nicht erörtert zu werden. Die Übereinstimmung in dem Namen macht es aber meiner Ansicht nach sicher, daß Barua und Sinha mit der Identifizierung von Kaṇḍari mit der in dem Relief dargestellten Person Recht haben, wenn auch das Bild des friedlich nebeneinanderstehenden Ehepaares nicht ganz zu dem zu stimmen scheint, was wir über ihr Verhältnis aus dem Jātaka erfahren. Sollte die dort erzählte Geschichte in dem Relief etwa durch den Gegenstand, den der König in der Hand hält, angedeutet sein? Daß es ein Schmuckstück ist, wäre nicht unmöglich. Man könnte aber schließlich doch noch einwenden, daß die Namen Kaṇḍariki und Kaṇḍari zwar ähnlich, aber nicht völlig gleich sind. Da der Anusvāra in den Bhārhut-Inschriften häufig nicht geschrieben wird, kann statt Kaṇḍariki zwar ohne weiteres Kaṇḍariki gelesen werden, aber das hinzugefügte *ki* macht Schwierigkeiten. Barua und Sinha wollen es zu *Ki[narā]*, dem Namen der Frau in dem Jātaka, ergänzen. Das ist natürlich ausgeschlossen. Der Name Kinnarā ist aber überhaupt ein höchst auffälliger Name für die Königin. Der Prosaerzähler hat beide Namen, Kaṇḍari und Kinnarā, aus der zu der Geschichte gehörenden Gāthā entnommen, die in FAUSBØLL's Text lautet:

*yaṃ ve disvā Kaṇḍari-Kinnarāṇaṃ  
sabbitthiyo na ramanā agāre |  
taṃ tādisaṃ maccaṃ cajivā bhariyā  
aññaṃ disvā purisaṃ pīṭhasappiṃ ||*

Der Kommentator bringt es fertig, mit Hilfe der unglaublichsten Ergänzungen diesem Texte einen Sinn abzugewinnen<sup>1)</sup>: *yaṃ ve Kaṇḍarissa rañño Kinnarāya ca deviyā ti imesaṃ Kaṇḍari-Kinnarāṇaṃ virāgakāraṇaṃ ahosi taṃ disvā*

1) Die Ergänzungen sind in dem Texte von mir gesperrt gedruckt.

*jān itabb aṃ sabbitthiyo attano sāmikānaṃ na ramanti agāre, tathā hi aññaṃ pīthasappipurisaṃ disvā taṃ rājānaṃ tādisaṃ ratikusalaṃ maccaṃ cajīvā bhariyā tena manussapetena saddhiṃ pāpaṃ akāsīti.* Schon FAUSBØLL hat für das grammatisch und metrisch unmögliche *cajīvā cajittha* vorgeschlagen; jedenfalls wird ein Verbum finitum gefordert. *Kaṇḍarikinnarānaṃ* aber ist selbstverständlich in *Kaṇḍarikiṇ narānaṃ* zu zerlegen. Dann ergibt sich ein tadelloser Sinn der Strophe: „Kaṇḍariki, bei dessen Anblick alle Frauen kein Vergnügen mehr im Hause ihrer Männer<sup>1)</sup> fanden, einen solchen Mann verließ die Gattin, als sie einen andern krüppelhaften Mann erblickt hatte.“ Die Unzuverlässigkeit des Prosaerzählers zeigt sich hier wieder deutlich. Den an und für sich schon unwahrscheinlichen Namen Kinnarā können wir streichen; der echte Name des Königs war Kaṇḍariki wie in der Beischrift des Reliefs, und damit scheint mir Barua-Sinha's Identifizierung endgültig bewiesen zu sein. Wenn nun aber in dem oberen Relief ein Paar dargestellt war, dessen weibliche Hälfte das typische Beispiel für eheliche Treulosigkeit war, so wird die Ansicht, daß für das untere Relief ein ähnliches Paar, der Vidyādhara und die Frau aus dem Kasten des Dānava, gewählt war, nahezu zur Gewißheit, wenn sich auch das rätselhafte *viḥapi* vorläufig nicht erklären läßt. Auf dem Pfeiler von Bhārhut würden also die vier Personen, aus deren Geschichte die weltberühmte Rahmen-erzählung der arabischen Märchensammlung hervorgegangen ist, durch einen merkwürdigen Zufall nebeneinander dargestellt sein.

Durch das Relief von Bhārhut ist der Vidyādhara für die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bezeugt. Durch die Gāthās, in denen er erwähnt wird, wird er in eine noch viel frühere Zeit hinaufgerückt. Die buddhistischen Quellen lassen aber auch mit voller Deutlichkeit erkennen, — und das scheint mir das wertvollste Ergebnis der Untersuchung zu sein — daß der Vidyādhara ursprünglich, worauf auch der Name weist,

1) *Nara* ist hier „Ehemann“ wie in Manu 9, 76 *proṣito dharmakāryārthaṃ pratīkṣyo 'ṣṭau naraḥ samāḥ* (Kullūka: *proṣitaḥ patiḥ*).

der Träger eines Wissens war, von dem man glaubte, daß es übernatürliche Kräfte verlieh, also ein Zauberkundiger, der durch die Luft fliegen, beliebige Gestalten annehmen, sich unsichtbar machen konnte. Ein göttliches oder halbgöttliches Wesen war er anfänglich nicht, aber es ist begreiflich, daß ein Mensch mit solchen Eigenschaften schließlich in die Klasse der *devayonayaḥ* aufrücken konnte, in der er bei Amara (1, 1, 11) und Halāyudha (1, 87) und in der epischen und klassischen Literatur erscheint. In der buddhistischen Literatur findet sich der erste Ansatz dazu, wie oben bemerkt, in Mil. 267, aber die Stelle gehört dem spät hinzugefügten vierten Buche an. Die völlige Umgestaltung des Wesens des Vidyādhara wird, wie ALSDORF vermutet, das Werk Guṇāḍhyas sein.

## Nepathya

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Theaters

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*Nepathya* bezeichnet im Sanskrit den durch einen Vorhang abgeschlossenen Raum hinter der Bühne, aus dem die Schauspieler auf die Bühne heraustreten. Das Wort ist in seiner Bildung unklar. BOLLENSSEN, Mälavik. S. 155, wollte es auf *nāyapathya*, „was den Schauspielern zukommt“, zurückführen, eine Erklärung, die wohl nicht der Widerlegung bedarf. S. LÉVI, Théâtre indien, p. 374, schloß sich WEBER an, der in *nepathya* eine halbprakritische Nebenform von *nai-pathya*, einer regelmäßigen Ableitung von \**nipatha*, „der Weg abwärts“, sehen wollte<sup>1)</sup>. Eine Bestätigung dieser Etymologie sah LÉVI in der Tatsache, daß in südindischen Handschriften *nai-pathya* für *nepathya* geschrieben wird<sup>2)</sup>. Während aber WEBER zur Erklärung des Ausdrucks angenommen hatte, daß das *nepathya* niedriger gelegen habe als die Bühne, war LÉVI umgekehrt der Ansicht, daß die Bühne tiefer lag als das *nepathya*. Er berief sich dafür auf die Ausdrücke *raṅgāvatāraṇa*, *raṅgāvatāraka*, *raṅgāvatārin*, die seiner Ansicht nach auf ein Herabsteigen des Schauspielers auf die Bühne schließen lassen.

Meines Erachtens ist LÉVI's Auffassung ebenso unbefriedigend wie die WEBER's. Von einem Unterschiede in der Höhenlage der Bühne und des *nepathya* wird in der Beschreibung der Anlage des Schauspielhauses im Nāṭyaśāstra nichts gesagt, und man sieht auch nicht ein, welchen Zweck sie gehabt haben sollte; das Hinuntersteigen auf die Bühne wäre

1) Ind. Stud. XIV, S. 225, Anm. 4.

2) BOLLENSSEN, a. a. O. Auch in der auf südindischen Handschriften beruhenden Ausgabe der Vaijayantī steht 169, 264 *nai-pathyam*.

doch für die Schauspieler ebenso unbequem gewesen wie das Hinaufsteigen beim Abgang. Auch spricht Bharata 2, 99 nur von dem *raṅgapīṭhapraveśana*, und in den Bühnenanweisungen wird das Auftreten des Schauspielers stets durch *praviśati*, nicht durch *avatarati* bezeichnet. Schließlich ist es doch auch schwer verständlich, warum man den Raum hinter der Bühne nach einem solchen absteigenden Wege benannt haben sollte, ganz abgesehen davon, daß der Ausdruck *nipatha* weder im Sanskrit noch im Prakrit bezeugt ist.

Eine ganz andere Erklärung von *nepathya* hat KONOW vorgeschlagen<sup>1)</sup>. Er möchte darin ein Überbleibsel aus der Einrichtung des alten Schattenspiels sehen und meint, *nepathya* sei eine falsche Sanskritisierung eines prakritischen *nevaccha*, das auf sk. *nai-pathya* oder *nai-pāṭhya* zurückgehe. Das Wort würde sich dann natürlich zu dem Pāṇ. 3, 3, 64 überlieferten *nipāṭha* oder *ni-pāṭha* „Lesen“ stellen, so daß *nepathya* eigentlich den Platz des Vorlesers oder Rezitators bedeuten würde. Allein diese Herleitung ist lautlich anfechtbar, da in der Verbindung eines zerebralen Verschlußlautes mit *y* keine Palatalisierung in den Prakrits einzutreten pflegt<sup>2)</sup>; sie entbehrt auch sachlich der Wahrscheinlichkeit. Die Ansicht, daß *nepathya* auf falscher Sanskritisierung von *nevaccha* beruht, halte ich allerdings für richtig, aber die zweite Bedeutung, die *nepathya* im ganzen Bereich der nachvedischen Literatur zukommt, führt auf eine andere Entstehung des Wortes. Die meisten Lexikographen<sup>3)</sup> lehren *nepathya* im Sinne von *ākalpa* „Putz“ und *veśa* „Tracht, Anzug, das durch Kunst erzeugte Äußere eines Menschen“, wie *veśa* im PW. richtig definiert wird. Kālidāsa braucht denn auch *nepathya* öfter von der reichen Gewandung des Königs (Ragh. 6, 6; 14, 9; 17, 21; 26), des Śiva im Bräutigamsstaat (Kum. 7, 36), der Gaurī bei der Salbung für die Hochzeit (Kum. 7, 7). Insbesondere ist

1) Das indische Drama, S. 46.

2) Vgl. pr. *ṇaṭṭaa*, *tuṭṭai*, *loṭṭai*, *piḍḍai*, *kuḍḍa*, *aḍḍha*, die beiden letzten Worte auch im Pali; siehe FISCHEL, Pr. Gr. § 279; GEIGER, Pali § 53.

3) Am. 2, 6, 99; Vaij. 169, 264; Hem. Abh. 635 usw.

*nephathya* das Kostüm des Schauspielers: *Bhaimāpi baddha-nephathyā naṭaveṣadharās tathā* Hariv. 2, 93, 21; *yadi nephathyavidhānam avasitam* Śak. (Cappeller) 1, 6; *nephathyara-canām kṛtvā* Ratn. 290, 19; *tad grhyatām nephathyam* 290, 29; *nephathyagrahaṇāya sajjibhavāva* 291, 9. Das läßt doch darauf schließen, daß *nephathya*, wenn es in den szenischen Bemerkungen für den Raum hinter der Bühne gebraucht wird, nichts weiter als die abgekürzte Form von *nephathyagṛha* oder *grhaka* ist, das in der Schilderung des Theaterbaues im Nāṭyaśāstra überall (2, 37; 66; 72; 99)<sup>1)</sup> zur Bezeichnung dieses Raumes dient, also „Ankleideraum“ bedeutet.

Damit ergibt sich auch für *nephathya* eine, wie mir scheint, befriedigende Erklärung; *nephathya* „Kleidung“ beruht auf falscher Sanskritisierung einer mit dem *ya*-Suffix und Steigerung der ersten Silbe gebildeten Ableitung von *nivattha* „gekleidet“, die in der westlichen Volkssprache *nevaccha*, in der östlichen, wo die Epenthese gebräuchlich ist, wahrscheinlich *\*nevatthiya* lautete. Südindische Gelehrte haben, wie oben bemerkt, das Wort weiter zu *naipathya* sanskritisiert. Im buddhistischen Sanskrit ist man andererseits bei *nepaccha* stehn geblieben. In dem kleinen Fragment einer ostturkistanischen Handschrift der Berliner Sammlung (828), die einen Kāvyaertext enthält, findet sich *karma nepacchair ya[t]*. *Nivattha*, aus *\*nivasta*, ist im Pali die gewöhnliche Form des Partizips: *sāṇasāṇīnivattho* Samy. I, 115; *mātugāmaṃ dunnivattham* Majjh. I, 462; *attanā nivatthapārutaṃ sātakayugaṃ* Jāt. I, 8, 24f.; *sunivattham pabbajitaṃ* Jāt. I, 59, 26; *sātakaṃ nivatthā itthi<sup>2)</sup>* Jāt. I, 307, 11; *kāsāvanivatthā* Dh. Komm. I, 102; *itthiṃ rattavatthanivattham* Dh. Komm. III, 115. Auch in AMg. findet sich *paṇiyattha* (Ovav. § 38), in M. *ṇiattha* (Karp. 46, 12)<sup>3)</sup>. Das Sanskrit kennt nur *nivasita*, wofür übrigens im PW. nur ein Beleg aus dem Rāmāyaṇa (B 2, 108, 32) gegeben wird. Daß *nevaccha* direkt auf *\*naivastya*

1) Auch Mālav. (ed. BOLLENSSEN) 22, 1.

2) Statt *inaggā* ist offenbar *itthi naggā* zu lesen.

3) Nach PISCHEL, Pr. Gr. § 564, wo zahlreiche analoge Bildungen angeführt werden.

zurückgeht, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich; es wird erst im Prakrit zu *nivattha* gebildet sein wie p. *gelañña* „Krankheit“ zu *gilāna*<sup>1)</sup>.

Im Pali sollten wir *nevaccha* erwarten. Das Wort scheint aber in der Literatur nicht vorzukommen. Abhidhānapp. 282 wird *ākappo veso nepacchaṃ* gelehrt, das aber natürlich nur eine Übersetzung von Am. 2, 6, 99 *ākalpaveṣau nephathyam* ist. In den Prakrits (AMg. JM. M. Ś.) ist *nevaccha*, *ṇevaccha* häufig. Die Stellen verzeichnet PISCHEL (Pr. Gr. § 280), der darauf hinweist, daß nicht nur in den Jaina-Handschriften, wo *cca* und *ttha* beständig verwechselt werden, sondern auch in den Handschriften der Dramen das Wort unendlich oft mit *ttha* anstatt *cca* geschrieben wird. PISCHEL hält in allen Fällen *nevaccha* für die allein richtige Form, ich halte es aber für sehr wohl möglich, daß neben *nevaccha* eine des *ya*-Suffixes entbehrende Form *nevattha* bestand, die genau so zu *nivattha* gebildet ist wie *voccattha* „*viparītarata*“ (Deśin. 7, 58) zu *vucchattha* (PISCHEL, Pr. Gr. § 337). Dafür läßt sich ein anderer Umstand geltend machen.

Von *nevaccha* ist ein Denominativ *nevaccheti* gebildet worden, von dem in JM. das Absolutiv *ṇevacchettā* (Āv. 26, 27) erscheint. PISCHEL führt ferner aus Vivāgas. 111; Paṇhāv. 196; Āv. 28, 5 das Partizip *nevacchiya* an, das auch Māh. Erz. 34, 27 erscheint. Die Handschriften bieten aber auch hier zum Teil *nevatthiya*. Diese Form scheint dem Sanskrit-Übersetzer einer alten buddhistischen Strophe in Prakrit vorgelegen zu haben. In der Avadānaliteratur wird öfter erzählt, wie Leute, die der Buddha durch die einfache Formel: „Komm, Mönch, wandle den heiligen Wandel“ in den Orden berufen hat, im selben Augenblick, durch ein Wunder verwandelt, geschoren, mit dem Mönchsgewand angetan und dem Almosentopf in der Hand dastehn<sup>2)</sup>. Die in Prosa abgefaßte Schilderung des

1) GEIGER, Pali § 3. Zu den dort gegebenen Beispielen möchte ich auch *dohaḷa* stellen, das nicht, wie PISCHEL, Pr. Gr. § 436 angibt, sk. *dvihṛd*, sondern sk. *dvaiḥṛda* entspricht.

2) Eine inhaltlich und zum Teil wörtlich übereinstimmende Schilderung findet sich schon im Mahāvastu III, 379, 12ff. Kürzer wird das gleiche auch im Pali erzählt, z. B. Jāt. I, 86, 1ff.; Sum. II, 418; 473; Dh. Komm. IV, 63.

Vorgangs wird jedesmal kurz in einer Strophe zusammengefaßt, die, wenn sie sich auf einen einzelnen bezieht, lautet:

*ehīti coktaḥ sa tathāgatena muṇḍas ca saṃghātiparītadehaḥ  
sadyaḥ praśāntendriya eva tasthau naivasthito buddhamano-  
rathena<sup>1</sup>).*

Bezieht sich die Strophe auf mehrere Personen, so lautet sie:

*ehīti coktā hi tathāgatena muṇḍās ca saṃghātiparītadehāḥ  
sadyaḥ praśāntendriyā eva tasthur naivasthitā buddhamano-  
norathena<sup>2</sup>).*

Die Lesart *naivasthito*, *naivasthitā* kann als sicher gelten; *nopasthitā*, *nepathyasthito* sind nachträgliche Versuche sie zu verbessern<sup>3</sup>). *Naivasthita* ist natürlich eine vollkommen sinnlose Sanskritisierung; sie macht es aber wahrscheinlich, daß im Original nicht *nevacchita*, sondern *nevatthita*, eine Ableitung von *nevattha*, stand. Andererseits führt die Fassung der Strophe in der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā fol. 147 V 3 wiederum auf eine Form mit *cch*:

*ehīti coktaḥ sa tathāga(tena m)uṇḍas ca kāśyāparītade(haḥ  
sadyaḥ praśānte)ndriya eva tasthau nipacchito buddhamano-  
norathena<sup>4</sup>).*

Die Ausdrücke *raṅgāvatarāṇa*, *raṅgāvatārin*, *raṅgāvatāraka*, in denen LÉVI eine Bestätigung seiner Etymologie von *nepathya* sah, können meiner Ansicht nach nicht in diesem

1) Divy. 37, 3 (*saṃghāṭa*-); 558, 21 (*-parivrtadehaḥ*); Avadānaś. I, 284, 10 (*sāṃghāṭi*-; *nevasthito*); I, 347, 8 (*nepathyasthito*); abgekürzt Divy. 49, 16 (*yāvan naivasthito buddhamanorathena*).

2) Divy. 48, 22 (*saṃghāṭa*-); 159, 11 (*coktās ca*; *satya* für *sadyaḥ*); 342, 1 (*nopasthitā*); abgekürzt 463, 26 (*yāvat te panthitā buddhamanorathena*).

3) Im Kalpadrumāv. und Ratnāv wird, wie SPREYER, Avadānaś. I, 347, Anm. 7 angibt, das unverständliche *naivasthita* einfach fortgelassen. SPREYER's Konjektur *tasthāv evaṃ sthito* ist verfehlt.

4) *Nipacchito* ist entweder Schreibfehler für *nepacchito* oder *nepacchito* ist sekundär zu *nipacchito* umgeformt. Eine entsprechende Form findet sich Māhār. Erz. 59, 31: *niyatthio*, v. l. *niyacchio*, hinter *niyamsaha* in der vorausgehenden Zeile. FISCHER's Zurückführung von *niyatthiya* auf *\*nivastrita* (Pr. Gr. § 564) ist nicht wahrscheinlich.

Sinne verwertet werden. Nach Halāyudha 1, 97 ist *raṅga* ein Tanzplatz: *raṅgaḥ syān nartanasthānam*. Auch Hemacandra lehrt An. 2, 44 *raṅgaḥ syān nṛttayudbhuvoh<sup>1</sup>*), ebenso Sāgaranandin, Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa 2183 *raṅgas tu nṛtya-saṃsthānam*, obwohl er in seinem Werke *raṅga* oft genug als Bezeichnung der für das Schauspiel bestimmten Bühne gebraucht<sup>2</sup>). Abh. 282 definiert denn Hemacandra *raṅga* auch: *sthānam nāṭyasya raṅgaḥ syāt*. Von *raṅga* wird aber nicht nur in Verbindung mit der Veranstaltung von Tänzen und dramatischen Aufführungen, sondern auch von Wettkämpfen aller Art und Svayamvaras gesprochen.

Nun ist mit *raṅga* gewiß auch schon in der älteren Literatur öfter die Bühne des eigentlichen Theaters gemeint, die genauer *raṅgapīṭha* heißt<sup>3</sup>). Wenn Mṛcch. 1, 42 von der Vasantasenā gesagt wird, sie wisse ihre Stimme zu verändern „*raṅgapraveśena*“, so ist *raṅgapraveśa* hier wahrscheinlich dasselbe wie *raṅgapīṭhapraveśana*, das Auftreten auf der Bühne, in Nāṭyaś. 2, 99. Im allgemeinen aber bezeichnet *raṅga* die ganze für eine Schaustellung bestimmte Anlage. Daraus erklärt es sich, daß *raṅga* auch häufig für die Zuschauer gebraucht wird; so bei Theateraufführungen: *raṅgasyāsā samṛdhyatu* Nāṭyaś. 5, 109; *prasādyā raṅgaṃ vidhivat* ibid. 5, 168; *raṅgaṃ prasādyā madhuraiḥ ślokaḥ* Daśar. 3, 4; *rāgabaddhacittavṛttir ālikhita iva sarvato raṅgaḥ* Śak. (Cappeller) 2, 8; bei Tänzen: *raṅgasya darśayitvā nivartate nartakī yathā nṛtyāt* Sāṃkhyak. 59; bei Wettkämpfen: *tataḥ sarvasya raṅgasya hāhākāro mahān abhūt* Mbh. 1, 127, 18; *kṣubdhārṇavanibhaṃ raṅgam ālokya* 1, 125, 3; *dvidhā raṅgaḥ samabhavat* 1, 126, 27. In solchem Falle wechselt *raṅga* mit *samāja* und

1) Ähnlich auch Śāśv. 177 *nṛttayuddhakhale rāge raṅgaḥ*, wo *khala* im Sinne von Platz zu stehen scheint. Auf einem Mißverständnis dieser Angabe scheint es zu beruhen, wenn Med. g 21 *raṅga* in der Bedeutung Tanz (*raṅgo nā rāge nṛtye ranakṣitau*), Trik. 620 auch in der Bedeutung Tanz und Tenne (*nṛtye rāne khale rāge raṅgaḥ*) gelehrt wird. Im Sinne von Tanz, Schlachtfeld, Schlacht, Tenne ist *raṅga* in der Literatur jedenfalls nicht nachzuweisen.

2) Z. B. 2168; 2169; 2182; 2185.

3) Nāṭyaś. Adhy. 1 und 2 passim.

*jana: mahārṇava iva kṣubdhaḥ samājah so 'bhavat tadā* 1, 124, 16; *Kururāje ca raṅgasthe Bhīme ca balinām vare | pakṣapātakṛtasnehaḥ sa dvidhevābhavaḥ janāḥ* 1, 125, 1.

Das Schauhaus, das für Tänze, Wettkämpfe und Svayaṃvaras bestimmt ist, ist aber nicht der gewöhnliche, Nāṭyaś. Adhy. 2 beschriebene viereckige Theaterbau (*nāṭya-maṇḍapa, nāṭyaveśman, nāṭyagrha, prekṣāgāra*), in dem die Bühne an einem Ende der Schmalseite liegt. Es muß ein Raum in der Art des römischen Amphitheaters gewesen sein, denn die Vorführungen finden *raṅgamadhye*, „in der Mitte des *raṅga*“, statt<sup>1)</sup>. Dort zeigen die Zauberer und Mimen ihre Künste: *māyākārā raṅgamajjhe karontā mohenti cakkhūni janassa tāvade* Jāt. 510, 18; *yo so naṭo raṅgamajjhe samajjamajjhe saccālikena janam hāseti rameti* Saṃy. IV, 306. In die Mitte des *raṅga* begibt sich Droṇa mit seinem Sohn Aśvatthāman bei dem Wettkampf der Prinzen: *raṅgamadhyam tadācāryaḥ saputraḥ praviveśa ha* Mbh. 1, 124, 18. Dort findet der Kampf des Kṛṣṇa und Saṃkarṣaṇa mit den Ringern des Kaṃsa statt: *Andhra-Tośalakau hatvā Kṛṣṇa-Saṃkarṣaṇāv ubhau | krodhasaṃraktanayanau raṅgamadhye vavalgatuḥ* Hariv. 2, 30, 55. Beim Svayaṃvara der Draupadī verkündet Dhṛṣṭadyumna in der Mitte des *raṅga* stehend (*raṅgamadhyagataḥ*) den Beginn des Wettschießens um die Hand der Schwester (Mbh. 1, 176, 33). Auch in der Inhaltsangabe Mbh. 1, 1 heißt es in der Zusatzstrophe 36\* *yadāśrauṣaṃ Draupadīm raṅgamadhye lakṣyaṃ bhittvā nirjitām Arjunena*. In der Mitte des *raṅga* stehn beim Svayaṃvara der Kuntī die Bewerber: *tataḥ sā raṅgamadhyastham teṣāṃ rājñāṃ yaśasvinī | dadarśa rājasārdūlaṃ Pāṇḍuṃ Bharatasattamam* (Mbh. 1, 1129\*).

Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, ist der Raum mit ansteigenden Sitzreihen versehen. Bei der Schilderung der Errichtung des *prekṣāgāra* für den Wettkampf der Prinzen wird auch ausdrücklich erwähnt, daß die Leute große hohe Schaugerüste

1) Eine Fortsetzung des alten Amphitheaters ist vielleicht das dreieckige Schauspielhaus, das Nāṭyaś. 2, 104 ff. beschrieben wird. In diesem soll der dreieckige *raṅgapīṭha* in der Mitte angebracht werden.

errichteten: *mañcāṃś ca kārayāmāsus tatra jānapadā janāḥ | vipulān ucchrayopetān* Mbh. 1, 124, 11<sup>1)</sup>. Auf diese Gerüste steigen die Frauen des Königs hinauf: *striyaś ca sarvā yā rājñāḥ sapreṣyāḥ saparicchadāḥ | harṣād ārurukur mañcān Meruṃ devastriyo yathā* 1, 124, 14. Beim Svayaṃvara der Draupadī sitzt das Volk auf solchen Gerüsten: *mañceṣu ca parārdhyeṣu paura jānapadā janāḥ | Kṛṣṇādarśanatuṣṭyartham sarvataḥ samupāviśan* Mbh. 1, 176, 26. Beim Wettspiel zweier Viṇāspieler wird am Palasttor ein *maṇḍapa* für den König errichtet und die Städter stellen Kreis über Kreis, Sitzreihe über Sitzreihe her (*cakkāticakke mañcātimañce bandhiṃsu*) Jāt. II, 253, 14. Es ist bei amphitheatralischer Anlage des Schauhauses ohne weiteres verständlich, wie man dazu kam, von den in der Mitte des Raumes agierenden Personen zu sagen, sie stiegen in den *raṅga* hinab; so z. B. von der Draupadī und ihren Bewerbern bei ihrem Svayaṃvara: *vīrakāṃsyam upādāya kāñcanaṃ samalaṃkṛtam | avatīrṇā tato raṅgam Draupadī Bharatarṣabha* Mbh. 1, 176, 30; *narendrāḥ | raṅgāvatīrṇā Drupadātma jārtham* 1, 178, 5.

Auf das Herabsteigen in die Arena muß sich auch der Ausdruck *raṅgāvatārin, raṅgāvatāraka* beziehen. Der *raṅgāvatārin* wird in der Literatur überall mit Geringschätzung genannt. Maitr. Up. 7, 8 wird er in einer Liste von Leuten genannt, deren Umgang man meiden soll. Nach Yājñ. 2, 70 wird er nicht als Zeuge zugelassen. Viṣṇ. 51, 14, Yājñ. 1, 161 wird er zu denen gerechnet, von denen man keine Speise annehmen darf; Manu nennt ihn an der entsprechenden Stelle (4, 215) *raṅgāvatāraka*<sup>2)</sup>. Mbh. 12, 295, 5 wird das *raṅgāvatāraka* neben dem *rūpopajivana* als tadelnswertes Gewerbe bezeichnet. Viṣṇ. 16, 8 wird das *raṅgāvatāraka* den Āyogavas, einer niedrigen Mischkaste, zugewiesen. Nun nennt allerdings Hemacandra, Abh. 328 *raṅgāvatāraka* neben *sailūṣa* und *naṭa* unter den Wörtern für Schauspieler. Nach dem Zitat im Kommentar des Maheśvara zu Am. 2, 10, 12 lehrt auch Vācaspati:

1) Ebenso eingerichtet ist das *prekṣāgāra* des Kaṃsa, in dem der Ringkampf stattfindet (Hariv. 2, 28, 5 ff.).

2) Die Kommentatoren lesen zum Teil *raṅgāvatāraka*.

*raṅgāvatārī śailūṣo naṭe bharatabhāratau*. Rāmatīrtha erklärt *raṅgāvatārīn* in der Upaniṣad *anekaveśabhāṣāvīśeṣair nāṭaka-nāṭyājīvinah*, im Texte wird aber der *naṭa* neben dem *raṅgāvatārīn* genannt. Bei Manu und in der Viṣṇusmṛti steht der *śailūṣa* daneben, und die Manu-Kommentatoren erklären *raṅgāvatāraka* als Ringer usw. oder als Musiker, zum Teil unter ausdrücklichem Ausschluß von Schauspielern und Sängern; Medhātithi: *raṅgāvatārako naṭagāyanakebhyo 'nyo mallādih*; Govindarāja: *naṭagāyanavyatirikṭasyāpi ca raṅgāvatārāṇājīvinah*; ebenso Kullūka; Sarvajñanārāyaṇa: *raṅgāvatārako vādyādipradarśanavyṛttiḥ*; Rāmacandra: *raṅgāvatārakasya vādyopajīvinah*. Auch Nandapaṇḍita, der Kommentator der Viṣṇusmṛti, will unter *raṅgāvatārīn* „Ringer usw.“, unter *raṅgāvatārāṇa* „Ringkampf, Tanz usw.“ verstehen<sup>1)</sup>. Nīlakaṇṭha bemerkt zu *raṅgāvatārāṇam* : *raṅge śṛyādiveśeṇāvātārāṇam*<sup>2)</sup>.

Es ist unter diesen Umständen mehr als zweifelhaft, ob man den Schauspieler der klassischen Bühne jemals als *raṅgāvatārīn* bezeichnet hat. Die Texte, soweit der Zusammenhang ein Urteil erlaubt, sprechen dagegen, ebenso die Kommentatoren, mit Ausnahme von Rāmatīrtha, dessen Erklärung aber sicherlich falsch ist, und die Angaben der Lexikographen lassen feinere Bedeutungsunterschiede oft unbeachtet. Sollte *raṅgāvatārīn* doch einmal in der Bedeutung „Schauspieler“ auftauchen, so ist der Ausdruck, der eigentlich nur für Leute,

1) Jolly, SBE. VII, 163; 66.

2) Unsicher ist die eigentliche Bedeutung von *avātārāṇa* als Bezeichnung des zweiten Bestandteils des *pūrvaraṅga*. Nach Nāṭyaś. 5, 17 besteht es in der Plazierung der Sänger (*gāyakānām nīveśanam*). Von einem Herabsteigen der Sänger auf die Bühne kann in dem *pūrvaraṅga*, wie es im Nāṭyaśāstra geschildert wird, nicht die Rede sein, da die ersten neun Teile des *pūrvaraṅga* alle hinter dem Vorhang ausgeführt werden. Da der *pūrvaraṅga* größtenteils aus der Praxis der alten Tänzer und Mimen stammt, könnte sich *avātārāṇa* ursprünglich auf das Herabsteigen der Sänger in die Arena bezogen haben. Vielleicht bedeutet es hier aber nur das „Anfangen“; in diesem Sinne braucht Bharata *avātārāṇa* auch in 5, 26: *yasmād abhinayas tatra prathamam hy avātāryate | raṅga-dvāram ato jñeyam vāgaṅgābhīnayatmakam*.

die in der Arena auftreten, bestimmt war, auf den Schauspieler übertragen, wie das schließlich ja auch bei *naṭa* geschehen ist<sup>1)</sup>. Für die Einrichtung der klassischen indischen Bühne sind jedenfalls aus dem Ausdruck *raṅgāvatārīn* keine Schlüsse zu ziehen.

1) Charakteristisch ist, daß Sāgaranandin, Nāṭakal. 2182 von der eigentlichen Schauspielerin den Ausdruck *raṅgam upārūdhā* gebraucht: *saiva raṅgam upārūdhā vaktavyā raṅganāyikā*.



### **III. Epigraphik und Kharosthi-Dokumente**

No. 49.—KADABA PLATES OF PRABHUTAVARSHA ;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 735.

By H. Lüders, Ph.D.; Oxford.

The copper-plates which contain this inscription, were found at Kadaba in the Tumkur district of the Mysore State. They are now preserved in the Mysore Government Museum, Bangalore. The inscription has been previously published, with a photo-lithograph, by Mr. Rice in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. p. 11 ff. A reprint of this edition, with some corrections of obvious errors, will be found in the *Prāchīnalīkhamāldā* of the *Kāvyamāldā*, Vol. I. p. 47 ff. The impressions which I have used for this new edition, were supplied by Dr. Hultsch, who obtained the original plates from Mr. J. Cameron, Superintendent, Mysore Government Museum, Bangalore, and were made over to me through Professor Kielhorn.

The plates are five in number, each measuring about 9½" long by about 5½" broad at the ends and about 4½" in the middle. They all have raised rims. The first and the last plate are engraved on one side only, the latter containing altogether only twelve *aksharas*. The ring on which the plates are strung, is now cut. Its diameter is 4" to 4½". It holds a circular seal, 1½" in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, a figure of Garuda, facing to the full front, and squatting on a lotus. The wings, which do not appear in the drawing in the *Indian Antiquary*, are, as Dr. Hultsch states, distinctly visible in the original. The figure differs only in details from those on the seals of other Rāshtrakūṭa grants.<sup>5</sup> The average size of the letters is ⅙". In lines 76, 77 and 79 blanks were originally left by the engraver for the name of the founder of the grantee's *amcaya*, and the names of the grantee's teacher's teacher and teacher. These were filled in afterwards by a second hand in a very rude manner.<sup>6</sup> The words *pa[la]-pūṣu[se] eva[r]iṣe ante pōyis*, in the description of the boundaries in l. 90, have been written by the same hand, the original text being effaced here. Other corrections have been occasionally made by the engraver himself. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. Details will be discussed below.—The language is Sanskrit, but the description of the boundaries and witnesses in ll. 88-98 is in Kanarese. The text and translation of the Kanarese portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. The Sanskrit portion of this inscription is of special interest on account of its form. Being mixed of prose and verse, in an exceedingly rich and flowery language, it belongs to that kind of literary composition which is styled *Champū*.—The orthography calls for a few remarks.

<sup>5</sup> Compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 104; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 112, 126, and 161, Plates.

<sup>6</sup> L. 76, *Śrikīrtiḍ* for *Śrikīrti-ḍ(chāryy-ḍavayḍ)*; l. 77, *Kāli-ḍ(chāryyḍ)* (Mr. Rice reads *Kālid*, but the last *akshara* is distinctly *ḍ*; for the second *akshara*, which I consider to be *li*, compare the *li* in *kali* in a temple inscription at Paṭṭadakal, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, Plate, l. 2); l. 79, *Vijayakīrti*, or, perhaps, originally *Vijayakīrti* for *Vijayakīrti*.

The vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *namas-kriyamānam*, l. 30, whereas *ri* is written for *ri* in *visṛita*, *kṛita*, l. 1, *dhṛita*, l. 60, and *parama-rishi*, l. 9, where the usual spelling would be *parama-rishi*. The sibilant *ṣ* is used for *ṣ* in *avatāmsa*, l. 1, *pāmsu*, l. 52, and *ṣ* for *ṣ* in *visṛeṣha*, l. 3, *yasa(ṣ)*, l. 16, and *asṛeṣha*, l. 74. Twice the sonant non-aspirate is found instead of the sonant aspirate, in *saṃgāta*, l. 17, and *stamba*, l. 16. The rules of *saṃdhi* have been frequently disregarded. Three times, in ll. 22, 71 and 75, the *upadhmanīya* occurs before *p*. Consonants after *r* are doubled, with the exception of *k* (except in *arkka*, l. 13), *th*, *bh*, and the sibilants. The doubling of the first consonant of a group occurs only in *vīkkrāma*, l. 17. A double mute before a consonant, on the other hand, is represented by a single mute in *jagatrāya*, l. 19, and *ujāla*, l. 25.—As regards lexicography, it may be pointed out that *chārvī* in l. 3 and *sudhā* in l. 16 are used in meanings known hitherto from dictionaries only.<sup>1</sup> In l. 24 a denominative *bhāvvyati* seems to be used in the sense of 'bhavishyati'; and *chaturākāra* occurs in l. 48, in a pun, in the meaning of 'square.' Regarding the word *pada* in l. 50, I refer to the note on that passage.

The inscription records that the king Prabhūtarsha, (i.e. Gōvinda III.), residing in his victorious camp at Mayūrakhaṇḍī, on the application of Chākirāja, in Śaka-Saṃvat 735 presented the village of Jālamāṅgala to the Jaina *muni* Arkakīrti, on behalf of the temple of Jinendra at Śilāgrāma, in remuneration for his having warded off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, the governor of the Kunuṅḡil district.

Before giving a more detailed account of the contents, it will be expedient to determine, as far as can be done from external points of evidence, whether the inscription is a genuine one or a forgery. Doubts about its genuineness have been already expressed by Dr. Fleet,<sup>2</sup> and we shall see that his suspicion certainly cannot be called unjustified.

I shall begin with the paleography. In his examination of the spurious copper-plates of the Western Gaṅgas,<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet has used, as leading tests, the letters *kh* and *b*. Of these, *kh* in the present inscription appears generally in the later form; but in *sukha*, l. 15, *likhita* (for *likhita*), l. 16, and, probably, in *mukha*, l. 7, and *vikhyāta*, l. 10, the old type is followed. For *b* the older form is used throughout. Dr. Fleet states that the later form of *kh* appears first in an inscription of Amoghavarsha I. at Mantravāḍī near Bankapur, dated in A.D. 865,<sup>4</sup> and that it does not seem at all possible that it can be carried back to before A.D. 804, as the Kanarese grant of Gōvinda III., dated in that year,<sup>5</sup> and earlier inscriptions contain the older form only. Our inscription, being dated in A.D. 812, lies within these limits, and, accordingly, the occurrence of the later form cannot prove its spuriousness. Nevertheless, I consider it a little suspicious; for, though the later form actually is used in A.D. 865, the older form alone appears, according to Dr. Fleet, in the Śirūr inscription of Amoghavarsha I., dated in A.D. 866,<sup>6</sup> and it appears therefore that at that time the later form was not yet generally employed, but rather on the point of coming into use. Such, however, being the case, it does not seem likely that it was used altogether already more than fifty years before that time.

The remaining letters call for no remarks, with the exception of the dental *l*. For this two signs are used: the subscript sign in the stretched form, which appears already in older inscriptions, and the full sign in the later form, which seems to have been introduced into this alphabet in the second half of the eighth century A.D.; for, though in the Wokkalēri grant of Kīrtivarman II., dated in A.D. 757,<sup>7</sup> the full sign appears still in the old form of the Cave-

<sup>1</sup> *Chārvī* 'dīptau' Śābdarāśtravivṛit in Śābdakalpādruma; *sudhā*, 'earth.' in von Boehlingk's *Dictionary*, quoted from a *Dictionary* of Galanos.

<sup>2</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> It has not been published yet.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215. A lithograph of this inscription has not been published yet.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff., and lithograph.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 161 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, Plate.

characters, with the curve attached to the right vertical stroke ending at the base-line,<sup>1</sup> the later form is used throughout in Gōvinda's Kanarese grant of A.D. 804, mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing remarkable, therefore, as to the forms of the *l* in the present inscription, but what is quite peculiar is the manner in which the two signs are employed. According to older inscriptions, we should expect to find the subscript sign in combination with *i*, *ī*, *ē*, *ō*, *ai* and *au* and as second letter of a ligature, and the full sign everywhere else. But this is not the case. Perfectly regular is only the use of the subscript sign as second letter of a ligature (12 times), and of the full sign in combination with the *virāma* (5 times in the Kanarese portion). Nearly regular is also the use of the full sign as first letter of a ligature (14 times), the subscript sign appearing here only once (l. 39), and of the subscript sign in *lō* (13 times), the full sign appearing here twice (ll. 69, 70). In *li* the subscript sign is employed 6 times, the full sign once, in *pulīpadiya* (l. 91), which is a mistake for *pul-padiya*. In *li* the subscript sign occurs 5 times, the full sign 5 times.<sup>3</sup> In *lā* the full sign is used 13 times,<sup>4</sup> the subscript sign 9 times. *La* is expressed by the full sign 33 times, by the subscript sign 28 times. The full sign is used in *lu*, and the subscript sign in *lō*; but this is irrelevant, as neither of them occurs more than once; *lū*, *lai* and *lau* do not occur at all. I have not been able to find an analogy to this almost indiscriminate use of the two signs in another inscription written in the same alphabet, but am inclined to look at it as a characteristic feature of the writing in the ninth century A.D. The Wokkalēri grant referred to above proves that, in the middle of the eighth century A.D., there was a tendency to generalize the use of the subscript sign; for in that inscription the subscript sign appears everywhere, except in combination with *ā*. That this tendency was only temporary, is shown by the later development of the alphabet; in inscriptions of the tenth century A.D. the full sign again is generally used, the subscript sign appearing only as second letter of a ligature. Secondly we have the curious fact that at the same time the same mixing of the two signs took place in that variety of the southern alphabet which was used in Gujārat and the adjacent districts. In the Tōrkhēḍ copper-plates of Gōviudarāja,<sup>5</sup> dated in A.D. 812, we find the full sign in *la* 13 times, *lā* 5 times, *li* twice, *lu* twice, *lō* twice, and the subscript sign in *la* twice, *lā* 3 times, *li* twice, *lō* once. Of ligatures only *lla* occurs; this is expressed by the combination of the full and the subscript sign 4 times, by two subscript signs twice.<sup>6</sup>

The next point that commands attention is the orthography. Badness of orthography is a common badge of almost all forged grants, and it cannot be denied that our inscription shows a want of accuracy in this respect. I do not attach too much importance to the misspellings quoted above, and the numerous minor slips, as they are either commonly found in records of this time, or may be due merely to the carelessness of the engraver. But there are some passages which seem to have been corrupt already in the original copy,<sup>7</sup> and, in addition to this, we find twice (l. 19 ff. and l. 64) faulty constructions.

Nor is the form of the record much in favour of its genuineness. I have already stated above that the inscription is composed in the style of the *Ohampū*s, and I have only to add here that it is quite original, and has not one line in common with any of the other Rāshtrakūṭa grants. I admit, however, that this may be accounted for by assuming that it was not issued from

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *l* in *lācchhana*, ll. 4, 6, *paldyamdnair*, l. 28, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *vallabha*, l. 4, *kāladol*, l. 6, *golal-bandalli*, ll. 7, 8, *iriyalbandallū(lli)*, l. 10. The subscript sign appears in *modalol*, l. 9, and *likhitaḥ* (for *likhitaḥ*), l. 19. Both the older and the later form of the full sign appear in the temple inscription at Paṭṭadakal of the time of Dhruva (between A.D. 783 and 794; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125 and lithograph), but the later form used here has a somewhat peculiar shape (compare *ballahan*, l. 2, *dāgulada*, ll. 3, 4, and *vallabha*, l. 1, *kalī*, l. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Of these, however, four cases are misspellings for *li*.

<sup>4</sup> In three cases of these, *lā* is a misspelling for *la*.

<sup>5</sup> Which form is used in *mudgala*, l. 89, I cannot decide.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 63 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Compare e.g. ll. 11, 12, 26, 50, 57.

the office of the Rāshtrakūṭa king directly, but that, the sanction of the sovereign having been obtained, it was drawn up by somebody in the service of the governor of the Kunuṅgil district or of the viceroy of the Gaṅga province in whose territory the granted village was situated.

Finally we have to examine the date. It runs (line 83) : *Sakanripa-samvatsarāṣṭu sarakiki-munisū vyatīṣṭu J[y]ṣhṭhamāsa-suklapakṣa-datamyām Pushyanakṣatrē Ohanāradrē*. The year being taken as current,<sup>1</sup> the date would correspond, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>2</sup> to Monday, the 24th May A.D. 812, and this would be a perfectly possible date for Gōvinda III. Prabhūtarsha, as we know from the stone inscription at Śirūr that his successor Śarva or Amōghavarsha I. came to the throne in A.D. 814 or 815.<sup>3</sup> But the date offers two difficulties which cannot be overlooked. Firstly, the *nakṣatra* is wrong. On the 24th May A.D. 812 the moon was, as shown by Professor Kielhorn, in Hasta (No. 13) and Chitrā (No. 14), not in Pushya (No. 8). This, however, may perhaps be considered as being of little importance, as such and even graver mistakes will be found in doubtlessly genuine records. Of much greater consequence is the second point, the expressing of the Śaka year by numerical words. The earliest epigraphic instance of this in India proper is the stone inscription of Chaṇḍamahāsēna at Dhōlpur, dated in Vikrama-Samvat 898,<sup>4</sup> and the earliest instance in Mysore is a stone inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which gives Śaka 904 as the year of the death of the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra IV., and probably was engraved not much after that time.<sup>5</sup> The present inscription would therefore furnish the earliest example of the use of numerical words not only in this part of the country, but in India altogether. Of course, even this does not prove with absolute certainty that the inscription is a forgery. It may be alleged that it precedes the Dhōlpur inscription only by thirty years, and that in Cambodia and Java numerical words appear already in

<sup>1</sup> That current years are called "expired" is not unusual; compare Professor Kielhorn's list, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII p. 127 ff.—[Without wishing to decide—what, indeed, at present I cannot do—whether the inscription is a forgery or not, I would, with Dr. Lüders' permission, offer the following additional remarks on the date:—1. The phrase *Sakanripa-samvatsarāṣṭu* . . . *vyatīṣṭu* is foreign to the inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas, in which the regular phrase is *Sakanripa-kāl-dīpta-samvatsara*. On the other hand, we have the similar phrases *Sakanrip-dīṭṭu* . . . *vyatīṣṭu* in the British Museum forged copper-plate inscription of the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin I. of Śaka-Samvat 411 (to be taken, like the year of the Kadamba plates, as a current year); *Sakanripati-samvatsara* . . . *atīṣṭu* in the Haiderābād plates of the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Samvat 584; and *Sakanripa-samvatsarāṣṭu* . . . *gatīṣṭu* in the Nilgud inscription of the Western Chalukya Taila II. of Śaka-Samvat 904. Considering that these dates belong to Chālukya inscriptions, attention may be drawn to the fact that the family of the Vimalāditya of the present inscription claimed to belong to the Chālukyas.—2. Genuine dates with current years, before Śaka-Samvat 1000, are indeed very rare; but, supposing the date to be a forgery, one would expect the forger to have been anxious to give it some appearance of probability, while, in quoting the *nakṣatra* Pushya with Jyēshṭha-sudi 10, he would have decidedly failed to do so. The *nakṣatra* on Jyēshṭha-sudi 10 usually is Hasta, in whatever year, and this the writer of the date may reasonably be assumed to have known. Of 12 ordinary Hindu calendars for different years, which I have examined, no less than 10 give Hasta for Jyēshṭha-sudi 10.—3. It may also be argued that the circumstance of the inscription being a *śūkyā* of some sort, sufficiently accounts for the fact that the year of the date is expressed by numerical words, with the use of which the people of India proper undoubtedly were well acquainted in A.D. 812. The dates from Cambodia, in which numerical words are used as early as Śaka-Samvat 526 and 546, are in verse; and so is the date of Śaka-Samvat 654 from Java. The same is the case with all the Indian Śaka dates of the published inscriptions that give numerical words, down to at least Śaka-Samvat 1001 (of Ś. 867, 904, 944, 991, 999, and 1001), and with all the Vikrama dates down to at least Vikrama-Samvat 1240 (of V. 898, 978, 1003, 1010, and 1240).—F. Kielhorn.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 219. The inscription is dated in Śaka 788 expired, Vyaya, while the fifty-second year of the reign of Amōghavarsha-Nripātīṅga was current.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 38. The stone inscription of Dhavala of Hastikūṅḍi at Bijapur (*Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXII. Part I. p. 314) contains the date Vikrama-Samvat 973 in numerical words, but the inscription itself belongs to Vikrama-Samvat 1053. These and the following dates were kindly pointed out to me by Professor Kielhorn.

<sup>5</sup> L. Rice, *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 57, p. 55.

Sanskrit inscriptions of the seventh and eighth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> But I should think that by the fact that the use of the numerical words is combined with a series of other suspicious circumstances: the mistake in the date, the unusual form of the record, the incorrectness of the orthography, and the doubts attaching to the palaeography, we are entitled to declare the genuineness of the present inscription as somewhat doubtful.

We shall now consider the contents. The first part of the inscription (ll. 1-64) consists of a eulogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings. The genealogy is given as follows: Gōvinda; his son Kakka; his son Inda; his son Vairamēgha; his paternal uncle Akālavarsha; his son Prabhūtarsha; his younger brother Dhāravarsha Śri-Prithiviallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara, called also Vallabha; and his son Prabhūtarsha Śri-Prithiviallabha Rājādhirāja Paramēvara, afterwards (l. 82) called Vallabhendra. Six of these names can be identified at once: Gōvinda is Gōvinda I.; Kakka is Karka I. whose name appears in the present form also in the Śamagaḍ and Bharōch grants;<sup>2</sup> Inda is Indra II., the form of the name occurring here being either the Prakrit form or a mere mistake of the engraver; and Akālavarsha, Dhāravarsha, and the second Prabhūtarsha are, respectively, Kṛishṇa I., Dhruva, and Gōvinda III., called here by their *birudas* which are known also from other grants. Of the remaining two kings, therefore, Vairamēgha would correspond to Dantidurga or Dantivarman II., and the first Prabhūtarsha to Gōvinda II. These *birudas*, however, do not occur in any other inscription. For Gōvinda II. we know no individual *biruda* at all, and Dantidurga is stated in the Śamagaḍ grant to have been called Khaḍgavalōka.<sup>4</sup> But as almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa kings bore more than one *biruda*, it does not seem quite improbable that Dantidurga had a *biruda* Vairamēgha in addition to that of Khaḍgavalōka; and as regards Prabhūtarsha, a strong argument in favour of its correctness lies in the fact that in the Rāshtrakūṭa family certain *birudas* are constantly combined with the same name, and that Prabhūtarsha was the *biruda* of Gōvinda III. and Gōvinda IV. of the main branch, and of Gōvinda I. of the second Gujarāt branch, and of these only.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, there is another point to render it somewhat doubtful again whether the composer of the grant was sufficiently acquainted with the names of the dynasty to deserve credit for his statements in this respect. In line 34 Akālavarsha is said to have erected a temple which was styled after his own name Kanpēśvara. As the combination of a dental and lingual *n* in the interior of a word is absolutely impossible, this must be a mistake for either Kannēśvara or Kanpēśvara, and the name of the king would therefore be either Kanna or Kappa. As far as I know, neither of these forms can be considered as derived from Sanskrit Kṛishṇa, the common Prakrit form being Kaṇha, and the Kanarese equivalent Kannara, whereas both Kanna and Kappa

<sup>1</sup> Barth, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 26 ff. (Śaka 526, 546, etc.); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Rājādhirāja* is perhaps only a mistake of the engraver, who omitted *mahā*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 111; Vol. XII. p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> I have not overlooked the fact that Gōvinda II. is called Vallabha, and Dantidurga, besides Khaḍgavalōka, Vallabharāja and Prithiviallabha. But these are the common titles borne by all the Rāshtrakūṭas, beginning from Dantidurga, and not individual *birudas* which here alone are the matter in question.

<sup>5</sup> That the relations between the *birudas* and the names in the Rāshtrakūṭa family were constant, was first pointed out by Mr. Rice in his introduction to the present inscription. And though they are not constant in all cases (compare e.g. Amōghavarsha in combination with Śarva, Baddiga and Kakka II.), it is a fact that Prabhūtarsha, Nirupama Dhāravarsha, and Śubhatīṅga Akālavarsha are found as the *birudas* of, respectively, Gōvinda, Dhruva, and Kṛishṇa only. But in using this fact for the identification of an Akālavarsha mentioned in the Merka plates with a Kṛishṇa supposed to have lived in the fifth century A.D.—the impossibility of which, for other reasons, has been shown by Dr. Fleet (above, Vol. III. p. 168).—Mr. Rice has overlooked the second fact that no *biruda* at all has turned up until now for the predecessors of Dantidurga. I do not consider this to be merely accidental, but infer from it that Dantidurga, the first king who acquired supreme sovereignty, was also the first who adopted the custom of *birudas*. It will be observed that also in the present inscription the predecessors of Dantidurga are called by their real names, whereas for all the following kings the *birudas* only are used. This too supports to a certain extent the assumption that the names, as given in the present inscription, are correct.

represent the Sanskrit Karṇa. We have to assume, therefore, either that the real names of the king and of the temple were unknown to the author, and that the name he gives is a product of his own imagination, or that Karṇeśvara is a misspelling or a clerical error for Kaṇḥeśvara or Kannarēśvara. But even if the latter opinion should be the correct one, it would be still questionable whether the temple really had that name. In ll. 29-30 it is said that the sun, reflected in its jewel-paved floor, seemed to have descended from heaven to show reverence to Paramēśvara. This and the form of the name<sup>1</sup> indicate that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. And it must have been an uncommonly magnificent building; for nearly the sixth part of the whole inscription is devoted to its description, and its erection is the only deed of the king which the author has thought worth mentioning. The temple spoken of here must therefore necessarily be that splendid Śiva temple which, according to the Baroda grant, was built by Kṛishṇa on the hill of Ēlāpura, the modern Ēlūrā.<sup>2</sup> None of the temples at Ēlūrā, however, bears, as far as I can ascertain, the name of Kṛishṇeśvara or a similar name, and, to reconcile the statement of the inscription with the facts, we have to assume again that either that temple itself has entirely disappeared, or, at least, that its original name was in course of time forgotten, and exchanged for another. But all these suppositions are very vague, and as long as the reality of that name is not established by other facts, it would be hardly advisable to rely on it.

The building of that temple is almost the only historical event related in this portion of the inscription. As was pointed out already by Mr. Rice, king Dhruva Dhāravarsha is mentioned in verse 7 as having fought some battle on the banks of some river; but no particulars are given, and the text, moreover, seems to be corrupt.<sup>3</sup> I will add here, as it is a matter of some interest in connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas, that afterwards, in l. 81, Gōvinda III. is stated to have resided at the time of the grant in his victorious camp at Mayūrakhaṇḍi.<sup>4</sup> This is the same place from which the Vapi-Diṇḍōri and Rādhanpur grants of Gōvinda III. are dated,<sup>5</sup> and it has long ago been identified by Professor Bühler with the modern Mörkhaṇḍ, a hill-fort in the Nāsik territory. But those two grants leave it doubtful whether Mayūrakhaṇḍi was the capital of the dynasty. Professor Bühler thought it not likely, because "Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts;"<sup>6</sup> and as the statement of the present inscription that it was only a place of encampment coincides with his opinion, they may be considered as mutually supporting each other.

In ll. 65-75 the inscription gives the genealogy of Vimalāditya. His father was the *rājan* Yaśōvarman, and his grandfather the prince (*varanara*) Balavarman. The family claimed to belong to the Chālukyas; but to the present time we are unable to connect them in any way either with the earlier or the later dynasty of this name, and Professor Bhandarkar therefore considers them an independent branch.<sup>7</sup> Vimalāditya apparently was a petty chief under the Rāshtrakūṭas; he governed, as mentioned above, the district (*dēśa*) called Kunuṅḡil.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Rice has suggested that this might be the modern Kunigal, but he has added himself that this is only a conjecture, and that he has taken the same Kunigal to be the Koṅikal-vishaya of the Hoṣṭr grant of Ambēra, which, though a palpable forgery, cannot on palaeographical grounds be placed later than the present inscription. Taking for granted that the second identification is

<sup>1</sup> Names ending in *śvara* always refer to buildings consecrated to Śiva. In the present case, it may be noted that Śiva is actually mentioned, under the name *Bhava*, in v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 169 and p. 228 ff. Professor Bhandarkar supposed the temple to be the famous Kaiāśa.

<sup>3</sup> That really a battle near some river is spoken of in that verse, is proved by the mentioning of elephants and boats, which is in accordance with Mann, vii. 192.

<sup>4</sup> In the present inscription the name is written with a short *i*. But as *i* and *l* are often confounded, this may be only a clerical error.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 169; Vol. VI. p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> In line 98 the name is spelled with a lingual *s*.

correct,—and it seems to me much more probable,—it is hardly possible to connect Kunigal at the same time with Kunuṅḡil.

Vimalāditya is stated to have been the sister's son of Chākīrāja who is called the ruler of the entire province of the Gaṅgas (*adēśha-Gaṅgamaṇḍal-adhīrāja*), and on whose application the grant was made. As for this prince, our knowledge is confined to what we learn of him from the present inscription. From his title and the fact that he applied to Gōvinda, we must infer that he was a vassal of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, and governed the Western Gaṅga kingdom in his name.<sup>1</sup> And this is indeed the state of things that we should expect for the time of our grant. All that can be ascertained with respect to the relations between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas in the second half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. is this. In the Paiṭhaṅ plates<sup>2</sup> the Gaṅga is mentioned among the princes who were called to assistance by Gōvinda II. against his brother Dhruva. The Vapi-Diṇḍōri and Rādhanpur plates relate that Gaṅga—who is described as a powerful monarch—was imprisoned by Dhruva. He must therefore have been conquered and taken prisoner between A.D. 783, when Gōvinda II. was still on the throne,<sup>3</sup> and A.D. 794, when Dhruva's son, Gōvinda III., was already reigning.<sup>4</sup> We are further told, in the same plates, that Gōvinda III. released him from his long captivity; but as soon as Gaṅga had returned to his country, he revolted against his benefactor. Gōvinda then defeated and imprisoned him again. This must have taken place before A.D. 807, the two plates being dated in this year.<sup>5</sup> It would therefore be quite natural to find a viceroy appointed by the Rāshtrakūṭa king in A.D. 812.

Here the historical portion of the inscription ends. As far as I see, it does not contain anything that would decide the question of the genuineness of the record; for the incorrectness of the name of the temple—the only thing that can be proved to be actually wrong—may after all be accounted for as I have tried to show above. I can therefore only repeat here what I have said before, that this inscription, though there is not sufficient evidence to establish its spuriousness beyond all doubt, is subject to a slight suspicion of being a forgery. Such being the case, those statements which are not supported by other records must, of course, be taken for what they are worth.

In ll. 75-80 the inscription gives a detailed account of the grantee. He was called Arkakīrti, and was the disciple of Vijayakīrti, who again was the disciple of Kūli-āchārya.<sup>6</sup> This person is said to have belonged to the family (*anvaya*) of Śrīkīrti-āchārya<sup>7</sup> in the Punnāgavṛikshamūlagana of the Nandisatthga of the venerable Yāpaniyas, and in l. 77 he is given the epithet *vṛata-samiti-gupti-gupta-muni-vṛinda-vandita-charaṇaḥ*. Comparatively little is known hitherto about the Yāpaniyas. In the *Bhadrabhūcharita*<sup>8</sup> we are told that king Bhūpāla of Karahāṭa, at the request of his wife Nṛikuladēvā, invited the Śvētāmbara monks of Valabhī to come to his city. But beholding them dressed in white garments, he

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice thinks it possible that Chākīrāja was a supreme king. But neither is *adhīrāja* ever applied to an independent sovereign, nor *maṇḍala* to an independent state. I would remark that the term *Gaṅga-maṇḍala* is quite analogous to the term *Lādīśvara-maṇḍala*, occurring in the Baroda, Torkhēḍ and Kāvī plates as the name of the province of Gujjarāt.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> The Paiṭhaṅ grant of Gōvinda III. was issued in this year.

<sup>5</sup> The account of these facts given by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, p. 3, is very inaccurate. Besides, he says that it must have been during the reign of Sivamāra that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha or Nirupama is said to have defeated and imprisoned Gaṅga. For this Sivamāra he fixes (*ibid.*) A.D. 804 as the year of his accession to the throne. The dates given above show that these statements are incompatible.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 332, note 6.

<sup>7</sup> I consider *śrī* here to be a constituent of the name, partly on account of the analogy to Arkakīrti and Vijayakīrti, and partly because the person who inserted these names has not added a honorific prefix in any other case.

<sup>8</sup> Chapter iv. verse 138 ff.; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXXVIII. p. 89 ff.

turned away from them in disgust, and did not receive them before they had yielded to the queen's entreaties to cast off their clothes. This was the origin of the Yāpaniyasāṅgha, the members of which "had the appearance of Digambaras, but the observances of Śvētāmbaras" (verse 151). A similar account is given in the *Pañchamārgōtpatti*,<sup>1</sup> a work in Tamil mixed with Sanskrit, propounding the origin of the five unorthodox sects of the Jains. According to the statements of Mr. Taylor, it is related here that "out of them (the Śvētāmbaras) proceeded a class termed Yavanīyam, who were unclad ascetics: they taught some opposite tenets, relative to prescribed fasts, and to prohibited periods of journeying." In a *Pañchavali* of the Digambaras, published by Dr. Hoernle,<sup>2</sup> it is stated, on the authority of the *Nītiśāra*, that the Yāpaniyasāṅgha was one of the five false Jaina sects, and though no details are given, the passage is of some interest as probably containing a second name of the sect, the Yāpūlgachohha or Yāpūlyas.<sup>3</sup> Epigraphical records show that the sect existed from about the fifth to the twelfth century A.D. in the western part of the Dekkan, from Kōlhāpur in the North to Mysore in the South.<sup>4</sup> There are, as far as I know, four inscriptions, in addition to the present one, containing references to the Yāpaniyas. Three are copper charters of the early Kadamba kings, found in the districts of Belgaum and Dhārwād. In a grant of Ravivarman,<sup>5</sup> the revenues of a village are allotted to some Jaina *sūris* who are called *Yāpaniyās tapasvīnāḥ*. In a grant of Ravivarman's father Mṛgīśā,<sup>6</sup> the king is said to have presented some land to the Yāpaniyas, Nigraṅthas and Kūrchakas. And in a grant of Kṛishṇavarman,<sup>7</sup> the king is stated to have given a field to the Yāpaniyasāṅghas (*Yāpaniyā[sā]ṅghēbhyaḥ*). To these we may add a stone inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya at Honūr in the Kōlhāpur State.<sup>8</sup> For though it seems that the name of the Yāpaniyas does not actually occur here, and though the name of the *saṅgha* cannot be made out from the facsimile, there can be no doubt that the *gana* referred to is the Punnāgavṛiṣhamātagana, the very *gana* that is found in the present inscription.

Easily we have to consider the epithet given in full above. In his paper on *Bhadraśālu*, *Ohandragupta* and *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*,<sup>9</sup> and again in his remarks on the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Prabhāchandra,<sup>10</sup> Dr. Fleet has called attention to this passage as containing the name of the Jaina teacher Guptigupta. Dr. Fleet quotes only the words *guptiguptamunierinda*, and translates them by 'the body of saints (i.e. community) of Guptigupta.' But the preceding words *vratasamīti* cannot possibly be taken separately, and the whole, from *vrata* to *charaṇaḥ*, must be taken as one compound: 'he whose feet were revered by crowds of *munis*, protected by observance of the rules, good conduct, and guard from sins.' The five *vratas*, the five *samītis* and the three *guptis* are the three requisites of a Jaina monk.<sup>11</sup> Though it must therefore be denied that the name of Guptigupta is found in the present inscription, I need hardly say that this is of very small importance as regards the question discussed by Dr. Fleet in his two articles.

As regards the formal part of the inscription (ll. 80-98), the main points have been mentioned already above, and I have to add only a few remarks on some details. The Jaina temple at Śilāgrāma—which I cannot identify—is said to have adorned the western side of the excellent Mānyapura. Mr. Rice remarks that this would naturally suggest Mānyakhēta, the modern Mālkhēd in the Nizam's territory. The identification of these places, if correct, would imply

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 79. See also *Ind. Stud.* Vol. XVII, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 87 ff., §§ 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> As was pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, these paragraphs seem to be a little confused.

<sup>4</sup> This may be considered as to a certain extent confirming the tradition on the origin of the sect at Karahāta, the modern Karhād in the Sātra district.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 34; compare Dr. Fleet's note.

<sup>8</sup> Major Graham's *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapoor*, p. 466; No. 23, Facsimile.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 159, note.

<sup>10</sup> Above, p. 24, note.

<sup>11</sup> Compare the *Uttardhyanaganāṭra*, translated by Professor Jacobi, p. 50, and Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 98, notes, and p. 100, note.

that the inscription is considerably later than it pretends to be; for we know from the D&D plates that Mānyakhēta was founded by Gōvinda's successor, Nṛpatunga Amōghavarsha I., and therefore did not exist at all or, at any rate, was not a city deserving the predicate *puravara* in 812 A.D. But in addition to the fact pointed out by Mr. Rice himself that it does not appear that Mānyakhēta is ever described as Mānyapura,<sup>1</sup> I cannot see any reason whatever for that identification, and Mr. Rice's second suggestion that it might be the old Mānyapura, "situated near Chāmrājāgar in the south of Mysore, the site of which is known on the spot as Manipura," seems to me far preferable. According to ll. 82, 83, 85-88, Jālamāṅgala, the granted village, was situated in the Iḍigūr-*viśaya*, and surrounded by the villages Svastimāṅgala on the east, Beḷḷinda on the south, Guḍḍanūr on the west, and Taripāḷi on the north, and a more detailed description of the boundaries is added in ll. 88-96. I am not able to identify any of these localities. The inscription concludes with the names of the witnesses (ll. 97-98), and four of the usual imprecatory verses (ll. 99-103).

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> svasti [I\*] Vistri(stri)ta-viśada-yaśō-vitāna-viśadikri(kṛi)t-āśā-chakravāla[h\*] karavāla-prav[ā\*]!-Avatamāsa(sa)-virāji(ji)ta-Jayalakshmi-samāli[m](līm)-<sup>4</sup>
- 2 gita-dakṣha-dakṣhipa-bhūri-bhuj-ārggaḥ<sup>5</sup> gaḷita-sāra-saurya-rasa-visara-vi[sa\*]-khalikṛit-ōgr-ā-
- 3 ri-varggaḥ vargga-traya-vargga-aika-nipunō-chal-āchāra-chārvi(rvvi)-viś(śē)sha-nirjīti-ōrvvi(rvvi)-maṇḍal-ōtsav-ōtpādana-para[h\*]
- 4 para-bhūpāla-mauli-mālā-līḷh-āṅghri-dvandv-āravindō Gōvindarājah [I\*] Tasya sū-
- 5 nūḥ sutarupa-bhāv-ōdaya-dayā-dāna-dinētra-guṇa-gaṇa-samarppita-<sup>6</sup>bandhu-janaḥ saka-
- 6 la-kalāgama-jaladhī-Kalāsāyōniḥ Manu-darsita-mārgg-ānugāmi Bāshtrakūṭa-kul-ā-
- 7 mala-gagana-mṛigalāṅchhanaḥ budha-jana-mukha-kamal-ā[m]sumālī manōha-
- 8 ra-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkāra-bhārah Kakkarāja-nāmadhēyaḥ [I\*] Tasya putraḥ sva-
- 9 vams-ānēka-nṛi-
- 9 pa-saṅghāta-parampar-ābhuyadaya-kāraṇaḥ parama-rishi-<sup>7</sup>brāhmaṇa-bhakti-tātparyaya-
- 10 kuśalāḥ samasta-guṇa-gaṇ-ādhivvōnō<sup>8</sup> vikhyāta-sarvva-lōka-nirupama-sthira-bhāva-
- ni(vi)jīti-ā-
- 11 ri-maṇḍalāḥ yasy-aimam<sup>9</sup>-āsit || <sup>10</sup>Jitvā bhūp-āri-varggan-naya-kuśalatayā yēna rā-
- 12 jyaṇi kṛitām yaḥ kashṭō Manm(nv)<sup>11</sup>-ādi-mārggē stuta-dhavaḷa-yaśā na kvachid-yāga-pūrvvaḥ<sup>12</sup> [I\*] saṅgr[ā]mē yasya śēshā

<sup>1</sup> The Mānyapura mentioned in a grant of some Bāshtrakūṭa prince Abhimanyu (*Journ. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI, p. 91) stands certainly in no connection with Mānyakhēta, as the editor thinks. The name rather seems to indicate that it was founded by Mānāka, one of the ancestors of Abhimanyu, as it is a common custom to form the name of a town by compounding the first element of the founder's name with *para*.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. <sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *sa* two *akṣaras*, the first of which was *śi*, were originally engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Here and in other places below, the rules of *śamāhi* have not been observed.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-santarppita*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *parama-rishi*.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Rice reads *-gaṇ-ddhi-dhōdō*, but this is impossible. There can be only a doubt whether the last but one *akṣara* is *vō* or *dhō*. The editors of the *Kānyamālā* read *-gaṇ-ddhi-dhōdō*, the meaning of which I fail to see. As the signs for *vō* and *dhō* do not differ very much (compare *śhādhō*, l. 63), I propose to read *-gaṇ-ddhi-dhōdō*.

<sup>9</sup> This passage is corrupt. I cannot suggest any satisfactory correction.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Brāgharā*.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps this correction was made by the engraver himself.

<sup>12</sup> This *pāda* seems to be corrupt; perhaps we have to read *yāta-pūrvō*. For this suggestion and the right interpretation of vv. 4 and 6 my thanks are due to Professor Kielhorn.

- 13 sva-bhuja<sup>1</sup>-kara-bala-pr[ā\*]pitā yā Jayaśri[r=\*]yasmin=<sup>2</sup>jātō sva-vaṁśō=bhyudaya-  
dhavalatām yātavān=arkka-tājāh [|| 1\*] ā(a).  
14 sāv=Indarāja-nāmadhēyah [||\*] Tasya putraḥ sva-kula-lalāmāyamānō māna-  
dhanō dīn-ānā-

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 15 tha-jan-āhlādanakara-dāna-nirata-manō-vṛittih hima-kara iva sukhakara-karaḥ kul-  
āchala-samu-  
16 dāya iva sudh-ādihāra-guṇa-nipūṇaḥ Himaśaila-kūṭa-taṭa-sthāpita-  
yasa(śa)stambam(mbha)-l(i)khi(khi)t-ā-  
17 nō(nē)ka-vikkrama-guṇa[h\*] [1\*] <sup>4</sup>Agha-saṅgā(ghā)ta-vināśaka-suraṭpegā yasya<sup>5</sup> sad-  
yāśō viśadam<sup>6</sup> [||\*] gāyant-iva taraṅga-prabhava-  
18 ravair-vvahati jana-mahitā [||] [2\*] asau <sup>7</sup>Vairamēgha-nāmadhēyah [||\*] Tasya  
pitṛivyaḥ hrīdaya-padm-ā-  
19 sanātha-Paramēśvara<sup>7</sup>-śiraś-śiśirakara-[kara-\*]nikara-nirākrīta-tamō-vṛittih  
saviśēshaaya<sup>8</sup> jaga[t\*]-traya.<sup>9</sup>  
20 sār-ōchchayān<sup>10</sup>-ēva virachitasya chaturtha-lōk-ōdaya-samānasya Kṛitayuga-śaśair-  
iva nirmmi-  
21 tasya yasya yāśasah puṁjam-iva virājamānaḥ<sup>11</sup> || <sup>12</sup>Pradagda-kālagara-dhūpa-  
22 dhūmaih pravarddhamān-ōpachayāḥ-payōdāh [||\*] yasy-ājiram svachchha-  
sugandha-tōyāi[h\*]  
23 siṅchanti Siddh-ōdita-kūṭa-bhāgāḥ || [3\*] Na ch-ēdrīśam prāpyam-iti pralōbhāt  
Bhav-ōdbhavō<sup>13</sup> bhāvi-[yu]g-ā-  
24 vatārō [||\*] avaimi yasya sthitayō svayan=tat kalp-āntaram n=iva cha  
bhāvyat-īti || [4\*] Tārā-ga-  
25 pēsh=ūnnata-kūṭa-kōṭi-taṭ-ārpitās=ū[j\*]jvala-dīpikāsu [||\*] mōmnyatō rātri-vi[bhēda-  
bhā]-  
26 vah<sup>14</sup> niś-ātyayāḥ paura-janair-nniśāyām<sup>15</sup> || [5\*] Ādhāra-bhūt-āham=idam vyatītya  
mā[m] varddhatō  
27 ch-āyam-atiprasaṅgaḥ [||\*] yasy-āvakāśārtham=it-iva prithvi prithv=iva<sup>16</sup> bhūt-ēti  
cha mē vi(vi)-  
28 tarkaḥ || [6\*] vichitra-patākā-sahasra-saṁchhāditaṁ upari-paricharaṇa-bhayāt  
lōk-ai-  
29 ka-chūdāmanā māni-kuṭṭima-sa[m]krānta-pratibimba-vyājēna svayam=avatīrya

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 30 Paramēśvara-bhakti-yuktēna namaṣkri(skri)yamānam-iva vi(vi)rājamānam prahata-  
pushkara-mandra-n!(ni)nād-ā-

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that originally *kara* was engraved instead of *bhuja*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yasmin*.

<sup>3</sup> *gasaḥ* would be a preferable reading.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *yasya* was engraved, but it seems to have been corrected to *yasya* by effacing the *d*-stroke.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *sa* was engraved, but the engraver corrected the error by beating it down and engraving *śi* a little more to the right.

<sup>7</sup> Originally another *akshara* was engraved before *śa*, but it has been struck out.

<sup>8</sup> From here to line 21 the construction is faulty. Instead of the genitives *saviśēshasya*, *virachitasya*, *-samānasya*, *-nirmmitasya* the respective nominatives *saviśēsham* etc. are required.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps *trayā* was engraved.

<sup>10</sup> The first *ch* looks like *o*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *puṁja iva virājamānaḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Upajāti; also of the next three verses.

<sup>13</sup> Read *pralōbhāt-Bhav-ōdbhavō*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-bhāvō*.

<sup>15</sup> I consider the second half of the verse to be corrupt, without being able to offer a plausible conjecture.

<sup>16</sup> *prithv=śva* would be a preferable reading.

- 31 karṇan-ōdit-ānurāgaiḥ prāvṛiḍ-ārambha-kāla-janit-ōteav-ārambhaiḥ<sup>1</sup> mayūraiḥ  
prārabdha-vṛitta-nṛi-  
32 ttāntam<sup>2</sup> dhūma-vōjā-līlā-gata-vilāsinī-janānām kara-tala-kisalaya-rasa-bhāva-sad-  
bhāva-praka-  
33 ṭana-kuśāla-śaśivadan-āṅganā-narttan-ābṛita-paura-yuvatī-jana-chitt-āntaram samasta-  
siddhānta-sāga-  
34 ra<sup>3</sup>-pāraga-muni-śata-saṁkulam dēvakulam-āsīt Kanṇē(ṇṇē)śvaran-nāma  
sva-nāmadhēy-āṁkita[m\*] aś-  
35 v-<sup>4</sup>Akālavarsha iti vikhyātaḥ [||\*] Tasya sūnuḥ ānata-nṛipa-makūṭa-maṇi-gaṇa-  
kirapa-jāla-raṁjita-  
36 pada-yugala-nakha-mayūkha-prabhā-bhāṣita-simhāsan-ōhā(pā)ntaḥ kāntā-jana-kāṭaka-  
khachi-  
37 ta-padmarāga-di(dī)dhiti-visara-sumbhat-kusumbha-rasa-rām-jita-nija-dhavaḥ a-  
vi(vi)jyamāna-chāru-chā-  
38 mara-nichaya-vikhyātam(ta)-prājya-rājy-ābhishēk-āntar-aikaisvaryya-sukha-samanubhava-  
sthi-  
39 tiḥ nija-tuka(ram)gam-aika-vijay-ānta-rājalakshmi-sanāthō mahī-nāthō yaḥ  
kalpāṁghmi(ghri)paḥ sakhavaḥ<sup>5</sup>  
40 chintāmanir-iti dhruvam yaṁ vadanty-arthina[h\*] nī(ni)tya[m] prītyā prāpt-  
ārtha-saṁpad=asau Prabhūtavarsha iti vi-  
41 khyātō bhūpa-chakra-chūdāmanih [||\*] Tasy-ānūjah Dhāśvarsha-  
śri-Prithuvi(thvi)valābha-mahārājādhi-  
42 rāja-paramēśvarah khaṇḍit-āri-maṇḍal-āsi-bhāṣita-dōr-danḍaḥ Puṇḍarika<sup>6</sup> iva bali-  
ripu-marddan-ā-  
43 krānta-sakala-bhuvana-talaḥ sukṛit-ānēka-rājya-bhāra-bhār-ōdvahana-samarthaḥ  
Himaśaila-vi-  
44 śāl-ōra-sthalēna rājalakshmi-viharaṇa-maṇi-kuṭṭimēna chatur-āṅgan-ālingana-tuṅga-  
kucha-

## Third Plate; First Side.

- 45 sa[m]ga<sup>7</sup>-sukh-ōdrēk-ōdita-rōmāñcha-yōjītēna sva-bhuj-āsi-dhārā-dalita-samasta.<sup>8</sup>galita-  
muktāphala-vi-  
46 sara-virājīt-āri-bala-hasti-hast-āsphālana-danta-kōṭi-ghaṭṭita-ghanikṛitēna virājamānaḥ  
Tripura-  
47 hara-vṛishabha-kakud-ākār-ōnnata-vikaṭ-āmsa-taṭa-nikaṭa-dōdhūyamāna-chāru-chām a r a-  
chayaḥ phēna-piṇḍa-  
48 pāṇḍara-prabhāv-ōdita-chchhavinā vṛittēn-āpi chatur-ākārēna sit-ātapatrēp-  
āchchhādita-samasta-dig-viva-

<sup>1</sup> After this we should expect *iva*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-vṛittāntam*, as suggested in the *Kāvyamālā*.

<sup>3</sup> Originally another *akshara* seems to have been engraved instead of *ra*.

<sup>4</sup> The second *akshara* of this word, which I have read *kha*, is very uncertain; it is apparently a later correction. Mr. Rice reads *śaśa*, but the *śaśa* at the end of the line is distinctly visible in the impression. I fail to see which word was meant by the author. The editors of the *Kāvyamālā* suggest *śaśam=śva*.

<sup>5</sup> Evidently the author has endeavoured here, in imitation of a well-known practice of writers of artificial prose works, to impart a certain rhythmical flow to the words. The sentence ends like a *pada* of the Śraṅgīti metre: *-ti dhruvam yaṁ vadanty arthinaḥ*. Similarly we find twice periods ending like Nandana: *śva avandmadhēydhikīom* (l. 34) and *bhūpachakrachūdāmanih* (l. 41).

<sup>6</sup> Read *Puṇḍarikāśha*.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that before this another *akshara*, perhaps *śam*, was engraved. But it is entirely effaced.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-dalita-masta*.

- 49 rô ripu-jana-bṛīdaya-vidāraṇa-dārupēna sakala-bhū-tal-ādhipatyā-lakṣmī-līlām-  
utpādayatā pra-  
50 hata-pada<sup>1</sup>-dḥak[k\*]jā-gaṁbhira-dhvānēna ghaṅghana-garjjan-ānukāripā asyāchitō-<sup>2</sup>  
vinōda-nirggamaḥ sva-  
51 [k]jyā[m] sañchalatām para-nṛipa-ohētō-vṛittishu dātum-iv-ōchchhair-āvilōla-  
prakaṭita-rājya-ohi-  
52 hnaḥ turāṅgama-khara-khura-ōtthita-pāmsu(su)-pātala-masriṇita-jalada-saṅchaya[h\*]  
53 anēka-matta-dvipa-karaṭa-tata-galita-dāna-dhārā-p r a t ā n a - p r a s a m i t a - m a h i -  
54 pa-rāgaḥ || <sup>3</sup>Yasya śrī[ś\*]chapa-lōdayā <sup>4</sup>khura-taraṅg-āli-sama(mā)sphālanāt  
nirbhinna-<sup>5</sup>dvipa-yānapā-  
55 tragaṭayō yē sañchalach-chētasaḥ<sup>6</sup> [i\*] tasminn-ēva samētya sāra-vibhavaṁ  
sa[m\*]tyajya rājyaṁ rapē  
56 bhagnā mōha-vasāt svayam khalu diśām-antam bhajantē-rayah || [7\*] <sup>7</sup>Idam  
kiyad-bhū-talam-atra  
57 samyak sthātum-mahat-samkaṭam-ity-udagram [i\*] svasy-āvakāśam na<sup>8</sup> karōti  
yasya yasō  
58 diśām bhitti-vibhēdanāni || [8\*] anavarata-dāna-dhārāvarah-āgamēna tripta-  
janatāyāḥ Dhā-  
59 rāvaraha iti jagati vikhyāta-sarvva-lōka-vallabhatāyā Vallabha iti || Tasy-  
ātma-jā(jō) nija-bhu-

## Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 60 ja-bala-samānta-para-nṛipa-lakṣmī-kara-dhri(dhri)ta-dhava-lāpātra-nāja[h\*] pratikūla-  
ripu-kū(ku)la-charaṇa-nibaddha-  
61 khajakhaḥāyamāna-dhava[is]-śrīm khala-rava-bedhirikṛita-[pa]ryyanta-janō nirupama-  
gupa-gaṇ-ākarpāna-samā-  
62 hlādita-manasā sādhn-janēna sadā sann[īng]yamāna-śāsi-viśada-yaśō-rāsik(r)-āś-  
āvashtabdha-ja-  
63 na-maṇaḥ-parikalpana-trigupikṛita-svaky-ānushthānō nishthita-karttavayāḥ(vyah)  
Prabhūtavaraha-Śrī-Pṛi-  
64 thuvi(thvi)vallabha-rājādhira-ja-paramēśvarasya<sup>9</sup> pravarddhamāna-śrī-rājyā-<sup>10</sup>vijaya-  
samvatsarēshu vaha-  
65 teu | obāru-Chāḷuky-ānvaya-gagana-tala-haripalā[ñ]ohhanāyi(ya)māna-<sup>11</sup>śrī-  
Balavarmma-narēndra-

<sup>1</sup> The editors of the *Kātyāyana* have corrected this word to *paṭaka*; but, though this would be correct Sanskrit, I would retain the word as it stands, as it occurs in the same form in the inscription of Kirtivarman I I (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23ff., Plate, l. 27; *pada-dhakkā*). *Paṭaka* and *dhakkā* are mentioned together also in the *Sahasāhāśpurāṇa*, p. 297; compare *Amarakōśa*, l. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is corrupt. Something like *śrī-ohi-ohē* seems to be intended.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

<sup>4</sup> I would read *khara*; but it is possible that *khura* is the name of some river, though, in this case, we should expect to find a feminine form.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sam-sphālanā-nirbhinna*.

<sup>6</sup> The text is here apparently corrupt. Considering that *tasminn rayā* in the second half of the verse implies a relative pronoun in the first half, we have perhaps to read *nirbhinnadōi-payān-pātraṭatayā yasminn-ōchalach-ōkāsah*. This, at least, yields a tolerable meaning.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>8</sup> I would read: *svasy-āvakāśēna*, though the dative *avakāśāya* would be preferable.

<sup>9</sup> The construction is here confused. The correct reading would be *-paramēśvarāḥ i tasya*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-rājya*. Perhaps the sign for the long vowel has been struck out again by the engraver.

<sup>11</sup> This word seems to have been corrected.

- 66 sya su(st)nu sva-vikram-āva[r]jjita-sakala-ripu-nṛipa-śiraś-śākhā-ā[r\*]chchita-  
charaṇa-yuga-  
67 jō Yaśōvarmma-nāmadhēyō rājā vyarājata<sup>1</sup> [i\*] Tasya putras-suputraḥ kula-  
dīpaka  
68 iti purāṇa-vachanam-avitatham-iha kurvann-atitarām virājamānō Manōjāta iva  
mānini-  
69 jana-mana-sthal[is]-sañcharaṇa<sup>2</sup>-chaturag(ś)-chatura-jan-āśrayaḥ śrī-samāllī(m)gita-  
viśālā(la)-vakaha-sthalō ni-  
70 tarām-asōbhata assau mahātma || <sup>3</sup>Kamal-ōchita-sad-bhujāntara śrī-  
Vimalādityā(tya) i-  
71 ti prāṭita-nāmā [i\*] kamanīya-vapur-vvīlāsiniś[m] bhramad-akshi-bhramar-āji-  
vaktra-padmaḥ [i] [9\*] yah=pra-  
72 chaḍḍatara-karavāḷā(la)-dajita-ripu-nṛipara-<sup>4</sup>kari-ghaṭā-kumbha-mukta-m u k [t] ā p h a | a -  
vira[oh]jita-ruchi-  
73 ra-kaṇṭhik-ātiruchira<sup>5</sup>-parita-nt(ni)ja-kalatra<sup>6</sup>-kaṇṭhaḥ Śī(Śi)tikaṇṭha iva ma[hi]mā  
ma[hi]mā pra[thya]mā[na]-<sup>7</sup>ruchira-

## Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 74 <sup>8</sup>Kirtir-asē(śē)sha-Gaṅga-maṇḍal-ādhirāja-śrī-Chākirājasya bhāginēyaḥ bhuvī  
pr[ā\*]kāsata [i\*] yas[m]j(smin) Ku-  
75 nuṅgil-nāma dēśam-ayaśah-parāṇmu(āmu)khē Manu-mārggēna pālā(la)yati sati  
śrī-Yāpanīya-  
76 Nandi(ndi)saṅgha-Punnāgavṛikshamālaganē Śrīkīrti-<sup>9</sup>āchāryy-ānvayē bahushv-  
āchāryyō(ryyō)shv-atikrā-  
77 ntēshu vrata-samitī<sup>10</sup>-gupti-gupta-muni-vṛinda-vandita-charaṇa[h\*] Kūli-āchāryyō  
nām-āsi(st) [i\*]  
78 tasy-āntēvāśl samupanata-jana-parīrama-haraḥ sva-dāna-santarppita-samasta-vidvaj-  
janō  
79 janita-mah-ōdayaḥ Vijayakīrti<sup>11</sup> nāma muni-prabhur-abhāvan<sup>12</sup> || <sup>13</sup>Arkakīrtir-iti  
khyātim-ātanva-  
80 n-muni-sattama[h] [i\*] tasya śishyatvam-āyātō na yātō vaśam-ēnasā[m\*] ||  
[10\*] tasmē(smai) muni-varāya  
81 tasya Vimalā[ś]dityā(tya)ya Śanaishchara-pīd-āpanōdāya Mayūrakhāṇḍi(ṇḍi)m-  
addivasati  
82 vijaya-skandhāvāre Chākirājēna vijnāpitō Vallabhēndrah Iḍigūr-vvishaya-  
madhya-variti-  
83 na[m] Jālama[m]gala-nāmadhēya-grāma[m] Śaka-nṛipa-samvatsarēshu sara-  
śikhi-munishu vyatitē-

<sup>1</sup> ja seems to have been omitted first and inserted afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> sa is very indistinct, and apparently inserted afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Anupchebandasika.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Kātyāyana* this is corrected to *-nṛipa*; perhaps we have to read *-nṛipa-para*.

<sup>5</sup> The aksharas *tiruchira* are engraved below the line.

<sup>6</sup> Between *ka* and *ja* another *ja* was originally engraved, but it appears to have been effaced.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of this word is rather uncertain. Mr. Rice reads *-mahim-āndīyamāna*.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *-ta* was engraved for *-ta*. <sup>9</sup> Read *Śrīkīrti*.

<sup>10</sup> sa of *samitī* has evidently been inserted afterwards.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Vijayakīrtir*; perhaps *Vijaya* was originally engraved.

<sup>12</sup> Read *abhāvat*; the *h* is indistinct.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Anushthubh.



- 84 shu J[y\*]éshtha-māsa-śukla-paksha-daśamyām Pushya-nakshatrē Chandravārē  
Mānya-puravar-āpara.<sup>1</sup>  
85 dig.vibhāg-ālamkāra-bhūta-Silāgrāma-Ja(Ji)nēndra-bhavanāya dattavān [l\*] tasya  
pūrvva-dakshi-  
86 n-āpar-ōttara-dig-vibhāgēshu Svasti(sti)maṅgala-Bellinda-Guḍḍanūr-Ttariṇā-iti  
prasi(si)ddhā grā-  
87 mā[h\*] ēvaṁ chaturṇām grāmāpām=madhyē vyavasthitasya Jālamāṅgalasya-  
āyam chatur-āghā-

## Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 88 ṭi-kramah [l\*] punas=tasya simā-vibhāgah [l\*] Īśānataḥ mukūḍal dakshina-dig-  
vibhāgam=avalōkya E[ṭ]taga-  
89 kodala<sup>2</sup> mūḍa gareyi[m\*] bandu irppeya<sup>3</sup> komade paḷlad=olagana uli aḷariye  
kodayā[l]i be-  
90 lane saykane bandu <sup>4</sup>po[la]-puṇu[se] eva[r]ile ante pōyie<sup>5</sup> Bi-  
91 dirūr-ggeṛe mukūḍal<sup>6</sup> [l\*] Tataḥ=paśchimataḥ pulipadiya<sup>7</sup> teṁkaṇa  
pēr-olbeyi[m\*] pē[r-bi]iike eḷa-  
92 gala<sup>8</sup> koṇaṇ-āle mukūḍal<sup>9</sup> [l\*] Ante saykane pōgi Gāymani-gereya tāy-gaṇḍi  
mukūḍal [l\*]  
93 Tataḥ uttarataḥ Baṭṭi-gereya paḍuva gaḍe goda paḷambe puṇuseye Ānedale-  
gere<sup>10</sup>  
94 pul-[p]adiye <sup>11</sup>eḷa-galle Pulī(li)[v]ārada gere mukūḍal [l\*] Tataḥ pūrvvataḥ  
niduvilimkke  
95 kadavi[na] pul-pādiye<sup>12</sup> ma[n̄cha]gāra-galle pola-elle-puṇuse<sup>13</sup> baṭṭa-puṇu-  
96 seye belane bandu Īśānada <sup>14</sup>mukūḍalo[l]=k[ū]ḍi nindattu © ©  
97 Rāvamalla-Gāmuṇḍanuṁ Śiṅanuṁ Gaṅga-Gāmuṇḍanuṁ Māreyanuṁ Be[l]gerey=  
Oḍeyō-  
98 ruṁ modal-āge Eḷpadiṁbaruṁ Kuṇuṁgil=Aynūrbaruṁ śakshiy-āge koṭṭattu ©  
namah ©  
99 <sup>15</sup>Adbhir-ddatta[m] tribhir-bhuk[t]am shaḍbhiś=cha parihā(pā)litam [l\*] ētāni na  
nivartantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha ||  
100 Svan=dātu[m] suma[ha\*]joh=chhakyam duḥkham=anyasya pālā(la)nam [l\*]  
dānēm(nam) vā pālanam chētti<sup>16</sup> dānāch=chhrēyō-  
101 nupālanam || Sva-datt[ā\*]m para-datt[ā\*]m vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām [l\*]  
shashṭhim(shṭim) varsha-sahasrāni vi-  
102 shṭhāyām jāyatē krimi[h] || Dēva-svaṁ [hi\*] viṣam ghōram kālakūṭa-sama-  
prabham [l\*] viṣam=ēkā-

## Fifth Plate.

- 103 kinam hanti dēva-svaṁ putra-pautri(tra)kaṁ ||

<sup>1</sup> Properly this should be *Mānyapura-puravar-āpara*, but *pura* is frequently omitted in this case; compare the title of *Krishṇa-Kandhāra, Kandhārapuravar-dāhivāra, Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 220, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Read *kolada* (?).

<sup>3</sup> Read *ippeya*.

<sup>4</sup> The words from *pola-* to *pōyie* are written on an erasure and in a larger hand.

<sup>5</sup> Read *pōyie*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mukūḍal*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pul-padiya*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *elle-galle*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *mukūḍal*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-gereye*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *elle-*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *-padiye*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-puṇuseye*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *mukūḍa*.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh; also of the following verses.

<sup>16</sup> Read *v=ā*; *ch* is indistinct.

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! (*A king*) who brightened the circle of the quarters by the expansion of his profuse brilliant fame; whose strong, bar-like right arm was accustomed to the embraces<sup>1</sup> of the goddess of victory, shining with a garland of sprout-like swords; the crushed host of whose formidable enemies resembled lotus-fibres, the abundant juice of which had lost its flavour, as (*out of fear of him*) their great valour had lost its strength; who was skilled only in multiplying the three objects of life; who was intent upon causing jubilation on the globe of the earth, conquered by the excellent splendour of his firm conduct; (*and*) whose two lotus-feet were touched by rows of crowns of hostile princes,— was Gōvindarāja.

(L. 4.) His son, who rejoiced his relatives by the multitude of his virtues, (*viz.*) his tenderness, prosperity, clemency, liberality and high spirits; a real Agastya<sup>2</sup> to the ocean of all arts and sciences; following the way pointed out by Manu; the moon in the spotless firmament of the race of the Rāshtrakūṭas; the sun to the lotus-faces of the learned; wearing as ornament the multitude of his captivating virtues,— was called Kakkarāja.

(L. 8.) His son, who caused the prosperity of an uninterrupted series of numerous kings of his own lineage; who was filled with deepest devotion to great sages and Brāhmanas; who was an abode of the multitude of all virtues; who by his famous firmness, unequalled in all the world, conquered the circle of his enemies; to whom the following stanza refers (?):—

(Verse 1.) Who, having conquered the host of hostile kings with experience in policy, exercised the government; who, his bright fame being praised, (*walked*) in the difficult path (*pointed out*) by Manu and others, which had never been followed before;<sup>4</sup> whose garland was the goddess of victory, gained in battle by the strength of the hand of his arm;<sup>5</sup> at whose birth his sun-like race assumed the brightness of the rising sun,—

he was called Indarāja.

(L. 14.) His son, the ornament of his family; endowed with pride; whose thoughts incessantly were occupied with gifts that gladdened the poor and helpless; who, causing joy with his (*lavish*) hands, was like the moon that causes pleasure by its beams; who, being skilled in protecting the earth, was like the group of the principal mountains that are accustomed to support the earth; who engraved his many heroic virtues<sup>6</sup> on the memorial pillars set up on the slopes of the summit of the Himālaya;—

(V. 2.) Singing, as it were, his excellent pure fame with the murmur of its waves, the Gaṅgā is running along, annihilating the multitude of sins and extolled by men;—

he was called Vairamēgha.

(L. 18.) His paternal uncle, who dispelled the darkness by the cluster of the rays of the moon on the head of Paramēśvara<sup>7</sup> who dwelt in the lotus of his heart; whose bright fame was embodied, as it were, in the excellent temple<sup>8</sup> which seemed to have been constructed by accumulating the quintessence of the three worlds, which resembled the rising of a fourth world, which seemed to have been created during hundreds of Kṛitayugas;—

(V. 3.) The clouds, their masses increasing by the smoke of the burnt aloë incense, and their summits being mounted by the Siddhas, besprinkle its court with their pure, fragrant waters.

<sup>1</sup> I take *samdhigita* in the sense of *samdhigana*.

<sup>2</sup> In the text *Kalafayōni*,— ‘born in a water-jar.’

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt here.

<sup>4</sup> I have translated *yata-pārvō* instead of *yāga-pārvō*.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to mean that the goddess of victory, embracing his chest, clung to him like a garland of flowers.

<sup>6</sup> For *śākhā* in the sense of ‘garland’ see the *Sūdhāśhitāvali*, verse 2556.

<sup>7</sup> Or, reading *-gaṇaḥ* for *-ganaḥ*: ‘the series of his numerous exploits.’

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>9</sup> Literally, ‘shining like a cluster of whose fame, a temple,’ etc.

(V. 4.) Bhava<sup>1</sup> will not be allured to be born again in a future age by the prospect of getting such (a temple);<sup>2</sup> nay, in order that this (temple) may be permanent, that new period, I fancy, will not come (at all).<sup>3</sup>

(V. 5.) When at night the blazing lamps have been fixed on the outsides of the pinnacles and battlements that touch the groups of the stars, the division of the night is in great disorder, the citizens thinking that the morning has come (?).<sup>4</sup>

(V. 6.) 'I am (the) seat, and it is growing beyond me; this is an *atiprasaṅga*;<sup>5</sup> with such and similar thoughts, in order to make room for it, the earth has grown wide I suppose.—

(This temple) which, covered with thousands of coloured banners, shone honoured, as it were, through devotion to Paramēśvara, by the one crest-jewel of the world (the sun) which, out of fear of moving above (in the sky), had descended of its own accord, in the guise of its image that was reflected in the jewel-paved floor; where the peacocks, their passion being roused by hearing the deep sounds of the beaten drums, commenced to perform their dances, as if the beginning of the rainy season had caused their exultation; where the minds of the citizens' young women were enchanted by the dances of moon-faced girls that were skilled in manifesting by (the gestures of) their sprout-like hands the true state of the sentiments and affections of lovely maidens engaged in wanton sport at the time of the smoke;<sup>6</sup> which was filled by hundreds of sages who had crossed the ocean of all Siddhāntas; which, being marked with his own name, bore the name of Kāpēśvara,— he was renowned as Akṣāvarsha.

(L. 35.) His son, the neighbourhood of whose throne was illuminated by the splendour of the rays of his foot-nails that were coloured by clusters of beams from the jewel-groups in the diadems of kings bowing down (before him); who, at his numerous royal inaugurations, by the multitude of the beautiful, white fanning *chauris*, coloured with safflower-juice and irradiated by thick flashes from the rubies sparkling in the bracelets of the (fanning) women, showed that he permanently enjoyed the pleasure of supreme sovereignty;<sup>7</sup> who possessed the goddess of regal fortune, won by a single victory of his horse; the lord of the earth; whom supplicants in truth called the tree of desires, . . . .<sup>8</sup> the gem of wishes; who only by peaceable means had acquired a store of riches,— he was known as Prabhūtavarsha, the crest-jewel of the circle of kings.

(L. 41.) His younger brother, Dhāravarsha Śri-Prithviallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, whose strong arm shone with his sword that had cut into pieces the hosts of his enemies; who, having conquered the whole earth by destroying his mighty foes, was like Puṇḍarikāksha<sup>9</sup> who stepped over the whole world to defeat the hostile demon Bali; who was able to bear the heavy burden of (the government of) numerous well-ruled kingdoms; who was adorned by a chest as broad as the Himālaya mountain,— a jewelled floor for the promenades of the royal Lakshmi,— the hair on which, in the embraces of lovely women, used to thrill with ecstasy from the contact with their high bosoms, (and) which had grown hard by the strokes

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is that there will never be again a temple of Śiva like this one.

<sup>3</sup> Before the beginning of a new *Kalpa* the world is destroyed. The rise of a new *Kalpa* would therefore imply the destruction of the temple.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the second half of the verse, which apparently is corrupt.

<sup>5</sup> *Atiprasaṅga* is a grammatical term. It takes place in case of a rule exceeding its sphere, that is, if it should be applicable beyond its proper sphere. *Acakṣa* also, in the second half of the verse, is apparently used with an allusion to the special meaning attached to the word in grammatical literature, 'the opportunity for the taking effect of some rule.'

<sup>6</sup> *Dhāmasodā* may have a special meaning unknown to me. Mr. Rice seems to render it by 'south-east.' Can it mean 'the time when the smoke of the evening-fire arises, the evening-time'?

<sup>7</sup> I think that this is what the author intended to say, though it implies the supposition that the words *pradya-rājy-dhīśhīk-dntara* are not in their proper place in the compound.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding this blank see p. 342, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. Viṣṇu.

with the trunks and the blows with the points of the tusks of the violent hostile elephants that were covered with clusters of pearls which had dropped out of their skulls cleft by the edge of the sword of his arm; who had groups of beautiful *chauris* fanned near his shoulders which, being high and broad, resembled the hump of the bull of the destroyer of Tripura<sup>1</sup> who overshadowed all the quarters by his white parasol, the lustre of which rose like the white splendour of a ball of foam, and which, though being round, yet offered a charming aspect;<sup>2</sup> who, by the deep sounds of the beaten *paṭaka*<sup>3</sup> and *ghakkā* drums, which imitated the rumbling of thick rainy clouds, made his enemies give up their diversions<sup>4</sup>— for, cruelly they pierced the hearts of his foes and caused sport to his own Lakshmi that held the supremacy over the whole of the earth;— who displayed his royal emblems waving aloft, intent, as it were, to confer their vacillation upon the hearts of the hostile kings; who by the dust rising under the hard hoofs of his steeds made round the banks of clouds; who cooled the rage of (foreign) princes by the streams of juice running down from the temples of his numerous rutting elephants;—

(V. 7.) When once in battle his fortune was fickle, his heart trembling on account of the destruction of his elephants and ships by the crushing of the rough waves,<sup>5</sup>— even then his enemies, though united, and their power being unshaken, forsook the kingdom, and, bewildered by delusion, fled themselves to the remotest regions.

(V. 8.) 'How small this earth is! The space is much too confined to rest here comfortably!' Having thus reflected, his lofty fame, in order to get room, breaks down the walls of the quarters.

Being used to gladden people by incessant showers of gifts, he was known in the world by the name of Dhāravarsha, and, being everybody's favourite, by that of Vallabha.

(L. 59.) His son, who had the rod of his white parasol carried by the hands of the Lakshmis of hostile kings, gathered by the valour of his arm; who, by the noise of the rattling polished chains bound to the feet of hosts of hostile kings, deafened the people that were near; whose clustering fame, as white as the moon, was continually sung by the good whose hearts were delighted with hearing of his unequalled numerous virtues; who trebled his incumencies by accomplishing even the thoughts of those who were hoping (for the fulfilment of their desires);<sup>6</sup> who performed his duties,— was Prabhūtavarsha Śri-Prithviallabha Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara.

(L. 64.) While the years of his glorious and victorious reign were running on:—

(L. 65.) There was ruling a king called Yaśovarman, the son of the glorious king Balavarman, the moon in the sky of the excellent race of the Chālukyas, whose feet were revered by the crest-diadems of all the hostile kings that were humbled by his valour. His son, making true here the old saying, "a good son is a light to his family," exceedingly brilliant, like Manōjata<sup>7</sup> accustomed to abide in the hearts of enamoured women, the support of clever people, having his broad chest embraced by Śrī,— he shone bright with his lofty mind.

(V. 9.) His excellent chest being cherished by Kamalā,<sup>8</sup> his face, on account of his charming beauty, being sought for by the embarrassed glances of the fair, as the lotus is sought for by swarms of buzzing bees, he was renowned by the name of glorious Vimalāditya.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'appeared square.' There can be no doubt that *akatur-śīra*, to work out the pun, is used here in the sense of *akatur-śīra*, though this is hardly admissible.

<sup>3</sup> The form used in the text is *paṭaka*; see p. 343, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> I have followed the conjectural reading in translating this passage; see p. 343, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 343, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> I am not sure that my translation is correct. Perhaps the author intended to say that the king used to grant thrice as much as was expected by the supplicants.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Kāma.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Lakshmi.

(L. 71.) The necks of his wives being beautifully adorned with beautiful collars composed of pearls that were scattered from the frontal globes of the war-elephants of hostile kings, cleft by his terrible sword, his majesty being praised like that of Śitikaṭṭha,<sup>1</sup> his splendid fame spreading afar, the sister's son of the glorious Chākīrāja, the Adhirāja of the entire province of the Gaṅgas, was flourishing on earth.

(L. 74.) While he, averse from all that is not honourable, was ruling the district called Kunuṅgil in accordance with the Law of Manu :—

(L. 75.) When many *āchāryas* in the family of Śrikīrti-āchārya in the Punnāga-vṛikshamūlagana of the Nandisaṅgha of the venerable Yāpaniyas had passed away, there was a man whose feet were revered by crowds of *munis* protected by observance of the rules, good conduct, and guard from sins, called Kūli-āchārya. His disciple, relieving the misery of people devoted (to him), rejoicing all learned men by his gifts, and causing great prosperity, was the lord of *munis* called Vijayakīrti.

(V. 10.) The best of *munis*, who spread his famous name Arhākīrti, having become his pupil, was no more subject to sin.

(L. 80.) To him, the best of the *munis*, on removing the evil influence of Saturn from that Vimalāditya,— Vallabhendra, residing in his victorious camp at Mayūrakhaṇḍī, on the application of Chākīrāja, gave the village named Jālamāṅgala, situated within the district of Idigār, when 735 years (of the era) of the Śaka king had elapsed, on the tenth of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha, in the constellation Pushya, on Monday, on behalf of the temple of Jinendra at Śilāgrāma which adorned the western side of the excellent city of Mānyapura.

(L. 85.) On its east, south, west and north are (*respectively*) the well-known villages Svastimāṅgala, Bellinda, Guḍḍanūr and Taripāḷī. This is the order of the four boundaries of Jālamāṅgala, which is situated in the middle of those four villages. Again the details of its boundaries :— Looking towards the south from the north-eastern angle,<sup>2</sup> the eastern bank of the Eḷtaga pond ; coming thence, . . . . . of an olive tree ; . . . . . a *pīṭal* tree<sup>3</sup> in a pit ; . . . . . coming straight (*thence*), a tamarind tree in a field ; . . . . . going further, the tank of Bidirūr (*forms*) the (*south-eastern*) angle. Thence towards the west, on the south of a grass ridge . . . . . ; thence . . . . . a boundary stone ; the stump of a banyan tree (*forms*) the (*southern*) angle. Going straight on, the head-slucce (?) of the Gāymani tank (*forms*) the (*south-western*) angle. Thence towards the north, on the western side of the Baṭṭi tank . . . . . a tamarind tree ; the Ānedale tank ; a grass ridge ; a boundary stone ; the tank of Pulivāra (*forms*) the (*north-western*) angle. Thence towards the east, a grass ridge at the door . . . . . ; the stone (*i.e.* anvil ?) of a brazier ; a tamarind tree at the boundary of a field ; a circular tamarind tree ; . . . . . coming (*thence, the boundary*) joins the north-eastern angle.

(L. 97.) Given while Rāvamalla-Gāmuṇḍa, Śiṣa, Gaṅga-Gāmuṇḍa, Māreya, Be[ ]geṭe Oḍeyōru and others of the 'Seventy,' and the 'Five-hundred' of Kunuṅgil were witnesses. Obeisance!

[Ll. 99-103 contain the usual imprecations.]

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> With *mukāḍḍal* compare *mayyanikūṭṭu*, above, p. 96, Note 4, and *muḥchāḍḍi*, p. 237 f.

<sup>3</sup> *ḍiṭṭi* is probably the same as *araḷi*.

## Bemerkungen zu dem Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript des Dhammapada (MS. Dutreuil de Rhins).

Von

Heinrich Lüders.

Vorgelegt von F. Kielhorn in der Sitzung am 28. October 1899.

Den nach Paris gelangten Teil des Kharoṣṭhī Manuscriptes des Dhammapada (MS. Dutreuil de Rhins) hat Émile Senart im Journal Asiatique, Série IX, Tome 12, p. 193 ff. mit erklärenden Anmerkungen veröffentlicht. Die Ausgabe ist, wie wir es bei den Arbeiten Senarts gewohnt sind, mit musterhafter Sorgfalt und Gründlichkeit gemacht. Wenn es anderen doch gelingen sollte, noch hier und da eine Verbesserung anzubringen, so liegt das vor allem an dem Zustande der Handschrift. Sie besteht zu einem nicht geringen Teile aus Fragmenten, von denen selbst die größten nur wenige Worte enthalten, und häufig sind diese außerdem noch stark verstümmelt. Es ist daher begreiflich, daß es oft nicht leicht ist, diese Stücke richtig zu lesen und sie am richtigen Orte einzufügen. Phototypiert sind die kleineren Fragmente nicht, und da ich selber keine Gelegenheit gehabt habe, die Handschrift einzusehen, so sind die im folgenden geäußerten Vermutungen über die richtige Lesung in diesen Fragmenten eben auch nur Vermutungen und nichts weiter. Doch läßt sich auf Grund des Palitextes in fast allen Fällen mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß, wenn die Lesung Senarts sich bestätigen sollte, ein Fehler des Schreibers vorliegt. Hoffentlich tragen die folgenden Bemerkungen dazu bei, das Verständnis des paläographisch, sprachlich und literargeschichtlich gleichwertigen Manuscriptes etwas zu fördern.

Das Blatt A besteht aus vier, anscheinend nicht zusammenhängenden Fragmenten. Ich glaube indessen, daß wir wenigstens zwei mit Sicherheit zusammensetzen können. A<sup>2</sup> schließt Z. 17:

apra . . . . . tu  
apramada praśajhāti pramadu garahitu sada

A<sup>2</sup> beginnt:

. . . . . madena makabha devana samidhi gat.

Das ergibt zusammen:

apramadena makabha devana samidhi gat  
apramada praśajhāti pramadu garahitu sada

und entspricht Dh. 30:

appamādena maghavā devānaṃ seṭṭhataṃ gato |  
appamādaṃ pasamsanti pamādo garahito sadā ||

Auch äußerlich passen die Stücke, wie die Phototypie zeigt, genau an einander; anstatt zweier Fragmente von 17 und 8 Zeilen haben wir also ein größeres von 24 Zeilen. *samidhi* ist natürlich sk. *saṃṛddhiṃ*. In *makabha* <sup>1)</sup> haben wir einen merkwürdigen Fall von Umspringen der Aspiration.

A<sup>2</sup> Z. 3. Siehe die Bemerkungen zu C<sup>r</sup> Z. 39.

A<sup>2</sup> Z. 4. Senart liest *dhunatha macuno sena*. Es steht aber *mucuno* in der Handschrift. Auch sonst ist sk. *mṛtyu* überall *mucu* (A<sup>2</sup> 12; C<sup>r</sup> 2), während *macu*, *maca(sa)* sk. *martyaḥ*, *martyasya* vertritt (C<sup>r</sup> 13; Fr. C<sup>r</sup> XV).

A<sup>2</sup> Z. 5: *apramata smatimata suśīla bhotu bhichavi*  
*susamahitasagapa sacita anurachadha* .

Die Strophe findet sich im Mahāparinibbānasutta, J.R.A.S. VIII, 227:

appamattā satimanto susilā hotha bhikkhavo |  
susamāhitasāṅkappā sacittam anurakkhatha ||

Über *bhotu* vgl. die Bemerkungen Senarts.

A<sup>2</sup> Z. 6: *yo ima sadhamavināu apramatu vihaṣiti*  
*prahai jatisānsāra dukkhasata kariṣati*

Senart bemerkt, daß in *sadhamavināu* vor dem *vi* der Rest eines anderen Buchstabens sichtbar wäre. Aus der Phototypie geht hervor, daß das Stück, das die akṣaras *yo ima sadhama* enthält, etwas aus seiner Lage verschoben ist. Jener Rest ist nichts weiter als die Mittellinie des *v*. Senart hat die Strophe im Divyāvādāna nachgewiesen. Im Pali findet sie sich Mahāparinibbāna. S. 227 und Theragāthā 257, und zwar an ersterer Stelle wie hier im Anschluß an Strophe A<sup>2</sup> 5, an der zweiten Stelle wie im Divyāvādāna im Anschluß an Strophe A<sup>2</sup> 4:

yo imasmim dhammavināye appamatto vihessati |  
pahāya jatisānsāraṃ dukkhass' antaṃ karissati ||

1) Oder *makapḥa*; siehe die Bemerkungen Senarts, S. 206.

Die Palilesart *vihessati* stimmt genauer zu unserem Texte als das *carissati* des Divyāvādāna; im übrigen vgl. die Bemerkungen Senarts.

A<sup>2</sup> Anhang. Auf einem Fragmente finden sich zwei Strophen-schlüsse, von denen Senart den ersten liest: *loke athatha dhiraveneā dīcha* . Ich lese: *loke athatha dhira veneati* <sup>1)</sup> *chanu* . Es ist der Schluß von Saṃyuttanikāya, Sagāthav. I, 4, 4, 3:

na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke  
saṅkapparāgo purisassa kāmo |  
tiṭṭhanti citrāni tatheva loke  
athettha dhira vinayanti chandaṃ ||

Ich bemerke übrigens, daß *athatha* auch *athetha* gewesen sein kann; der *e*-Strich könnte weggebrochen sein. In *chanu* für *chandaṃ* haben wir die gewöhnliche Vertretung der Verbindung *nd* durch *n*.

Wahrscheinlich gehört hierher auch das mittlere der drei kleinen, links von A<sup>2</sup> abgebildeten Fragmente. Senart liest *kama ciṭhatu*. Ich glaube *kamo ciṭhatu*, davor *p. r. ṣasa* und dahinter *c*. zu erkennen. Das würde dem *purisassa kāmo | tiṭṭhanti ci-* der Palistrophe entsprechen. *ciṭhatu* wäre sk. *tiṣṭhantu*.

A<sup>2</sup> Z. 12. Senart liest *apramadu amatapada*. Nach der Phototypie ist *amutapada* zu lesen. In derselben Strophe ist sk. *mṛtaḥ* durch *mutu* vertreten.

B Z. 4: *jai parakata budhu jitavi akatagati*  
*pruju devamanuṣāna tam ahu bromi bramana* .

Der erste pāda kehrt in der folgenden Strophe wieder. Senart faßt *parakata* als *parākrāntaḥ*; es ist aber *pāragataḥ*, wie Dh. 414 zeigt:

tiṇṇo pāragato jhāyī anejo akathamkathī |  
anupādāya nibbuto tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ ||

*akatagati* ist allerdings, wie Senart bemerkt, *agatāgati*. Es ist aber kaum ein Zufall, daß wir im Pali an der entsprechenden Stelle das ähnlich klingende *akathamkathī* finden, das in der Schreibung des Manuscriptes etwa *akathagathi* wäre. Es läßt sich öfter beobachten, daß die Lesungen in den Palitexten und den Texten der nördlichen Buddhisten, obwohl dem Sinne nach total verschieden, doch in den Lauten starke Übereinstimmung zeigen, und natürlich liegt in solchen Fällen stets ein Verderbnis auf der einen oder der anderen Seite vor. In unserem Falle möchte ich die Lesart des Palitextes für die ursprüngliche halten, zumal da *agatāgati* kein gebräuchlicher Ausdruck zu sein scheint.

1) Das *e* von *ne* beruht aber auf Senarts Lesung; in der Phototypie vermag ich es nicht zu erkennen.

B Z. 28: metravihari yo bhikhu prasanu budhaśaśane  
tunati pavaka dharma drumapatra ba maturu o

Ich halte *tunati* oder, wie man auch lesen kann, *dunati* einfach für einen Schreibfehler für *dhunati*. In betreff des *maturu* siehe die Bemerkungen unter C<sup>r</sup> Z. 5 und 6. Die zweite Hälfte der Strophe erscheint Theragāthā 2; 1006:

dhunāti pāpake dhamme dumapattaṃ va māluto ||

B Z. 31: pramojabahulu yo bhikhu abhivuyu priapria  
adhikachi pada śata aseyaṇe moyaka o

Die zweite Hälfte der Strophe findet sich Therigāthā 196:

adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ asecanakam ojavaṃ ||

Allein es ist fraglich, ob die beiden Texte direkt gleich zu setzen sind. In dem Manuscripte hat der letzte pāda eine Silbe zu wenig. Nach Analogie des Palitextes scheint sich zunächst die Einschlebung eines *ka* zu empfehlen<sup>1)</sup>. Wir würden dann *aseyanekam oyaka* erhalten. Das auslautende *m* würde sich hier also erhalten haben. Das ist allerdings ungewöhnlich; daß es aber möglich ist, zeigen *tam aho* B 1, 2; *tam ahu* B 3, 4, 5, 6, 10; *dukkham ida* B 34; *banhanam eva* B 52; (*vi*)*tadham ida* Fr. B I; *parijīnam ida* C<sup>r</sup> 3; *yam eva* C<sup>r</sup> 5; *emam eva* C<sup>r</sup> 11; *banhanam aha* C<sup>r</sup> 31, 32; *drigham adhvana* C<sup>r</sup> 38. Auch ein Adjektiv *oyaka* (pali *\*ojaka*) wäre nicht unmöglich. Allein das zweite *e* in *aseyanekam* müßte auf einem Schreibfehler beruhen. Ich ziehe es daher vor, den Ausfall eines *a* anzunehmen; *aseyaneam* würde sk. *asecanīyam* (pali *\*asecaneyyam*) entsprechen, das Lalitavistara 59, 12 in der gleichen Bedeutung wie *asecanaka* erscheint. Trotzdem halte ich es durchaus nicht für unwahrscheinlich, daß wir abweichend vom Pali *aseyaneam moyaka*, d. i. *asecanīya mocakaṃ*, zu lesen haben. Diese Änderung des Textes lag nahe; auch in der Therigāthā liest eine Handschrift an der betreffenden Stelle *asecanaku mocanaṃ*.

B Z. 33. Nur der Anfang dieser Zeile ist erhalten:

apramādaratu yo bhikhu pramadi bha . . . .

Senart hat die Strophe mit Dh. 31 identifiziert:

appamādarato bhikkhu pamāde bhayadassiva |  
saññojanāṃ anuññhūlāṃ ḍahanāṃ aggiva gacchati ||

Es gehört daher wahrscheinlich das Fragment B XII, das die akṣaras *sañño* enthält, in diese Zeile.

B Z. 34 beginnt *jai bhikhu ma yi pramadi*. Im Dh. 371 (Senart) entspricht *jhāya bhikkhu mā ca pamādo*. Senart ist geneigt, *pramadi* direkt mit *pamādo* zu identifizieren und in der Endung *i = e*

1) Auch Senart will ein *ka* einschleiben, aber *aseyanekamoyaka* als *asecanakamocaka* i fassen.

einen Magadhismus zu erblicken. *pramadi* ist aber sicherlich hier der im Pali belegte *s*-Aorist *pamādi*. Mit der Lesart des Palitextes vergleiche man *jhāya Gotama mā ca pamādo*, Therag. 119, und *mā mado Bharatūsabha*, Jāt. V, 99, 26, wo der Kommentar *mā mado* durch *mā pamajja*, *mā pamādi* erklärt.

B Z. 40. Hier beginnt ein Abschnitt, der der Lesung die größten Schwierigkeiten bereitet, da die Handschrift hier fast nur aus kleinen losen Bruchstücken besteht. Senart hat auf S. 250 ff. die Gründe für seine Herstellung ausführlich besprochen. Ich bin besonders durch die Heranziehung des Fragmentes B I zu etwas abweichenden Resultaten gelangt.

Die Fragmente, die zweifellos zu diesem Abschnitte gehören, sind A V, VI; B I—VII, X, XI, XIII, XIV. Ich stimme mit Senart zunächst darin überein, daß B X die Fortsetzung von Z. 43, 44, B VI ebenso die Fortsetzung von Z. 45, 46 und den Anfang von Z. 47, und B XIV die Fortsetzung von Z. 47, 48, 49, 50 enthält. Unmittelbar links an B XIV schließe ich B I an; die ersten drei Zeilen von B I bilden die Fortsetzung der zweiten, dritten und vierten Zeile von B XIV: *viṭṭadham ida ti ṇa(t)va*; *oṣu akamanū praceau*; *keyi | vinavanau kavai hadu*. Für die drei letzten Worte ist sicherlich *vinivanhau bhavai hetu*<sup>1)</sup> zu lesen; in Uragsutta 16 entspricht *vinibandhāya bhavāya hetu*. Der Text fährt dort fort *-kappā | so bhikkhu jahati orapāram urago jinnum iva taṇam purāṇam*. [*ka* ?] *pa s. bhikkhu jahati orapara urak* lautet aber die letzte Zeile von B V; dieses gehört also unmittelbar links an B I, so daß die drei letzten Zeilen die drei ersten Zeilen von B I fortsetzen. Vervollständigt wird die drittvorletzte Zeile von B V noch durch das kleine Fragment B II, das ich ebenso wie Senart einschalte.

Wir kommen nun zu den Fragmenten, die sich unter den Fragmenten des Blattes A gefunden haben, A V und VI. Senart hat schon gesehen, daß A VI oben auf A V gehört. Wir erhalten somit vier Zeilen:

vikaya so bhikhu jahati o  
ṣaitha so bhikhu jahati o  
mahoho so bhikhu jahati  
s. bhikhu jahiti o

Senart glaubt, daß *-ṣaithu* das *-sudhehi* von *osadhehi* in Ur. 1 re-

1) *ka* und *bha* sind einander ziemlich ähnlich, *tu* und *du* gar nicht von einander zu scheiden, und der *i*- und der *e*-Strich sowie der Strich über dem *u*, der die Aspiration andeutet, können leicht übersehen sein.

flektiere, wenn er auch die Schwierigkeiten dieser Gleichsetzung nicht verkennt, und sieht daher in der zweiten Zeile der beiden Fragmente die Fortsetzung von Z. 43: *yo upat . . . ineti kodhu visara. mahoho so bhikhu jahati* setzt daher nach ihm die Zeile 44 fort, deren Anfang *yo mana udavahi aśeṣa bisu* lautet. Und wegen der ersten Zeile *vikaya so bhikhu jahati o* muß er annehmen, daß zwischen Zeile 40 und der nächsten Zeile des Manuscriptes zwei Zeilen ausgefallen seien. Allein nach der Phototypie zu urteilen, ist auf der rechten Seite überhaupt nichts weggefallen<sup>1)</sup>. Nun lesen wir im Urugasutta:

2 bhisapupphaṃ va saroruhaṃ vigayha . . .

3 saritaṃ sīghasaraṃ visosayitvā . . .

4 naḷasetuṃ va sudubbalaṃ mahoho . . .

Fügen wir die Fragmente A VI und V direkt am oberen Ende des durch B II vervollständigten Fragmentes B V an, so erhalten wir die Lesungen:

bisa . . . . . vikaya . . .

sa . . . . . ṣaitha . . .

na . . . . . mahoho . . .

die genau den Lesungen des Palitextes entsprechen. *ṣaitha* fasse ich als Rest von *viṣoṣaitha*, 3 Sg. eines Optativs Medii; vgl. *dalaitha* in B Z. 46. Die Lesart läßt sich neben der Palilesart *visosayitvā* verteidigen, wenn es mir auch scheinen möchte, als ob die ursprüngliche Lesart im Pali *saritaṃ sīghasaraṃ va sosayitvā* gewesen sei<sup>2)</sup>. Auf diese Weise erhalten wir nicht nur einen Text, der genauer mit dem Palitexte übereinstimmt, sondern vermeiden auch die Schwierigkeit, einen Ausfall von zwei Zeilen hinter Z. 40 annehmen zu müssen.

Die Fragmente B XIII und VII, die Strophenschlüsse enthalten, füge ich ebenso wie Senart, das erstere am oberen, das letztere am unteren Ende des in dem Manuscript erhaltenen, vier Strophenschlüsse enthaltenden Teiles an. Die erste *tvaya purana* endende Zeile bildet dann den Schluß der *yo upati* beginnenden Zeile (41; nach Senart 43), die achte den Schluß der *yasa vamsā* beginnenden Zeile (48; nach S. 50). Das kleine Fragment B XI *urako jina* setze ich in Zeile 40 vor die Worte *viva udumareṣu*.

Es bleiben die Fragmente B III und IV. B IV gehört, wie

1) Daß auf der linken Seite hier eine Zeile weggebrochen ist, wird durch das Fragment B XIII bewiesen; siehe Senart, S. 251.

2) Die ähnlich gebauten Strophen 1, 2, 4 des Urugasutta enthalten alle im zweiten pāda einen Vergleich; vgl. für unsere Strophe besonders *bhisapupphaṃ va saroruhaṃ vigayha*.

Senart bemerkt, links an B III. Dieses gehört aber wiederum rechts an die letzte Zeile von B VII. Wir erhalten also eine Zeile, die lautet: *viśala so bhikhu jahati orapara urako jina viva tvaya purana*. Das entspricht dem Schlusse von Ur. 17. Der Anfang der Zeile muß verloren sein, und in der That findet sich, wie ein Blick auf die Phototypie zeigt, hier eine Lücke. Daß B IV, III in diese Zeile gehört, wird aber noch auf andere Weise bestätigt. Die erste Hälfte von Ur. 17 lautet vollständig: *yo nīvaraṇe palāya pañca anigho<sup>1)</sup> tinnakathamkatho visallo*. Nun enthält das Fragment B I am unteren Ende noch zwei akṣaras, die, wenn meine Anordnung richtig sein soll, in diese Strophe passen müssen. Senart liest sie *ga ti*, und sie stehen genau an der Stelle, wo wir nach dem Palitexte *gha ti* erwarten sollten. Wenn man bedenkt, daß sich *gha* von *ga* nur durch den kleinen, unten rechts angeetzten Haken unterscheidet<sup>2)</sup>, wird es zum mindesten sehr wahrscheinlich, daß wir wirklich *gha ti* zu lesen haben.

Endlich schwindet bei dieser Anordnung noch eine andere große Schwierigkeit. Hinter der letzten mit *tvaya purana* schließenden Zeile steht am Rande die Zahl 40. Bei Senarts Anordnung würde es aber Strophe 42 sein; er ist daher gezwungen die Zahl als falsch zu betrachten, was er selbst als ein gewaltsames Vorgehen bezeichnet. Auch bei meiner Anordnung haben wir nun allerdings nicht 40, sondern 41 Strophen<sup>3)</sup>, allein Senart hat schon darauf hingewiesen, daß die Strophe in Zeile 14 eine wörtliche Wiederholung der Strophe in Zeile 12 ist. Es liegt hier also ein Verschen des Schreibers vor, und wir haben thatsächlich nur 40 Strophen.

Die Strophen lauten demnach:

Z. 40 *yo najakamo bh. v. ṣ. s. r.*

. . . . .

. . bhikhu jahati o . . . . .

[<sup>4</sup>urako jina] viva udumareṣu

Es entspricht Ur. 5: *yo nājḥagamā bhavesu sārāṃ*

*vicinaṃ pupphaṃ iva udumbaresu* <sup>5)</sup>

1) So ist nach Ausweis des Metrums zu lesen. Auch sonst findet sich im Suttanipāta überall die Form mit kurzem *i*.

2) Oder durch einen über den Buchstaben gesetzten Strich; siehe Senart, S. 224, 229.

3) Weniger können es, da wir neun auf *tvaya purana* endende Strophen haben, niemals sein.

4) Frg. B XI.

5) Ich lasse die immer gleichlautende zweite Hälfte der Strophe hier und im folgenden fort.

Ich halte *udumareṣu* nur für ein Versehen des Schreibers. Was von den übrigen Buchstaben der Zeile erhalten ist, macht es wahrscheinlich, daß der zweite pāda, wie im Pali, *viva udumareṣu* schloß.

Z. 41 (Senart 43): yo upat. . . . ['ineti kodhu  
visara] . . . . .  
. . . . . [³orupa . .  
urako jina v(i)va (t)vaya purana]

Es entspricht Ur. 1: yo uppatitaṃ vineti kodhaṃ  
visataṃ sappavisāṃ va osadhehi |

Z. 42 (Senart 44): yo mana udavahi a[³ṣeṣa  
bisa] . . . . . [⁴vikaya  
so bhikhu jahati] orapara  
urako ⁵) jinaviva tvaya purana

Die Strophe ist eine Verschmelzung von Ur. 4: *yo mānam udabbahī* ⁶) *asesaṃ* und 2: *bhisapupphaṃ va saroruhaṃ vigayha*.

Z. 43 (Senart 45): yo taṣa [⁷udachai aṣeṣa  
sa] . . . . . [⁸ṣaitha  
so bhikhu] [⁹jahati] orapara  
urako jinaviva tvaya purana

Es entspricht Ur. 3: yo taṇham udacchidā asesāṃ  
saritaṃ sīghasaraṃ visosayitvā |

Im übrigen siehe die Bemerkungen auf S. 479.

Z. 44 (Senart 46): yo sa[¹⁰rvakeleṣa dalaitha  
na] . . . . . [¹¹mahoho  
so bhikhu jahati] orapara  
urako jinaviva tvaya purana

Der erste pāda kommt im Pali nicht vor. Dem zweiten entspricht Ur. 4: *naḷasetuṃ va sudubbalaṃ mahogho*.

Z. 45 (Senart 47): [¹²yo ecasari na precasari  
sa][¹³rva] . . . . .  
[¹⁴so bhikhu jahati] orapara  
urako ¹⁵) jinaviva tvaya purana ¹⁶)

Es läßt sich nicht entscheiden, ob diese Strophe Ur. 8, 10, 11, 12 oder 13 reflektierte. Sie alle beginnen: *yo nāccasāri na paccasāri*

1) Frg. B X. 2) Frg. B XIII. 3) Frg. B X. 4) Frg. A VI.

5) Die obere Hälfte der akṣaras *orapara ura* ist in Frg. B XIII erhalten; siehe Senart, S. 253, N. 2.

6) So ist anstatt *udabbadhī* zu lesen; siehe Senart, S. 254.

7) Frg. B VI. 8) Frg. A VI und V. 9) Frg. A V. 10) Frg. B VI.  
11) Frg. A V. 12) Frg. B VI. 13) Frg. B XIV. 14) Frg. A V.

15) Das *u* findet sich auf Frg. B V.

16) Der untere Teil der Buchstaben am Schlusse dieser Zeile findet sich auf Frg. B VII; siehe Senart, S. 254, N. 5.

*sāri sabbam*. Über *ecasari* und *pecasari* siehe die Bemerkungen Senarts.

Z. 46 (S. 48): yo necasari na pre[¹casari  
sarva vi][²tadham ida ti nā(t)va] . . [³ku  
so bhikh][⁴u jahati orapara  
u][⁵rako jinaviva tvaya purana]

Es entspricht Ur. 9: yo nāccasāri na paccasāri  
sabbam vitatham idan ti nātva loke |

Das *ku* ist, wie Senart, S. 255, bemerkt, ziemlich unsicher. Nach dem Pali wäre *ke* oder *ki* zu erwarten, doch ließe sich auch [*lo*]ku = *lokam* erklären.

Z. 47 (Senart 49): yasa anoṣea na [⁶sati keyi  
o][⁷ru akamanai praceau]  
[⁸so bhikhu jahati orapara  
u][⁹rako jinaviva tvaya purana]

Der erste pāda ist in Ur. 14 enthalten: *yassanusayā na santi keci*, der zweite in Ur. 15: *oram āgamanāya paccayāse*.

Z. 48 (Senart 50): yasa vanaṣea na [¹⁰sati keyi]  
[¹¹vinavanau kavai hadu][¹²kapa  
so bhikhu jahati orapara  
ura][¹³ko jinaviva tvaya purana]

Es entspricht Ur. 16: *yassa vanathajā na santi keci vinibandhāya bhavāya hetukappā*.

Ich habe schon oben bemerkt, daß sicherlich *vinivanhau* ¹⁴) *bhavai hetu-* zu lesen sei. *vinivanhau* wäre pali *vinibandhase*, wie in der vorigen Strophe *praceau* pali *paccayāse* ist. Die Lesart des Manuscriptes ist zweifellos die richtige. Das zweite Wort liest Senart *vanaṣia*. Mir scheint, daß wir *vanaṣea* zu lesen haben. Der *i*-Strich wird bei *śi* viel weiter nach unten gezogen; vgl. *su-śīla* A² 5; *yaśīdhu* A³ 8; *-daśīma* B 32; *sud.śīta* C² 1; *śīśīla* C² 32; *-śīlisa* C² 34; *-śīlu* C² 39, während der *e*-Strich andererseits auch in *seṭho* A³ 4, *śeati* A³ 6 gerade wie in unserem Falle ein wenig über die obere Linie des *s* hinausgeht. Müssen wir nun in *vanaṣea* eine Vertretung von *th* durch *ś* annehmen? Senart be-

1) Frg. B XIV.

2) Frg. B I.

3) Frg. B II.

4) Frg. B V.

5) Frg. B VII.

6) Frg. B XIV.

7) Frg. B I.

8) Frg. B V.

9) Frg. B VII.

10) Frg. B XIV.

11) Frg. B I.

12) Frg. B V.

13) Frg. B VII.

14) Vgl. *banhanam* B 52, C² 31, 32; *anha-* C² 4; *suyiganha* C² 3. Der Aspirationsstrich fehlt nach Senart in *kanhana* B 13; auf der Phototypie glaubt man ihn indessen zu erkennen. Ebenso wird in Frg. C XXIII *bhavabandhanam* zu lesen sein; es ist sicherlich *bhavabandhanam*.

ruft sich auf *śiśla* = *śiśilam* in C<sup>r</sup> 32, allein dort hat offenbar das vorausgehende *ś* eingewirkt, wie es ähnlich ja auch in *śāsana* = *śāsana* A<sup>r</sup> 4, B 28, 29 u. s. w. und in *viśpaśa* = *viśvāsa* B 25, C<sup>r</sup> 27 u. s. w. ein folgendes *s* in *ś* verwandelt hat. Hier liegt ein solcher Grund nicht vor. Auch *gaśana* in C<sup>r</sup> 7 bietet keine Analogie; siehe die Bemerkungen zu C<sup>r</sup> 7. Ich glaube, daß wir es hier mit einem einfachen Schreibfehler zu thun haben, zu dem das unmittelbar darüberstehende *anośea* Veranlassung gab.

Z. 49: . . . . .  
 . . . [<sup>1</sup>ga ti] . . . . . [<sup>2</sup>viśala  
 so bhikhu jahati orapa]<sup>3</sup>ra  
 urako jīnaviva] [<sup>4</sup>tvaya purana]

Es entspricht Ur. 17: yo nivarape pahāya pañca  
 anigho tiṇṇakathānkatho visallo |

In bezug auf *ga* siehe die Bemerkungen auf S. 480.

B Z. 50 (Senart 51). Von dieser Zeile sind nur die letzten Worte erhalten. Senart liest *o . vanas . . . ru*. Ich lese den Schluß: *vanasm*(<sup>4</sup>) *vanaru*; die beiden davor stehenden akṣaras vermag ich in der Phototypie nicht zu erkennen. Der Strophe entspricht Dhp. 334:

manujassa pamattacārino  
 taṇhā vaḍḍhati māluvā viya |  
 so palavati hurāhuram  
 phalam iccham va vanasmim vānarō ||

B Z. 52 und 53 (Senart 53 und 54). Auch von diesen beiden Zeilen sind nur die Schlußworte erhalten. Sie entsprechen den Schlußworten von Dhp. 283 und 284. Z. 53: *yi nivana bhodha bhichave* ist Dhp. 283: *vanam chindatha mā rukkam vanato jāyati bhayam | chetvā vana ca vanatham ca nibbānā hotha bhikkhavo ||*

Z. 54 liest Senart *?cheravayo? . tara*. Dhp. 284 lautet:  
 yavam hi vanatho na chijjati  
 anumatto pi narassa nārisu |  
 paṭibaddhamano va tāva so  
 vaccho khīrapako va mātari.

Aus der Phototypie geht hervor, daß wir *chiravayo* zu lesen haben. Dahinter ist der obere Teil eines *va* sichtbar, während das folgende *ma* ganz weggebröckelt ist. Einen *i*-Strich kann ich an dem letzten *ra* nicht erkennen. Was von den beiden vor *chiravayo* stehenden akṣaras erhalten ist, genügt kaum, um sie mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen.

1) Frg. B I.      2) Frg. B IV.      3) Frg. B III.      4) Frg. B VII.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 6. Diese und die folgende Zeile werden durch Fragment C XII ergänzt, das sich unmittelbar rechts an den erhaltenen Teil des Hauptblattes anschließt. Zeile 6 lautet mit der Ergänzung<sup>1)</sup>:

yo . . hasa sahasani sagami maṇṣa jini  
 eka jī [jini] atmana so ho sagamu utamu .

Das ist Dhp. 103 (S.):

yo sahassam sahasena saṅgāme mānuse jine |  
 ekañ ca jeyyam attānam sa ve saṅgāmajuttamo ||

Zeile 7 lautet mit der Ergänzung:

sahasa bi ya gaśana anathapa . . . . .  
 e[ka vayapada] ṣebha ya ṣutva uvaśamati

*vayapada* ist natürlich pali *vācāpadam*. Im Dhp. 100 (S.) lautet die Strophe:

sahassam api ce vācā anathapadasamhitā |  
 ekam atthapadam seyyo yam sutvā upasammati ||

Hier finden wir also *atthapadam* anstatt *vācāpadam*, allein die Lesart des Manuscriptes ist offenbar die bessere, denn so ist die Strophe genau der folgenden parallel:

sahassam api ce gāthā anathapadasamhitā |  
 ekañ gāthapadam seyyo yam sutvā upasammati ||

Nun liest allerdings Senart im ersten pāda nicht *vayana*, wie zu erwarten, sondern *gaśana*. Allein diese Lesung ist schon deshalb bedenklich, weil wir unmittelbar darauf in Z. 9 und 10 *gadhana*, *gadhasata* und zweimal *gadhapada* finden. Das zeigt, daß das *th* von *gāthā* in dem Dialekte des Manuscriptes zu *dh*, nicht zu *ś* wurde. Nun giebt aber Senart selbst an, daß er es nicht entscheiden möchte, ob *śu* oder *ya* zu lesen sei. Ich bin daher überzeugt, daß *gayana* zu lesen und daß dies nur ein Versehen für *vayana* ist.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 20. Ich ergänze diese Zeile durch Fragment C XXXVII:  
 ya ja vaśasata jatu agi pariya vane  
 [chirena] sapitelena divaratra atadrito

‘Und wenn auch einer hundert Jahre lang, Tag und Nacht, unablässig Agni im Walde mit Milch, (H)ee und (Ö)l verehren würde’. Nur die erste Hälfte der Strophe kehrt, wie Senart gezeigt, im Dhp. (107) wieder. *sappitelam* findet sich auch Jāt. III, 313, 3.

Die Richtigkeit der Herstellung wird noch auf andere Weise bewiesen. Über *chirena* hat Senart noch die Buchstaben *j . . . t . s*

1) Ich schließe hier und im folgenden nur die neuen Ergänzungen in Klammern ein. Das Übrige kann man bei Senart ersehen.



gelesen. Das sind offenbar die Reste von *jivita sebhu*<sup>1)</sup> der vor-  
ausgehenden Zeile 19.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 27, 28. Diese beiden Zeilen werden durch Fragment  
C III vervollständigt, das sich unmittelbar links an Fragment C I  
anschließt. Die Zeilen lauten dann:

sañatu sukati yati drugati yati asañatu  
ma sa viśpaśa [avaja ida vidva samu cari o]  
savutu pratimukhasa idrieṣu ca pajaṣu  
pramuni anu[pruvina savasañoyanachaya o]

Die zweite Hälfte von Strophe 27 würde im Pali lauten: *mā  
so vissasam āpajji idam vidva samam care*; vgl. Dh. 272: *bhikkhu  
vissasam māpādi*, und 142: *alamkato ce pi samāṇ careyya*.

Die erste Hälfte von Strophe 28 findet sich, wie Senart nach-  
gewiesen, Suttanipāta 340. Zur zweiten Hälfte vergleicht sich  
Itivuttaka 17, Theragāthā 865:

pāpuṇe<sup>2)</sup> anupubbena sabbasañyojanakkhayaṃ ||

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 31: aho nako va sagami cavadhī vatita śara  
ativaka ti . . . . . druśilo hi bahojano o

Dem entspricht Dh. 320 (S.), wo der zweite pāda *cāpato patitam  
saram* lautet. Senart bemerkt, daß in *cavadhi* Übergang von *t* in  
*dh* vorliegen würde, wenn man einen direkten Übergang, mit dem  
Magadhismus *te* für *to*, von *te* in *dhe*, *dhi* annehmen dürfte. Meiner  
Ansicht nach haben wir in *cavudhi* ein anderes Suffix, das auch  
im Pali in *sabbadhi* erscheint, z. B. Dh. 90: *vippamuttassa sabbadhī*,  
Dh. 340; Therag. 761: *savanti sabbadhīsotā*, Sañyuttan., Sagāthav. II,  
1, 10, 2: *vippamutto si sabbudhi*, u. s. w. *sabbadhi* entspricht hier einem  
sk. *sarvataḥ* genau so wie oben *cavadhi* pali *cāpato*<sup>3)</sup>. Ich glaube,  
daß wir auch in A<sup>3</sup> Z. 13 einen Beleg für diese Bildung haben.  
Dort lesen wir *eta viśeśadha ṇatva*, dem im Pali (Dh. 22) *etaṃ  
viśeśato ṇatvā* entspricht. Mir scheint hier ein Schreibfehler für  
*viśeśadhi* vorzuliegen.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 35. Der Anfang der Strophe lautet: *ida ja mi keca ida  
ji karia ida kari* . . Dem Sinne nach vergleicht sich Mahābh.  
XII, 6542; 9946<sub>b</sub>, 9947<sup>a</sup>:

idam kṛtam idam kāryam idam anyat kṛtākṛtam |  
evam ihāsukhāsaktam kṛtāntaḥ kurute vaśe<sup>4)</sup> ||

Weiteres über diese Strophe siehe unter C<sup>r</sup> Z. 7 ff.

1) Senart liest genau *jivita . e . hu*.

2) Resp. *pāpuṇim*.

3) Wahrscheinlich ist auch in unserem Manuscripte, wie Senart bemerkt,  
im C<sup>r</sup> Z. 38 *savradhi* für *savrasi* zu lesen.

4) An der zweiten Stelle: *ihāsamāyuktam mṛtyur ādāya gacchati*.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 37. Von der Strophe ist nur der erste pāda erhalten:  
*ta putrapaśusamadha*. Dem entspricht in Dh. 287 (S.): *tam putta-  
pasusammattam*. Senart identifiziert *samadha* mit *sammatta* und  
nimmt in dem Worte eine eigentümliche Schreibung *dh* für *t*, oder  
vielmehr *tt*, an. Ich bezweifle, daß die beiden Wörter identisch  
sind, und fasse *samadha* als Vertreter von sk. *samṛddha*. Dem  
Sinne nach stimmt das mit der Lesart des Mahābhārata überein.  
Hier finden wir in der entsprechenden Strophe (XII, 6540; 9944<sub>b</sub>,  
9945<sup>a</sup>): *tam putrapaśusampannam*.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 38: pure i kica parijaga . . .

ma ta kica kicakali adea  
ta tādīsa parikamakicakari  
no i kica kicaali adea

Senart hat damit Gāthā 12 des Samuddavāñijāṭaka (466)  
identifiziert<sup>1)</sup>:

anāgataṃ paṭikayirātha kiccaṃ  
mā maṃ kiccaṃ kiccakāle vyadhesi |  
taṃ tādīsaṃ paṭikatakiccakārīm  
na taṃ kiccaṃ kiccakāle vyadheti ||

Schwierigkeiten bereitet das *adea*. Mit pali *vyadhesi*, *vyadheti*  
läßt es sich unmöglich zusammenbringen, und es als *adeyya*, von  
*ādīyati*, zu fassen, verbietet die Bedeutung. Da *t* und *d* in dem  
Manuscripte kaum zu scheiden sind und *e* und *i* oft verwechselt  
werden, möchte ich vorschlagen *atea* zu lesen, was sk. *atīyat* ent-  
sprechen würde. Beide Strophen enthalten übrigens einen alten  
Fehler; für *kicca* ist überall *kiccha* = sk. *kṛcchra*, Gefahr, zu lesen.  
Nur so wird der Gebrauch der Ausdrücke sk. *pratiḥgārti* und  
*pratikaroti* verständlich<sup>2)</sup>. Im Mahābh. tritt denn auch die ursprüng-  
liche Lesart noch wirklich zu Tage (I, 8404; 8405):

purataḥ kṛcchrakālasya dhīmāñ jāgarti pūruṣaḥ |  
sa kṛcchrakālam sañprāpya vyathām naiveti karhicit ||  
yas tu kṛcchram anuprāptaṃ vicetā nāvabudhyate |  
sa kṛcchrakāle vyathito na śreyo vindate mahat ||

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 39: ya puvī karaniāni pacha ṣa karu ichati  
atha dubakati balu suhatu parihaṃyati

Damit vergleiche man Theragāthā 225; 261:

yo pubbe karaṇiyāni pacchā so kātum icchati |  
sukhā so dhamṣate ṭhānā pacchā cam anutappati ||

1) A. a. O. S. 545 ff.

2) *pari-* in der Strophe des Manuscriptes entspricht sk. *prati-*; siehe die Be-  
merkungen zu C<sup>r</sup> Z. 39.

Dem *ṣa* für *sa* analog sind *ṣaga* = *saṅgam* B 3, *aṣaga* = *asaṅgam* B 3, *pajaṣagadhio* = *pañcasāṅgādhikaḥ* B 37. Der Gebrauch des *so* in dem Relativsatze ist auffällig; es findet sich aber ebenso in Dh. 172; Therag. 871:

yo ca pubbe pamajjitvā<sup>1)</sup> pacchā so na ppamajjati |  
so imaṃ lokam pabhāseti abbhā mutto va candimā ||

Dem entspricht in unserem Manuscripte (A<sup>2</sup> Z. 3):

yo tu puvi pramajjiti pacha su na pramajjati  
so ita loku ohaseti abha muto va suriu o

Senart liest auch an der ersten Stelle *pramajjati*, bemerkt aber, daß die wirkliche Lesart auch *pramajjiti* oder *pramajjati* sein könnte. Auf der Phototypie scheint mir der *e*- oder *i*-Strich deutlich erkennbar. *pramajjiti* oder *pramajjati* wäre aber pali *pramajjitvā*, wie in A<sup>2</sup> 8 pali *parivajjetvā* durch *parivajjati* wiedergegeben wird. Senart entscheidet sich für *pramajjati*, weil so das Relativum *yo* nicht ohne verbum finitum in der Luft stände, allein die oben angeführte Strophe zeigt, daß dieser Grund nicht stichhaltig ist<sup>2)</sup>. *karu* ist sk. *kartum*. Ebenso haben wir in B Z. 43 *visara* für sk. *visṛtam* und in C<sup>r</sup> Z. 38 *pari* in *parijaga* . . . und *parikama*- für sk. *prati*. Als Durchgangsformen sind \**kāṭum*, *viṣaṭam* und *paṭi* anzunehmen; vgl. *ajinasaria* für pali *ajinasāṭiya* in dem Petersburger Fragmente. Vielleicht hat auch der Anklang an die Formen des Präsensstammes, *karoti* und *visarati*, und an *pari* mitgespielt.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 5 und 6. Beginnen wir mit Z. 6:  
yasa rativasina ayu aparato siya  
apodake . . . . .

Die Strophe findet sich im Mūgapakkhajātaka (538), G. 101:  
yassa ratyā vivasane āyumaṃ appataram siyā |  
appodake va macchānam<sup>3)</sup> kin nu komārakam tahiṃ ||

Ich ziehe die Lesart *-vivasina*, d. i. *-vivāsena*, der Palilesart *vivasane* vor, doch erscheint *ratyā vivasane* im Pali auch sonst, z. B. Therag. 517; 628. *aparato* steht natürlich für *apataro*, doch möchte ich nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten, daß hier ein einfacher Schreibfehler vorliege. Es ist jedenfalls bemerkenswert, daß die-

1) Therag. *yo pubbe pamajjitvāna*.

2) Ich kann auch nicht finden, daß die Lesart *pramajjati* einen besseren Sinn ergibt. Im Gegenteil 'Wer aber vorher nachlässig ist, der ist nachher nicht nachlässig; der erleuchtet diese Welt wie die vom Gewölke befreite Sonne' scheint mir sinnlos zu sein.

3) Vgl. *maccho appodake yathā*, Therag. 362.

selbe Metathesis von *t* und *r* auch in B Z. 28 in dem Worte *maturu* = pali *māluto* erscheint.

Die Fortsetzung der Zeile haben wir, wie die Palistrophe zeigt, in der zweiten Zeile des Fragments C XVIII. Die Zeile lautet demnach:

apodake [va maṃsana ki teṣa ukumulana o]

*maṃsana* ist nicht *māmsānam*, wie Senart meint, sondern *matsyanām*; ebenso finden wir C<sup>r</sup> Z. 3 *bheṃsiti* für *bhetsyate*. Schwierigkeiten macht nur der letzte pāda. *teṣa* anstatt des streng genommen zu erwartenden *tasa* läßt sich allerdings leicht durch Attraktion an *maṃsana* erklären, allein *ukumulana*, mag man es nun als *ulkā-unmūlanam* oder *oka-unmūlanam* fassen, giebt keinen Sinn. Auch die Fassung der Strophe im Mahābh. XII, 6532<sup>b</sup>, 6533<sup>b</sup>; 9938 hilft uns hier nichts:

rātryām rātryām vyatītāyām āyur alpataram yadā |  
gādhodake matsya iva sukham vindeta kas tadā ||

Wenn man bedenkt, daß *nu kumalaa*<sup>1)</sup> anstatt *ukumulana* einen verständlichen, mit dem Pali übereinstimmenden Text ergeben würde, wird man wohl gut thun, erst die Bestätigung der Lesung abzuwarten, ehe man andere Erklärungsversuche unternimmt.

Die erste Zeile des Fragmentes C XVIII ergänzt nun auch Zeile C<sup>r</sup> 5. Die Zeile wird weiter vervollständigt durch das kleine Fragment C XXXVIII. Ferner geht aus der Phototypie hervor, daß nicht *gabhirasati*, sondern *gabhi vasati* zu lesen ist. Die Zeile lautet also:

yam eva paḍhama rati gabhi vasati manavo  
avi ṭhi[rasa ṣaga][ti so gachu na nivatati o]

Die Strophe würde ins Sanskrit übertragen lauten: *yām eva prathamām rātriṃ garbhe vasati mānavah | api sthiraśya saṃgatiḥ sa gacchan na nivartate* ||. Die Konstruktion ist etwas lose, doch wird die Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Vershälften durch die im Hauptblatte erhaltenen akṣaras *aviṭhi* gesichert. Dem Sinne und zum Teil auch den Worten nach entspricht Hitopadesa IV, 84 (Ed. Peterson):

yām eva rātriṃ prathamām upaiti  
garbhe nivāsam naravira lokaḥ |  
tatahprabhṛty askhalitaprayāṇaḥ  
sa pratyahaṃ mṛtyusamīpam eti ||

1) Eventuell auch *nu kumalaa*; in dem Dialekte des Manuscriptes assimiliert *u* öfter einen folgenden Vokal, z. B. *dukkhāsata* A<sup>2</sup> 6, *aruyu* A<sup>2</sup> 16, *bhikkhu tu* B 27; 38, *abhivuyu* B 80; 31.

Zum Schlusse vergleicht sich Mūgapakkhajāt. G. 106:

yathā vārivaho pūro gacchan nūpanivattati |  
evam āyu manussānaṃ gacchan nūpanivattati ||

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 7ff. Von den Zeilen 7—10 steht der Anfang fest. In der Mitte des Manuscriptes ist eine größere Lücke. Der Schluß findet sich auf einem Bruchstücke, das 3 Zeilen enthält. Nach Senart setzt die erste Zeile dieses Stückes Zeile 7 fort, die zweite Zeile 8, die dritte Zeile 9, während der Schluß von Zeile 10 verloren wäre. Senart bezeichnet dies Stück nicht als Fragment; prüft man aber die Vorderseite des Blattes in der Phototypie, so ergibt sich, daß es ein Fragment ist, das nur an der falschen Stelle festgeklebt ist. Die Bruchlinie zeigt, daß es (auf der Rückseite) heruntergerückt werden muß, bis die dritte Zeile mit Zeile 10, die zweite mit Zeile 9, die erste mit Zeile 8 in eine gerade Linie kommt<sup>1)</sup>. Dann erhalten wir folgende Lesungen:

Z. 7: ye hu dhayeyu dahara ye ca majhima poruṣa  
anupa ? . . . . .

Diese Zeile ist unvollständig.

Z. 8: yadha<sup>2)</sup> phalana pakana nica patanato . . .  
. . . . . sa nica maranato bhayo o

Diese und die folgende Zeile werden ergänzt durch das Fragment C XV, das genau die Lücke in der Mitte ausfüllt. Die Zeile lautet also vollständig;

yadha phalana pakana nica patanato [bhayo  
emu jatasa maca]sa nica maranato bhayo o

Die Strophe entspricht so genau der im Pali öfter (Dasarathajāt. (461), G. 5; Mūgapakkhaj. (538), G. 117; Suttanipāta 576) erscheinenden Strophe:

phalānaṃ iva pakkānaṃ niccaṃ patanato bhayaṃ |  
evam jātānaṃ maccānaṃ niccaṃ maraṇato bhayaṃ<sup>3)</sup> ||

Der Singular *jatasa macasa* und *yadha* finden ihre Parallele in Rām. C II, 105, 17:

yathā phalānāṃ pakvānāṃ nānyatra patanād bhayam |  
evam narasya jātasya<sup>4)</sup> nānyatra maraṇād bhayam ||

1) Die Lücke zwischen der zweiten und dritten Zeile des Fragmentes ist nur scheinbar; der obere Teil muß herabgebogen werden. Die Stücke passen genau auf einander.

2) Senart läßt das erste akṣara zweifelhaft. Die erhaltenen Reste weisen aber mit Sicherheit auf *ya*.

3) Varianten: Dasarathaj. handschriftl. *papatato*, *papatana*; Mūgapakkhaj. *papatana*; Suttan. *pāto* (für *niccaṃ*); handschriftl. *papatana*.

4) Die Bengali Recension (114, 4) hat hier dagegen wieder den Plural *naraṇāṃ jātānāṃ*.

Zeile 9 lautet mit Einschaltung der zweiten Zeile des Fragmentes C XV:

yadha nadi pravatia racha vahati ku . . [ya  
emu ne(?)ra ya muca] ya ayu payeti pranina o

Senart liest kein *ku* hinter *vahati*; es ist aber auf der Phototypie deutlich erkennbar<sup>1)</sup>. Ob wir, wie zu erwarten, *mucu* zu lesen haben, vermag ich nach der Phototypie nicht mit Bestimmtheit zu entscheiden. Sicher dagegen ist *pranina*, nicht *panina*, wie Senart liest. Für *nera*, dessen *ne* Senart selbst als fraglich bezeichnet, dürfte wohl *jara* zu lesen sein. Zu vergleichen ist Mūgapakkhaj. G. 107:

yathā vārivaho pūro vahe rukkha' upakūlaje |  
evam jāraya maraṇena vuyhante vata pāṇino ||

und die schon von Senart angeführte Strophe, Dh. 135:

yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaraṃ |  
evam jāra ca maccu ca āyura pācenti pāṇinaṃ ||

Den Schluß des zweiten pāda können wir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit als *kulaya*, d. i. *kūlajān*, restituieren. Zu *racha* möchte ich bemerken, daß sich auch im Pali vereinzelt die Form mit *ra* findet, z. B. Jāt. III, 144, 15, *rakkha*, wozu der Kommentator bemerkt *rakkhāti rakkha*, *pāliyaṃ panu rukkha* (MSS. *rukkha*) *eva likhitam*.

Die Zeilen 10 und 11 lauten:

yadha vi tani vikati ya ye deva otu opati  
apaka bhoti votavi oharanaseva satii o  
emam eva manuś . . . . . s(?)ti(?) pranayo  
ya ya avi???? rati maranaseva satii o

Senart liest *vikoti*; ich kann in der Phototypie keinen *o*-Strich entdecken. Für *tani* und *otu* liest Senart *dani* und *odu*. Die Lesung des dritten pāda von Strophe 11 ist sehr zweifelhaft; Senart schreibt *yaya avi?sati(?)rati(?)*. *avi* und *rati* scheinen mir gesichert; für das übrige weiß auch ich nichts besseres vorzuschlagen.

Der ersten Strophe entspricht teilweise Mūgapakkhaj. G. 105:

yathāpi tante vitate yaṃ yaṃ dev' upaviyati |  
appakaṃ hoti vetabbaṃ evam maccāna jīvitaṃ ||

Die Übereinstimmung im großen und ganzen ist sofort klar; im einzelnen bereitet aber die Interpretation große Schwierigkeiten. Was zunächst *tani* betrifft, so entspricht es offenbar sk. *tantra*; sk. *ntr* würde also in dem Dialekte des Manuscriptes durch *n* vertreten sein. Daß *n* sowohl *nd* als auch *ṇḍ* vertritt, wird durch

1) Vgl. das *ka* von *kala* in C<sup>r</sup> 13 oder von *apaka* in C<sup>r</sup> 10.

zahlreiche Beispiele bewiesen; für *ntr* fehlt ein absolut einwandfreier Beleg. Allein B 11 lesen wir:

yo muhena sañato bhikhu manabhani anudhato

Senart führt *manabhani* auf *mandabhāṇī* zurück; die entsprechende Palistrophe (Dhp. 363) hat aber *mantabhāṇī*. Ich will nicht leugnen, daß *mandabhāṇī* auf den ersten Blick die bessere Lesart zu sein scheint; man muß aber doch beachten, daß die Formel *mantabhāṇī anuddhato*, resp. *-ta*, auch sonst erscheint, z. B. Suttanipāta 850; Theragāthā 2; Therīg. 281 u. s. w. Wir werden also auch *manabhani* auf *mantrabhāṇī* zurückführen müssen und die Vertretung von *ntr* durch *n* kaum in Abrede stellen können.

*Vikati* könnte für sk. *vigate*, *vikṛte* und *vikṛte* stehen, allein ich kann dem Worte in keinem Falle einen Sinn abgewinnen, und weiß mir nur mit der Annahme eines Schreibfehlers für *vitate* zu helfen, so hart eine solche Annahme auch erscheinen mag.

*Otu* ist offenbar sk. *ōu*, Einschlag. In *votavi* sehe ich einen Infinitiv, entsprechend dem im Rigveda belegten *otave*. In *opati* sollten wir nach dem Palitexte eine Passivform von *vā* vermuten. Allein wenn sk. *ūyate* hier auch wohl durch *oyati* oder *ovati* vertreten sein könnte, so fehlt doch bisher für das Eintreten von *p* jegliche Analogie. Andererseits verbietet die Bedeutung an eine Ableitung von *vap* (*opati* = *upyate*) zu denken. Ich muß die Lösung dieser Schwierigkeit Geschickteren überlassen.

Ein Eingehen auf die zweite Strophe halte ich für unnütz, so lange nicht die Parallele im Pali oder Sanskrit gefunden ist. Ich übersetze versuchsweise: „Gleichwie wenn vom Schicksal in dem aufgespannten (?) Aufzug der Einschlag gewebt (?) wird, wenig zu weben übrig bleibt, wenn das Ende naht, so auch bei den Menschen . . . . . wenn der Tod naht“.

Für diese Anordnung der Zeilen sprechen vor allem zwei Gründe. Erstens erhalten wir so einen zusammenhängenden Text. Der zweite und vierte pāda von Strophe 8 (*nica patanato*, resp. *maranato*, *bhayo*) und der Schluß der Strophen 10 und 11 (*oharanaseva satī* und *maranaseva satī*) werden schon durch den Gleichklang als zusammengehörig gekennzeichnet; bei Senart sind sie auseinandergerissen. Und zweitens läßt sich so allein das zweizeilige Fragment C XV einschalten; in Senarts Text paßt es nicht hinein. Diese Gründe scheinen mir so gewichtig zu sein, daß eine Schwierigkeit, die meine Anordnung mit sich bringt, davor zurücktreten muß. Durch das Herunterrücken des Fragmentes auf der Rückseite werden nämlich auf der Vorderseite die Worte *vinumana abhimadati mucu* ?? *saḥou* eine Zeile höher gerückt. Nun haben wir aller-

dings keinen Beweis dafür, daß diese Worte wirklich in Z. 35 und zu dem Anfang *ida ja mi keca ida ji karia ida kari* . . gehören. Allein sie würden nun an eine Stelle kommen, die, der Phototypie nach zu urteilen, vom Schreiber freigelassen worden war. Wenigstens vermag ich auf der rechten Hälfte des Blattes hier keine Spur von Schrift zu entdecken. Ähnlich liegt die Sache allerdings bei C<sup>r</sup> Z. 22—25, 36—38, 42—44, und hier hat sich in der That auf der rechten Seite des Blattes die obere, die Schrift tragende Schicht der Birkenrinde abgespalten. Sollte das auch in unserem Falle geschehen sein? Die Frage läßt sich natürlich nur durch eine Prüfung des Manuscriptes selbst entscheiden.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 13. Ich lese die Zeile:

tatra ko viśpaṣi macu daharo siti jivite

. . . . ra vi miyati nara nari ca ekada o

Senart liest im zweiten pāda *dhiti*, doch scheint mir das *si* deutlich<sup>1)</sup>. Vor *vi* im dritten pāda glaube ich den oberen Teil eines *ra* zu erkennen. Die Strophe entspricht Mūgapakkhaj. G. 100:

daharāpi hi miyanti narā ca atha nāriyo |

tattha ko vissase poso daharo 'mḥiti jivite ||

Wir können den dritten pāda also mit Sicherheit als *dahara vi miyati* restituieren; das Fehlen des *i* für *hi* wird wohl nur dem Schreiber zur Last fallen.

C<sup>r</sup> Z. 17 ff. Zeile 17 lautet:

imina putikaena aturena pabhaguna

nicaśuhaviḥijena jaradhamena s . . . . .

. . . . dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara o

Die erste Zeile kehrt Therīgāthā 140 wieder:

iminā pūtikāyena āturena pabhaṅgaṇā |

Die beiden folgenden Strophen unterscheiden sich von dieser nur dadurch, daß für *aturena vidvarena*, resp. *viśravatena*, eintritt. Das erste Wort des dritten Halbverses war *nimedha*, wie aus Z. 19 und 20 hervorgeht. Allein die zweite Zeile ist in dem Texte Senarts in keinem Falle vollständig. Der Schluß ist uns aber offenbar in Fragment C XXV erhalten, das links an Fragment C XIV gehört. Zeile 18 lautet dann:

imina putikaena vidvarena . . . . .

nicaśuhaviḥijena . [radhamena savaśu

ni]. . dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara o

*savaśu* ist natürlich sk. *sarvuśaḥ*. *vidvarena* erklärt Senart nicht

1) Die Lesung *smiti* ist kaum möglich; vgl. *smi* in B Z. 20.

weiter. Nun finden wir Saṃyuttanikāya, Sagāthavagga V, 4, 5:  
iminā putikāyena bhindanena pabhaṅgaṇā |

Für *bhinnanena* lesen indessen die singhalesischen Handschriften *bhindarena*. Dieses *bhindara* ist offenbar mit dem *vidvara* des Manuscriptes identisch; beide entsprechen sk. *bhidura*, das Saṃprasāraṇa zeigt. Für *v* an Stelle von *bh* bietet *abhivuyu* = *abhibhūya* in B Z. 30, 31 eine Parallele; allerdings liegt es hier nahe, das Eintreten des *v* für *bh* dem Einflusse des *bh* der vorhergehenden Silbe zuzuschreiben. Genau so wie *bhindara* zu *vidvara* verhält sich aber pali *paṭisambhidā* zu den in den Texten der nördlichen Buddhisten erscheinenden Formen *pratisamvid*, fem. (Lalitavistara 39, 8), und *pratisamvida*, neutr. (Mahāvastu III, 67, 3; 4; 321, 14; 15). Jedenfalls stützen *vidvara*, *pratisamvid* und *pratisamvida* das im Dhātupāṭha als Synonym von *bhid* angeführte *bid*, Präsens *bindati*.

C<sup>v</sup> Z. 21. Von dieser Zeile ist auf dem Hauptblatte nur ein Buchstabe erhalten, den Senart *ka* liest. Es ist aber *ti*; der kleine Strich rechts gehört zu dem vorausgehenden Buchstaben, einem *ya*, wie wir sehen werden. Die Strophe ist somit nur auf den Fragmenten C I und XXVI erhalten. Sie wird aber noch weiter durch Fragment C XVII vervollständigt. Das Ganze lautet demnach:

jīyati hi rayaradha sucitra  
adha śarira bi jara uveti  
nata tu dharma ca jara (u)veti  
[sato hiṣa sabhi pravera(ya)]ti ◦  
Das ist Dhp. 151; Saṃyuttan., Sagāthav. III, 1, 3, 7:  
jīranti ve rājarathā sucittā  
atho sariram pi jaram upeti |  
satañ ca dhammo na jaram upeti  
santo have sabbi pavedayanti ||

Senart bemerkt, daß das *na* und das *ca* im dritten pāda eine etwas eigentümliche Form hätten; es wird also wohl einfach *sata tu dharma na jara uveti* zu lesen sein. Ebenso vermute ich, daß *pavedayati* zu lesen ist. Über das *hiṣa*, das pali *have* vertritt, läßt sich ohne eine Prüfung des Manuscriptes selbst kaum urteilen.

C<sup>v</sup> Z. 25, 26. Zeile 25, durch Fragment C II vervollständigt, lautet bei Senart:

..... saghara parama duha  
eta ñatva yadhabh.tu nivana paramo suha ◦

Die Zeile wird aber noch weiter ergänzt durch die erste Zeile des Fragments C XXXIX:

..... [ka parama .ok.] saghara parama duha  
eta ñatva yadhabh.tu nivana paramo suha ◦

Dem entspricht Dhp. 203 (S.):

jighacchā paramā rogā saṅkhārā paramā dukhā |  
etañ ñatvā yathābhūtañ nibbānañ paramañ sukhañ ||  
[r]ok[a] zeigt die gewöhnliche Ersetzung des *g* durch *k*; vgl. *raka* = *rāga* C<sup>v</sup> Z. 33 u. s. w. Wenn das *ka* im ersten pāda richtig gelesen ist, muß statt *jighaccha* ein anderes Wort dagestanden haben.

Wenn meine Ergänzung richtig ist, so muß die zweite Zeile des Fragmentes C XXXIX in Zeile 26 passen. Diese würde lauten:

..... [ruha paricai] .....  
cai matrasuha dhiro sabaṣu vivula suha ◦

Im dritten pāda scheint mir *cai* deutlich erkennbar zu sein. Auch die von Senart zweifelnd erwähnte Lesart *vivula* halte ich für sicher. Es entspricht Dhp. 290 (S.):

mattāsukhapariccāgā passe ce vipulañ sukhañ |  
caje mattāsukhañ dhiro sampassañ vipulañ sukhañ ||

Für *ruhu* wird also *suha* zu lesen sein. *paricai* kann nur *parityujet* sein; vgl. *paricai* in C<sup>v</sup> Z. 41. Es ist also zu übersetzen: „Ein [geringes] Glück gebe man auf, [wenn man ein großes Glück im Auge hat]. Das große Glück im Auge behaltend, gebe der Weise ein kleines Glück auf.“ Wie man sieht, ist hier die Pali Lesart entschieden die bessere.

C<sup>v</sup> Z. 34: ahivadaṇaṣilisa nica vridhavyayarino

catvari tasa vardhati ayo kirta suha bala ◦

Die Lesart in der zweiten Halbzeile stimmt teilweise genauer mit Manu II, 121:

catvāri tasya vardhanta āyuh prajāñ yaśo balaṃ  
und Mahābh. V, 1521:  
catvāri saṃpravardhante kīrtir āyur yaśo balaṃ  
als mit Dhp. 109:

cattāro dhammā vaḍḍhanti āyur vaṇṇo sukhañ balaṃ.

C<sup>v</sup> Z. 44: anica vata saghara upadavayadhamino

upajiti nirujhati teṣa uvaśamo suho

Im Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. 252, entspricht:

aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino |  
upajjītvā nirujjhanti teṣaṃ vūpasamo sukho ||

Das Pali zeigt, daß wir *upajiti* als ein Wort zu fassen haben. Die Form steht mit *pramujiti* oder *pramujeti* in A<sup>2</sup> Z. 3 und *parivajeti* in A<sup>2</sup> Z. 8 auf einer Stufe; vgl. die Bemerkungen zu C<sup>v</sup> Z. 39.

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 321 f. The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. p. 298 ff.; and a very small photograph of it is given in P.S.O.C.I. No. 98. I now re-edit it from Dr. Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof. Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3' broad by 4' 6" high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation. At the top of the stone are some sculptures:— In the centre a man worshipping a *liṅga* with a head lying on a *yōni*;<sup>1</sup> to the left a figure of Ganapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin; to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife.—The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ".—The alphabet is Old-Kanarese. In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes.—The language is Sanskrit. In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoṃ* and *malaparolgaṇḍa*. The main portion of the text is in verse; only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53.—As regards orthography, the groups *dāh* and *bāh* are generally spelt *dhāh* and *bhāh*, the only exceptions being *Vishṇuvarḍhana*- in l. 8 and *pātayāḍ-dharttā* in l. 51; and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *brati*- in l. 5 and *kābya*- in l. 37.

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II., contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr. Fleet in his account of the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr. Fleet's discussions.

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysalas. They claimed to belong to the lineage of Yādu; in this race there was a king called Saḷa, 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yādu, the first of it, to be forgotten.' Once there lived at Śaśakapura an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger. He called Saḷa for assistance with the words: *Hoṃ Saḷa*, 'Slay, O Saḷa.' Saḷa killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of Hoysala and a tiger as emblem of their banner. Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty.<sup>2</sup> In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106<sup>3</sup> Vinayāditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavūru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records. Mr. Rice<sup>4</sup> is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavūru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Mūḍgere tāluka of the Kadūr district, Mysore,<sup>5</sup> does not seem to be well founded.

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family. After other kings, Vinayāditya became king (v. 8). His son was Ereyaṅga (v. 9), who again had three sons, Ballāla, Viṣṇuvarḍhana and Udayāditya (v. 10). Nothing beyond the name is recorded

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only.

<sup>2</sup> Probably already in the time of Ballāla I., and certainly in the time of Viṣṇuvarḍhana, the capital was Vēlāpura, the modern Bēlūr, whence during the reign of Viṣṇuvarḍhana the seat of government was shifted to Dōrasamudra, the modern Halēbid; compare Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 491.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 203; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329, where the name of the town is given as Sosulya. *Ibid.* p. 260, Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. Introd., p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Part I. Introd., p. 18; Part II. Introd., p. 18.

No. 10.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA II.;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1114.

By H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Trikuṭṭēśvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag tāluka in the Dhārwār district of the Bombay

of Udayāditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v. 11), it is said (v. 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,<sup>1</sup> the mighty one, who attacked Jagaddēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time.' In other records the defeat of Jagaddēva is attributed to Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana. In an inscription at Bêlūr<sup>2</sup> and in another at Hosakôte<sup>3</sup> Vishṇuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (or conquering) the armies of Jagaddēva,' and in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa<sup>4</sup> he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lālanakere,<sup>5</sup> where it is said that at Dōrasamudra the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddēva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddēva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana.<sup>6</sup> As to Jagaddēva, the term *saptāṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler; but it is apparently only a hyperbolic phrase, as the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.<sup>7</sup> I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddēva as identical with the Śāntara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura<sup>8</sup> who, according to the Balagāṁve inscription,<sup>9</sup> was ruling as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Jagadēkamalla II. at Sētuvina-bīḍu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkoṇḍ,<sup>10</sup> after the defeat of Taila III., laid siege to the fortress of Anumakoṇḍa. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus lie an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddēva of the Hoysala records and that of the Chālukya and Kākatya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddēva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishṇuvardhana, 'who, having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded Uchchaṅgi<sup>11</sup> and other territories belonging to his enemies; who, invading the whole country from his own abode to Beḷvola, bathed his horse in the Kṛishnavérṇṣ; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him: 'Know the Hoysala alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king Paramardidēva.'<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> I take *tatra* in the sense of *tyāh*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballāla I. and Udayāditya altogether.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57; compare *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part I. p. 120, and *Mysore Inscr.* p. 265. Mr. Rice says (*Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. *Introd.*, p. 19) that Ballāla I. died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

<sup>7</sup> Vikramāditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sōmēśvara III., Jagadēkamalla II. and Taila III., styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratīpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śaka 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramāditya also.

<sup>8</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 494.

<sup>9</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 97 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding this place see the note by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 285.

<sup>12</sup> Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 497, and Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr. Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratyupachāram*.

warlike exploits of Vishṇuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr. Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardidēva with the Western Chālukya king Permāḍi-Vikramāditya VI, the feudal lord of Vishṇuvardhana.

Vishṇuvardhana's son and successor was Narasiṅha, who married the noble Ēchaladēvi (vv. 18, 19). Their son was Virā-Ballāla II. to whom the rest of the enlogy (vv. 20-36) is devoted. He is said (v. 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping Vajrēśvara. This term seems to refer to Indra; but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *chakra* of Vishṇu,<sup>1</sup> Vajrēśvara may possibly be meant here for Vishṇu. At any rate it is stated in another record<sup>2</sup> that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of Vijaya-Nārāyana, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu (v. 24). After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the Āngas, Kāṅgas, Vaṅgas, Magadhas, Chōlas, Mālavas, Pāṇḍyas, Kēraḷas and Gūrjaras were in fear of him (v. 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballāla's campaigns: 'And by force, he, the strong one,<sup>3</sup> defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brahman whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless<sup>4</sup> elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kaḷachuris. And cutting off Jaitrasimha who was, as it were, the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala.'<sup>5</sup>

The general Brahman mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. His name occurs in several Chālukya records from A.D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,<sup>6</sup> and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the Kaḷachuryas. Like his father Kāma or Kāvaṇa, he had originally been in the service of the Kaḷachuryas. Kāvaṇa is mentioned as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of king Saṅkama in a Harihar inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a Balagāṁve inscription of A.D. 1179, and as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Āhavamalla in a Balagāṁve inscription of A.D. 1181.<sup>6</sup> And Brahman himself is called the *mahāpradhāna*, *sēnādhipati* and *daṇḍanāyaka* of king Sōvidēva in a record of A.D. 1175. The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words 'nyakkārēṇa pīṭuḥ.' Dr. Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation. I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that Kāvaṇa was still alive when Brahman revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of Brahman as given in our inscription is correct. As to Jaitrasimha, by whose conquest Ballāla is said to have acquired Kuntala or the southern Marāṭhā country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Jaitasimha mentioned as the minister of the Yādava king Bhillama in the Gadag inscription of Śaka 1113.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this Jaitrasimha should be identified with Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla.<sup>8</sup> The names, it is true, are similar, but if Jaitrasimha had been Bhillama's son, one should certainly expect that

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. *Mysore Inscr.* p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhujabhrit* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to Ballāla's *viruda* Bhujabala, just as *vāra* is used in the next verse.

<sup>4</sup> For *tūbara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns; a beardless man; a eunuch,' here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *daṇṭin*, the tusked elephant. A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464. I differ from him only with regard to the word *nyakkārēṇa pīṭuḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> For this and the following dates see Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464.

<sup>6</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. III. p. 217 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See especially Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 106.

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff. then record that the *Pratāpachakravartin*, the glorious Vira-Ballāḍeḍa, who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṣṭraka*, the lord of the excellent city of Dvārāvātī, the sun in the sky of the Yādava family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the Malāpas, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a Rāma in war, having established his victorious camp at Lokkiguṇḍi,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the *Paridhāvin* year, when 1114 years<sup>1</sup> had elapsed of the era of the Śaka king,— after having washed the feet of the holy *āchārya* Siddhāntichandrabhūṣhaṇapaṇḍitadēva, also called Satyavākya, who was the disciple of Vidyābharapaṇḍitadēva and the disciple's disciple of Sōmēśvaradēva (of the lineage of) the *āchārya* Kāḷamukha, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of Hombāḷalu in the Beḷvola three-hundred, with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, etc., together with the *tribhāga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *ashṭabhāga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga*- and *raṅga-bhāga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through ago, etc., for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, etc., ascetics, Brāhmaṇas and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials.

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god Śiva Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara at Krātuka and the chief priest (*sthānāchārya*) of his shrine, the said Siddhāntichandrabhūṣhaṇapaṇḍitadēva, called also Satyavākya, of the lineage of the *āchārya* Kāḷamukha. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the Paṇḍit is called the living *liṅga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikūṭēśvara*) by his three stationary *liṅgas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatuṣbhūṭēśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva in the form of a *liṅga* descended upon the three mountains Kālēśvara, Śrīśaila and Bhīmēśvara, and that these three *liṅgas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the Triliṅga, Telīnga or Telugu country.<sup>2</sup>

The members of the Śaiva school of Kāḷamukha seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at Baḷagāṁve, where a quarter of the town was called after them the Kāḷamukha Brahmaohārin quarter.<sup>3</sup> The numerous records at Baḷagāṁve,<sup>4</sup> together with the present inscription, the Gadag inscription mentioned above, and another Gadag inscription of the time of Vira-Ballāḷa II.,<sup>5</sup> furnish the following line of *āchāryas*,<sup>6</sup> all of whom

<sup>1</sup> The date is expressed both in words and in figures.

<sup>2</sup> Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p. 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 note 13].

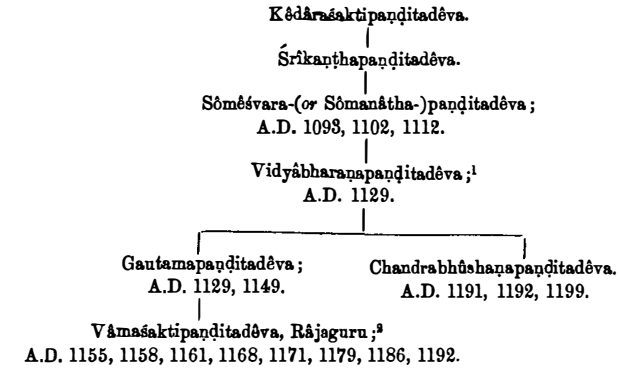
<sup>3</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 147, [and above, Vol. V. pp. 220 to 226].

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77 ff., 80 ff., 85 ff., 87, 91, 92, 95 ff., 99, 101 ff., 105 ff., 111, 160, 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 165 ff. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one.

<sup>6</sup> Another branch of the lineage of Kāḷamukha Chakravartimuni at Baḷagāṁve is mentioned *loc. cit.* p. 172.

from Sōmēśvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhūṣhaṇa, were in the service of the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara at Baḷagāṁve :



Lines 46 ff. contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king Ballāḷadēva, the *śāsana* was composed by Agniśarman, an emperor among the learned.

The date of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof. Kielhorn, to Saturday, the 21st November A.D. 1192, when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, commencing 0 h. 18 m. before mean sunrise.

Of the localities mentioned, Krātuka is the modern Gadag itself; Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkunḍi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag; and the village of Hombāḷalu, the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag.

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti ☉ Trailōkyam pāyatē yēna sadayam sat[<sup>t\*</sup>]va-vṛittinā | sa devō Yadu-sārdḍūlah Śrī-patiḥ śrēyasē sstu vaḥ || [1\*]
- 2 Dēvaḥ samasta-sāmanta-mastaka-nyasta-śśanaḥ | ā-chāndr-ārkkam nripaḥ pāyād-bhuvam=ambhōdhi-mēkhalām || [2\*]
- 3 Āstī-kahitau kahatriya-puṅgavānām<sup>4</sup> śirō-maṇiḥ śrī-Yadu-nāmadhēyaḥ | yad-anvavāyē sa Harir=dhdha(ddha)ritrī-bhār-āvatār-ārttham=ajō=pi jātaḥ || [3\*] Tad-anvavāyē
- 4 bahavō babbhuvur=bhbhu(bbhu)j-ōdbhava viśrnta-kīrti-bhājāḥ | ady=āpi lōkē charit-ādbhūtāni yēśhām purāpēṣu paṭhamānti samtaḥ || [4\*] Kāla-kramāṇ=ātha babbhūva kaśchin=mahī-
- 5 patis=tatra Saḷ-ābhidhānaḥ | kulasya kṛitvā vyapadēsam=anyam vismāritō yēna Yadu=tad-ādyāḥ || [5\*] Kēn=āpi bra(vra)ṭi-patinā sva-dēvakāryyē sārḍḍūlam grasicum=upāgataṁ ni-
- 6 hamntum | ādīštaḥ Śāsakapurē sa hoy=Saḷ=ēti prāpat=taṁ kiḷa vinihatya Hoy=Saḷ-ākhyām || [6\*] Tataḥ-prabhṛiti tad-vamśē pravṛittam Hoy=Saḷ-ākhyayā | sārḍḍūlās=cha dhvaja-

<sup>1</sup> Vidyābharāṇa is once called the younger brother of Sōmēśvara; *ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> A pupil of Vāmasakti was probably Svāmīdēva or Sāvīdēva, of whom in an inscription at Baḷagāṁve dated in A.D. 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus hands of the excellent muni Vāmasaktiśa, the Śiva seer'; compare *ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> The second *anusvāra* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure.





- 38 chid-viśrāmō vāridhan taranḡāṇam | na tv-ēva kripā-bhājā pradiyamānē śnatām  
sat[<sup>1</sup>\*]rē || [43\*] Annēn-aiva na kēvalam=api tu suvarṇa-aushadh-āmbu-  
vastr-ādyaiḥ | antō n-āsti ja-
- 39 nānām nirantaram tarpyamāṇām || [44\*] Yēna oh-ātra sthānē || Udhdhri-  
(ddhri)tya jīrṇam-sakhilām nirmāya cha nūtana[m] puram ramyam |  
dēv-āntikam-āntā vēśyā-vithi sthitā parataḥ || [45\*]
- 40 Amṛit-ōpama-pānīya-pūrṇā pūshkarāṇī<sup>1</sup> kṛitā | vanam cha Nandana-[sām]yam nānā-  
pūshpa-latā-vṛitam || [46\*] Kim jalpitēna bahunā grāva-prākāra-valaya-bāhyam-i-  
41 ha | yad-yat=samasti tat-tat=samastam=api tasya nirmāṇam || [47\*] ☉ Tasya  
bhagavataś-charāchāra-gurōḥ śrī-Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara-dēvasy-āṅga-raṅga-bhōga-  
khamḡa-sphuṭita-jīrṇ-ōdhā(dddā)-
- 42 r-ādy-arttham vidyā-dān-ārttha[m] tapōdhana-brāhmaṇ-ādi-bhōjan-ādy-arttha[m] cha  
Belvola-triśat-āntarggata-Hombājalu-nāmadhēya-grāmaṁ pūrva-prasiddha(dddā)-  
śmā-samanvitam nidhi-nikshēpa-
- 43 jaḡa-pāshāp-ārām-ādi-sahitam tribhōg-ābhya[m] taram-aśtābhōga-tējaḡ-svāmya-yuktam  
śulka-damḡ-ādi-sakāḡa-dravy-ōpārjan-ōpētām Śakanripakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śa-  
44 tēshu ohaturddas-ādihikēshv-ēkādāsasu amkatō-pi 1114 vartamāna-  
Paridhāvi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Mārggaśirṣa-peurṇamāsyām Śanaishohara-  
vārē sōma-grahāḡ tasya Kālamukh-ā-
- 45 chāryya-Sōmēśvaradēva-prāśihyasya Vidyābharanadēva-śishyasya Satyavāky-āpara-  
nāmadhēyasya śrimad-śchāryya-Siddhā(dddā)ntichāmdrābhūshapamāditadēvasya  
pāda-prakshā-
- 46 lana[m] kṛitvā rājñā rājakyair=apy=anamguliprēkshāṇiyam sarvvanamasyam kṛitvā  
dhārā-pūrvaḡam bhaktyā dattavān || ☉ Asya cha dharmmasya samrakshapē  
phalam-ida-
- 47 m-udāharanti sma tapō-mahima-sākshāt-kṛita-dharma-sthitayō Manv-ādayō mah-  
arashayaḡ || Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḡ Sagar-ādibhiḡ | yasya
- 48 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Ganyantē pāmsavō bhūmēr-  
ggaṇyantē vṛiḡti-bimḡavaḡ | na ganyatē Vidhātr=āpi dharmma-samrakshapē  
phalam || Apha-
- 49 rataḡ samarthasy-āpy-udāsīnasya tair-ēva viparitam=api phalam-udāhṛitam || Sva-  
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumḡharām | shashṡim varsha-sahasrāpi  
vishṡhā-
- 50 yām jāyatē kṛimih || Para-dattām tu yō bhūmim=upahimsēt-bedāchana | sa  
badhdhō(dddō) vārupaiḡ pāsaiḡ kshipyatē pūya-sōpitē || Kulāni tārayēt=kartā
- 51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhō sḡhaḡ pātayēd=dhartā sapta sapta cha  
sapta cha || Api Gaṅg-ādi-tirthēshu hamtur=ggām=atha vā dvijam | niahkṛitih  
syān-na dēvasva-brahmasva-hara-
- 52 ḡē nṛiṇām || Vimḡy-ātavishv-atōyāsu śushka-kōṡara-śāyinaḡ [1\*] kṛiḡḡa-sarppā  
hi jāyamitē dēva-dravy-āphāraśēḡ || Karmaṇā manasā vāśhā yaḡ
- 53 samarthhō=py-upēkshatē | sa syāt=tad=aiva chamḡāla[ḡ\*] sarvva-karmma-  
bahishkṛitah || Ata ēv-āha Rāmachāmdraḡ || Sāmāyū=yam dharmma-sētur-  
nṛipāṇām kālē kālē
- 54 pālaniyō bhavadbhiḡ | sarvvan-ētān=bhāvinaḡ pārtti(rtthi)v-ēmdrān=bhūyō bhūyō  
yāchatē Rāmachāmdraḡ || Mad-vamśajāḡ para-mahipa-
- 55 ti-vamśajā vā pāpād-apēta-manasō bhūvi bhāvi-bhūpāḡ | yē pālayanti mama  
dharmmam=imam samagrām tēshām mayā virachitō śmjaḡir-ēsha
- 56 mūrḡhni || ☉ Ballāḡadēva-nṛipatēr-ādēsād-Agnīśarmmaṇā rachitā | śāsana-  
padhdha(dddā)tir-ēshā sārvasvata-sārsvabhāumēna(ḡa) ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *pūshkarāṇī*; but compare Pāli *pokkharāṇī*.

No. 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF  
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

By H. Lüders, Ph. D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn. The first<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at Maṅgalagiri, 12 miles north-east of Guṅṡūr in the Kistna district.

It contains 257 lines of writing.—The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon.—The alphabet is Telugu. The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following. The *salakaffu* is a flattened semi-circle. The *dirghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *śa*, *śā* and *śā*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *śā* only. The *guḡi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *i*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards; see e.g. *śi* in l. 241. But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mī*, which appears in the modern form (l. 25). Medial *ś* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left. In *mau* (ll. 54, 107), *yau* (l. 63), and *ryau* (l. 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ī* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a*, *ē*, *ga*, *gha*, *chha*, *ḡa*, *ḡa*, *ḡa*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *va*, *śa*, *śha* and *ḡa* show still the ancient forms. In the case of *śha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1300,<sup>2</sup> occasionally a form of *śha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see e.g. ll. 2, 18, 30). *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll. 22, 177 and *kē* in l. 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form. *ḡa* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used e.g. in the Bīṡraḡṡa grant of Saṅgama II. (Śaka-Samvat 1278),<sup>3</sup> and the Vānapalli plates as well as from the modern sign. The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha*, *chha* and *śha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha*, *ḡha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

<sup>1</sup> No. 257 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 21 ff., Plates.

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhri*, *bhya*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason; examples for *gha* are found in l. 18; for *dha* in l. 48; for *dha* in ll. 153, 228; 214 (*dhd*); 39, 130, 178 (*dhi*); 180, 218 (*rdhi*); 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*); 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*); for *bha* in ll. 33, 39, 231; 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*); 15, 85 (*bhū*); 233 (*bhd*); 141, 233, 244 (*bhd*). As in the latter cases the *talakaffu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhd* and *bhd* from *bā* and *bō*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *chha* (seell. 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchā* (ll. 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l. 177, *rvā* in l. 24, and *rvi* in ll. 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.—The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *subham=astu* in l. 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrī śrī śrī jēyuru* in l. 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll. 46 f., 49 f. and 121.—As regards orthography, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharilla* (l. 149) and *vargga* (l. 240). After *anusvāra* a consonant is doubled in *vēdāmīta* (l. 10), *Krishnamāmbbayā* (l. 61), *samīttāna* (l. 90), *ākrāmīta* (l. 140), *anamīta* (ll. 149, 225), *samādhānītam* (l. 163), *Rompicharla* (l. 226), *-ānkkītam* (l. 243), and probably in *Komḡḡakāvūri* (l. 255). A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *Timmma* (l. 40, 252). In *nigriḡḡhya* (l. 5) and *Sāmhya* (l. 246) the *anusvāra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *dh* is written *dhdh* in *ānadhāna* (l. 8), *pātālādhdharaḡḡ[m]* (l. 27), *śudhdha* (l. 48), *yadh-dhāfi* (l. 82), *yudhdha* (l. 86), *samādhānītam* (l. 163), and perhaps *-ādhānīta* (l. 83). The words *maḡḡapa* and *pradhāna* are written *maḡḡapa* (ll. 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *prathāna* (l. 29; *pratāna* in l. 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by *Sāḡva-Timma*, the prime-minister of king *Krishnarāya* of *Vijayanagara*. It opens with invocations of Vishnu in his boar incarnation (vv. 1, 2), as lord of *Kākuḡa* (v. 3), and as *Rāma* (vv. 4, 5). The title of *Kākuḡa* seems to refer to Vishnu as worshipped at Śrīkākuḡam, 19 miles west of Masulipatam in the Kistna district. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I. p. 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to Śrīkākuḡāśvara-vāmin and considered to be very sacred.<sup>2</sup>

The following verses (6-8) are a eulogy of king *Krishnarāya*. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king *Krishna*'s pillar of victory is shining in the court of *Kaḡiḡga*,<sup>3</sup> an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of *Krishnarāya*'s prime-minister *Sāḡva-* (or *Sāḡva-*) *Timma*. He belonged to the *gōtra*<sup>4</sup> of *Kaḡḡḡya*, and was the son of the minister *Rācha* and the grandson of the minister *Vēma*,<sup>4</sup> and it may be added here that vv. 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, *Lakshmi*.<sup>5</sup> Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of *Koḡḡaviḡi*, i.e. *Koḡḡaviḡu*, the well-known hill-fort in the *Narasarāvupēta tāluka* of the

<sup>1</sup> But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally; see *rgḡya* in l. 159.

<sup>2</sup> That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Or, as it is called here, *kūla*.

<sup>4</sup> I have used throughout the Sanskrit forms of these names, *Rācha*, *Vēma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll. 56, 143, 150, 153, 189, 227). Except in *Timmākhēve* in l. 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayādmīya*, *Gōpayādmīya*, *Timmayādmīya*, *Vēmayādmīya*, *Rāchayādmīya*, *Gōpayādmīya*, *Appayādmīya*.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the praise bestowed on *Sāḡva-Timma* in vv. 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskrit MSS. at Tanjore*, p. 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*eydkhyāna*) on *Agastya*'s *Bḡlabhārata* by *Timmaya*, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bḡlabhārata-eydkhyāna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental MSS.*, Vol. I. p. 168, where the name of the author is given as *Sāḡva-Timmaḡḡa daḡḡandīha*. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of *Krishnarāya*.

*Kistna* district. From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by *Gajapati* in *Koḡḡaviḡi*,' it appears that *Koḡḡaviḡu* was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the *Gajapatis* of Orissa. This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records. Until the beginning of the 15th century A.D. *Koḡḡaviḡu* was ruled by the *Redḡis*,—the *Tottaramūḡi* plates of *Kāḡa-Vēma*, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the *Gajapatis*. In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year *Yuvan*,<sup>2</sup> we find as ruler of *Koḡḡaviḡu* a certain *Gāḡadēva Rautarāya*, whose family was connected with that of the *Gajapatis*, and who apparently was a tributary of the *Gajapati* king *Kapila*.

The capture of *Koḡḡaviḡu* formed part of *Krishnarāya*'s victorious campaign against the *Gajapatis* of Orissa. A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, *Domingos Paes* and *Fernāo Nunes*.<sup>3</sup> There<sup>4</sup> we are told that after the conquest of *Odigair* or *Digary* (*Udayagiri*)<sup>5</sup> king *Crisnarao* (*Krishnarāya*) laid siege to *Comdovy* (*Koḡḡaviḡu*) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of *Orya* (*Orissa*). The king of *Orissa* approached with a large army in defence of his country. When *Krishnarāya* had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at *Koḡḡaviḡu* as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*leguas*). On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the *Krishnā*, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of *Orissa*.<sup>6</sup> After this victory the king told his 'regedor' *Salvatinea* (*Sāḡva-Timma*) that he intended to continue the siege of *Koḡḡaviḡu*. After two months the fortress surrendered, and *Sāḡva-Timma* was appointed governor of *Koḡḡaviḡu*. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of *Orissa*, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of *Comdepallyr* (*Koḡḡapalle*) and occupying the country as far north as *Syamamdyr*,<sup>7</sup> *Krishnarāya* made peace with the king of *Orissa* and married one of his daughters. The 'river,' apparently the *Krishnā*, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms. After another expedition against *Catuir*<sup>8</sup> on the coast of *Charamādel* (*Coromandel*) the whole country was pacified, and *Sāḡva-Timma* was sent by the king to *Koḡḡaviḡu* to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory. On his way to *Koḡḡaviḡu*, *Sāḡva-Timma* defeated a general of the king of *Daqum* (*Dekkhan*), called *Madarmelquuo*. A few months *Sāḡva-Timma* stayed at *Koḡḡaviḡu*, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province. Then he returned to *Bisnaga* (*Vijayanagara*), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom. The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable.<sup>9</sup> If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of *Koḡḡaviḡu* to *Sāḡva-Timma* alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the *Vijayanagara* forces.

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort. According to Mr. *Boswell*,<sup>10</sup> the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the *Redḡi* dynasty of *Koḡḡaviḡu* died childless, and his seventy-two

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 318 ff.      <sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 390 ff. The date is irregular.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscrito inedito do seculo XVI publicado por David Lopes.* Lisboa, 1897, p. lxxvi f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 19-24.

<sup>5</sup> The conquest of *Udayagiri* and its dependencies took place in 1513; compare *Sewell, Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at *Mēdūru*; see *Sewell, Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> *Syamamdyr* is described as 'a very large town.' I therefore consider it to be *Rājāmhēndri* (*Rājāmhundry*), *Syamamdyr* being probably an error for *Rasmamdyr* or a similar form.

<sup>8</sup> I cannot identify this place.

<sup>9</sup> One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter.      <sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 183.

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Krishnarāya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom. To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brāhman to Koṇḍaviṭṭu. This Brāhman was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gōpināthasvāmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites. They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image. As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. When all had thus found their death, Krishnarāya had no difficulty in seizing the fort. In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr. Sewell<sup>1</sup> the name of the wicked Brāhman is given as Rāmāyā Bhāskarṇḍu. It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts. Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present. At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the capture of Koṇḍaviṭṭu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures.<sup>3</sup> It took place on Saturday, the *Harivāsara* of the bright half of the month *Āshāḍha* in the Śaka year 1437. For Śaka-Samvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1515, when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* ended 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>4</sup>

Vv. 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers Appa and Gōpa. They were the sons of the minister Timma, who belonged to a family from Nādiṅḍla<sup>5</sup> and to the *gōtra*<sup>6</sup> of Kausika, and his wife Krishṇāmbā or Krishṇamāmbā who was the sister of Sāḷva-Timma, as appears from vv. 19 and 23, where Appa and Gōpa are called Sāḷva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhāgīnīya*). Later on, however, in v. 30 Gōpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jāmātrī*), and in v. 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jāmātary-avarā*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sāḷva-Timma, their cousins. Of the following verses, vv. 20-23 are in praise of Nādiṅḍla-Appa, vv. 24-28 are glorifying Nādiṅḍla-Gōpa, and vv. 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts. With v. 35 the text returns to Nādiṅḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct. The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> For details I refer to the translation.

<sup>4</sup> My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof. Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivāsara*. According to Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, *Harivāsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months *Āshāḍha*, *Bhādrapada*, and *Kārttika*, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakṣatras* Anurādhā, *Sravana*, and *Rēvati*. In accordance with the latter meaning we find e.g. in two Bombay *Paśchādāgas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivāsara* written opposite to *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12, with, in either case, the Anurādhā-*nakṣatra*, but not in a Bombay *Paśchādāga* for Śaka 1819, where the *nakṣatra* on *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12 was *Viśākhā*. That in the inscription also *Harivāsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Anurādhā by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* was considered to be pre-eminently auspicious for the worship of Vishṇu. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Āshāḍha-śukla-dodāśatīyāṁ Vāmana-pūjanāna navaśūkhā-phaṭam*.' It is therefore also called *Vaiśṇava-tithi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 833, No. 17) and described as *mahātithi* (*ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate IV. A. 1. 16). *Harivāsara* must not be confounded with *Harivāsa* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *śukla* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs e.g. in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 63 (*Harā-dind*).

<sup>5</sup> On Nādiṅḍla, the modern Nādenḍla, see below, p. 115 and note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Here called *avaya*.

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that Nādiṅḍla-Appa obtained from king Kṛishṇa and the minister Sāḷva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati, and of sole governor (*śadhuramādhara*) of that kingdom. Vinikoṇḍa is apparently the modern Vinukoṇḍa, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Koṇḍaviṭṭu.<sup>1</sup> Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarāvati is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district. Vv. 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sāḷva-Timma gave to Nādiṅḍla-Gōpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*śadhuramādhara, dhaurāya*) of the town and country of Koṇḍaviṭṭi. But in v. 35 we are told that in the year Yuvan, marked as Sālivāhana-Śaka (*Sālivāhana-Śak-āṅka*), Nādiṅḍla-Appa obtained the regentship of Koṇḍaviṭṭi from Sāḷva-Timma.

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle. We have only to assume that Nādiṅḍla-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, when Sāḷva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sāḷva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date. There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Samvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly. The first three letters present no difficulty, *v(d)* being 7, *l(i)* 3, and *v(d)* 4, but, according to Bunnell, *h(a)* has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Samvat 1442, Gōpa was ruling as governor of Koṇḍaviṭṭu.<sup>3</sup> And from v. 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikoṇḍa etc.', is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Samvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year. The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sāḷva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake. On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Koṇḍaviṭṭu was Sāḷva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Koṇḍaviṭṭu.

The list of Nādiṅḍla-Gōpa's gifts comprises only three items.

1. (V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*vapra*) and a gate-tower (*gōpura*) in honour of the god Rāghava in Achalapuri. This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Koṇḍaviṭṭu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Rāghava or Raghunāyaka was situated in that town.

2. (Vv. 30-32.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vēdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phālguna, he set up an image of Raghunāyaka in the town of Koṇḍaviṭṭi. This image was surrounded by statues of Rāma's followers.<sup>4</sup> For Śaka-Samvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to Monday, the 10th February A.D. 1522, when the full-moon *tithi* of Phālguna ended 18 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> The older form of the name seems to have been *Vishṇukūṇḍa*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram is altogether a very poor one; it has three letters, or, if *akā* is to be considered part of it as in *Sālivāhana* in v. 14, even four letters too many.

<sup>3</sup> See the Koṇḍaviṭṭu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> For details I refer to the translation.

3. (V. 34.) In order to do the performance of *niyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,<sup>1</sup> he presented to the temple of the holy *Sāḷuva-Rāghava* the fertile village of *Unnuva*, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of *Sāḷuva-Rāghava* seems to be identical with the temple of *Rāma* at *Koṇḍaviḍu* referred to in the preceding verses. The village of *Unnuva* is the *Vunnava* of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of *Koṇḍaviḍu*.

Of the nineteen grants of *Nādiṅḍa-Appa* enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v. 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts,<sup>2</sup> at any rate, it is difficult to see how *Appa* could have granted a village in the principality of *Koṇḍaviḍu* 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern *tālukas* of *Vinukoṇḍa*, *Narasarāvupēṭa*, *Guṇṭūr*, *Bāpaṭla*, *Bezvēḍa*, *Oṅḡōlu*, and *Palnāḍ* (?). As we do not know the exact date of *Appa*'s installation as governor of *Vinikoṇḍa* etc., we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of *Koṇḍaviḍu*. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that *Vinikoṇḍa* formed a separate province before the country was divided between *Appa* and *Gōpa*.

1. (V. 36.) In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village<sup>3</sup> bearing the name of *Appāpura*, which was supplied with a tank and with some<sup>4</sup> good arable land between *Vinikoṇḍa* and the river *Kunti*, he gave it to the temple of *Aṅgaḍi-Gōpinātha-Hari*. From v. 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of *Vinikoṇḍa*. The river *Kunti* may be the *Guṇḍlakamma*, or, more probably, one of its tributaries.<sup>5</sup> 4 miles south-west of *Vinukoṇḍa*, on the left bank of the *Guṇḍlakamma*, the map shows *Sabinivinu Appavupuram*, which probably is the same as the *Appāpura* of the inscription.

2. (V. 37.) To the temple of *Ananta-Gōpinātha*, situated at *Rompicharla*, he gave the village of *Gōpavara*. *Rompicharla* is 10 miles west of *Narasarāvupēṭa*.<sup>6</sup> *Gōpavara* may be the *Gopapuram* of the map, 8 miles south of *Rompicharla*.

3. (V. 38.) In the Śaka year contained in the *Indras* (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of *Paiṇimarri* to the temple of *Mādhavidēvi* in the town of *Madderēla*, to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. *Madderēla* or, as it is called in v. 48, *Madderāla* seems to be the *Madheralah* of the map, 21 miles south-west of *Bāpaṭla*, 6 miles west of *Mōtupalle*.<sup>7</sup> *Paiṇimarri* may be the hamlet of *Pamidimarru*, the *Payidimarru* of the map, 8 miles south of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, though the distance between *Pamidimarru* and *Madheralah* amounts to 30 miles.

<sup>1</sup> *Dedaṣṭaty-adhikāṁ niyōga-kalāṁ katiṁ*. I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the *Koṇḍaviḍu* inscription (compare p. 112, note 8), l. 98: *dedaṣṭaty-adhikāṁ niyōga-raḥaṁ . . . kṛitā*.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which *Appa* is said to have erected in Śaka-Saṃvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka-Saṃvat 1438.

<sup>3</sup> With *kṛitā grāmasvarāṁ* compare *avayuti-kalāṁ-nirmit-Appāpur-āhāyā . . . grāmaṁ* in v. 52, *Appāpurāṁ . . . vīracāyā* in v. 54, and *grāmaṁ vidhāya* in v. 55.

<sup>4</sup> With *kiyaṁdratāḥ* compare *kiyāṁ-avayutya dhāmiṁ* in v. 54, and *avayutya dhāmiṁ-uḥāitāṁ* in v. 55.

<sup>5</sup> The *Guṇḍlakamma* seems to be identical with the *Omākāra* mentioned in v. 40.

<sup>6</sup> In the village is a temple dedicated to *Gōpālasvāmin*, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription; see *Sewell, Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xii.

<sup>7</sup> There is also a *Mudderalapudoo* (*Madderālapāḍu*) 64 miles north by east of *Oṅḡōlu* in the *Nellore* district on the right bank of the *Guṇḍlakamma*.

4. (V. 39.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the *Brahmans* (9),<sup>1</sup> the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*śālaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*maṅṭapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*sauḍha*), to *Rāmēśvara* in the fort of *Vinikoṇḍa*.

5. (V. 40.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (9), the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Dhātṛi* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of *Śiva* at the village of *Nandipāṭi* near the river called *Omākāra*. *Nandipāṭi* seems to be the *Nundeepudoo* (*Nandipāḍu*) of the map, 8 miles north of *Oṅḡōlu*. It is situated on the right bank of the *Guṇḍlakamma* which in that case would have to be identified with the *Omākāra* river.<sup>2</sup>

6. (V. 43.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the *Rāmas* (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Śrāvaṇa*, he presented a plastered hall (*maṅṭapa*) of stone to the temple of the great *Vīrēśvara* in the village called *Nūntulapāṭi* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, for the benefit of *Sāḷva-Timma*, the husband of *Lakshmi*.<sup>3</sup> 29 miles south-south-west of *Guṇṭūr*, 34 miles east-south-east of *Vinukoṇḍa*, the map shows *Natalupadu*, which possibly is identical with the *Nūntulapāṭi* of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v. 46.

7. (V. 44.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the *Vēdas* (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Bahudhānya* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*maṅṭapa*) and presented it to the temple of *Agastya-Mahēśvara* at *Krāñjā* for the benefit of *Sāḷva-Timma*, the husband of *Lakshmi*.<sup>4</sup> *Krāñjā* is the modern *Kāzā*, 9 miles north-east of *Guṇṭūr*.

8. (V. 45.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īśvara* (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,<sup>5</sup> (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)<sup>6</sup> (due) to village accountants (*karāṇika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the *Vaikuṇṭha* heaven.

9. (V. 46.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the *Vēdas* (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īśvara*, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month *Śrāvaṇa*, he gave the *agrahāra* *Mallavara*, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,<sup>7</sup> to the temple of *Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha*, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.<sup>8</sup> The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired = *Īśvara*, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tithi* of *Śrāvaṇa* ended

<sup>1</sup> *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv. 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol. IV. p. 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitṭmaḥa* is mentioned by *Bārṇa* among the numerical words for 1.

<sup>2</sup> There is another *Nandipāḍu* six miles south by east of *Udayagiri* in the *Nellore* district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *Lakshmi-adyaka-Sāḷva-Timma-vidhāt* occurs again in v. 47, and with the addition of *puṅḡyā* in v. 44 and v. 28 of the *Koṇḍaviḍu* inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of *Sāḷva-Timma* and his wife *Lakshmi*, as clearly stated in the *Teḷugu* portion of the *Koṇḍaviḍu* inscription, l. 163 ff. The words *Lakshmi-adyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarvamānyas*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to *Brahmans* or some temple.

<sup>6</sup> [For *mēra* and *karāṇika* see *Brown's Teḷugu Dictionary*.— E. H.]

<sup>7</sup> *Achalam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 129, note 5.

19h. 7m. after mean sunrise. But this day was a **Saturday**, not a **Monday**.<sup>1</sup> Mallavarāgrahāra may be the Mullavarum Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakōṭa in the Palnād tāluka, on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā, or Mallavaram, 10½ miles north-east of Koṇḍaviḍu, or Mullavaram, 11 miles north-north-west of Oṅḡolu. There is also a Chinna Mullavarum, 23¼ miles north-north-east of Oṅḡolu.

10. (V. 47.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īsvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Vaiśākha*, he presented a beautiful large hall (*maṣṭapa*) and a very high wall (*prākāra*) to the temple of *Aṅgaḍi-Gōpinātha-Hari* in the town of *Vinikoṇḍa* for the benefit of *Sāḷva-Timma*, the husband of *Lakshmi*.<sup>2</sup> The same temple we have met with already in v. 36.

11. (V. 48.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438), he presented to the temple of *Mādhavi-dēvi* in the town of *Madderāla* the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened. This temple was mentioned already in v. 38.

12. (V. 49, 50.) In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Dhātṛi* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of *Ātukūru*, surnamed *Nādiṅḍa*, to the Brāhmaṇa, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *samdhyaś*, etc. This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse.<sup>3</sup> *Ātukūru* is the Autcoor of the map, 11 miles north of *Bezvāḍa*.

13. (V. 51.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Rāmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Dhātṛi* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prāsāda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*maṣṭapa*) to the temple of *Hari*, the lord of *Maṅgalāsāila*, and gave also the village of *Maṅgalāsāila* to the temple of *Nṛisimha*. *Maṅgalāsāila* is, of course, identical with *Maṅgalagiri*, where the inscription was found.

14. (V. 52.) In the Śaka year counted by the Brahmins (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Īsvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brāhmaṇa the village of *Appāpura*, which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *śīman* of the village of *Bēṭūri*, he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, etc. This tank is described in the next verse. *Rēṭūri* is the Return of the map, 7 miles north by west of *Bāpaṭla*. One mile to the north-west of it the map shows *Appapuram*.

15. (V. 54.) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmins (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Īsvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *śīman* of *Nādiṅḍa* and having founded *Appāpura*, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brāhmaṇa. *Nādiṅḍa*, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern *Nādeṅḍa*,<sup>4</sup> 9½ miles east-south-east of *Narasarāvupēṭa*. 3½ miles south-west of *Nādeṅḍa*, 8 miles south-east of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, the map shows *Appapuram*.

16. (V. 55.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īsvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of *Yērchūri* and having founded a village

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn adds that in Śaka-Samvat 1439 current—Dhātṛi the full-moon *tithi* of the second (*nija*) Śrāvāṇa commenced 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1516, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 114, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> See the translation.

<sup>4</sup> For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol. IV. p. 37 f.

adorned with a tank and containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi*,<sup>1</sup> he gave it to the temple of *Aubhaja-Narasimha-Hari* at *Yērchūri*. This is the *Yēlchūru*, *Yēlchūru*, or *Elchūr*, 12½ miles south-west of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, 4 miles north of *Kommālapāḍu Bungalow*, mentioned by Mr. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 73. On the map the name of the village is missing, though its site is indicated.

16a. (V. 56.) To the temple of *Ananta-Gōpinātha* at *Bompicharla* he gave the village of *Gōpavara*. This is merely a repetition of v. 37.

17. (V. 57.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Dhātṛi* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Vaiśākha*, he gave the whole village of *Bhartapūṅḍi* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, which he had marked with his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments, to the learned *Rāyana-Bhāskara* who belonged to the *gōtra* of *Vasiṣṭha*. The map shows *Bhartapudi* 5 miles north-east of *Bāpaṭla*, but the identification must remain doubtful. As the distance between this *Bhartapudi* and *Vinukoṇḍa* is about 52 miles, it could hardly be said to be in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*.

18. (V. 58.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year *Dhātṛi* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Śrāvāṇa*, having taken off at *Yērchūri* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa* a village called *Gōpapuram*, containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi*<sup>2</sup> and adorned with a tank, he presented it to the Brāhmaṇa. *Yērchūri* we have met with already in v. 55; 1½ miles north-west of it the map shows *Gopapuram*.

19. (V. 59.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the aggregate of the pursuits of life<sup>3</sup> (4), and the earth (1), in the year *Īsvara* (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month *Kārtika*, he gave the whole village of *Annavaṛa* in the *śīman* of *Vinikoṇḍa*, marked by his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments to the learned *Dēcha*<sup>4</sup> of the *gōtra* of *Kauṇḍinya*. *Annavaram* is a very common name, which makes a strict identification impossible. The map shows an *Annavaram Kandrike* 5 miles west of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, 20 miles north-east of *Vinukoṇḍa*, another *Annavaram* (*Annavarum*) 25½ miles south by west of *Vinukoṇḍa*, and a third *Annavaram* 17 miles south-east of *Narasarāvupēṭa*, 35 miles east of *Vinukoṇḍa*.

The list of *Nādiṅḍa-Appa*'s donations concludes with a verse (60) in praise of *Sāḷva-Timma*, and the last verse of the inscription (61) records that *Sāḷva-Timma* assigned the village of *Koṇḍakāvūri* to the temple of *Trikūṭēśvara-Nīṭaladriś*, i.e. *Trikūṭēśvara-Śiva*, the lord of the whole world, as long as the moon and the sun and the stars endure. *Koṇḍakāvūri* is the modern *Koṇḍakāvūru*, 8 miles south of *Narasarāvupēṭa*.

The second inscription,<sup>5</sup> also in Telugu characters, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying in the temple of *Kōḍaṅḍarāmasvāmin* at *Kāzā*, 9 miles north-east of *Guṅṭūr*, in the *Kistna* district. It contains 258 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ¼". With the exception of the last verse, beginning in l. 255, the whole text of the inscription is identical with that of the *Maṅgalagiri* inscription. Only the order of the verses differs, as shown by the following comparison: *Kāzā* 1—35=Maṅgalagiri 1—35; K. 36=M. 55; K. 37—40=M. 36—39; K. 41, 42=M. 45, 46; K. 43=M. 40; K. 44=M. 47; K. 45—47=M. 41—43; K. 48—54=M. 48—

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the term *puṭṭi* see above, Vol. III. p. 93, note 1. *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi* seems to mean the *puṭṭi* (used in the village) of *Kēsaripāḍu*, which cannot be traced on the map.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found the word *varga* in any of the published lists of numerical words. The meaning of four is, of course, due to the *chaturvarga*.

<sup>4</sup> [He is styled *śra-Dēcha*, 'the Dēcha of (this) village.'—E. H.]

<sup>5</sup> No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

54; K. 55=M. 44; K. 56=M. 57; K. 57=M. 59; K. 58=M. 58; K. 59=M. 60. M. 56, which is only a repetition of v. 37, occurs in K. once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription; but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vedas (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1438), the minister Appa built a plastered hall (*maṅṅapa*) at the temple of Agastyēśa at Nallapāṭi. Nallapāṭi, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guṅṭūr. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guṅṭūr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

## A.—Maṅgalagiri Pillar Inscription.

## TEXT.

## First Face.

- 1 शुभमस्तु ।[1\*] षव्यादादिवराहो वस्तरसासु-
- 2 दहन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजातसांद्रखेदी-
- 3 दयामिव ।[1 १\*] कव्याणभाकलयतादयमादि-<sup>2</sup>
- 4 पोत्री धात्रीमुदर<sup>3</sup> सरसां स रसातिरेकात् ।
- 5 संश्लेषसंभ्रमवशात्सहसा<sup>4</sup> निरृष्ट<sup>5</sup> दंतेन
- 6 किंचिददुनोदधरं धरायाः<sup>6</sup> ।[1 २\*] उरसि निहितल-
- 7 स्त्रीबाहुवह्नीयुगेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केली-
- 8 विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामान्ध्र्यंदारमा-<sup>7</sup>
- 9 लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ।[1 ३\*] श्रीरा-
- 10 मः[\*] त्रियमातनोतु जगतां वेदांसवेद्यो ह-
- 11 रि<sup>9</sup> । ज्ञानानंतसदात्मकोपि भववत्कार्याय मा-
- 12 यातनुः । यं दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
- 13 लावसाने दिवं याताः[\*] श्रीहनुमदिभीषणसु-
- 14 खा जाताः कृतार्था<sup>10</sup> भुवि ।[1 ४\*] प्रहृष्टादिशिरोम-
- 15 णिच्छविरविप्रातर्भयुखारुणं भूषाहृत्-
- 16 <sup>11</sup>भिदस्मिन्स्मिलहरीशृंगाळिचुंगारितं । मंजीर-
- 17 क्कणितैर्मराळ्वनितामंजुस्वनैरचितं वंदे
- 18 रामपदारविंदमनघं वंदारकल्पदुमं ।[1 ५\*]

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

<sup>2</sup> K. °माधि°.

<sup>3</sup> In K. the *anusvāra* of °संभ्रम° is written twice.

<sup>4</sup> K. दरायाः, but perhaps corrected.

<sup>5</sup> K. वेदांत°.

<sup>6</sup> Read कृतार्था, as correctly in K.

<sup>7</sup> Read °मुदर, as correctly in K.

<sup>8</sup> Read निरृष्ट.

<sup>9</sup> Read °नव°.

<sup>10</sup> Read रिमां, as correctly in K.

<sup>11</sup> Read भिदस्मिन्.

- 19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राज-
- 20 न्यचूळिकारन्ननोराजितपदांबुजः ।[1 ६\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-
- 21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विदलवीनां गृह्णा नानारत्न-
- 22 विचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अष्टिः<sup>1</sup>
- 23 केवलनीरपूरनिलयस्त्रभाभ्यते सज्जनैः । रं-<sup>2</sup>
- 24 भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिवांरां निधिर्वारिधिः ।[1 ७\*]
- 25 आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिपशौर्यूपस्त्रमोका-
- 26 धरे वैरिस्तांतनिखातशंकरुदितो दीपः प्रता-
- 27 पांजुरः । पाताळाधरणी<sup>3</sup> वराहवपुषो दं-
- 28 द्वा विभिद्योदता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजय-
- 29 स्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ।[1 ८\*] महाप्रधान<sup>4</sup> श्रीसाळ्वति-<sup>5</sup>
- 30 श्मस्रचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेष्वास्त्राज्य-
- 31 मधितिष्ठति ।[1 ९\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्त्रसचिवः<sup>6</sup> कौडिन्यकुल-
- 32 शेखरः । वेमयामाख्यतनयराचयामाख्य-
- 33 नंदनः<sup>7</sup> ।[1 १०\*] विद्मो<sup>8</sup> नैकं<sup>9</sup> विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विददये-
- 34 सरायां पद्मावाणीविलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः
- 35 पद्मलाचोसहस्रैः । रम्यप्रासादहर्म्यैरतुल-
- 36 परिकरैरखहस्त्यादियानैस्त्रयज्ञेभ्यो विशेषं
- 37 समरविजयतस्त्राळ्वतिस्त्रस्य<sup>10</sup> नूनं ।[1 ११\*] पंकप्रवे-
- 38 शपरिभार्जनलज्जया किं पंकेरुहालयम-
- 39 पास्य भवन्मुखामं । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह सुषया
- 40 च वाष्ठा चौहत्तमस्य चतुरानन साळ्वतिं-<sup>11</sup>
- 41 म् ।[1 १२\*] समांगोपेतशक्तिचित्तयचतुरपायै-
- 42 कमंचोयसाळ्वे तिस्राख्ये कौडवीच्यां गजप-
- 43 त्तिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-
- 44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिस्त्रगाः क्षुत्पिपासाति-
- 45 खिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मार्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधि-
- 46 श्मासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ।[1 १३\*] १४३७ शकाब्दालु [1\*] सुगू-

<sup>1</sup> Read अष्टिः.

<sup>2</sup> Read सज्जनैः.

<sup>3</sup> Read पाताळाधरणी; in K. a small *anusvāra* has been added afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> K. ममहा; read महाप्रधानः.

<sup>5</sup> K. श्रीसाळ्वतिम्.

<sup>6</sup> K. श्रीसाळ्वतिम्.

<sup>7</sup> K. °यामा । लज्जनः.

<sup>8</sup> In K. between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *l* has been inserted.

<sup>9</sup> The *anusvāra* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>10</sup> K. °तिस्त्रस्य.

<sup>11</sup> K. °तिस्त्रस्य.

- 47 टंपलीनाः अक्ष[र\*]संज्ञा ।[1\*] साङ्गुवाकशकवत्सरग-  
 48 ष्णाषाडशअक्षरिवासरसौरी<sup>१</sup> । साङ्गुवतिअसचि-  
 49 वेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ।[1 १४\*] सा-  
 50 ङ्गुवाक अक्षरसंज्ञा । १४३७ शकवर्षालु ।[1\*] पु-  
 51 चारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-  
 52 थं चेह पपरत्र<sup>२</sup> सौख्यजनकास्थंतामकास्थ-  
 53 म तान् । आहत्तान् गणनातिवर्ति कृतवानासितु-  
 54 शीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालमौळिसचिव[:\*] श्रीसा-  
 55 ङ्गुवतिअप्रभुः ।[1 १५\*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो ना-  
 56 दिङ्कुलशेखरः । अस्ति 'तिअयमंचोशसम्भ-<sup>३</sup>  
 57 याल्मविवेकधीः ।[1 १६\*] कृष्णांबारुंधती ख्याता  
 58 भर्तुवाक्यमरुंधती । अनसूयैव सर्व-  
 59 च सानसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७\*]

## Second Face.

- 60 नादिङ्गुतिअयामाल्यः कळभी  
 61 कृष्णमांन्या । तत्पुत्रावप्य-  
 62 'यामाल्यगोपयामाल्यशेखरी ।[1 १८\*]  
 63 श्रीसाङ्गुवतिअसचिवभागिनेयो कु-  
 64 लोहहो । नादिङ्गुययामा-  
 65 ल्यगोपयामाल्यशेखरी ।[1 १९\*] अप्यो  
 66 नादिङ्गुययस्तावाप्यमूर्ति-  
 67 प्रचेतसौ । पश्चिमोदन्वदीयानद-  
 68 क्षिणोदन्वदीश्वरी ।[1 २०\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 69 ष्च तिमसचिवात्यल्लंकिता' चाम-  
 70 रे ।<sup>४</sup> चत्रं<sup>५</sup> यो विनिकोडगुत्तिकनक-  
 71 ष्चामृतपुराद्यक्षता<sup>६</sup> । मत्तेभाष्य-  
 72 पदातिचकुलमहासिनाधिपत्यं  
 73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरंधरत्वमग-  
 74 मन्नादिङ्गुययप्रभुः ।[1 २१\*] जंभ-

१ K. अक्षरसंज्ञ.

२ K. तिमय.

३ Read 'किता.

४ K. चत्रं; read कचं.

५ Read 'शुद्धं; K. 'सौरा.

६ Read 'सिन्धु', as correctly in K.

७ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

८ Read 'राज्यक्षता', as correctly in K.

९ Read परत्र, as corrected in K.

१० K. यामस्यगो.

- 75 हिटकुंभिकुंभहयसचिवशची-  
 76 चारुवद्येजकुंभव्यक्त्यासानु-<sup>१</sup>  
 77 लिप्तप्रसन्नमरमस्यणसोदकर्पू-  
 78 रपूरः । यत्कीर्तिः<sup>२</sup> कार्तिकेदुं<sup>३</sup> प-  
 79 रिहसति निजैः खेतमादितवादै-  
 80 स्योयं नादिङ्गुययप्रभुम-  
 81 णिरखिलस्तुत्यकीर्तिप्रतापः ।[1 २२\*] य-  
 82 'आटीघोटकीटीखरखुरदळित-  
 83 ष्चातलोहूतधूकीपाळीपाता-<sup>४</sup>  
 84 ङ्केळोक्तधरणिपले खड्गयुग्यस्य  
 85 बाहुः । जिह्वालाभोलभूष्ट-  
 86 हुजगपतिरिव प्रेक्षते युध्वरं-<sup>५</sup>  
 87 गे सोयं नादिङ्गुययप्रभु-  
 88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ।[1 २३\*]  
 89 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपश्च तुल्यावि-  
 90 ति कथं स्तुमः । एकसंतानवा-<sup>६</sup>  
 91 म्पूर्वसप्तसंतानवान् परः ।[1 २४\*] ए-  
 92 के चाद्याविता<sup>७</sup> ये चितरणनिगमा-  
 93 न् वेधसा सिंधुचंद्रप्राया जा-  
 94 थं प्रपन्नाः कति च पशुदृषहार-  
 95 जात्यातिमूढाः । धत्ते चाद्याप-<sup>८</sup>  
 96 यंस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-  
 97 यार्यः<sup>९</sup> करेभिः कल्पद्रुं कामधे-  
 98 नुं हृदि वदनदृशोसंद्रचिता-  
 99 मशी च ।[1 २५\*] <sup>१०</sup>यहैरिचोणिपालप्रकर-  
 100 पुरमहाचंद्रशालागृह्णांत[:\*].<sup>११</sup>

१ Read 'वचोव', as correctly in K.

२ K. यत्कीर्ति.

३ Read कार्तिकेदुं.

४ Read चेतिसा.

५ Read आटी.

६ Perhaps the actual reading is 'लोभुत्त', as in K.

७ Read युद्धः; the *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

८ K. 'संतान'.

९ Read चाद्यापिता, as correctly in K.

१० Read चाद्याप, as correctly in K.

११ Originally ष had been engraved instead of य, but it seems to have been corrected.

१२ The रि has possibly been corrected out of दि.

१३ K. 'गृह्णांत'.



- 101 ओखंडस्तंभकुंभजुगपतिह-<sup>1</sup>  
 102 ढालोढदेहाकवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-  
 103 ओहाः[\*] खलंतः<sup>2</sup> सपदि गतविषा  
 104 वैनतेयेन सद्यो खोमार्गं यां<sup>3</sup>  
 105 ति सोयं दिनमणिवितुतो मा-  
 106 ति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२६\*] ओकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 107 लमौकिसचिव[\*] ओसाळ्वतिष्मप्रभु-  
 108 जामातर्यवरे धुरंधरवहे<sup>4</sup> ओ-  
 109 गोपमंत्रोखरे । 'प्राधत्ताखिलको'<sup>5</sup>  
 110 डवीटिनगरीमाम्नाज्यरौरैय-<sup>7</sup>  
 111 कां<sup>8</sup> मत्तेभाखपदातिसैन्यकलितां<sup>9</sup>  
 112 पल्लङ्गिकां चामरे ।[। २८\*] ओकृष्णरा-  
 113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानओसाळ्व-<sup>10</sup>  
 114 तिष्मसचिवेश्वरभागिनैयः । ना-  
 115 दिङ्गुगोपसचिवो नयतत्ववे-<sup>11</sup>  
 116 दी ओकीडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरो-  
 117 [भ्र]त् ।[। २८\*] राघवायगणिते शकव-  
 118 [र्व] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां ।<sup>12</sup>  
 119 वप्रगोपुरमयेर्नव[ह\*]स्यैर्गो-<sup>13</sup>  
 120 पमंचितिलकेन सपर्याः<sup>14</sup> ॥ [२९\*]

## Third Face.

- 121 राघवाय १४४२ अक्षरमंत्र ।[।\*] शाकाब्दे पु-  
 122 रवेद्वार्धिशशिभर्गस्य<sup>5</sup> हृषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां  
 123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने ओकीडवीटीपुरे । नादिं-  
 124 ड्वाण्वगोपमंचितिलक[\*] ओसाळ्वतिष्मप्रभोजां-

<sup>1</sup> Read ओखंडस्तंभकुंभजुगपतिह-, as correctly in K.

<sup>2</sup> The subscript sign which I have read && is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else; in K. however, the reading ख is quite certain.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Read धुरंधरवहे. <sup>5</sup> Read प्राधत्ता.

<sup>6</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>7</sup> Read रौ, as in K. where रौ seems to have been corrected out of कां.

<sup>8</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>9</sup> K. 'प्रधान'; read 'प्रधान'. <sup>10</sup> Read 'तत्त्ववे-'.  
<sup>11</sup> Read 'वत्सरे'.

<sup>12</sup> The *anusvara* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line; K. 'ताचपुर्यां'.

<sup>13</sup> K. 'वहस्यै'. <sup>14</sup> Read सपर्या, as correctly in K. <sup>15</sup> K. 'वार्दिह'.

- 125 माता रघुनायकस्य कृतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-  
 126 धिं ।[। ३०\*] सुयोवलक्षणविभोषणजांबवन्निशुचु-  
 127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-  
 128 रिवारकमंगदेन रामं च गोपसचिवोक्तत सु-  
 129 प्रतिष्ठं ।[। ३१\*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा  
 130 ह्ययोध्या तता<sup>1</sup> शत्रुघ्नाधिकलक्षणा विजय-  
 131 ते ओकीडवीटीपुरी । सुयोवो हतुमान्निभीष-<sup>2</sup>  
 132 ण इह ओजांबवत्संगदी<sup>3</sup> रामं सावरणं प्र-  
 133 तिष्ठितमतावादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः<sup>4</sup> ।[। ३२\*] ओकीडवीटि-  
 134 पुरिनायक रामचंद्रः<sup>5</sup> किं चंद्रकां<sup>6</sup> समधि-  
 135 गत्य शशः कर्ककः । आयाति यावदिति साळ्व-  
 136 केतनत्वं धत्ते न चेत्कुत इदं गण्डध्वजस्य ।[। ३३\*] हा-  
 137 सप्तत्यधिकां नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधया-  
 138 मिणीः<sup>7</sup> । श्रीमत्साळ्वराघवाय महितो ना-  
 139 दिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः । प्रादादुनुवनामकं सु-  
 140 फलितं सोमाचतुष्कान्वितं<sup>8</sup> ।<sup>9</sup> सर्वाक्रांततया<sup>9</sup>  
 141 समस्तमासमाष्टैश्चर्यभोगान्वितं<sup>10</sup> ।[। ३४\*] सालिवा-  
 142 हनशकांक्युवाब्दे सालिवाहनसमोप-  
 143 यमंत्रो । साळ्वतिष्मसचिवाद्दुदवापल्कीं-  
 144 डवीटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मीं ।[। ३५\*] शाकाब्दे नववर्षा-  
 145 धिवसुधागणेश्वरे वत्सरे सुचेचं विनिर्कोड-  
 146 कुंतिसरितोर्मये<sup>11</sup> कियन्माचतः । कृत्वा ग्राम-  
 147 वरं तटाककलितं चाप्यापुराख्यान्वितं<sup>12</sup> प्रा-  
 148 दादंगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिङ्गुय्य-  
 149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६\*] अनंतगोपिनाथाय<sup>13</sup> रीपिचर्द्धनिवा-  
 150 सिने । प्रादाद्रीपवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुय्य-

<sup>1</sup> Read तथा, as correctly in K.

<sup>2</sup> K. हनुमादि.

<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीजांबवत्संगदी or श्रीजांबवत्संगदी or श्रीजांबवत्संगदी.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'समाश्रित', as probably corrected in K.

<sup>5</sup> K. पुरना; read 'चंद्र'.

<sup>6</sup> Read चंद्रकां, as correctly in K.

<sup>7</sup> Read सणीः, as correctly in K.; the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>8</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>9</sup> K. 'क्रांततया'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'समसमा', as correctly in K.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'संघे', as correctly in K.

<sup>12</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> K. 'अनंत'.

- 151 मन्विराट् । [1 ३७\*] महेरालपुरमाधविदेव्यै वप्रसिं-  
 152 द्रजलदीदुगशाके<sup>१</sup> । पैणिसिद्धिमदिशत्यं-<sup>२</sup>  
 153 र्णं ग्राममावसुधमप्ययमंचो । [1 ३८\*] ब्रह्मा-  
 154 निवेदशयिगस्यशकेश्वरेन्दे नादिंङ्गुयप्यसचिवी वि-  
 155 निकीडुर्गे । रामेश्वराय घनमंटपवप्र-  
 156 सौधारम्यालय<sup>३</sup> समतनोत्तमतारसन्नः । [1 ३९\*]  
 157 'शाकेश्वरिनिगमेंदुगदातृवधे<sup>४</sup> नादिंङ्गुति-<sup>५</sup>  
 158 श्वसचिवात्मभवाप्ययार्यः । शौकारनामस-  
 159 रिदंतिकनदिपाटिशामे शिवालयमनर्थ-  
 160 मसावकार्षीत् ॥ [४०\*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळिच्छविशिखाके-  
 161 ळोभराळोहतं भूषोङ्गासिभुजंगपुंगवल-  
 162 लनाळास्यशाशान्वितं<sup>६</sup> । वैरित्रातशिरोमिळिंद-  
 163 वनितासंदोहसंभानितं ।<sup>७</sup> वंदे दक्षमखा-  
 164 रिपादकमलं बृदारबृदारचितं । [1 ४१\*] दक्षप्र-  
 165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेघमूर्धायते क्षणात्<sup>८</sup> । यहीरकरुणा-  
 166 वेशास्य वो वीरेश्वरोवतं<sup>९</sup> । [1 ४२\*] शाकादे निधिरामवेदध-  
 167 रणीगस्येश्वरे वत्सरे श्रावस्थां विनिकीडशीमनि<sup>१०</sup> सु-  
 168 दालिसं<sup>११</sup> शिलामंटपं । ग्रामे नूतुलपाटि-  
 169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायदिशत् लक्ष्मीनायकसा-<sup>१२</sup>  
 170 ळ्वतिश्वविभवे<sup>१३</sup> नादिंङ्गुयप्यप्रभुः । [1 ४३\*] शाकादे गग-  
 171 नाद्विदेधरणीगस्ये<sup>१४</sup> च संवत्सरे विख्याते बहु-  
 172 दान्यनामनि<sup>१५</sup> महात्मादिंङ्गुयप्यप्रभुः । क्रां-  
 173 जागस्यमहेश्वराय विपुलं रम्यं महामं-  
 174 टपं लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिश्वविभवे पुण्याय ल-

<sup>१</sup> The *gudi* has been added afterwards; the *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line; K. indistinct.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'मलदीदु', as correctly in K.

<sup>३</sup> Read सौधरम्यां.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'मधाट', as correctly in K.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'वचासावितं.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'संभानितं, as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>७</sup> For the *aksharas* जापं to चपां something else seems to have been originally engraved.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'वत्, as correctly in K.

<sup>९</sup> Read धालिस, as correctly in K.

<sup>१०</sup> K. 'तिंम', or perhaps 'तिंम'.

<sup>११</sup> Read धान्यं, as correctly in K.; ना has been corrected from का.

<sup>१२</sup> K. indistinct; read 'श्वरिपू-.

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'शाकेभवं, as correctly in K.

<sup>१४</sup> K. 'तिंम'.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'उसीमनि, as correctly in K.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'मलदीदु'.

<sup>१७</sup> Read 'मलदीदु'.

- 175 त्वादियत् ॥ [४४\*] निधिशचिनिगमस्यानस्यशाकेक्षरादे प्रभु-  
 176 वरविनिकीडोदोशनादिंङ्गुयप्यः । निजजनकजन-  
 177 न्योर्निस्त्वैकुंठसिधे<sup>१</sup> कारणिककरमेरान्<sup>२</sup> सर्वमान्या-  
 178 नकार्षीत् । [1 ४५\*] शाकादे निधिविद्वेधरणीगस्येश्वरे वत्स-  
 179 रे श्रावस्थां विधुवासरे शमदिने<sup>३</sup> नादिंङ्गुयप्यप्र-  
 180 भुः । प्रादात्मज्ञवराप्रहारमचलं सर्वधिसंपू-<sup>४</sup>  
 181 रितं तद्रामाधिपवंशकेशवरेमानाघाय वो-  
 182 धात्मने । [1 ४६\*] शाकादे निधिविद्वेधरणीगस्येश्वरे वत्स-  
 183 रे वैशाख्यां विनिकीडनामनि पुरे रम्यं महा-

## Fourth Face.

- 184 मंटपं । प्रादादंगडिगोपिनाथ-  
 185 हरये प्राकारमत्युन्नतं लक्ष्मीना-  
 186 यकसाळ्वतिश्वविभवे<sup>५</sup> नादिंङ्गुय-  
 187 प्यप्रभुः । [1 ४७\*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै [व\*] प्र-<sup>६</sup>  
 188 सुचततरं प्रविधाय । नागवर्जज-  
 189 लर्षोदुगशाके वर्षे एनमदितीप्य-<sup>७</sup>  
 190 मंचो । [1 ४८\*] शाकादे वसुवद्विदेधरणीगे वर्षे  
 191 च दाचाहये<sup>८</sup> नादिंङ्गुपपदातुक्-  
 192 रमखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-<sup>९</sup>  
 193 ध्यासानलपाटिकादिविधये त्भ्य-  
 194 स्मटाकं<sup>१०</sup> महत्<sup>११</sup> शाखारामवरेषुसा-  
 195 धनमदात्तादिंङ्गुयप्यप्रभुः<sup>१२</sup> । [1 ४९\*] उ-  
 196 <sup>१३</sup>त्युक्तासोखवेत्कमलवनमिळद्राजर्ष-<sup>१४</sup>  
 197 सावतंसं क्रौकारिकोचचक्रकम-  
 198 गतिमिधुनक्रोडखिलामनोश्च<sup>१५</sup> । पा-  
 199 रावारांककारं तटपुटघटितोत्ता-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'सिधे'; K. illegible.

<sup>२</sup> The third क of this word is expressed by the old sign. K. seems to read 'ककर' by correction.

<sup>३</sup> K. सुभं.

<sup>४</sup> Read सर्वधिं; K. illegible.

<sup>५</sup> K. probably 'तिंम'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'माधवि'.

<sup>७</sup> K. वप्रं.

<sup>८</sup> Read वर्षे एनमदिताप्य-; in K. probably corrected.

<sup>९</sup> Read धायां, as correctly in K.

<sup>१०</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>११</sup> Read तैथ्यसटाकं, as correctly in K.

<sup>१२</sup> Read रफुलो'.

<sup>१३</sup> K. धनमधानां.

<sup>१४</sup> Read रफुलो'.

<sup>१५</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'मिधुन', as correctly in K.

- 200 लतालं तटाकं कृत्वा नादिङ्गुय्यप्र-  
 201 भुरकृततरां विप्रसादातुक्रुरीः<sup>1</sup> [॥ ५०\*]  
 202 शाकाब्दे गजराजवादिमहिगे दात्रा-<sup>2</sup>  
 203 ख्यवर्षे घन प्रासाद नवह्रिमकुं-<sup>3</sup>  
 204 भकलितं रम्यं मञ्जामंटपं । शोभन्य-<sup>4</sup>  
 205 गळशैलनाथहरये नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभु-<sup>5</sup>  
 206 यामं मंगळशैलनामकमाप प्रादात्<sup>6</sup>  
 207 वृत्तिंहाय च । [॥ ५१\*] शाकाब्दे ब्रह्मवर्द्धिमु-  
 208 तिशाशगणिते चैश्वराख्ये वर्षे<sup>7</sup> रेटूरिग्राम-<sup>8</sup>  
 209 शोभन्यवयुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्यपुरा-  
 210 ख्यं । दत्त्वा<sup>9</sup> ग्रामं द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपकृतिकृते शा-  
 211 सि सस्यादिसिधौ<sup>11</sup> प्रादात्नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुमणि-  
 212 रुदधिप्रख्यमेकं तटाकं । [॥ ५२\*] अथापुरे वार्दिसम-  
 213 स्तटाकं<sup>12</sup> पद्माकरीयं द्विजराजवासः । यत्रे<sup>13</sup> वनं  
 214 चाच्युतशालिधाम श्रीभे पयःपूर्णत-  
 215 या नदीक<sup>14</sup> । [॥ ५३\*] नादिङ्गुसोमि कियतीमव-  
 216 युत्य भूमिमप्यापुरं च विरचा-<sup>16</sup>  
 217 ख्य तटाकयुक्तं<sup>16</sup> [॥ ५४\*] नादिङ्गुय्यप्र-  
 218 [चि]वीदित तद्विजेभ्यो<sup>17</sup> ब्रह्माम्निवार्धि-  
 219 शशिशाकगुणेश्वरेन्द्रे ॥ [५४\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-  
 220 मवेदधरणीगणेश्वरे वत्सरे यैर्चू-  
 221 रादत्तयुत्य<sup>18</sup> भूमिसुचितां प-  
 222 ज्ञाकरालं कृतं । ग्रामं केसरिपाटि-  
 223 पुट्टिदशकप्रायं विधायादिशये-  
 224 [चू]र्योभक्तारसिंहहरये ना-  
 225 [दि]ङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । [॥ ५५\*] अनसगोपिना-

<sup>1</sup> Read क्रुरी, as correctly in K.      <sup>2</sup> Read वाधिंमहिने घात्रा, as correctly in K.  
<sup>3</sup> The *anusvra* stands at the beginning of the next line.  
<sup>4</sup> The *anusvra* stands at the beginning of the next line.  
<sup>5</sup> K. inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after प्रभु.  
<sup>6</sup> Read प्रादात्.  
<sup>7</sup> Read ख्ये च वर्षे, as correctly in K.      <sup>8</sup> K. रेटूरि.  
<sup>9</sup> Read शोभ, as correctly in K.      <sup>10</sup> Read दत्त्वा.  
<sup>11</sup> Read वाधिंसमस्तटाकः, as correctly in K.      <sup>12</sup> K. विरच्ये; read विरचा.  
<sup>13</sup> Read नदीकः, as correctly in K.      <sup>14</sup> Read नदी.  
<sup>15</sup> K. दात्रेभ्यो; read तद्विजेभ्यो.      <sup>16</sup> Read रावप.  
<sup>17</sup> Read युत्ये.  
<sup>18</sup> Read युत्ये.

- 226 [शा]य रोपिचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादाद्गो-  
 227 पवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभु-  
 228 राट्<sup>1</sup> । [॥ ५६\*] शाकाब्दे वसुवर्द्धिवेदधरणीग-  
 229 ख्ये च दात्रन्दके<sup>2</sup> वैशाख्यां विनिकोडसो-  
 230 मनि सुधो<sup>3</sup> नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । वा-  
 231 [सि]हाय च भर्तृपूडिमखिलं ग्रामं<sup>4</sup>  
 232 खनामाकितं प्रादाद्रायण-<sup>5</sup>  
 233 भास्कराय 'निधुषेष्टैख्यभोगान्वितं [॥ ५७\*]  
 234 शाकाब्दे गजवर्द्धिवेदशशिगे' वर्षे च दा-  
 235 चाङ्गय<sup>6</sup> श्रावण्यां विनिकोडसोमि<sup>7</sup>  
 236 कृतधोर्नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । येर्चू-  
 237 राववयुत्य गोपपुरमित्याख्यं [दि]-  
 238 जेभ्यादिश<sup>10</sup> ग्रामं केसरिपाटिपुट्टिदश[क]-<sup>11</sup>  
 239 प्रायं तटाकोज्वलं<sup>12</sup> ॥ [५८\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-<sup>13</sup>  
 240 मवर्द्धिवेदधरणीगणेश्वरे वत्सरे कार्तिकां<sup>14</sup>  
 241 विनिकोडसोमि सुकृती नादिङ्गुय्य-  
 242 प्रभुः । प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं<sup>15</sup> च सकलं  
 243 ग्रामं खनामाकितं कौडिन्यान्व-  
 244 ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैख्यभोगान्वितं<sup>17</sup>  
 245 । [॥ ५९\*] यावज्जङ्गुसुताचियंबकसुता-<sup>18</sup>  
 246 श्रीसंज्ञपुत्रीपयः[\*]पूरास्ते पुनते भु-  
 247 वं च सकलां श्रीकोडवीटोपुरी । या-  
 248 वत्काव्यसुधां वुराशिलहरोहेलां  
 249 विधत्ते कविस्तावत्वाक्ववतिभ्यकोर्तिलति-

<sup>1</sup> This verse is a repetition of v. 37, and occurs in K. once only.

<sup>2</sup> K. दात्रन्दके; read दात्रन्दके.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Read विदुषे, as correctly in K.      <sup>5</sup> K. वैशख्ये.

<sup>6</sup> K. कोडसोमि.      <sup>7</sup> K. वैशख्ये; read वैशख्ये.

<sup>8</sup> Read पुट्टि; in K. a very small ट् seems to have been added afterwards.

<sup>9</sup> Read कोज्वलं.      <sup>10</sup> K. निधिरा.

<sup>11</sup> K. रेटूरि.      <sup>12</sup> K. प्रादाधन्नं; read प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं.

<sup>13</sup> K. कार्तिकां; read कार्तिकां.      <sup>14</sup> K. पर्युषेष्टै.

<sup>15</sup> K. पर्युषेष्टै.      <sup>16</sup> The *anusvra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>17</sup> In K. the ता of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akshara*; 'विद्यावक', perhaps corrected.

<sup>18</sup> In K. the *visarga* was inserted afterwards; read श्रीसंज्ञ.

- 250 का 'पुष्पत्वजसं भुवि ॥ [६०\*] श्रीकृष्णचोष्णिपा-  
 251 लप्रचुरतरमह्वाराज्यधौरियनो-  
 252 तिप्रागल्भ्यस्त्राढ्वतिंस्त्रप्रभुवरति-  
 253 लको राचयामास्वसुतः । पाचं-<sup>3</sup>  
 254 द्रादित्यतारस्त्रितरमदिश्लो-<sup>4</sup>  
 255 इकावूरिनामख्यातग्रामं चि-  
 256 कूटेश्वरनिटसदृशे विखलोकेखरा-  
 257 य ॥ [६१\*] श्री श्री श्री जेसुतु ॥

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity !

(Verse 1.) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it were a woman that had fallen in love with him<sup>1</sup> and were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body !

(V. 2.) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious ! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,<sup>2</sup> and (thereby) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth).

(V. 3.) The lord of Kākūja who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (blue) hands with the tender (white) arms of Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of mandra flowers<sup>3</sup> entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune !

(V. 4.) The holy Rāma (who is identical with) Hari, who may be known from the Vēdānta;<sup>4</sup> who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,<sup>5</sup> and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,<sup>6</sup> wears an illusory body; at whose sight even his onemies, such as Rāvapa and the rest, went to heaven<sup>7</sup> at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhīshana, felt perfect satisfaction on earth, — let him grant welfare to the worlds !

(V. 5.) I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Rāma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

<sup>1</sup> Read पुष्पत्वजसं.

<sup>2</sup> The following verse is not in K.

<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>5</sup> The subscript sign of the first *akṣara* of this line is very indistinct.

<sup>6</sup> For the reading of K. see the text.

<sup>7</sup> Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact.'

<sup>9</sup> As Lakshmi is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Brythrina Indica*.

<sup>10</sup> Compare *Vālmīki-śloka-dāmas*. . . *Vishvas* in l. 186 of the Pithāpuram inscription of Prithivīvara; above, Vol. IV, p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *ananda-jñāna-ananda-sad* corresponding to the well known *sach-chid-ananda* which in such texts as the *Rāmāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* is frequently applied to Rāma-Vishnu.

<sup>12</sup> *I.e.* Indra.

<sup>13</sup> *I.e.* obtained salvation.

(gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened by the early rays of the sun; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunder-bolt of the slayer of Vṛitra)<sup>1</sup> as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

(V. 6.) There is (a king) called the glorious Krishnarāya, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 7.) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king Krishna the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines;<sup>2</sup> voracious people (therefor) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as *ambhūdhih*, *juladhīh*, *payūdhih*, *udadhīh*, *vāram nidhih*, *vāridhih*.

(V. 8.) In the court of Kālīnga is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king Krishna, (resembling) a stake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant spot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishnu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

(V. 9.) The great chancellor, the glorious Sālva-Timma, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king Krishnarāya.

(V. 10.) The glorious minister Sālva-Timma, the best of the family of Kauṇḍinya, is the son of the minister Rācha, the son of the minister Vēma.

(V. 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from Sālva-Timma) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with Padmā<sup>3</sup> or Vāṇī,<sup>4</sup> the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, etc.; (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) Sālva-Timma differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

(V. 12.) Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that Padmā gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law Vāṇī,<sup>5</sup> O Sālva-Timma ! (who on that account art both) Chauhattamalla (and) Chaturānana?<sup>6</sup>

(V. 13.) When Sālva (or the hawk), surnamed Timma, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government),<sup>7</sup> after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍaviṭi, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),<sup>8</sup> the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Indra.

<sup>2</sup> Or, ocean, *raindhara* being a common term for ocean.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the goddess of riches.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* the goddess of learning.

<sup>5</sup> Vāṇī (Saru-vatī) is called here the daughter-in-law of Padmā (Lakshmi), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law.

<sup>6</sup> Saru-vatī is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of Chaturānana (Brahman), while Lakshmi is the consort of Vishnu. Chauhattamalla, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of Vishnu, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. Chauhattalla seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaturhasta*; compare *Chaturbhūja*, a common name of Vishnu-Krishnu.

<sup>7</sup> The four means (*upāya*) are *dāna*, *dāna*, *bhēda*, and *danḍa*; the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhāva*, *utāha* and *mantra*; the seven constituents of government (*aṅga*) are *soḍmin*, *amātya*, *senāpā*, *kōṭa*, *rāshtra*, *dhana* and *balā*; compare *Amarakōśa*, II, 8, 17; 13; 20. The four numbers give the date 1437.

<sup>8</sup> I have found *para* with the value of 3 only in the list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. It occurs in the same meaning in v. 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities built by Maya and destroyed by Siva.

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (*rain-giving*) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 14.) On Saturday, the Hariṅāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Śāḷuva (Śāḷuvāṅka), the town of Koṇḍavīṭi, the excellent hill-fort,<sup>2</sup> was taken by the minister Śāḷva-Timma.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 15.) (*The procreation of*) a son, (*the planting of*) a grove, (*the construction of*) a tank, (*the consecration of*) a temple, the marriage (*of a girl*) to a Brāhman, (*the hoarding of*) a treasure, and (*the composition of*) a poem are the seven *samīdanaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one; the glorious lord Śāḷva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 16.) There is, born in the lineage of Kausika, the best of the family of Nādiṅḍa, an excellent minister, Timma, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 17.) Kṛishṇāmbā, renowned as Arundhatī,<sup>6</sup> because she does not oppose (*arundhatī*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (*anasūyā*).

(V. 18.) The minister Nādiṅḍa-Timma was married to Kṛishṇāmbā; his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

(V. 19.) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Śāḷva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nādiṅḍa-Appa and (Nādiṅḍa-)Gōpa.

(V. 20.) Appa,<sup>7</sup> who manifests himself in the waters and (*who bears the epithet*) Prachētas, and Nādiṅḍa-Appa, who is easily accessible<sup>8</sup> and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

<sup>1</sup> In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri-pura-jaladhī-kṣhmasu gūḍhaṁ pralīndh* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza: 1437 Śak-*dhāḍhu* [1\*] *gūḍhaṁ pralīndh akṣha[ra\*]-sāḅjā, i.e.* '1437 Śaka years; *su gūḍhaṁ pralīndh* is a notation by letters.' We have therefore to take *s(u)* as 7, *g(d)* as 3, *dh(ā)* as 4, and *p(ra)* as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akṣhara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 2. As the reading *pralīndh* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Koṇḍavīṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *pralīnda* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gūḍhaṁ pralīndh* are quite superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> With *saga-śjāṁ* compare the terms *duṛy-gūḍhā śrīvabhāṁṣa* and *giri-varaḥ* applied to a hill-fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka; *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. p. 167. The nenter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Koṇḍavīṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *śāḷuvāṅka* is a chronogram: *śāḷuvāṅka akṣhara-sāḅjā* | 1437 Śaka-*varāḍhu*. It appears that *s(d)* is 7, *j(a)* 3, *v(dh)* 4, and *k(a)* 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *j* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *j* as equal to *ḷ* or *l*.

<sup>4</sup> The seven *samīdanas* or *samīdānis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Gaṅapāṅḍavaram inscription of Gaṅapāṅḍa, above, Vol. III. p. 88, in v. 9 of the Vānapalli plates and v. 17 of the Naḅṅpūru plates of Anna-Vēma, *ibid.* pp. 61 and 239; compare the notes of Dr. Hultsch on the first two passages.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Bāma. With *chimsay-dīman* compare the epitheta *jūḍa-dnanta-sad-dīmaka* and *śōḍa-dīman* applied to Bāma in vv. 4 and 46.

<sup>6</sup> This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Kṛishṇāmbā really was called Arundhatī. In the Koṇḍavīṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *sūsam* has therefore been substituted for *kāyāḍḍa*.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Varuṇa.

<sup>8</sup> *Appa-mēṛti*, as applied to Nādiṅḍa-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' *i.e.* 'who is easily accessible.'

(V. 21.) It was the lord Nādiṅḍa-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*<sup>1</sup> and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikōṇḍa, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Mēru),<sup>2</sup> of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(V. 22.) (*The man*) whose fame a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Sachi<sup>3</sup> which resemble<sup>4</sup> the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambha<sup>5</sup>—derides the moon in the month Kārttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,<sup>6</sup>—that man is this excellent lord Nādiṅḍa-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men.

(V. 23.) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pātāla world<sup>7</sup> by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nādiṅḍa-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V. 24.) How can we praise Gōpa and Nādiṅḍa-Gōpa as being alike to each other?<sup>8</sup> (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *samīdana*, while the latter has seven of them.<sup>9</sup>

(V. 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (*or cold*), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (*but*) the honourable Gōpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

(V. 26.) Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to him,<sup>10</sup> becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vainatēya,<sup>11</sup> the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky;—brilliant is he, this Nādiṅḍa-Gōpa who is praised by the sun.<sup>12</sup>

(V. 27.) The glorious lord Śāḷva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and

<sup>1</sup> [Compare above, Vol. IV. No. 4, verse 5.— E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> [The city on the mythical mountain Mēru is Amarāvati, the residence of god Indra. Herethis poetical term is applied to Amarāvati in the Kistna district.— E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> The wife of Indra.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'having for companions.'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Indra.

<sup>6</sup> If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nija-śōḍim-śdvaita-vḍḍaiḥ* instead of *nijaiḥ śōḍim-śdvaita-vḍḍaiḥ*, which, however, is supported also by the Koṇḍavīṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

<sup>7</sup> Pātāla is the abode of the serpents.

<sup>8</sup> As to the seven *samīdanas* compare the note on v. 15. In the case of Gōpa, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa, *samīdana* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Kṛishṇa, on the advice of his wife Satyabhāmā, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Pārijāta. But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up; compare *e.g.* v. 16 of the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, above, Vol. III. p. 63, where the Pārijāta tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v. 3 of the Bīṛagunṅa grant of Saṅgama II., *ibid.* p. 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general; see also the note of Mr. H. Krishna Sastry on this passage. There is hardly any allusion to Samīdana-Gōpāla, one of the names of Kṛishṇa, when worshipped as giver of progeny.

<sup>9</sup> Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood. The towns of Gōpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes. The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun.

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* Garuda. This bird must have been the device on Gōpa's banner (compare v. 33 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies.

<sup>11</sup> The sun is grateful to Gōpa whose banner saved his horses.

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Koṇḍavīṭi, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris*.

(V. 28.) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious Sāḷva-Timma, the chancellor (*pradhāna*) of the glorious Krishnarāya, the first among kings,—the minister Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of Koṇḍavīṭi.

(V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya the excellent minister Gōpa showed his veneration for (*the god*) Rāghava in Achalapuri by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.<sup>1</sup>

V. 30 records the setting-up of an image of Raghunāyaka.

(V. 31.) Rāma, the husband of Sitā,<sup>2</sup> with a circle<sup>3</sup> consisting of Sugrīva, Lakshmaṇa, Vibhishapa, Jāmbavat, Bharata together with Śatrughna, Hanumat and Āngada, were duly set up by the minister Gōpa.

(V. 32.) Possessed of Sitā and Rāma, Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakshmaṇa, this excellent city of Koṇḍavīṭi is flourishing (*like*) Ayōdhya; (*but*) here are (*also*) Sugrīva, Hanumat, Vibhishapa, Jāmbavat and Āngada, (*for*) the lord Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa set up Rāma with his circle.

(V. 33.) O Rāmachandra, glorious lord of the city Koṇḍavīṭi, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*śalva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the Garuda as his emblem?<sup>4</sup>

V. 34 records the grant of a village to Sāḷva-Rāghava.

(V. 35.) In the year Yuvan, marked as Sālivāhana-Śaka,<sup>5</sup> the minister Appa, who is equal to Sālivāhana, obtained the regentship of the city of Koṇḍavīṭi from the minister Sāḷva-Timma.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram 'Rāghavāya 1443 akshara-saṅgīta.' This time it shows nothing peculiar, *v(d)* being 2, *gh(a)* 4, *v(d)* 4, and *y(a)* 1.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to mean 'with Sitā on his lap.'

<sup>3</sup> *Sapariedraka* is apparently the same as *śvaraspa* in the next verse. *śvaraspa* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of Rāma's followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Rāmadrōḍāpanīya-Upaniṣad*, v. 49 ff., that Rāma is surrounded (*droḍā*, vv. 55, 56) by five circles, called *dvaraspa* in Nārāyaṇa's *Dhīpikā*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (Hanumat), Sugrīva, Bharata, Vibhishapa, Lakshmaṇa, Āngada, Arimardana (Śatrughna) and Jāmbavat (vv. 58, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. Sitā is not mentioned in the description of the Upaniṣad, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on Rāma's lap; compare also v. 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *śaḍa-dakṣiṇyāḥ*, *agrataḥ* (v. 50), *paśchimā* (v. 51), *āgnyāddiśu* (v. 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v. 68 ff.) he speaks only of *madhyā*, *taḍpāśvā*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* either Viṣṇu or Sāḷva-Timma. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, Sāḷva-Rāghava, mentioned in the next verse; compare vv. 41, 42 which in a similar way praise Śiva Virēśvara mentioned in v. 48. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of Sāḷva-Timma, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as Nādiṇḍla-Timma, etc., the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether Sāḷva in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the Sāḷvas or Śāḷvas, must be left undecided; compare Winternitz, *Manirapḍāha*, p. 111i. On the other hand, in the titles *Garuda Kaṭṭhri Śāḷva*, borne e.g. by Narasimhaḍāya of Vijaya-nagara and Veṅkaṭa I. of Karpāṭa (*South-Ind. Inscrip.* Vol. I. pp. 85, 131), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Śāḷva-śāḷva*; *ibid.* p. 132), *śāḷva* is clearly only a *śalva*. According to Dr. Hultzsch it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuda*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

<sup>5</sup> As to the chronogram see the remarks on p. 112 above.

Vv. 36-40 record various grants.

(V. 41.) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,<sup>1</sup> which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees.

(V. 42.) Let that Virēśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajāpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram!<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 43-49 record various grants.

(V. 50.) Having made at Ātukūru a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nādiṇḍla-Appa presented it completely to the Brāhmaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 51 and 52 record two grants.

(V. 53.) This tank at Appāpura, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,<sup>4</sup> became a forest, a field of rampant paddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water.

Vv. 54-59 record various grants.

(V. 60.) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍavīṭi,<sup>5</sup> as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sāḷva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

V. 61 records a grant by Sāḷva-Timma.

(L. 257.) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajāpati, the father of his wife Satī, decapitated his father-in-law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram.

<sup>3</sup> I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*rdjakama-dvāṣṭha*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mīḥasa-kṛōḍa-khēḍa*) takes place, where a champion (*śakakāra*) appears, and where loud applause (*uttāla-tāla*) is heard.

<sup>4</sup> *Devijardya* seems to be meant for *rdjakama*.

<sup>5</sup> The daughter of Jahnu is the Gōḍā. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gōḍāvarī which rises on mount Tryambaka; compare the verse in Rudrabhāṭṭa's commentary on the *Paṇḍyaḥṭṭa*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 818a:

*Yatrāyātā Tryambaka-parvatāch-cha Gōḍāvarī Sindhuśāḍāna yuktā |  
tatrā-dati Gōḍā-tāṭa-madhya-āḍā Śaṭkṣhṭak-dhyanā nagaram suramyam |*

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya; in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, I, 45, 104, the Gōḍāvarī therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishṇā, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Koṇḍavīṭi inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), where *Kṛishṇā* has been inserted instead of *Sahya*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise; even in the dry geographical description of the *Vāyupurāṇa* the rivers rising on mount Mahēndra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishṇā purifies the city (*part*) of Koṇḍavīṭi is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Koṇḍavīṭi and the river being more than twenty miles.

## B.—Kāsā Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT.<sup>1</sup>*Fourth Face.*

255 . . . . . 'याके वस्त्रनिवेदे'<sup>3</sup>  
 256 दुगस्थेगस्त्रेशमंतपं । नक्षपाटौ सु-  
 257 धालिसं जतवानप्यमंभिराट् ॥ [६०\*] श्री  
 258 श्री श्री जियुनू' [॥\*]

No. 22.— KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF  
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA ;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1442.

By H. LÜDBERS, PH.D. ; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of this inscription<sup>4</sup> were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahāra* at *Konḍavidu*. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ ".—The alphabet is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.<sup>6</sup> Several times *ka* appears here in the old form ; see e.g. ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*) ; 27, 111 (*kā*) ; 142, 146 (*ki*) ; 11 (*kī*) ; 17, 157 (*ku*) ; 7 (*kri*) ; 11 (*kā*) ; 142 (*kku*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kē* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vānapalli plates ; see ll. 69 (*sha*) ; 24 (*sh̄ha*) ; 33 (*ksh̄mā*). *ḷa* appears throughout in the form of the Bitraguṇṭa grant and the Vānapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vārān nidh̄ir*), *dhi* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *d̄h̄ha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *ḡha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhā*, *bhu*, *bhō* in l. 163, and in *bhri* in l. 5, 59, and *bhyā* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryā* in l. 20 and *rmyai* in ll. 28, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *ro* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.—The language is Sanskrit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu.<sup>7</sup> With exception of the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 108, the Sanskrit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout.—The orthography calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k*, *g*, *ch*, *t*, *d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anusvāra* ; exceptions are *śam̄kur* (l. 20), *-ām̄kuraḥ* (l. 21), *-ām̄ka* (l. 34), *saptāṅgō-* (l. 29), *pañcā-* (l. 107), *mam̄dāra* (l. 12), *Maiṅdavōlum* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *m̄k* ll. 127, 145 ; *m̄g* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158 ; *m̄ch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157 ; *m̄d* ll. 111, 121, 135). *ḡ* also is doubled in *śrīkham̄ḡḡa* (l. 76), *Kom̄ḡḡaviḡḡi* (ll. 98, 111), and *dh* in *baṅdh̄dhushu* (l. 40), *-ḡruṅdh̄dh̄at̄* (l. 41) ; compare also *ch̄im̄tta paṅdh̄dh̄u* for *paṅḡḡu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *ttr*

<sup>1</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.<sup>2</sup> Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription.<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>4</sup> Read जियुनु ; after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know.<sup>5</sup> No. 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.<sup>6</sup> This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *aksharas* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.<sup>8</sup> The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

after *anusvāra* in the word *mantrin* in ll. 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll. 40, 92. Final *anusvāra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-ākaravāṃ ggaṭāḥ* (l. 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *trīṭaya* (l. 29), *putrā-* (l. 35), *kāṭṭri* (l. 43), *putrāo* (l. 44), *dārumam* (l. 7), *pāyādā-raghū-* (l. 8), *kālpādruṃ* (l. 72), *dāyō-* (l. 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tava* (l. 89) and *ujvalataraṃ* (l. 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ārka* (l. 78), *mārggayamitā* (l. 33), *mārggam* (l. 80), *mārcchhan* (l. 78), *-ātivartti* (l. 38), *kīrttiḥ* (l. 50), *kīrtti* (ll. 54, 106), *harmmayir* (ll. 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppīṃchchi* (l. 121). *dāh* is always written *dhāh*. A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *prapaṃnāḥ* (l. 68), *-ātikhīṃnāḥ* (l. 32) and some Telugu words in ll. 119, 125, 161. In *amritapālakunnu* (l. 119 f.) and *kārāmaḥḥu* (l. 133), the double *l* is expressed by *l+l*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskrit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *prahh-ēmdrā-* (l. 3) and *grāmhyā* (l. 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jinhālā-* (for *jihvālā-*; l. 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *mh* in *siṃhvāsānā-* (l. 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are always written *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna*; compare ll. 95, 116; 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by Nādiṅḍa-Gōpa, the governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, during the reign of Kṛishnarāya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Maṅgalagiri and Kāṣā pillar inscriptions edited above, p. 108 ff. Up to v. 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv. 1, 3 and 7),<sup>1</sup> among which only v. 7 deserves to be noticed, as Kṛishnarāya is styled here a descendant of Yadu. This is apparently a mistake of the author; for, though Yadu was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Kṛishnarāya belonged, traced their origin back to Yadu's younger brother Thirvasu.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gōpa was governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, the verses about Appa's dignities<sup>5</sup> being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nādiṅḍa-Gōpa. V. 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv. 27-28 record that in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of Śāḷva-Timma, the minister of king Kṛishnarāya, an exceedingly high temple (*prāsāda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalāṣa*), a gate-tower (*gōpura*), a wall (*prākāra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-maṇḍapa*), to the holy Rāmabhadra, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *śiyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,<sup>4</sup> to Rāma in the town of Koṇḍaviḍu for the benefit of Śāḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>5</sup> V. 29 adds that, by order of Śāḷva-Timma, he assigned to the temple of the holy Rāghava, the lord of the town of Yajñavāṭi, the customs<sup>6</sup> on all the roads in the country of Koṇḍaviḍu and the village of Maindāvōlu, at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of Lemballe.

The Sanskrit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Śāḷva-Timma (30) found also in the Maṅgalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahōpādhyāya*, who

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 1 and 3 are in praise of Rāma. V. 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol. III. p. 251, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Hampy inscription of Kṛishnarāya, above, Vol. I. p. 361 ff.; Sāṅhāḥpurā inscription of the same, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 266 ff.; British Museum plates of Sadāśivārāya, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 1 ff.; Ūpamāñjērī plates of Achyutarāya, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 21 and 35 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding this term see note 1 on p. 113 above.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding this term see note 3 on p. 114 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Mālaśas* is a Telugu word about which see below, p. 232, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dhobāśāha* ceremony, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan,<sup>1</sup> was the author of the record.

In the Telugu portion (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gōpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nādiṅḍa-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajñavāḥkṣā and the Āpastambasūtra, and that Śāḷva-Timma's wife is called here Lakshamma (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion:—

(L. 109.) "Hail! Prosperity! On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th (*tīthi*) of the bright (half) of Vaiśākha in the (cyclic) year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śāḷvāhana-Śaka,— Gōparsayyāngāru,<sup>2</sup>— the son of Nādiṅḍa-Timmarāja who belonged to the Kausika-gōtra, followed the Āpastambasūtra, and was a student of the Yajñavāḥkṣā,— and the nephew of Śāḷva-Timmarsayyāngāru, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious Kṛishnadēva-mahārāya,— built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavāṭikā in Koṇḍaviḍu, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, maṇḍapas and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,<sup>3</sup> and the enclosure (*prākāra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of Lemballe which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of Maindāvōlu for all enjoyments,<sup>4</sup> rice<sup>5</sup> and festivals, [and assigned] *mālaśas*<sup>6</sup> at all places in the country (*śīma*) of Koṇḍaviḍu where tolls were paid, (*vis.*) at *vasantagaruvu*<sup>7</sup> in (the town of) Koṇḍaviḍu, at water-sheds,<sup>8</sup> at salt-beds and market-towns,<sup>9</sup> and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the Tirumala hills.<sup>10</sup>

(L. 125.) . . . . . " at the rate of half a *paikamu*<sup>11</sup> on every bag of the following (articles): great millet, . . . . ., salt, mangoes, myrobalan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *mūvena*;<sup>12</sup> at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobalan seeds, yam, *chāma*, (and) *chīruvaḷam*

<sup>1</sup> [In the colophon of his commentary on Śāṅkarakāśhāya's *Saundaryalaharī* (Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. I. p. 78, No. 233), Lakshmidhara-Dēśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the *mahōpādhyāya* Mahādēvāchārya, who was 'the founder of the doctrine of the Lōlla-kula' and 'the commentator on the *Lōllagrantha*.' The author of the inscription, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan, who also calls himself a *mahōpādhyāya*, may have belonged to the same school or sect.— H. Krishna Sastri.]

<sup>2</sup> The affix *ayyāngāru* or *ayyagāru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *śāddhava* of *drya*. The appellation *ayyāngāru* is now monopolised by a class of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas, while *ayya*, *ayyagāru* and its Tamil equivalent *aiyyar* are restricted to non-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas. That *ayyāngāru* and *ayyagāru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiruchuttumdi* or *tiruchuttumdiika* (above, Vol. IV. p. 380, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamil *tiruchohurumdiḷḷāḡai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *South-Ind. Insoc.* Vol. II. p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding *ayyāngāru* see above, Vol. IV. p. 269 and note 2.

<sup>5</sup> For *amritapāḷi* see *South-Ind. Insoc.* Vol. I. p. 82, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> For the fiscal term *śas* see above, Vol. V. p. 23 and note 6.

<sup>7</sup> This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest-house somewhat like the modern *vasantamaṇḍapa*, which, according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, means 'a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake etc.'

<sup>8</sup> *Aravaśya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aravaśya*, *aravaśya* or *aravaśya*, which means 'a water-shed.' Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *ādā* (l. 125).

<sup>9</sup> *Karavaśya* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharaśya*, 'a market-town.'

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri taluka of the North Arcot district.

<sup>11</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means 'a small copper coin, a farthing, a half-penny.'

<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps the same as *māmēnu*, which means 'a fragrant root-like saresaparilla.'



(roots); at one *damma*<sup>1</sup> on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*<sup>2</sup> of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts; at two *dammās* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅgaḍi*,<sup>3</sup> flowers of the *Bassia Latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels; at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammās* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammās* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, oloves,<sup>4</sup> nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper; and at one *chavela*<sup>5</sup> on a double bullock-load of women's garments:— the *mūlavāsas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by Nādiṅḍa-Gōparsaṅgāgaru for the merit of the glorious chief minister Sāṅḍa-Timmarasayyagāru and his wife Lakshammamma.

(L. 157.) "If (any) Oḍḍa kings<sup>6</sup> and Teluṅgu kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the Gaṅgā; if (any) Turaka (i.e. Musalmān) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs."

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired=Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, to Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1620, when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

The village of Maindavōlu is the modern Mayidavōlu,<sup>7</sup> 12 miles east-south-east of Narasāravupēṭa. The village of Lemballe I am unable to identify. Yaṅḅavāṅḅipura seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Koṅḍavidu.

TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

## North Face.

- 1 श्रीरामचंद्रः[\*] श्रियमातनोतु सीता-
- 2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यांघ्रिपंकेरुहरे-
- 3 शुरासीदात्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतुः<sup>9</sup> ॥ [१\*] <sup>10</sup>प्रज्ञेन्द्रादिशिरो-
- 4 मण्डिच्छिविप्रामतर्मयुष्कारुणं भूषावृषभिदशरथिलह-
- 5 रोभृन्नाडिभृन्मारितं । मंजीरकणितेभंराळवनितामंजुस-
- 6 नैरंश्चितं वंहे रामपदारविंद्मनघं वंहाककल्प-

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently the same as *dramma*; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 21, notes 1 and 6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 168 f.; *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 180; and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. I. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *salaga* or *selaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain etc., one lot from which a new reckoning begins.'

<sup>3</sup> This term is not intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Saṅgaḍirakshapḍaka* of a Redḍi king, in an unpublished Amarāvati inscription (No. 258 of 1897).

<sup>4</sup> *Kardāmbū* is probably the Tamil *karāmbū* or *kirāmbū*, 'cloves.'

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *chavalamu*, 'the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  (of a *pagoda* etc.).' According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. kings of Oriasa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Krishnarāya's dominions.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 84 and note 4.

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

<sup>9</sup> The last *akshara* has been corrected.

<sup>10</sup> Read प्रज्ञेन्द्रो.

- 7 इमं ॥ [२\*] यत्काटाक्ष कर्णकोधाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभी-<sup>1</sup>
- 8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाइवूहः ॥ [३\*] अथादादिवरा-
- 9 हो वस्त्रसामुहहृत्कीर्णो । निजांमसंमसजात-
- 10 सांद्रखेदोदयादिव ॥ [४\*] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीवाइवलीयु-
- 11 गेन स्वकरयुगळेकीकृत्य वेळीविनोदे । कुवल्लयदळदामा-
- 12 न्धमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेयः ॥ [५\*]
- 13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथश्रीरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारण-
- 14 नीराजितपदांजुजः ॥ [६\*] <sup>2</sup>सिंहासनानईतया हापरे लज्ज-
- 15 या हलिः<sup>4</sup> । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यदूह-
- 16 हः ॥ [७\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वक्कीनां गृह्णा नाना-
- 17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमधुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अन्दिः<sup>5</sup> केवल्लनीर-
- 18 पूरनिलयस्त्रभाभ्यते सज्जनैरंभोविर्जलधिः पयोधि-
- 19 रुदधिर्वारां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८\*] आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिप-
- 20 शौर्यपूष्पमीकाधरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिस्त्रातशंक्रुदिति
- 21 दीपः प्रतापांजुरः । पाताळाधरणी<sup>6</sup> वराहवपुषो दंष्ट्रा
- 22 विभियोद्गता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजयस्तंभः कळिङ्गांगणे ॥ [९\*]
- 23 महाप्रधानः<sup>7</sup> श्रीसाळ्वतिस्त्रसचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायन्-
- 24 पतेस्त्राम्नाज्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्त्रसचिवः कौडिन्ड्यकु-
- 25 लशेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्यनंहनः ॥ [११\*] वि-
- 26 शो नैकं विधीषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वद्वेसराणां पद्मावाथी-
- 27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-
- 28 रद्वर्ग्यैरतुलपरिकरैरखहस्यादियानैस्त्रम्यत्नेभ्यो विभेदं<sup>8</sup>
- 29 समरविजयतस्त्राळ्वतिस्त्रस्य जाने ॥ [१२\*] सतांगोपितशक्तिचि-
- 30 तयचतुर्हपायैकमंज्ञीशसाळ्वे तिस्राख्ये कौडवीत्यां
- 31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृह्णीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-
- 32 माने परमृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकान्दान् मा-
- 33 र्मयंते गिरिपुरजलधिस्त्रासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३\*] साळ्व-
- 34 वांकशकवस्त्रगस्थाषाटशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरी<sup>9</sup> । साळ्व-
- 35 तिस्रसचिवेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४\*] पुष्पा-

<sup>1</sup> After विभी a superfluous ष has been effaced.

<sup>2</sup> Read नहं.

<sup>3</sup> Read सिंहा.

<sup>4</sup> Read वलिः?

<sup>5</sup> Read अन्दिः.

<sup>6</sup> Read °लाधरणी.

<sup>7</sup> Read °प्रधानः.

<sup>8</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>9</sup> Read °शुभ्र.

- 36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधिः<sup>1</sup> काव्यं चे[ह परच]  
 37 [सौख्य]जनकाखंसंज्ञानकाखस तान् । षावृत्तान् ग[णनातिव]-  
 38 र्तिं कृतवानासेतुशीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचितिपालमोक्षिसचि-  
 39 वः[\*] श्रीसाङ्ख्यतिस्रप्रभुः ॥ [१५\*] कौशिकान्वयसंभृती नादिङ्कु-  
 40 कुलपिखरः । अस्ति तिस्रयमंश्रीशस्त्रप्रतस्वर्वबंधुषु<sup>2</sup> ॥ [१६\*]  
 41 कृष्णाबाहंधती<sup>3</sup> नूनं भर्तृवाक्यमबंधतो । अनस्य  
 42 हि सर्वत्र ह्यनस्येति गस्यते ॥ [१७\*] नादिङ्कुतिस्रयामावः

*West Face.*

- 43 कळ्पो कृष्णमांबया ।  
 44 तस्युच्चावप्ययामाव-  
 45 गोपयामाख्येखरी ॥ [१८\*]  
 46 जंभद्विदकुंभिकुंभद-  
 47 यसचिवशचीचाहवची-  
 48 जकुंभयत्तव्यासानुलि-  
 49 सप्रस्रमरमस्रणस्रोद-  
 50 कर्पूरपूरः । यत्कीर्तिः  
 51 कार्त्तिकेण्डुं परिहसति नि-  
 52 जैः[\*] श्वेतिमाहैतवादैश्वर्यं  
 53 नादिङ्कुयप्यप्रभुमणि-  
 54 रखिलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रतापः ॥ [१९\*]  
 55 'यध्माटीघोटकोटीखरखु-  
 56 रदळितस्मातलोभूतधूलिः<sup>5</sup>  
 57 पाळीपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-  
 58 ले खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहुः । जिः<sup>6</sup>  
 59 ह्यत्ताभोतभूचडुजगप-  
 60 रिवृटी सस्यते 'सिध्दसंधैश्वो-  
 61 यं नादिङ्कुयप्यप्रभुर-  
 62 वनिभराधारबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ॥ [२०\*]  
 63 नोपो नादिङ्कुगोपस तुष्णा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'निधि.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'बंधुषु.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'बंधतो.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'घाटी'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'लोचुत्'.

<sup>6</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line; read जिह्वाला'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'सिध्'.

- 64 विति कथं तुवे । एकसंज्ञान-  
 65 वान्पूर्वस्मसंज्ञानवान्परः ॥ [२१\*]  
 66 एके चाध्यापिता ये वितरण-  
 67 निगमान्धेधसा सिंधुचंद्र-  
 68 [प्रा]या जाखं प्रपंकाः कति  
 69 च पशुदृषदाहजात्यातिभू-  
 70 टाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयंस्तान् वि-  
 71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्थः क-  
 72 रेखिं कस्यङ्गं कामधेनुं ह-  
 73 दि वदनदृशोचंद्रचित्ताम-  
 74 खी च ॥ [२२\*] यद्वैरिचोषिपालप्र-  
 75 करपुरमहाचंद्रमालाह-  
 76 षांतःश्रीखंडुस्तंभयुं-  
 77 भद्रुजगपरिवृटालीठदेहा-  
 78 ळंवाहाः । मूर्च्छंशोहा[\*] ख-  
 79 लंतकपदि गतविषा वैनते-  
 80 येन सद्यो ह्योभार्थं यां-  
 81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]तुती  
 82 भाति नादिङ्कुनोपः ॥ [२३\*] श्रीकृष्ण-  
 83 चित्तिपालमोक्षिसचिवः श्रीसाङ्ख्य-  
 84 तिस्रप्रभुर्जागत्यंघरे धु-  
 85 रंधरवरे श्रीगोपमंश्रीखरे ।  
 86 प्रादत्ताखिलकौंडवीटिनगरी-

*South Face.*

- 87 साम्बान्य[धीरेयतां] भक्तेश्वरप[दातिसैन्यकलितां] प-  
 88 ळंकिका<sup>1</sup> चा[मरे] ॥ [२४\*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनार्थयिरःप्रयानः<sup>2</sup> श्रीसाङ्ख्य-  
 89 तिस्रसचिवेख[रभागिनयः] । नादिङ्कु[गोपसचिवो] नयतत्व-<sup>3</sup>  
 90 वेदी श्रीकौंडवीटिनगरैकपुरंधरीभूत् ॥ [२५\*] राघवाय १४४२  
 91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या । वप्रनोपु-  
 92 रयुतेर्नवहृन्म्येगोपमंभितिलकीन सपर्या ॥ [२६\*] याका-  
 93 व्देक्षियुगाव्चिंद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णचिति-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'किंका'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्रधानश्रीसाङ्ख्य'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'तस्व'.

- 94 पालमौळिस्वचिवः<sup>1</sup> श्रीसाङ्गवतिष्मन्त्रया । प्रासादं नव-  
 95 भिष हेमकलशैरत्युत्तं गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमंड-  
 96 पैरुपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७\*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविष-  
 97 होष कनकाकल्यांश्च सुक्तावळी मुखं चाभरणौष-  
 98 मुञ्जसतरं<sup>2</sup> श्रीकौंडवीटीपुरे । हासतत्यधिकां नियोग-  
 99 रचनां नादिङ्गुगोपधुल्लंछीनायकसाङ्गवतिष्मवि-  
 100 भवे पुण्याय कलादिशत् ॥ [२८\*] ॥ श्रीयज्ञवाटिपुरनायक-  
 101 राघवाय श्रीकौंडवीटिसकलाध्वस्तु मूलवीसान् ।  
 102 लेखनेमाद्यमनुपाण्य च मैदवोलुं श्रीसाङ्गवतिष्म-  
 103 वचसादित गोपमंजो ॥ [२९\*] ॥ यावज्जुसुतात्रियंब-  
 104 कस्यताश्रीकृष्णवेष्णापयःपूरास्ते पुनते सुवं च विपुला<sup>3</sup>  
 105 श्रीकौंडवीटीपुरी । यावत्काश्चसुधांशुराशिलहरी-  
 106 हेलां विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साङ्गवतिष्मकीर्त्तिलतिका पुण्यालज-  
 107 सं भुवि ॥ [३०\*] ॥ यज्ञोपाचार्यपंचाब्जितोत्तितो हादयाहकत् [1\*]  
 108 लोहलक्ष्मीधरो यच्चा 'प्राश्चित्तधर्मशासनं ॥ [३१\*] ॥ श्री श्री श्री [1\*]  
 109 स्वस्ति श्री [1\*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षभुलु १४४२  
 110 अगुनेटि विक्रमसंवत्सर वैशाख शुद्ध<sup>4</sup> १५ तु<sup>5</sup> । सोमप्रहण-  
 111 पुष्पकालमंडु कौंडवीटि श्रीयज्ञवाटिकारघुनायकुलकु  
 112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल शास्त्राध्यक्षरंधर श्रीम-  
 113 न्महाप्रधान<sup>6</sup> साङ्गवतिष्मसंयंगारि मेनकुडेन कौशिक-  
 114 गोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र यलुःशास्त्राध्यायुलेन नादिङ्गु-  
 115 तिम्यराजुंगारि कुमांडेन गोपसंयंगार दे-  
 116 बुनिकि शिखरसु गडिंश्चि शिखरमंडपगोपुरालु सुक-  
 117 वरुलु चेरिंश्चि प[यि]डिकुंडलु येत्तिंश्चि तिर-  
 118 सुदुमालेनु प्राकारसुलु कडिंश्चि उल्लवविषह[र]-  
 119 ल समर्पिंश्चि चंमरंमवैभवासकुंनु अमृतपङ्क-  
 120 [कु]नु उल्लवालकुनु पूर्वांग सागि वचि[न\*] लेखनेग्रामसु  
 121 सागिंश्चि मैदवोलि ग्रामसु समर्पिंश्चि कौंडवीटि  
 122 सोमलोनु सुंखसु<sup>7</sup> सागिन चोटनल्लानु मूलवीसालु  
 123 [कौ]ड[वी]डु[वुं]डु वसंतगरुडलानु भावयंथालानु

<sup>1</sup> Read 'स्वचिवश्रीसाङ्ग'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्राश्चित्तधर्म'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'प्रधान'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'मुञ्जसतरं'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'शुद्ध'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'सुंखसु'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'विपुला'.<sup>8</sup> *Id.* बुधवार.

- 124 [उप्य]ल[ालु]कर[वट]ालालु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[लै]न वचि [पी]-  
 125 [इ] हादि [म]ा . . . . . [न नि]र्न[य] . . . जो[च]लु को[७७]लु भा . .

East Face.

- 126 उप्पु मामिडिकायलु उमि[रि]-  
 127 केकायलु वीकायलु इ-<sup>2</sup>  
 128 हुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि  
 129 [गो]ने १ कि अरपैकं लेखनु<sup>3</sup> । पेस-  
 130 लु मिनुसुलु सनंगलु उलुव-  
 131 लु कंडुलु गोधुम-  
 132 लु तुतलु चामदालु  
 133 कारामळुलु अतुमुलु प्रत्ति  
 134 चिंतपंभु<sup>4</sup> करकाय उमि[रि]-  
 135 केप्यु कंद चाम चिरुगडं  
 136 वीनिकि गोने १ कि 'पडकसुलु [1\*] उल्लि प-  
 137 सपु गुमिलं मेत्ति जिलक७७ भा-  
 138 वालु कोत्तगोनेल सलग अलं नि-  
 139 म्पंडलु टेंकायलु वीनि[कि] गो-  
 140 ने १ कि दम्भसुलु [1\*] वेळसु दूदि [ने]-  
 141 इ<sup>5</sup> चासुदं संगडि इप्यु शो-  
 142 डि इतुसु उकुटुलुलु वीनिकि  
 143 गोने १ कि दम्भालु रेडुलु [1\*] मा[मि]-  
 144 [डि]ताङ्ग गोने १ [कि] दम्भ[1\*]लु मुंडु<sup>6</sup> [1\*]  
 145 पंचधार पोकलु नूलु तम-  
 146 लपाकुलु वीनि गोने १ कि दम्भालु  
 147 नालुगु [1\*] पिप्यलि मिरियालु गं-  
 148 धसु करांभुड जाजिकाय  
 149 जाजिपचि सोससु तगरसु रा-  
 150 गि वीनि गोने १ कि दम्भालु चारु [1\*] को-  
 151 कल मल्लगकु चवेल [1\*] ई मर्याद-

<sup>1</sup> Read पीये.<sup>2</sup> Read लेखनु.<sup>3</sup> Read चेरिं.<sup>4</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>5</sup> Read 'पंडु'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'मुंडु'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'पैक'.

- 152 तु धेङ्गुचात मूलवीसासु  
 153 [ह]पिचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान<sup>1</sup> सा-  
 154 ऋवतिम्रसंय्यगारिकिनि वारि दे-  
 155 वुलु लक्ष्मणगारिकिनि पुष्यसु-  
 156 [ग]तु नादिङ्गुगोपसंय्यंगा-  
 157 र समर्पितु<sup>2</sup> । ई धर्मानकु षो-  
 158 डेरासुतु तेलुंगुरासुतु  
 159 त[पि]रा<sup>3</sup> नम्मलोतु नोवुत्<sup>4</sup> चेग्गि-  
 160 न दोषान बोवुवार [१\*] तुक्करा-  
 161 सुतु तपिरा पंदि दि[स] दोषा-  
 162 न बोडवार ॥ ए[केव] भगिनी लोके  
 163 सर्वेषामे[व] भूसुजां [१\*] न भोच्च[१]  
 164 [न] करणांघ्ना<sup>5</sup> देवदत्ता वसुंध-  
 165 रा ॥ [३२\*] दानपालनयोमंघ्ये<sup>6</sup> दाना-  
 166 ष्छेयोतुपालनं ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read "प्रधान.  
<sup>2</sup> Read "सिनु.  
<sup>3</sup> Read तपिरा.  
<sup>4</sup> Read नोवुत्.  
<sup>5</sup> Read करणांघ्ना.  
<sup>6</sup> The r of "दानपालनयोमंघ्ये" is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

## 3. A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION IN SWAT.

Göttingen.

May 8, 1901.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—In the last number of the Journal (pp. 291 ff.) Mr. E. J. Rapson has published the impressions of some inscriptions collected by Captain A. H. McMahon in Swāt and the adjacent country. Among these there is one (No. 5) from a rock at Shakōri,<sup>1</sup> which, as recognized by Mr. Rapson, is written in Brāhmī characters. Mr. Rapson states that "nearly every akṣara can be read with more or less certainty," and he has succeeded in deciphering the words sa[m\*]skāra and niruddhyate; "but," he adds, "all attempts to give an intelligible translation of the whole, on this hypothesis, have hitherto been in vain, and Dr. Stein was of opinion that it was neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit." I consider the task of deciphering this inscription not quite as hopeless as Mr. Rapson and Dr. Stein seem to think. I would read it:

- (1) anītyā<sup>2</sup> vata sa[m\*]skārā utpādavya[ya\*]-
- (2) dharmīṇa[h\*] utpadya hī niruddhya[m\*]te<sup>3</sup> [teṣām\*]
- (3) vy[u\*]paśamas = sukham [||\*]

This is the Sanskrit version of the famous Gāthā found several times in the Pali canon (Mahāparinibb., p. 252; Saṃyuttan., Sagāthav. 6, 2, 5, 6; Jāt. 95):

aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino |  
 uppajjivā nirujjhanti teṣāṃ vūpasamo sukho ||

and, slightly differing, in the Kharoṣṭhī MS. of the Dhammapada<sup>4</sup>:

anica vata saghara upadavayadhamino |  
 upajiti nirujhati teṣa uvaśamo suho ||

<sup>1</sup> This is Major Deane's spelling of the name: see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 133.  
<sup>2</sup> Read anītyā.  
<sup>3</sup> Read hī niruddhyante.  
<sup>4</sup> See Senart, *J.A.*, ix, vol. xii, p. 300; Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 428; Lüders, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1899, p. 494.

The stanza seems to have enjoyed great popularity among the Buddhists of North-Western India. The Sanskrit version occurs, in exactly the same form, in another inscription at Shakōri, edited, together with two similar inscriptions, by the late Professor Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, pp. 133 ff. Although no facsimiles have been added to Professor Bühler's edition, it is sufficiently clear from his description of the alphabet of those three inscriptions that it is about the same as that used in the present one. Here, also, we have the initial *a* with the cursive loop in the lower half of the left portion, the archaic *na*, the *ra* with the curve to the left at the lower end, the *ma* with the knob on the left, and the quite peculiar *śa*. Only the signs for *ṇa* seem to show different forms. Professor Bühler speaks of "two verticals, to each of which clings one half of the original upper bar," whereas in the *ṇa* of the present inscription the right vertical has no appendant at all, just as the *ha* does not show here the characteristic curve at the right vertical. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the writing of the four inscriptions is practically the same, and that it is closely allied to the North-Western Gupta type, as stated by Professor Bühler.

Although no historical information can be derived from these inscriptions, they are of some importance as possibly furnishing some clue to the deciphering of the numerous inscriptions "in unknown characters" discovered by Major Deane and Captain McMahon. Most of those epigraphic puzzles are rather short, and I think it not unlikely that some of them also may turn out to be such verses as the Buddhist monks engraved on the rocks at Shakōri.—Yours faithfully,

H. LÜDERS.

No. 3.—AMARAVATI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNARAYA  
OF VIJAYANAGARA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1437.

By H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription,<sup>1</sup> which I edit from inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch, is engraved on a slab in the *Saṅghaśālā*'s room in the Amaraśvara temple at Amaraṅga in the Kistna district.

It contains 53 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The alphabet is Telugu of the type described in Vol. VI. p. 108 f. *Ka* shows here everywhere the advanced form. *Ṣa* appears twice (ll. 10 and 14) in the older form of the Bitragupta and Vānapalli plates, but in l. 49 it shows a form which comes nearer to that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription. The *ottu* appears in *ḡha* (l. 35); in the case of *dha* and *bha* it occurs only in a few cases, and it is never

<sup>1</sup> No. 266 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1897.

found in *kha* and *tha*. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *ryô* in l. 15 and *rvô* in l. 46. In all other cases the secondary sign has been used. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory phrase *śubham-astu* in l. 1 and the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 53, the whole text is in verse. As regards orthography, it may be noticed that a consonant is doubled after *r* in *dēvair-mmathyamānān* (l. 7), *kurvaan* (l. 22), *sārthihā* (l. 24), *-audāryyas* (l. 43), *arthihī-sārthihā* (l. 48), *kīrti-dharmmau* (l. 50), after *anusūdra* in *tungga* (l. 1), *Vīnikomqdam* (l. 32), *Bellakomqdam* (l. 32), *-dvitīd* (l. 48), and as first letter of a group in *jāta-ppratishthān* (l. 28) and *Amarēta-pprasādātāh* (l. 52). The groups *tth* and *dth* are written *thth* and *dtth*; compare, in addition to the cases cited above, *tadh-dhāma* (l. 4) and *samimādhāh* (l. 49).

The inscription is one of king *Krishnarāya* of *Vijayanagara*. The greater portion of it consists of verses already known to us from other records.<sup>1</sup> New are only the verses 7, 9, 10 and 12. Verse 7 states that "from him (i.e. king *Narasa*) was born by *Nāgamāmbā* king *Krishnarāya*, who causes pleasure to the world, as the moon, who causes the fragrance of the water-lilies, was born from the milk-ocean." *Krishnarāya*'s mother is generally called *Nāgalā*. However, the variant *Nāgāmbikā* is found also in the prose portion of the *Hampe* and *Sankalāpura* inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Of greater interest is verse 9, which praises *Krishnarāya* as him "who, having taken by a forcible attack *Sivanasamudra*, *Udayādri*, *Vinikoṇḍa* and *Bellakoṇḍa*, and having captured alive on the battle-field *Vīrabhadra*, the son of the *Gajapati* king, took *Koṇḍaviḍu*." This account, although rather meagre, is of considerable importance as being the first epigraphical record of *Krishnarāya*'s warlike exploits up to the conquest of *Koṇḍaviḍu*. The enumeration of the events seems to follow the chronological order. The taking of *Sivanasamudra*, at any rate, appears to have been the first military success in *Krishnarāya*'s career. The ancient city of *Sivanasamudra* is situated on an island between the two great falls of the *Kāvāri*, 9 miles north-east of the modern *Kollégāl* in the *Coimbatore* district. It belonged at that time to the *Ummatūr* chiefs, who regarded *Somēśvara*vāmin, whose magnificent temple may still be seen at *Sivanasamudra*, as their family god.<sup>3</sup> The *Ummatūr* chiefs were subject to the kings of *Vijayanagara*. The then lord of *Ummatūr* must have revolted against his sovereign; for, quite in accordance with the inscription, a native chronicle relates that, after having first settled the *Drāviḍa* country about *Conjeeveram*, *Krishnarāya* crushed a refractory *Rāja* in the *Maisūr* country, the *Gaṅga* *Rāja* of *Ummatūr*. In the war against the latter *Krishnarāya* captured the strong fort of *Sivanasamudra* and the city of *Śrīraṅgapattana*, after which all *Maisūr* submitted to him.<sup>4</sup> We can even determine, with great probability, the cause which led to this war, by combining the facts ascertained hitherto with the statements of a Portuguese author. In his *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*<sup>5</sup> the son of the great conqueror gives us an abstract of a letter written by a certain *Luis*, a *Franciscan* friar, who, after the disaster at *Calicut* in *January 1510*, was sent by *Albuquerque* to the court of *Vijayanagara* with the view of securing *Krishnarāya*'s assistance against the *Zamorin*. The letter was delivered by the

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Kuppelér plates of *Krishnarāya*, *J. Bo. Br. É. A. S.* Vol. XII. p. 381 f.; *Hampe* inscription of the same, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 361 f.; *Upanasijeri* plates of *Achyutarāya*, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 f., etc. Verse 5 of the present inscription is formed by combining the first halves of two stanzas of those inscriptions (vv. 6 and 9 of the *Hampe* inscription, vv. 7 and 8 of the *Upanasijeri* plates).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 365, and Vol. IV. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 60 of the text; compare for the *Ummatūr* chiefs Mr. Rice's account, *ibid.* Introduction, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> R. Sewell, *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 109. Mr. Sewell quotes as his authorities Mr. Foulkes in the *Salem District Manual*, p. 45, and the summary of a manuscript in the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIV. (1.), p. 89. I regret that these two books are not accessible to me at present.

<sup>5</sup> Translated by Walter de Gray Birch (Hakluyt edit.), Vol. III. p. 35.

ambassadors whom *Krishnarāya* sent to *Goa* immediately after having received the news of the capture of that place by the Portuguese in *November 1510*. In this letter *Fr. Luiz* informed *Albuquerque* "that the king of *Narāinga* was getting himself ready with five thousand men on foot and two thousand on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals who had risen up in rebellion and seized the city of *Pergunda*, (the rebel) declaring that to himself belonged the kingdom itself by right; and that directly he had taken the rebel the king would proceed with all this force of men to his places situated on the edge of the sea." There can be little doubt, I think, that the rebel spoken of in the letter is the *Rāja* of *Ummatūr*. *Pergunda* has already been correctly identified by *Mr. Sewell* with *Penakoṇḍa* in the *Anantapur* district, situated about half-way between *Vijayanagara* and *Sivanasamudra*, and the war would thus appear to have arisen from a dispute about this hill-fort. This view is further strengthened by an inscription at *Hōpakanahalli* in the *Gundlupētē tāluka*,<sup>1</sup> where *Chikkarāja-Oḍeyar*, the lord of *Ummatūr*, is given the *biruda* *Penukoṇḍa-chakrāśvara*. As this inscription is dated in *Śaka-Samvat 1426*, the *Kṛṣṇabāha samvatsara*, during the reign of *Narasa*, it would seem that the *Rājas* of *Ummatūr* had taken possession of *Penakoṇḍa* already under *Krishnarāya*'s predecessor, and that it was not until *Krishnarāya*'s accession to the throne that their claims were seriously disputed.

The taking of the forts of *Udayādri*, *Vinikoṇḍa*, *Bellakoṇḍa* and *Koṇḍaviḍu* formed part of *Krishnarāya*'s campaign on the eastern coast against the *Gajapati* of *Orissa*. *Fernão Nunes*<sup>2</sup> tells us that *Krishnarāya* had a special desire of acquiring *Udayagiri*, because king *Narsynga* (*Narasinha*) in his testament had enjoined on his successors the necessity of taking the fortresses of *Bracholl* (*Raichūr*), *Medegulla* (*Mudkal*), and *Odigair* (*Udayagiri*).<sup>3</sup> He therefore collected 34,000 foot-soldiers and 800 elephants and arrived with this army at *Digary* (*Udayagiri*), which, although its garrison numbered only 10,000 foot-soldiers and 400 horse, was nevertheless a very strong place on account of its natural position. The king laid siege to it for a year and a half, cutting roads through the surrounding hills in order to gain access to the towers of the fortress, and finally took it by force of arms. On this occasion an aunt of the king of *Orissa* fell into his hands.

The capture of *Vinikoṇḍa*, the modern *Vinukoṇḍa*, and of *Bellakoṇḍa*, generally called *Bellamkoṇḍa*, is not mentioned by *Nunes*, probably because these places were only of secondary importance. He proceeds at once to the account of the siege of *Koṇḍaviḍu*, which I have discussed above, Vol. VI. p. 109 f. According to inscriptions at *Maṅgalagiri*, *Kāzā* and *Koṇḍaviḍu* the fortress surrendered on Saturday, the *Harivatsara* of the bright half of the month *Āshāḍha* in *Śaka-Samvat 1437*, which, for *Śaka-Samvat 1437* expired, corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June A.D. 1515.

There remains the statement that the king took alive on the battle-field *Vīrabhadra*, the son of the *Gajapati*. This fact is mentioned by *Nunes* as well as by *Domingos Paes*. The latter has only the short notice that, in the war against the king of *Orissa*, *Krishnarāya* took captive his enemy's son and kept him for a long time in the city of *Bisnaga* (*Vijayanagara*), where he died.<sup>4</sup> *Nunes*' account is more detailed.<sup>5</sup> He tells us that, after the capture of *Koṇḍaviḍu*, *Krishnarāya* continued his march northward until he arrived at *Comdepallyr* (*Koṇḍapalle*). After a siege of three months he took it; among the prisoners he made was a wife of the king of *Orissa*, and one of his sons who was a prince, and seven principal captains of the kingdom, all of whom he sent to *Bisnaga* (*Vijayanagara*). When *Krishnarāya* himself had returned to *Bisnaga*, he summoned

<sup>1</sup> *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, p. 126. Mr. Sewell was also the first to draw attention to the importance of this letter for the history of the first years of *Krishnarāya*'s reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 77 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, p. 19 f.; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 316 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18; by Sewell, *loc. cit.* p. 306, their names are given as *Rachol*, *Odeganj*, and *Conadolgi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 89; Sewell, *loc. cit.* p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21 f.; Sewell, *loc. cit.* p. 318 f.

the son of the king of Orissa, who was renowned as being a good swordsman, to show his skill. The prince consented, but seeing that the antagonist whom the king had chosen for him was a man of low birth, he felt greatly offended and, unable to bear such an insult, he killed himself. The news of the death of this prince induced the king of Orissa to open fresh negotiations with Krishnarāya, which in the end led to a conclusion of peace.

Nunes generally shows himself so well informed that there is no reason to doubt that this story also is substantially correct. The only discrepancy between the chronicle and the inscription is with respect to the date when the prince was taken captive. Whereas the Portuguese author asserts that it took place more than three months after the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, it would follow from the inscription that it was before that event. This is implied not only by the words of the text, which admit of no other interpretation, but also by the date of the inscription in verse 10, which states that 'in the Śaka year marked by the Munis (7), the towns (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1437), in the year Yuvan, on the twelfth day in the month Āshāḍha, (the king) duly performed the gift called *śulāpūruṣa* and gave away many incomparable *agrahāras* in the presence of the god Śūlapāni, who is renowned in the world as Amaréśa, on the bank of the Krishnavēni, which destroys darkness.' This date, although it is incomplete and cannot be verified, is without doubt identical with the date given above as that of the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, the *Harivāśara* mentioned there being only another term for the twelfth day of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha.<sup>1</sup> Whether the chronicle or the inscription is to be trusted in this case, I do not venture to decide at present. It is quite possible that the text of the inscription was composed and engraved some months after the event which it is intended to commemorate, and that the author inadvertently referred to things which had happened in the meantime. But it is equally possible that Nunes has made a slight mistake, and that Virabhadra was taken captive on an earlier occasion.

The inscription concludes with a verse (12) invoking the blessing of Amaréśa of Krishnarāya. The Amaréśa mentioned here and in verse 10 is, of course, the god of the temple where the inscription is found.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 शुभमस्तु ॥ नमस्तुम्न[गि]रसुम्नि-
- 2 चन्द्रचामरचारवे । नैलोम्ब-
- 3 नगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शं-
- 4 भवे ॥ [१\*] कक्षापायास्तु तध्यामं प्रत्यु-
- 5 हतिमिरापहं । यद्गजौष्य[ग]जौद्-
- 6 तं हरिष्वापि [च] पूज्यते ।[१ २\*] अस्ति क्षीरम-
- 7 [य]देवैर्कथ्यमानास्त्राङ्गुषेः । नवनी-
- 8 तमिवोद्भूत[मप]नीततमो महः ।[१ ३\*] तत्
- 9 सं[शि] देवकीजामिर्दिदीपे तिस्रभूपतिः ।[१]
- 10 यग्रस्त्री तुकुवेद्रेषु यदोः क-
- 11 ष्व [इवा]न्वये ।[१ ४\*] तती[भ्र]पुङ्गमाजा-

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 111, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Read तद्वाम.

<sup>3</sup> From inked stampages supplied to me by Dr. Hultsch.

<sup>4</sup> Read तद्वै.

- 12 निरीश्वरचितिपालकः । सर-
- 13 सादुदभूतस्त्रावरसावनिपा-
- 14 लकः ।[१ ५\*] चेरं चोळं च पांशं तमपि
- 15 च मधुरावन्नं मानभूषं वीर्यो-
- 16 द[यं] तुष्कं गजपतिवृपतिं चा-
- 17 पि जित्वा तदध्यान् । चागंतीरसंका-
- 18 प्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं नि-
- 19 तांतं ।<sup>1</sup> ख्यातः क्षीपीपतीनां स्रजमि-
- 20 व शिर[सां] श्रांसनं यो व्यतानीत् ॥ [६\*] त-
- 21 तोभूक्तागमांवायां कृष्णराय-
- 22 महीपतिः । कुर्वन् कुवलयामोदं
- 23 क्षीराश्वेरिव चंद्रमाः ।[१ ७\*] महत्तामर्थि-
- 24 साय्यां<sup>2</sup> त्रियमिह सुचिरं भुंजता-
- 25 मित्यवेत्य प्रायः प्रत्युद्दिहोस्त-
- 26 पनरधगतेराश्यां<sup>3</sup> देवतानां । त[त्]-
- 27 हिरजैश्चवृत्वापि<sup>4</sup> च बिहदपदैरंकि-
- 28 तांस्तत्र त[त्] स्तंभान्<sup>5</sup> जातघ्न-
- 29 तिष्ठान् व्यतनुत भुवि यो भूध-
- 30 दभ्रं कषायान् ॥ [८\*] अपि शिवनसमु-
- 31 द्रं यो बलाशोदयाद्रिं तद-
- 32 पि च विनिकोडुं वेत्तकोडुं च
- 33 धाव्या [१\*] गजपतिवृपसूनुं वी[र]-
- 34 भद्रं गृहीत्वा समरभुवि सजीवं
- 35 चापहीत् कोडवीडुं ॥ [९\*] षाषाटे-
- 36 न्दे युवाख्ये सुनिपुरजसधीं-
- 37 किते यः शकादे विख्यातस्यामरेशं<sup>6</sup>
- 38 स्वयमिति भुवने सविधो गृह-
- 39 पायैः । तीरे श्रीकृष्णवेष्ट्या हत-
- 40 तमसि तुलापूरुषाख्यं च दा-
- 41 नं दादय्यां शा[धु] कत्वा व्य[तर]-

<sup>1</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read शाली.

<sup>3</sup> Read पनरधगतेराश्यान्.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'पुष्पापि'; between सा and पि an original न has been effaced.

<sup>5</sup> Read संभाषातं.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'श'.

- 42 दनुपमानपद्म[र]ाननेकान् ॥ [१०\*]  
 43 [स्तु]त्वीदाय्येषुधीभिस्व विचयन-  
 44 गरे रत्नचिह्नानकः' ज्ञापाज्ञान्  
 45 कृष्णरायचित्तिपतिरधरोक्त्य  
 46 नीत्वा दृगादीन् ॥' चा पूर्वदि-  
 47 रधास्तचित्तिधरकटकादा [च]  
 48 इमाचलात्तादा सेतोरिय्यसार्य-  
 49 त्रियमिह बह्वन्नीकृत्य कीर्त्यासमिञ्चे' [॥ ११\*]  
 50 अस्व श्रीकृष्णरायस्व कीर्तिधर्यो  
 51 [च]हीद्वनी । पाकस्य तिष्ठता ही-  
 52 [के]ष्वमरेमपसादतः ॥[ १२\*]  
 53 श्री श्री श्री [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read °सिंहासनकः.  
<sup>2</sup> Read °रत्नसार्य-.

<sup>3</sup> Read °हीन् ।  
<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीकां चलिंहे.

<sup>5</sup> Read रथाक°.

No. 17.]

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMMUSIDDHI.

119

No. 17.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMMUSIDDHI ;  
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1129.

By H. Lüders, Ph.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

The first of the following two stone inscriptions is engraved on the east wall of the Natarāja shrine in the *Vaṭaranyśvara* temple at *Tiruvālaṅgāḍu*, 3 miles N.-N.-E. of the Chinnamapēt Railway Station in the North Arcot district. The second is on the north wall of the central shrine of the *Vāchīśvara* temple at *Tiruppāsūr*, 2 miles W.-S.-W. of *Tiravallūr* in the *Tiravallūr tāluka* of the Chingleput district. They are now edited for the first time from inked estampages supplied to me by Dr. Hultsch.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 408 and 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1896.

Both of them are intended to commemorate the donations of a king *Tammusiddhi* or *Tammusiddha*, who belongs to a family of Telugu chiefs of whom numerous records have been discovered since 1892 in the Chingleput, North Arcot, Nellore and Kistna districts. On these materials Mr. Venkayya has based his valuable account of the *Chōḍas* of the Telugu country in the *Annual Report for 1899-1900*. However, as none of the inscriptions made use of by Mr. Venkayya have been published until now, I shall confine my remarks to the facts furnished by the following two inscriptions alone.

The *Tiruvālaṅgāḍu* inscription is damaged in a few places, but the illegible passages can easily be restored, partly from the context alone, and partly with the help of the *Tiruppāsūr* inscription. It is written in *Grantha* characters. The size of the letters varies from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Line 8 contains the rare subscript sign for *ja* in *nirjhard*. The language is *Sanskrit*, and, with the exception of the concluding words *svasty-astu*, the whole text is in verse. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out here that in the middle of a word *i* is written instead of *d* before a sonant consonant in the word *patma* in ll. 1, 2, 3, and in *bhavatbhīr* in l. 21.

After two introductory verses in praise of the donor, who, as stated above, is called both *Tammusiddhi* (ll. 2, 17, 18) and *Tammusiddha* (ll. 1, 20, 21), the inscription gives his genealogy, which shows the characteristic features of the *Chōḍa* genealogies.

It begins with some mythical ancestors. From the lotus of *Vishṇu*'s navel sprang *Brahman* (vv. 3, 4), from him *Marīchi*, from him *Kāśyapa* (v. 5), from him the Sun (v. 6), and from him *Manu* (v. 7), in whose family there were born many kings (v. 8). This is the genealogy of the solar race as taught in the *Purāṇas*.<sup>1</sup> It is found also in the *Udayāndiram* plates of *Prithivipati II*.<sup>2</sup> and those of *Vira-Chōḷa*,<sup>3</sup> as well as in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani*<sup>4</sup> and the *Vikkirama-Śōḷaṅ-Uḷā*,<sup>5</sup> but in the last three passages the third name appears as *Kāśyapa* or *Kāchchhipag* instead of *Kāśyapa*. The *Vikkirama-Śōḷaṅ-Uḷā* differs besides in placing *Kāśyapa* before *Marīchi*, and the *Udayāndiram* plates of *Prithivipati II*. omit *Manu*.

The inscription next mentions three kings who form the connecting link between those sages of old and the direct ancestors of *Tammusiddhi*. The first of them, born in the lineage of *Manu*, is *Kalikāla* (v. 9). *Kalikāla* is identical, of course, with the ancient half-mythical *Chōḷa* king whose name is generally given as *Karikāla*. The various traditions about him have been collected by Dr. Hultsch.<sup>6</sup> In the present inscription we are told that he constructed the banks of the *Kāvēri*, and that, when he had lifted *Mount Méru* with his play-staff, the quarters were greatly disturbed or confounded. The story about the construction of the banks of the *Ponji* or *Kāvēri* is alluded to also in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani*,<sup>7</sup> the *Vikkirama-Śōḷaṅ-Uḷā*,<sup>8</sup> and the large *Leyden* grant.<sup>9</sup> The second legend, implied by the words of the inscription, is not known to me, but it is probably connected in some way with another legend recorded by the two *Tamiḷ* poems. According to the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani* *Karikāla* inscribed on the side of *Mount Méru* the whole history of the *Tamiḷ* race as foretold by the *Ṛishi Nārada*, and in the *Vikkirama-Śōḷaṅ-Uḷā* he is spoken of as "the king who set his tiger-banner on the mountain whose summit gleams with crystal waterfalls," where the mountain meant by the poet would seem to be again *Mount Méru*.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Agnipurāṇa*, 5, 2.—

*Vishvambhājajāś Brahmd Marīchir-Brahmapāṇ sutāḥ |  
 Marīchēḥ Kāśyapa-ītamit Śūryō Vaiśvavāś Mānūḥ |*  
 Compare also 272, 1 f.; *Edmāyaga*, 1, 70, 19 f.; 2, 110, 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 822. <sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 80 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Canto 8*, vv. 9, 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 330, 340.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 144, 147 f. *Manu* is not mentioned here by name, but alluded to as "the stern sire who drove his chariot over his son to soothe a cow in dire distress."

<sup>6</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 377 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Canto 8*, v. 20; *loc. cit.* pp. 381, 341.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* pp. 144, 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206.



The verses 10 and 11 are devoted to a king who is said to have been born in the lineage of Kalikāla, and to have had two names,—Madhurāntaka, i.e. 'the death to Madhurā,' and Pottapi-Chōla. The former name he acquired by conquering Madhurā, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, whose women he made widows; the latter was given to him for having founded, in the country of the Andhras, the town of Pottapi. Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōla is a name frequently met with as that of a local chief in the inscriptions at Conjeeveram, the ancient Kāñchīpura; in the list compiled by Mr. Sewell<sup>1</sup> it occurs more than thirty times. Provided, however, that all these inscriptions are to be referred to the same person, it is impossible that that chief of Kāñchīpura should be identical with the ancestor of Tammusiddhi; for one of his inscriptions is dated in the 18th,<sup>2</sup> and another in the 21st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājādēva,<sup>3</sup> which correspond to A.D. 1233-34 and 1236-37, respectively. He must have been a much younger member of the family, and Mr. Venkayya, for other reasons, is inclined to identify him with Chōla-Tikka, who probably was the successor of Tammusiddhi.<sup>4</sup> The identification of Pottapi, which Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōla is said to have founded, must be left to future researches.<sup>5</sup>

In Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōla's race was born Tiluṅgavidya (v. 12). The only fact recorded of him is the erection of a pillar of victory with a figure of Garuḍa at the top of it at Ujyapuri.<sup>6</sup> Ujyapuri may be the modern Ūjipuram or Ujjapuram, 18 miles east-south-east of Koljégāl in the Coimbatore district. Mr. Sewell states that there is an old ruined fort at that place,<sup>7</sup> and there is no difficulty in assuming that one of these Telugu Chōlas should have extended his conquests beyond the Kāvēri, if another boasts even to have taken Madhurā.

With verse 13 begins a coherent genealogy of the direct ancestors of Tammusiddhi. In Tiluṅgavidya's family was born king Siddhi (v. 13). His younger brother was Betta (I.), who had several sons (v. 14), the eldest of whom was Dāyabhīma (v. 15). Dāyabhīma's younger brother was Ērasiddhi (v. 16). He again had three sons, Manmasiddhi or Manmasiddha, Betta (II.), and Tammusiddhi, whose mother bore the name of Śrīdēvi (vv. 17-20). Of these only Siddhi, Dāyabhīma and Manmasiddhi are described in terms implying that they actually reigned, while of Betta II. it is expressly stated that, being given to the practice of austerities, he conferred, after the death of Manmasiddhi, the government on his younger brother Tammusiddhi.

In verse 21 we are informed that in the Śaka year 1129 (=A.D. 1207-8) Tammusiddhi allotted to the lord of Vaṭāṭavi all the revenues due to the king in the villages belonging to the temple. The inviolability of this order is enjoined in the two concluding verses (22, 23). As regards the name of the god, it is apparently derived from that of the village where the temple is situated, Vaṭāṭavi or its modern synonym Vaṭāraṇya being Sanskrit renderings of the Tamil Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, 'the holy banyan forest.'

The Tiruppāsūr inscription closely resembles the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription in outward appearance as well as in its contents. It is written in Grantha characters, about 1½" high. The form of the subscript *jha* in *nirjharā* in l. 19 slightly differs from that of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription, the loop to the left having disappeared here altogether. The initial *ś* also has a

<sup>1</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> No. 37 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 187 (No. 277). Mr. Sewell mentions also an inscription (No. 74) dated "in Śaka-Samvat 1392, in the 24th year of his reign."

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 19. In the genealogical table, *ibid.* p. 18, Mr. Venkayya mentions a certain Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōlasiddhi who belonged to another branch of the Telugu Chōlas. But he also cannot possibly be the person of that name in the present inscription, as he is represented as a descendant of Teluṅgabijjana, whereas the Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōla of our inscription was an ancestor of that king.

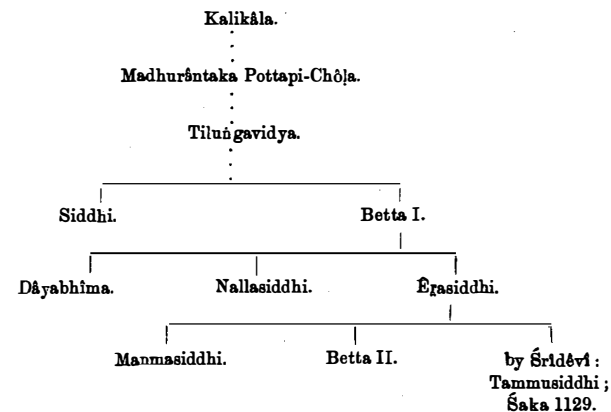
<sup>5</sup> [See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 38, note 1. The *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle* mentions a village "Potapi" near "Tongotoor" in the Pullampēt taluqa of the Cuddasph district.—E. H.]

<sup>6</sup> Or, possibly, Ujyapuri. The quantity of the initial vowel cannot be made out from the text, as it is united here with the final vowel of the preceding word (*yha=Ujyapuryydm*).

<sup>7</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 215.

very peculiar form in l. 61, whereas in l. 11 it appears in the usual shape. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole is in verse, with the exception of the words *svastyastu* at the end. Here also a surd consonant is written instead of a sonant in *patma* (ll. 2, 3, 4) and *bharatbhīr* (l. 64), and besides in *ārikbhyaṃ* (l. 4) and *dāk dakshīnā* (l. 35).

Of the 23 verses of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription 16 reappear in this inscription, occasionally with slight variations.<sup>1</sup> With respect to the earlier part of the genealogy (vv. 2-9) it is to be noticed that the verses about Mann and Tiluṅgavidya are omitted here. That portion also which deals with the direct line of Tammusiddhi's ancestors (vv. 10-17) shows one important point of difference. No mention is made of Betta I. and of Dāyabhīma. Instead of the two verses devoted to them in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription we find here a verse (11) stating that in king Siddhi's family was born king Nallasiddhi. In the following verse Ērasiddhi is called his younger brother, which term in the identical verse 16 of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription applies to Dāyabhīma spoken of in the preceding verse, and it might therefore easily be imagined that Dāyabhīma and Nallasiddhi were only different names of the same king. Fortunately, an inscription at Tiruvogṛiyūr,<sup>2</sup> quoted by Dr. Hultzsch in his *Annual Report for 1893*, paragraph 13, leaves no doubt that they were two distinct persons, and the pedigree to be derived from the two inscriptions edited here is thus to be arranged in the following manner:<sup>3</sup>—



Besides the name of Nallasiddhi the Tiruppāsūr inscription contains little that is new. Nallasiddhi seems to have taken possession of Kāñchī or Conjeeveram; for in verse 11 it is said, with a well-known pun, that, when the southern quarter had obtained him as her husband, she was *gaṭita-kāñchi-guṇā*, which may be understood as 'having dropped her girdle' or 'having lost Kāñchī.' In verse 15 we are told once more, but in a more explicit way, that after the death of Manmasiddhi the government passed without any disturbances into the hands of Tammusiddhi, Betta II. being of a religious turn of mind and therefore renouncing his claims to the throne in favour of his younger brother.

The verses 18 and 19 record that in the Śaka year 1129 (=A.D. 1207-8) Tammusiddhi allotted to the lord of Pāsīpura the revenues due to the king in the villages belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> The name of the town founded by Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōla is here spelled Pottappi (v. 9).

<sup>2</sup> No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>3</sup> The purely fictitious first portion has been omitted here.

temple, and that in the same year he presented the village of **Kaivaṅṅūr** to the god. Pāśipura, of course, is nothing but the Sanskrit name of Tiruppāsūr. The village of Kaivaṅṅūr, as Dr. Hultzsch informs me, is identical with **Kaivaṅṅūr**,<sup>1</sup> 1 mile W.-N.-W. of Tiruppāsūr.

## A.—TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Tammusiddhāya tasmāi yat-sainya-rēṅava[h] [1°] [Brahma-pa]tma(dma)-  
spriśās=śamkē bhāvi-bhū-śriṣṭi-hētavaḥ || [1°] Jayati vijayi-chāpaḥ kshājit-  
ā[ś]e[ś]a-[pāpa]e-satata-madhura-lā-
- 2 paḥ prāpta-vidyā-kalāpaḥ [1°] vitata-vitarap-āpaś=śatru-māyā-durāpaḥ pra[śamita]-  
kali-tāpas-Tammusiddhi-khamāpaḥ || [2°] Udadhi-śayana-bhājaḥ Patma(dma)-  
nābhāya nābhāḥ kim=api nikhila-hētur-jātātam-āścha-
- 3 ryya-patma(dma)m [1°] yad=abhajad=api śriṣṭēḥ pūrvaṁ=śtāyā dṛigbhyā[m=]  
mṛidu-kaṭhina-ma]ḥbhāyām=mlān-ōnmllānāni || [3°] Tasmād=Virīñchir=abhavat  
suchiran-tad-a-
- 4 ntar-vvāśād=iva prakāṣayann=rajasēḥ pra[vṛittim] [1°] ya[h] [1°] Śrīśa-ta[pa-phapi-mauli]-  
maḥi-prarōḍha-bimbac=śrijann=iva babhau sadriśas=sahāyānḥ<sup>3</sup> || [4°]
- 5 Marichir=udagāt=tasmād=uday-ādrā=iv-āśmāmān [1°] [tataḥ] Kaśyapa śtasmāt  
prakāśa iva nirgataḥ<sup>4</sup> || [5°] Asmāj=ja[gat°]-trita[ya-māṅgala-rat]nadīpaś=chanda-
- 6 s-tanus=timira-kānana-dāvavahniḥ [1°] di[k°]-kālayōḥ kim=aparām vyavahā[ra°]-  
hētu[h] kō=py-āvirāsa vasudhādhipa-vamśa-kandaḥ || [6°] Tasmād=idam  
prathama-sambhṛita-rāja-śa-
- 7 bdaḥ pūrvaḥ gupair=nikhila-nīti-patha-prayōktā [1°] dēvō Manus=śapadi gōptum=  
iv-āvatpṛpas=tan-maṅgal-ānta[ra°]-gata[h] p]urushaḥ purāpaḥ || [7°] Babhū-
- 8 vur=ullāśita-kīrti-nirjibhā Manōḥ kulē=amin bahavaḥ khamābhṛitaḥ [1°] divas-  
pṛthivyōr=api yair=nniyantṛibhir=nnirānkuśō nīti-pathaḥ pravartūta[h] || [8°]
- 9 Tat-kulē Kalikālō=bbhāt<sup>5</sup> [Kāvēr-tira-kṛin-nṛipaḥ] [1°] [yat-kē]i-yasṭi-tulitē  
Mārau vyatīkṛitā dīśaḥ || [9°] Jātō=sya vamśē Madhurām vijī-
- 10 tya padohād=udaśchana(n-Ma)dhurāntak-ākhyah [1°] nitānta-mukt-ābha[ra°]pāḥ  
prachandāḥ Pāṇḍy-āṅganāḥ prāg=iva yaś=chakāra || [10°] Jishnur=Andhrēshu  
yah kṛitvā purim Pottapi-samūjitām<sup>6</sup> [1°]
- 11 tatas=tat-pūrva[Chō] [1°] ākhyah<sup>6</sup> prakhyāta-bhuja-vikramah || [11°] Tad-vamśē sa  
Tilumgavidya-nṛipatīr=yyēn=ōjyapuryyām=asau chañchata(t)-kīrti-patākayā  
tilakita-śtambbah pratīshāpi-
- 12 taḥ [1°] yasyaśgrē Garudān=nirikahya saha-śnēhēna sūtē sthitē madhyē-  
vyō[ma] vilambatē dinapatīḥ prāyas=tad-ādi kshapam || [12°] Tat-kulē  
Siddhi-bhūpālāḥ pālayām=ā-
- 13 sa mēdimm [1°] yadiya-dōḥ-pad-āyattam=arthi-pratyarthi-jīvitam || [13°] Anujanm=  
ābhavat=śtāya Betta-bhūpaḥ pratāpavān [1°] tasya=api jajīrē putrās=trātāśraś-  
śarap-ārtthīnām || [14°] Dāyabbimō n[ri]pa-
- 14 s=tēśhā[m] jyēśhṭhah kahōḥm=apālayat [1°] yat-pāpīś=śātṛava-śrīpān=kēs-ākṛiṣṭi-  
kaśh[ā°]yitah || [15°] Tasya=Airasiddhi-nṛipatis=sahajaḥ kanīyān=dūran=nirasya  
kalim=asya punaḥ=pravṛēsm [1°] rōddhum pravṛi[t]ta

<sup>1</sup> No. 63 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Tiruvallūr tāluka.

<sup>2</sup> From inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. <sup>3</sup> Read *śahyān*.

<sup>4</sup> The sign for *ryya* looks rather strange, but it cannot possibly be meant for anything else.

<sup>5</sup> The *śaraya* has been added below the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śahjāitām*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Kalikālō=bbhāt*.

<sup>6</sup> The *chō* has been added below the line.

- 15 iva yaḥ prachurām yaśa[h] sva[n°]=dik-sīmasu sphaṭika-sāla-nibha[m] babandha ||  
[16°] [A]sy-ābhavann=avani-maṅḍala-rakshitārah putrās=traya[h] sphurita-  
paurusha-bhūśhapās=tō [1°] yair=anvitah prasavitā suchiram vyarājat=tējō-
- 16 mayair=iva n[ri]jair=nuayanis-Triṅṅetraḥ || [17°] Jyāy[ān=śhām]=Manmasiddh-  
īśvaraḥ kshamām kshār-āmbhōḍhi-śyāma-sīmā[m] śāśāsa [1°] nity-ōśāśhad-yad-  
yaśah-paḥjar-āntar=vvyoḥma dhyāmām kōkila-
- 17 tvam bibharti || [18°] Tatra svar-llōkam-ārōḍhē madhyamō Be[ttā-bhū]patih [1°]  
tapasvī rājyam=ādhatta Tammusiddhau kanīyasi || [19°] Sa Śrīdēvyām-  
Ērasiddhi-kshītīś[ī°]-jāta[h] śrīmān=Manmasiddh-ānujanmā [1°] dhātṛim=ś-
- 18 tān=drā(trā)yamāpas=samastām=ast-ārātis-Tammusiddhi-khamāpaḥ || [20°] Asmāi  
Vatātavīśāya Śak-ābdō dhira-
- 19 yāyini [1°] grāmēshv=asya nṛipa-grāhyām prādād=āyam=śśēshataḥ || [21°] Śtat  
kshōḥpbbhṛitām=amśu-jatā-
- 20 lair=mmakuṭair=dhṛitam [1°] jaga[t°]-traya-prasiddhasya Tammusiddhasya śāsanam ||  
[22°] Yatnēna dharmma=śarapīḥ pariraksha-
- 21 nīyā s=ēyam bhavatbhi(dbhi)r=akhilair=iti Tammusiddhah [1°] āgāminah praṇayātē  
nṛipatīn=śasran=dūran=natēna śira-
- 22 śā na śarā-
- 23 sanēna || [23°]
- 24 Svasty=astu || [1°]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail to that glorious **Tammusiddha**, the dust of whose troops, which touches the lotus of Brahman, (*will be*) the cause, I imagine, of creating the future world!

(V. 2.) Triumphant is king **Tammusiddhi**, whose bow is victorious, who has washed off all sins, whose talk is always sweet, who has acquired the whole range of sciences, who has poured out the water of donation, who is difficult to be overcome by the tricks of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) who has appeased the torments of the **Kālī** (*age*).

(V. 3.) From the navel of **Padmanābha**<sup>3</sup> reposing on the waters sprang a certain wonderful lotus, the cause of all things, which, on account of his (*Vishṇu's*) eyes emitting light now soft, now fierce,<sup>3</sup> used to close and to open even before the creation.

(V. 4.) From this (*lotus*) sprang **Virīñchi**,<sup>4</sup> who, manifesting, as it were, the action of *rajas*<sup>5</sup> because (*he*) dwelt long in its interior, seemed to create companions similar (*to himself*), when his image was reflected by the crest-jewels of the snake (*which formed*) the couch of the husband of **Śrī**.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 5.) From him rose **Marichi** as the sun from the eastern mountain. From him (*again*) went forth **Kaśyapa** as the light from that (*sun*).

<sup>1</sup> After this stands a sign much like the sign for medial *s*; and though it would be possible to read *yētāśna*, I think that it is intended to mark the end of the proper grant, as the spiral is used in Kausarese inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Vishṇu.

<sup>3</sup> [Vishṇu's right eye is the sun, and his left eye the moon; compare above, Vol. III. No. 84, verse 3.—E.H.]

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Brahman.

<sup>5</sup> The word *rajas* must be understood here in its double sense of 'pollen' and 'energy,' the latter being the quality predominant in Brahman, especially at the time of creation; compare the introductory stanza of *Bāpa's Kādambarī*.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* Vishṇu.

(V. 6.) From him originated a certain bulb (*which was the origin*) of a race<sup>1</sup> of kings, the auspicious jewel-lamp to the three worlds, the body of which is the Vēda,<sup>2</sup> which was a fire destroying the forest of darkness, the cause, moreover, of fixing quarters and times.

(V. 7.) The divine Manu quickly descended from thence, he who first acquired the title of king, who had plenty of virtues, (*and*) who composed all the rules of policy, in order to rule this (*world*), like the primeval spirit (Viṣṇu) who resides in the orb of that (*sun*).

(V. 8.) In this family of Manu were many kings who made their fame rush along like torrents,<sup>3</sup> rulers even of heaven and earth who laid down the principles of (*just*) policy without opposition.

(V. 9.) In that family was king Kalikāla who constructed the banks of the Kāvērī. When (*he*) had lifted Mount Mēru with his play-staff, the quarters were greatly disturbed.

(V. 10.) In his race was born he who, after his conquest of Madhurā getting renowned by the name of Madhurāntaka, cruelly caused the Pāṇḍya women to take off completely their ornaments (*so that they were*) as before (*when they had been wearing fine pearl ornaments*);<sup>4</sup>

(V. 11.) Who, crowned with victory (*and*) famous for the strength of (*his*) arm, after having founded in (*the country of*) the Andhras the town called Pottapi, bore the title of Chōla preceded by that (*name*).

(V. 12.) In his race (*was*) that king Tiluṅgavidya who erected the famous pillar adorned with a waving banner of fame at Ujyapuri; I am sure, it is since that time that the sun tarries for a moment in the midst of the sky,<sup>5</sup> (*his*) charioteer<sup>6</sup> stopping out of brotherly affection, when he perceives the Garuḍa at the top of that (*column*).

(V. 13.) (*Born*) in his family, king Siddhi ruled the earth, on whose arms and on whose feet depended the life of his clients and that of his enemies (*respectively*).

(V. 14.) His younger brother was the mighty king Betta. To him also were born sons who defended those who asked them for protection.

(V. 15.) The eldest of them, king Dāyabhīma, whose hand was reddened by pulling the hair of the goddesses of royal fortune belonging to (*his*) enemies, ruled the earth.

(V. 16.) His younger brother (*was*) king Śrasiddhi, who, having driven far away the Kali (*age*), determined, as it were, to prevent its return, piled up his abundant fame like a wall of crystal at the ends of the quarters.

(V. 17.) He had three sons, rulers of the globe, (*attired*) with the brilliant jewel of heroism. Attended by them who were full of energy, the father shone for along time like Tripētra<sup>7</sup> with his beaming (*three*) eyes.

(V. 18.) The eldest of these, the lord Manmasiddhi, ruled the earth, the dark-blue limits of which were the briny ocean. The dark-blue sky became a cuckoo in the cage (*which was*) his continually rising fame.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'a cane.' The sun from which the solar dynasty descends is compared to a bulb with a sprouting shoot.

<sup>2</sup> With *śhāndaś-tanuḥ* compare such epithets of the sun as *śda-śagaḥ* in *Mahābh.* 3, 3, 19, or *śda-mūrtiḥ* in the *Mārkandēyapurāna*, 102, 22. The latter passage contains also an account of the origin of this appellation.

<sup>3</sup> The term *nirjharā* is used in allusion to the second meaning of *kāśamādhārit*, 'a mountain.'

<sup>4</sup> The pun contained in the word *nīlānta-muktā-dhharāṇā*, the correct interpretation of which I owe to Dr. Hultsch, can hardly be rendered in English. In the first case the compound must be taken as *nīlāntaḥ muktāny dhharāṇāni ydhiḥ*, in the second as *nīlāntā muktā dhharāṇāni ydām*.

<sup>5</sup> The compound *madhy-vyōma* is formed in accordance with Pāṇini, 2, 1, 18. Prof. Kielhorn, who drew my attention to this rule, quotes as an analogous case *madhy-dīnam*, 'in the midst of the day,' in *Trivikr-mahāṭṭa's Damayanthāṭhā*. In the first prose passage after l. 83 (p. 15 of the Nirṇayasāgara Press edition.)

<sup>6</sup> The charioteer of the sun is Aruṇa or Anṛu, the son of Kāśyapa and Vinatā, and brother of Garuḍa.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. Śiva.

(V. 19.) When he had ascended to the celestial region, the middle (*brother*), king Betta, being given to the practice of austerities, conferred the government on (*his*) younger (*brother*) Tammusiddhi.

(V. 20.) This glorious king Tammusiddhi, the son of king Śrasiddhi and Śrīdēvi, the younger brother of Manmasiddha, who, having destroyed (*his*) enemies, was ruling over this whole earth,—

(V. 21.) Allotted, in the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) Dhīrayāyin (*i.e.* 1120), to this lord of Vaṭāṭavī all the revenues due to the king in the villages belonging to his (*temple*).

(V. 22.) This (*is*) the order of Tammusiddha famous in the three worlds, which is borne by kings on (*their*) radiant diadems.

(V. 23.) "This road of piety should be carefully preserved by all of you;" thus does Tammusiddha make a perpetual request to future kings, (*his*) head being lowly bent, (*but*) not (*his*) bow.

(Line 24.) Let there be prosperity!

#### B.—TIRUPPASUR INSCRIPTION.

##### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Tammusiddhāya tasmai yat-sainya-rēpavaḥ [1\*] Bra-
- 2 hma-patma(dma)-spraśās-sānkē bhāvi-bhū-spraśī-hētavaḥ || [1\*] Udadhi-śayana-
- 3 bhāḥaḥ Patma(dma)nābhasya nābhēḥ kim=api nikhila-hētur=jjātam=ā-
- 4 ścharyya-patma(dma)m [1\*] yad=abhajad=api praśīṭēḥ pūrvvam=śtasya drik(driḡ)-
- 5 bhāyam=mrīdu-kaṭhina-mahōbhyaṁ=mīlan-ōnmīlanāni || [2\*] Ta-
- 6 smād=Virīchir=udabhūt suchiran=tad-antar=vvāsā[d=iva]
- 7 prakāṣayan rajasaḥ pravṛttim [1\*] ya[h\*] Śrīśa-talpa-
- 8 phaṇi-mauli-maṇi-praviṣṭa-bimba-
- 9 s=praśann=iva babhau sadpraśās=sahāyā-
- 10 n [|| 3\*] Marīchir=udagāt=tasmād=uday-ādrēr=i-
- 11 v=āśmāmān [1\*] tataḥ Kāśyapa śtasmā-
- 12 t prakāśa iva nirgataḥ || [4\*] Tasmā-
- 13 j=jaga[t\*]-trītaya-maṅgala-ratnadīpa-
- 14 ś=chhandas-tanus=timira-kānana-dā-
- 15 vavahniḥ [1\*] di[k\*]-kālayōḥ kim=ā-
- 16 param(ram) vyavahāra-hētuh
- 17 kō=py=āvirāsa vasudhādhi-
- 18 pa=vaśśa-kandaḥ || [5\*] Babhūvur=ullāsi-
- 19 ta-klrtti-nirjharā Manōḥ kulē=smi-
- 20 n bahavaḥ kshamābhṛitah [1\*] divas-pri-
- 21 thivyōr=api yair=nniyantṛibhi-
- 22 r=nnirānkūśō nīti-pathah pravartitah || [6\*] Tat-
- 23 kulē Kalikālo=bhūt<sup>2</sup> Kāvērī-tī-
- 24 ra-kṛin=urīpah [1\*] yat-kōḷi-yashī-tulitē
- 25 Mērau vyatikṛitā dīśah || [7\*] Jātō=śya
- 26 vaśśē Madhurāni vijītya praśhād=udāśchan-Madhu-
- 27 rāntak-ākhyah [1\*] nīlānta-muktā-dhharāṇah prachāṇḍa-
- 28 ḥ Pāṇḍy-ānganāḥ praḡ=iva yaś=chakāra || [8\*] Ji-
- 29 shvur=Andhrēshu yah kṛitvā purīm Pottappi=sa[m]-

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

<sup>2</sup> The *ākshara bhū* seems to have been corrected out of something else, perhaps *śāśa*.

30 jñit[ām] [1°] tatas=tat-pūrva-Chōj-ākhyah prakhyāta-bhu-  
 31 ja-vikramah || [9°] Tad-vamśē Siddhi-bhūpālah pālayām=[ā]-  
 32 sa mēdinim [1°] yadya-dōh-ped-āyattam-artthi-pratyarthi-jl-  
 33 vitam || [10°] Tad-vasē(mā)jas-sahaja-jitvara-satva(tva)-rāsīś=śatru-kshi-  
 34 tśvara-yasāś-śīrāmśu-Rāhuḥ [1°] śri-Nallasiddhi-nṛipa-  
 35 tīr=yyam-supētya kāntan=dik(g) dakahīṅ gajita-ka(kā)ñchi-guṅā  
 36 bahūva || [11°] Tasy-Aīrasiddhi-nṛipatis=sahajah kaul-  
 37 yān dūran-nirasya kalim=asya punah-pravēsam [1°]  
 38 rōddhum pravṛtta iva yah praçhuram yasā[h°] svan-dik-  
 39 śmasu sphaṭika-sāla-nibham babandha || [12°] Asy-ā-  
 40 bhavann=avani-maṇḍala-rakshitārah putrās=traya[h°] sphurita-pau-  
 41 ruaha-bhūshapās=tē [1°] yair=anvitah prasavitā suchira[m]  
 42 vyarjāt=tōjōmayair-iva nījair=nnayanais-Trinētra[h] || [13°]  
 43 Jyāyān=ēshān(ahām)=Manmasiddh-śvaraḥ kshamām kshā-  
 44 r-āmbhōdhi-śyāma-sīmām śāsāsa [1°] nity-ōda-  
 45 fiōhad-yad-yasah-peñjar-āntar-vvyōma dhyāman kōkila-  
 46 tvam bibharti || [14°] Tan-madhyaśas=tad=anu Betta-nṛip ā-  
 47 bhidhāś=śāntas<sup>1</sup>=tapōbbir=avadhīrita-bhōga-  
 48 vāñchah [1°] jyēshṭhē gatē divam=anākulam=ēva rā-  
 49 jyan=nikshiptavān=spi kanlyai Tammusi-  
 50 ddhan<sup>2</sup> || [15°] Jayati vipula-bhūbbhid-vamśa-janmā suvṛitta-  
 51 ḥ perichita-guṇa-gumphas=sambhavan-pāyaka-  
 52 śrīḥ [1°] suchiram=avani-bhūshā Tammusiddh-ābbidhāna-  
 53 s=sarasa-madhura-mūrttiś=chātānah kō=pi hārah || [16°] Sa  
 54 Śridēvyām-Śrasiddhi-kahitāś-jāta[h°] śrimān=Ma-  
 55 nmasiddh-ānujanmā [1°] dhātrīm=ētān=trāyamāṅas=sama-  
 56 stām=ast-ārātis=Tammusiddhi-kshamāpāḥ || [17°] Aśmai  
 57 Pāśipurēsāya Śak-ābdē dhirayāyini [1°] grāmē-  
 58 shv=asya nṛipa-grāhyam prādād-āyam=śāśhi(sha)ṭah || [18°] Grāma-  
 59 ſi=oha dattavān=asmai Kaivaṅṭūr=iti viśrutam [1°] sva-  
 60 pura-śrēshṭhinām prītyai sō=yam=atr=aiva va-  
 61 tsarē || [19°] État kshōp[1°]bhritām=amśu-jatā-  
 62 lair<sup>3</sup>=mmakutāir=dhṛitam [1°] jaga[t°]-traya-prasiddhasya Tammusi-  
 63 ddhasya śāsanam || [20°] Yatnēna dharmma-sarāṇiḥ pa-  
 64 rivakshapīyā s=ēyam bhavathī(dbhi)r=akhi-  
 65 lair<sup>4</sup>=iti Tammusiddhah [1°] āgāmīnah prapāya-  
 66 tē nṛipātūn=sjaśran=dūran=natēna śirasā na  
 67 śarśānēna || [21°] Svasty=astu ||

TRANSLATION.<sup>5</sup>

(Verse 11.) In his (i.e. king Siddhi's) family was born the glorious king Nallasiddhi, the model (of a man) of innate, conquering energy, (a very) Rāhu to the moon-like fame of hostile

<sup>1</sup> After *śa*, the engraver seems to have originally engraved some other *ākshara*.

<sup>2</sup> The first component of the sign for *as* stands at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>3</sup> The sign for *ai* stands at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>4</sup> The sign for *ai* stands at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>5</sup> The sign for *ś* stands at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>6</sup> Only the verses which are not found in the Tiruvālaṅgādu inscription have been translated here. Verse 18 also has been omitted here, because it differs from verse 21 of the Tiruvālaṅgādu inscription only with respect to the name of the god.

kings. When the southern quarter had obtained him as (*her*) husband, she dropped her girdle (or she lost Kāñchi).

(V. 15.) After that, when the eldest (*brother*) had gone to heaven, the middle one of them, who was called king Betta, being free from passions on account of (*his religious*) austerities (and) despising the desire for (*worldly*) pleasures, conferred the government, without any disturbances, on Tammusiddhi, though being the younger (*brother*).

(V. 16.) Victorious is a certain living necklace of pearls, called Tammusiddha, an ornament to the earth for a very long time, which comes from a ridge of high mountains, which is well rounded, which has numerous windings of strings, which shows a fine gem in the centre, which has an elegant and pleasant form, (and which thus resembles the king, who is born in a family of great kings, who leads a virtuous life, who combines in himself a series of good qualities, who enjoys the dignity of a chief, and who has a handsome and graceful appearance).

(V. 19.) And in the same year (*vis.* 1129) this (*king* Tammusiddhi) gave to him (i.e. the lord of Pāśipura) the village called Kaivaṅṭūr, to the delight of the merchants of his town.

## No. 21.—TWO FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMMUSIDDHI.

By H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

## A.—TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1129.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the *Ādhipurīśvara* temple at Tiruvorriyūr in the Saidāpēt tāluka of the Chingleput district.<sup>1</sup> The excellent inked estampages from which it is edited here were supplied to me by Dr. Hultsch.

The inscription consists of 26 lines in Grantha characters which vary in size from  $\frac{3}{8}$ " to  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse. With regard to orthography it may be noted that the engraver has followed the common practice of the time in this part of the country, in writing a surd consonant instead of a sonant before a sonant, in *patma* (ll. 1, 2, 3), *ḍṛikbhyaṃ* (l. 3), *utbhavāi* (l. 8), *ushatbudha* (l. 13), and *bhavatbhīr* (l. 25). Instead of *ushatbudha* lexicographers teach *usharbudha*, and this form is actually found in the *Uttarārdmācharita* (6, 4\*). Nevertheless I do not venture to alter *ushatbudha* into *usharbudha*, as the word occurs again in exactly the same shape in line 15 of the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ inscription of Tammusiddhi (B. below), and under these circumstances a mere clerical error seems to be out of the question.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription is one of king Tammusiddhi or Tammusiddha, and in every respect closely resembles the two inscriptions of that chief which I have edited above, p. 119 ff. I have pointed out already on that occasion that the present inscription is of some importance as settling the question of the relationship of Dāyabhīma and Nallasiddhi, which was left undetermined by the other two records.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the genealogical portion of the inscription contains seven new verses, three of which, however, are of no interest for the historian as they are merely in praise of some well-known heroes of the solar line from which Tammusiddhi claimed descent, viz. Rāghu (v. 8), Daśaratha (v. 9), and Rāma (v. 10). Verse 12 also, which alludes to the feats of the ancient Chōḷa king Kalikāla, adds nothing to our knowledge as it is an almost literal equivalent of the corresponding verse in the other two inscriptions. The verses 26 and 27 are eulogies of Tammusiddhi after the usual fashion.

The only new verse of historical value is verse 15, which introduces a king Betta as a descendant of Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōḷa and an ancestor of Tiluṅgavidya or, as he is called here (v. 16), Tiluṅgabijja. Literally translated, the verse runs thus: "In this family was born (a king) called Betta, who was the crusher of the thunderbolt whose flight was impelled by Śakra; if he with his fiery splendour had risen before, the cutting of the wings of the mountains also would not have taken place." Betta is here compared to Agni, the fire or the fire-god, who has the reputation of being able to split diamonds and thunderbolts.<sup>4</sup> As Betta,

<sup>1</sup> No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>2</sup> The writing *ushatbudha* is perhaps due to the influence of Tamil phonology. As in Tamil a Sanskrit dental generally assumes the sound of *r* before a labial (compare e.g. Tamil *urpatti* = Sanskrit *urpatti* and Tamil *urpudam* = Sanskrit *adbhutam*), I think it not unlikely that the *r* of *usharbudha* also was looked at as a secondary sound and therefore erroneously converted into *d* or *t*.

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that the term *tad-vaśāḷajaḥ* in verse 11 of the Tiruppāśūr inscription is replaced here (v. 20) by the words *asymdau jaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> See especially a passage in the *Uttarārdmācharita* (6, 4\*), pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn: *ucchohāṇḍa-vaśra-khāṇḍa-dvaśpṛhōta-paṭuḥ* . . . *usharbudhaḥ*, 'the fire . . . which is able to split into pieces the exceedingly hard *vaśras*.' In this case, it is true, *vaśra* would naturally suggest the meaning of diamond; but as *vaśra* has also the meaning of thunderbolt, and as the thunderbolt is thought to be of the same substance with the diamond, it is easy to understand how later writers came to credit the fire also with the faculty of destroying thunderbolts.

however, is not a legendary person to whom purely fictitious exploits such as a fight with Indra might be ascribed, it is evident that the words *Śakra-chōḍita-gatēr aśanāḥ praharītā* must be understood in a double sense and as referring to some historical event. We are thus led to take *Aśani* as a proper name and to translate 'who defeated *Aśani* whose march had been ordered by *Śakra*.' In this case *Aśani* would seem to have been the general of a king called *Śakra* or *Indra*; but it is perhaps even more probable, as suggested to me by Prof. Kielhorn, that *Śakra-chōḍita-gati* is the Sanskrit rendering of some Tamil or Telugu *biruda* of *Aśani*, just as *Aśani* itself may be the Sanskrit equivalent of some Dravidian name. Who this *Aśani* was, I am unable to tell; but it can be shown, at any rate, that proper names or *birudas* with the meaning of 'thunderbolt' are by no means uncommon in Southern India. Paḡāpṛiḍugu, 'the thunderbolt which cannot be split,' was the surname of the Pallava Mahēndravarmā I.<sup>1</sup> Among the ancestors of the Chōḷa chief Śrīkaṇṭha appears an Agraṇipṛiḍugu, 'the thunderbolt to the foremost (of his enemies),'<sup>2</sup> and in the inscriptions of the Perumāḷ temple at Poygai we find four times a certain Sambuvarāyaṇ who bore the *biruda* Virāśani, 'the thunderbolt to heroes.'<sup>3</sup> To these may be added Piḍuvārāditya, the *biruda* of Mallā II., one of the chiefs of Velanāḍu, as the first member of the compound seems to be connected with *piḍugu*.<sup>4</sup>

The object of the grant is to record that in the *śaka* year denoted by the chronogram *Dhīrayāyin*, i.e. 1129 (= A.D. 1207-8), Tammusiddhi allotted to the god, the lord of *Ādhipurī*, all the revenue due to the king in the villages belonging to the temple. *Ādhipurī* is an attempt of Sanskritizing Tiruvorriyūr, the name of the village where the temple is situated.<sup>5</sup>

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Tammusiddhāya tasmai yat-sainya-rēpavāḥ [1\*] Brahma-patma(dma)-sṛṣṭas-samkē bhāvi-bhū-sriṣṭi-hētavaḥ || [1\*] Jayati vijayi-chāpāḥ kahāḷi-śāśa-pāpae-satata-madhura-lāpāḥ prā-
- 2 pta-vidyā-kalāpāḥ [1\*] vitata-vitarāṇ-āpās-satru-māyā-durāpāḥ prasamita-kali-tāpas-Tammusiddhi-kahamāpāḥ || [2\*] Udadhi-śayana-bhāḷjaḥ Patma(dma)nābhāsyā nābhēḥ kim=api nikhila-hētur-jā-
- 3 tam-śācharyā-patma(dma)m [1\*] yad=abhajad=api sriṣṭēḥ pūrvvam=ētaśya ḍṛikbhyaḥ(gbhyaḥ)m=ṃṇidu-kāṣṭhina-mahōbhyaṃ=mīlan-ōnmīlanāni || [3\*] Tasmād=Virūchir-udabhūt=suchiran=tad-antar-vvāsād=iva prakāṣayan=rajasāḥ
- 4 pravṛittim [1\*] ya[ḥ\*] Śrīśa-talpa-phāṇi-mauli-maṇi-praviṣṭa-bimbā=srijaṇn=iva babhau sadṛīśas=sahāyān || [4\*] Marichir-udagāt=tasmād=nday-śḍrē=iv=āmsumān [1\*] tataḥ Kaśyapa ētasmat
- 5 prakāśa iva nirgataḥ || [5\*] Tasmāj=jagat[ḥ\*]-tritaya-maṅgala-ratnadīpaś-chhandas-tanus-timira-kānana-dāva-vahnih [1\*] dik-kālayōḥ kim=sparadh vyavahāra-hētuh kō=py=āvīrāsa vasudhādhipa-vamśa-kandah || [6\*] Asmā-
- 6 d=iam prathama-sambhṛita-rāja-śabdah pūrvvō guṇair=nnikhila-nīti-patha-prayōktā [1\*] dēvō Manus=apadi gōptum=iv=āvātrīrṇas=tan-maṇḍal-āntara-gataḥ puruṣah purāṇah || [7\*] Tasy-śuvayō Rāghur=abhū-

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. II. p. 841. This and the following two references were kindly communicated to me by Prof. Kielhorn from his forthcoming *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 123, note. I assume that Agraṇipṛiḍugu stands for Agraṇipṛiḍugu.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. I. p. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See verse 14 of the Piḍhūpuram pillar inscription of Prithivīśvara and Dr. Hultsch's note on that passage, above, Vol. IV. p. 49. In this verse Mallā II. Piḍuvārāditya is described as *śiḷa-khāḍga-khāṇḍita-mahāchōḍ-dītanāḥ*, 'he who broke by his own sword very fierce thunderbolts,' which almost looks like an imitation of the passage from the *Uttarārdmācharita* cited above.—[Compare also Viḍḍivṛiḍugu, 'the crashing thunderbolt,' in *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. III. p. 98.—E. H.]

<sup>5</sup> [See above, Vol. V. p. 106 and note 5.—E. H.]

<sup>6</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

- 7 t Surabhēḥ payōbhir-yaḥ pōshitaḥ prakṛiti-kāraṇātām upētaiḥ [<sup>1</sup>] āhartur-  
addhvaram-amushya<sup>1</sup> kim-ātra ohitram sarvvaśva-dānam-āpi visva-diśām  
vijētūḥ || [<sup>2</sup>] Ath-ābhavat Paṅktirathas-tad-anvayē bhuj-āpadā-
- 8 nēna chirāya rakṣaī-tā [<sup>3</sup>] adānavā yēna kṛit-Āmarāvātī sa-dāna-vā[<sup>4</sup>] svairam-  
iyañ-cha mēdini || [<sup>5</sup>] Tasmād-utbha(dbha)vatī sma vikrama-dhanō Rām-  
ābhidhānō Harir-yaśa-samkh[<sup>6</sup>] vinihatya rākshasa-patīm svar-gga-
- 9 rva-sarvvaṅkasham [<sup>7</sup>] dēvim svām śāsinaḥ kṛisām-iva kalām-arkkam  
pravāsiy-ānalaś sūddhim prāpya vimirgatām pundar-āpi svikṛitya yātaḥ  
purīm || [<sup>8</sup>] Bahūvur-ullāsita-kṛti-nirjharā Raghōḥ kulē-smin bahavaḥ
- 10 kshamābhritā [<sup>9</sup>] divas-prithivyōr-āpi yair-nniyantṛibhir-nirānkusō mti-pathaḥ  
pravartitāḥ || [<sup>10</sup>] Tasmīn kulē samabhavat Kalikāla-Chōlō vīraḥ Kavēra-  
tanayān-tatīnim vidhātā [<sup>11</sup>] yat-kēji-yasṭi-
- 11 pariḡhatīta-mātra ēva Mēnś-echalan-vyatikaram haritān-achakāra || [<sup>12</sup>] Jātō-sya  
vāmśē Madhurām vijitya pēśchād-udañchan-Madhurāntak-ākhyaḥ [<sup>13</sup>] nitānta-  
mukt-ābharaṇāḥ praścaḍāḥ Pāṇḍy-āṅganāḥ prāg-iva ya-
- 12 ś-achakāra || [<sup>14</sup>] Jishṇur-Andhrēshu yaḥ kṛitvā purīm Pottappi-samjñitām [<sup>15</sup>]  
tatas-tat-pūrva-Chōl-ākhyaḥ prakhyāta-bhujā-vikramaḥ || [<sup>16</sup>] Tasmīn kulē  
samudapadyata Bēta-nāmā yaś-Śakra-āchōdita-gatē-ā[<sup>17</sup>]
- 13 nēḥ prahartā [<sup>18</sup>] prāg-ēva yady-aradagamishyad-<sup>18</sup>ushatbu(dbn)dh-ārochēḥ  
paksha-kshayaḥ kshītībhritām-āpi n-ābhaviṣyat || [<sup>19</sup>] Tad-vāmśē sa  
Tilumbābija-nṛpatir-yyēn-Ōjjaपुर्याम-asaṇ chañchat-
- 14 kṛti-patākayā tilakita-stambhaḥ pratīhāpitāḥ [<sup>20</sup>] yaśy-āgrē Garuḍan-nirīkshya  
śhaja-śnēhēna sūtē sthitē mādhyē-vyōma vilambatē dinapatīḥ prāyas-tad-ādi  
khaṇam || [<sup>21</sup>] Tat-ku-
- 15 lē<sup>18</sup> Siddhi-bhūpālāḥ pālayām-āsa mēdini [<sup>22</sup>] yadiya-dōḥ-pad-āyatam-artthi-  
pratyartthi-jīvitam || [<sup>23</sup>] Anujanm-ābhavat-tasya Bēta-bhūpāḥ pratāpavān [<sup>24</sup>]  
tasy-āpi jāḥīrē putrās-trātās-śarap-ārtthi-
- 16 nām || [<sup>25</sup>] Dāyabhimō nripas-tēshāñ-jyēśthāḥ kshōḇm-āpālayat [<sup>26</sup>] yat-  
pāpē-sātrava-śṛṇmāṇ kēś-ākṛiṣṭi-kshāyitāḥ || [<sup>27</sup>] Asy-ānujās-sahaja-jitvara-  
satva (ttva)-rāsīs-satru-kshitisvara-yaśaś-āśirāmsu-rāhuḥ [<sup>28</sup>]
- 17 śri-Nallasiddhi-nripatir-yyam-upētya kāntan-ḍig-ḍakshinā galita-kāñchi-guṇā  
bahūva || [<sup>29</sup>] Tasy-Āirasiddhi-nripatis-sahajāḥ kanḍān-dūran-nirāsa kṣam-  
asya puṇah-pravēśam [<sup>30</sup>] rōddhum pravṛitta iva yaḥ praohurām ya-
- 18 sa[<sup>31</sup>] svan-dik-smasu sphaṭika-sāla-nibham babandha<sup>19</sup> || [<sup>32</sup>] Asy-ābhavann-  
avani-maṅḍala-rakshitaḥ putrās-traya[<sup>33</sup>] sphurita-pauruṣha-bhūṣhaṇas-tē [<sup>34</sup>]  
yair-ānyitāḥ praevitā suchiram vya<sup>35</sup>jat-<sup>35</sup>ōmāyair-iva nijai-
- 19 r-nnayanais-Tripētraḥ || [<sup>36</sup>] Jyāyān-śhām-Manmasiddh-śivaraḥ kabmām  
kshār-ām bhōḍhi-śyāma-simām śāsās [<sup>37</sup>] nity-ōḍāñchad-yad-yaśaḥ-pañjar-āntar-  
vyōma dḍhyāmām kōkilotvam bibharti || [<sup>38</sup>] Tan-mādhyamas-tad-anu  
Bēta-nrip-ābhidhāna-
- 20 ś-śānta-<sup>39</sup>pōbhir-avadhīrita-bhōga-vāñchhaḥ [<sup>39</sup>] jyēśthē gatē divam-anākulam-ēva  
rāḥyan-nikshiptavān-āpi kanḍyāsī Tammusiddhau || [<sup>40</sup>] Jayati vipula-  
bhūbhṛid-vāmśa-janmāḥ sūvṛittāḥ parichita-guṇa-gumpaha-

<sup>1</sup> The *m* of *ms* has a peculiar form; it looks as if it had not been finished by the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> The length of the *d* of *sadd* is expressed by two signs.

<sup>3</sup> The *akshara* *ka* looks like *sa*, but apparently only owing to a fissure in the stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read *radagamishyad*.

<sup>5</sup> The sign for *ś* stands at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *babandha*.

- 21 e-sambhavan-nāyaka-śrīḥ [<sup>1</sup>] suchiram-avani-bhūṣā Tammusiddh-ābhidhānas-  
sarasa-madhura-mūrtīs-chētanāḥ kō-pi hāraḥ || [<sup>2</sup>] Yaśaś-subhram yaśya  
śravaṇa-subhagam samśadi mūhū-Sahasrākheś-śṛiḥvan-madhura-vāchasaḥ kinna-
- 22 ra-mukhāt [<sup>3</sup>] ēva-chakheṣ-samkhyaḥ-kruti-vibhava-kantāhala-vasāt kalatrāya  
prāya[<sup>4</sup>] sṛiḥyasti pūnar-Ggautama-mnuḣḥ || [<sup>5</sup>] Dalita-ripu-karindra-śrēpī-  
vistṛṇṇa-kumbha-sṭhala-vigāṇita-śumbhan-mauktikā-vyāpta-
- 23 mūrtiḥ [<sup>6</sup>] jayati gḥāṭita-lakṣmīḥ kshīra-vās-chūṛṇṇa-kūṛṇṇaḥ puruṣha iva  
purāṇa[<sup>7</sup>] śyāmalo yat-kṛipāḥ || [<sup>8</sup>] Sa Śricōvāyām-Ērasiddhi-kshītīśj-  
jāta[<sup>9</sup>] śrīmān-Manmasiddh-ānujanmā [<sup>10</sup>] dhātṛīn-ētān-trāyamāṇas-  
24 maśtm-ast-ārātīe-Tammusiddhi-khamāpāḥ || [<sup>11</sup>] Dēvāy-Ādhipurīśāya Śak-  
ābdē dhrāyāyitī [<sup>12</sup>] grāmēshv-asya nripa-grāhyam prādd-āyam-aśēhataḥ  
|| [<sup>13</sup>] Yatnēna dharmma-sarāñiḥ parirakshāñyā e-śya-
- 25 m bhavathī(dbhi)r-akhilair-iti Tammusiddhāḥ [<sup>14</sup>] āgāmināḥ praṇayātē  
nripatīu-ajasran-dūran-natēna śirasā na śarāsanēna || [<sup>15</sup>] 6. || État  
kshōḇibhritām-amśu-jatālair-mmakutair-ddhritam [<sup>16</sup>] jaga[<sup>17</sup>]-
- 26 traya-prasiddhasya Tammusiddhasya śāsanam || [<sup>18</sup>]

TRANSLATION.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 8.) In his (*i.e.* Manu's) family was Raghū who was fed by the milk of Surabhi which had become the cause of procreation. Is it surprising, under these circumstances, that he should have performed a sacrifice at which (*his*) whole property was given away, (*and*) that he should have conquered also all the quarters? <sup>2</sup>

(V. 9.) Then there was in his family Paṅktirathas, <sup>3</sup> who, by the exploits of (*his*) arm protecting for a long time (*both*) Amāvāṣī and this earth, kept, of his own accord, (*the one*) free from demons (*and the other sprinkled*) with the water of donations.

(V. 10.) From him was born, under the name of Rāma, Hari full of valour, <sup>4</sup> who, having killed in battle the lord of the Rākshasas who was injuring all (*beings*) through (*his*) arrogance (*awakened by the conquest*) of (*Indra's*) heaven, <sup>5</sup> took back his queen, after she had emerged in purity from the fire which she had entered, as the narrow digit of the moon (*emerges again in old splendour*) from the sun after it had entered it, <sup>6</sup> and went to (*his*) capital.

(V. 12.) In this family was born Kalikāla-Chōla, the hero who supplied with banks the daughter of Kavēra. <sup>7</sup> When (*Mount*) Mēn had been merely touched by his play-staff, it began to shake and (*thereby*) caused a confusion among the quarters.

(V. 15.) In this family was born (*a King*) called Bēta, who was the crusher of the thunderbolt whose flight was impelled by Śakra, <sup>8</sup> if he with his fiery splendour had risen before, the cutting of the wings of the mountains also would not have taken place.

<sup>1</sup> Only the verses which are not found in the Tiruvālaḡgū and Tiruppāḡr inscriptions have been translated here. Verse 29 also has been omitted, because, apart from the name of the god, it is identical with verse 21 of the Tiruvālaḡgū inscription.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Śaḡhwanīya* (II. 69 ff.) Raghū was conceived by Sūdakṣhī, after her husband Dīlpa had drunk from the milk of the cow Nandini, the daughter of Surabhi, and not of Surabhi herself as implied by the verse of the inscription. Raghū's *dīpīyāga* and his performance of the Visvajit sacrifice are narrated in the fourth *śloka* of the *Taghūvāḡḡa*; compare with our verse especially IV. 66 :- *sa Visvajitam dījahē yajmān sarvasa-dakṣhiṇam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Īś. Dharmata*.

<sup>4</sup> The term *ekhroma* is used with reference also to the three strides of Viṣṇu.

<sup>5</sup> Rāvaṇa's conquest of Indra's heaven is told in the *Edādyāga*, VII. 27 ff.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Purāṇas*, the moon, when reduced by the draughts of the gods, enters the orbit of the sun and is replenished by it; see *e.g.* *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II. 12, 4 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* the Kavēri; see above, Vol. VI. p. 122, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> Or 'of Śani Śakrachōditagati.' Regarding this verse see my remarks above, p. 148 f.

(V. 26.) When the thousand-eyed (Indra) in (his) court constantly hears of his (i.e. Tammusiddhi's) brilliant fame, pleasant to the ear, from the sweet-voiced mouth of the Kinñaras, I am sure, he will covet again the wife of the sage Gautama<sup>1</sup> out of desire for the development of ears equal in number to his eyes.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 27.) Victorious is his sword, which is decked with sining pearls that have dropped from the cleft large frontal globes of the numerous princely elephants of (his) enemies, (and) which resembles the primeval spirit (Viṣṇu), because it is dark-blue (and) covered with dust as (Viṣṇu is sprinkled) with the water of the milk-ocean, (and) because it has established (his) royal power (as Viṣṇu is united with Lakṣmī).

#### B.—ARULALA-PERUMAL INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1127.

This inscription, which I edit from inked estampages supplied to me by Dr. Hultsch, is engraved at the base of the north wall of the stone platform called 'the mountain' (*malai*) in the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>3</sup>

It is written in Grantha characters which vary in height from  $\frac{1}{2}$ " to  $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". Up to line 15, medial *ai* is expressed in the usual manner by putting the two spirals side by side; see *tasmai* (l. 1), *sainya* (l. 1), *gunair* (l. 7), *sambhavaair* (l. 8), *kirtiyai* (l. 9), *svairam* (l. 10), *yair* (l. 12). But in the second half of the inscription the two signs are put one above the other; see *asy=Asrasiddhāsi* (l. 16), *yair* (l. 17), *iśjāmayair* (l. 17), *ñjair=nnayanais* (l. 17), *ñemai Hastisailēśvarāya* (l. 20), *akhilair* (l. 20), *jaḍalair=mmakuḥair* (l. 21). The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of a short passage in ll. 19 and 20, the whole text is in verse. The spelling of the words *patma* (ll. 1, 3, 4), *Vālmīkivat bhānu-* (l. 9), *abhāt bhuj-āpadānēna* (l. 9), *utbhavati* (l. 10), *uśhatbūha*<sup>4</sup> (l. 15), *sphāyat-bhūmāś* (l. 20), *prāddi grāmam* (l. 20), *bhavaibhīr* (l. 20) is in agreement with the practice followed in similar Grantha inscriptions. The group *ddh* is written *dhāh* in *=Asrasiddhāsi* and *rōdhādhum* in line 16.

This is another record of king Tammusiddhi. It enriches our knowledge by incidentally mentioning the surname of Tammusiddhi's father, Ērasiddhi, and the time and place of Tammusiddhi's inauguration. This information is found in l. 19 f. where it is recorded that in the Śaka year 1127 (=A.D. 1205-6) king Tammusiddhi, the son of Gaṇḍagōpāla and Śrīdēvi, the younger brother of the great king Manmasiddhi, having performed his anointment in the town of Nellūr, presented the village of Muṭṭiyampākka, the head-quarters of Paṇṭarāśhṭra, to the god, the lord of Hastisaila. Nellūr is the modern Nellore, the chief town of the district of that name. Muṭṭiyampākka and the district of Paṇṭarāśhṭra I am unable to identify. The temple of the lord of Hastisaila, i.e. 'the elephant mountain,' is the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ temple<sup>5</sup> where the inscription is engraved.

Except these data, the inscription contains nothing of historical value which is not known to us from the previously published records of Tammusiddhi, the four verses (4, 8, 9, 12) which here appear for the first time being merely eulogies of the king's mythical ancestors: Brahman, Sagara, Bhagiratha and Kuśa. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that Tiluḡavidya and Nallasiddhi are omitted in the genealogy, and that the name Betta is here constantly spelt Vetta (vv. 17, 19, 24).

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Abalyā, whom Indra tried to seduce. When Gautama became aware of his intention, he cursed the god, in consequence of which Indra's body was covered with a thousand eyes.

<sup>2</sup> The idea which forms the theme of this verse is rather far-fetched. Indra, being eager to listen to Tammusiddhi's praise, wants to have a thousand ears. He therefore looks again for Gautama's wife, hoping that by a new curse of the sage he will get as many ears as he has got eyes.

<sup>3</sup> No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1893.

<sup>4</sup> With respect to this word I refer to my remarks above, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> [Compare above, Vol. III. p. 71, and Vol. IV. p. 145.—E. H.]

#### TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī-Tammusiddhāya tasmai yat-sainya-rēpavaḥ [1\*] Brahma-patma(dma)-  
sprīśās=śānkē bhāvi-bhū-spiṣṭi-hētavaḥ [|| 1\*] Jayati vijayi-chāpaḥ kṣhājit-  
śśēśha-
- 2 pāpas-satata-madhura-lāpaḥ prāpta-vidyā-kalāpaḥ [1\*] vitata-vitarāṇ-āpas-śatru-māyā-  
durāpaḥ praśamita-kali-tāpas=Tammusiddhi-kāhamāpaḥ [|| 2\*] Udadhī-śaya[na]-  
bhājāḥ
- 3 [Pa]tma(dma)nābhāsyā nābhēḥ kim=api nikhila-hētur=jjātam=śścharyya-patma(dma)m  
[1\*] yad-abhajaś=api sriṣṭēḥ pūrvam=ēśasya ḍriḡbhyaṁ=mrīdu-kāṭhina-  
mahōbhyaṁ=mlan-ōmflanāni [|| 3\*] Tasmād ā-
- 4 virabhūch-charāchara-ja[ga]n-nirmāna-nirvāhakaś=tasyāntas=chira-vāsa-sambhṛita-rajō  
vṛittis=sa Patmā(dmā)śaṇaḥ [1\*] yēna Śrīpati-talpa-pannaga-phaṇḍ-ratnēśṭha-  
bimba-apriśā śraṣṭā-
- 5 rō bahavas=sahāya-vidha[y]ē sampādyamānā iva [|| 4\*] Marīchir-udagāt=tasmād=  
uday-ādrē-iv=śśmumāu [1\*] tataḥ Kaśyapa ēśasmāt prakāśa iva nirgataḥ  
[|| 5\*] Tasmāj=jagat-tritaya-maṅga-
- 6 la-ratna-dīpās=chhandas-tanus=timira-kānana-dāva-vahniḥ [1\*] dik-kālayōḥ kim=aparaṁ  
vyavahāra-hētuh kō=py=śvirāśa vasudhādhipa-vaṁśa-kandaḥ [|| 6\*] Tasmād=idam  
prathama-sambhṛita-rāja-
- 7 śabdaḥ pūrvṇō gunair=akhila-nīti-patha-prayōktā [1\*] dēvō Manus-sapadi gōptum=  
iv=āvātīrapas-tan-maṇḍal-āntara-gataḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ [|| 7\*] Ath=ānvayē  
tasya
- 8 babhūva rakahitā kahit r=udāśas=Sagarō narēśvaraḥ [1\*] chakāra yas=sāgaram=  
ātma-sambhavaireyya[śas]-sama[śṭ]ēr=nnirapāyam=śśrayam [|| 8\*] Bhagirathas=tatra  
babhūva divyāṁ Sarasvatīm yaḥ kṣhi-
- 9 tūm=ānināya [1\*] Vālmīkivat(vad) bhānu-kulasya kirtiyai sampādayitṛm<sup>2</sup> kavi-  
kautukāni [|| 9\*] Tad-anvayē Paṅktirathaḥ kramād=abhūt(bhūd) bhuj-āpadānēna  
chirāya rakah[ī]tā [1\*] adānavā yēna kṛit=Āmarāva-
- 10 tī sa-dāna-vā[h] [1\*] svairam=iyāñ=cha mēdini [|| 10\*] Tasmād=utbha(dbha)vati sma  
vikrama-dhanō Rām-ābhīdhānō Harir=yyas=śaṁkb[y]ē vīmahatya rākṣasa-patiū  
svar-ggarva=carvvaṁkasham [1\*] d vīm sv-
- 11 ām śāśināḥ kṛīśām=iva kalām=arkkam pravīśy=ānalam śuddhim prāpya  
vinirgatām punar=api svīkṛitya yātaḥ purm[|| 11\*] Abhūt sutas=tasya Kuś-  
ābhīdh[ā]nō rājñāḥ kara-sparsam=avāpya ya-
- 12 sya [1\*] Kumudva[ti] śā sarasaḥ prarūḍhā vikasvar=āṅgī suchira[n=na]nanda [||  
12\*] Babhūvur=ullāsiti(ta)-kirtti-nirjharā Raghōḥ kulē=smin bahavaḥ  
kāhamābhṛitaḥ [1\*] divas-prithivyōr=api yair=nniyantṛi-
- 13 bhī[r=nni]raṁkuśō nīti-pathaḥ pravartitāḥ [|| 13\*] Tat-kulē Kalikālō=bhūt  
Kāvērī-tira-kṛin=nrīpaḥ [1\*] yat-kēji-yaṣṭi-tulitē Mērau vṛatikṛitā diśaḥ [|| 14\*]  
Jātō=sya va[m]śē Madhurā[m] vijitya pāśchād=udaśchan.Ma-
- 14 dhurāntak-ākhyāḥ [1\*] [ni]tānta-mukt-ābharāṇāḥ praḥaṇḍaḥ Pāṇḍy-āṅganāḥ  
prāg=iva yaś=chakāra [|| 15\*] Jīshpur-Andhrēshu yaḥ kṛitvā purim Pottappi-  
śāñjītām [1\*] tatas=tat-pūrvva-Chōj-ākhyāḥ prakhyāta-bhūja-vikramaḥ [|| 16\*]
- 15 Tasmān kulē samudapadyata Vetta-nāmā yaś=Śakra-chōdita-gatē-śānēḥ prahartā  
[1\*] prāg=ēva yady=udagam[i]śhyad=ushatbu(dbu)dh-ārchchi[h] pakṣa-kahayaḥ  
kahitibhṛitām=api n=ābhavīyahat [|| 17\*] Tad-va[m]śē Siddhi-bhūpālāḥ pālayām=ā-

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *pad* has been added below the line.

- 16 sa medinim [\*] yadiya-doh-pad-ayattam-artthi-pratyartthi-jivitam [|| 18\*] Anujanm=abhavat-tasya Vetta-bhupah pratapavan [\*] tasy-Api jajire putras-tratras-saran-artthinam || [19\*] Deyabhimo nripas-tesham [m] jyeshthah kabonim-apalayam [\*] yat-pah [i] s-satava-ar [i] nam k-s-krisht-kashayitah [|| 20\*] Aya-Aipasadidhi (ddhi)-nripat [i] s-sabajah kanyan-duran-nirasya kal [i] m-asaya punah-pravesam [\*] rodhdhu (ddhu) m pravritta iva yah prachuram yash [\*] svan-d [i] k-simasu sphatika-sala-nibham babandha [||] [21\*]
- 17 Aya-abhavan-avani-mandala-ra [kabi] tara [h] pu [tra] s-traya [h] [\*] sphur [ta] -paurusabha-bhuh [sha] n-as-ta [\*] yair-anvitat prasavita suchiram vyarat-tajomayair-iva nijair-nayanais-Tripetra [|| 22\*] Jyayan-saham-Manmasiddhi-svarah kahmam kahar-ambhodhi-syama-simam sasasa [\*] nity-odanichad-yad-yasah-pajjar-antar-vyoma ddhyamam kokilatvam bibharti || [23\*] Tan-madhyamas-tad-anu Vetta-nrip-abhidhana-santas-tapobhir-avadhrita-bhoga-vachchah [||] [24\*] Jayati vipula-bhuhrid-va [m] sa-janma svpritat parichita-guna-gumphas-sambhava [n] -nayaka-rah [\*] suchiram-avan-bhuhah Tammusiddhi-abhidhanas-sarasa-madhura-murtis-ohetana [h] k-pi h [ra] h [|| 25\*] [Ya] sas-subham yasya svayam-subhagam sansadi muhus-Sahasakshas-ripvan-madhura-vachasah kinnaramukhat [\*] sva-chakshus-samkhyaka-
- 19 sruti-vibhava-kantuhala-vasat kajatraya praya [h] [\*] sphrayati punar-Ggautamamuneh || [26\*] Dajita-ripu-karindra-sreni-vistrop [a] -kumbha-sihala-vigajita-sumbhan-muktika-vyapta-murtih [\*] jayati ghatita-lakamih kehka-vah-churapa-krapah puro [sha] iva purapa [h] [\*] syamal yat-kripahah || [27\*] Sa khalu samasta-samrajya Nallur-nagarah krip-abhihaka [h] [\*] Sri-Gandagopala-Sri-
- 20 devl-vtra-sutir-Manmasiddhi-maharaj-Anujanma Tammusiddhi-mahapalah palaya [n] -a-khilam-arapav-ambaram [||] [28\*] Devaya-samai Hast [i] sailésvarasya sphayat (yad)-bhumné sarayogya [h] k-s [bd] je [||] [29\*] . . . ddhim\* Pañtarashtre-predhanam pradat (dad) gramam-Muttijampakka-samjnam || [28\*] Yatnéna dharmma-sarajih parirakshat [i] yá s-eyam bhavat (yad) bhir-akhilair-iti Tammusiddhah [\*] agaminah prapayat nripatin-sajaran-duran-natena sira-
- 21 sa na sarasana [|| 29\*] Eta [t] kahonibhrishm-sansu-jah-lair-mmakutair-ddhitam [\*] jaga [t] -traya-prasiddhasya Tammusiddhasya sanam || [30\*]

## TRANSLATION.\*

(Verse 4.) From this (*lotus*) arose that Padmasana,<sup>1</sup> who, having accumulated the power of *rajas*, because he had dwelt long in its interior,<sup>2</sup> accomplished the creation of the animate and inanimate world, (*and*) who, in order to create companions, seemed to produce many creators, when he touched the images reflected in the jewels of the hoods of the snake (*which formed*) the couch of the husband of Sri.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 8.) Then there was in his (*i.e.* Manu's) family an illustrious ruler of the earth, king Sagara, who by his own sons made the ocean an everlasting receptacle of the aggregate of (*his*) fame.

(V. 9.) In this (*family*) was Bhagiratha, who led to the earth the heavenly Sarasvati<sup>4</sup> that produced wonders of poets like Valmiki for the glorification of the solar race.

<sup>1</sup> The *sa* has been added below the line.

<sup>2</sup> The *viasar ga* has been added below the line.

<sup>3</sup> Three *skharas* before *ddhim* are illegible.

<sup>4</sup> The translation comprises only those verses which are not found in the inscriptions of Tammusiddhi published until now.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Brahman.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 124, note 5.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Vishnu.

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.* the Gangā, and, at the same time, the goddess of eloquence.

(V. 12.) His (*i.e.* Rāma's) son was he who bore the name of Kuśa. Having obtained the touch of the hand of this king, that Kumudvatī, who had emerged from the tank, expanding her body, enjoyed pleasures for a very long time.<sup>1</sup>

(Line 19.) Now, this king Tammusiddhi, the heroic offspring of the glorious Gaṇḍa-gopāla and Śrīdevī, the younger brother of the great king Manmasiddhi, having performed his anointment to universal sovereignty in the town of Nallūr, while protecting the whole (*earth*) girt with the oceans,—

(V. 28.) Presented, in the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) Śarayōgya (*i.e.* 1127), the village called Muṭṭijampākka, . . . the head-quarters of Pañtarashtre, to this god, the lord of Hastisaila, whose wealth is increasing.

<sup>1</sup> The words used of Kumudvatī are selected with reference to the original meaning of that name. Kumudvatī is likened to a group of lotuses (*kumudvatī*) growing in a pond (*sarasaḥ pradāha*), which open their blossoms (*vikasavar-dhṛgā*) when touched by the beams (*kara-spariam aedpya*) of the moon. The marriage of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, the sister of the serpent Kumuda, is told in the sixteenth *sarga* of the *Rājavamśa*.



## EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; ROSTOCK.

THE following notes, which I hope to continue from time to time, are a small contribution towards the reading and interpretation of the most ancient epigraphical records of India. For Nos. 6, 14, 22, and 23, I have been able to use a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. Kielhorn: on the margin is written, in Dr. Fleet's hand: — "Indo-Scythian stones which belonged to Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham;" and it shows the front sides of the stones which bear the inscriptions mentioned above, and two other stones with inscriptions which will be dealt with later on. Except for that, I have had no fresh materials to work at, such as impressions, rubbings or photographs, but have had to rely on the reproductions published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is hardly necessary to point out that these reproductions are of very different value. Whereas the photo-lithographs in the *Epigraphia Indica* may be considered a fairly reliable base for a critical examination of the text, the reproductions published in the older works are of course more or less untrustworthy; and perhaps it will be wondered at that I should have commented at all on inscriptions of which only such imperfect copies were available. If nevertheless I have done so, this is largely due to an external reason. By advice of some friends interested in Indian epigraphy, and in analogy to the lists compiled by Prof. Kielhorn, I am preparing a list of the Indian inscriptions prior to about A. D. 400, which will contain also a short abstract of the contents of each inscription. It was chiefly in order to render this list as free from errors as possible, also with regard to inscriptions of the kind described above, that I have ventured at revising them and publishing the results in the present shape. I am fully aware that by a re-edition of these inscriptions most of my remarks will be superseded. The sooner this will happen, the better it will be, and I can only hope that the authorities of the Indian Museums, to whose care these precious documents of the ancient history of the country are entrusted, will find a way of making them accessible to scholars in a form satisfying modern requirements.

## No. 1. — Mathurá Jaina image inscription of Sam. 4;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 201, No. 11, and Plate.

The inscription is mutilated. The last words of the first line are transcribed by Bühler *Vajanagarit[ā śā]*. After *śā* another *akshara* is visible on the photo-lithograph, and there can be no doubt that *śā* is to be restored to *śākhātō*, although both the *śa* and the *kha* seem to have somewhat abnormal forms. The editor, however, was certainly wrong in transcribing the third *akshara* of the name of the *śākhā* by *na*. As a comparison with the *na* in *śiśini* in line 2, in *Grahachēśēna* and *Grahādēśēna* in line 3 will easily show, it is really *na*. The straight vertical at the top of the letter is nothing but the *serif*; whereas the lingual *na* has a slightly bent top-line; see the words *Vāraṇātō gaṇātō* in line 1. The spelling of the word *Vajanagaritō* would thus be quite the same as in another Mathurá inscription edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 387, No. 11.<sup>1</sup> But it is just possible that the actual reading is *Vājanagaritō*; in the photo-lithograph, at any rate, the first *akshara* looks exactly like the first *akshara* after the date which Bühler himself read *vā*, and the stroke below the *ja* can hardly be a second *ja*, as Bühler thought, but seems to be the beginning of a subscript *ra*. However, these strokes may after all be merely accidental just as the stroke below the *na*, and an examination of the impression or of the stone itself would be necessary to settle this point.

## Nos. 2 and 3. — Mathurá Jaina image inscriptions of Sam. 5 and 18;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 201, No. 12, and p. 202, No. 14, and Plates.

The dates of these two inscriptions, which unfortunately are badly mutilated, read according to Bühler: . . . *śya va 5 grī 4 dī 5*, and . . . *śha 10 [3] va 2 dī 10 I*. Bühler considers the *va*

<sup>1</sup> In a third inscription also, *ibid.* p. 387, No. 34, we find *Vajanagaritā śākhāyā* with the dental nasal.

of the first inscription to be an abbreviation of *varsha*, and remarks in a note that in the second inscription also *śha* perhaps ought to be restored to *varsha*. If these views should prove correct, the two inscriptions would stand quite alone, no other inscription of this period at Mathurá employing the word *varsha* instead of *sahvat* or *sahvatsara* in the date.

Under these circumstances it would not seem out of place to draw attention to the extreme precariousness of Bühler's readings. If the supposed *śha* of the second inscription is compared with the *śh* and the *s* of the word *Ariṣṭaṅgmīya* in line 2 of the same text, it will be seen that in its left portion it far more resembles the *s* than the *śh*. The small horizontal stroke at the lower end of the right vertical, which alone gives the appearance of a *śha*, may be accidental, especially as the engraving of the whole inscription is rather carelessly done.<sup>2</sup> *Sa*, of course, would stand for *sahvatsarē* as in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 395, No. 28; Vol. II, p. 201, No. 11; p. 202, No. 13, &c.

In the case of the first inscription Bühler's reading is even more objectionable. In my opinion there can be no doubt whatever that the *akshara* immediately before the numeral is *mē*. Before *mē* stands a ligature, the lower portion of which cannot be a subscript *ya*, because in that case the curve would be open to the right, but clearly is *cha*. We thus are led to read . . . *chamē 5*, which entails almost with necessity the restoration [*sahvatsarē pañ*] *chamē 5*. However, the upper portion of the ligature does not look much like a *ñā*,<sup>3</sup> but it may very well be *pa*, and *pchamē* may be an abbreviation for *pañchamē*, just as *svatsarē* in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 384, No. 5, is an abbreviation for *sahvatsarē*. Other instances of this tachygraphic mode of writing in the Mathurá inscriptions are *Dēvatāyā* for *Dēvatāyā*, *Gupta Inscriptions* (Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III.), p. 263, No. 63, and *śdha*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 387, No. 9; *śdhi*, *ibid.* p. 392, No. 24; *śdham*,<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 206, No. 26, for *siddham*.

## No. 4. — Mathurá Jaina image inscription of Sam. 5;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 381, No. 1, and Plate.

Bühler read this inscription as follows:—

A. 1 . . . . . dē[va]putrasya Ka[ni]shkasya sam 5 hē 1 di 1 étasya pūrva[ā]yam  
Kot[ī]śātō gaṇātō Bahmadāsikā[tō]

2 [ku]lāto [U]jehēnagaritō śākhātō sēthi . iha . . . sya . . . isēnasya sahachari-  
Khuḍāyē Dē[va] . . .

B. 1 pālasya dhi[ta] . . . . .

2 Vadhamānasya prati[mā] ||

A glance at the photo-lithograph will show that instead of *sahachari* we have to read *śadhachari*. The same term is found in two other Mathurá inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 388, No. 11 (*Datisya śiśiniyē Mahanandisya śadhachariyē Balavarmayē Nandayē cha śiśiniyē Akakayē nirvartanā*), and Vol. II, p. 201, No. 11 (*Puḥyamitrasya śiśini Sathisīśidyē śiśini Sīhamitrasya śadhachari . . .*), while its masculine counterpart appears in the form of *śradhachara* or *śadhachara* in the Mathurá inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 388, No. 4 (*brīhanṭavāchaka cha gaṇina cha Ja . . mitrasya . . . aryya-Ōghasya śiśhya-gaṇisya aryya-Pālasya śradhacharō vāchakasya aryya-Dattasya śiśhyō vāchako aryya-Sihā tasya nirvartanā*), p. 391, No. 21 (*vāchakasy-āryya-Hastahastisya śiśhyō gaṇisya aryya-Māghohastisya śradhacharō vāchakasya aryya-Dēvasya nirvartanā*), and Vol. II, p. 203, No. 18 (*vāchakasy-āryya-Ghastuhastisya śiśhyō gaṇisya-*

<sup>2</sup> Another instance of a closely resembling *śha* is found in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 204, No. 19, where Bühler himself read *śtasya*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *ña* occurs twice at Mathurá, in the inscription edited below, No. 23, and in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 210, No. 36, which Bühler refers to the Gupta period.

<sup>4</sup> Bühler considers the sign which I read *m*, to belong to the next line and transcribes it by *ca*, but this, at any rate, is impossible. Compare the *siddham* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 206, No. 27, where the *m* is put below the *dha* in exactly the same manner. For a doubtful case, see Bühler, *ibid.* p. 209, note 7.

*dryya-Manghuhastisya sadhacharô vâchakô aryya-Dêvô tasya<sup>6</sup> nirvartand*). It will be noticed that in all these passages the *sadhachari* and the *irâddhachara* is further specified as the pupil of some monk, and this holds good in the present case also, the photo-lithograph leaving no doubt that the word before *Sênasya* is to be restored to *îisîni*. Between *sâkhâtô* and *îisîni* there are six *aksharas*, the first two of which are distinctly *sêthi*. The next two seem to be *niha*, the fifth is quite illegible, and the last is certainly *sya*, so that the whole may be transcribed as *sêthi[niha] . . . sya*. For two reasons it appears to me quite impossible that *sêthi* should have any connection with Sanskrit *îrêshthin* or a derivative of it, as Bühler thought.<sup>6</sup> Firstly, Sk. *îrêshthin* cannot possibly become *sêthi* with a dental *th* in any Prakrit dialect. Secondly, a woman who is characterised as the *îisîni* of some male person and the *sadhachari* of another, must have been a nun, as in the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurâ these terms are applied to nuns only and never to lay-sisters. Now it goes without saying that a nun cannot be called a *îrêshthinî*, 'the wife of a banker.' As far as I see, there are two possibilities of explaining the passage. We have to read either *Sêthi[niha] . . . sya îisîni*, in which case *Sêthi[niha]* . . . would be the name of Khuḍâ's teacher, or *sêthi[ni Ha] . . . sya îisîni*, in which case *sêthini* would be an epithet of unknown meaning referring to Khuḍâ, while the teacher's name would be Ha . . .

At the end of A, after *Khuḍâyê*, Bühler reads *Dêva . . .*, and combining this with the beginning of B, *pâlasya dhita*, translates: 'by Khuḍâ, daughter of Dêva . . . pâla.' Such a statement would be highly improbable by itself, no other Jaina inscription of this class at Mathurâ containing a specification of the relationship of a monk or a nun. And on closer inspection it will be seen that the reading *Dêva . . .* cannot be upheld. The first *akshara* is not *dê*, but a *ni*, with the left half of the base-stroke effaced, and the second *akshara* is not *va*, but clearly *rva*. After *nirva* the photo-lithograph has a distinct *ta*, possibly with a superscript *r*. *Nirva[r]ta*, of course, is to be restored to *nirvartandâ*, the last letter in the line having disappeared as in the preceding one.<sup>7</sup> It thus appears that the donation was made by a lay-woman, the daughter of Pâla, and that the nun Khuḍâ only acted as her spiritual adviser, which in every respect agrees with the usual state of things.

There remain some minor points. The second *akshara* of the name of the king is a little blurred, but what is still visible of it in the photo-lithograph decidedly points to its having been *vi*, and not *ni*. There is altogether no certain instance of the spelling of the word with the dental nasal at Mathurâ. In the two inscriptions edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19, and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4,<sup>8</sup> the reading *Kaniṣhkasya* is beyond all doubt, and in the one edited by Cunningham, *ibid.* No. 5, the facsimile at any rate shows distinctly the same reading.<sup>9</sup>

In the last line of the inscription Bühler seems to have overlooked the *d*-stroke in the *vd*, which is quite distinct in the photo-lithograph.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, I am unable to detect the *d*-stroke in *md*.

With these emendations the text will run as follows:—

A. 1<sup>11</sup> Dêvaputrasya Ka[ni]shkasya sa[m] 5 hê 1 di 1 êtasya pûrvv[â]yam Kottiyâtô  
gaḡâtô Bahmadâsikâtô [ku]-  
2 lâtô [U]chênâgaritô sâkhâtô Sêthi[niha] . . . sya îisîni Sênasya sadhachari  
Khuḍâyê nirva[r]ta[nâ]

<sup>6</sup> See below, No. 16.

<sup>7</sup> In his translation of the inscription he calls Khuḍâ 'consort of alderman (sêthi) . . . sêna.'

<sup>8</sup> There is no reason why the *ku* should have stood at the beginning of line 2, as assumed by Bühler.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 37, No. 6.

<sup>10</sup> See below, No. 25.

<sup>11</sup> The reading *Vâdhamaṇasya* is found also in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 393, No. 27, though Bühler gives *Vâdhamaṇasya* in his transcript.

<sup>12</sup> Bühler wants to restore *siddhaka* in the beginning of the inscription, but no traces of the word are discernible.

B. 1 Pâlasya dhita . . . . . ya . . . . . û<sup>12</sup> . . . . .  
2 Vâdhamanasya prati[mâ] . . . . .

"In the year 5 of Dêvaputra Kaniṣhka, in the first (month of) winter, on the first day, — on that (date specified as) above, — an image of Vâdhamana (*Vardhamāna*) [was dedicated by] . . . the daughter of Pâla, the daughter-in-law of . . . , at the request of Khuḍâ (*Khudrâ*), the *sadhachari* of Sêna, the female pupil of Sêthiniha . . .<sup>13</sup> out of the Kottiya gaḡa, the Bahmadâsika (*Brahmadâsika*) kula, the Uchênâgari (*Uchchânâgari*) sâkhâ."

No. 5. — Mathurâ Jaina image inscription of Sam. 5;

edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 2, and Plate.

Cunningham read this inscription, which is engraved on three sides of the pedestal of a Jaina statue:—

1. — . . Bodila bhedha Vâsu Devâ pravi . . Siddhah Sam 5 — He 1 — Di. 12 +  
Asya pûrvvaye koḡ . . Sragihato  
2. — Sarvvasatvâhita Sukhaya . . ji-to Brahmadasika to ubhâna karita . . Sati.

Cunningham added no translation to his transcript, but simply stated that the inscription 'records some gift by a lady named Brahmadaśi.' In his re-examination of the inscription in the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 176, Bühler, with the help of a rubbing, corrected the reading of the middle portion of the first line to *siddha = sa 5 hê 1 di 10 2 asya pûrvvaye Koḡ[ī]ya*, and justly remarked that the sides had been wrongly numbered, and that the second ought to be the first, the third the second, and the first the third. And in Vol. IV. p. 171 of the same journal he corrected also the middle portion of the second line to *[ku]lâtô Brahmadaśikâtô Uchânâkaritô*. This last correction admits of a little improvement. If Bühler's reading were accepted, the word *kula* would stand before the proper name to which it belongs, whereas in all other inscriptions it invariably follows the proper name. And Bühler himself seems to have been not quite sure of his reading, as he thinks it necessary to observe that the *la* is slightly disfigured on the facsimile. The facsimile, however, shows as plainly as possible a *ḡâ*, and not a *lâ*, and there can be no doubt that *ḡâtô* is to be restored to *ḡâḡâtô*. The word *ḡâḡâtô* must have immediately followed *Koḡ[ī]yaḡâtô*, the name of the *gaḡa*, and this proves that Cunningham has wrongly numbered not only the sides, but also the lines on each side. The first line of the first side is followed by the second line of the same side, after which comes the first line of the second side, &c. The whole inscription reads:—<sup>14</sup>

A. 1 Siddha[m] ḡ Sa 5 hê 1 di 10 2 asy[â] pûrvv[â]yê Koḡ[t]i[ḡâtô]  
2 [ḡa]ḡâtô Brahmadaśikâtô Uch[ê]nakâ(ka)ritô [sâkhâtô]  
B. 1 'Sr[ī]ḡrîhâtô sa[m]bhôḡâtô . . . . .  
2 . . sa niḡa (?) . . . . .  
C. 1 . . . i bôdhilabhê ê Vâsudêvâ puvî . . . . .  
2 . . sarva-sat[vâ]na[m] h[ī]ta-sukh[â]yê .

In this arrangement the general wording of the inscription in no way differs from the usual pattern. After the date follows the statement of the *gaḡa*, *kula* and *idkha* of the monk at whose request the donation was made, and the phrase that it was made for the benefit of all beings, forms the conclusion. The only peculiarity of this inscription is the omission of the word *kulâtô* after *Brahmadâsikâtô*, which, undoubtedly, is due to a mere oversight of the engraver. The middle

<sup>12</sup> Restore . . . . . *sya vadhâ*.

<sup>13</sup> Or, possibly, 'the sêthini (?), the female pupil of Ha . . .'

<sup>14</sup> All signs which do not appear in the facsimile, but may be inferred from a comparison with the numerous similar inscriptions at Mathurâ, have been included in brackets. The *vd* which Bühler reads in *Uchânâkaritô* is not warranted by the facsimile. On the other hand, the facsimile has distinctly *kd*, although, of course, the *d*-stroke may be merely accidental.

portion, which contains the name of the donor, cannot be made out from the facsimile.<sup>15</sup> The rest may be translated as follows:—

“Success! The year 5, the first (*month of*) winter, the twelfth day, on that (*date specified as*) above, [at the request of] . . . . . out of the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Brahmādāsika [*kula*], the Uchēnakari (*Uchchānāgarī*) *śākhā*, the Srigrīha (*Srigrīha*) *sanibhāga*, . . . . . for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

**No. 6. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Saṃ. 9;**  
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 31, No. 4, and Plate,  
and by Bühler, *Vienna Orient. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2.

Bühler's restoration of this inscription is excellent, and his text only wants a few small corrections. The photograph of the front side of the stone lent to me by Prof. Kielhorn shows that the reading of the king's name actually is *Kaṇishkasya* as in the facsimile, with the lingual ṇ. The facsimile, again, has clearly the correct form *gaṇatō*, not *gaṇatō*, and . . . *lāta*, which is to be restored to *kulātō*, not *kulatō*. Of more importance is the reading of the name of the *kula*. Bühler transcribed Cunningham's facsimile as *tanibha* . . . , and, misled by the corrupt form *Vāñijja* of the *Kalpasūtra*, corrected this to *Vāñiyatō*. The facsimile, however, shows very distinctly a *tha* under the supposed *ta*. We are thus led to read *Tihāniyatō*, and although such a form would not be unaccountable in itself, I consider it unlikely, because the name is nowhere else spelt in this way, but exhibits in its beginning either *sth* (*Sthāniyatō*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 385, No. 7; p. 391, No. 21; *Sthānikīyō*, *ibid.* p. 386, No. 8, *et* (*Sthānikīyatō*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18).<sup>16</sup> or *ṭh* (*Ṭhāniyatō*, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 3; p. 392, No. 22; *Ṭhāniyatō*, *ibid.* p. 395, No. 28; *Ṭhāniyatō*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15). Under these circumstances I think it more probable that the *t* is merely due to a fault of the designer, and that the real reading was *Sthāniyatō*.

**No. 7. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Saṃ. 25;**  
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 384, No. 5, and Plate.

Bühler reads the second portion of this inscription, after the statement of the *nirvartana*:—

(l. B. 2) . . . [Nā]dia[ri]ta Jabha[ka]sya vadhu Jaya[bha]ṭṭāsya kuṃtūbinīya Raya-  
giniye [vu]suya

and translated: “a *vasuya* (?) (*was dedicated*) by Rayagini, the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, from Nāndigiri (?), (*and*) wife of Jayabhaṭṭa.”

The photo-lithograph allows us to correct the first word with absolute certainty. Instead of *ari* the plate shows distinctly *syadhī*. The reading *Nādisya dhita* is quite in accordance with the common practice of these inscriptions to describe the relationship of the donatrix in the order ‘daughter’ of N. N., daughter-in-law of N. N., wife of N. N.’; see, *e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; p. 383, No. 4; p. 388, No. 11; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32; p. 210, No. 37, &c. The town of Nāndigiri therefore is to be struck out from the list of Ancient India.

Also with regard to the translation of the words *rayaginiye vasuya* I differ from Bühler. I think, it will be admitted that *rayagini* has not the appearance of being a proper name, and I would suggest to take it as an appellative in the sense of ‘the wife of a *rayaga*,’ in analogy to such terms as *vihārasāminī*, ‘the wife of a *vihārasvāmin*’ (*Gupta Inscr.*, Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III. p. 263), *mahāsēnāpatinī*, ‘the wife of a *mahāsēnāpati*’ (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 16), *sarttavāhīnī*, ‘the wife of a *sarthardha*’ (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 23).<sup>17</sup> *Rayaga* would be the true Prakrit equivalent of Sk. *rajaka*, ‘washerman or dyer.’<sup>18</sup> Other members of the artisan class

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps line B. 2 is to be restored to *ya nirva[rtana]*.

<sup>16</sup> See below, No. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Compare also the similarly formed feminines *śākhīnī*, *śākhīnī*, *śākhīnī*, *śākhīnī* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; p. 384, No. 5; p. 385, No. 7; p. 388, No. 12; Vol. II. p. 206, No. 28, &c.) and *antīvāsīnīnī* (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 21).

<sup>18</sup> The transition of *j* into *y* is found in the Mathurā inscriptions also in *Uvānīya* (Sk. *Uvānīya*), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4.

are found among the donors of images in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 21; Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18; p. 205, No. 23.<sup>19</sup>

If it is admitted that *rayagini* is an appellative noun, it follows that the proper name must be contained in the following word which Bühler read *vasuya*. The ending *-uya* indicates that the word is the gen. sing. of an *ū*-stem, which in these inscriptions generally ends in *-uyē*, and occasionally in *-ūyē* or *ūya*; compare *vadhuyē*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10; p. 392, No. 24; p. 396, No. 30; Vol. II. p. 207, No. 32; *vadhūyē*, Vol. I. p. 388, No. 11; *vadhūya*, Vol. II. p. 205, No. 22. That the spelling *-uya* is not found hitherto, is certainly merely accidental, as the *ū*- and *f*-stems show the corresponding forms in *-aya*, *-iya* by the side of the common forms in *-ūyē*, *-ūyē*, *-iyē*, *-iyē*; compare *aya-Saṅgamikaya śīnīya*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 388, No. 12; *Śītāmīraya*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 16; *Dēviya*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 37. More difficult is the settling of the first syllable of the name. It would seem easy enough to correct *Vasuya* into *Vasūya*, especially as the diminutive *Vasulā* actually occurs as a woman's name in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and p. 388, No. 12, but the photograph does not seem to countenance such an alteration, and for the present it will perhaps be safest to rest satisfied with Bühler's reading.

There is still another point to command attention. Bühler thought *vasuya* to be the last word of the inscription; in my own interpretation one more word would be required to furnish the necessary supplement of the genitive *Vasuya*. Now, the photograph shows distinctly the upper part of the word *dānaḥ* below the syllables *gapa* in the beginning of line B. 2.

I therefore propose to read the second portion of the inscription:—

B. 2 . . . . . Nādisya dhita Jabha[ka]sya vadhu Jaya[bhaṭṭa]sya kuṃtūbinīya<sup>20</sup>  
rayaginiyē<sup>21</sup> [Vu]suya  
3 [dānaḥ]

and translate:—

“. . . the gift of Vusu (?), the wife of a dyer, the daughter of Nādi (*Nandin*), the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, the wife of Jayabhaṭṭa.”

**No. 8. — Mathurā stone inscription of Saṃ. 28;**  
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 1, and Plate.

As far as I see, it is generally assumed that Kaṇishka's reign extended until the year 28 of the era used in the northern inscriptions, and that in the following year he was succeeded by Huvishka. The evidence for these suppositions is chiefly derived from the inscription quoted above. In dealing with the intricate questions of the history of this period the greatest amount of exactness and discretion is indispensable, and it therefore seems to me not superfluous to point out that the assumption of the year 28 being the final year of Kaṇishka's reign is not only wholly unfounded, but in all probability actually wrong.

The latest reliable date of Kaṇishka is the year 18 in the Mānikyāla inscription (*Journ. As. Ser. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8*); the first indisputable record referring to Huvishka is a Mathurā inscription dated in Saṃ. 33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2). It is true, there is another inscription at Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 206, No. 26) mentioning the *mahārāja* Dēvaputra Huksha as he is called here, and supposed to be dated in the year 29, but the inscription is a pitifully fragmentary state, and even if the reading *ēkunatt[īw]* should prove correct, it would still be quite uncertain whether this word should be taken as referring to the number of the year or, *e. g.*, of the day, so that for historical purposes the record is of no account. Of even less consequence is the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 385, No. 6, the date of which reads *mahārāja . . . . . śhkaśa saṃ 20 9 hē 2 di 30 ama kshuṣā*. No trace has been left of the *aksharas* preceding *śhkaśa*, and these syllables may be restored to [Kaṇi]śhkaśa as well as to [Huv]iśhkaśa. The state

<sup>19</sup> Compare Bühler's remarks, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. IV. p. 384.

<sup>20</sup> Or, perhaps, *kuṃtūbinīya*.

<sup>21</sup> Also the readings *rayagīnīyē* or *rayagīnīyē* would be possible.

of things is very similar in the case of the inscription of Sañ. 28. It is only a very short fragment which reads:—

. . . . shkasya rājya-sa[m]vatsarē 20 8 hēmana 3 di . . .

Here, too, there is no reason whatever why *shkasya* should necessarily be restored to [Kāṣi]shkasya. The restoration [Huv]ishkasya or [Hu]shkasya would suit equally well, to say the least, and there is even one little point to recommend the last-mentioned reading as the most plausible one. Before *shkasya* the photo-lithograph distinctly shows the remains of a letter, consisting of a stroke slightly bent to the right. It cannot possibly be the rest of a *ni* or *gi*, nor is it likely to be the lower end of the vertical of a *ka*, because this is generally either straight, or, on the contrary, turned to the left. It looks exactly like a subscript *u* and therefore [Hu]shkasya, which closely resembles the *Hukshasya* of the inscription mentioned above, appears to me the most probable reading. Of course, in that case we should have to read [Huv]ishkasya also in the inscription of Sañ. 29. But until fresh materials are brought to light, I would myself not attach too much weight to these restorations, and I shall be satisfied with having shown that, as far as our evidence goes at present, we can safely claim only the years 5-18 for Kanishka and 33-60 for Huvishka, though the latter probably was on the throne already in 28.<sup>23</sup>

No. 9. — Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Sañ. 33;  
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2, and Plate.

Although this inscription seems to be in a fair state of preservation, the editor has not succeeded in making out more of it than the date and the *aksharas bhikshusya . . . hasya . . . takasya . . . . . Buddhasya*. He tells us besides that Cunningham took the word ending in *takasya* to be *tripitakasya*. Unfortunately the reproduction of the inscription on the accompanying plate is on so small a scale as to make a complete deciphering of the text almost impossible. As far as I can see, the text runs:—

1 Mahār[ā]jasya dēvaputrasya Huv[i]shkasya sañ 30 3 gri 1 di 8 bhikshusya [Maha]-  
sya trēpitakasya antēv[ā]s[i]n[ī]yē bhikshu[ī]yē trēpitikā[yē] Buddha . . . . yē

2 bhāginēyiyē bhī[kshu]niyē Dha . . . . niyē Bōdhisat[tv]ō p[r]atithā[p]i[tō] . . . . .  
. . . sahā matāpitihī . . . . .

"In the year 33 of *mahārāja* Dēvaputra Huvishka, in the first (*month of*) summer, on the eighth day, a Bōdhisattva was set up by the nun Dha . . . . ni, the sister's daughter<sup>24</sup> of the nun Buddha . . . . who knew the *tripitaka*, the female pupil of the monk Maha (?) who knew the *tripitaka*, . . . together with her father and mother."

The reading of the *bhikshu's* name, *Mahasya*, is very doubtful. On the other hand the restoration of *trē . . . . . yē* to *trēpitikāyē* seems to me pretty certain, though, of course, it cannot be asserted that this was the exact form of the word.<sup>25</sup> The term *trēpitaka* or Sk. *traiṣṭhika* is found again in a Kanheri inscription<sup>26</sup> and in the Set-Mahet inscription mentioned below, and nuns who were versed in the three *pitakas* are spoken of also in the *Dīpavamsa*, XV III. 13; 19; 33.

This inscription is of considerable importance for the history of Buddhist art. There are comparatively very few ancient Buddhist statues with inscriptions accurately stating the character of the represented person. In his valuable paper on an ancient inscribed Buddhist statue from Srāvastī,<sup>27</sup> Dr. Bloch has collected all the cases known to him. He enumerates five inscriptions in which the figure is called an image of *Buddha*, of *Sāstri*, of *Bhagavat*, of *Dhagavat Sākyamuni*, or of

<sup>23</sup> I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for some of the above suggestions. He drew my attention to the improbability of the reading [Kāṣi]shkasya in the inscription of Sañ. 28. But he differs from me in the final restoration of the word.

<sup>24</sup> Compare the Kuṣā inscription No. 5 (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 6), where a Buddhist nun is described as the *bhāginīyī* of two monks.

<sup>25</sup> It may have been also *trēpitakāyē*, *trēpitaktyē* or *trēpitakintyē*.

<sup>26</sup> *Arch. Surv. Rep. W. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77, No. 6. <sup>27</sup> *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXVII. Part I. p. 274 ff.

*Bhagavat samyak-sambuddha sva-mat-āviruddha*, and two — an inscription from Buddhagayā<sup>27</sup> and the Set-Mahet inscription which forms the special subject of the paper — where the statue is described as that of a Bōdhisattva. To the latter class the present inscription is to be added.

A detailed comparison of the three Bōdhisattva statues is impossible for the present, as no photographs or drawings are available either of the Set-Mahet or of the Mathurā image, and Mr. Growse's remarks, moreover, are rather brief, yet I should like to draw attention to the following points. According to the statements of Growse, Bloch and Cunningham, the three figures are all of the same material. The Mathurā statue is 'in red sandstone,' the Set-Mahet statue is 'made of a sort of reddish sandstone, the same material which the Mathurā sculptures of the Kushāna period are made of,' and the stone of which the Gayā statue is made is 'a sandstone like that of Mathurā, and not from a local quarry.' In size also the three figures seem to be similar. The seated Gayā figure is 3' 9" high by 3' 1" in breadth across the knees; the standing Set-Mahet figure is 11' 8" in height; for the Mathurā figure no exact measurements are given, but Mr. Growse speaks of a 'large' figure. Besides the three statues apparently agreed in attitude. Of the Mathurā figure only the crossed legs remain, which show — to use Mr. Growse's own words — that 'the left hand of the figure had rested on the left thigh, the right being probably raised in an attitude of admonition.'<sup>28</sup> The Gayā figure is a little better preserved. Of the left arm only the upper portion is left, but its direction and remains of the hand, distinctly visible on the phototype, prove that it originally rested on the left thigh. The right arm is entirely gone, but from the absence of any marks on the body or the right thigh it may be safely concluded that it was raised up without touching the body. The Set-Mahet statue also has lost the right arm, but Dr. Bloch remarks that 'we may fairly well conclude from the analogy of similar statues that the missing right arm of the figure was represented lifted up in an attitude which is usually called that of "teaching," while the left hand rested on the hip, holding up the end of the long vestment.' Whether the Mathurā figure also had the right shoulder bare like the other two figures, cannot be decided. There would thus seem to be only one point of difference: the Mathurā and Gayā figures are seated, whereas the Set-Mahet figure is standing.

The close resemblance between the three statues sufficiently shows in my opinion that they are the work of the same school of sculptors, and that they cannot be very widely separated from each other in time. Probably the Set-Mahet figure is the oldest, as Dr. Bloch describes the characters of the inscription as belonging to the Northern Kshatrapa type. The Gayā figure, on the other hand, is certainly the latest of the three, though perhaps not so much later than the others as Dr. Bloch seems to think. At any rate, the advanced form of the *sa* in the Gayā inscription, which he takes as a criterion for its late origin, is found also in the Mathurā inscription; compare *mahārājasya dēvaputrasya* and *sañ*.<sup>29</sup>

Considering the scantiness of the evidence, the question which particular Bōdhisattva is represented by the three statues cannot be touched at present. But whether they be meant for Maitrēya or one of the numerous other Bōdhisattvas, they certainly bear witness to the wide spread of the Mahāyānist Bōdhisattva worship during the first century of our era.

No. 10. — Mathurā Jaina elephant capital inscription of Sañ. 38;  
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 9, and Plates V. and XIV.,  
and by Bloch, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVII. Part I. p. 276, note 2.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the large figure of an elephant surmounting the bell capital of a pillar, and records the setting up of a *Nandivisāla* by the *śrēshṭhin* Rudradāsa, the son of the *śrēshṭhin* Sivādāsa, for the worship of the Arhats. The last phrase characterises the donor as a member of the Jaina community.

<sup>27</sup> Cunningham, *Mahābūdhi*, p. 53, and Plate XXV.

<sup>28</sup> Mr. Growse adds that another mutilated figure of similar character, but without inscription, was found on the same spot, and that these were the only specimens he had with the hands in this position, in all the others the hands being crossed over the feet.

<sup>29</sup> A more detailed examination of the Gayā inscription I reserve to some future occasion.

The only word in this inscription which presents any difficulty, is *Nandivīśāla*. Cunningham translated it by 'this elephant (or great Nandi);' in Dr. Bloch's opinion it may mean that the pillar was 'as big as Nandin,' or it may be a technical term of unknown meaning. None of these suggestions seems plausible to me. *Nandivīśāla* can hardly be an appellation with the meaning of elephant, nor can it be rendered by 'the great Nandin,' as this would be *viśālō Nandī* in the language of the inscription, and Nandin, moreover, is the name of Siva's bull and not of an elephant. Against Dr. Bloch's view it may be urged that it would scarcely be appropriate to compare the circumference of a pillar to that of a fabulous bull, and that such a fanciful comparison, at any rate, would be out of place in a record which for the rest is as dry and laconic as possible.

The placing of the inscription immediately below the elephant makes it highly probable, I think, that it has a special reference to that figure, and that *Nandivīśāla* therefore is the proper name of the elephant represented in the sculpture, and not a technical term for a sort of pillar. What makes me believe in the correctness of this interpretation, although I am unable to point out an elephant of that name in Jaina literature, is the fact that *Nandivīśāla* occurs as an animal's name in the Pali canon of the Buddhists. In the *Suttavibhaṅga*, Pāc. II. 1, the Buddha tells a story of a bull at Takkaśilā who could draw a hundred loaded carts, and the name of this extraordinary animal is given as Nandivīśāla. The same story was made up into a *Jātaka* (No. 28), called the Nandivīśāla-jātaka after the name of its hero who is identified here with the Master in a former birth. In the present limited state of our knowledge about the Jaina Nandivīśāla, it would be quite unsafe and useless, of course, to enlarge on his possible relation to his Buddhist namesake. But the name itself is of interest as proving the existence of Saivism in the fourth century B. C., for it seems to me beyond any doubt that the etymological meaning of the name is 'as big as (Siva's bull) Nandin,' and not 'Great-Joy,' as translated by Mr. Chalmers.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Jātaka*, transl. under the editorship of E. B. Cowell, Vol. I. p. 71. From the appellation Nandivīśāla and the donor's and his father's name in the Mathurā inscription Dr. Bloch draws the conclusion that 'Jainism apparently already in those early times was as much mixed up with Saivism as its greater rival Buddhism.' Perhaps this assertion goes a little too far. Rudradēva may have been a convert from Saivism to Jainism which would satisfactorily account for his name, and if my explanation of Nandivīśāla should be accepted, this name would presuppose the knowledge of Siva's *vāhana*, but in no way as an integral part of the Jaina religion.

## EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDEES, Ph.D.; ROSTOCK.

(Continued from page 41.)

No. 11. — Mathurā Buddhist inscription on base of pillar of Sañ. 47; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 83, No. 12, and Plate.

CUNNINGHAM'S transcript of this inscription, which is engraved round the base of a pillar, is on the whole correct. It differs, however, from the facsimiles in reading *Dēvapūtrasya Hūviśhkaśya* and *sukham*, for which the facsimiles distinctly show *Dēvapūtrasya, Hūviśhkaśya* and *sūkha[m]*. The form of the king's name with the long vowel is found also in the Bombay University Library inscription edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 269.

Another difference between the transcript and the facsimiles occurs in the description of the donor. Cunningham, following Dowson, read *bhikshusya Jivakasya Udeyanakasya*,<sup>31</sup> but if there is any trust to be placed in the facsimiles, the last word is really *Ōḍiyanakasya*. As Jivaka is said to have been a monk, *Ōḍiyanaka* cannot be a term denoting a caste or profession, but most probably is the name of some nation or tribe and corresponds to a true Sk. *Audiyana*, a derivative of *Uḍiyana*. I am unable to point out such a name in the earlier Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. But perhaps it is connected with *Uḍiyanā*, mentioned after Sindhu, Saurāṣṭra and Pāñchāla in a list of different countries in the *Sriśarāḍyaya*, a portion of the *Rōmakasiddhānta*.<sup>32</sup>

With these corrections and some changes in the transliteration Cunningham's text runs as follows:<sup>33</sup> —

Sañ 40 7 grī 4 di 4 mahārājasya rājātirājasya Dēvapūtrasya Hūviśhkaśya vihārē dānam bhikshusya Jivakasya Ōḍiyanakasya ku[m]bhako 20 5 sarva-satra-hita-sūkha[m] bhavatu sa[m]ghē ch[a]turdiśe.<sup>34</sup>

"In the year 47, the fourth (month of) summer, the fourth day. Gift of the monk Jivaka, the Ōḍiyanaka (native of Uḍiyana ?), to the viḥāra of mahārāja rājātirāja Dēvapūtra Hūviśhka. Base of pillar 25. May welfare and happiness of all beings prevail in the community belonging to the four quarters."<sup>35</sup>

No. 12. — Mathurā Buddhist inscription on base of pillar of Sañ. 47; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate.

Of this inscription Rajendralala Mitra offered the following text: —

Datana ra sara (44 ?) divasa 5 prabu(?)ddhāya dānam bhikshusya Dhammadattasya.

Unsatisfactory as the facsimile is, it makes it pretty certain that the true reading is: —

Sānvatsarē 40 7 va . divasē 5 asya purvayē dānam bhikshusya Dharmmadēvasya.<sup>36</sup>

"In the year 47, in the . . . (month) of the rainy season, on the fifth day, — on that (date specified as) above — the gift of the monk Dharmmadēva."

<sup>31</sup> Rajendralala Mitra read *bhikshu Jivakasya Ōḍiyanakasya* in the text and 'the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka' in the translation.

<sup>32</sup> Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 340.

<sup>33</sup> The bracketed letters are not visible in the facsimiles. The third *ā* in *rājātirājasya* is distinct in Dowson's facsimile.

<sup>34</sup> Cunningham read *chaturdiśe*.

<sup>35</sup> With regard to this term compare the remarks of Mr. Smart, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 59 f.

<sup>36</sup> The *va* of the last word looks more like *ta*, but this is the case also in the preceding inscription where the reading undoubtedly is *Dharmmadēvasya*.

With the exception of the date of the month, this text would be identical with that of the Mathurā pillar inscription edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.*, No. 17, by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 188, No. 5, and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11. It reads according to Cunningham's facsimile:—

Samvatsarē 40 7 gri 3 divas[ē] 5 asya purvayē dānam bhikshusya Dharmadēvasya.

It cannot be denied that the close agreement of the two inscriptions is rather suspicious and apt to lead to the supposition that the *vā* in Rajendralala Mitra's facsimile is merely a mistaken *gri*, and the whole facsimile nothing but a second copy of Cunningham's No. 11 and his own No. 17. On the other hand, Rajendralala Mitra expressly states that the originals of both inscriptions were deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, and it is not impossible, after all, that Dharmadēva presented more than one pillar and at different times.

**No. 13. — Mathurā inscription on base of pillar of Sam. 47;**  
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate;  
by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate;  
by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate.

Rajendralala Mitra's transcript of this inscription reads:—

Dānam Dēvīasya Dadhikurṇpadēvikulikasya sam 59 divasa 80.

Dowson reads:—

Dānam Devīasya Dadhikarṇna-devi-kulikasya Sam 40 7 gri 4 Divasa 20 5.

Cunningham reads:—

Dānam Devīasya Dadhikundi . . Devikulikasya, Sam. 47. — Gr. — 4, Divasa 25.

To judge from the facsimiles published together with the three editions, the actual reading appears to be:—

Dānam Dēvīasya Dadhikarṇpadēvikulikasya sam 40 7 gri 4 divasē 20 9.

There is some doubt attached to the last figure of the date which, as Dowson remarks, is partly defaced. The *i* of the *akshara vi* in 'dēvikulikasya' is quite distinct in the facsimiles of Rajendralala Mitra and Cunningham, but wanting in that given by Dowson. As, however, the latter also reads *vi* in his transcript, I think it almost certain that it is really found in the text.

With regard to the purport of the inscription my three predecessors substantially agree in considering it to record 'the gift of Devīa of the race (or of the family) of Dadhikarṇadēvi.' There are two objections to this translation. Firstly, Dadhikarṇadēvi would be a name unparalleled in the Mathurā inscriptions, and secondly, there is no other instance of a man being described in this way as belonging to the family of some woman. In my opinion Dadhikarṇadēvikulika means 'the servant (or priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa.' Dadhikarṇa is the name of some Nāga, and we know from an inscription edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, that there was a shrine or temple dedicated to him at Mathurā. That inscription records the setting up of a stone slab 'bhagavatō nāgēndrasya Dadhikarṇasya stānē,' and although Bühler translated this 'in the place sacred to the divine lord of snakes Dadhikarṇa,' he added himself that *stāna*, which stands for Sk. *stāna*, might also mean 'temple.' The word *dēvikulika* is derived from *dēvakula*, and in correct Sanskrit ought to show *vriddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable. The *i* of the second syllable is striking, but an exact parallel is furnished by the Mathurā inscription edited by Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide*, Part III. p. 143, where the drawing plainly shows the words *brahātā dēvikulā*, 'a shrine for the Arhats.' Similar instances of the transition of a *i* into *ī* will be found in Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, par. 101-103.

I translate the whole inscription:—

"The gift of Dēvīa, the servant (or priest) at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa in the year 47, in the fourth (month of) summer, on the twenty-ninth day."

This and the inscription mentioned above are valuable evidence of the great antiquity of serpent-worship in India, although unfortunately neither of them contains any hint as to the creed which the worshippers of Dadhikarṇa at Mathurā professed. That Dadhikarṇa is invoked in the *āhnika mantra* of the *Harivahā*, was pointed out already by Bühler, *loc. cit.* p. 381. It may be added that his name is also found in a list of Nāgas quoted by Hēmachandra in his own commentary on the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, verse 1311.

**No. 14. — Mathurā Jaina stone inscription of Sam. 48;**  
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate.

Cunningham read this short fragment:—

1 Mahārājasya Huvishkasya Sam. 48 — He. 4 — Di. 5

2 Bama Dāsyaakula ukonāsya Siviya dharā.

The photograph of the stone belonging to Prof. Kielhorn shows that the true reading is:—

1 Mahārājasya Huvishkasya sa 40 8 hē 4 di 5

2 Bramadāsiyē kul[ē] U[ch]jēnāgariya śākhaya<sup>37</sup> Dhar. . .

The only difficult letter is the ninth of the second line. There can be little doubt that it is meant for *ohē*, and that the tail at the base is merely accidental, but it is easy to see how Cunningham came to read *kō*. The Brahmadāsika *kula* and the Uchchānāgari *śākhā* are mentioned together in numerous Mathurā inscriptions; see, e. g., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1; p. 383, No. 4; p. 384, No. 5; p. 389, No. 14, &c.

**No. 15. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 40;<sup>38</sup>**  
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate.

Bühler read in line C. 1 *āryya-Haṭṭakiyatō kulatō*, but the second *akshara* of the name is wrong. It cannot be *ḥ*, because the curve denoting medial *i* is always open to the left, whereas this sign, on the contrary, shows a curve open to the right. The *akshara* is therefore to be read *ḥa*, and, leaving aside the short vowel of the first syllable, the spelling *Haṭṭakiya* agrees with that of two other Mathurā inscriptions edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 201, No. 11 (*āryya-Haṭṭakiyatō<sup>39</sup> kulatō*), and Vol. I. p. 397, No. 34 (*āryya-Haṭṭiyē kulō*).

The last three lines, which contain the description of the donatrix and her gift, are transcribed by Bühler as follows:—

A. 3 — [sya] dhītu gramī[ka]-Jayadēvasya vadhūyē

B. 3 — mikō Jayanāgasya dharmmapatniyē Sihadatā[yē]

C. 3 — [lathambh]ō danam.

The reading *Sihadatāyē* is impossible. What is still visible of the last *akshara* of the line is the left portion of a *sa*,<sup>40</sup> and the correct reading apparently is *Sihadatasya*. This word must have been followed originally by *mātu*, which probably stood at the beginning of line C. 3. The description of a female donor in her fourfold character as daughter, daughter-in-law, wife and mother is exactly the same as in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2, and probably also in two others edited *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28, and Vol. II. p. 208, No. 34.

The *aksharas lathambhō* Bühler wants to restore to *ślāthambhō*, which would be a very peculiar term for the object which it is meant for. The inscription is incised on the four faces of the pedestal of a quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas, placed back to back, and in all other instances (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 382, No. 2; Vol. II. p. 202, No. 13; p. 203, No. 16; p. 210,

<sup>37</sup> Compare for the locative, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 397, No. 34: *āryya-Haṭṭiyē kulō Vajranāgariyā śākhāyā*.

<sup>38</sup> The unit of the date is illegible.

<sup>39</sup> Possibly *āryya-Haṭṭakiyatō*, the *ā*-stroke being not clear in the photo-lithograph.

<sup>40</sup> Compare the same letter in *Jayadēvasya* in line A. 3.

No. 37) statues of this sort are termed *pratimā sarvatōbhadrīkā* in the inscriptions.<sup>41</sup> Bühler's reading is therefore *a priori* improbable. But quite apart from this consideration, I own that I do not see how these letters can possibly be read *lathubhā*, even assuming, as Bühler did, that the last two consonants are only half formed. The last sign can hardly be anything but *ya*, which would seem to indicate that the word is the name of the donatrix, but unfortunately neither the vowel-sign above the *ya* nor the preceding letters are distinct enough in the photo-lithograph to allow any positive reading on this authority alone.

Nos. 16 and 17. — Mathurā Jaina image inscriptions of Sam. 52 and 54 ;  
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18, and Vol. I. p. 391, No. 21, and Plates.

Bühler's transcripts of these two inscriptions, placed side by side, read as follows :—

Siddha samvatsara dvāpanā 50 2 hēmanta-	. . . dham sava 50 <sup>42</sup> 4 hēmanta-
[mā]sa pratha . . divasa pañcavāśā 20 5	māsē chaturthē 4 divasē 10
asma kṣuṇē K[o]ṭṭiyātō gaṇāt[ō] <sup>43</sup> Vērātō	asya purvvāyām Koṭṭiyātō [ga]ṇātō Sthāni-
śakhatō Sthānikiyātō kulāt[ō] Srigrībatō	[y]ātō kulātō Vairātō śākhātō Srigrīb[ā]tō
sāmbhōgātō vāchakasy=ārya-Ghastuhastīya	sāmbhōgātō vāchakasy=ārya-[Ha]stuhastīya
śishyō gaṇīsy=ārya-Māṅghastīya śaḍha-	śishyō gaṇīya ayya-Māṅghastīya śradha-
charō vāchakō ayya-Divītasya nirvartanā	charō vāchakasya ayya-Dēvasya nirvartanē
Sūrasya Sramaṇakaputrasya Goṭṭīkasya lōhikā-	Gōvasya Sīha-putrasya lōhika-
kārakasya dānaṁ sarvasatvānaṁ hita-sukhā-	kārukasya dānaṁ sarvasatvānaṁ hita-sukhā
astu	ēka-Sarasvatī pratībhāvitā avatalē raṅgāna-
	[rttan]ō mē [u]

The two records so closely agree with each other as to leave no doubt about the identity of the persons mentioned in the first portion. *Ghastuhasti* and *Hastuhasti*, *Māṅghastī* and *Māghastī*, are nothing but various spellings of the same names. A very similar case occurs in two other Mathurā inscriptions, *Vienna. Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 172, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19. They contain the name of a preacher which in the former is spelt *Kakasaghasta*, while in the latter it reads *Karkuhastha*. However, I am not quite sure that Bühler was right in reading *Māṅghastīya*. The *anusvāra* is very indistinct in the photo-lithograph, and the true reading may be *Māṅghastīya*, which would come nearer to the form used in the other inscription.

Bühler's reading °*Divītasya* in the first inscription cannot be upheld. Neither the first nor the second vowel-sign can be *i*, as the *i*-sign is much more rounded in this alphabet, and Bühler appears to have been aware of it himself, as in a note he quotes °*Dēvītasya* as a possible reading. The correct reading undoubtedly is *ārya-Dēvō tasya*, and I think I can discern the traces of the second *ō*-stroke in the photo-lithograph. The spelling of the name therefore is the same in both inscriptions. As for the construction compare the inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 332, No. 3 (*ārya-Māṭṭīdīnāḥ tasya nirvartanā*), p. 383, No. 4 (*vāchakō ayya-Sīhā tasya nirvartanā*), Vol. II, p. 204, No. 19 (*Grahābalō ātapikō tasya nirvartanā*), p. 209, No. 37 (*ārya-Kshērakō vāchakō tasya nirvartana*), &c.

In the second portion of the first inscription Bühler translated the words *Sūrasya Sramaṇakaputrasya Goṭṭīkasya lōhikākārakasya dānaṁ* by 'the gift of the worker in metal Goṭṭīka, the Sūra, the son of Sramaṇaka,' taking the word *Sūra* as the name of Goṭṭīka's family or clan. But from the parallel description of the donor in the second inscription as *Gōvasya Sīhaputrasya lōhikākārukasya* it is evident that, on the contrary, *Sūra* is the real name and Goṭṭīka a qualifying epithet. The meaning of this word is difficult to ascertain. It may be a proper name characterising *Sūra* as the

<sup>41</sup> Compare the analogous term *sarvatōbhādra*, applied to a *śloka* the single *akṣaras* of which, if written twice on the squares of a chessboard, yield the same text from whatever side they may be read. For examples, see *Kīrtīrajusya* XV. 25 ; *Sisūpālacādhā* XIX. 27, &c.

<sup>42</sup> The figure is quite distinct.

<sup>43</sup> The bracketed signs of the last two words are distinct in the photo-lithograph.

member of some tribe or as the native of some country or town, but no such name is known to us, and I venture to suggest a different explanation. Bühler has shown<sup>44</sup> that in the dialect of these inscriptions the aspiration of conjunct hard aspirates is frequently neglected; in the present inscription also the photo-lithograph shows *Stānikiyātō*<sup>45</sup> instead of *Sthānikiyātō*, as transcribed by Bühler. *Goṭṭīka* may therefore possibly stand for *goṭṭhīka*, the Prakrit equivalent of Sk. *gōṣṭhīka*, which means the member of a Pañch or committee entrusted with the management of religious endowments and in this sense occurs, e. g., in the Pehevā inscription from the temple of Garībāth.<sup>46</sup>

With regard to the last words of the second inscription I am unable to offer any explanation, though it will be readily admitted, I think, that neither Bühler's reading nor his translation of them are satisfactory. The date also of this inscription has been called in question, but, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. Bühler originally took the date of the year to be 84,<sup>47</sup> but changed it into 54 on comparing Growse's inscription No. 5,<sup>48</sup> where the date 57 is given both in words and figures. Lately Mr. V. A. Smith, in his monograph on 'The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā,'<sup>49</sup> has asserted that the plate clearly reads 44. I own that I cannot discover any resemblance between the first figure of the date and the numeral sign for 40, whereas, on the other hand, I do not see how that figure differs from the signs for 50 occurring in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 11 ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, Nos. 17 and 18. And the date Sam. 54 is also in the spirit of keeping with the facts to be derived from the first inscription. If *Dēva* was acting as the spiritual adviser of a member of the *lōhikākāraka* caste in Sam. 52, it is quite natural to find him in exactly the same capacity in Sam. 54.

No. 18. — Mathurā Jaina inscription of Sam. 60 ;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

Bühler read the numeral sign indicating the year of this inscription as 40, adding 60 in brackets and with a note of interrogation, but from his remark in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61, it may be gathered that he would have adopted the second alternative himself, if he had had an opportunity of reverting to this inscription. As to the rest, I only want to point out that instead of *ārya-Vēriyāna śākhāyā* in line 1, the plate clearly reads *ārya-Vēriyāna śākhāyā*.

Vēridhastī, the *vāchaka* in the Koṭṭīya *gaṇa*, the Sthānikīya *kula* and the *śākhā* of the venerable Vēriyas, mentioned in this inscription, is probably identical with the person of the same name and vocation referred to in the Mathurā inscription of Sam. 79, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20.

No. 19. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 62 ;

edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX. p. 37, and Plate V. No. 6,  
and by Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 172.

This inscription appears to record the dedication of a statue by the Jaina lay-woman Vaihikā at the request of some ascetic. The phrase containing the latter statement was first read by Bühler *Kārukasya Aryakakasaghastasya śishyā Ātapikōgahabaryasya nirvartana*, and translated '(this being) the *nirvartana* of Ātapikōgahabarya, the pupil of Arya-Kakasaghasta (*Ārya-Kakasaghastha*), a native of Rārā (*Rārādh*).' But when he had got another Jaina inscription from Mathurā, dated in the same year and recording some donation *vāchakasya āya-Karkuhastha[sa] Vēraṇagaṇi-*

<sup>44</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 376.

<sup>45</sup> Compare *śitā* in the Girmār version of the *Adōka* edicts, VI. 4 ; also *dhāvimānusatīya* III. 3 ; *śasīyā* IV. 5 ; *śasīyā* VIII. 4 ; *śasīyā* XIII. 9 ; *śasīyā* IV. 9 ; *śasīyā* VI. 18 ; *dhāmadhistānāya* V. 4 ; *śasīyā* IV. 10 ; *Risīyā* V. 5, and below, No. 31.

<sup>46</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 186, 188, 190, note 50. See also *śōṭh* in the Bhāṭṭiprōṇ inscriptions Nos. 3, 5 and 9, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 327 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. III. p. 239.

<sup>48</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 218, and Plate ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 210, No. 88, and Plate.

<sup>49</sup> *Arch. Surv. of Ind.* New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX. p. 56 f. Mr. Smith also thinks that the number of the day, according to the plate, is rather 11 or 12 than 10, and in this he may be right.

yasa śishō Grahabalō ātapikō tesa nīrvartanā,<sup>50</sup> he recognised at once that the persons referred to in the two inscriptions were identical, and that *Ātapikōgrahabalyasya* was to be altered into *ātapikō Grahabalasya*.<sup>51</sup> Another correction seems to be equally certain. The facsimile makes it quite sure that the second *akshara* of the word read by Bühler *Rārakasya* cannot be *ra*. What appears in the facsimile, evidently is nothing but the right and lower portion of a *cha*, and as Kakasaghasta or Karkuhashta is called a *vāchaka* in the inscription quoted above, I have no doubt that also the supposed *vā* of the word is simply a mistake for *vā*. With these emendations the phrase reads: *vāchakasya aṛya-Kakasaghastasya śishyā ātapikō Grahabalasya<sup>52</sup> nīrvartana*, 'at the request of the *ātapika* Grahabala, the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Kakasaghasta.' The epigraphical evidence for a country of the name of Rārā thus falls to the ground. As to the rest of Bühler's transcript, Cunningham's facsimile suggests some minor alterations, such as *ārahastānām* for *arahañtānām*, *siddhānām* for *siddhāna*, but, of course, these are not certain.

**No. 20. — Mathurā stone-slab inscription of Samh. 74 ;**

edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and Plate; by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4, and Plate; and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and Plate.

The upper right corner of the slab which bears this inscription, is broken off, so that the first two lines of the text are mutilated. But the next three lines are complete, and a transcript of what is actually preserved of the first five lines would therefore read as follows:<sup>53</sup> —

- 1 Mabār[ā]jasya r[ā] . . . . .
- 2 sya Dēvaputrasya Vāsu . . . .
- 3 sañvatsarē 70<sup>54</sup> 4 varsha-mā-
- 4 sē prathamē divasē
- 5 tri[ś]ā[ś]ā 30 asya purvayē.

The three editors agree in restoring the first lines as

- 1 Mahārājasya rā[jātirāja]-
- 2 sya Dēvaputrasya Vāsu[dēvasya].

However, if one takes the trouble to measure the available space, it will appear that the restoration of the second line is highly improbable. There is room for two *aksharas* at the most, especially as the letters are cut pretty carefully and of uniform size. Under these circumstances we are forced, I think, to restore the name of the king to *Vāsu[shkasya]*, and this is exactly the name that is to be expected for the time to which the inscription belongs.

The last epigraphical date of Huvishka is the year 60 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8; see above, p. 105). The inscriptions which refer to the reign of Vāsudēva are dated in the years 80 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 392, No. 24), 83 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 16, and below, No. 21), 87 (*ibid.* p. 35, No. 18, and below, No. 22), and 98 (*ibid.* No. 20, and below, No. 23). From the period between 60 and 80 we have only two records mentioning a king's name, besides the present one, a Mathurā inscription dated in 76<sup>55</sup> and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka, and another from Sāñchi,<sup>56</sup> dated [*mahārāja*]sya rājātirājasya [*Dēva*]putrasya Shū[ā] Vāsushkasya sam[ 70 ] 8 hē 1 [di 5] [ś]asy[ām] [p]u[r]v[ā]yē[ś].

One is accustomed to look upon Vāsushka as a mere variant of the name of Vāsudēva, because the inscriptions dated in his reign seemed to be mixed up with inscriptions referring to the reign of

<sup>50</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19.

<sup>51</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 63.

<sup>52</sup> The correct reading, however, is possibly *ātapikō Grahabalō tasya*.

<sup>53</sup> Of the next lines I can make as little as the former editors.

<sup>54</sup> The first figure of the date was originally read 40, but Cunningham corrected it to 70; see *Num. Chron. Ser.* III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6. Compare the sign for 70 in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and in the Kāman inscription, *ibid.* p. 213, No. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Führer, *Progress Report*, 1895-96; according to V. A. Smith, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 309; compare also Bühler's note 10, *ibid.*

Vāsudēva. From the facts collected above it will appear that this is not the case, and I see no reason whatever why Vāsushka should not be treated as an individual name and different from Vāsudēva. In that case we should have four Kushāna rulers at Mathurā, whose dates would be according to the inscriptions: Kanishka 5-18, Huvishka 33-60,<sup>57</sup> Vāsushka 74-78, Vāsudēva 80-98. But even those who should prefer to adhere to the belief in the identity of Vāsushka and Vāsudēva, will probably admit that the difference in the use of the two names cannot be due to mere chance, and they will have to assume that about the year 79 Vāsushka, in order to please his Hindu subjects, adopted the name of one of their national heroes.<sup>58</sup>

**No. 21. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Samh. 83 ;**  
edited by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 6, and Plate,  
and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 16, and Plate.

Cunningham's transcript of this inscription is a great improvement on Dowson's tentative reading, and taking no account of the inaccuracies of his transliteration, his reading of the first line may be called correct. The second line he transcribes: —

. . tridattasya vagrayevya . cha . sya gad-dhikasya . . vichitiye Jina-dāsiya pṛtima,

Bühler has already suggested (*Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. IV. p. 324) to alter *gaddhikasya* into *gandhikasya*, and from Cunningham's facsimile it appears that we have to read *tu* instead of *tri*, and *pra* instead of *pro*, which perhaps is only a misprint. Before the *tu* in the beginning of the line there are traces of another *akshara* which cannot be anything but *dhi*. The *gra* looks rather queer, and I have no doubt that in reality it is *dhu*. Finally, I am convinced that the word between *gandhikasya* and *Jinadāsiya* is to be read *kuṭumbiniyē*. The *tu* is quite distinct, and that the next sign in fact is *mhi* and not *vichi*, is proved by Dowson's facsimile which in this case is the more accurate of the two. Besides, the latter facsimile has some letters omitted in Cunningham's drawing. On the right, almost between the first and the second line, it shows a *dha*, and on the left, at the beginning of the first line *ānañ*, which certainly is to be restored to *dānañ*. Of course, the text cannot have commenced with this word. Apparently the inscription runs in a circle round the pedestal of the statue, and [*d*]ānañ is to be read at the end of the first line. And this also cannot have been its proper place, but it was probably placed there only for want of space in the second line. A similar disarrangement of the words of the text is found in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 202, No. 15. The *dha* which I take to belong to the second line I would hesitatingly restore to *dharma* and connect with [*d*]ānañ. With these corrections the whole text reads: —

- 1 Siddham mahārājasya Vāsudēvasya<sup>59</sup> sam 80 3 grī 2 di 10 6 ētasya pūrvayē Sēnsya
- 2 [dhi]tu Dattasya vadhuṣyē Vya . . cha . . sya<sup>60</sup> gandhikasya kuṭumbiniyē Jina-dāsiya pṛtimā dha[rma]dānañ.<sup>61</sup>

"Success! In the year 83 of *mahārāja* Vāsudēva, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the sixteenth day, — on that (*date specified as*) above, — an image, the pious gift of Jinadāsi (*Jinadāsi*), the daughter of Sēna, the daughter-in-law of Datta, the wife of the perfumer Vya . . cha . . ."

The description of the donatrix agrees with that of the inscriptions quoted above, p. 37.

<sup>57</sup> Probably Huvishka was already on the throne in 28; see above, p. 39.

<sup>58</sup> I would state that it was Dr. Fleet who first expressed his doubts about the identity of Vāsushka and Vāsudēva in a letter to me, but his arrangement of the list of the Kushāna kings is different from mine. I should like to add that these notes were written before Dr. Fleet's paper on the subject had appeared in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1903, p. 325 ff.

<sup>59</sup> According to Dowson's facsimile the reading would rather be *Vasudēvasya*.

<sup>60</sup> Dowson's facsimile seems to read *Vridacāsasya*, which cannot be correct.

<sup>61</sup> The last two syllables stand at the end of line 1.



No. 22. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 87;  
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 35, No. 18, and Plate.

The photograph of this stone which Prof. Kielhorn possesses, enables us to supplement and to correct Cunningham's reading of the date, though, unfortunately, it is not sufficient to restore the rest of the inscription. The first lines read: —

- 1 Siddham |<sup>62</sup> Mahārājasya rājātīrājasya Shāhir=Vāsudēvasya
- 2 sam 80 7 hē 2 di 30 ētasyā purvāyā . . .<sup>63</sup>

"Success! In the year 87 of mahārāja rājātīrāja Shāhi Vāsudēva, in the second (month) of winter, on the thirtieth day, — on that (date specified as) above . . ."

No. 23. — Mathurā Jaina image inscription of Sam. 98;  
edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 35, No. 20, and Plate,  
and by Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 177, No. 8.

In his paper on this inscription Bühler first gave a revised transcript of Cunningham's facsimile, and then tried to emend the first two lines in accordance with the statements of the *Kalpasūtra*. I have compared his corrected text with the photograph of the front of the stone in the possession of Professor Kielhorn. It is not large and distinct enough to allow a thorough reading of the inscription, but it is sufficient to show that not all of Bühler's emendations can be accepted. The facsimile reads as follows: —

- 1 Siddha ô namô arahatô Mahāvīrāsya dēvanāsasya | rājña Vāsudēvasya sam-  
vatsarē 90 8 varsha-māsē 4 divasē 10 1 ētasyā
- 2 purvayā aryya-Dēhīniyātō<sup>64</sup> gaṇa . . Puridha . . kā kulava Pētaputrikātē  
sākhātō gaṇasya aryya-Dēvadata . ya<sup>65</sup> na
- 3 ryya-Kshēmasya
- 4 prakagiriṇam(?)<sup>66</sup>
- 5 kihadiyē praja
- 6 tasya Pravarakasya dhitu Varāṇasya gandhakasya<sup>67</sup> ma . nya Mitrasa . . . . .  
. . . datta gā
- 7 yē . . . . . vatō maha . . . . .

In the first line Bühler corrected *siddha ô* to *siddham*, but the photograph shows that the supposed *ô* or *m* is the peculiar stop mentioned above, No. 22, followed here by two vertical strokes. Above the *ddha*, I think, I can discover the sign of an *anusvāra*. The word *dēvanāsasya* was taken by Bühler as an epithet of *Mahāvīrasya* in the sense of 'destroyer of the gods,' but he had grave doubts about the correctness of the word. On the photograph the *dē* is faintly visible, whereas no trace is recognisable of the second and third *aksharas*. The last *akshara* is distinctly *ya*, and the last but one may be *ga* or *ra*, only the subscript *r* being quite certain. Under these circumstances I fail to see which word can possibly be meant here.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The stop is expressed by a curve open to the left with a horizontal bar in the centre, which sign is found also in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 287, No. 9, and in the Kāman inscription, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42; see Bühler's note on the latter passage.

<sup>63</sup> Three *aksharas* after *purvayā* are uncertain.

<sup>64</sup> Bühler: "Dēvadata . va ."

<sup>65</sup> Bühler: *prakagiriṇā*.

<sup>66</sup> Bühler: "Rēhīniyātō.

<sup>67</sup> Bühler: *gatvakasya*.

<sup>68</sup> The restoration *Dē[caput]rasya*, which at first sight would seem natural, becomes improbable by the one, or perhaps even two, horizontal strokes after the word, which apparently are meant as a sign of punctuation.

Of greater importance are the names of the *gaṇa*, the *kula*, and the *sākhā*. Instead of *aryya-Dēhīniyātō* Bühler read *Aryya-Rēhīniyātō* which he at first proposed to correct to *Aryya-Rōhāniyātō* and afterwards<sup>69</sup> to *Aryyōdēhīkiyātō* or *Aryyādēhīkiyātō*. The photograph proves that he was right in his last conjecture, though which of the two forms is to be accepted, is here just as doubtful as in the other inscription which contains the name of this *gaṇa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19. The words *Puridha . . kā kulava* were corrected by Bühler to *Paridhāsakakulatō*, but the photograph has *Paridh[ā]sikātō*<sup>70</sup> *kulātō*. The form *Paridhāsika* shows that the *Paridhāsaya* of the *Kalpasūtra* must be rendered in Sanskrit by *Pāridhāsaka*, and not by *Paridhāsaka* as done in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII. p. 290. We next come to the name of the *sākhā*, which Bühler altered from *Pētaputrikātō* to *Pōnaputrikātō* in order to conform it to the *Pārṇapatrikā* of the *Kalpasūtra*. But the reading *Pētaputrikātō* is beyond all doubt in the photograph, and the various readings of the *Kalpasūtra*, *Puṇṇa*<sup>71</sup>, *Panna*<sup>72</sup>, *Sunna*<sup>73</sup> or *Svaṇṇapattiyā*, must be considered corruptions. Such distorted names are by no means rare in the 'List of the *Sthavira*,' other examples being *Chēraṇa* for *Vāraṇa*, *Vāṇija* for *Phāṇija*, *Piṇhammiya* for *Piṇammiya*, &c., and the fact and even the reason thereof was known already to the Jaina theologians of the fourteenth century. Thus Jinaprabhamuni says in his *Saṃdēhaviśvaśhadhā*<sup>74</sup>: *bahavō 'tra vāchandhōdā lēkhakavaiṇyāj jātāḥ | tattatstha-  
virāṇāḥ cha sākhāḥ kulāni cha prayaḥ sūnpratānā nānuvartantī nāmāntaravirōdhātāni vā  
bhavishyanti | atō nirṇayāḥ kartvān na pāryatē pāthēshu.*<sup>75</sup>

Bühler's corrections of *Mahāvīrāsya* to *Mahāvīrasya*, of *purvayā* to *purvayē*, and of *gaṇasya* to *gaṇīya* are confirmed by the photograph. In line 6 the photograph has *Varāṇasya gandhīkasya vadhūyē* and in line 7 *bhagavatō Mahā[vira]ya*, as conjectured by Bühler. With these emendations the text will run as follows: —

- 1 Siddha[m] |<sup>76</sup> Namô arahatô Mahāvīrasya dē . . . . . rasya | rājña Vāsudēvasya  
samvatsarē 90 8 varsha-māsē 4 divasē 10 1 ētasyā
- 2 purvayē aryya-Dēhīkiyātō<sup>74</sup> ga[ṇātō] Paridh[ā]sikātō kulātō Pētaputrikātō sākhātō  
gaṇīya aryya-Dēvadata[s]ya na-
- 3 ryya-Kshēmasya<sup>75</sup>
- 4 prakagiriṇam(?)
- 5 kihadiyē praja
- 6 . . . tasya<sup>76</sup> Pravarakasya dhitu Varāṇasya gandhīkasya vadhūyē Mitrasa . . . . .  
. . . . . datta gā(?)
- 7 yē . . . . . bhagavatō<sup>77</sup> Mahā[vira]ya.

"Success! Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*) the . . . . . ! In the year 98 of rājña Vāsudēva, in the fourth month of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, — on that (date specified as) above, [at the request of] . . . the *gaṇī* (*gaṇīn*) the venerable Dēvadata (*Dēvadatta*) out of the venerable Dēhīkiya (*Dēhīkiya*)<sup>78</sup> *gaṇa*, the Paridhāsika *kula*, the Pētaputrikā (*Pētaputrikā*)<sup>79</sup> *sākhā*, [the gift of] . . . . . of the venerable Kshēma . . . . . the daughter of Pravaraka, the daughter-in-law of the perfumer Varāṇa . . . . . Mitrasa . . . . . [Adoration] to the holy Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*)!"

<sup>69</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. II. p. 144.

<sup>70</sup> The supposed *w*-stroke in the first syllable of this word seems to be a flaw in the stone. The *ā*-stroke of the third syllable is not quite certain.

<sup>71</sup> *Kalpasūtra*, ed. by Jacobi, p. 119.

<sup>72</sup> *Pētaputrikā* seems to be equivalent to Sanskrit *Pātiputrikā*. In the *Kalpasūtra* it is preceded by the name of *Maipattiyā* which is rendered by *Matiputrikā*, but in analogy to *Pētaputrikā* one feels tempted to correct it to *Māyapattiyā*, Sansk. *Mātiputrikā*.

<sup>73</sup> Regarding the sign of punctuation see above.

<sup>74</sup> Or, possibly, *aryyōdēhīkiyātō*.

<sup>75</sup> Lines 3-5 are quite unintelligible.

<sup>76</sup> Before *tasya* traces of an *akshara* are visible in the photograph.

<sup>77</sup> Probably *namô* is to be restored before *bhagavatō*.

<sup>78</sup> Or *Udēhīkiya* (*Udēhīkiya*).

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; ROSTOCK.

(Continued from p. 109.)

No. 24. — Mathurā stone-alab inscription of the time of svāmin mahākshatrpa Śōḍāsa; edited by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29, and Plate;* and by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 80, No. 1, and Plate.*

Dowson read this inscription :—

- ... svāmīsyā mahā-kshatrapasya Śāndāsasya Gajavarena Brahmanena Sangrava-sagotrena.
- ... rani. Imā jāyamaḍa pashkaranainām paschimā pashkaranim udapāno āramo stambhah.

Cunningham differs from Dowson only in reading *Sauddāsya, Brāhmanena Segrava Sagotrena, and Imā kshyamada pashkaranainam paschima.*

Fortunately the two facsimiles<sup>79</sup> allow us to improve these transcripts to some extent, and to add the third line entirely left out by the two editors. The facsimiles read as follows :—

- 1 ... svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasya Śōḍāsasya . . ja Virāpa brāhmaṇena Śēgrava-sagōtrēna . . .
- 2 ... rāṇi imā śhāyamaḍapashkaraṇinām paschīmapashkaraṇi udapāno āramo stambha i . . .
- 3 ... bilāpaṭṭā cha i

The slab is damaged on both sides, and it is impossible to say how much of the text may be lost on either side. The name of the *mahākshatrpa* was read correctly already by Bühler, who also proposed to restore the . . ja after the name to *rajé*, 'during the reign.'<sup>80</sup> The reading *Śēgrava* is quite distinct in both facsimiles, but I am unable to point out a *gōtra* of that name in Brahmanical literature. Nor can I offer any explanation of the term *śhāyamaḍa*, provided that it be not the name of the tanks. In the last line *bilāpaṭṭā* certainly is a mistake for *śilāpaṭṭā*. The erection of *śilāpaṭṭas* is recorded also in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18, and Actes du Congrès des Orientalistes à Leide, Part III. p. 143.*<sup>81</sup>

The fragment is to be translated :—

"During the reign of svāmi (svāmin). mahākshatrpa Śōḍāsa, . . . the following (things), the hindmost tank of the śhāyamaḍa (?) tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, . . . and stone-slabe (were dedicated) by the brāhmaṇa Vira, who belonged to the Śēgrava gōtra."

No. 25. — Mathurā image inscription of the time of mahārājātīrāja Kaṇishka; edited by Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. III. p. 31, No. 5, and Plate.*

This inscription is so much obliterated that it is impossible to make out any continuous sense. Cunningham transcribed it :—

- 1 . . . . . ghoshaka parahasālika vairakasapāta vatah . . . .
- 2 . . . . . (ma)hārājātīrājasya Kanishkasya Samvata(re) . . . .

The facsimile is rather in favour of the following reading :—

- 1 . . . gītāgē . . . lōtāsāmē . . . ghēshakaparahasālikaḥkavikkakasapātavatuḥ radatu . . .
- 2 . . . . . [ma]h[ā]rājātīr[ā]jasya Kaṇishkasya samvata[re] . . . . .

<sup>79</sup> Dowson's facsimile seems to be the better of the two.

<sup>80</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. V. p. 177.*

<sup>81</sup> Perhaps *śilāpaṭṭā* is here the nom. sing. of a feminine noun; compare the last-mentioned inscription and *Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 397, No. 25, where the same ambiguity exists with respect to śilāpaṭṭā and dyūyapaṭṭā.*

As long as no trustworthy reproduction of the inscription is obtainable, I consider it rather hopeless to attempt any restoration of the first line. But I wish to draw attention to another point. In the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX, Part I. p. 129, No. 16, Rajendralala Mitra* has brought to notice a Mathurā inscription engraved on the pedestal of a seated figure and consisting of two lines, the first of which is said to be illegible, while in the second he reads the words *mahārājāsya rajātīrājasya Dēvaputrasya Vanu . . .* The last two syllables he wants to restore to *Vānuḍē-vanya*. A look at the facsimile added to the Babu's paper, however, reveals a curious fact. The first line of his inscription is exactly the same as the first line of Cunningham's inscription No. 5 given above, while in the second line the facsimile indeed agrees with the transcript. The identity of the first lines makes it quite sure, of course, that the two facsimiles are meant to reproduce the same original, and we are therefore forced to decide the question which of the two deserves the greater credit. I do not hesitate for a moment to declare myself in favour of Cunningham's facsimile, Rajendralala Mitra tells<sup>82</sup> us that his facsimiles 'are taken from General Cunningham's transcripts, with such corrections and emendations as a careful examination of the original and comparison with Mr. Bayley's transcripts would warrant, leaving all doubtful letters as they were read by the General.' How little these words are in accordance with the facts, has been shown long ago by General Cunningham himself.<sup>83</sup> The total want of care and criticism displayed by Rajendralala Mitra here, as in every other work of his pen, fully justifies my opinion that in this inscription also the reference to Vāsudēva is nothing but a product of his own imagination.

No. 26. — Mathurā Buddhist stone inscription;

edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX, Part I. p. 129, No. 14, and Plate;* and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 3, and Plate.*

This inscription originally ran round the margin of an oblong slab, but when the stone was utilised for a new purpose, the edges on the two smaller sides of the alab were cut away together with a portion of the inscription. Dowson has recognised 'the initial letters of the word *Samvatsara* (year), the word *divasa*, followed by the numeral 10, and the words *asya pūrvvayē, dānam bhikhusya buddha sarvasa;*' Rajendralala Mitra's transcript is more complete, but his readings are for the most part wrong. I read the inscription from Dowson's facsimile :—

- 1 Saṃ . . . . . diva-
- 2 sē 10 asyā pūrvvayē dānam bhikhusya Buddhanandi[s]ya . . .
- 3 . . . . .
- 4 . . . . sarvasatv[ā]n[ām] . . . . sukh[ār]tha[m] bhavatu.<sup>84</sup>

The year . . . . ., the tenth day, on that (date specified as) above, the gift of the monk Buddhanandi (Buddhanandin) . . . . . May it be for the . . . welfare of all beings."

No. 27. — Mathurā Jaina tablet inscription;

edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 397, No. 35.*

Bühler transcribed this inscription :—

- 1 [Tē] . . . . rusanāndikasa putrēna Nāndighōshēna [Tē]vanikēna a . . . . ta . . . . alē . . . .
- 2 ṇānam bhaṇḍirē [ā]yāgapatā pratihāpit[ā] . . . . .

The photo-lithograph enables us to make a few corrections. Instead of *Nāndikasa* and *Nāndighōshēna* in line 1 and *ṇānam* in line 2 the plate distinctly shows *Nāndikasa, Nāndighōshēna, and nāndū*. With the first two words compare such spellings as *āntēvāsīsa* in *Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 198, No. 1, and āntēvāsīnyē, ibid. p. 199, No. 4. Tēvanika* was considered by Bühler to be a derivative

<sup>82</sup> *Loc. cit. p. 120.*

<sup>83</sup> *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 194.*

<sup>84</sup> There are two *aksharas* before *sarvasa* and two before *śukhārtham* which I cannot make out.

from the name of a nation or country called *Trivarna* or *Trivarna*. From the mentioning of a *Tivarni* in the Pabbhâ inscription No. 2<sup>65</sup> I think it highly probable that there really once existed a country of that name, but I cannot admit that there is any allusion to it in the present inscription. The reading of the plate is unmistakably *śvaṇikēna*, corresponding to Sk. *sauvarnikēna*. The synonym *hairanyaka* is found, e. g., in the Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 205, No. 23. A difficult term is the word which Bühler transcribes as *bhāṇḍiré*. A comparison of the second *akshara* with the *di* in *Nāṇḍikasa* and *Nāṇḍighōshēna* will show at once that Bühler's reading cannot be upheld. The correct reading is *bhāṇḍiré*, but whether this means 'at the *bhāṇḍira* tree,' or possibly stands for Sk. *bhāṇḍiré*, 'at the storehouse,' I do not venture to decide at present. I read and translate the whole text as follows:—

1 . . . . . rusa<sup>66</sup> Nāṇḍikasa putrēna Nāṇḍighōshēna śvaṇikēna a . . . . . ta . . .  
alé . . . . .

2 pānām bhāṇḍiré āyāgapaśā pratihāpitā pita<sup>67</sup> . . . . .

"By the goldsmith Nāṇḍighōsha (*Nāṇḍighōsha*), the son of the . . . . . Nāṇḍika (*Nāṇḍika*), tablets of homage<sup>68</sup> were set up at the *bhāṇḍira* of the . . . . ."

**No. 28.—Mathurâ stone inscription;**

edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 218, No. 4, and Plate.

Of this inscription, which is engraved on a slab found at the Kaṅkāl Tila, Mr. Growse published a tolerably good reproduction, but his reading is confined to a single word which he inaccurately transcribed as *Mugaliputas*. Unfortunately the left portion of the stone, which contained the beginning of the inscription, is lost. The characters are of the archaic type, and the language is not the usual mixed dialect of the Mathurâ inscriptions, but pure Prakrit. My reading is as follows:—

1 . . . . . yē Mogaliputasa Pūphakasa bhayāyē  
2 . . . . . Asāyē pasādō.

"The gift of Asā (*Asā* ?), the wife of Pūphaka (*Pushpaka*), the son of Mogalī (*a Maudgalī mother*)" . . . . .

My rendering of the last word calls for a few remarks. At first sight, one might feel inclined to alter *pasādō* into *pasādō* and to translate, with an implicit understanding of some word like *dāna*, or *paṭihāpitō* or *kāritō*: 'a temple, (the gift of, or erected or caused to be built) by Asā, the wife of Pūphaka.' But I think, that such an alteration is unnecessary, and that we may rest satisfied with the text as it stands. It is well known that in classical Sanskrit *prasāda* is used in the sense of 'present,' especially in the very common term *prasādīkarṭti*; the *Sabdakalpadruma* gives it the special meaning of *dēva-nivēdita-dravyam*.<sup>69</sup> We are justified, therefore, to take also the *pasādō* of the inscription as a synonym of the more usual *dāna*. In this case the object of the donation would be the slab which bears the inscription, and which probably was a so-called *dyāga paṭṭa*.

About the name of Asā's husband I feel not quite sure. The second syllable may possibly be read *pha*.

Although this inscription is not dated, it may be safely assigned to the period before Kanishka on the strength of its language and characters, and from the fact that it comes from the Kaṅkāl Tila it may be further inferred that it is a Jaina record. Why Mogaliputa should be a distinctly Buddhist appellation, as Mr. Growse thinks, I am unable to see.

<sup>65</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 248.

<sup>66</sup> I am unable to make out any of the *aksharas* before *rusa*, but I believe that the word ending in \**rusa* was the genitive of a stem in *u*, qualifying *Nāṇḍikasa*.

<sup>67</sup> These two *aksharas* are pretty clear in the photo-lithograph.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly, however, *dyāgapaśā* is the nom. sing. of a feminine noun; compare the remarks, above, p. 149, note 81.

<sup>69</sup> See the *Petersb. Dict.* where numerous examples are quoted.

**No. 29.—Mathurâ Buddhist rail inscription;**

edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 6, and Plate.

Of this archaic-looking inscription, which is between two bas-reliefs on a broken Buddhist rail from the Chaubâra mounds, Mr. Growse deciphered only the last word *dāna*. I tentatively read the whole:—

Abhyaṁtirōpa ayakasa Kāthikasa dānaṁ.

Below the first sign of *ayakasa* there is a circle, which, at first sight, makes the word look like *śhayakasa*, but a closer examination and comparison of the upper sign with the *sa* of *Kāthikasa* will show that it cannot be *sa*. The circle therefore seems to be accidental or to form part of the sculpture below.<sup>70</sup> As to the meaning of the inscription, I own that I can make nothing of the first word. The rest may be translated by 'the gift of the venerable<sup>71</sup> Kāthika.'

**No. 30.—Mathurâ Jaina inscription on sculptured slab;**

edited by Bhagvanlal Indrajī, *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide*, Part. III. p. 143, and Plate.

This inscription was read and translated by the Pandit as follows:—

1 Namō arahatō Vadhamānasa Dāṁḍāyē gaṇikā-  
2 yē lēṇasōbhikāyē dhita śamaṇasa nikāyē  
3 Nādāyē gaṇikāyē vāsāyē ārahatādēvakulē  
4 āyegasabhāpapaśilāpaśā pratihāpitāṁ nigamā-  
5 nā arahatāyatanē saha mātārē bhaginiyē dhitarē putrēṇa  
6 savina cha pariṇāna arabatapujāyē.

"Salutation to the Arhat Vardhamāna. The courtesan Nandā, daughter of the courtesan Daṅḍā, built in the Arhat temple of merchants for the residence of the assemblage of Śramaṇas and for the worship of Arhat a small Arhat temple, seats for *āchāryas*, a reservoir and a slab of stone, with (the merit of the building to be enjoyed with) mother, sister, daughter, son and all relations."

The anomaly of the construction in the first portion of this sentence apparently did not escape the attention of the Pandit, who remarks that the syntax of the record is not smooth, and adds in a note: 'The original has *nikāyē*, but unless it be read *nikāyasa*, the inscription does not make good sense.' However, such an alteration seems to me very bold, without removing the difficulties. If the genitive *nikāyasa* were dependent on *vāsāyē*, the insertion of the words *Nādāyē gaṇikāyē* between *nikāyasa* and *vāsāyē* would be quite unaccountable, their proper place, of course, being after *dhitu*. Secondly, it is true that in Sanskrit and Prakrit the singular of a noun is often employed to denote the *jāti* even in cases where the plural would be required by the usage of other languages, but I doubt that a singular of this kind could ever be used in connection with a collective noun, such as *nikāya*. Considering all these difficulties, I feel quite sure that the Pandit has misread the passage, and that the correct reading is *śamaṇasdvikāyē*, corresponding to Sk. *śramaṇasdvikāyā*, 'by the jay-pupil of the ascetics.' Precisely the same term occurs in two other Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 17 (*śramaṇasdvikāyē*) and Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2 (*śamaṇasdvikāyē*), while in a third inscription, *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 395, No. 28, the shorter expression *śrāvikā* is used. That *śrāvikā* should appear here with the dental *s* by the side of *śamaṇa* with the palatal sibilant, will not be surprising to anybody familiar with the total want of regularity in the spelling of the Mathurâ inscriptions. An exact parallel is offered by the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, where we find *śvakasya* = Sk. *śrāvakasya* by the side of *śisasya* = Sk. *śiśhyasya*. The correctness of my reading is partly confirmed also by the drawing accompanying the Pandit's edition, for although the fifth *akshara* looks more like *ni* than like *vi*, the fourth *akshara* is distinctly *śā*, not *sa*.

<sup>70</sup> A second circle appears to stand below the *ya*.

<sup>71</sup> *Ayakasa* = Sanakrit *āyākasya*.

After what has been said above, it will be obvious, I think, that *eksayē* cannot possibly mean 'for the residence.' I take it to be an inaccurate spelling for *Vāsāyē* and look upon it as a surname of the donatrix standing in apposition to *Nādāyē ganikāyē* just as *Lēṣāsōbhikāyē* stands in apposition to *Damūdāyē ganikāyē*.

Also with regard to the following words I differ from the Pandit's interpretation. I have pointed out already above, p. 102, that instead of *ārahatāddēvakulē* the drawing has *ārahatā dēvikulā*, and that this is a nom. sing. corresponding to Sk. *ārahatā dēvakulam*.<sup>92</sup> With the feminine *dēvikulā* compare the term *dēvakulikā* frequently found in the meaning of 'shrine' in later Jaina inscriptions.<sup>93</sup> As to *āyagasabhā*, which the Pandit renders by *āyagasabhā* in Sanskrit and by 'seats for *āchāryas*' in English, I am inclined to adopt Bühler's view,<sup>94</sup> who thought the first member of the compound to be possibly identical with *āyaga* occurring several times in the term *āyāgapaṭa* in the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā.<sup>95</sup> As *āyāgapaṭa* means 'a tablet of homage,' a slab put up in honour of the Arhats, *āy[ā]gasaḥā* also would be an appropriate term for some hall erected in honour of the Arhats. The *āyāgapaṭas* themselves are mentioned here in the list of gifts under the name of *śilāpaṭa*.<sup>96</sup>

The drawing again suggests some minor corrections. In line 1 it reads *ārahatō Vadhamānasa*; compare *ārahatō Mahāvīrasya*, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. X. p. 172; *ārahatō Parivāsya*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 207, No. 29; *ārahatapujyē*, *ibid.* No. 30, and, according to the photo-lithograph, also *ārahatapratimā*, *ibid.* p. 203, No. 16. In line 4 the drawing shows *patisthāpitān*, and in line 5 *sa[h]ā*, which form is found also above, p. 39, No. 9; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2; p. 201, No. 11; *Journ. As. S.* VIII. Vol. XV. p. 119, &c.

With these emendations the text reads:—

- 1 Namō ārahatō Vadhamānasa Damūdāyē ganikā-
- 2 yē Lēṣāsōbhikāyē dhita śamaṇasāvīkāyē
- 3 Nādāyē ganikāyē Vāsāyē ārahatā dēvikulā
- 4 āyagasabhā prapā śilāpaṭā patisthāpitān<sup>97</sup> nigamā-
- 5 nā arahatāyatānē sa[h]ā mātārē bhaginiyē dhitarē putrēṇa
- 6 savina cha pariṇānē arahatapujyē.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vadhamāna (*Vardhamāna*)! By the lay-pupil of the ascetica, the courtesan Nādā, the Vāsā, the daughter of the courtesan Damūdā, the Lēṣāsōbhikā (or the adorer of caves), a shrine for the Arhats, a hall of homage, a reservoir, and stone-slabs<sup>98</sup> were set up in the Arhat temple of the merchants, together with her mother, her sister, her daughter, her son, and all her retinue, for the worship of the Arhats."

No. 31.—Mathurā Jaina inscription on sculptured tōraṇa;  
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 17, and Plate.

At the end of the second line of this inscription Bühler read *prati[st]hāpi*. The photo-lithograph, however, has very distinctly *pratiśt[ā]pi*, which is to be restored to *pratiśtāpitān*. This is not the only instance in the Mathurā inscriptions of the occurrence of the dental sibilant in combination with a lingual mute. I have already pointed out above, p. 105, that in the inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 203, No. 18, we have to read *Sīṇikiyātō* instead of *Sthānkiyātō* as transcribed by Bühler, and in another inscription edited above, No. 30, we find *patisthāpitān*.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>92</sup> The Pandit translated it by *ārahatā dēvakulē* in his Sanskrit version and by 'a small Arhat temple' in English, so that it is impossible to say what he really meant.

<sup>93</sup> See, e. g., the Śatruṅjaya inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 48 ff., Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c.

<sup>94</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 314, note 7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 33 (*āyāgapaṭa*); p. 397, No. 35; Vol. II. p. 200, Nos. 5 and 8; p. 207, Nos. 30 (*āyāgapaṭa*) and 32.

<sup>96</sup> Perhaps *śilāpaṭā* is the nom. sg. of a feminine noun; comp. the remarks above, p. 149, note 81.

<sup>97</sup> Read *patisthāpitā*.

<sup>98</sup> Or, possibly, 'a stone-slab.'

<sup>99</sup> Compare also the forms quoted from the Gīrṅār Aśōka edicts, above, p. 105, note 45.

In the third line Bühler twice read *saha*, whereas the photograph leaves no doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *sahā*. This spelling of the word is not uncommon in the Mathurā inscriptions; see above, p. 153.

No. 32.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription;  
edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 389, No. 15, and Plate.

This inscription is only a short fragment transcribed by Bühler as:—

. . . śē ēta[syām] pūrvvāyām Kotṭiyātō gaṇātō . . .

The reading *śē* is badly warranted by the photo-lithograph, the *ē*-stroke and the cross-bar of the *mātrikā* being hardly discernible, while the right down-stroke of the *mātrikā* is much longer than it ought to be. In a note Bühler adds that *śē* must be the remnant of either *vinśē* or *trishē*, but this again is not supported by the photo-lithograph. What is still visible of the sign preceding the supposed *śē* cannot possibly have formed part of either *vi* or *tri*, but looks exactly like the right half of the figure 10. In that case the next sign also must be a figure, and I think, there can be little doubt that it is 7; compare this figure in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4; p. 387, No. 10; p. 391, No. 19; p. 396, No. 30, and especially p. 391, No. 20. I therefore read the fragment:—

. . . 10 7 ēta[syām] pūrvvāyām Kotṭiyātō gaṇātō . . .

and take the 17 to be the number of the day.

No. 33.—Mathurā Jaina image inscription;  
edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 8, and Plate.

According to Rajendralala Mitra, on whose authority Mr. Growse relied, this short fragment reads:—

Siddhajivikasya datta-bhikshnasya vihārasya

and means: "Of the monastery of Dattabhikshu, who had accomplished the object of existence." The real purport of the record has been recognised long ago by Bühler, who referred to it, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, note 60, but his transcript is not quite accurate. The inscription reads:—

Siddha[m] # Vāchakasya Dattasishyasya Sihasya ni . . .

The last word is to be restored to *niṣarṇānā*, and the meaning of the words is: "Success! At the request of the preacher Siha (*Sinḥa*), the pupil of Datta." Bühler has already noticed that this Siha is mentioned again as the spiritual adviser of a lay-woman in a Mathurā inscription probably dated in Sam. 20 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 383, No. 4). The present inscription therefore is to be referred to about the same time.

Nos. 34, 35, and 36.—Mathurā pillar inscriptions;  
edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I.  
p. 128, Nos. 5<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>, 6, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*  
New Ser. Vol. V. p. 186, Nos. 12 and 13.

The first and second of these inscriptions are on the base and plinth of a pillar, and the third is on the base of another pillar. If any trust can be put in Rajendralala Mitra's facsimiles, they are, for palaeographical reasons, to be placed in the time of the Kushāpa rule at Mathurā. As Rajendralala Mitra's and Dowson's transcripts differ in many respects, and the facsimiles are very poor, all that can be said is that the first inscription refers to the son of a certain Vasumihira, while the second and third mention a person who was the son of Siṅha, and whose own name ended in *-mihira* and probably was Vasumihira as given by Dowson. At the end of the second inscription Rajendralala Mitra read *mēna dēvidharmāya ri trīnē*, Dowson *imēna deviddharma parityā*, and at the end of the third Rajendralala Mitra *dhamabhikshuā*, Dowson *deva dharma pu*. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in both cases the correct reading is *imēna dēyadharmā-parityāgēna*, and that these words are to be completed in analogy to a phrase used in another Buddhist inscription from Mathurā:

*anēna dēyadharmma-parityāgēna sarvśhaśā prahañśkānaś ārōgyadakṣhiñyāś bhavatu.*<sup>100</sup> The facsimile, as far as it goes, conforms with the reading suggested.

Nos. 37, 38, and 39. — Mathurā Buddhist inscriptions on bases of pillars; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 128, Nos. 8 and 9, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. pp. 186, 187, Nos. 15, 16, and 21.

Of these three inscriptions only the beginnings seem to be legible. Dowson's No. 21 is transcribed by him as *dānam Saṅgha-sthavirasya Bhadatta*, which, of course, is to be corrected to *dānaś saṅgha-sthavirasya bhadanta* . . . , "The gift of the elder of the congregation, the venerable . . ."

Dowson's No. 16 corresponds to Rajendralala Mitra's No. 9. According to the former it reads *dānam Saṅghapravirasya pu* . . . , while Rajendralala Mitra renders it by *dānaś Saṅghapravirasya*<sup>1</sup> . . . I have no doubt that here again the correct reading is *dānaś saṅgha-sthavirasya*<sup>2</sup> . . . and that the *pra* in the facsimile results from leaving out the small curve to the left of the *sa* and not closing the circle and omitting the dot of the *tha*.

Very little has been left of the third inscription. Dowson (No. 15) reads *dānam Saṅgha* . . . , Rajendralala Mitra (No. 8) *dānaś Saṅgha*<sup>3</sup> *putra*, but *putra* is not warranted by the facsimile, and I think it highly probable that this inscription also began with the words *dānaś saṅgha-sthavirasya*.

Owing to the paucity of the distinct *akṣharas* and the miserable condition of the facsimiles, it is difficult to pronounce a judgment on the characters of the inscriptions, but it seems that they are of the Kushaṇa type.

No. 40. — Mathurā Buddhist inscription on base of pillar; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 19, and Plate.

Rajendralala Mitra read this fragment: *dānaś bhikṣusya Buddhabhīmasya mabhikṣusya* . . . , but there exists neither such a name as *Buddhabhīma* nor such a designation as *mabhikṣu*, 'the unworthy *bhikṣu*.' From the facsimile it appears that the inscription commenced:—

d[ā]na[m] bhikṣusya Buddha[ra]k[ṣh]itasya cha bh[i]kṣusya Saṅgha . . . . .

The monk Buddhārakṣita mentioned here is undoubtedly identical with the person of the same name and title referred to as the donor of pillars in two other fragments from Mathurā, the first<sup>4</sup> of which begins like the present one: *dānaś bhikṣusya Buddhārakṣitasya*<sup>5</sup> *cha*<sup>6</sup> *bhikṣusya* . . . , while the second<sup>7</sup> reads: *dānaś bhikṣusya*<sup>8</sup> *Buddhārakṣitasya Sākyabhikṣusya Sa* . . . . The characters of the three inscriptions are of the Kushaṇa type.

No. 41. — Mathurā Buddhist image inscription; edited by Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 7, and Plate.

This inscription is engraved on the base of a seated Buddha, and is much worn, because the stone has long been used by the *dhōbis* as a washing-stone. Mr. Growse read the words *daya-*

<sup>100</sup> *Journ. Ep. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 269, note 2. Mr. Bhandarkar reads *parityāgēna* and *sarvśhaśā*, but the long *t* in the former word is just as distinct as in *Buriyasya* and *prahañśkānaś*, and though the reading *sarvśhaśā* perhaps is not impossible, I should prefer *sarvśhaśā* which is in accordance with the spellings *bhikṣusya* and *prahañśkānaś*. The words *anēna dēyadharmma-parityāgēna* are found also in the Mathurā Buddhist pillar inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 20, where Rajendralala Mitra reads . . . *dēyadharmma parata satata*.

<sup>1</sup> Or, properly, *Saṅgha*, which, however, is a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> The facsimile distinctly has *saṅgha*, not *saṅgha*.

<sup>3</sup> Properly *Saṅgha*.

<sup>4</sup> Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.* p. 128, No. 10, and Plate; Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 187, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> According to the facsimile the reading is perhaps *bhikṣusya Buddhārakṣitasya*.

This is Dowson's reading, which certainly is correct, though the facsimile has *ma*.

<sup>7</sup> Rajendralala Mitra, *ibid.* No. 7; Dowson, *ibid.* p. 133, No. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Here also the facsimile seems to read *bhikṣusya*.

*dharma* and *Buddha* in the first line, and *sarva* and again *Buddha* at the end of the second. A few more syllables can be made out with the help of the photo-lithograph, though a deciphering of the whole seems to be out of the question. I read:—

1 Dēyadharmō-yaś Sa . . . . . kuṭum[bi]nyā Buddha . . . . . va[śri]yāyā  
2 dā(?)va . . . . . [sa]rva-satvānā[m] Buddha-  
tvāya |

To judge from these fragments, the inscription appears to have been entirely in Sanskrit and to have recorded the gift of a Buddhist lay-woman. From the analogy of numerous similar Buddhist inscriptions the last sentence may be restored with tolerable certainty: [*yad-ātra puṇyaś tad-bhavatu sa[rva-satvānā[m]] Buddhāvāya*; 'whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for (*the attainment of*) the condition of a Buddha by all sentient beings.' The few traces of letters which are still visible on the plate, would conform to this reading. The alphabet is of a later type than that used in the majority of the Mathurā inscriptions. The characters closely resemble those found in a Buddhist image inscription from Mathurā dated in 135,<sup>9</sup> which date by common consent is referred to the Gupta era; compare especially the *ma*.<sup>10</sup> In my opinion the present inscription must belong to approximately the same time.

Nos. 42, 43, and 44. — Mathurā Buddhist inscriptions on the pedestals of statues; edited by Rajendralala Mitra, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. pp. 128, 129, Nos. 11 and 12, and Plate; and by Dowson, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. pp. 187, 188, Nos. 18, 19, and 24, and Plate.

The general purport of these three inscriptions, all of which are in pure Sanskrit, has been recognised by the two editors, but with the help of the facsimiles and in analogy to the dedicatory phrases of similar inscriptions their transcripts can be considerably corrected. I read and translate these inscriptions as follows:—

Dowson, No. 24:

1 Dēyadharmō-yaś Sākyabhikṣhōś Saṅgharakahi-  
2 tasya [n\*] Yad-ātra puṇya[m] tat-sarva-[sa]t[t\*]v[ānā[m]] [n\*]

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the Sākya mendicant Saṅgharakṣita. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), it (*belongs*) to all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 12; Dowson, No. 19:—

1 Dēyadharmō-yaś Sākyabhikṣhōś-Dharmadāsasya [n\*] Ya-  
2 d-ātra puṇya[m] ta[n]-mātā-[pi]trō[h] sarva-sat[t\*]vānā[m] cha [n\*]

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the Sākya mendicant Dharmadāsa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), it (*belongs*) to (*his*) parents and all sentient beings."

Rajendralala Mitra, No. 11; Dowson, No. 18:—

Dēyadharmō-yaś Sākyabhikṣhōś-bhadanta-Brahmasōmasya [n\*] Yad-ātra puṇyaś tad-bhavatu sarva-sat[t\*]vānā[m] anuttara-jñān-āvāptayē ||

"This (*is*) the votive offering of the Sākya mendicant, the venerable Brahmasōma. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings."

The form of the letters, especially of the *ma* and *na*, point to the period of the Gupta rule at Mathurā as the time of the engraving of these inscriptions.

<sup>9</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, Corp. Inser. Ind. Vol. III., p. 263, No. 63.

<sup>10</sup> I admit, however, that a similar *ma*, by the side of an older *ma*, is found already in a Mathurā inscription dated in Sam. 33 of *mahārāja Dēvoputra Huvishka*; see above, p. 39, No. 9.

inscription, after which we have another row of figures, viz. a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ " but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes; compare *śrī* in ll. 1 and 3, *jā* in l. 21, *jaī* in l. 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l. 31, the sign for *anusvāra*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D., medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *ḍē* in l. 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhē* in l. 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *ō*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Tē*, e.g., shows the first form in ll. 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll. 7, 34, 77, 96, 111; *ṣē* the first in ll. 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll. 58, 59; *re* the first in ll. 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll. 101, 110; *baī* the first in l. 3, the second in l. 8; *vaī* the first in ll. 6, 33, 89, the second in l. 71; *mō* the first in l. 1, the second in ll. 44, 80, 100; *yō* the first in ll. 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll. 31, 109, 110; etc.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *janghāḥlaka*, 'swift-footed,' in l. 17, *prakōpa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l. 33, *dhat*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhāṭi*, in l. 34, *prāllāsat*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metre, in l. 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l. 63, *vaikharī*, 'speech,' in l. 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad-jayamtaḥ* (l. 9) and *-bhavad-jagatī* (l. 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanōj-jaimā* (l. 20). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnaḥ* (l. 44), *ākarnnanēshu* (l. 59), *karunnair* (l. 66), *ākīrnnair* (l. 68) and *-ārnnava-* (l. 94). Initial *i* appears as *yi* in *Yirugapa-* (ll. 12, 61, 105) and initial *ē* as *yē* in *supātra yēva* (l. 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l. 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *śrayas* (l. 16). The spelling *sallāpī* (l. 86) instead of *samlāpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bbbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain Irugapa. Bukkarāśya, who must be identical with Bukka I. of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister Baicha (v. 2) or Baichapa (I.) (v. 3), who had three sons (v. 4)—Maṅgapa, Irugapa (I.) and Bukka (v. 5). Maṅgapa, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v. 6), was married to Jānaki (v. 7). They had two sons, Baichapa (II.) (v. 8) and Irugapa (II.) (v. 9), who in vv. 12, 13, 14 is called also Irugēśvara and Irugēndra. As appears from vv. 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jainas like their father. With the exception of Bukka, all the members of this family are called generals (*daṇḍēśvara*, *daṇḍanēṭṭī*, *daṇḍanātha*, *daṇḍapati*, *daṇḍapa*, *daṇḍādhipati*, *daṇḍādhitvara*, *dvaḥjīmpati*), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of Irugapa II. (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv. 10, 11) Irugapa II. is given also the title of prince (*kṣmāpa*), and twice (vv. 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called *daṇḍanṛipati*.<sup>1</sup>

The family of Irugapa II. is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Śaka 1307=A.D. 1385,<sup>2</sup> mentions, according to Prof. Hultzsch, a certain Chaicha or Chaichapa, the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II., and his

#### No. 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA;

A.D. 1422.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanarese characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr. Rice.<sup>4</sup> My edition is based on excellent inked estampages<sup>5</sup> received from Prof. Hultzsch.

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūshmāṇḍinī-yakshī which is set up in the Brahmādēva-maṇḍapa in front of the Gummaṣa temple on the Vindhyagiri at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa. The inscription begins on the south face. Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chaurīs*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised. Next come two lines of the

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 82.

<sup>5</sup> No. 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891.

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 152.

son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapa, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas; but as the letters *cha* and *ba* closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that Chaicha and Chaichapa are merely misread for Baicha and Baichapa.<sup>1</sup> Two other inscriptions in the Jaina temple at Tirupparutikuṅṅu near Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1382 and 1387-88 respectively,<sup>2</sup> record some donations by the general or minister Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya<sup>3</sup> and a follower of the Jaina religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultsch with Baichapa I. and Irugapa I. of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription Baichapa is called the minister of Harihara II., the successor of Bukka I., this proves only that he remained in office after the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (*yati*, *yamin*) called Paṇḍitārya. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of Śrutamuni is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this Śrutamuni stood to Paṇḍitārya. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that Paṇḍitārya and Śrutamuni are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravaṇa-Belgola epitaph of Mallishēpa,<sup>4</sup> for instance, furnishes the following parallels: Śrīpālādēva-Traividya, Hēmasēna-Vidyādhanaṃjaya, Ajitasēna-Vādibhasimha-Vādibhakaṅṅhiraṇa, Śāntinātha-Kavitākānta-Kāntasānti, Padmanābha-Vādikōlāhala, Mallishēpa-Maladhārin.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-26. They record that at Beḷuḅuḅa, in the presence of Śrutamuni, the general Irugapa gave away, for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara, the village or *tīrtha* of Beḷuḅuḅa, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by Irugapa himself. The donation took place 'while the year Subhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on Vishṇu's, i.e. the eleventh or twelfth, *tithi* in the bright half of Kārttika in the cyclic year Subhakṛit. According to Mr. Rice, the Subhakṛit year corresponds to A.D. 1362; but from the dates for Irugapa I. quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultsch has already noticed<sup>5</sup> that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422. The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that Beḷuḅuḅa is Śravaṇa-Belgola itself, and that the holy Gummatēśvara is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the Vindhyagiri to the south of the village.<sup>6</sup>

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

South Face.

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्यादादामोचलाङ्कनं [1\*] जी-
- 2 याज्ञैलोक्यनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१\*] ◎ ॥ ◎
- 3 श्रीबुद्धरायस्य बभूव मंची श्रीबैचदंडेश्व-
- 4 रनामधेयः । नीतिर्यदीया निखिलाभिनंदा निः-

<sup>1</sup> The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 115 f.<sup>3</sup> [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Lüders' reading *Baicha* is correct; for *v* can only correspond to *ḅ*, and not to *ch*.—E. H.]<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 189 ff.<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 115, note 2.<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.* p. 108 and Plate.<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Prof. Hultsch.

- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकं ॥ [२\*] दानं चैक्ययामि लु-
- 6 षपदवीं गाहेत संतानको वैदग्ध्यो यदि सा बृहस्पति-
- 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । चातिं चेदनपायिनीं जड-
- 8 तथा सृश्येत सर्वसद्वा स्तोत्रं बैचपदंडनेतुरव-
- 9 नौ शक्यं कवीनां कथं ॥ [३\*] तस्मादजायंत जगदजयंतः<sup>1</sup> पु-
- 10 त्रास्त्रयो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो<sup>2</sup>
- 11 जायत मध्यलोको रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जिन इवापव-
- 12 र्गः ॥ [४\*] <sup>3</sup>यिरुगपदंडनाथमथ बुद्धमप्यनु-
- 13 जौ स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-
- 14 तौ । प्रतिभटकामिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो
- 15 महितगुणोभवदजगति<sup>4</sup> मंगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५\*] दा[f]ल-
- 16 ष्यप्रथमास्यदं सुचरितस्यैकाग्रस्यस्त्वया<sup>5</sup>
- 17 गाधारस्ततं वदान्यपदवोसंचारजंवाल-
- 18 कः [1\*] धर्मीपन्नतरः <sup>6</sup>स्माकुलगृहं सीजन्यसंज्ञे-
- 19 तभूः कीर्तिं मंगपदंडपोयमतनो-
- 20 ज्जैनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [६\*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गेहिनी
- 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोच्चला<sup>7</sup> । जा-
- 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-
- 23 यतेजसः ॥ [७\*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्गीं पु-
- 24 त्रौ पवित्रोक्तधर्ममार्गीं । <sup>8</sup>जायानभूत्तत्र
- 25 जगदिजिता भव्याग्रणीर्बैचपदंडनाथः ॥ [८\*] इ-
- 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्रमस्त-
- 27 गुणशाली । यस्य यशचंद्रिकया मीलंति दि-
- 28 वाप्यरातिसुखपद्माः ॥ [९\*] वृ । ब्रह्मन् भाऊलि-
- 29 पिं प्रमार्ज्यं न चेद्ब्रह्मत्वहानिर्भवेदन्त्यां<sup>9</sup>
- 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरीं तदैरिष्ट-
- 31 ध्योभृतां । वेतालव्रज <sup>10</sup>वर्धयोदरततिं
- 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां <sup>11</sup>युष्मायोधतशात्र-
- 33 वैरिरुगपच्छापः प्रकोपीभवत् ॥ [१०\*] याचा-

<sup>1</sup> Read जगजयंतः.<sup>2</sup> Read यैर्भूषितो.<sup>3</sup> Read इवापव.<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>भवस्रगति.<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>काथय.<sup>6</sup> Read चमाकुल.<sup>7</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>शोक्वला.<sup>8</sup> Read जायान.<sup>9</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>हानिभवे.<sup>10</sup> Read वर्धयो.<sup>11</sup> Read युष्मायोधत.

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिगपस्त्रापस्य धाटीध-  
35 टहोटीघोरखुरप्रहारततिभिः प्री-  
36 'धूतधूम्रजैः [1\*] रुध्रे<sup>2</sup> भानुकरेगम-

East Face.

- 37 द्विपुकरांभोजं च संकोचनं प्रापत्कीर्त्तिकुमुदती  
38 विकसनं दीप्तः प्रतापनलः<sup>3</sup> ॥ [११\*] यात्रायामि-  
39 रुगेखरेण सहसा शून्यारिसीधांगणप्रो-  
40 ज्ञासद्दिधुकांतकांतशकल्यच्छेदनेभाधिपः [1\*]  
41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिदिपमिति क्लिबैकदंत-<sup>4</sup>  
42 स्तदा चाहि चाहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-  
43 ऋवृदैः[1\*] स्तुतः ॥ [१२\*] को धात्रा लिखितं ललाटफ-  
44 लके वर्णं<sup>5</sup> प्रमार्ष्टुं क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-  
45 मयीमिति वयं वार्त्ताम मय्यामहे ।  
46 'यध्याचामिरुगेद्रदंडवृपतो संजा-  
47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[1\*]श्रीरप्यधिकश्रियाघ-  
48 टि रिपुस्त्रश्रीरपश्रीकृतः ॥ [१३\*] यद्वाहाविरु-  
49 गेद्रदंडवृपतेर्विभ्रत्यनंताधुरं<sup>6</sup> शेषा-  
50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वांगनाया-  
51 स्तदा । गाढालिंगनसांद्रसंभवसुखप्रोद्भू-  
52 तरोभावलिः साहस्रीं रसनामधात्तव गु-  
53 षान् स्तोतुं क[ता\*]र्त्यः फणी ॥ [१४\*] आहारसंपदभया-  
54 र्पणमौषधं च शास्त्रं च तस्य समजायत  
55 नित्यदानं । चिंसावृताम्यवनिताव्यसनं स-  
56 चीर्थं मूर्च्छां च देशवशतोस्य बभू-  
57 व दूरे ॥ [१५\*] दानं चास्य सुपात्र येव<sup>7</sup> करुणा  
58 दीनेषु दृष्टिर्जने<sup>8</sup> भक्तिर्दर्मपथे जिनेद्रय-  
59 शसामाकर्मनेषु<sup>9</sup> श्रुतो । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-  
60 नेषु वपुषः सौख्यं च तद्वदने प्राणं तव-  
61 रणासोरभभरे सर्वं च तस्वेवने ॥ [१६\*] यि-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वृत्'.

<sup>2</sup> Read रुध्रे.

<sup>3</sup> Read दीप्तिं प्रतापनलः.

<sup>4</sup> Read क्लिबैकं.

<sup>5</sup> Read वर्णं.

<sup>6</sup> Read यद्वाचा.

<sup>7</sup> Read ललाटफ.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'वृपते विषय'.

<sup>9</sup> Read पव.

<sup>10</sup> Read भक्तिर्दर्मैः.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'करवर्णनेषु'.

<sup>12</sup> Read इ.

- 62 रुगपदडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने  
63 मलिनिमसौस्त्रवः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1\*]  
64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिधे धरणीवल-  
65 यं 'परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च  
66 तल्लुचयोः ॥ [१७\*] 'कश्चैर्विष्मृतकुंडले-  
67 रतिलकासंगैर्लला-  
68 टस्थलैराकीर्त्तैरल-<sup>3</sup>  
69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-  
70 स्पृष्टमुक्तागुणैः । विंबो-  
71 छैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-<sup>4</sup>  
72 लरागोष्मिर्तैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मृ-<sup>5</sup>  
73 तापमसकृद्गङ्गाकुर्वले<sup>6</sup> सर्वतः ॥ [१८\*]

West Face.

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनीपरिलंघिनीभि धोते<sup>7</sup> वि-  
75 राय निजविंबवगते कळंके । स्वच्छात्मकस्तुहिन-  
76 दीधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचिं कबली-  
77 करोति ॥ [१९\*] यत्पादाभरजःकणो<sup>8</sup> प्रसुवते  
78 भक्त्यानतानां भुवं यत्कारुण्यकटा-  
79 क्षकांतिलहरी प्रचालयत्याशयं ।  
80 मोहाहंकरणं क्षिणोति विमला यद्दे-  
81 खरोमौखरो वयः कस्य न माननीयम-  
82 हीमा<sup>9</sup> श्रीपडितार्थी यतिः ॥ [२०\*] मंदा-  
83 रदुममंजरीमधुभरीमंलुस्सुरन्मा-<sup>10</sup>  
84 धुरीप्रौढाहंक्षतिरुद्विपाटवपरोपा-  
85 टीकृत्पाटोभटः । <sup>11</sup>नृत्यदृक्पदगंसं-  
86 विलुठस्वर्णककालीलिनीसङ्गापो<sup>12</sup> खलु पं-  
87 डितार्थ्ययमिनो व्याख्यानशोभा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'मितरतर'.

<sup>2</sup> Read कश्चैर्वि.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'राकीर्त्तैः'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'जसुदृश'.

<sup>5</sup> Read मृ.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'कुर्वते'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'श्रीमिधोते'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'कणः'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'महिमा'.

<sup>10</sup> At first 'मधुभरी' was engraved, but the न has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small म् has been written above it.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'नृत्यदृक्'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'संघापी'.



- 38 हृदः ॥ [२१\*] कारुष्यप्रथमावतारस-  
 89 रणिश्रान्तिर्निशान्तं स्थिरं वैदुष्यस्य तपःफ-  
 90 लं सुजनतासौभाग्यभाग्योदयः ।  
 91 कंदर्पद्विरद्रेद्रपंचवदनः काव्यास-  
 92 तानां खनीर्ज्जनाध्वान्बरभास्करः श्रुत-  
 93 मुनिर्ज्जगत्तिं नम्रार्तिजित् ॥ [२२\*] यु-  
 94 क्त्वागमाश्रवविलोलनमंदराद्रिः<sup>१</sup> शब्दाग-  
 95 मांबुहृद्वाननबालसूर्यः । श-  
 96 ध्वाशयः<sup>२</sup> प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्षति  
 97 'श्रुतमुनीर्यतिसार्वभौमः ॥ [२३\*] तत्सन्निधौ  
 98 वेङ्गुळे जगदश्रतीर्थे श्रीमानसावि-  
 99 र्गपाङ्कयदंडनाथः [१\*] श्रीगुंमटेश्वर-  
 100 सनातनभोगहेतोगर्भामोत्तमं वेङ्गु-  
 101 ळाख्यमदत्त धीरः ॥ [२४\*] श्रमकृति वल्लरे ज-  
 102 यति कार्त्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमथ-  
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपजम्मुषि शीतकृचौ । सदुप-  
 104 वनं स्वनिर्मितनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-  
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्थवरं मुदितः ॥ [२५\*] यि-<sup>३</sup>  
 106 र्गपदंडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-  
 107 वर्धनत्रेचं । आचंद्रतारकमिदं वे-  
 108 ङ्गुळतीर्थे प्रकाशतामतुलं ॥ [२६\*] ◎ ॥  
 109 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानात् श्रेयोमुपालनं<sup>४</sup> । दानात् स्वर्गम-  
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादश्रुतं पदं ॥ [२७\*] खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरिश्च  
 व-  
 111 सुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः<sup>५</sup> ॥ [२८\*] ◎ ॥  
 112 मगल<sup>१०</sup> महाश्री श्री श्री श्री [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the glorious religion of Jina be victorious,— the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unailing criterion of which is the most profound doctrine of possibility!

<sup>१</sup> Read खनिर्ज्जं°.

<sup>२</sup> Read °मापशयः.

<sup>३</sup> Read श्रुतशयः.

<sup>४</sup> Read °मुनिर्यं°.

<sup>५</sup> Read र्°.

<sup>६</sup> Read दानाच्छ्रेयी°.

<sup>७</sup> Read षष्टिं वर्षं°.

<sup>८</sup> Read विष्टायां.

<sup>९</sup> Read क्रमिः.

<sup>१०</sup> Read मंगलं.

(V. 2.) There was a minister of the illustrious **Bukkaraṣya**, known as the illustrious general **Baicha**, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies.

(V. 3.) If I (*want to*) speak of his liberality, the **Śaṅṭānaṅka** (*tree*) enters the way of the greedy; if of his intelligence, that talk of **Bṛihaspati** hides somewhere; if of his invariable patience, the earth is affected by insensibility. How on earth is it possible for poets to praise the general **Baichapa**?<sup>१</sup>

(V. 4.) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adorned by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (*which is adorned*) by the three jewels.<sup>२</sup>

(V. 5.) Praised in the world were the virtues of the general **Māngapa**, who took away the necklaces from the broad breasts of the wives of his adversaries, (*and*) who made his younger brothers, the general **Irugapa** and **Bukkaraṣya**, still more famous by the abundance of his own glory.

(V. 6.) Being the chief seat of kindness, the only shelter of morality, the abode of veracity, always swift-footed in running on the track of the munificent, the supporting tree of religion, the noble residence of forbearance, the meeting-place of goodness, this general **Māngapa**, who was attached to the doctrine of the Jainas, spread his fame.

(V. 7.) His wife was **Jānaki**, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of **Janaka** with her slender round waist (*was the wife*) of the descendant of **Raghu**, possessed of agreeable splendour.<sup>३</sup>

(V. 8.) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (*and*) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general **Baichapa**, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious.<sup>४</sup>

(V. 9.) His younger brother was the general **Irugapa**, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime.<sup>५</sup>

Metre (*vr̥itta*).— (V. 10.) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage.<sup>६</sup> Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thon host of **Vētālas** widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince **Irugapa** was incensed with passion to fight with the haughty enemies.

(V. 11.) When on the march of the general prince **Irugapa** the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust whirled up by the continual violent blows of the hoofs of his mares charging by assault, the day-lotuses of the hands of his enemies closed,<sup>७</sup> the night-lotus of his glory opened, and the fire of his majesty became bright.

<sup>१</sup> The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of **Baicha**, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and **Bṛihaspati** a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is *jaḍa*, which may mean inanimate or dull.

<sup>२</sup> The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a **Sramaṇa** who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *āgamas*, *darśana* or faith in what is taught there, and *chāritra* or *dharma*, moral discipline; see Dr. **Bhandarkar's Report on Skt. MSS.**, 1883-84, p. 100.

<sup>३</sup> The attributes of **Rāma** and **Sitā** are applicable to **Māngapa** and **Jānaki** also, and *vice versa*.

<sup>४</sup> *Bhavya* must be understood here as in other Jaina inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community.

<sup>५</sup> Generally the *padma* has its flowers opened by daylight.

<sup>६</sup> Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by **Irugapa**.

<sup>७</sup> His enemies clenched their fists in rage.

(V. 12.) (*Once*), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy's palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (*fear of*) the lord Iruga (*who was*) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (*and*) broke one of his tusks, (*and*) was (*therefore*) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vêtâlas (*with the words*): 'Have mercy, have mercy, Gajânans!'<sup>1</sup>

(V. 13.) 'Who is able to wipe off a letter written by the Creator on the surface of the forehead?' In this saying we do not believe, (*considering it to be*) a saying made up of a liar's words, because as soon as the general Irugêndra was born on earth, his friends, even if they had been without wealth, were supplied with abundant wealth, and his wealthy enemies were deprived of their wealth.

(V. 14.) While thy arm, O general Irugêndra, was carrying the burden of the earth (*originally*) laid on the group of the hoods of the lord Śēsha, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues!

(V. 15.) Plenty of food, protection from dangers, medicine and instruction became his continual gift. Acts of violence, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft, and infatuation kept away on account of his ruling the country.

(V. 16.) His liberality (*was directed*) only towards worthy persons, his pity towards the poor, his looks towards the Jina, his love towards the path of religion, his two ears towards listening to the fame of the lord of the Jinas, his tongue towards praising his virtues, the health of his body towards worshipping him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance of the lotuses of his feet, and all that was his towards serving him.

(V. 17.) While the world was made white by the fame of the general Irugapa, blackness was praised only in (*connection with*) the hair of (*women*) with rolling eyes, and while his bar-like arm was wearing the bracelet of the earth, mutual oppression also was spoken of only in (*connection with*) their breasts.

(V. 18.) By their ears with their ear-rings forgotten, by the surfaces of their foreheads with no marks fixed to them, by their dishevelled curls, by their swelling breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their *bimba*-like lips deprived of the redness (*caused*) by the betel, even the fair-eyed (*wives*) of the kings hostile (*to him*) repeatedly (*and*) thoroughly betray his excessive power.

(V. 19.) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods,<sup>2</sup> has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (*now*) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V. 20.) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (*yati*), the venerable Paṇḍitârya, whose greatness is to be honoured; the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (*to him*) in devotion;<sup>3</sup> the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart; the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V. 21.) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (*yamin*) Paṇḍitârya, which is a warrior (*in cutting*) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the *mandra* tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world,<sup>4</sup> winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Gaṇēsa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Gaṅgâ.

<sup>3</sup> The dust of the lotus-like foot of Paṇḍitârya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahman which produces the world.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Gaṅgâ.

(V. 22.) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jaina sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

(V. 23.) The pure-minded Śrutamuni, an emperor among the ascetics (*yati*), the Mandara mountain for the stirring of the ocean of the science of reasoning, the rising sun to the lotus-grove of grammar, is daily increasing (*in prosperity*) through the most excellent (Jaina) doctrine.

(V. 24.) In his presence, at Beḷuguḷa, the most sacred place of the world, that glorious brave general, called Irugapa, gave away the most excellent village called Beḷuguḷa for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara.

(V. 25.) While the year Śubhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kârttika, on (the *tithi*) of (Vishṇu) the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase, the chief of the family of ministers gladly presented the excellent sacred place, possessing a beautiful grove (*and*) supplied with a new tank built by himself.

(V. 26.) May this matchless holy place Beḷuguḷa, a field for growing the rice of the general Irugapa's white fame, shine as long as the moon and stars!

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations.]

## No. 21.—JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA

## ON MOUNT ABU.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; ROSTOCK.

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Ābū were prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsck to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Neminātha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Tējāhpāla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla;' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Tējāhpāla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lūpasinhavaśahikā or Lūpavasahikā.<sup>1</sup>

No. I. is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sōmēśvaradēva's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ¼". The characters are Jaina Nāgarī. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable *ōm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sōmēśvaradēva, the well-known *purōhita* of the Chaulukya kings and author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*; but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards *lexicography*, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balānaka* in l. 37 and *khattaka* in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Marāṭhī *balānī*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Candy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gābhārd* or *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne.' Proper names frequently appear in their Prākṛit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Tējāpāla*, instead of *Tējāhpāla*, is used in verse 56.

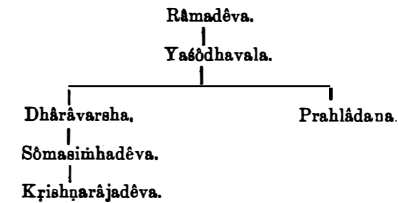
After an invocation of Sarasvatī (v. 1) and Gaṇeśa (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Tējāhpāla. Their native town was *Aṇahilapura*, the residence of the Chaulukya kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was Chaṇḍapa (v. 4). His son was Chaṇḍaprasāda (v. 5), who again had a son named Sōma (v. 6). Sōma's son was Aśvarāja, whose wife was Kumārādēvī (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons: Lūṅga,

<sup>1</sup> [On *vasahi*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from \**vasāthi*, another form of the Sanskrit *vasati*, see Prof. Fischer's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannada equivalent *basadi* or *basti* is a *tadbhava* of *vasati* itself.—E. H.]

who died when he was still a youth (v. 8), Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla, and seven daughters: Jālhā, Māñ, Sāñ, Dhanadēvī, Sōhagā, Vayajukā and Padamaladēvī. The family professed the Jaina faith (vv. 7; 10) and belonged to the lineage of the Prāgvatas (v. 4). The four brothers are all called ministers (*mantrīn*, *sachīva*), and of Vastupāla it is expressly stated that he was in the service of the Chulukyas (v. 14). Special praise is bestowed on Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla, who seem to have been connected by the ties of sincere brotherly affection (vv. 19-24); but these verses contain no historical allusions.

The text then turns from the ministers to their lords, the Chaulukyas as they are recalled here (vv. 25; 28). Only the members of the so-called Vāghēlā line are mentioned here, viz. Arṇōrāja (v. 25), his successor Lavaṅaprasāda (v. 26), and the son of the latter, Viradhavala (v. 27). Two verses (vv. 28; 29) are added in praise of the services rendered to Viradhavala by the brothers Vastupāla and Tējāhpāla, and of the implicit confidence by which the king rewarded their attachment to his person.

Abruptly a description of the Arbuda mountain, the modern Mount Ābū, is introduced (vv. 30; 31), after which follows, equally abruptly, a genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati (vv. 32-42). That these verses are inserted here because Tējāhpāla built a temple on Mount Ābū and this mountain was situated in the province governed by the Paramāras, can be gathered only from the contents of the last section of the inscription. The account of the Paramāras begins with the legend of their origin. Their ancestor, from whom they took their name, is said to have sprung from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśishṭha and to have received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (*para-māraṇa*) (v. 32). In that family there arose first Dhūmarāja (v. 33), who was followed by Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhṣṭa and others up to Rāmadēva (v. 34). With Rāmadēva begins a coherent pedigree which may be tabulated as follows:



Besides the genealogy the inscription furnishes several items of historical value. Yaśōdhavala is said to have quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārāpāla (v. 35). From the wording of the verse we may conclude that Yaśōdhavala was a feudatory of Kumārāpāla when he waged war against Ballāla, just as Yaśōdhavala's son Dhārāvarsha appears as a feudatory of Kumārāpāla's grand-nephew Bhīmadēva II. in a Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1265.<sup>1</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that elsewhere we find the destruction of Ballāla attributed to Kumārāpāla himself. In Sōmēśvaradēva's *Kīrtikaumudī* (II. 48) Kumārāpāla is said to have seized in battle, out of passion, the heads of the kings Ballāla and Mallikārjuna like the breasts of the goddess of victory. And in the Sōmnāthpattan inscription of Bhāva Bṛihaspati, dated in Valabhi-Saṁvat 850 (A.D. 1169),<sup>2</sup> he is called 'a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants—Ballāla, king of Dhārā, and the illustrious ruler of Jāngala.' The latest epigraphical date for Kumārāpāla's predecessor Jayasimhadēva is Vikrama-Saṁvat 1196.<sup>3</sup> The earliest inscription of the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. III. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 159 ff.

Kumārapāla himself is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1202.<sup>1</sup> According to Mérutunga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* Jayasimhadēva reigned until Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199,<sup>2</sup> and in the same author's *Vichārasrēpi* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīra of the same year.<sup>3</sup> Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between A.D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sōmnāthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramāra rulers of Mālava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mālava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn<sup>4</sup> that after the death of Yaśōvarman, which must have occurred between A.D. 1135 and 1144,<sup>5</sup> the Mālava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhārāvareha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v. 37), was an enemy of the lord of Kauṅkapa or Koṅkap (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have quoted already above the Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1265 (A.D. 1209), where Dhārāvareha, 'the lord of Chandrāvati, the Śambhu to the Anuras—the provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhīmadēva II.

His younger brother Prahādāna is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Samantasimha' (v. 38). The Gūrjara king who was saved by Prahādāna from Sāmantasimha, of course, was Bhīmadēva II, but it is difficult to say who that Sāmantasimha was. No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sāmantasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Ābū<sup>6</sup> and at Sādaḍi.<sup>7</sup> In the former inscription<sup>8</sup> he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A.D. 1125,<sup>9</sup> and the fifth place before Tējaḥpāla, whose Chitōrgadh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1324 = A.D. 1267.<sup>10</sup> He thus appears to have reigned about A.D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahādāna was *yuvarāja* in A.D. 1209.<sup>11</sup> Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as Mēdapāṭa, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramāras of Chandrāvati. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahādāna defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the Chanlukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Visaladēva, the son of Viradhavala, where the king is given the epithet *Mēdapāṭakādēśa-kalusha-rājya-vallī-kand-ōchōhēdāna-kuddāla-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a hoe for rooting out the bulb of (that) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdapāṭaka country.'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāvanagar Inscr.* p. 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the end of *arga* III.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> The latest inscription of Yaśōvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1192, and the earliest inscription of his son Lakshmi-varman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1200. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 349 and p. 352 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 347 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Bhāvanagar Inscr.* p. 114 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The Sādaḍi inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names.

<sup>9</sup> Vijayasimha's daughter was the Kālachuri queen Alhaṇadēvi, whose Bhēra-Ghāt inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kālachuri-Chēdi era = A.D. 1155; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 7 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV, Part I, p. 46 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 210.

Besides his military achievements Prahādāna's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv. 39; 40). This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vydyōga*, called *Pārthaparākrama*, written by him when he was *yuvarāja*,<sup>1</sup> and several single verses of his are found in the *Sārāṅgadhara-paddhati*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards Sōmasimhadēva, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brāhmins (v. 41).

After the genealogy of the Paramāras the text returns again to the family of Tējaḥpāla. Vv. 43-46 are devoted to Tējaḥpāla's brother Vastupāla, his wife Lalitādēvi and, particularly, their son Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha. Vv. 47-49 are in praise of Tējaḥpāla himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of Anupamadēvi, the wife of Tējaḥpāla (vv. 50-54). The account begins with Gāgā, who belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family and was an inhabitant of Chandrāvati (v. 50). His son was Dharapiga (v. 51), who was married to Tribhuvanadēvi (v. 52). Their daughter was Anupamadēvi (vv. 53; 54). The son of Tējaḥpāla and Anupamadēvi was Lāvanyasimha or Lūpasimha (vv. 55-57). V. 58 contains a short note on the family of Tējaḥpāla's elder brother Malladēva: Malladēva and his wife Lilikā had a son Pūrṇasimha, who was married to Allapādēvi and had a son of the name of Pēthaḍa.

Vv. 59 and 60 record that Tējaḥpāla built on the mountain Arbuda this temple of Nēminātha for the religious merit of his wife Anupamā and his son Lāvanyasimha, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice. The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *maṇḍapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a *balānaka* or stone seat in front of it (v. 61). There were besides ten statues representing Chaṇḍapa, Chaṇḍaprasāda, Sōma, Aśvarāja, Lūpiga, Malladēva, Vastupāla, Tējaḥpāla, Jaitrasimha and Lāvanyasimha, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62; 63). Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v. 64). The description concludes with some verses in honour of Vastupāla and Tējaḥpāla, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv. 65-68).

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of Vastupāla's and Tējaḥpāla's family (vv. 69-72). They belonged to the Nāgendra *gachōha*, and their names, in chronological order, were: Mahēndrasūri, Śāntisūri, Ānandasūri and Amarasūri,<sup>3</sup> Haribhadrasūri, Vijayasēnasūri, Udayaprabhasūri. The last, as shown by v. 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some Girnār inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that Sōmēśvaradēva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this eulogy of the temple. The name of the engraver of the inscription, Chaṇḍēśvara, the son of Dhāndhala, the son of Kālhava, and the date of the consecration of the temple by Vijayasēnasūri, the Jaina priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll. 46, 47). The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phālgun, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama. It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to Śrāvāṇa, as done *e.g.* by Professor Kathavate; but as the date is repeated in the inscription No. II, the reading *Phālgun* is beyond

<sup>1</sup> Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1872-73, p. 4. Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 748, 765, 1058 and 1071; compare Aufrecht's collection, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVII, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> In the inscription No. II, Amarasūri is called Amarschandrasūri.

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 81, note 1. Udayaprabhasūri was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Ārambhāsiddhi*; see Weber, *Vorzeichnisse der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, No. 1741.

all doubt. The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> to **Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230.**

Of the inscription **No. II.** only a short account was published by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 309 f. It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B. to his edition of the *Kirtikaumudī*. It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10" high. The size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Near the beginning and at the end of ll. 1 and 2 and at the end of ll. 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off. The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial *ḍ* in *ḍm* (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Ḍisavāla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Ḍrāsā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross-bar. The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātāmahabu* in l. 27 and *Arbudas-* in the last but one line. The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities. The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *śa* and medial *ḥ* and *ḍ*, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhējāttē*, *bhavanē*, *-pāmhē*, *-sārē*, *tayōḥ* and *vilōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvna* (l. 26) and *Gōsala* (l. 13). There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents.

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom. Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt. *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u<sup>2</sup>*, which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra<sup>3</sup>* (ll. 10-25). Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence. The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27). As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned: *apabhāra*, m., 'a burden' (l. 29); *āṣṭāhikā*, f., 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.); *kalyāṇika*, n., 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26);<sup>4</sup> *tathājñātīya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff.); *mahājana*, m., 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10);<sup>5</sup> *rāṣṭriya*, n., which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m., 'an anniversary' (l. 12);<sup>6</sup> *satka*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10); *sārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).<sup>6</sup> In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of **Nēminātha**, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building.

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on **Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1237**, while in prosperous **Anahilapāṭaka** the **mahārājādhirāja Bh[imadēva]**, the royal swan on the lotus of the **Chaulukya** family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the **mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rājakula**, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, born in the family of the illustrious

**Dhūmarājadēva** who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy **Vaśiṣṭha**, is reigning victoriously,' **Tējahpāla** caused to be made in the village of **Dēulavāḍā** on the top of the holy mountain **Arbuda** the temple of the holy **Nēminātha**, called **Lūpasimhavasahikā**, adorned by all shrines (*dēvakuṭikā*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastīśālā*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife **Anupamadēvi** and his son **Lūpasimha**. The inscription gives the same pedigree of **Tējahpāla** as No. I, and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rānaka*, the illustrious **Viradhavaladēva**, the son of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rānaka*, the illustrious **Lavanaprasādadēva**, born in the family of the illustrious **Chaulukyās**, in the province (*maṇḍala*) of . . . *rātrā*, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Bhimadēva**.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between **Bhimadēva II.** and the members of the **Vāghēlā** dynasty, which in **Somēśvaradēva's** account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that **Bhimadēva II.** was considered lord paramount, while **Lavanaprasāda** and **Viradhavala** contented themselves with the rank of a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and the title of *rānaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by **Viradhavala** is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . *rātrā*, which I am unable to restore.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the **Paramāras of Chandrāvati**, the inscription shows that in A.D. 1230 the reigning prince was **Sōmasimha**, and not **Kṛishṇarāja** as might easily be supposed from the text of No. I. I would also point out that the legend told in No. I. of **Paramāra** is here ascribed to **Dhūmarāja**.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to **Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230.** The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the **Jinas** and the hall for the statues of the members of **Tējahpāla's** family spoken of in vv. 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by **Vijayasōnasūri** (l. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. **Haribhadrasūri** is here called 'the lord of the frontlet-decoration (*paṭṭalāmkaṇa-prabhu*) by the illustrious **Āpandasūri** and the illustrious **Amarachandrasūri**,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭābhishēka* from the hands of those two *sūris*.

The purport of the next section (ll. 6-9) is indicated already by the heading: 'And the names of the *śrāvaka* trustees appointed for this temple (*are*) as follows.' Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,<sup>2</sup> etc., in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers **Malladēva**, **Vastupāla** and **Tējahpāla** and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of **Lūpasimha's** mother **Anupamadēvi** and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of **Anupamadēvi's** family, which resided at **Chandrāvati** and belonged to the **Prāgvāṭa jñātī**, is inserted.

The following section (ll. 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month **Chaitra**, holy to the god,<sup>3</sup> and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen (*śrāvaka*) of

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, plate i. ll. 14, 15; pl. ii. ll. 4, 5, 6. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *E. p. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 279, note 46. The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii. l. 10. In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *mahājana*<sup>5</sup> is found.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Marāṭhi *varshagāṭhka*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 205, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vāghēlā branch.

<sup>2</sup> The word *sārā* occurs again in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207 in the phrase: *asya dharmasimhānyaya . . . Nair-ashṭabhir-gdṣṭhikāi rājūla-Uchhadra-sahitair-d-chandrar-ārkam sārā karaṇyā*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338, plate ii. ll. 3-6. It has possibly a morespecial meaning than supervision.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of *dēvakuṭika*.

the country of Chandravati,<sup>1</sup> each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the jāti. About half of them belonged to the Prāgvātas; the rest was divided between the Ūsavālas or Ōsavālas, the Śrīmālas and the not very numerous Dharkaṭas. The places inhabited by them were the villages of Umbarapīki, Sarāūli and Kāsahrada,<sup>2</sup> Brahmāra, the village of Dhaūli, the great śrītha Muṇḍasthala, the villages of Phlīpi, Haṇḍāūdrā and Pāvāpi, Gaḍāhaḍa, Sāhilavādā.

In a subsequent clause (ll. 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇikas* of Nēmināthadēva, i. e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrīvaka*) residing at Dēūlavādā on the holy mountain Arbuda.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll. 26-30): 'Thus is this agreement: The lord of the prosperous Chandravati, the illustrious *rājakula* Sōmasīthadēva; again his son, the illustrious *rāja[kula]* Kānhaḍadēva, and the other princes, all royal persons; again the *sthānapatis bhājārakas*, etc., of the prosperous Chandravati, *kavīdā*;<sup>3</sup> again the Gūguli Brāhmanas,<sup>4</sup> all the trustees (*who belong to the caste of the*) merchants; again all persons, (*viz.*) *sthānapatis*, ascetics, Gūguli Brāhmanas, *rāṭhīyas* and others, residing at (*the temples of*) the holy Aohalēvara (*and*) the holy Vāśiṣṭha on the mountain Arbuda and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz.*) the village of Dēūlavādā, the prosperous village of Śrīmātāmahabu, the village of Ābuya, the village of Orāsā, the village of Ūtarachha, the village of Sihara, the village of Sāla, the village of Hēṭhaūjī, the village of Ākhi, Kōṭaḍi belonging to the holy Dhāndhalēśvaradēva, and others— twelve villages (*in all*); again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious Pratihāras, residing in the villages of Bhālibhādā, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (*the temple of*) the holy Nēmināthadēva, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (*and*) for his own delight, from the *mahan[ta]*, the illustrious Tējaḥpāla, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy Lūpasīthavasahikā. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (*endure*). For—

'What need is there of alms-bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (*or*) red garments (*and*) tufts of twisted hair, (*since*) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince Kānhaḍadēva mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the Paramāra Kṛiṣṇarājadēva spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājakula*, the illustrious Sōmasīthadēva, in this holy Lūpasīthavasahikā, presented by an edict the village of Pāvāpi in Vāhirahadi to the holy Nēmināthadēva, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with Sōmasīthadēva entreating the future kings of the Paramāra race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

<sup>1</sup> I take the term 'the body of the *śrīcakas*, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to Chandravati' as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

<sup>2</sup> [According to Forbes, *Rās Malā*, p. 84, Kāsahrada is the present Kāindra-Pāḍi near Ahmadābād; see Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 229. It is mentioned in two Bāshtrakūṭa grants, *ibid.* p. 67 (Kāsahrada), and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 202 (Kāsahrada).— E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *kavīdā* is a proper name; at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for *Kavīdā*?— E. H.]

<sup>4</sup> The Gūgulis, or Onglis as they are called now, are a class of Brāhmanas who at present are found chiefly in Dvārakā. They are Vaishnavas by religion and mostly *pujāris* or priests in the temples of Kṛiṣṇa; compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 148, and Vol. IX. Part I. p. 9 f., where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of Dēūlavādā on the mountain Arbuda is the Dilwara of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat. 24° 36' N.; long. 72° 43' E. The village of Umbarapīki is the Umarni of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwara. The village of Dhaūli is Dhauli, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwara. The great *śrītha* of Muṇḍasthala is perhaps identical with the Murthala of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwara. The village of Gaḍāhaḍa may be identified with the Gadara of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwara, supposing Gadara to stand for Gaḍāra (Gaḍāḍa). Sāhilavādā is Solwara, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwara. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, Ābuya is the Abu of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwara. Ūtarachha is Utraj, 5½ miles north-east of Dilwara. Sihara is Ser, 8 miles north-east of Dilwara. Hēṭhaūjī is Hetamji, 2 miles south of Dilwara. Kōṭaḍi may be the Kotra of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwara. Sāla possibly is identical with Salgaon, 1 mile east-south-east of Dilwara. Orāsā bears a certain resemblance to Oris, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwara, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by Nayachandrasūri, a descendant of the holy *ṛishi* Kṛiṣṇa, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.<sup>1</sup>

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III.-XXXII., all of which are edited now for the first time,<sup>2</sup> are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prākṛit form. Once, in *Chandrapa* in No. IV. l. 1, *ḍa* shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* in Plate V. col. XVI. l. 22, from an inscription of Bhimadēva I.

No. III., which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that Tējaḥpāla caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrītha*) of the holy Nēminātha in this Lūpasīthavasahikā for the religious merit of his son Lūpasīha 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of Phāgupa (Phālguna) in the year 1287 of king Vikrama.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for both V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV.-XXXII. prove that Tējaḥpāla in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and *śrīthakaras*, by Tējaḥpāla for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *maham*<sup>3</sup>, the abbreviated form of *mahanta*. It is borne by Tējaḥpāla and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIṽ. and XXVI.-XXXI. Tējaḥpāla's ancestors Chaṇḍapa and Chaṇḍapasāda, his father Aśvarāja or Āsarāja, and his mother Kumāradēvi are given the title of *ṭha*<sup>c</sup>, which stands for *ṭhakkura*, whereas Sōma, the son of Chaṇḍapasāda and father of Aśvarāja, is constantly styled *maham*.<sup>4</sup> This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as Chaṇḍapa and Aśvarāja are called also *maham*<sup>5</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 810, No. XX.

<sup>3</sup> The pedigree in No. II. l. 8 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III.-VIII., X.-XVIII., XXI.-XXIII. and XXXII.<sup>1</sup> In No. XXXII. we find *thakurijñi* as the title of Santōshā, the mother of Tējāhpāla's second wife Suhadādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *thā*<sup>2</sup>. As shown by Nos. XXVI., XXVII. and XXX., Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējāhpāla, bore the title of *saṅghapati*.<sup>3</sup> From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śatruñjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX. verse 12, where it is said: 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined; he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber; he was the first to awake. In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṅghaprabhu*.<sup>4</sup> Seven times female relatives of Tējāhpāla are given the title of *bātī* (Nos. IV., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX.-XXXI.)

No. XXXII. mentions the Mōdha *jñātī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhadādēvi, the second wife of Tējāhpāla, belonged.

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārēva (No. XII.), Muni Suvrata (No. XXI.), Vārisēpa<sup>4</sup> (No. XXIV.), Chandrānana (No. XXV.), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No. XXX.), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No. XXXI.), and the *tīrthakaras*<sup>5</sup> Śīmaṁdharasvāmin<sup>6</sup> (No. XXVI.), the Jina Yugaṁdharasvāmin (No. XXVII.), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII.), and Subāhu (No. XXIX.).

Nos. IV.-XVIII. are dated in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XIX.-XXIII. in the Vikrama year 1290; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293; Nos. XXVI.-XXXI.<sup>7</sup> on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1297; No. XXXII. is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1241.

No. I.<sup>8</sup>

TEXT.

1 श्री<sup>9</sup> ॥ वंदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या क्विमानसं । नीयमाना  
[निजेने]व [यानमा]नस[व]ासिन[र] । १ यः [च]ितिमा[न्य]व[णः]  
प्रकोपि शान्तिपि दीप्तः अरनिग्रहाय । निमीलिताचो[पि सम]ग्रदर्शो  
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in the pedigree of Tējāhpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No. II. l. 7 f. four persons are called *mahānī*, while the rest is styled *thā*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No. II. l. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The title of *saṅghapati* occurs also in the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya*. According to XIV. 84 ff. it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastisēva, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places.

<sup>4</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *Vārisēpa*.

<sup>5</sup> The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *viharamāna*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me.

<sup>6</sup> The Jina Śīmaṁdharasvāmin is known from Hēmaçhandra's *Stāvīrāvatīcharita*, IX. 95 ff. and the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya*, I. 163.

<sup>7</sup> Of No. XXVIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year.

<sup>8</sup> On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 [यात]नूजः ॥ २ अथहिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्रं प्रजा[नाम]जरजरि[धुतु]ः  
पा[स्व]मानं शु[कु]ः । [चिरम]तिरमणीनां य[त्र वक्त्रे]दु[मंदि]कृत  
इव [सि]तपत्रप्रत्येयधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटाव्ययसुकुटं कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विग्रदयशाः । दानविनिर्जितकस्यदुमचंडचंडपः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-  
सं[ज्ञ]ः स्वकुल[प्रासा]दद्वैमदंडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताकः पुण्ड्रवि-  
पाकेन सनुरभूत् ॥ ५ चात्तगुणैः किरणैरिव सीमो रोमीहमं  
सतां कु- ॥<sup>1</sup>
- 4 च्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याहुषीदधिवांधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि  
जिनाधि[ना]ग्रमक्तिं विभ्रावः स्वमनसि शश्वदम्बरा[ज]ः । तस्यासीह्यि-  
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव चिपुररिपीः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः  
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 श्री भूषणी लूणिसंज्ञया । देवादवाप बाहो ऽपि सासोक्त्वं [व]-  
सवेन [स]ः ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कीविदैर्गण्यते स्य गुणवत्सु  
लूणिसः । यस्य निस्तुषमतेर्मनीषया चिह्नतेव चिषणस्य धीरपि ॥ ९  
श्रीमहदेवः चि-
- 6 तमसिदेवस्तस्यानुजो मंचिमत्तिकाऽभूत् । बभूव यस्यान्धधनांगनासु लुब्धा  
न बुधिः शमलश्वबुधेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिस-  
संधाने । सृष्टिकृता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमत्तो महदेव- ॥
- 7 स्य ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकादम्बकसुकुम्भेतकेतुकिरणोद्धरणेन । महदेवयशसा  
गलहस्तो हस्तिमहदशनांशु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्यानुजो विजयते  
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताद्भुतहर्षवर्षः । श्रीवस्तु-
- 8 [पा]त्र इति भागतलस्त्रितानि दीस्थ्याक्षराणि सुकृती कृतिनां विलुपन् ॥  
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालबुलुक्खसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-  
दर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजःपालः पाणितस्त्रा-
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सीयं राजते मंचिराजः । दुर्हृत्तानां शंकनीयः कनीयानस्य भ्राता  
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजःपालस्य विष्णोश्च कः स्वरूपं निरूपयेत् ।  
स्त्रितं जनज्ञयीसुत्रं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जाल्मुजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसीह्वावयलुकास्थाः । पदमहदेवी चैषां क्रमादिमाः सप्त सीदर्यः ॥ १७  
एते ऽम्बराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्रासाः किल पुनरवना-  
वेकीदरवासलोदिन ॥ १८ अनुजस्यना समेतस्त्रेजपाः- ।

<sup>1</sup> These strokes as well as those at the end of ll. 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line.

- 11 लिन वस्तुपाली ऽयं । मद्यति कस्य न हृदयं मधुमासो माधवेनेव ॥ १८  
पंथानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति श्रुतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरंती । सद्योदरो  
दुर्धरमोहचैरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-  
दरयोद्देतु युगं युगव्यायतदोयुगं च । युगे चतुर्थेऽप्यनघेन येन कृतं कृतस्या-  
गमनं युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्लामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।  
सुक्लामयं किल महीवलयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्या ॥ २२ ए- ।
- 12 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु  
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मस्थानां कितासुर्वी सर्वतः कुर्वता-  
ऽमुना । दत्तः पादो बलाद्धुयुगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चैलुक्खवीरा- ।  
णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्षोराज इति स्थातो जातस्तेजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५  
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप च्छितिं क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-  
जलवलयक्षितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य सवणाश्विमतौख कीर्तिः
- 15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीद्दशरथककुत्सप्रतिकृतेः<sup>१</sup> प्रतिष्ठापालानां कवलितवल्बो वीर-  
धवलः । यशःपुरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्लातयनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-  
कलायां कुग्रलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्खः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क- ।
- 16 खंजपानां जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रसपतासुहिष्णु यौ मन्त्रिणौ ।  
पाथ्याभ्युदयातिरेकश्चिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवहा घटाः  
करटिनां बहास्य सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मन्त्रिहयेनायं जाने जानूप-  
वर्तिना । वि-
- 17 भुर्भुजहयेनेव सुखमाश्लिष्यति त्वयं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरश्चरभूधरसंभवो  
ऽयमस्वर्बुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां [नि] यः  
श्यालकः शशिभृतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० क्वचिदिह विहरंतीर्ष्वी- ।
- 18 क्षमापस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतमोक्षमाकांक्षती ऽपि । क्वचन सुनि-  
भिरर्थी पश्यतस्तीर्थवीथी भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१  
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमहृतभुक्कुंडामृतंडालजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
- 19 रः कोप्याविरासीकरः । तं मत्वा परमारण्यैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-  
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्वान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं  
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेद्रवंशे । भूमीभृतो यः कृतवानभिमान् पचहयोच्छे-  
दनावेदनासु ॥ ३३ धंभुकभुवभटादयस्तस्ते रिपुधिपघटाजितौ ऽभवन् ।  
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-  
कांदरवर्षिकीर्तिश्चहरोलिसामृतांशुदुतेरप्रभुश्चवशो यशोधवल इ- ।

<sup>१</sup> ककुत्स would be more correctly written ककुत्स.

- 21 त्वासीतनूजस्ततः । यश्चैलुक्खकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव  
मालवपतिं 'बहालमात्मवान् ॥ ३५ शत्रुश्रेष्ठीगणविदलनोद्भिन्नस्त्रुंशधारो'  
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः । क्रोधाकांतय- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिखले यत्र जातास्योतबेनोत्पलजलकणाः कौकशापीशपन्थः ॥ ३६  
सौर्यं पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहृतौजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव  
यो ऽशुनापि [सु]गव्यमव्यधमतिः करोति ॥ ३७ साम-
- 23 तसिंहसमितिश्चितिविचलतौजःश्रीगूर्जरश्चितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजो  
दनुजोत्तमारिचारिभञ्ज पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार<sup>२</sup> ॥ ३८ देवी सरोजासनसंभवा  
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयी । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायतावत्वेष न निश्चयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽयं जयति  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवी यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो  
जगृहे ॥ ४० सुक्ला विप्रकरानरातिनिकराभिर्जित्य तत्किंचन प्रापत्संप्रति  
सोम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाशं यशः । येनोर्ध्वतिलमुज्ज्वल<sup>३</sup> रचयताप्युत्ताम्यतामी-  
र्ष्या सख्येषामिह विद्दिषां न हि सुखान्मालिन्यमुन्मूलितं ॥ ४१ वसुदे-  
वस्वैव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्राधिकप्रतापो यशोद-
- 26 यासंश्रितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण  
सुकृतक्रमेण च । ज्ञापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदशो  
दृशोः पयि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवी तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेद्रात् ।  
नाम्ना जयंत-
- 27 सिंहं जयंतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि बोधवंध्ये धत्ते  
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सौर्यं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपी न  
कं मनसि धुंवति जैचसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्याणुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिकं रूपं निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स  
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निश्चिताशंता-  
भण्णिवेव नंदति ॥ ४७ यद्वाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्वाधिश्चक्रादिकानां प्रागुत्पादं  
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मन्त्रिणां बुद्धिधाक्ता । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेनं विधातुं  
तेजःपालः कथमितरयाधिक्यमापेष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतनं  
तनुभृतां श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिहतासुर्वीतिले पाल-  
यन् । आकीर्यं व-

<sup>१</sup> Possibly the reading is बहालम्.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'निर्जितम्'.

<sup>३</sup> Read पुनरुज्ज्वल.

<sup>४</sup> Read लमुज्ज्वल.



- 30 इ मन्वते न हि गुणधामं च कामदकिचाण्योपि धमल्लरोति न  
द्वदि प्रेक्षास्यदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इतश्च ॥ महं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीधनुष-  
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्धनं ॥ प्राग्वाटान्वयमंडनैकसुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रावतीवास्यः स्त-  
31 वनीयकीर्तिंस्त्रिपुरप्रक्षालितस्मातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यदृष्टानु-  
रागादभूत्को नामप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्भूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-  
सृतसञ्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुद्वये ।  
32 गुणिना हारेणैव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-  
विख्यातश्रीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं हेधा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२  
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वायवीव शीलिन । तद्दृष्टिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-  
पालेन  
33 पत्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंत्रो-  
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकीचिखदाक्षिण्यदानप्रसुखगुणगणैदुद्योतिताशेषगोचा ॥ ५४  
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरेयं रयं जयति- ।  
34 [द्र]यदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्धापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-  
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणान् सुख्य श्रीलूणसिंहकानिनः कति  
न स्तुवंति । श्रीबंधनोत्तरतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता चिजगति कि-  
35 यते स्म कीर्तिः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च स्वसख्यैः ।  
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ महद्देवसचिवस्य  
नंदनः पूर्यसिंह इति लीलुकास्ततः । तस्य नंदति सुतीयमञ्जुणा-  
36 देविभूः सुकृतवेद्य पथः ॥ ५८ षभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य  
मंत्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थं  
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्षुदे ।  
37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति चितीदुसचिवः शंखोष्वाभिः<sup>१</sup> शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-  
दिंदुकुंदश्चिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमयतो जिन[वरा]वासदिपंचाशतं  
तत्प्राञ्चेषु बलानकं च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमञ्जु-  
38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवञ्जुप्रसादस्ततः श्रीमस्तव्यभवी ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः  
पवित्रायथाः । श्रीमङ्गुणिगमद्देवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाङ्गयास्त्रोःपालसमन्विता  
जिनमताराभोन्नमकीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमञ्जीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीलै-  
39 षसिंहाडयस्त्रोःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिज्ञावण्यसिंहाभिः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्यः  
कारिवधस्कांधाधिहृडाचिरं राजते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिव्यायकानामिव ॥  
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः कारिवधुपुष्टप्रतिष्ठाशुभां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

<sup>१</sup> Read शंखोष्वाभिः.

<sup>२</sup> Possibly the reading is बलानकं.

- 40 शाश्वतकगताः कांतासमेता दश । चौलुक्वचितिपालवीरधवलस्याद्वैतबंधुः  
सुधीस्त्रोःपाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रीवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेजःपालः सक-  
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफलः  
41 सरोवरस्यैव सहकारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थलं  
वापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसत्तादिका<sup>१</sup> । धर्मस्थानपरंपरा नवतरा  
चक्रे ऽथ जीर्णोद्भूता तत्संख्यापि न बुध्यते यदि परं तदेदि- ।  
42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः आसगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सन्मतियो ऽथ वा  
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कंडेनाम्नो मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवइयोर्वि-  
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्त्तनततिं सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।  
43 ॥ ६७ सर्वत्र वर्त्ततां कीर्त्तिरश्वराजस्य शाश्वतो । सुकर्तुमुपकर्तुं च  
जानीते यस्य संततिः ॥ ६८ आसीञ्जुपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्नागिंद्रगच्छत्रियसूडा-  
रत्नमयन्नसिद्धमहिमा स्वरिमंहेद्राभिधः । तस्माद्द्विस्त्रयनीयचारुचरितः श्रीशान्ति-  
44 [स्वरिस्ता]तीप्यानंदाभरस्वरियुग्ममुदयचन्द्रार्कदीप्रद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-  
नीरवाहः श्रीमांस्ततो ऽप्यवहरो हरिभद्रस्वरिः । विद्यामदोद्भगदेध्वनव-  
द्यवैद्यः ख्यातस्ततो विजयसेनमुनीश्वरो ऽयं ॥ ७० गुरी[स्त]  
45 स्या[श]षां पात्रं स्वरिरुदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीव सूतानि भांति  
यत्प्रतिभानुधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्वर्त्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्ता । तावद्दुयमिद-  
सुदियादुदयत्ययमर्षुदेो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसीमेश्वरदेवशुलुक्वनरदेवसेवितांद्दि-  
46 युगः । रचयाचकार रुचिरां धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनेमेश्विका-  
याश्च प्रसादादर्वुदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४  
सूत्रं केल्लणसुतधांधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्त्ता ।[\*]  
47 श्रीविक्रम[संवत् १२८७ वर्षे] [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागेंद्रग]च्छे [श्री-  
विजय]सेनस्वरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) *Om.* I worship the goddess Sarasvati who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 2.) May the son of Śivā grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love; (and) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything.

(V. 3.) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukyās equal to Aja, Raji and Raghu,<sup>4</sup> where even at the close of the bright half of the

<sup>१</sup> Read शंखोष्वादिना.

<sup>२</sup> In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mānasa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season.

<sup>३</sup> I.e. Gaṇeśa.

<sup>४</sup> Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great-grandfather, of Rāma. Raji was the grandson of Purūrasa.

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women.

(V. 4.) In that (*town*) there was Chaṇḍapa, the crown of the family of the Prāgvātas, whose fame was as white as *kufaja* flowers, (*and*) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees.

(V. 5.) In consequence of the maturing of his good actions there was (*born*) to him a son named Chaṇḍaprasāda, a golden staff on the palace of his family, provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V. 6.) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,<sup>1</sup> (*and*) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Sōma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (*of joy*) to the good, as (*the moon causing thrills*) by her beams (*sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre*).

(V. 7.) From him was born Aśvarāja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas. His beloved wife was Kumārādēvī, as Dēvī, the mother of Kumāra, (*was the wife*) of the destroyer of Tripura.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 8.) Their first son was the minister called Lūniga. By fate he obtained, though being (*still*) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vāsava.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 9.) That pure-minded minister Lūniga, whose intelligence despised, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhishhaṇa,<sup>4</sup> was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment.

(V. 10.) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladēva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidēva,<sup>5</sup> who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (*and*) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others.

(V. 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (*and*) as to repairing what has been broken,<sup>6</sup> the Creator did not create a rival of Malladēva.

(V. 12.) The fame of Malladēva, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla.<sup>7</sup>

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupāla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the nectar of his poetry, (*and*) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned!

(V. 14.) Vastupāla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyās and among poets, never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems.

(V. 15.) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tējaḥpāla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master; who is to be dreaded by the wicked; (*and*) whose fame spreads in all directions.

(V. 16.) Who can fathom the natures of Tējaḥpāla and Viṣṇu, as the rules (*of conduct*) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (*of the first*) and the string of the three worlds<sup>8</sup> in the cavity of the belly (*of the second*)?

(V. 17.) These (*brothers*) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jālhū, Māū, Sāū, Dhanadēvī, Sōhagā, Vayajukā, and Padamaladēvī.

<sup>1</sup> The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antara* which, according to Amara III, 3, 186 has also the meaning of *antarātman*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* in common parlance, he died.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Brihaspati.

<sup>5</sup> Mallidēva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avasarpinī.

<sup>6</sup> I believe that the terms *dhurana-chchhidra-pidhāna* and *vibhinna-sandhāna* refer to Malladēva's works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another.'

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Indra's elephant.

<sup>8</sup> The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together.

(V. 18.) Surely, these sons of Aśvarāja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb.

(V. 19.) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tējaḥpāla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20.) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21.) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (*and*) who made the Kṛita age appear even in the fourth age!

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time!

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (*of a man*) are due to springing from one (*body*), yet one of them is left (*or bad*); but of these two brothers neither (*was so, although they had sprung from one father*), as both were honest (*or right*).

(V. 24.) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (*age*).

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arṇōrāja.

(V. 26.) After him Lavaṇaprasāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (*and*) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,<sup>1</sup> roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (*king*), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Vīradhavaḷa, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28.) The wise Chaulukya Vīradhavaḷa did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (*and*) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (*and*) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace.

(V. 29.) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees.<sup>2</sup>

Again—

(V. 30.) There is this (*mountain*) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurī,<sup>3</sup> who, carrying the Mandākiul on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer<sup>4</sup> (*whose*) brother-in-law (*he is*), (*as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids*).

(V. 31.) In one place on this (*mountain*) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics.

(V. 32.) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśiṣṭha distinguished by virtuousness<sup>5</sup> there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Gaṅgā.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Edm.* I. 1. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the Himalaya, the father-in-law of Śiva.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>5</sup> I take *śrīyaś-śrīśhīṭha-* to stand for *śrīyaś-śrīśhīṭha-* and *śrīyaś* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, Halāyudha I. 135, and Hemschandra, *Anākārthas*, II. 580, and *Abhidhānaś*, 1372.

of Mritāṇḍa.<sup>1</sup> Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him **Paramāra**. From that time his family received that name.

(V. 33.) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious **Dhūmarāja**, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off).

(V. 34.) Then there were **Dhandhuka**, **Dhrubabhata** and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, **Rāmadēva** by name.

(V. 35.) From this (king), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called **Yasōdhava**, who was not subject to the god of love, (and) who quickly killed **Ballāla**, the lord of **Mālava**, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the **Chaulukya** king **Kumārāpāla**.

(V. 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, **Dhārāvārsha**, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of **Kauṅkara** shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of **Daśaratha** that has been born again on earth as this (prince) of unchecked strength, (and) out of hatred, as it were, against **Mārīcha**<sup>2</sup> even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38.) His younger brother **Prahlādana**, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious **Gūrjara** king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by **Sāmantasimha**, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of **Danu**.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 39.) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seated (*Brahman*)<sup>4</sup> or the celestial cow granting (every) wish that has come to the earth in the form of **Prahlādana**.

(V. 40.) Long livethis son of **Dhārāvārsha**, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them!

(V. 41.) Having remitted the taxes of **Brāhmanas** and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king **Sōmasimha** soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (or the spottiness) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy.

(V. 42.) Long live his son **Kṛishnarājadēva**, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (and) who (therefore) resembles the glorious **Kṛishna**, the son of **Vasudēva**, who is united with **Yasōdā**, (and) whose splendour is augmented by his mother!

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling **Vastupāla** in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V. 44.) From the excellent minister **Lalitādēvi**, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name **Jayantasimha**, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of **Pulōman** (obtained) **Jayanta** from **Indra**.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this **Jaitrasimha**, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (and) who (even) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues?

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the sun.

<sup>2</sup> The demon **Mārīcha** in the shape of an antelope lured **Rāma** away from **Sitā**.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this expression refers to **Vishnu**.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. **Sarasvatī**, the goddess of learning.

(V. 46.) May he live for a **Kalpa** age, this **Jayantasimha**, the son of the illustrious **Vastupāla**, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (of the suppliants)!

(V. 47.) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious **Tējāhpāla**, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares!

(V. 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as **Chāpakya**, the preceptor of the gods,<sup>1</sup> **Marudvyādhi**,<sup>2</sup> **Śukra**,<sup>3</sup> and others. Otherwise, how should this **Tējāhpāla** have obtained his superiority over them?

(V. 49.) There is the younger brother of the illustrious **Vastupāla**, called **Tējāhpāla**, an abode of prosperity to (all) living beings, who maintains the order established by **Bali** on the surface of the earth; seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, **Kāmandaki** does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and **Chāpakya** also ceases to wonder at (his own) intellect.

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious **Anupamadēvi**, the wife of the illustrious **Mahām Tējāhpāla**—

(V. 50.) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious **Gāgā**, the only diadem adorning the **Prāgvāta** family, an inhabitant of **Chandrāvati** full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (or) nodded his head (or) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct?

(V. 51.) His son was **Dharaṇiga** by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (and) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner).

(V. 52.) His beloved wife was **Tribhuvanadēvi**, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (but) one.

(V. 53.) Their daughter **Anupamadēvi**, who on account of her virtues resembled **Dēvi**, the daughter of **Daksha**, in person, was united with the illustrious **Tējāhpāla** as husband.

(V. 54.) This **Anupamadēvi**, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister **Tējāhpāla**.

(V. 55.) Their son, this **Lāvanyasimha**, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (god of love).

(V. 56.) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious **Lūpasimha**, the son of the illustrious **Tējāhpāla**, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds?

(V. 57.) This vessel (filled with) a money-hoard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,<sup>4</sup> is continually increasing although good people subsist on it.

(V. 58.) The son of the minister **Malladēva**, begotten on **Līlukā**, was called **Pūrṇasimha**. Flourishing is his son, begotten on **Ahlanādēvi**, this **Pēthaḍa**, an abode of virtues.

(V. 59.) **Anupamā** was the wife of the minister **Tējāhpāla**. Their son was this long-lived (youth) called **Lāvanyasimha**.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. **Brihaspati**.

<sup>2</sup> [I.e. **Pavanavyādhi** or **Uddhava**, the counsellor of **Kṛishna**.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> **Śukra** was the teacher of the **Asuras**.

<sup>4</sup> The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kṛitikāṇḍī*.  
II. 13.

(V. 60.) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Tējaḥpāla built this temple of the holy Nēminātha on the (mountain) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Tējaḥpāla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nēmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (and) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*maṇḍapa*) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balānaka*) in the front.

(V. 62.) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasāda; from him (*was born*) Sōma; his son was Aśvarāja by name; his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lāpiga, the minister Malladēva and the illustrious Vastupāla, together with Tējaḥpāla.

(V. 63.) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupāla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasimha, and Tējaḥpāla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lāvāṇyasimha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina.

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Tējaḥpāla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupāla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Tējaḥpāla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures.

(V. 66.) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number; it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67.) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mārkaṇḍa,<sup>1</sup> might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions<sup>2</sup> drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations.

(V. 68.) May the fame of Aśvarāja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions!

(V. 69.) There was a sage (*sūri*) called Mahēndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nāgēndra *gachchha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort. After him (*came*) the illustrious Śāntisūri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ānanda(*sūri*) and Amarasūri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70.) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrasūri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasēna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V. 71.) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sūri*) Udayaprabha. His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72.) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises!

<sup>1</sup> [*i.e.* Mārkaṇḍeya, who according to the *Mahābhārata* (III. 183, 43) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> The term *sakṛit-ānukṛtana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmaśāhāna-prastāsi* occurring in v. 73.

(V. 73.) The illustrious Sōmēśvaradēva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building.

(V. 74.) By the grace of the holy Nēmi and Ambikā on the mountain Arbuda may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of Vastupāla!

(Line 46.) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason Chaṇḍēśvara, the son of Dhāndhala, the son of Kēlhaṇa.

(L. 47.) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phālgua, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama, the consecration was performed by the illustrious Vijayasēnasūri of the illustrious Nāgēndra *gachchha*.

No. II.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्रीं ॥ ओं नमः . . . . . [संव] १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि ३ रवौ अद्यह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुककुलकमलराजइंससमस्ताराज-वलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीम . . . .<sup>३</sup>
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त . . . . . । श्रीवशिष्ट' कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमहूमराज-देवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्मैव महाराजा-धिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द] . . . .
- 3 राजामंडले श्रीचौलुककुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलोत्पन्नसदादेवसुतमहामंड-लेश्वरराजकश्रीवीरधवलदेवसल्लसमस्तमुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्री-प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंड[प] . . . .<sup>५</sup>
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमह° श्रीसोमतनुजठ° श्रीभासरामभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्यैः पुत्र-मह° श्रीमहदेवसंघपतिमह° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमह° श्रीतिजः-पालेन स्वकीयभार्यामह° श्रीचतुपमदेव्यास्तकुचि[सं] . . .<sup>६</sup>
- 5 विचयुत्रमह° श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुष्यशोभिवृद्धये श्रीमद्वुंदाचलोपरि' देउलवाडा-ग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकासंकृतं विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभितं श्रीलूणसिंह-वसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिदं कारितं ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठितं° श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसुरिसंताने श्रीशान्तिसुरिशिष्यश्रीभासंदसुरिश्री-भमरचंद्रसुरिपहासंकराप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसुरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसुरिभिः ॥ छ ॥ अथ च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकानां नामा-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ मह° श्रीमहदेवमह° श्रीवस्तुपालमह° श्रीतिजःपालप्रभृतिभ्रातृचय-संतानपरंपरया तथा मह° श्रीलूणसिंहसल्लमातृकुलपत्ने° श्रीचंद्रावतोवास्तव्य-प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीसावदेवसुतठ° श्रीशालिगतनुजठ°

<sup>1</sup> On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1741 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>३</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>४</sup> Restore 'श्रीभीमदेव-'. <sup>५</sup> Read 'वशिष्ठ'. <sup>६</sup> Restore 'श्रीचंडपसुतठ° श्री-

<sup>६</sup> Restore 'संभुत्प-'. <sup>७</sup> Read 'श्रीमद्वुंदा'.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'प्रतिष्ठित'.

<sup>९</sup> The प of °पत्ने seems to have been corrected out of प.

- 8 श्रीसागरतनय<sup>१</sup> श्रीसागापुत्र<sup>२</sup> श्रीधरणिगभ्रातृमहं श्रीराणिगमहं श्रीलीला  
तथा ठ<sup>३</sup> श्रीधरणिगभार्या<sup>४</sup> श्रीतिष्ठणदेविकुचिसंभूतमहं श्रीभनुपमदेवि-  
सहोदरभ्रातृ<sup>५</sup> श्रीखीम्बसीहठ<sup>६</sup> श्रीभाम्बसीहठ<sup>७</sup> श्रीजदल<sup>८</sup>
- 9 तथा महं श्रीलीलासुतमहं श्रीलूणसीह तथा भ्रातृ<sup>९</sup> जगसीहठ<sup>१०</sup> रत्न-  
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन<sup>११</sup> एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-  
मपि जपनपूजासारादिकं सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा ।<sup>१२</sup>
- 10 श्रीचंद्रावत्याः सल्लसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्टिकप्रभृतिश्रावकसमुदायः<sup>१३</sup> ॥  
तथा उंवरणीकीसरउलीशामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>१४</sup> श्री रासलठ<sup>१५</sup> आसधर तथाज्ञा<sup>१६</sup>  
माणिभद्र<sup>१७</sup> श्री आल्हण तथाज्ञा<sup>१८</sup> श्री देल्हण<sup>१९</sup> खीम्बसी-<sup>२०</sup>
- 11 ह धर्कटज्ञातीयश्री<sup>२१</sup> नेहाउ<sup>२२</sup> साल्हा तथाज्ञा<sup>२३</sup> धउल्लिगउ<sup>२४</sup> आसचंद्र तथाज्ञा<sup>२५</sup>  
श्री वहुदेवउ<sup>२६</sup> सोम प्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>२७</sup> श्री सावडउ<sup>२८</sup> श्रीपाल तथाज्ञा<sup>२९</sup> श्री  
जीदाउ<sup>३०</sup> पाल्लण धर्कटज्ञा<sup>३१</sup> श्री पासउ<sup>३२</sup> सादा प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयपूनाउ<sup>३३</sup> सा-
- 12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालज्ञा<sup>३४</sup> पूनाउ<sup>३५</sup> साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>३६</sup> । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षप्रंधियाचाष्टाहिकायां<sup>३७</sup> देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने जपन-  
पूजायुक्तवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासङ्कदशामीयजपसवालज्ञा-
- 13 तीयश्री<sup>३८</sup> सोहिउ<sup>३९</sup> पाल्लण तथाज्ञा<sup>४०</sup> श्री सलखणउ<sup>४१</sup> वालण प्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>४२</sup>  
श्री सांतुयउ<sup>४३</sup> देल्हुय तथाज्ञा<sup>४४</sup> श्री गोसलउ<sup>४५</sup> आल्हा तथाज्ञा<sup>४६</sup> श्री  
कोलाउ<sup>४७</sup> आम्बा<sup>४८</sup> तथाज्ञा<sup>४९</sup> श्री पासचंद्रउ<sup>५०</sup> पूनचंद्र तथाज्ञा<sup>५१</sup> श्री  
जसवीरउ<sup>५२</sup> ज-
- 14 गा तथाज्ञा<sup>५३</sup> १० ब्रह्मदेवउ<sup>५४</sup> राल्हा श्रीमालज्ञा<sup>५५</sup> कडुयराउ<sup>५६</sup> कुलधरप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः<sup>५७</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा ११ ब्रह्माणवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहाजनि<sup>५८</sup>
- 15 चांमिगउ<sup>५९</sup> पूनड जपसवालज्ञा<sup>६०</sup> महा<sup>६१</sup> धांधाउ<sup>६२</sup> सागर तथाज्ञा<sup>६३</sup> महा<sup>६४</sup>  
साटाउ<sup>६५</sup> वरदेव प्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>६६</sup> महा<sup>६७</sup> पाल्लणउ<sup>६८</sup> उदयपाल श्रीसवालज्ञा<sup>६९</sup>  
महा<sup>७०</sup> भावोधनउ<sup>७१</sup> जगसीह श्रीमालज्ञा<sup>७२</sup> महा<sup>७३</sup> वीसलउ<sup>७४</sup> पासदेव प्रा-<sup>७५</sup>
- 16 ग्वाटज्ञा<sup>७६</sup> महा<sup>७७</sup> वीरदेवउ<sup>७८</sup> शरसीह तथाज्ञा<sup>७९</sup> श्री घणचंद्रउ<sup>८०</sup> रामचंद्रप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः<sup>८१</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य तृतीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीशामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री<sup>८२</sup> सा-

<sup>१</sup> Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ श्रीभाम्बसीहठ. The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

<sup>२</sup> Read कुटुम्बेन.

<sup>३</sup> This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line.

<sup>४</sup> Read श्रीधरणी.

<sup>५</sup> Read संवरणीकी.

<sup>६</sup> Read खीम्बसी.

<sup>७</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>८</sup> Read प्रसिद्धा.

<sup>९</sup> Read आम्बा.

<sup>१०</sup> Read ब्रह्मदेव.

<sup>११</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>१२</sup> Read ब्रह्माण.

<sup>१३</sup> The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

<sup>१४</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

- 17 जणउ<sup>१</sup> पासवीर तथाज्ञा<sup>२</sup> श्री वीहडिउ<sup>३</sup> पूना तथाज्ञा<sup>४</sup> श्री जसडुयउ<sup>५</sup>  
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयश्री<sup>६</sup> साजनउ<sup>७</sup> भोला तथाज्ञा<sup>८</sup> पासिलउ<sup>९</sup> पूतुय तथाज्ञा<sup>१०</sup>  
श्री राकुयउ<sup>११</sup> सावदेव तथाज्ञा<sup>१२</sup> दूगसरणउ<sup>१३</sup> साहणीय श्रीसवाल<sup>१४</sup>
- 18 ज्ञा<sup>१५</sup> श्री सलखणउ<sup>१६</sup> महं जोगा तथाज्ञा<sup>१७</sup> श्री[\*] देवकुयारउ<sup>१८</sup> आसदेव-  
प्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>१९</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ६ षष्ठीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्थी-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडखलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 श्री संघोरणउ<sup>२०</sup> गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा श्री सोहियउ<sup>२१</sup> आससर तथा श्री जेजाउ<sup>२२</sup>  
खांखण तथा फील्लिषियामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञा<sup>२३</sup> वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिकाः<sup>२४</sup>  
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा हंडाउद्रायामडवाणीयामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीयश्री<sup>२५</sup> आम्बु-  
यउ<sup>२६</sup> जसरा तथाज्ञा<sup>२७</sup> श्री[\*] लखमणउ<sup>२८</sup> आसू तथाज्ञा<sup>२९</sup> श्री आसलउ<sup>३०</sup>  
जगदेव तथाज्ञा<sup>३१</sup> श्री सुमिगउ<sup>३२</sup> धणदेव तथाज्ञा<sup>३३</sup> श्री जिणदेवउ<sup>३४</sup> जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>३५</sup> श्री आसलउ<sup>३६</sup> सादा श्रीमालज्ञा<sup>३७</sup> श्री देदाउ<sup>३८</sup> वीसल तथाज्ञा<sup>३९</sup>  
श्री आसधरउ<sup>४०</sup> आसल तथाज्ञा<sup>४१</sup> श्री धिरदेवउ<sup>४२</sup> वीरुय तथाज्ञा<sup>४३</sup> श्री  
गुणचंद्रउ<sup>४४</sup> देवधर तथाज्ञा<sup>४५</sup> श्री हरियाउ<sup>४६</sup> हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञा<sup>४७</sup> श्री लखमण-
- 22 उ<sup>४८</sup> कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>४९</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवस्य षष्ठाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-  
ज्ञातीयश्री<sup>५०</sup> देसलउ<sup>५१</sup> ब्रह्मसरणु तथाज्ञा<sup>५२</sup> जसकरउ<sup>५३</sup> श्री धणिया  
तथाज्ञा[\*] श्री<sup>५४</sup>
- 23 देल्हणउ<sup>५५</sup> आल्हा तथाज्ञा<sup>५६</sup> श्री वालाउ<sup>५७</sup> पन्नसीह तथाज्ञा<sup>५८</sup> श्री आंवुयउ<sup>५९</sup>  
वीहडि तथाज्ञा<sup>६०</sup> श्री वीसरिउ<sup>६१</sup> पूनदेव तथाज्ञा[\*] श्री वीरुयउ<sup>६२</sup> साजण<sup>६३</sup>  
तथाज्ञा<sup>६४</sup> श्री पाहुयउ<sup>६५</sup> जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>६६</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ९  
नवमीदिने
- 24 श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-  
श्रीसवालज्ञातीयश्री<sup>६७</sup> देल्हाउ<sup>६८</sup> आल्हण श्री नागदेवउ<sup>६९</sup> आम्बदेव श्री  
काल्हणउ<sup>७०</sup> आसल श्री वीहियउ<sup>७१</sup> लाखण श्री जसदेवउ<sup>७२</sup> वाहउ<sup>७३</sup> श्री
- 25 सीलणउ<sup>७४</sup> देल्हण श्री वहुदा श्री महघराउ<sup>७५</sup> धणपाल श्री पूनिगउ<sup>७६</sup>  
वाचा श्री गोसलउ<sup>७७</sup> वहुडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>७८</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

<sup>१</sup> The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

<sup>२</sup> Read षष्ठीदिने.

<sup>३</sup> Read आम्बुय.

<sup>४</sup> Read ब्रह्म.

<sup>५</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>६</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>७</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>८</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

<sup>९</sup> Read आम्बुय.

<sup>१०</sup> Read आम्बुय.

<sup>११</sup> Read षष्ठाष्टा.

<sup>१२</sup> Read साजण (?).

<sup>१३</sup> Read श्रीगोष्टिकाः.

श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य षष्टमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा श्रीशर्बुदे-  
परि देउलवा-

- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तत्रावकैः ।<sup>1</sup> श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कक्षाणिकानि यथा-  
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्त्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-  
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराजं श्रीकान्हडदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजकोकैस्त-
- 27 या श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिविश्रास तथा गुरुलीलाप्रणयसमस्त-  
महाजनगोष्ठिकेषु तथा शर्बुदाचलोपरि श्रीशचलेश्वरश्रीविश्र तथा संनि-  
हित ।<sup>2</sup> ग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामहबुग्रामश्रीश्रीरासाग्रामज-
- 28 तरुग्रामसिंहग्रामसालग्रामहेठउंजीग्रामभाखीग्रामश्रीधांधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-  
हादशग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगुरुलीलाप्रणयराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तसोको-  
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीहा-
- 29 रवंशीयसर्वराजपुत्रैश्च भाभीयाभीयस्त्रेष्ट्या श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-  
विश्रयोपविश्य महं श्रीतेजःपालपार्श्वत् स्त्रीयस्त्रीयप्रमोदपूर्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-  
वसहिकामिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्वोपि रक्षापभारः स्वीकृतः । तदेतदा-
- 30 मीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्भिरैतैः<sup>3</sup> सर्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च धर्म-  
स्थानमिदमाचंद्रार्कं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकमंडलुवस्त्रक-  
सितरत्नपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुद्यतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्वहणं ॥ ६ ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमि-  
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं वाहिरह्यां उवाणीग्रामः शासनेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्त्थनया प्रमाराव्यभिचाराचंद्रार्कं यावत् प्रतिपास्यः ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचैवमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुंडरीकी गिरिः श्रीमान् देवतकोपि  
विश्वविदितः चैत्रं विसृजेरिति । नूनं चैत्रमिदं हयोरपि तथैः श्रीशर्बुदेस्त-  
अभू भेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिमं श्रीशादिनेमी स्वयं ॥ १ संसारसर्व-  
स्वमिदं सुज्ञिस-
- 33 ॥ स्वस्वमप्यत्र जिनेश दृष्टं । विलोक्यमानि भवन्ते तवास्मिन् पूर्वं परं च त्वयि  
दृष्टिपांथे ॥ २ श्रीलूणसीयश्रीनयचंद्रचुरेरिति ॥ सं सरवचपुत्रं<sup>5</sup> सिंह-  
राजसाधु साजणसंसहसासाहदेपुत्री सुनयव प्रथमति ॥ शुभं ॥<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'शर्बुदे'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'शास्य'.

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'गोष्ठिकेषु'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'शर्बुदे'.

<sup>6</sup> This sign of punctuation is out of place; read 'संनिहितग्राम'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'शास्य'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'संतिष्ठमान' and 'शास्य'.

<sup>9</sup> कुर्वन्भिरैतैः.

<sup>10</sup> At the end of the line there is a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31.

No. III.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ शृपविक्रमसंवत् १२७७ वर्षे प्रागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अद्येह श्रीशर्बु-  
दाचले<sup>3</sup> श्रीमदणहिलपु-
- 2 रवास्तं प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीशा-  
सरासुतमहं मालदे-
- 3 वमहं श्रीवस्तुपालयोरगुजभाटमहं श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीशतु-  
पमदेविकुञ्चि-
- 4 संभूतसुतमहं श्रीलूणसीहपुस्तार्थं अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
महातीर्थं कारितं ॥ ६ ॥ ६ ॥

No. IV.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>5</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीशासराव्ये महं श्रीमालदेवसुतावार्थंश्रीसदमलयेयी-
- 2 ॥<sup>6</sup> महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ ६ ॥

No. V.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीशृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीशासराव्ये महं श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं श्रीपुंनसीहोयभा-
- 2 र्यामहं श्रीवाल्लहणदेवियेयी<sup>9</sup> महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-  
ता ॥ ६ ॥

No. VI.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>11</sup> ॥ श्रीशृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे<sup>12</sup> प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-  
महं श्रीसोमान्वये<sup>13</sup> महं श्रीशासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं<sup>14</sup> [०\*]  
श्रीपातृयेयी<sup>15</sup> महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता ।[१\*]

No. VII.<sup>16</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>17</sup> ॥ श्रीशृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>18</sup> १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine. No. 1742 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'शर्बुदे'.

<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor. No. 1666 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The ॥ of 'चंडप' has an abnormal form.

<sup>7</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor. No. 1667 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor. No. 1668 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'शर्बुदे'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'शोमान्वये'.

<sup>13</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor. No. 1669 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>14</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'विक्रम'.

महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं  
श्रीलीलश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्री-

2 तेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

No. VIII.<sup>1</sup>

1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं श्रीपुंनसीहसुतामहं  
श्रीपियडश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीते-

2 जपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. IX.<sup>3</sup>

1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं श्रीपुंनसीहश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीतेजपालेन  
देवकुलि[का\*] कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. X.<sup>5</sup>

1 श्री<sup>6</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवश्रेयोऽर्थं तत्कोदरलक्ष्मुभ्रातृमहं  
श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ ॥<sup>7</sup>

No. XI.<sup>8</sup>

1 श्री<sup>9</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं श्रीपुंनसीहसुतावाईश्री<sup>11</sup>  
2 बलालदेविश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XII.<sup>12</sup>

1 श्री<sup>13</sup> श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>14</sup> १२८८ वर्षे श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडप-  
श्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतश्रीमालदेवमहं

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 5 in the corridor. No. 1670 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 6 in the corridor. No. 1671 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The  $\sigma$  of 'संवत्' has not been finished.

<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 7 in the corridor. No. 1672 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Between the last two signs of punctuation there is a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 8 in the corridor. No. 1673 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'सुतावाई'.

<sup>12</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 40 in the corridor. No. 1727 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol. Before this, but a little lower down, there is a reversed  $\sigma$ .

<sup>14</sup> Read 'संवत्'.

2 श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालेन महं श्रीवस्तुपालभार्यायाः महं श्रीसीसु-  
कायाः पुण्यार्थं श्रीसुपार्श्वजिनालंकता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIII.<sup>1</sup>

1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री-  
चंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतश्री-

2 मालदेवमहं श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालेन महं श्रीवस्तुपालभार्या-  
लंकतादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIV.<sup>3</sup>

1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ संवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरांगज-  
महं श्रीवस्तुपालसुतमहं श्रीजयतसीहश्रेयोऽर्थं

2 महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XV.<sup>5</sup>

1 श्री<sup>6</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं  
श्रीभासरांगजमहं[\*] श्रीतेजपालेन श्रीजयतसीहभार्याजयतलदेवि-

2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVI.<sup>10</sup>

1 नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं  
श्रीभासरांगजेन महं श्रीतेजपालेन श्रीजयतसीहभार्यासूहवदेवि-

2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVII.<sup>11</sup>

1 श्री<sup>12</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासराभवसमुद्भवमहं श्रीतेजपालेन महं श्रीजयतसी-

2 हभार्यामहं श्रीरूपादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 41 in the corridor. No. 1729 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'श्रीवस्तुपाल'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'श्रीवस्तुपाल'.

<sup>5</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 42 in the corridor. No. 1731 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'श्रीवस्तुपाल'.

<sup>8</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 43 in the corridor. No. 1732 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 44 in the corridor. No. 1734 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>11</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 45 in the corridor. No. 1736 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by symbol.

No. XVIII.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीतेजपालिन दे-  
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं श्रीलषमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XX.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुत-  
महं लूणसीहभार्यारयणादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं महं श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXI.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीभासरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेव-  
भ्रातृमहं श्री-  
2 वस्तपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालिन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीभनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवश्रीमुनिसुव्रतस्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XXII.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्री-  
[सो]मश्रीभासरान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं<sup>11</sup> श्रीतेजपालिन स्वसुतश्रीलूणसीहसुतानउरदेवि-  
श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

No. XXIII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंड-  
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं श्री[तेजपालिन] स्वसुतावउल-  
देविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 46 in the corridor. No. 1738 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1684 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1685 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor. No. 1686 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read "वस्तपाल".

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor. No. 1690 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> The τ of "समुद्भूत" is not quite finished.

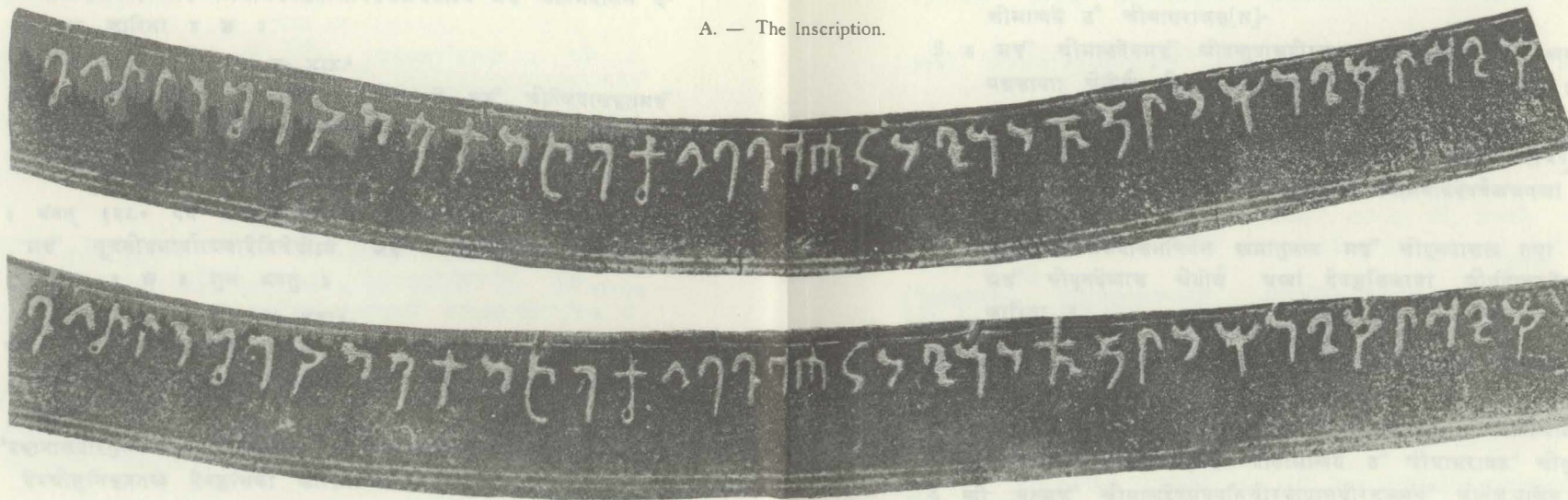
<sup>12</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor. No. 1692 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



The Taxila Vase.

A. — The Inscription.



Full-Size.

From two inked estampages by Mr. Ram Singh, Lahore.

B. — The Vase.



E. Hultsch,

From photographs by Mr. Ram Singh.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

No. XXIV.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीवृषविक्रमसंवत्<sup>3</sup> १२८३ चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह श्रीश्र्वुदा-  
चलमहातीर्थे श्रीप्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ<sup>4</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>5</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>6</sup> श्री-  
सोमान्वये ठ<sup>7</sup> श्रीप्रासराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ महं<sup>8</sup> श्रीमालदेवमहं<sup>9</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं<sup>10</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन<sup>11</sup> स्वभगिन्याः  
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्थे श्रीवारिसेणदेवालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारि[ता] ॥

No. XXV.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीवृषविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ७ अद्येह श्रीश्र्वुदाचल-  
महातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां महं<sup>8</sup>  
श्रीतेजःपालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य महं<sup>9</sup> श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-  
महं<sup>10</sup> श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्थे अस्यां देवकुलिकायां श्रीचंद्राननदेवप्रतिमा  
कारिता ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ <sup>11</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमवृषात् सं १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह  
श्रीश्र्वुदाचल[तीर्थे]<sup>12</sup>
- 2 स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटप्राती-  
3 यठ<sup>13</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>14</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>15</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये ठ<sup>16</sup> श्रीप्रासराजठ<sup>17</sup> श्रीकुमारदे-  
4 व्योः सुतमहं<sup>18</sup> श्रीमालदेवसंघपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं<sup>19</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभ-  
5 गिन्या वार्डजाल्हणदेव्याः<sup>13</sup> श्रेयोर्थे <sup>14</sup>विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसीमंवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-  
6 लंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता<sup>15</sup> श्रीनागेंद्रगण्डे श्रीविजयसेन-  
सु[रभिः ॥]

No. XXVII.<sup>16</sup>

- 1 [॥ श्री]<sup>17</sup> ॥ <sup>18</sup>स्वस्ति संवत् १२८३ चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्येह <sup>19</sup>श्रीश्र्वुदाचल-  
तीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलू[णसीह]-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1715 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>3</sup> Read °संवत्. <sup>4</sup> Read °श्र्वुदा°.<sup>5</sup> The त् of °तेजःपालेन is only half finished.<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1716 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>8</sup> Read °श्र्वुदा°.<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1707 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>11</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.<sup>12</sup> Read °श्र्वुदा°.<sup>13</sup> Read वार्ड°.<sup>14</sup> Read °सीमंवरस्वामि°.<sup>15</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठिता.<sup>16</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor. No. 1708 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>17</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>18</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.<sup>19</sup> Read °श्र्वुदा°.

- 2 ॥ वसुदेवसहिष्णुश्रीशरिष्टनेमिचैले श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-  
प्रसादमह° श्री[सो]-
- 3 ॥ मान्वये ठ° श्रीभासराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह° श्रीमालदेव-  
संघपतिमह° ॥
- 4 ॥ श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवाईमाऊश्रेयोर्थे<sup>1</sup> विहर-  
माण- ॥
- 5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरस्वामिजिनप्रतिमालंकता देवकुलिका इयं कारिता ॥<sup>2</sup>  
॥ छ [॥]

No. XXVIII.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . . .<sup>5</sup> [अद्येह श्रीशुर्वदाचले<sup>6</sup> स्वयंकारित-  
श्रीलू]-
- 2 [ए]सीहवसहिष्णुश्रीशरिष्टनेमिचैले श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]
- 3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमह° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीभासराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह[°]
- 4 श्रीमालदेवमह° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या<sup>8</sup> सा[ऊ]-
- 5 [देव्याः श्रेयोर्थे] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकता<sup>9</sup> देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XXIX.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>11</sup> ॥ <sup>12</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीशुर्वदाचलमहातीर्थे<sup>13</sup> स्वयं[का]-
- 2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिष्णुश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्री-  
चंडप-
- 3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमह° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीभासराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः  
सुतमह° श्रीतेजःपाले-
- 4 न स्वभगिन्या<sup>14</sup> वाईधणदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविवालंकता<sup>15</sup>  
देवकुलिका कारिता ॥\*

<sup>1</sup> Read °वाई°.<sup>2</sup> Read °कुलिकेयं.<sup>3</sup> After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 28 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>5</sup> The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.<sup>6</sup> Read °शुर्वदा°.<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.<sup>8</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>9</sup> Read °श्रीवाहु°.<sup>10</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>11</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>12</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.<sup>13</sup> Read °शुर्वदा°.<sup>14</sup> Read वाई°.<sup>15</sup> Read °सुवाहुविवा°.No. XXX.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १]२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीशुर्वदाचलमहातीर्थे<sup>3</sup> स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिष्णुश्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमह° श्रीसी-  
मान्वये ठ° श्रीभासराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह° श्रीमालदेवसंघप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमह° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या वाईसोहगाया  
श्रेयोर्थे<sup>4</sup> शाश्वतजिनश्रीनृपभदेवालंकता देवकुलिका कारिता ॥\*

No. XXXI.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>5</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीशुर्वदाचलमहातीर्थे<sup>6</sup> स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिष्णुश्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवचैत्ये जगत्यां<sup>7</sup>
- 2 ॥ श्रीप्राग्वाटजातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमह° श्रीसीमान्वये ठ° श्रीभा-  
सराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह° श्रीमालदेवमह° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह°
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या<sup>8</sup> वाईवयसुकायाः श्रेयोर्थे<sup>9</sup> श्रीवर्हमानाभिध-  
शाश्वतजिनप्रतिमालंकता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगलं  
महाश्रीः ॥<sup>11</sup> ॥

No. XXXII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> संवत् १२६७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचंडप्रसादमह[°\*]  
श्रीसीमान्वये मह[°\*] श्रीभासराजसतमह[°\*] श्रीतेजःपालेन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-  
व्यमोढज्ञातीयठ° जाल्हणसुतठ° आसासुतायाः ठकुराज्ञीसंतोषाकुच्चिसंभूताया  
मह[°\*] श्रीतेजःपालद्वितीयभार्यामह[°\*] श्रीसुहडादेव्याः [श्रेयोर्थे] ॥\*

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No. 1711 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read °शुर्वदा°.<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor. No. 1712 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>6</sup> Read °संवत्°.<sup>7</sup> Read °शुर्वदा°.<sup>8</sup> Read °चैत्यजगत्यां°.<sup>9</sup> Read श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय°.<sup>10</sup> Read वाई°.<sup>11</sup> This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol.<sup>12</sup> On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine. No. 1744A of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

## No. 30.—TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years. Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like Bühler, Senart and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single Kharoṣṭhī inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail. Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription. It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Peshawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stūpas near Shāhpur; but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. p. 24, and Plate iii. fig. 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXII. p. 151, and added a correction *ibid.* p. 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid.* p. 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II. p. 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr. Vogel, by Mr. Rām Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

## TEXT.

Sihileṇa Siharachhitēna cha bhṛatarehi Takhaśilāe ayaṁ thuvo pratithavito savabudhāṇa pūyae.

## TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Simhila) and Siharachhita (Simbarakshita) this Stūpa was erected at Takhaśilā (Takshaśilā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

## REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked; but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mausehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihilēna*, *Siharachhitēna* and *savabudhāna*; but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *ṇa*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *ṇa*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *ṇ* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Sakamunisa* (l. 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p. 453, Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mātrās* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run:—

Sihilēna	Siharachhitēna	cha	bhṛatarehi	Takhaśilāe	ṇa
ayaṁ	thāvō	pratithāvito	savabuddhāna	pūyāḥ	ṇa

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Siḥilēna* and *bhatarehi*. The correct readings *Sihilēna*, which can only stand for *Sihilēna*, and *bhṛatarehi* would imply that

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the *caesura* standing between *chu* and *bhratarehi*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No. 33.]

THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

239

## No. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, Ph.D., ROSTOCK.

## I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman on the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhoti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a *Nāga* and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja *dēvaputra Kanishka*, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

## British Museum stone of Kanishka.



E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.



Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

Scale - 9

From an inked estampage.

E. Hultzsch.

## TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[ri]<sup>1</sup> maharājasya dēva[putrasya]<sup>2</sup>  
 2 Kānīshkasya savatsarē [10]<sup>3</sup>  
 3 gri 2 di 9 ētayē purvay[ē]<sup>4</sup>  
 4 [u]tarāyam<sup>5</sup> na[va]rikāyam<sup>6</sup> [h]ā-  
 5 [rmya]n-[d]ātā[n]<sup>7</sup> priyatām dēvi<sup>8</sup> grā[masya].<sup>9</sup>

## REMARKS.

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner.—3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt.—4 The *ē* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayām*.—5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *natarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone.—6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental.—7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure.—8 The *ē*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle.—9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

## TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēva*putra Kānīshka, in the second (month of) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern *navamikā* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased!

## NOTES.

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Ār. VI, 6, 2* instead of the ordinary *hārmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharv. XVIII, 4, 55*. In *hārmyan=datān* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8: *priyatām=bhagavān=Ṛishabharīḥ*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record: *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kānīshka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *ṇ*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement.<sup>1</sup> In the Kharōshthī inscriptions of Suē Vihār<sup>2</sup> and Zeda<sup>3</sup> the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Manikyāla as *Kaneshka*,<sup>4</sup> but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscr. of S. 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 34 ff., No. 4; Mathurā inscr. of S. 7, above Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19; Mathurā inscr. of S. 9, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 37, No. 6; Mathurā inscr., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 25; Sārnat̄h inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. VIII. p. 176, No. 3<sup>a</sup>; Sārnat̄h inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. III. p. 179, No. 3<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. As. Ser.* VIII. Vol. XV. p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8.

*Kaneshka* would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sarnath inscription, No. 3<sup>a</sup>, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph<sup>1</sup> distinctly shows *Kanishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgi. That during the Kushana period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurā inscriptions<sup>2</sup> which mention the temple (*st[h]āna*) of the *nāgēndra* Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa (*Dadhikarṇadēvikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyānā navamikāyānā*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) ninth (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *śtāyē purvayē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitiya*.<sup>3</sup> The words must therefore be connected with *hārmyan-dātām*, and as a form ending in *-āyānā* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *ā*; *utarā navamikā* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikā* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarā navamikā* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgi. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

## II.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SĀMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX, Part I, p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V, p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Seythie' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

<sup>1</sup> [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *d* is quite certain.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 890, No. 18; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 102, No. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is nevertheless inclined to connect *utardyanā navamikāyānā* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamāna*, *aparī-khīta*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmi of the Kushana type. The *śha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rājātirāja] devaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

### TEXT.

- 1 Mahārājasya<sup>1</sup> r[ā].....<sup>2</sup>
- 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu....<sup>3</sup>
- 3 savatsarē<sup>4</sup> 70<sup>5</sup> 4 varsham[ā].<sup>6</sup>
- 4 śe prathamē divasē
- 5 tris[ā] 30 asya<sup>8</sup> purvayān<sup>7</sup>
- 6 Talakiy[ā]<sup>10</sup> mahādāḍa-
- 7 nāyakasya<sup>11</sup> Vā-
- 8 linas[y]<sup>12</sup> k[shē]t[rē]<sup>13</sup> Mihi-
- 9 ..... [mahādāḍa]<sup>14</sup>.

### REMARKS.

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātirāja*.—3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below.—4 The *ē*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct.—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below.—6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct.—7 The *ē*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper.—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight.—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental.—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ē*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakiyān* would be possible.—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *ī* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *śā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain.—13 The *ksh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ē* of *kshē* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trē* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

### TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Vāsu....., in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vālina at Talakiya (or Talaki?) Mihi....

## NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *ānā* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntāśāsisa* and *āntāśāsiniyā* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198 f., Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham<sup>1</sup> originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.<sup>2</sup> In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,<sup>3</sup> and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushāṇas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmi inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood :—

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmin mahāśhatrapa Śoḍāsa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 17, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 184, No. 7, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

<sup>1</sup> The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 873, note 7.

## Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.

Scale · 5



E. Hultsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

From a damaged rubbing.



It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration :—

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 10, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No. 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huvishka, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No. 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 103, No. 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāñchi inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

<sup>1</sup> Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huvishka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61.

No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja rājātīrāja devaputra* Hūvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahāshatrapa* Śoḷāsa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 1024 f.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛiddhahasti (*Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭiya* (*Koṭṭika*) *gana*, the *Vairā* (*Vajri*) *sākhā*. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,<sup>2</sup> recording a gift made at the request of the *ganin*, the venerable Kharuṇa, a pupil of this same Vṛiddhahastin. If Vṛiddhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *ganin*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photo-lithograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushapa type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāñchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushapa period<sup>3</sup> certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate; Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX, p. 87, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 639. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vāsu* [*dēvasya*]. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors, I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aksharas dēvasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78,<sup>1</sup> whereas the first undoubted record of *Vāsudēva*'s reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king *Vāsushka* in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king *Vāsushka*<sup>2</sup> is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repairs in the reign of *Vāsushka* has not yet been published. As Dr. Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is, of course, impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vāsu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahādāṇḍānyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushapa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *daṇḍānyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,<sup>3</sup> where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not *Laladoḍa-nayago*, but *Lala-daṇḍanayago*.

### III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚOḶĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscription of S. 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sāñchi inscription of S. 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f.

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of *Vāsushka*, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 367 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions; see especially the letters *da*, *ś* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śēgrava (*Saigra*) *gōtra*, the treasurer of *svāmin mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

## TEXT.

1 Svāmīsa mahākshatrapasya Śoṁḍāsasya<sup>1</sup> gamjavarēṇa brāhmaṇēna Śēgrava-  
asgōtrēna [p]...<sup>2</sup>

2 raṇi imāshām yamaḍa-pushkarapīnam paśchimā pushkarapī udapānō āramō<sup>3</sup>  
stambhō i...

3 [śilā]paṭṭō<sup>4</sup> cha-

## REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*-. —3 The outlines of the letters *ṇi udapānō āramō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

## TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṁḍāsa, a Brāhman of the Śēgrava (*Saigra*) *gōtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*).

## NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāshām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsaṃ* and *imīsaṃ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāshām* as he was wont to render *imīsaṃ* by *imāshām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkarapī* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *pokkharapī*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt. *yamala* or *yamaḍa*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śoḍāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *śo*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *śāṁḍāsasya* (for *Śāṁḍāsasya*) and the latter *Sauḍāsasya* (for *Sauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *śo*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēṇa* and in *pushkarapīnam*.

The form Śoṁḍāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*<sup>1</sup> Bühler read *Soḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Soṁḍāsasa*. Right above the *śo* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hamaṁtamāś* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Suḍisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akshara* seems to be *śo*, and that the alternative forms *Su*<sup>o</sup> and *Sau*<sup>o</sup>, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. IX. p. 148, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Soḍāsa* and *Suḍāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Soṁḍāsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Soḍāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Soṁḍāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gajavarēna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaja* into *rajé*, 'during the reign.' The new reading *gamjavarēna* shows that *gañjavara*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Bhāṭaraṅgī* V, 177 and Kshēmendra's *Lōkaprakāśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,<sup>1</sup> *gañjavara* is the Persian *ganjwar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.<sup>2</sup>

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name Śēgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaigra. According to the *Ganapāṭha* the Śaigra *gōtra* is referred to by Pāpini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Saigra* with Pāli *Siggava*,<sup>3</sup> the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* s. v.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of Śoḍāsa. With the exception of the first three *aksharas* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: *brahmapād[na go(?)ḍa ra(?)-śa(?) na]*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmaṇa* Śaigra, the *gañjavara* of Śoḍāsa, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

<sup>3</sup> *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Vol. II. p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpav.* V, 57; 69, etc.

## XIV

## THE MANIKIALA INSCRIPTION

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.

THIS inscription has been known for a long time. The stone on which it is engraved was discovered by General Court in one of the smaller Stūpas surrounding the large Stūpa at Mānikiala in the Rāwal Piṇḍi District, and was afterwards sent to Paris, where it is kept now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It closed the upper opening of the relic-chamber, the incised face being turned to the interior.

In 1834 James Prinsep published a lithograph of the inscription in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, vol. 3, p. 563, plate 33. More than twenty years afterwards a few names were deciphered by Cunningham, *ibid.*, vol. 23 (1854), p. 703, but no further progress was made until 1863, when Dowson published a tentative reading and translation in this *Journal*, vol. 20, p. 250 ff. The lithograph accompanying Dowson's paper was reproduced again in 1871 by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. 2, p. 160, plate 63, but his remarks on Dowson's readings (p. 163) are of little value. In 1896 the inscription was edited by M. Senart in the *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 7, p. 1 ff. It is almost unnecessary to say that the careful and penetrating researches of the author of the *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne* greatly advanced our understanding of the record; still, as acknowledged by M. Senart himself, a good number of difficulties and obscurities remained. Some of them I hope to be able now to remove; for others I venture at any rate to offer some suggestions which, though perhaps wrong in themselves, may lead others to a final solution. It is only by steps that we can advance in this field of

knowledge, and he who fears to put his foot occasionally on less safe ground will never reach the goal at all.

As I have had no opportunity of inspecting the original stone and do not possess an impression of it, my remarks are entirely based on the two photolithographs published with M. Senart's paper. Unfortunately the plate showing the complete inscription, though excellently done, is on a greatly reduced scale, and how much the reading is impaired thereby is clearly shown by the second plate, which represents the last two lines and the beginning of the first seven lines in about double the size, and on that account is far more distinct than the first plate. If anyone would publish a larger reproduction of this important inscription, he would earn the gratitude of all scholars interested in Indian epigraphy.

In 1907 the inscription formed the subject of a correspondence between Dr. Fleet and myself, and with Dr. Fleet's permission I have included some of his observations in the present paper. A few times I have also taken the opportunity of referring to a transcript of the inscription prepared many years ago by Professor Hoernle for the intended second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and made over to me in 1905: this transcript is only a tentative one, and for the most part, of course, is superseded by M. Senart's edition, but there are some passages where I believe Professor Hoernle to have hit already the right reading.

For the sake of clearness I give first the text as read by M. Senart:<sup>1</sup>—

- 1 bhātara Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae
- 2 saṃ 18 spatrapurvaspa maharajasa Kane-
- 3 śkasa Guṣanavaśasaṃvardhaka Lala-
- 4 doḍanayago Vespaśisa chatrapasa

<sup>1</sup> I have altered the transliteration in accordance with that used in this *Journal*, and have given capitals in the case of the words taken by M. Senart as proper names.

- 5 horamurtasatasa Apanagavihare
- 6 horamurto atra nanabhagavabudhathuvarṃ
- 7 patithavayati saha taṇa Vespaśiena Khudaciēna
- 8 Buritena ca viharakaraphaena
- 9 saṃvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-
- 10 śalamulena budhehi ca spavaspahi ca
- 11 saca sada bhavatu
- 12 Saṃdhabudhilena savakarmigena
- 13 Kartiyasa masa divase 20.

(Line 1.) The reasons why I differ from M. Senart with regard to the arrangement of this line will be given below.

(Line 2.) M. Senart reads the syllables after the figures of the date *spatrapurvaspa*. Several years ago it occurred to me that the correct reading was *etra purvae*, and I may add that Professor Hoernle and Dr. Fleet have arrived quite independently at the same, or nearly the same, reading. Dr. Fleet proposed to take the syllables as *atra purvae* or *ae purvae*, and in Professor Hoernle's transcript they are rendered first by *spa . purvaspa*, then by *asya(?) purvae(?)*, and lastly by *etaye purvae*. Professor Hoernle thus was probably the first to recognize the true value of the character read *spa* by M. Senart, though he did not make use of his discovery for the reading of the rest of the inscription. In my opinion the reading *etra purvae* is self-evident. The words correspond to the phrase *etasyām purvāyām* or *asyām pūrvāyām*, so frequently found in various spellings in the Mathurā inscriptions during the reign of the Kuṣans. All the difficulties raised by M. Senart's reading thus fall to the ground. *Etra* is the equivalent of Pāli *ettha*. The sign with the hook to the right is apparently nothing but a variety of the ordinary sign due to current writing. Practice shows that a small hook will easily appear when the letter is written with one stroke of the pen beginning

at the top, and the engraver seems to have scrupulously followed the written draught before him.

The new reading implies a different construction of the words *maharajasa Kaneṣkasa*. Standing after *etra purvae* they can no longer be looked upon as part of the date, as was done by M. Senart, but must be construed with the following word *Guṣanavaśasaṃvardhaka*. The donor thus appears to be called "a propagator of the Guṣan race of the great king Kaneṣka", and I quite agree with M. Senart, if, on the strength of such terms as *Raghuvamśasaṃvardhana* for Rāma, he takes this to mean that the donor was a scion of the royal race.

(Line 4.) M. Senart reads the first word of this line *doḍanayago*, and combining it with the preceding word *Lala*, arrives at a compound *Laladoḍanayago*, which he considers to mean "the general Laladoḍa". In the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 246, I have already pointed out that the correct reading undoubtedly is *Lala daḍanayago*, the photolithograph showing distinctly that what M. Senart took for the *o*-sign is simply a flaw in the stone. That the title *daḍanāyaka* was known in the time of the Kuṣans appears from the Mathurā inscription of Saṃvat 74 edited by me, loc. cit.

The next word, the name of the Chatrapa, is read *Vespaśisa* by M. Senart. At first sight the second letter of the word seems to be quite different from any known sign, but as the name occurs again in l. 7, and as there can be no doubt that there the second letter is the same as the *e* in *etra purvae*, we have to read here also *Veeśisa*. And now it will be easily recognized that what gives the *e* in *Veeśisa* its strange appearance and makes it look different from that used in *Veeśiena* and *etra purvae*, is the large loop at the bottom. That this loop again owes its origin to current handwriting is proved by the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, where we find the looped sign, e.g. in A<sup>3</sup>, l. 3; C<sup>ro</sup>, l. 16; etc.

(Lines 5, 6.) These lines present considerable difficulties. M. Senart takes *horamurtasatasa* in l. 5 as one word qualifying the Chatrapa Veesi, and *horamurto* in the next line as applying to the general Lala. *Satasya* at the end of the first word he takes to be Sk. *satvasya*. In *murta* he recognizes Sk. *mūrta*, "qui a pris la forme de . . . , incarné, réalisé"; *hora* he connects with the Iranian *Ahura*; and he thus arrives at the translation "l'image d'Ahura". Ingenious as it is, this interpretation does not satisfy. It appears to me quite improbable that such merely ornamental epithets should have been used in a dry and short record like the present one, and even if that should be the case, it would seem strange that the same epithet was given to Veesi as well as to Lala. But there are more and even graver difficulties. The last word of l. 5 is read by M. Senart *Apanagavihare*, and explained as meaning "le *vihāra* du petit *nāga*". The whole passage then, according to him, would mean: "Lala . . . fonde ici dans le *Vihāra* Alpanāga du satrape Veesi, cette image d'Ahura, lui-même une image d'Ahura, ce Stūpa, etc." It will be seen at once that, if this translation should be correct, the order of the words would be quite perplexing. *Horamurto* would be quite out of place between *Apanagavihare* and *atra*. It ought to come immediately after *Lala daḍanayago*, and *atra* also we should expect to find, not after *Apanagavihare*, but before *Veesisa*. For all these reasons I cannot accept M. Senart's explanation of the passage, and I would offer quite a different one.

I would propose to divide *horamurtasatasa* into three words, *horamurta sa tasa*, and to read *apanage vihare* instead of *Apanagavihara*.<sup>1</sup> The whole sentence up to l. 7 then would run:—maharajasa Kaneškasa Guṣana-vaśasamvardhaka Lala daḍanayago Veesisa chatrapasa

<sup>1</sup> There are some minor points where I differ from M. Senart's reading, but they do not affect the sense.

horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto etra nana-bhagavabuddhaṭhuvanṃ pratistavayati. This would be in English:—"The scion of the Guṣana race of the Mahārāja Kaneška, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Chatrapa Veesi—he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veesi's) own *Vihāra*—erects here a Stūpa for different holy Buddhas." The sentence *sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto* is one of those inserted parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,<sup>1</sup> and, which is more important in the present case, occur also in the Taxila Plate of Patika:<sup>2</sup> there we read:—Chahara[sa] Cukhsasa ca chatrapasa — Liako Kusuluko nama — tasa putro Pati[ko] — Takha-śilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Chema nama — atra [de\*]ṣe Patiko apratiṭhāvita bhagavata - Śakamuṇisa śariraṃ [pra\*]tithaveti saṅgharamaṃ ca.<sup>3</sup>

Assuming my division of the words to be correct, we are compelled to look upon *horamurta* in l. 5 as a nominative by the side of *horamurto* in l. 6. But I do not think that this will in any way invalidate my interpretation, as nominatives of masculine *a*-stems in *a* are very numerous in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and occur in the present record itself in °*samvardhaka* and *Lala* in l. 3.

As regards the meaning of *horamurta*, it follows from the context that it is a term denoting some lay official in connection with the administration of the *Vihāra*, and this conclusion can be corroborated by evidence from another source. In the inscription A, II, of the Mathurā lion-capital, the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla is said to have deposited a relic, together with her mother, her paternal grandmother, her brother, her daughter, her *atra(te)ura* (*antahpura*), and the *horakaparivara*. There

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Jāt. I, 278: bodhisatto nāgabalo thāmasampanno nadiyā orimatūrato uppativā — dipakassa orato nadimajjhe eko piṭṭhipāsāṇo atthi — tasmim nipatati.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Thomas is inclined to look upon these phrases as derived from Persian models; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 139.

can be little doubt, I think, that the first part of the word *horamurta* is identical with the *horaka* mentioned here. Mr. Thomas<sup>1</sup> takes *horakaparivāra* as *horakā-parivāra* and renders it by “retinue of princesses or ladies”,<sup>2</sup> but this appears to me unlikely, because the court of ladies is indicated already by the word *ateura*. Judging from the enumeration of the *horakaparivāra* in the last place, after the ladies of the harem, the word would rather seem to denote a certain class of officials of the royal household; and further, considering that we find them mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the depositing of Buddhist relics in a Stūpa, it becomes highly probable that they had to carry out some functions in relation to Buddhist worship. We thus arrive independently at the same result with regard to the meaning of *horaka*, as before with regard to that of *horamurta*. The *horaka* and the *horamurta* are officials of the same class, *horaka* being probably only an abbreviated form of *horamurta*, like *rajjuka* for *rajjugāhaka*, etc.

We next turn to the word *apanage*. M. Senart reads *apanaga*, but he has observed that there is a distinct stroke at the top of the letter. However, he refrains from reading it as *e*, as it does not go from the right to the left as usual, but in the opposite direction. I am, nevertheless, inclined to look at this stroke as denoting *e*, and I would draw attention to the word *ekasitimaye* in the Muchai inscription,<sup>3</sup> where the *e* is added to the *mātrkā ya* in exactly the same way as here. As regards the meaning of *apanage*, I cannot help coming back to Dowson’s opinion, although I am aware of certain difficulties involved by it. Dowson thought of taking *apanaga* as an adjective

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> In his translation of the word Mr. Thomas is guided by etymological reasons. He traces *hora* to the Iranian *ahura*. But even if this etymology should be correct, it is hardly necessary to say that it is always unsafe to assign a certain meaning to a word on etymological grounds alone.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64 and plate.

connected with Sk. *ātman* and denoting “own”. In that case *apanaga*, which may stand for *appanaga* or *appānaga*, would be derived from a stem *appana* or *appāna*, which actually appears in Prakrit dialects,<sup>1</sup> with the suffix *ka* in the sense of “belonging to”, as in Sk. *ātmake*, “belonging to the self,” *Balhika*, “belonging to Balhi;” Pali *kulaka*, “belonging to a family,” *abhijātika*, “belonging to a race,” etc. It is true I know of no other instance of the transition of *tm* into *pp* in the dialect of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kuṣān time,<sup>2</sup> but there are at least two instances of the phonetically nearly related transition of *tv* into *pp*. In the Ara inscription published by Mr. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 58 and plate, the editor reads the date of the year as *samvatsaraē ekacatarī(še) sam xx, xx, i*, whereas from the photolithograph it is quite clear that the correct reading is *sambatsarae ekacaparīśae sam 20 20 1. Ekacaparīśae* would be *ekacatvārīmśe* in Sanskrit. Again, in the Kaldarra inscription we read that a tank was caused to be made *sarvasapana puyae*. Both Bühler, *Vienna Orient. Journ.*, vol. 10, p. 57, and Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 13, p. 533, translated this “in honour of all serpents” (*sarvasarpānām*); but it is very improbable that in the dialect of the inscription the *r* in *sarpa* should have been dropped if it was preserved in *sarva*, and I have therefore not the slightest doubt that Mr. Thomas is right<sup>3</sup> in rendering it “in honour of all beings”, i.e. *sarvasattvānām*. However, there remains the difficulty of assuming that *apanaga* should have been used here in the wider and secondary meaning of “own”, instead of the etymological sense of

<sup>1</sup> See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 401.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, also, no counter-instance is known to me. The dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra inscriptions, where *tm* is represented by *t* (i.e. *tt*) and *tm* respectively (see Edict XII), of course, cannot prove anything in this respect, as the Aśoka edicts are more than two hundred years older than the present inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 147.

“belonging to oneself”. I cannot prove at present that such a development of meaning has taken place, and all I can say is that it does not seem improbable to me. At any rate, as long as no better explanation is offered, the one given by Dowson appears to me more plausible than the supposition that there existed a Vihāra “of the little Nāga”.

With regard to some minor points where I differ from the readings of M. Senart, I labour under the disadvantage of not having an impression at my disposal. M. Senart reads *atra*, but it seems to me that there is a distinct hook attached to the right of the *a*. M. Senart takes the down stroke of the hook to be the prolongation of the right bar of the *ya*, but he states himself “qu’il ne fait pas rigoureusement suite à la partie inférieure”. In my opinion the character is nothing but a rather ill-formed *e* of the same type as in *etra purvae*, *Veesisa*, etc.; similar forms occur in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins in C<sup>o</sup> 16, *yaea*; C<sup>o</sup> 12, *eki*; 13, *ekada*. Besides, the reading *etra* is favoured by the fact that we have undoubtedly *etra* and not *atra* in l. 2.

The word corresponding to Sk. °*stūpam* is read °*thuvam* by M. Senart. The first character, as observed already by M. Senart, has a peculiar form, but to judge from the photolithograph, it resembles far more the ordinary *tha* than *th*, and I should therefore prefer to read °*thuvam*.

(Line 7.) Instead of *patithavayati* I would read *prati-stavayati*, but I do so with a certain reserve. M. Senart declares that it is impossible to decide whether the engraver wrote *pa* or *pra*, but in the larger plate the latter reading seems to me more probable. The third character certainly is not *tha*, but closely resembles the *sta* occurring several times in the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital.<sup>1</sup> However, I think that the reading

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 146, pl. 4, Table of Aksharas. I may mention that also Professor Hoernle transcribed the character as *sta*.

*stha* also would not be impossible. The reading *ya* for the last but one letter is, of course, beyond doubt, and the character seems to me to be of the ordinary type. As shown above, there is no prolongation of the right bar, and the apparent stroke to the left may easily be a flaw in the stone, as pointed out already by M. Senart. Whether we have to read *taena* or *taena* I do not venture to decide at present.

As regards the proper names in this line, I have noted already that instead of *Vespaśiena* we have to read *Veesiena*. The second name is transcribed as *Khudaciēna* by M. Senart, but he himself states that he has read the second character as *da* only for want of something better. The photolithograph seems to me to be rather in favour of *Khujaciēna*.

(Line 8.) The only difficult word in this line is the epithet of Burita, read by M. Senart either *viharakara-phaena*, or, taking the fourth letter as a variant of the supposed *spa*, *viharasparaphaena*. The photolithograph, however, leaves little doubt that the fourth letter is *ka*. As regards the meaning of the word, M. Senart was inclined to consider it as equivalent to the well-known title of *vihārasvāmin*, although he was unable to offer an etymology of the second part of the compound. Later on, Professor Franke proposed<sup>1</sup> to read *viharakara-phaena*, and to connect *karafaa* with a causative *karaveti* (Pāli *kārāpeti*), the existence of which is proved by the participle *karavita* found in the Kaldarra inscription. According to Professor Franke the word would mean “the founder or builder of a Vihāra or Vihāras”. Professor Franke’s derivation is proved by the use of the word *kārāpaka* in later Sanskrit inscriptions. In the Vasant-gaḍh inscription of Varmalāta (A.D. 625)<sup>2</sup> we are told that the *gosthī* at Vaṭākarasthāna erected a temple of the

<sup>1</sup> *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Gött. Nachr.*, 1906, p. 145; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 192.



goddess Kṣemāryā, entrusting the actual building to the *kārāpaka* Satyadeva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth. In line 15 of the stone inscription at Kaṇaswa (A.D. 738),<sup>1</sup> recording the building of a temple of Śiva by prince Śivagaṇa, a certain Śabdagaṇa is named as the *kārāpaka*. And in the Eklingji stone inscription (A.D. 971),<sup>2</sup> which records the erection of a temple to Laṅkuliśa, we find at the end a list of persons characterized as *kārāpakas*. From these passages it becomes quite clear, as was first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, that *kārāpaka* denotes an agent employed by a prince or a company in superintending the construction of a temple, and we can hardly be far from truth if we assign the meaning of "superintendent of the building of Vihāras" or "Vihāra architect" to the epithet given to Burita in the present inscription.

But, though the meaning of the term would seem to be settled by the reference to *kārāpaka*, the phonetical difficulties are by no means removed. The sixth letter of the word is usually transcribed by *pha*. Against this transliteration it has been rightly urged<sup>3</sup> that there is another and quite different sign undoubtedly representing *pha*, and that both signs are found side by side, e.g. in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. The same objection holds good in the case of M. Senart's suggestion to read the sign as *bha*.<sup>4</sup> There is no reason why two different signs should have been used for the same sound in the same document. These difficulties, it is true, are avoided by Professor Franke in reading *fa* instead of *pha* or *bha*, but there are other reasons why I cannot follow him. The words in which the supposed *fa* occurs are, according to Professor Franke—

1. *afai* (= Pali *ābhāti*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins B7 ; *salafu* (= *salābham*), ibid. B20 ; 21 ; d . l . f . (= *duḷlabho*),

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. 22, p. 152 f.

<sup>3</sup> Franke, *loc. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 12, p. 206.

ibid. C<sup>ro</sup> 35 ; *prafaguno* (= *pabhamgunam*), ibid. C<sup>ro</sup> 3 ; *prafaguni*, ibid. C<sup>ro</sup> 16. In all these cases the sign in question corresponds to a Sk.-Pali *bha*. Now, in itself a transition of *bh* into *f* certainly cannot be called impossible. But it is most unfavourable to Professor Franke's theory that also *bh* is written in the same words in *apalabho* (= *appalābho*) in B21 and *samadhilabhena* (= *samādhilābhena*) in B24. The voiced aspirated mute *bh* and the voiceless spirant *f* are so widely different in sound that it is quite improbable that the same word should have been written indiscriminately in either way. If we accept the *f*, we are compelled to read also the sign for *bha* as *fa*, but I think that this would not even meet the approval of Professor Franke himself. Moreover, in B 13 we have *lahati* (= *labhati*). It seems to me impossible that *bh* should have developed, in forms of the same root, sometimes to *f* and sometimes to *h*. In my opinion *lahati* shows clearly that the sign in question represents an aspirate.

2. *makafa* (= *maghavā*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins A<sup>2</sup> 1. This word also seems to me irreconcilable with Professor Franke's view. Professor Franke has overlooked the important fact that the preceding letter has lost its aspiration. There is, therefore, every probability that a real metathesis of the *h* has taken place, and that the last letter represents an aspirate and not a spirant.

3. *viharakarafaena* in the present inscription. All that can be said for certain in this case is that the sign in question represents an original *p*, and I therefore do not see in how far the word can be used for proving the value of the letter.

4. *ṣefa* (= Sk. *śreyah*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins C<sup>ro</sup> 7 ; 17 ; 18 ; 21. By the side of this form there occurs, as pointed out by Professor Franke, *ṣebha*<sup>1</sup> in C<sup>ro</sup> 10 and, as not mentioned by him, *ṣehu* in C<sup>ro</sup> 8 ; 19 ; 40, and *ṣeho* in

<sup>1</sup> M. Senart's reading *ṣeho* is a mistake.

C<sup>o</sup> 9. According to Professor Franke, the transition of *y* into *f* is probably due to assimilation to the labial vowel *o* or *u* which properly stood in the neighbourhood of the *y*. But the facts hardly agree with this explanation, as the supposed *f* is found only before *a*, while before *o* and *u* we have *h* instead of it. Apart from that, the difficulty of reconciling the occurrence of *f*, *bh*, and *h* in the same word would be the same as in the case quoted above.

5. *fasuna* (= Sk. *svasṛṇām*), Mansehra Edict, v, 24, and *famikena* (= Sk. *svāminā*), *ibid.* ix, 5; xi, 13, read by Bühler *spasuna* and *spamikena*. These words may be left out of consideration, as the initial sign is totally different from the sign in question, but I may remark in passing that I do not see the slightest reason why it should be *fa* or even *pfa*. At any rate, I hope that an appeal to the laws of German children's language will not be considered sufficient to prove the transition of *sv* into *f* in an Indian dialect.

6. *Gomdofarṇasa* in coin legends and *Gudufarasa* in the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription. These forms, again, cannot prove anything with regard to the true value of the sign, as foreign names would naturally be written with approximative signs in an Indian alphabet.

I regret, therefore, that I cannot accept Professor Franke's proposal, in spite of the rather violent reproach which he has lately addressed to all unbelievers (ZDMG., 60. 510 f.). I venture to suggest that the sign in question represents *vha*. The strongest argument in favour of this transliteration seems to me the word *makavha*, where, as stated above, a real metathesis of the aspirate appears to have taken place. Also the forms *avhai*, *salavhu*, *d. l. vh.*, *pravhaguno*, *pravhaguni*, will be easily intelligible if we keep in mind the frequent change between *v* and *b* in the language of the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins.<sup>1</sup> The transition

<sup>1</sup> Thus Sk. *iva* is generally represented by *va*, but by *ba* in A<sup>1</sup> 6; A<sup>2</sup> 4; B 28; C<sup>o</sup> 14. Medial *p* frequently becomes *v*, and accordingly the

of *bh* into *vh* is further shown by the form *abhivuyu* (= Sk. *abhibhūya*), B 30, 31, which can be accounted for only by assuming an intermediate stage *\*abhivhuyu*. I think that even the strange forms corresponding to Sk. *śreyas* receive some light by reading *ṣevha*. We have, then, side by side, *ṣevha*, *ṣebha*, *ṣehu*, *ṣeho*. The first two forms apparently are to be traced back to *\*ṣehva*. In the same way *hv* becomes *vh* in Pali, and further, in the middle of a word, *bbh* in Prakrit; e.g., Sk. *jihvā*, Pali *jivhā*, Pr. *jibbhā*; Sk. *vihvala*, Pr. *vibbhala*, etc. The forms *ṣehu* and *ṣeho* are variants of *\*ṣehva* showing *samprasāraṇa*. It is therefore not due to a mere chance that in this word *h* appears before *u* and *o*, but *vh* and *bh* before *a*. In the name *Guduvhara*, *vh* was used as the sound nearest to the Iranian *f*. As regards the word *viharakaravhaena*, I would draw attention to an observation made by Professor Rapson: in vol. i of the *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 218, he has pointed out that in the Stein documents a peculiar sign, transcribed by him as *v'a*, is regularly used in the *ve* = *paya* of the causal stem; e.g. *vimānav'eti*. It must be left to future researches to determine the exact phonetical value of this character, but it seems to me highly probable that in *viharakaravhaena*, *vh* was used to express this sound. Finally, I would not omit to mention that the form of the sign also is not unfavourable to the reading *vh*, as it can be easily explained as a modification of the common sign for *va*.

(Line 10.) Here the only word that requires any comment is the mysterious *spavaspahi*. It is unnecessary to discuss the ingenious suggestions proposed by M. Senart,

enclitical *api* appears as *vi* in C<sup>o</sup> 2; 37; but in A<sup>3</sup> 10; C<sup>o</sup> 7; 9; C<sup>o</sup> 21; 32; 33, we find *bi*. The combination *rv* has become *v* in *nivana* B 35, *nivinati* A<sup>3</sup> 1-3, but *b* in *babaka* C<sup>o</sup> 31. Original *b* is replaced by *v* in *avalāsa* A<sup>3</sup> 15, and the form *supravudhu* A<sup>4</sup> 4-9 goes back to *\*supravudhu* = Sk. *suprabuddham*.

as there can be no doubt that his reading was wrong, and that the last but one letter is not *spa*, but again the *e* found in *etra purvae*. As regards the first character, M. Senart has justly remarked that it is not the same as the last but one, but consists of a vertical bar with a downward hook on each side. For the discovery of the value of this character I am partly indebted to Dr. Fleet, who asked me whether it might not be possible to read *śravakehi* instead of *spavaspahi*. I saw at once that, although the reading *śravakehi* itself was not possible, Dr. Fleet was nevertheless essentially right and that the true reading was *śavaehi*. This word, corresponding to Sk. *śrāvakaḥ*, is satisfactory with regard to both meaning and grammar. The transition of *śr* into *ṣ* is perfectly regular in this dialect,<sup>1</sup> and the dropping of the *k* in the suffix is quite common. The reading *śavaehi* therefore seems to me beyond doubt, and provided that the peculiar shape of the letter is not merely caused by a flaw in the stone, which from the photolithograph would not seem impossible, we have here a new variant of the letter, probably due again to cursive writing with ink and faithfully copied by the mason.

(Line 11.) M. Senart reads this short line *saca sada bhavatu*, but Dowson, Professor Hoernle in his transcript, and Dr. Fleet, agree in reading *sachasana bhavatu*, and the photolithograph certainly does not seem to admit of a different reading. As far as I see, *sachasana* can be nothing but Sk. *sacchāsanam*, and considering that in Buddhist Pali scriptures *sāsana* is frequently used in the sense of religion or dispensation in such terms as *Jināsāsana*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Satthu sāsana*, we might feel inclined to assume the meaning of "true religion" for *sachasana*. The word thus would be a synonym of *saddharma*, which is a common term for the religion preached by the Buddha. The translation then would

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks, Arch. Surv. Ind. Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 290.

be literally:—"Through this root of bliss,<sup>1</sup> and through the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the true religion be." But this cannot be correct. It appears to me impossible that *bhavatu* should have been used in the sense of "let it endure" or "let it prevail". In my opinion something is required to complete the sentence, and I would propose to seek for this missing piece in the supposed first line of the record. For two reasons this line seems to be quite out of place in the arrangement accepted by M. Senart. Firstly, grammatically as well as in sense, the words *bhatara Svarabudhisa agrapatiśae* are wholly unconnected with the following text, and secondly, on the analogy of numerous similar inscriptions, we should expect the record to begin with the date. These difficulties are avoided if we suppose the engraver to have commenced with Senart's l. 2. After S. l. 7, he turned to the left and incised the next three lines. Then finding no more room, he intended to put the rest of the text (S. ll. 1, 11) on the top, but here again the space did not quite suffice; so he wrote the last two words on the very edge of the stone and topsyturvy. But, that they are to be inserted after S. l. 1, is indicated, I think, by the thick dash between *śasae* and *bhavatu*. In order to judge rightly of this apparently slovenly manner of working, it must be borne in mind that the inscription, being engraved on the inner side of the ceiling of the relic-chamber, was not destined to be read by anybody. It is certainly for the same reason that so little care was taken to polish the stone. Inscriptions of this kind are much the same as the charters which at the present time are often enclosed in the walls of public buildings.

If my arrangement should be correct, the whole phrase

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of *kusalamūla* in this phrase appears from several Buddhist inscriptions at Mathurā, where, instead of *etena kusalamūlena* we find *anena* (or *imena*) *deyadharmaparityāgena*, "through this liberality in religious gifts;" see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 154 f.

would run:—etena kuśalamulena budhehi ca śavaehi ca bhatarā Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae sachasana bhavatu. This would closely agree with the benedictory phrases used in the Wardak inscription:<sup>1</sup>—imena kuśalamulena maharaja-rajatiraja-Hoveṣkasya agabhagae bhavatu madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me Haṣṭunamaregasya puyae bhavatu śoca me bhuya<sup>2</sup> natigamitrasambhatigana puyae bhavatu mahiya<sup>3</sup> ca Vagamaregasya agabhagapatriyaśae bhavatu sarvasatvana arogadachinae bhavatu.<sup>4</sup> Similar phrases are:—(1) imena kuśalāmūlenā mātāpitūṇāṃ pūjāye bhavatu, in the Buddhist Gayā inscription of Sam. 64;<sup>5</sup> (2) anena deyadharmmaparityāgena sarvveṣāṃ prahaṇikānaṃ ārogyadaḥṣiṇāye bhavatu, in a Buddhist inscription from Mathurā;<sup>6</sup> (3) mātāpitṛṇāṃ agrapratyaśatāye bhavatu, in another Mathurā inscription;<sup>7</sup> and (4) yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu mātāpitro āpāyaka-poṣakacitrasya Jambudvīpasya darśayitāro agrebhāvapratyaśatāyāstu tathā vihārasvāmīno Roṭasiddhavṛddhi sarveṣāṃ bhrātarāṇāṃ . . . anuttarajñānāvāptaye, in the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa Śāha.<sup>8</sup> However, there is one difference. There is no subject at all in the phrases of the Wardak, Gayā, Mathurā, and Kura inscriptions, although in the last passage we may easily supply *puṇyam* from the principal sentence. In the phrase of our inscription, on

<sup>1</sup> JRAS., vol. 20 (1863), p. 255 ff. and plate. The passage was read also by M. Senart, Journ. As., sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 121, but I differ from him in several points.

<sup>2</sup> These three words are doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahiya* corresponds to Sk. *mahyam*, used in the sense of a genitive.

<sup>4</sup> Similar phrases are found in the rest of the inscription, but the context is partly obscure.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 390, No. 18; cf. Senart, loc. cit., p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 240. The words *agrebhāvapratyaśatāyāstu* are a parenthetical phrase. Bühler separated the words °*pratyāśatāyās tu*. I prefer to take them as °*pratyāśatāya astu*, °*pratyāśatāya* being the Prakrit form for either °*pratyāśatāvāya* or °*pratyāśatāyai*. That *agrebhāva* corresponds to *agrabhāga* in the Wardak inscription, has been pointed out already by M. Senart, loc. cit., p. 10.

the other hand, the subject would be *sachasana*. But I do not see how this might have a meaning similar to *puṇya*. Nor would the meaning of “true religion”, suggested above, seem appropriate here. I would therefore propose to take *sachasana* in the sense of “the pious order”, i.e. the order to erect the Stūpa. Perhaps we may compare a verse in the Divyāvadāna, p. 381, where the Maurya Aśoka is said to have made 80,000 Stūpas in one day by his orders:—cakre stūpānāṃ śāradābhrabhānāṃ loke sāsīti śāsad<sup>1</sup> ahnā sahasram. But I readily admit that this interpretation of *sachasana* can by no means be called certain, and it must therefore be taken for what it is worth. Before venturing on other explanations, it would be desirable that somebody who has access to the stone itself should tell us, first of all, whether the reading *sachasana* can be relied upon.

(Lines 12 and 13.) Before commenting on the two lines to the right, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for having drawn my attention to the fact that those two lines have not been engraved by the same hand as the rest of the record. A look at the photolithograph will be sufficient to show that they are written with far less care and present more cursive forms. The recognizing of this fact is of importance also for the understanding of the two lines. They have apparently been added after the proper record had been finished, and must be taken as a supplement to the statements of the continuous text. This is easily intelligible as far as the last line is concerned. The words *Kartiyasa masa divase 20* are certainly intended to supplement the date and must be read between *saṃ 18* and *etra purvae*. And I think it can be proved that the last line also is of a similar nature.

M. Senart reads it: *Samdhabudhilena savakarmigena*, and, supposing that *saṃdha*° stands for *saṃdhi*°, translates “(gravé) par Saṃdhībuddhila, ouvrier en tout genre”.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS., however, have *sāsad*, and the metre of the line is wrong.

But against the admission of such a name as *Samdhibuddhila* there are serious objections. As pointed out by M. Senart himself, *Samdhi* is found as a proper name in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 208, No. 34; and, I may add, also in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 384, No. 5; and *Buddhila* occurs, e.g., in the Sāñci inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 111, No. 2; p. 371, No. 136, and in the inscriptions F and N of the Mathurā lion-capital. But I doubt whether *Buddhila* was ever used at the end of a compound name. Being clearly a hypocoristic form, abbreviated from such names as *Svarabuddhi*, it naturally cannot be compounded again. And it must not be forgotten that the whole name of *Samdhibuddhila* rests only on a conjecture, the second syllable being distinctly *dha*, not *dhi*.

The reading and interpretation of the second word also does not satisfy. As far as I know, *sārvakarmika*, *sārvakārmika*, and similar terms, are used only in the general sense of “fit for every work”, but not to denote a certain class of artisans. Secondly, the form *sava*° for *sarva*° or *sārva*° would be unusual. In l. 9, at any rate, we have *saṁvena*, and in most cases the *r* is left unchanged before consonants (*purvae*, °*saṁvardhaka*, °*horamurta*, °*murto*, °*karmigena*, °*kartiyasa*), the only counter-example being *sadha* in l. 9. But what is the most important point is that the first letter cannot possibly be *sa*, as it does not show the characteristic vertical line at the top found in *sa* everywhere else. I feel quite sure that it is *na*,<sup>1</sup> and I may add that the reading *navakarmigena* was adopted also quite independently by Professor Hoernle and again by Dr. Fleet. Now, *saṁdha Budhila* *navakarmigena* can only mean “together with *Buddhila*, the superintendent of buildings”, and these words are apparently intended to supplement the list of the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps of the same type as in *taena* or *taena* in l. 7, but I do not venture to decide this from the photolithograph alone.

persons that assisted at the erection of the Stūpa:—*saha taena Veesiena Khujaciena Buritena ca viharakaravhaena saṁvena ca parivarena sadha*. According to Cullavagga, vi, 5, 2, when a layman wanted to erect a building for the use of the Order, a monk was to be appointed as *navakammika* to superintend the work, and it is quite natural, therefore, to find the *navakarmika* mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Stūpa.

There is, moreover, another similar inscription which mentions the *navakarmika*, the Taxila plate of Patika.<sup>1</sup> M. Senart and Bühler are of opinion that the name of the *navakarmika* has been quoted here as that of the writer of the record. According to Bühler the phrase runs:—*mahadanapati-Patikasa jau va[ñae] Rohiṇimitreṇa ya imahi saṅgharame navakamika*; “the victory of the great gift-lord Patika is described by Rohiṇimitra, who is the overseer of the works in this monastery”. Although Bühler states that the two bracketed *akṣaras ñae*, which are perfectly illegible in the photolithograph, are distinctly recognisable on the original plate, I doubt very much the correctness of the reading *jau vañae*. To say nothing of the supposed elision of *t* in *vañae*, which is by no means likely,<sup>2</sup> I cannot bring myself to believe that *jayo varṇyate*, literally “the victory is described”, could ever

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the elision of the *t*, Bühler compares the elision of *k* in *saṁvat-saraye* and *aṭhasatatimae*, which is not the same. There would be another epigraphical example for the elision of a *t* if Mr. Banerji were right in reading *kae* (=Sk. *kṛtam*) in the Muchai inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64. But according to an impression and a photograph before me the true reading is undoubtedly *kue*, which stands for \**kuve* = Sk. *kūpaḥ*; compare the Paḥa inscription, *ibid.*, p. 65, where, by the way, we have to read *Anandaputrena Saṅgamitrena kue karite*, not *katite*, as Mr. Banerji thinks, *karite* corresponding to Sk. *kāritāḥ*. Also, the words before and after *kue* I do not read as *sahayatena* and *vaśisugena*, but as *sahayarana* and *vaśisugana*. However, the meaning of these words would require a fuller treatment than can be given in a note. A third example would be *saṣpae* in the Mathurā lion-capital inscription A, ii, if this should really correspond to Sk. *saśvate*, but it is hardly necessary to say that the explanation of the word is quite uncertain.

mean "the record of the great gift was drawn up". I would rather suggest to read *jauvaraye* or some other equivalent of Sk. *yauvarāḷye* instead of *jau vaṅae*. "During the time when the great gift-lord Patika was heir apparent" would be quite unobjectionable, as we know from the inscription A on the Mathurā lion-capital that the title of *yuvarāja* was used for the sons of Ksatrapas. But, however that may be,<sup>1</sup> Bühler's reading certainly is very doubtful and cannot prove that the *navakarmika* was ever charged with the drawing up of the record. On the other hand, if, as already suggested, there is no verbal form on which the instrumental *Rohiṅi-mitreṅa* might depend, it does not follow that we have to supply *likhitam*, "written by," or a synonym of it, as done by M. Senart. We may just as well supply a term denoting "made by" or "erected by", as in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 247 :—*svāmisyā mahākṣatrapasyā Śomdāsasyā gaṅjavareṅa brāhmaṅeṅa Śegravasagotreṅa p[uṣka]raṅi imāṣāṅ yamaḍa - puṣkaraṅiṅaṅ paścimā puṣkaraṅi udapāno ārāmo stambho i . . śilāpatṭo ca*.

The last word to be discussed here is the form *masa* in the date in l. 13. M. Senart calls it irregular, and seems to look upon it as a mere clerical error for *masasa*. However, we find the same shortened form, but probably with the *y* of the genitive ending, in the date of the very carefully engraved Wardak inscription:—*saṅ 20 20 10 1 masya Arthamisiyasa stehi(?) 10 4 1*; and we must therefore conclude that it was intentionally used. As regards the explanation of the form, I would draw attention to the date of the Ohind inscription read by M. Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 130, note :—*Cetrasa masasa divase aṅhame di 8*. But from the facsimiles<sup>2</sup> there can be hardly any doubt that the

<sup>1</sup> The question, of course, cannot be decided without inspecting the plate itself.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. 5, pl. 16; *JRAS.*, vol. 20, pl. 10.

correct reading is :—*saṅ 20 20 20 1 Cetrasa mahasa divasa aṅhame di 4 4 iṣa chunami*. It seems, therefore, that the stem *māsa* became *māha*, gen. *māhasya* or *māhassa*, and further, with elision of the *h* and contraction of the two *a*-sounds, *māsyā* or *māssa*, written *masyā* and *masa* in the Wardak and the present inscription.

In conclusion I give my reading and translation of the record :—

#### Text.

- 1 Saṅ 10 4 4 etra purvae maharajasa Kane-
- 2 ṣkasa Guṣanavaṣasaṅvardhaka Lala
- 3 daḍanayago Veeṣisa chatrapasa
- 4 horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare
- 5 horamurto etra nanabhagavabudhaṅhuvam
- 6 pratistavayati saha taena Veeṣiena Khujaciēna
- 7 Buritena ca viharakaravhaēna
- 8 saṅvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-
- 9 śalamulena budhehi ca ṣavaehi ca
- 10 bhatarā Svarabudhisa agrapatiaṣae
- 11 sachasana bhavatu
- 12 saṅdha Buddhilena navakarmigēna<sup>1</sup>
- 13 Kartiyasa masa divase 20<sup>2</sup>

#### Translation.

In the year 18, on the twentieth day of the month Kārttika, on this date specified as above, the scion of the Guṣana race of the great king Kaṅeṣka, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Satrap Veeṣi, —he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veeṣi's) own Vihāra,— erects here a Stūpa for several holy Buddhas, together with three persons, Veeṣi, Khujaci, and Burita, the architect of Vihāras, together with Buddhila, the superintendent of buildings, and together with the whole retinue. Through this root of bliss and the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the pious order (?) be for the principal share of (*my*) brother Svarabuddhi.

<sup>1</sup> This line is properly to be inserted after l. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This line is properly to be inserted after *saṅ 10 4 4* in l. 1.

## VII

ON SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LUCKNOW  
PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS

IN a recent number of the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 106 ff., Mr. R. D. Banerji has edited twenty-one Brāhmī inscriptions of the "Scythian" period, of which nine had been already published by him, under the name of R. D. Bandhyopadhyaya, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. v, pp. 243 f., 271 ff. We certainly owe a great debt of gratitude to him for making these records accessible, although the way in which he has acquitted himself of his task cannot meet with unreserved praise. I do not undervalue the difficulties which beset these inscriptions. I know that it cannot be expected that the first reading and interpretation of an inscription of this class should be always final. But what may be reasonably expected, and what, I am sorry to say, is wanting in Mr. Banerji's paper, is that carefulness and accuracy that have hitherto been a characteristic feature of the publications in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It would be a tedious and wearisome business to correct almost line for line mistakes that might have been easily avoided with a little more attention. The following pages will show that this complaint is not unjustified.

All the twenty-one inscriptions are in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow. Of eight of them the find-place is unknown; nine are, or are said to be, from Mathurā; while four are assigned by Mr. Banerji with more or less confidence to Rāmnagar. Among the Mathurā inscriptions there are three, No. 7 = B, 42;<sup>1</sup> No. 10 = B, 66;

<sup>1</sup> B refers to my "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions" in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, where the full bibliography is given.

No. 11 = B, 75, which were previously edited by Bühler. As far as the dates are concerned, Mr. Banerji's readings are undoubtedly an improvement on those of his predecessor (*aṣṭapana* instead of 40 4 *hana* in No. 7, *hamava 1* instead of *haṇa va 1* in No. 10, *saṃ 90 9* and *di 10 6* instead of *saṃ 90 5* and *di 10 8* in No. 11). But the rest of his new readings seems to me only partly correct. I will quote here only one point which is linguistically interesting. In No. 11 the name of the nun at whose request the gift was made, read *Dhāma[thā]ye* by Bühler, is read *Dhama[śi]r[i]ye* by Mr. Banerji, who adds that the reading of the third syllable is certain though the crossbar of the *śa* is not distinct in the impression. Mr. Venkayya has already remarked in a note that in the plate the reading appears to be *Dhāmadharāye*. The impression before me leaves no doubt that it really is *Dhārmadharāye*. This is a new instance of the lengthening of an *a* before *r* + consonant in the Mathurā dialect, on which I have commented, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 31.

Of the rest of the Mathurā inscriptions, No. 2 = B, 88, and No. 6 = B, 52, were brought to notice by Growse, and No. 13 = B, 140, by Dowson; No. 14 = B, 109, was read by Mr. V. A. Smith; No. 18 was mentioned by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 311. I will pass over Nos. 2, 6, and 18, as I have no impressions of them. But of the very interesting inscription No. 13, which is engraved on a large slab of red sandstone, there is an impression among the materials collected by Dr. Hoernle for the intended second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. It is not a very good one, but it is nevertheless very valuable as it was taken at a time when the inscription was in a more complete state than at present. I read it:—

l. . . . āpavane<sup>1</sup> Śrikuṇḍe<sup>2</sup> svake<sup>3</sup> vihāre Kakatīkānaṃ  
pacanaḥ niyatakaḥ<sup>4</sup> nānātra vastussi<sup>5</sup> saṃkkā-

layitavyaḥ saṅghaparakitehi vyavahārihi upaṭhapito  
yeṣaṃ ni[pa]<sup>6</sup>.

2. . . [ya]<sup>7</sup>—Sthāvarajātra—B[u]d[dh]arakṣita—Jivaśiri  
—Buddhadāsa—Saṅgharakṣita
3. —Dhārmavarmma<sup>8</sup>—Buddhadeva—Akhila<sup>9</sup>

1. Bn. *ṇavan[e]*. As to the first letters, the impression entirely differs from the colotype. The impression reads as above, but the vowel of the lost *akṣara* may have been an *o* of which only the right half is preserved. Above the last *akṣara* there is a short stroke which I should take to be meant for the *anusvāra* if this were not grammatically impossible.

2. Bn. reads *Śrikanḍe*, adding that “the word may be taken to be *kaṅṭhe*”. This, of course, is impossible as the *ṇḍe* is just as distinct as the *u* of *ku*.

3. Bn. reads *stake*, adding that the word may be read as *svaka*. The reading *svake* is beyond doubt.

4. On this word Bn. makes a note which really seems to apply to the *ya*. However, it is superfluous as there is no *e*-stroke at the top of the *ya*. The two large horizontal strokes left unnoticed by Bn. I take to be the *anusvāra*, though they are rather below the line.

5. Bn. has wrongly separated these words. Perhaps the true reading is *vāstussi*.

6. The last *akṣara* is uncertain. It may have been also *ha* or *la*.

7. The *ya* is mutilated and uncertain.

8. Bn. *Dharmma*<sup>o</sup>, but the *ā*-stroke is distinct; cf. above, p. 154.

9. Bn. *su[khā]la*. The vowel-sign of the *kha* undoubtedly is *i*.

Mr. Banerji has not translated this inscription, because “it contains some peculiar words”. I venture to offer a translation, although owing to the mutilated state of the inscription the connexion between the first and the second line is not clear, and moreover the exact meaning of some terms cannot yet be settled—

“The fixed cooking-place of the *Kakatikas*, not to be put up in any other house, . . . in the grove . . . at

Śrikunḍa (*Śrikunḍa*), in their own *Vihāra*, has been set up by the merchants entrusted with (taking care of) the Order, whose . . . Sthāvarajātra, Buddharakṣita, Jivaśiri (*Jivaśrī*), Buddhadāsa, Saṅgharakṣita, Dhārmavarmma (*Dharmavarmman*), Buddhadeva, Akhila . . . .”

The *pacana* which forms the object of the donation apparently is the slab itself, and I do not see how the word can have any other meaning but “cooking-place”, although the Sanskrit dictionaries assign that meaning only to *pacana* as a neuter. The words *nānātra vastussi samīkḷālayitavyaḥ*, which apparently stand in contrast to *niyatakāḥ*, seem to represent Sanskrit *nānyatra vāstuni samīkḷālayitavyaḥ*, but I am by no means sure that in translating them I have hit the right meaning. The term *saṅghaparakṛta* occurs several times in the Buddhist inscriptions of Mathurā edited by Dr. Vogel in the Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā.

Probably the names in lines 2 and 3 are the names of these *saṅghaparakṛtas*. It is more difficult to say who is meant by *Kakatikānam*. I take this to be a proper name, and as a cooking-place in a *Vihāra* can hardly be intended for anybody but the monks living there, *Kakatīla* would seem to be the name of those monks, though I cannot say why they were called so. Śrikunḍa, where the *Vihāra* was situated, is mentioned as the name of a *tīrtha* in the *Mahābhārata* (iii, 5028), but, of course, it does not follow that the two localities are identical.

No. 14, incised on the waistband of a female figure, was read by Mr. Banerji :—

1. Puśabalāye dāne Dhama-
2. vaḍhakasa [bha]yāye

But in the impression as well as in the plate the first word is clearly *Puśabalāye* (= *Puṣyabalāyāḥ*) and the last *bharyāyā*.



We next turn to the inscriptions of unknown origin, Nos. 3, 5, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21. In No. 3, incised on the base of a Jaina image, the arrangement of the lines is irregular. It seems that it was intended at first to record only the gift and that the statement about the *nivartana* was added afterwards to the left. I read the inscription from an impression :—

1. siddham saṃ 9 he 3 di 10 Grahamitrasya dhitu  
Avaśirisya<sup>1</sup> vadhue Kaḷalasya<sup>2</sup>
2. kuṭubiniye<sup>3</sup>
3. Grahapalaye<sup>4</sup> dati —<sup>5</sup>
4. Koḷeyāto<sup>6</sup> gaṇato<sup>7</sup>
5. Ṭhaniyato kulato Vairato<sup>8</sup> [śākha]to
6. Arya-Taraka[s]ya<sup>9</sup>
7. [n]iva[r]tanā

1. Bn. reads *Śivaśirisya* and adds that “the first syllable of the word *Śivaśiri* may also be read as *Avaśiri*” [sic !]. The first syllable of the word is undoubtedly *a*.

2. Bn. reads *vadhu Ekraḍalasya* and remarks that the last word may also be *Ekraḍalasya*. There is certainly no subscript *ra*, but there is a small horizontal stroke which makes the *ka* almost look like *kka*. As, however, the word cannot begin with a double consonant, it is apparently accidental. The second letter of the word is *ḷa*; see my paper on the lingual *ḷa* in the Northern Brāhmī script, above 1911, pp. 1081 ff.

3. Bn. *kuṭu[m]biniye*, but there is no trace of the *anusvāra*.

4. Bn. *Gahapalāye*. The subscript *ra* is quite distinct, but there is no *ā*-stroke attached to the *la*.

5. Bn. does not take any notice of the sign of punctuation.

6. Bn. *Koṭṭiyāto*. Cf. note 2 above.

7. Bn. *gaṇāto*. There is no trace of the *ā*-stroke.

8. Bn. *Ṭhaniyāto kulāto Vair[ā]to*. There is not the slightest trace of an *ā*-stroke in the three words.

9. Bn. *Tar[i]ka[s]ya*. The *i*-sign is not visible in the impression.

“Hail! In the year 9, in the 3rd month of winter, on the 10th day, the gift of Grahapalā (*Grahapālā*), the

daughter of Grahamitra, the daughter-in-law of Avaśiri (*Avaśrī*), the wife of Kaḷala, at the request of the venerable Taraka out of the Koḷeya *gaṇa*, the Ṭhaniya (*Sthānīya*) *kula*, the Vairā (*Vajrā*) *śākhā*.”

Of the short inscription between the feet of the statue I have no impression. It seems to refer to Grahapalā and to characterize her as the pupil of some Jaina monk.

No. 5 is engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina statue. I read it from an impression :—

1. mahārājasya Huvekṣasya<sup>1</sup> savacarā<sup>2</sup> 40 8 va 2 d[i] 10 7  
etasya puvāyaṃ K[o][i]ye gaṇā<sup>3</sup> Bama<sup>4</sup> . .
2. [si]ye k[u]le<sup>5</sup> Pacanāgariya<sup>6</sup> śākhāya<sup>7</sup> Dhañāvalasya<sup>8</sup>  
śiśīniya<sup>9</sup> Dhañāśiriya<sup>10</sup> nivatana
3. Budhikasya<sup>11</sup> vādhuye<sup>12</sup> Śavatrātāpotriya<sup>13</sup> Yaśāya<sup>14</sup>  
dāna<sup>15</sup> Sa[m]bhavasya prodima<sup>16</sup> pra-
4. t[i]stapita<sup>17</sup>

1. Bn. *Huvakṣasya*, but the *e*-stroke is quite distinct.

2. Bn. *sa[m]vacar[e]*. There is no trace of the *anusvāra* in the impression, and the last letter is distinctly *rā*.

3. Bn. *K[oṭṭi]ye [gaṇe]*. Regarding the first word see note 2 on p. 157. The last letter is clearly *ṇā*, not *ṇe*, though *gaṇe*, of course, would be the correct form. Above the line, between the *ye* and the *ga*, there is a small *ta*. Perhaps the engraver intended to correct *Koḷiye gaṇā* into the ordinary *Koḷiyāto gaṇāto*, but gave the task up again.

4. The *ma* is missing in the impression, but distinct on the plate. Read *Bamadā*<sup>o</sup>.

5. The *ku* is very small and has been inserted afterwards.

6. Bn. *°nagariye*, but there is no trace whatever of the *e*-stroke. Read *Ucanāgariya*.

7. Bn. *śākāya*. This certainly was the original reading, but the *kā* has been altered afterwards to *khā*.

8. Bn. *Dhujhavalas[ya]*. The second letter is as clearly as possible *ṇa*, and there can be only a doubt whether the small stroke at the top is to be read as *ā* or not. The first letter may be *dhu*, but as the prolongation of the vertical line in the *dha* occurs again in *Budhikasya*, where it cannot denote *u*, and as

*Dhūñāvalasya* would be an etymologically unaccountable form, I am convinced that it is *dha*.

9. Bn. *śiśin[i]y[e]*, but the *e*-stroke is quite improbable.

10. Bn. *Dh[ujhaś]īriy[e]*. The remarks on the first two *akṣaras* of *Dhañāvalasya* apply also to the first two *akṣaras* of this word. There is no *ē*-stroke on the *ya*.

11. Bn. *[Bu]dhukasya*. See note 8; the *i*-stroke is distinct.

12. Bn. *vadhuyē*. The *ā*-stroke of *vā* is perfectly clear.

13. Bn. *Śavatrana(?)potr[i]y[e]*. The *ā*-stroke of *trā* is distinct. The fourth *akṣara* is clearly *tā*; cf. e.g. the word *nivatana*. There is no *e*-stroke on the *ya*.

14. Bn. *Yaśāy[e]*. There is no *e*-stroke on the *ya*.

15. Bn. *dana*. The *ā*-stroke is distinct.

16. Bn. *proṭima*, but the second *akṣara* is undoubtedly *di*; *pro*, of course, is a mistake for *pra*.

17. Bn. *°ta(ti)stape(pi)ta*. The *i*-stroke of *ti* is rather indistinct.

“In the year 48, in the 2nd month of the rainy season, on the 17th day, of *mahārāja* Huvekṣa, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of *Dhañāsiri* (*Dhanyāśrī*), the female pupil of *Dhañāvala* (*Dhanyāvala*) in the *Koliya gaṇa*, the *Bama[dā\*]siya* (*Brahmadāsika*) *kula*, the *Pacanāgarī* (*Uccānāgarī*) *śākhā*, an image of *Saṁbhava* was set up as the gift of *Yaśā*, the daughter-in-law of *Budhika*, the granddaughter of *Śavatrātā* (*Śivatrātā*?).”

Mr. Banerji takes *Pacanāgarī* as a Prakrit form of *Vajranagarī*. Leaving aside the phonetical difficulties, this interpretation is impossible as the *Vajranāgarī*, or rather *Vārjanāgarī*, *śākhā* is a subdivision of the *Vāraṇa gaṇa*, not of the *Koliya gaṇa*. There can be no doubt that *Pacanāgarīya* is a mistake of the engraver for *Ucanāgarīya*.

The remaining inscriptions of unknown origin are but small fragments. No. 12, which consists of but two words and a half, is correctly read. No. 15, incised on the fragment of a slab, is read by Mr. Banerji:—

Gośālasya dhitā Mitrāye [danam\*]

Linguistically and palæographically the form *Gośālasya* is striking. In *śā*, *tā*, *trā*, the *ā* is expressed by a long slanting line, whereas in *syā* the sign would seem to consist of a short and perfectly vertical stroke. Now, on the reverse of the two impressions before me just this stroke is entirely invisible, whereas the rest of the inscription is quite distinct. I have therefore no doubt that it is only an accidental scratch. Why, at the end, *danam* should be supplied instead of *dānam*, is unintelligible to me. I read:—

Gośālasya dhitā Mitrāye . . .

“[The gift] of *Mitrā*, the daughter of *Gośāla*.”

Of Nos. 17, 19, 20, and 21, I have no impressions. But in the case of No. 19 even the collotype is sufficient to show that Mr. Banerji's readings are incorrect. He reads:—

1. . . . sya [v]ṛta Ku[ṭu]kasya ku[ṭu][ṛbini\*] . . .

2. . . . na putrehi dhitihi natti pau[ṭtrehi\*] . . .

The collotype shows:—

1. . . . sya . ṛtakuṇḍakasya kuṭu . . .

2. . . . na putrehi dhitihi nattipau . . .

“ . . . of the wife of [Gh]ṛtakuṇḍaka, . . . sons, daughters, daughter's sons (*or* great-grandsons?) and son's sons . . . ”

It is extremely unlikely that the second *akṣara* of the first line should have been *vr*, as the base of the letter is far too long for a *va*. Nor will it appear likely to anybody familiar with these inscriptions that the husband of the donatrix should bear the epithet “the chosen” as supposed by Mr. Banerji. I would restore the name to *Ghṛtakuṇḍaka*.

On No. 20 Mr. Banerji remarks—“The inscription is of some interest as it contains the number 800 expressed both in words and by numerical symbols, viz. by the symbols for 8 and 100 [*sic!*].” This statement refers to the second line of the fragment, which runs—

. . . m = aṣṭaśata 100 8 gandhi . . .

The two symbols are not joined in any way, and it therefore appears to me impossible that they should represent 800. The term *aṣṭaśata* is ambiguous. It certainly may mean 800, but just as well it may mean 108, as proved by the passages quoted in the PW. *sub voce aṣṭan*. Under these circumstances I cannot admit that we have here an instance of the symbol for 800.

The most important inscriptions, from an historical point of view, would seem to be that group which is supposed to come from Rāmnagar. Before we can discuss them, it will be necessary to enter into the history of the Rāmnagar excavations, though I do so reluctantly. It certainly is an unpleasant task, but it must be performed as we cannot allow science to be led astray by statements which apparently are not true.

In the Progress Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for 1891-2, Epigraphical Section, Dr. Führer gives a short account of the excavations at Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District. He first describes the remains of two Śaiva temples. With these we are not concerned here, as no inscriptions were found in them. He then speaks of the excavation of a mound which "brought to light the foundation of a brick temple, dedicated to Pārśvanātha, . . . dating from the Indo-Scythic period". These statements rest on epigraphical finds about which Führer says—"During the course of the excavations a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74, or A.D. 96 to 152. An inscription on the base of a sitting statue of Neminātha records the following:—'Success! The year 50, second month of winter, first day, at that moment, a statue of divine Neminātha was set up in the temple of the divine

lord Pārśvanātha as a gift of the illustrious Indrapāla for the worship of the Arhats and for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures."

In my opinion there can be no doubt that this inscription has been invented by the author of the Report. The date has been copied from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, which is dated [*sam*] 50 he 2 di 1 asya purvvaṃ. The name of the donor and the phrase "for the worship of the Arhats" have been taken from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 201, No. 9, which records the gift of Īdrapāla (*Indrapāla*), the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*), for the worship of the Arhats. And the phrase "for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures" has probably been taken from the Buddhist Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 212, No. 42, which ends: *mātapitṛṇām sarvvasa[ta]nā ca hitasukhārttha*, "for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures" (Bühler's translation).

The account of the excavation of the Jaina mound is followed by the description of "another extensive mound, . . . which on exploration was found to hide the remains of a very large Buddhist monastery, called Mihiravihāra, and dating from the middle of the first century A.D. . . . Externally the temple was decorated with elaborate brick carvings and numerous figures of terra-cotta, representing scenes from the life of Buddha, some of which bear short inscriptions and masons' marks. . . . An inscription on the base of a terra-cotta statue of Buddha records the following:—'Success! In the year 31 (A.D. 109), in the first month of the rainy season, on the tenth day, at that moment, a statue of divine Sākyamuni was set up within the precincts of the Mihiravihāra as a gift of the monk Nāgadatta, for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers, for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures.'"

In this case, also, the document supposed to give evidence for the name and the date of the building has been manufactured by Führer. The date comes from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 202 f., No. 15, which is dated *sa 30 1 va 1 di 10*. The rest, with the exception of the name of the donor, is an almost literal copy of the Kāman inscription just mentioned, or rather of Bühler's translation of that inscription: ". . . at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (*Śākyamuni*, *was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi (*Sarvāstivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

Führer next announces the discovery of another Buddhist monastery:—"The carved bricks found on the spot are of the same period as those of the Mihiravihāra, as they show the same patterns and bear short donative inscriptions." And he reports that "during these excavations 1,930 relics of antiquities have been exhumed and deposited in the Lucknow Provincial Museum", and again he states that the collection comprises among other things "numerous carved bricks and terra-cotta statuettes of Buddha and Śiva, inscribed", and "inscribed Jaina images of red sandstone".

To the inscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas he devotes a special paragraph, where the audacity of the author emulates the clumsiness of his fabrication. The whole paragraph is nothing but an abstract of Bühler's introduction to his edition of the Sāñci inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 91 ff., with a few alterations necessary to serve the new purpose. In order to show that this is not saying too much I put the two accounts side by side—

**Führer**

The inscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas offer, in spite of their brevity, a good

**Bühler**

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity,

many points of interest. Some record donations by corporate bodies or families, others give the names of individual donors, as monks, nuns, or laymen.

As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for constructing the large temples and monasteries of Adhichhatrā. This was, no doubt, permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings adopted by the Jaina ascetics of Mathurā and Adhichhatrā, who as a rule were content to exhort the laymen to make donations, and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions.

Among the individual monks named there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in Buddhist scriptures. As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank

a good many points of interest . . . there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies of families. The remainder give the names of individual donors . . . we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay-members of the Buddhist sect . . . As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurā and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions

. . . Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures . . . As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest.

belongs Indrapāla<sup>1</sup>; descending lower in the social scale, we have a village landholder, *gahapati*; next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi* or alderman; simple traders, *vānika*; a royal scribe, *rājālipikara*; a professional writer, *lekhaka*; a royal foreman of artisans, *āvesani*; a trooper, *asavārika*; and a humble workman, *kamika*, are mentioned.

The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvatī*, literally "a mother of children", is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.", and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy

To the highest rank belongs the Vākalādevī . . . Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati* or village landholder . . . Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman . . . Simple traders, *vānija* or *vānika*, are mentioned . . . A royal scribe, *rājālipikara*, occurs . . . a professional writer, *lekhaka* . . . , a (royal) foreman of artisans, *āvesani*, . . . a trooper, *asavārika*, . . . and a humbleworkman, *kamika* . . .

The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvatī*, literally "a mother of children", . . . is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.", and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy of note . . . The

<sup>1</sup> Indrapāla apparently refers to the donor of the inscription of Śaṃvat 50. The author has entirely forgotten that he has represented this man as a Jaina layman.

of note. The names of various lay donors and of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the second and first centuries B.C.

There are some names, such as Agnisarmā, Brahmadata, Visvadeva, Yamarakshitā, etc., which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, as Nāgā, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brāhmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, names like Vishnudattā, Balamitra, furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandigupta, Kumāradatta, Sivanandin, do the same service to Saivism. The occurrence amongst the Buddhists of Adhichhatrā of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Saivism, has, no doubt, to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families.

names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks, furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. . . .

There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agnisarmā*), . . . Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), . . . Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, . . . Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishnudattā . . . Balamitra . . . furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandigupta (*Nandigupta*), . . . Sāmidata (*Svāmi*-, i.e. *Kumāra-datta*), . . . Sivanadi (*Śivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received

The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax amongst the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay, the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the second and first centuries B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism.

I have quoted this paragraph at full length in order to establish clearly the nature of this Report.<sup>1</sup> It is highly desirable that some competent person should give us an account of the real results of the excavations of Rāmnagar. Meanwhile, as all statements about epigraphical finds that admit of verification have proved to be false, it is very probable that no inscriptions at all have turned up at that

<sup>1</sup> At first sight my assertion would seem to be in conflict with the fact that Führer's Report is dated July 16, 1892, whereas parts x and xii of *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, containing Bühler's papers on the Sāñci and Mathurā inscriptions, were issued in August and December, 1892, respectively. But it must be borne in mind that Führer was assistant editor of the first two volumes of the *Ep. Ind.*, and in this capacity knew Bühler's papers before they were published.

place. At any rate, it seems to me impossible to make this Report the base of any identification as Mr. Banerji does. On p. 107 he says:—"None of the inscriptions from Rāmnagar have ever been properly edited. Translations of three of them have appeared in Dr. Führer's Report of the Epigraphical Section for 1901-2, out of which only one has been found. The rest could not be traced either in the galleries or the *Takkhana* of the Lucknow Provincial Museum." These remarks are full of inaccuracies. In 1902 Führer could write no reports, because he was no longer in the Government's service. So Mr. Banerji apparently refers to the Report for 1891-2. This Report, however, contains translations of only two inscriptions, and that the originals of these cannot be traced will cause no surprise after what has been said above. Now from the introductory remarks on No. 9, dated in Samvat 74, it appears that this is the inscription that Mr. Banerji supposes "to have been found". He says:—"The discovery of this inscription was announced by Dr. Führer in his Progress Report for the year 1891-2. But all the details have been omitted." As there is no particular reference to this inscription in the Report, Mr. Banerji's statement can refer only to the general phrase quoted above, that "a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74". I need not repeat why this identification carries no weight. There is, moreover, an internal reason that makes it almost impossible that the inscription should come from Rāmnagar. The inscription, which is engraved on the four sides of a pedestal of a *sarvatobhadrikā*<sup>1</sup> image of a Tirthaṅkara, runs according to an impression:—

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Banerji calls it a *caturmukha* image, referring to Bühler as his authority. Bühler, it is true, occasionally used this term (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 382, n. 51), but as far as I know it is not warranted by the inscriptions.



completely preserved with the exception of the left arm, and the inscription which is engraved on the upper and lower rim of the throne is dated in Samvat 12.<sup>1</sup> I may add, perhaps, that I should consider it a waste of time to search for that inscription of Samvat 10. We may rest assured that it existed just as little as the inscriptions mentioned in the Progress Report. Mr. Banerji's inscription itself is interesting as being of an unusual type. I read it from an impression:—

1. . . . sa[m̄]<sup>1</sup> 10 2 va 4 d[i] 10 1<sup>2</sup> eta[s]ya purvv[ā]yam<sup>3</sup>  
Koliyāto<sup>4</sup> gaṇāto<sup>5</sup> Ba[m̄]bha[d]āsiyāto kulāto  
U[ce]-<sup>6</sup>
2. nagarito<sup>7</sup> śā[kh]āto gaṇi[s]ya Aryya-Puśilasya śiśini  
De[vā] paṇatihari Nānd[i]sya<sup>8</sup> bhaginiye<sup>9</sup> ni[va]-<sup>10</sup>
3. rtanā sāvikāṇaṃ<sup>11</sup> vaddhaddhininaṃ<sup>12</sup> Jinadāsi Rudra-  
deva<sup>13</sup> Dāttāgāli<sup>14</sup> Rudradevasāmini<sup>15</sup> Rud[r]ad. . .<sup>16</sup>  
dātā<sup>17</sup> Gahamitr[ā]<sup>18</sup> [Rud]ra . . . n.ā<sup>19</sup>
4. Kumāraśiri Vamadāsi Hastisenā Grahaśiri Rudradatā  
Jayadāsi Mit[r]aśiri . . .<sup>20</sup>

1. There is an indistinct symbol before *sam*, not noticed by Bn.
2. The last figure is possibly 2.
3. Bn. *purvvāyam*. There is no *ā*-stroke on the *ya* in the impression.
4. Bn. *Koṭṭiyāto*. Regarding my reading see note 2 on p. 157.
5. Bn. *[ga]ṇato*. The *ā*-stroke is visible in the impression.
6. Bn. *U[ce]*-; but the *na* stands clearly at the beginning of line 2.
7. Possibly *°nāgarito*.
8. Bn. *Datila . ti Harinan[dī]sya*. There is a distinct vowel-stroke on the first *da*, but it may be *i*. The *vā* is not certain. In the *vī* the length of the vowel is not quite certain, but probable. The *ā*-stroke of *nā* is pretty clear, but the *i*-stroke of *nā* is indistinct.
9. Bn. *bhaginiye*. The length of the vowel of the third syllable is very probable.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol for 2 is quite distinct.

10. Bn. *ni[var\*]*-. The *va* is not visible, but the *r* is quite distinct at the top of the *ta* of the following line.

11. Bn. *sāvikānām*. There is no *ā*-stroke in the last *akṣara*.

12. Bn. reads *vaddha[ki]ninam*, assuming that the *ki* was corrected from *ku* by the engraver himself. The second *akṣara* shows at the top a long stroke to the left which may be accidental. The third *akṣara* bears no resemblance whatever to *ki*, although the reading *ddhi* cannot be called absolutely certain.

13. Properly *Rudradova*, but the second stroke of the *da* may be accidental.

14. Bn. *Dāttāgālā*. The vowel-sign of the last letter is clearly *i* or possibly *ī*. The third *akṣara* may be *rgā*.

15. Bn. *°sāmi[nā]*. The reading *ni* is certain.

16. About four *akṣaras* are missing.

17. Bn. omits these two *akṣaras*, which are distinct in the impression.

18. Bn. *[Gahami]tra*. The *ā*-stroke is not quite certain.

19. Bn. omits this word. Only the lower portion of the first two *akṣaras* is preserved.

20. Bn. reads *Kumāraśiri, Grahaśiri, Jayadāsi, Mit[r]aśiri*, but in all these cases the length of the final vowel is distinct in the impression. Bn. besides *Vamadasi*. The *ā*-stroke is distinct.

“In the year 12, in the fourth month of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of Devā, the *paṇatihari*, the sister of Nāndi (*Nandin*), the female pupil of the venerable Puśila (*Puśyala*), the *gaṇin* out of the Koliya *gana*, the Bāmbhadāsiya (*Brahmadāsika*) *kula*, the Ucenagari (*Uccairnagarī*) *śākhā*, [a gift] of the female lay-hearers, the *vaddhaddhinīs*(?), Jinadāsi, Rudradevā(?), Dāttāgāli(?), Rudradevasāmini (*°svāminī*), Rudrad. . . . .dātā (*°dattā*), Gahamitrā (*Grahamitrā*), Rudra . . . n.ā, Kumāraśiri (*°śrī*), Vamadāsi, Hastisenā, Grahaśiri (*°śrī*), Rudradatā (*°dattā*), Jayadāsi, Mitraśiri (*°śrī*) . . . ”

For *paṇatihari* = *paṇatidhari* cf. *paṇatihara* in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, line 4, and the remarks



above. The term *vaddhaddhinī* I cannot explain. It may be a family name or the designation of a caste or profession or a geographical name. I have remarked already that Mr. Banerji's reading *vaddhakininam* cannot be upheld, and even the supposition that *vaddhaddhininam* is a clerical error for *vaddhakininam* is quite improbable as the word in the Prakrit dialects always shows a lingual *ḍdh*. In the list of the *śrāvīkās* the names from *Rudradeva* to *Rudradevasāmini* present some difficulties.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Rudradeva* and *Dāttāgālī* form one word, and *dāttāgālī* has some meaning unknown to me. At any rate, if *Rudradeva* was the name of a *śrāvīkā*, we ought to expect *Rudradevā*, and *Dāttāgālī* sounds rather strange as a proper name. Mr. Banerji's translation "Rudradevasāmi (*Rudradevasāmin*) of Dāttāgāla", partly based on wrong readings, of course is impossible. The name of a male person would be quite out of place in this list of female lay-hearers. *Rudradevasāmini* possibly belongs to the following name, now lost, and means "the wife of Rudradeva."

The third inscription that Mr. Banerji assigns to Rāmnagar is his No. 16. In the heading he speaks of a "fragment from the lower part of an image from Rāmnagar", but on p. 107 he says with regard to the inscription: "while another inscription (No. xvi) *evidently from the same place* refers to the name of the capital city [Adhi]chchhatra. The identity of Rāmnagar with Adhichchhatra seems to be certain." From these words it appears that the find-place is by no means warranted by any original document, but is merely conjectural. And the only reason why the inscription is held to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Banerji thinks it possible that the two names Jinadāsi and Rudradevā have to be taken as one name, Jinadāsi-Rudradevā. He says: "The mother's name might have been prefixed to distinguish her from others bearing the name Rudradevā." I am not aware that anything of this kind ever occurs in the inscriptions, and it is therefore hardly necessary to discuss this opinion.

come from Rāmnagar seems to be the mentioning of Adhichchhatra, which is supposed to be identical with Rāmnagar. Before we can examine this argument, we must turn to the text of the record itself. Strange to say, Mr. Banerji expressly states that "the inscription consists of a single line", while immediately afterwards he gives the text as standing in the original in two lines. He reads:—

1. . . . ṇaka gana (?) Dhanānyanasya ta . . . aya[ye]  
     . . . [ye A]dh[i]cchhatrakaye
2. [nivar\*]tanā.

It is self-evident that this cannot be correct. The first words yield no sense at all, and it requires but a very slight familiarity with the language to see that a form like *Dhanānyanasya*, with a guttural *ṇ* before *ya*, is simply impossible. My own reading, based on an impression, is:—

1. . . . m[i]kat[o]<sup>1</sup> ku[la]t[o<sup>2</sup> Vajra]nāgar[i]to<sup>3</sup> [śākhāt]o<sup>4</sup>  
     āyaye<sup>5</sup> . . . t.[s]iy[e]<sup>6</sup> [A]dh[i]cchhatrakaye<sup>7</sup>
2. [nivar]tana[ṇ]—<sup>8</sup>

1. The first *mātrkā* is doubtful. On the reverse of the impression it looks like *ma*. The *i*-sign is indistinct.

2. The first sign of this word has been simply omitted by Bn. I take it to be *ku*, with the *u*-sign attached to the right horizontal bar of the *mātrkā*. The last sign is certainly not *dha* as read by Bn., as it is quite different from the *dha* occurring later on.

3. Only the first two *akṣaras* of this word are not quite distinct. On the reverse of the impression the first letter looks like *va*, but I admit that in itself it might also be *na*, as read by Bn. The second letter I take to be *jra*. The upper horizontal line of the letter is indistinct. Below the letter there are some scratches that give the subscript *ra* the appearance of a subscript *ya*. Bn.'s reading *syā*, instead of *gari*, is impossible.

4. Only the upper half of this word is preserved.

5. The *ā*-stroke of the first letter is quite distinct. Also the reading *āryaye* is possible.

6. The *sa* is not certain.

7. The vowel-signs are destroyed and the original reading may therefore have been *Adhicchatrikāye*.

8. The *r* and the *anusvāra* is not certain, but the last *akṣara* is certainly not *nā*. The sign of punctuation has been omitted by Bn.

The translation would be — “The request of the venerable . . . ṣi, the native from Adhicchatra, out of the [Petivā]mika (*Praitivarmīka*) *kuḷa*, the Vajranāgari *śākhā* . . .”

In my opinion the mentioning of Adhicchatra in this case by no means proves that the inscription comes from Adhicchatra. On the contrary, if any conclusion is to be drawn from the fact, it is rather apt to show that the inscription is not from Adhicchatra, as the characterizing of a person as the native of a certain place would certainly seem superfluous in that place itself.

The fourth and last inscription which, according to Mr. Banerji “most probably” came from Rāmnagar, is No. 1, found on the top of a split coping-stone. Here, also, Mr. Banerji’s arguments do not convince me. He refers again to the Curator’s (i.e. Führer’s) Report for the month of April, 1892, which mentions “1 coping stone with inscription of the Saka era (dated Samvat 5) . . . Excavated from the old site of a large Buddhist temple at Ramnagar, Rohilkhand”. Even apart from the fact shown above that the statements of that Report are liable to grave suspicion, I do not see how that description can be said to suit the stone bearing the present inscription. The inscription contains nothing to indicate that it belonged to a “Buddhist temple”, and it is certainly not dated in Samvat 5. In order to remove this latter objection Mr. Banerji assumes that “Dr. Führer most probably took the word *Pāṃchālīye*, ‘of Pāṃchāla,’ in line 8 for a date”. To me it seems incredible that anyone able to read that script at all should not have recognized

that the date stands in ll. 3 and 4. In these circumstances I think that, until fresh evidence has been brought forward, this inscription also has to be classed as being of unknown origin, which is to be regretted all the more because, in spite of its mutilated state, it has some historical interest. Not being in possession of an impression, I do not wish to enter into details, but I think it quite possible that it records the donation of some *rājan* of Pañcāla.

For reasons that will appear later on I have reserved the inscription No. 8. It is engraved on a Jaina image which is supposed to come from Mathurā. According to Mr. Banerji the discovery of this image was announced by Führer in his Annual Progress Report for the year 1890–1 (p. 17), and in his Annual Report of the Provincial Museum for the year 1891–2. As neither of these reports is accessible to me,<sup>1</sup> I cannot decide whether the identity of the inscription is established. Palæographically this is a most remarkable inscription.<sup>2</sup> The whole writing is extremely clumsy, showing that the engraver certainly was not accustomed to such work, and there are a number of peculiar signs. In the beginning of l. 2 we find an *e*, of which Mr. Banerji says that it is unlike any Brāhmī letter, but resembles the Kharoṣṭhī *va*. I cannot discover any resemblance to the Kharoṣṭhī *va*, but the letter is nevertheless peculiar, as it is a common *e* with the base line omitted. The same line contains an ordinary *pu* with a large hook placed below the letter. This seems to be meant to represent *ū*, though it can hardly be paralleled in the Mathurā inscriptions of this time. At the end of the line we find a *ha* with an abnormal downstroke and what appears to be the left half of a *ya*, the right half of which

<sup>1</sup> According to the list printed at the end of the Annual Reports, a special Progress Report for the year 1890–1 does not exist. The list mentions only a Progress Report from October, 1889, till 30th June, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> My remarks are based on two impressions.

can never have existed. The second letter of the third line, which puzzled Mr. Banerji, may be taken as a *ya* with the left curve touching the middle vertical, but it differs from the same letter as it appears twice in l. 2. The strangest sign is the fourth one of the third line. Mr. Banerji transcribes it by the guttural *ṅa*, without adding any remark. How the sign can ever be thought to represent *ṅa* I am unable to see. I do not believe that any similar sign can be found in a Brāhmī inscription, though it is just possible that the engraver intended to write a ligature, the first part of which was *ṅa*. The last sign of the third line seems to be again the left half of a *ya*. In the fourth line we find a *ṣā* with the right horizontal prolonged. Mr. Banerji thinks we ought to read *ṣo*, the *o* being formed by the combination of *a* and *u*, but I am afraid there will not be many palæographers able to follow him in his bold flight of fancy. The last sign of l. 4, read *tu* by Mr. Banerji, seems to be meant for *ttṛ*, but the ligature is formed in an extraordinary way, a small *ta* with the *serif* being placed inside a *ta* of the ordinary size. The first letter of the last line is read *he* by Mr. Banerji, which is possible only on the assumption that the *e*-stroke may be turned also in the opposite direction, and that we have here an entirely new type of *ha* not found hitherto in any other inscription. To me it seems that instead of *he* we have before us two signs, the second of which bears a certain resemblance to *da*, whereas of the first it can only be said that it shows an *ā*-stroke at the top. The last two signs, read *saya* by Mr. Banerji, may just as well be anything else.

As far as it can be read at all the inscription runs :—<sup>1</sup>

1. sa<sup>1</sup> 70 1 va 1 di 10 5
2. etaya<sup>2</sup> pūvāyā<sup>3</sup> gaha[ya]<sup>4</sup>
3. ṭiyamu . . . śiminā[ya]<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the notes I have not repeated those of Mr. Banerji's different readings which I have discussed above.

4. maniravasusātīdhittṛ<sup>6</sup>
5. . ādamadāva<sup>7</sup> . . .

1. Bn. sa[m], adding that the *anusvāra* is indistinct. In the impression there is no *anusvāra* at all.

2. Bn. *etaye*, but there is no *e*-stroke at the top of the *ya*.

3. Bn. *puvaye*, but the *ā*-strokes of the two last letters are quite distinct.

4. Bn. reads only *ha*, but there is a distinct letter, which I take to be *ga*, before the *ha*.

5. Bn. <sup>o</sup>*tāye*. There is no *e*-stroke on the last letter.

6. Bn. <sup>o</sup>*mī*, which is possible.

7. Bn. <sup>o</sup>*deva*, but the vowel stroke goes to the right.

Mr. Banerji has attempted to translate this text. He does not shrink from explaining *suṣoti*, with the help of modern Bengali, as “an *apabhraṃśa* of the Sanskrit *svasrīyā*”. I am not sure whether the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* are really the proper place for such linguistic jokes. I confess my inability to extract any sense out of that portion of the inscription which follows the date. Of course, it is possible that *dhittṛ . ādamadāva* was meant for something like *dhitrā patimā datā*, but I think that we shall never advance beyond such guesses. Considering the state of the script and the text, I distinctly doubt the genuineness of this inscription. And there are some more facts that point to the same conclusion. The inscription is engraved on a piece of sculpture which is undoubtedly genuine. It is a fragment of a standing naked figure of a Jaina. The preserved portion reaches from the loins to the knees. At the back there is a piece of a pilaster or of the shaft of an umbrella. The inscription is engraved at the lower end of this extant portion of the pilaster, with a roughly cut arch at the top. As far as I know, there is no other instance— at any rate not for that time—of a votive inscription being placed at the back of a statue. And if really, out of modesty or for some other reason, the donor

selected that side for his inscription, why did he not have it engraved as usual on the pedestal, but rather on the statue itself? This certainly looks suspicious, and our suspicion will increase if we examine the condition of that portion of the stone that bears the inscription. From the photograph and the impression it appears that a good deal of the surface, especially on the right side, has peeled off. In these places the inscription ought to be indistinct; but that is not the case, the letters standing out here just as clear as in the rest of the inscription. In these circumstances I cannot help declaring this inscription to be a forgery. The decision of the question who is responsible for it I leave to the readers of this paper.

## Zur Schrift und Sprache der Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente

Von HEINRICH LÜDERS

Die Ausgabe der von Sir Aurel Stein in Ostturkestan gefundenen Dokumente in Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift ist eine Leistung, die jedem, der sich mit ihr beschäftigt, ehrliche Bewunderung abnötigen muss. Allerdings wird es noch langer Arbeit bedürfen, ehe diese sprachlich wie sachlich gleich wichtigen Urkunden dem vollen Verständnis erschlossen sind. Vielleicht werden auch die folgenden Bemerkungen als ein kleiner Beitrag zu diesem Ende von Interesse sein.

Für *lpa*, bzw. *lpi*, werden in der Schrifttafel XIV unter Nr. 219–221 drei Zeichen gegeben. Von dem ersten wird S. 316 gesagt, dass es zweifelhaft wäre, ob es sich irgendwo in den Dokumenten fände, wenn auch *lpi* ähnlich geschrieben in *[ka]lpitamti* in 141 vorkomme. Da keine Reproduktion von 141 vorliegt, vermag ich über die Form des Buchstabens nichts zu sagen; Zweifel an der Lesung scheinen mir aber nicht ungerechtfertigt. Eine Form von der Wurzel *klp* kommt sonst nirgends in den Dokumenten vor, und das Täfelchen ist offenbar so stark beschädigt, dass sich der Inhalt der ersten Zeile, in der angeblich *[ka]lpitamti* steht, nicht feststellen lässt. Dies Zeichen muss daher unberücksichtigt bleiben.

Das zweite Zeichen erscheint nach den Herausgebern ohne den *i*-Strich in *alpa* 468, *silpa* 355, mit dem *i*-Strich in *silpija* 217. Ausdrücklich wird auch im Index bemerkt, dass dieses Zeichen in 415 in dem Namen *lpaṅga* verwendet ist. Nach dem transkribierten Texte kommt es ausserdem in *alpa* 634, 764, *jalpiti* 255 (?), 399, *jalpidemi* 106, *jalpita* 524, 566, 594, 764, *jalpitamti* 413, 351, *jalpidavya* 358 vor.

Viel häufiger ist das dritte Zeichen, das in der Ausgabe mit *lpa* umschrieben ist.<sup>1</sup> Die Herausgeber haben S. 318 die Wahl dieser Umschrift näher begründet. Sie gehen von dem Zeichen 244 aus, das in der Ausgabe durch *spa* wiedergegeben ist. Nachträglich sind die Herausgeber aber zu der Überzeugung gekommen, dass das Zeichen besser durch *sva* umschrieben sein würde, wobei *ú* als Repräsentant des labialen Halbvokals aufzufassen wäre. Dann heisst es weiter, dass derselbe Laut („the same sound“) häufig in Verbindung mit *l*, z. B. *lpi* (lies *lpa*) 221 und selten in Verbindung mit *ṣ*, z. B. *ṣpa* 238, erscheine.

<sup>1</sup> In der Tafel ist es durch ein Versehen mit *lpi* umschrieben; in dem Zeichen fehlt der *i*-Strich.

Allein das ist eine *petitio principii*; zunächst lässt sich doch nur sagen, dass das subskribierte Zeichen in Verbindung mit *s*, *ṣ* und *l* die gleiche Form hat. Allerdings darf nicht übersehen werden, dass das Zeichen, wie es unter 221 in der von Rapson gezeichneten Schrifttafel erscheint, keineswegs die typische Gestalt zeigt. Ich habe sämtliche in der Ausgabe und in Stein's *Ancient Khotan* veröffentlichten Reproduktionen von Dokumenten daraufhin durchgesehen und in keinem einzigen Falle die Form der Schrifttafel gefunden. Zunächst ist die Schleife an der linken Seite der Vertikale im allgemeinen schmaler als in der Zeichnung, bisweilen fehlt sie ganz, so in *lpipeya* 1, *lpipe* 17, *lpipeya* 20, *lpipe* 32 (sämtlich Tafel I). Sie ist also offenbar garnicht beabsichtigt, sondern entsteht rein zufällig, wenn die Feder vom Ende der Vertikale des *la* wieder hochgezogen wird, um den Haken zu bilden, und nicht genau der Vertikale folgt. Das ist aber nur eine kleine Verschiedenheit, auf die ich keinen Wert legen möchte. Wichtiger ist, dass der Haken in allen Fällen viel weiter heruntergezogen wird als in Rapson's Zeichnung und häufig noch einen Schwung nach links zeigt, der bisweilen an die Vertikale heranreicht; vgl. ausser den angeführten Beispielen *lpipeya* 164 (Taf. iii), *lpimsu* 164 (Taf. iii), *palpi* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. iii), *lpipanja* 571 (Taf. ix) usw. Dadurch gewinnt das Zeichen ein wesentlich anderes Aussehen als in der Schrifttafel. Das gleiche gilt aber auch für die durch *ṣpa* und *ṣpa* umschriebenen Zeichen. Auch hier gibt die Zeichnung der Schrifttafel ein nicht ganz richtiges Bild, denn auch in diesen Ligaturen wird der Haken stets nach unten und meistens dann noch nach links gezogen; vgl. *ṣpora* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. iii), *tamaspa* 571 (Taf. ix), 580 (Taf. x), 581 (Taf. x), *ariṣpa* 581 (Taf. x). Vom rein paläographischen Standpunkt aus würde sich also gegen die Auffassung der *l*-Verbindung als *lpa* oder *lwa* kaum etwas einwenden lassen. In einer so kursiven Schrift, wie es die Kharoṣṭhī ist, besteht aber stets eine starke Neigung zur Anähnlichung ursprünglich verschiedener Formen, und meines Erachtens können daher insbesondere bei Ligaturen Schlüsse auf den Lautwert aus der äusseren Gestalt des Zeichens nur dann als gültig angesehen werden, wenn sie sich auch sprachlich rechtfertigen lassen. Das trifft aber in diesem Falle nicht zu; die Lesung der Ligatur als *lpa* oder *lwa* scheint mir im Gegenteil zu sprachlich unmöglichen Formen zu führen.

Nun begegnet uns die Ligatur allerdings fast ausschliesslich in Fremdnamen, über deren sprachliche Form sich von vorneherein nichts sagen lässt. Glücklicherweise erscheint sie aber auch in ein

paar Wörtern, die aus dem Sanskrit stammen und daher einen Rückschluss auf den Lautwert des Zeichens ermöglichen, und bisweilen lässt sich ein solcher Schluss auch aus Doppelschreibungen von Fremdwörtern ziehen. In dem Vertreter von sk. *kalyāṇa* wird das *lya* meistens in der gewöhnlichen Form geschrieben, so in *kalyanakari mitra* 499, 612, und in den Namen *kalyanadhama* 123, 560, 597, 601, 611, 618, gen. *kalyanadhamaṣa* 477, 619, 762, 763, und gen. *gunakalyanaṣa* 311. In 605 aber lesen die Herausgeber *kalpanadhama*, in 536 *kalpanadhamaṣa*, in 756 *gunakalpanaṣa*, in 175 den Namen *kalpana*.<sup>1</sup> Sie sehen es als zweifellos an, dass hier der Wechsel eines *v*-Lautes mit *y* vorliege, wie er auch sonst im Prakrit vorkommt. Dass unter gewissen Bedingungen, die sich, nebenbei bemerkt, viel genauer feststellen lassen als es bisher geschehen ist, *v* für *y* eintreten konnte, ist unbestreitbar; dass aber *kalyāṇa* jemals zu *\*kalvāṇa* geworden sein sollte, halte ich für ausgeschlossen; es fehlt dafür an jeder Parallele. Wenn das fragliche Zeichen für *lya* eintritt, so kann man daraus nur schliessen, dass es einen dem *lya* ähnlichen Lautwert haben muss, und da es im Grunde nur in Fremdwörtern erscheint, so wird es nicht einfach eine andere Schreibung für *lya* sein, sondern ein der Fremdsprache eigenes palatalisiertes *la*, das man gelegentlich auch in der Schreibung des Vertreters von sk. *kalyāṇa* verwendete. Da das subskribierte Zeichen in der Ligatur nach den obigen Darlegungen offenbar eine kursive Form des *ya* ist, so möchte ich vorschlagen, die Ligatur in Übereinstimmung mit der sonst von den Herausgebern gewählten Umschrift modifizierter Zeichen durch *lyā* wiederzugeben, obwohl ein mouilliertes *l* den Laut wohl genauer ausdrücken würde.

Anstatt des gewöhnlichen *lihita* 649, *lihida* 144, 328, 437, 652, *likhida* 331, 648, findet sich in 575 *lyihida* „geschrieben“. Da das Auftreten eines Labials zwischen dem *l* und dem *i* natürlich unerklärlich ist, sind die Herausgeber gezwungen, das von ihnen angenommene *lyihida* als einen Schreibfehler anzusehen. Sobald wir in dem Zeichen ein palatalisiertes *l* sehen, bietet sich eine viel weniger gewaltsame Erklärung dar. Es zeigt sich, dass das *lya* seine Hauptstelle in Verbindung mit *i* in den nicht-indischen Namen hat. Im Index sind die mit *lyi* beginnenden Namen leicht zu übersehen. Es sind, wenn man von Varianten in der Schreibung absieht, von *lyipaae* bis *lyivrasmaṣa* nicht weniger als 23. Dazu kommen mit in- oder auslautendem *lyi*: [*kalyike*] 757, *kalyijeya* 495, *kalyijeyasa* 207,

<sup>1</sup> Ob in 351 *kal. na* zu *kalyana* oder *kalpana* herzustellen ist, ist ganz unsicher.

*kaljigeyena*<sup>1</sup> 207; *kaljita* 701; *kaljisa* 666; *kiljigamciyana* 164; *koljige* 93; *koljisa*, *koljisa* 8, 15, 29 usw., *koljisasa*, *koljisasa* 29, 110, 130 usw., *koljisasya* 159, *koljisena* 20, 53; *tsuljita* 74; *maljigeya*<sup>2</sup> 237, *maljigeyasa* 93, 277; *moljina* 131, 482, 581; *suljita* 17; *aralji*, *araljiyasa* 573; *palyiya* 596; *pisaljiyami* 122; *alaljie* oder *amaljie* 406. Dieses massenhafte Auftreten des Zeichens vor dem *i*-Vokal liefert, wie mir scheint, die Bestätigung, dass es ein palatalisiertes *l* ausdrückt, und wenn das *lji* gerade in den Fremdnamen so häufig ist, so dürfen wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass diese Neigung zur Palatalisierung in der Fremdsprache, was immer sie gewesen sein mag, ihren Ursprung hatte.

In den auf das Sanskrit zurückgehenden Wörtern wird im allgemeinen vor *i* das gewöhnliche *l* geschrieben, so in den zahlreichen Formen von *likh* (im Index von *likhami* bis *likhidu* und von *lihali* bis *lihyati*, in den abgeleiteten Formen von *niṣkal*, *samkal* und *paripālay*, in denen auf die Stammsilbe ein *i* folgt (im Index *nikalitavo*, *nikaliṣyati* und von *nikhalita* bis *nikhalīṣyati*, von *samgalitaḥa* bis *samgalidavya*, von *paripalitavo* bis *paripalidavya*), ferner in *kamculi* 149, 318, *kamjulyasa* 343, *pipali* 702, *ṣilipatam* 511, *priyasali*<sup>3</sup> 83, 140, *kamzavaliyana* 725,<sup>4</sup> ebenso vor dem epenthetischen *i* in *muli*, *mulyami*, *mulyammi*, *mulyena* (Index). Sicherlich stammt aus dem Sanskrit auch *vyālidavo* mit den Nebenformen *vyālidavo*, *vyālidavya*, *vyālitavo*, *vyālidavya* (Index), ferner mit mehr oder minder Wahrscheinlichkeit *liṣita* 52, *avalika* 575, *phalitaḥa* 214, *mahuli*<sup>5</sup> 528, *chaḡali paṣu* 613, *khulini* 349, und der Name *viśaliae*, *viśaliyae* 722.<sup>6</sup> Auch in Lehnwörtern aus dem Iranischen wird immer *li* geschrieben, so in dem schon zur Aśoka-Zeit ins Indische aufgenommenen *livi* in *livivistarena*, *livistarena*, *livistarammi* (Index), in *mūlima* (Index), das auf *μῆλιμος* zurückgeht,<sup>7</sup> aber ebenso wie *satera*, *drakhma* über das Iranische hinüber

<sup>1</sup> Text *k.lpije vini*.

<sup>2</sup> Text *malpiḡeyo*.

<sup>3</sup> Offenbar sk. *priyasāla*; warum ist hier *i* im Auslaut eingetreten?

<sup>4</sup> Der erste Bestandteil des Wortes ist natürlich iranisch.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahuli* kann aber nicht, wie im Index angegeben, = sk. *mahilā* sein, da dies ein aus *ḡ* entstandenes *l* hat, das in der Sprache der Dokumente als *ḡ* erscheinen müsste; siehe Festschrift Wackernagel S. 306. Auch die Identifizierung mit pali *mahallikā* ist den Lauten und der Bedeutung nach nicht befriedigend.

<sup>6</sup> *Ḍalimi* 496 ist, wie im Index vermutet wird, wohl Schreibfehler für *mūlima*, ebenso *dilikṣa* 510 = sk. *titikṣā* für *didikṣā*. Unklar ist *hali* 83, *liṣa* 109, *palyarnaga* (?) 318.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, Index.

übernommen ist, und wohl auch in *kalihari* 709, *kālihari* 399.<sup>1</sup> Es lässt sich natürlich nicht entscheiden, wie weit die Schreibungen in den echt indischen Wörtern die wirkliche Aussprache wiedergeben, wie weit sie historisch sind. Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen, die Neigung zur Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* in der Fremdsprache bestand, so kann es nicht auffallen, wenn gelegentlich einmal ein *lijhida* erscheint.

Ein zweites Beispiel für *lji* anstatt *li* in einem Prakritworte liefert 162: *ghrita khi 3 atrami prehidama parupararivarṣi ghrita nasti ṣeṣa yo ṣeṣa hoati ahuṃno paṃcama varṣa sarva galjiti sarva ḡiḡa*. *Galjiti* ist unverständlich. Ziehen wir in Betracht, dass der Schreiber noch an zwei andern Stellen Silben ausgelassen hat — er schreibt *namake gya* für *namakero arogya* und *taṃkami* für *taṃka-lammi* — so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass *galjiti* für *samgaljiti*, das Gerundium<sup>2</sup> von *samgal* (sk. *samkal*) verschrieben ist. *Samgal* wird häufig von dem Einsammeln von Korn und Wein, die als Steuer abzuliefern sind, gebraucht. Die Ausdrucksweise ist in dem ganzen Briefe nachlässig und unbeholfen; was der Schreiber sagen wollte, ist wohl: „3 *khi* Schmelzbutter haben wir dorthin (zu euch) geschickt. Von der vorjährigen und der vorvorjährigen Schmelzbutter ist nichts rückständig. Was rückständig gewesen ist, das ist jetzt im fünften Jahre alles eingesammelt und alles empfangen.“

Ebenso begrifflich wie das Auftreten des *lji* für *li* in indischen Wörtern ist umgekehrt aber auch die gelegentliche Schreibung *li* für *lji* in Fremdnamen; so in *lipe* 754 gegenüber dem ungemein häufigen *lijipe*, *lijipeya*; *livarazma* 43 neben *lijiparasma* 102, *lijivrasmaṣa* 83; *lipu* 80, 558; *malina*<sup>3</sup> 409; *yalina* 754; *lalik*. 701; *tsuḡeli* 642; *tsuḡaliya* 170, *tsuḡaliyasa* 93; *suḡeli* 650; *yili* 62, 259, 288, 701, *yilika* 642, *yiliyasa* 288<sup>4</sup>; *simoliya* 185; *koliyammi* 152; *pisaliyade* 64, 341, *pisaliyammi* 291, *piṣali* . . . 351 neben *pisaljiyami* 122.<sup>5</sup>

Das *lji* findet sich nun aber nicht nur in Eigennamen, sondern

<sup>1</sup> Das Wort ist sicherlich im letzten Grunde eine Ableitung von sk. *kalahāra* „Streit machend“, das als *kalahāra* auch ins Sakische übernommen ist (Konow, *Saka Studies* 149). *Kalihari* könnte wieder aus dem Sakischen zurückentlehnt sein; das Auftreten des *i* bleibt in jedem Falle unerklärt. *Suliga* 661 „aus Suli stammend“ ist als Fremdwort anzusehen.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *vajiti* „gelesen habend“ in 152, 725, und 376, wo der Text *vajiti* bietet, *ṣruniti* 341.

<sup>3</sup> Nicht ganz sicher, vielleicht *malena*; vgl. aber *moljina* 131, 482, 581.

<sup>4</sup> Ein anderer Versuch, den Namen zu schreiben, ist offenbar *yilga* 80.

<sup>5</sup> Dass das *i* in dem mit *lji* beginnenden Namen sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, zeigt die schon erwähnte Schreibung *lpanja* 415 neben dem gewöhnlichen *lijipanja* 571 usw.

auch in Appellativen, von denen wenigstens eins seiner Bedeutung nach hinreichend klar ist, das ist *pal̥yī*. Die Überschrift des Täfelchens 207 lautet: [a]jhiyama avanammi ś(e)ṣa pal̥yī, „der restliche *pal̥yī* in dem Dorfe Ajjiyama.“<sup>1</sup> Es folgt eine allerdings nur sehr unvollständig erhaltene Liste von Personennamen im Genitiv, hinter denen die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände genannt sind; offenbar sind es die Sachen, die jene Leute abzuliefern haben. Dann heisst es am Schluss zusammenfassend: *p(i)ṃḍa śeṣa huda yaṃ ca navaḡa yaṃ ca poranaḡa ghrīda khi 10 4 4 asaṃ[kha] rajīya* <sup>2</sup> *1 koṣava 4 2 akīṣḍha 1 thavaṃnae 4 1 kamumta 10 4 2 goni 3 peḷa 3 paṣu 1 masu milīma 1 khi 4 1 poṅgoṇena* <sup>3</sup> *aṃṇa milīma 10 4 go 1*, „in summa ist der Rückstand gewesen, sowohl der neue als auch der alte: 18 *khi* Schmelzbuttermilch, 1 *asaṃkharajīya* (?), 6 langhaarige Decken, 1 *akīṣḍha*-Decke, 5 Stück Tuch, 16 *kamumta*, 3 Säcke, 3 Körbe, 1 Schaf, 1 *milīma* 5 *khi* Wein mit *poṅgoṇa*, 15 *milīma* Korn, 1 Kuh.“ Mir scheint sich daraus deutlich zu ergeben, dass *pal̥yī* die Steuer ist, die das Dorf an das königliche Finanzamt abzuliefern hat. Dazu stimmen die Angaben in 714, einem Briefe des *cozbo* Takra an *vasu* Opgeya und *ṅaca*: *ahuno eṣa tsuḡeta atra viṣajīdemi ajiyama avanammi pal̥yī dhamaṣa praceya yahi adehi purviḡa ajiyama avanammi pal̥yī cimtīdaḡa ghrīda paṣava koṣava arnavajī thavastae rajī naṃmatae cāṃdri kamamṃtana aṃṇa maka oḡana croṃa aṃṇa suḍae kamamṃta* <sup>4</sup> *yaṃ ca aṃṇa pal̥yī sarva spura aḡeta l̥jipeya tsuḡetaṣa ca hastammi cavala iṣa viṣajīdavo* „jetzt habe ich Tsuḡeta dorthin (zu euch) geschickt wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer in dem Dorfe Ajjiyama. Wie von dort früher die auf dem Dorf Ajjiyama (liegende) Steuer festgesetzt ist, Schmelzbuttermilch, Schafe, langhaarige Decken, *arnavajī*-Decken, Teppiche, *rajī*, Filzdecken,

<sup>1</sup> Im Text steht [a]jhiyama und ś.ṣa. Ajiyama ist wahrscheinlich falsche Lesung, vielleicht Schreibfehler für ajiyama, das sechsmal in den Texten erscheint.

<sup>2</sup> So nach dem Index zu lesen.

<sup>3</sup> Da die Zeichen für 1 und na sich sehr ähnlich sehen, ist sicherlich statt des im Texte stehenden *poṅgoṇe 1 poṅgoṇena* zu lesen; vgl. *poṅgoṇena milīma 1 masu* in 574 (dreimal), *masu poṅgoṇena parvatammi milīma 1 khi 4, masu khi 4 poṅgoṇena, khi 4 masu giḷa poṅgoṇena, masu prahuḷa preṣidavya khi 3 poṅgoṇena, masu poṅgoṇena khi 3 prahuḷa anīama, masu nikhasta milīma 1 khi 4 poṅgoṇena, masu poṅgoṇena khi 10 2 anīamti* in 637. *Poṅgoṇa* ist offenbar eine Weiterbildung von *poṅḡa*, das in 225, wiederum in Verbindung mit *masu* erscheint; *iṣa pir.ci ginīdemi masu poṅḡa 2*. Der in der Ausgabe S. 314, Anm. 2 vermutete Zusammenhang von *poṅḡa* mit dem Namen *poṅḡa* besteht auf keinen Fall, auch mit *poṅka* (oder *proṭsa*) in 317 hängt das Wort kaum zusammen. *Poṅḡa* scheint ein bestimmter Behälter für Wein zu sein, *poṅgoṇa* ist vielleicht alles was zur Aufbewahrung des Weins in einem solchen gehört; das Suffix erinnert auffällig an das sakische Suffix -ṃṇa, -aṃṇa.

<sup>4</sup> Ausgabe: *suḷa ekamamṃta*.

*cāṃdri kamamṃtana*,<sup>1</sup> ferner *maka, oḡana, croṃa*, ferner *suḍae kamamṃta*, und was es sonst an Steuern gibt, alles das ist vollständig in der Obhut des *aḡeta* Lyipeya und des Tsuḡeta schleunigst hierher zu schicken.“ Auf diese Steuerabgabe von Ajjiyama geht ferner 275: *yahi purvika adehi ajiyama avanammi samvatsari pal̥yī cimtīdaḡa viṣati matra varṣa hutamti eda pal̥yī atremi achimnidetha yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha eda pal̥yī imade pravamṃnaḡa prahidama tena pravamṃnaga eda pal̥yī cavala lepata yatma aḡetaṣa ca cavala sarva spara — iṣa viṣajīdavo*, „wie früher vor dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorf Ajjiyama (liegende) Steuer vor zwanzig Jahren <sup>2</sup> festgesetzt ist, diese Steuer habt ihr gerade dort ausgesetzt. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort ankommen wird, . . . diese Steuer.<sup>3</sup> Wir haben von hier eine Anweisung geschickt. Auf diese Anweisung hin ist diese Steuer schleunigst (in der Obhut) <sup>4</sup> von Lepata und des *yatma aḡeta* schleunigst ganz und vollständig hierher zu senden.“

Eine Reihe von Dokumenten betrifft den *pal̥yī* in dem Dorfe Peta. 165 ist ein Brief des *oḡu* Kirtīsaṃa an den *cozbo* Kranaya und den *ṣoṭhamḡa* Lyipeya. Nach den einleitenden Floskeln schreibt er: *avi peta avanammi pal̥yī paruvāṣi śeṣa yaṃ ca imavāṣi pal̥yī taha sarva spora tom̥mihi śadha iṣa viṣajīdavo yati tade purima paḷima viṣajīsyatu paṃthammi paraṣa bhaviṣyati tuo ṣoṭhamḡa l̥jipeya tanu goṭhade vyōṣīṣasi*, „weiter: der Rest der vorjährigen auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegenden) Steuer und was die diesjährige Steuer ist, sind ganz und vollständig sofort zusammen hierher zu schicken. Wenn davon (etwas) vorher (und etwas) nachher geschickt werden sollte (und) es unterwegs geraubt werden wird, so wirst du, der *ṣoṭhamḡa* Lyipeya, (es) aus der eigenen Farm bezahlen.“ Es folgen Bemerkungen über den Ankauf von Schmelzbuttermilch und die Mahnung, den *pal̥yī*-der *veḡa kilmi* Frauen, der in Korn besteht,<sup>5</sup> vollständig zu schicken. Dann

<sup>1</sup> *Cāṃdri kamamṃta* auch 272, vielleicht Silber-Arbeiten. Das na hinter *kamamṃta* weiss ich nicht zu erklären.

<sup>2</sup> Die Worte *viṣatimatra varṣa hutamti* sind doch eher zu *cimtīdaḡa* zu ziehen als zu *achimnidetha*, da nicht anzunehmen ist, dass das Dorf zwanzig Jahre lang keine Steuer entrichtet haben sollte.

<sup>3</sup> Hinter *pal̥yī* scheint etwas ausgelassen zu sein.

<sup>4</sup> Hinter *aḡetaṣa ca* ist wohl *hastammi* weggefallen. Auch die Wiederholung von *cavala* beweist, dass der Brief nachlässig geschrieben ist.

<sup>5</sup> Von dem *veḡa kilmi striyana pal̥yī* wird auch in 211 gesprochen: *veḡa kilme striyana pal̥yī na anīyamti*, und weiter in 714: *avi veḡa kilme striyana pal̥yī epura pruchidavo*. Von dem *veḡa kilme dhama*, von dem auch die Entrichtung des *pal̥yī* abhängt, ist in 481 die Rede. Der Ausdruck *veḡa kilme* erfordert eine besondere Untersuchung.

fährt der Schreiber fort: *avi palīti uta teneva sadha isa viṣajitavo ma imci tomgana paride uta vithiṣyatu taṣa uta praceya raya sakṣi lihidaḡa kridaḡa livistarammi anatilekha atra gada tahi cozbo kranayaṣa lihami eda karyami tuo cita kartavya eṣa līṣipeya na cita kareti*, „auch das Steuer-Kamel ist mit diesem zusammen hierher zu schicken. Auf keinen Fall soll seitens der *tomgas* (die Sendung des) Kamel(s) verzögert werden. In betreff dieses Kamels ist ein Königszeugen-Dokument angefertigt worden. In ausführlicher Darstellung ist ein Befehlsschreiben dorthin (zu euch) abgegangen. Ich schreibe dir, dem *cozbo* Kranaya. Um diese Angelegenheit musst du dich kümmern. Dieser *Līṣipeya* kümmert sich nicht (darum).“ Das Steuer-Kamel ist offenbar eine Zusatzsteuer für das Dorf Peta. Die Angabe, dass in betreff dieses Kamels ein *raya sakṣi lihidaḡa* gemacht ist, lässt darauf schliessen, dass über die Verpflichtung, dieses Kamel zu liefern, zwischen der königlichen Regierung und den örtlichen Behörden Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestanden. Das „Königszeugen-Dokument“ wird doch wahrscheinlich ein Dokument sein, in dem die Aussagen von Zeugen zu gunsten der königlichen Ansprüche protokolliert waren.

Wenn uns auch der in 165 erwähnte *anatilekha* nicht erhalten ist, so haben wir doch in 42 einen *kilamudra*, in dem praktisch dieselbe Forderung gestellt wird: *yahi purvika adehi peta avanammi samvatsari palīti cimditaḡa paruvāṣi palīti suḡnutana anada picavida yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha eda palīti [ya] praceya vasu līṣipeya [pra]. .davo sarva spāra cavala aḡita samḡapeyaṣa hastami isa viṣajidavo yahi purvika adehi peta avanammi samvatsari palīti uta cimditaḡa se uta na vṛdhaḡa na kriṣaḡa siyati teneva palīṣiyena sadha uta isa viṣajidavo ṣeṣa palīti syati spāra viṣajidavo grida palīti purva cavala prahadavo*, „wie früher von dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta liegende Steuer festgesetzt ist, (in der Höhe) ist die vorjährige Steuer dem *Suḡnuta* . . .<sup>1</sup> zu übergeben. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, . . . ist wegen dieser Steuer der *vasu Līṣipeya* zu befragen (?).<sup>2</sup> Sie ist ganz und vollständig schleunigst in der Obhut des *aḡita Samḡapeya* hierher zu schicken. Wie früher ist von dort (bei euch) als eine jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegende) Steuer ein Kamel festgesetzt. Sollte dies Kamel nicht alt (und) nicht mager

<sup>1</sup> Der Plural *suḡnutana* ist auffällig. *Anada* verstehe ich in diesem Zusammenhange nicht.

<sup>2</sup> Die in der Ausgabe vorgeschlagene Ergänzung zu *prochidavo* ist nicht ganz sicher.

sein, so ist das Kamel zusammen mit jener Steuer hierher zu schicken. Sollte ein Steuerrest sein, so ist er vollständig zu schicken. Die Schmelzbuttermsteuer ist schleunigst zuerst zu senden.“

Wahrscheinlich bestand die Verpflichtung jährlich ein Kamel als Steuer zu liefern auch für andere Dörfer. In dem königlichen Briefe 70, der nach der Aufschrift *traṣa avanammi* eine Angelegenheit des Dorfes Trasa betrifft, lesen wir: *yahi purvika adehi malbhayaṣa vaṃti<sup>1</sup> cauravāṣi palīti vihidaḡa vuḡacaṣa<sup>2</sup> vaṃti caura uta vithidae yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha eda palīti keti vihidaḡa syati dhaciyāṣa hastami isa viṣajidavo*, „die wie früher von dort (bei euch festgesetzte) Steuer ist vier Jahre lang bei Malbhaya zurückgehalten worden. Bei Vuḡaca sind vier Kamele zurückgehalten worden. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, . . . ist diese Steuer, soviel (davon) zurückgehalten sein sollte, in der Obhut Dhaciyas hierher zu schicken.“ Es liegt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass die Zurückhaltung der vier Kamele mit der vier Jahre langen Zurückhaltung der Steuer in Zusammenhang steht.

Ich habe *palītidhama* oben in 714 durch „gesetzliche Steuer“ wiedergegeben; der Ausdruck scheint dem *deyyadhama* nachgebildet zu sein, das im Pali im Sinne von religiöser Gabe verwendet wird. Dass *palītidhama* jedenfalls die konkrete Steuer bezeichnet, geht deutlich aus 164 hervor, einem Privatbriefe des *Līṣimsu* an seinen Vater, den *cozbo Līṣipeya*, wo von der Einsammlung und Absendung des *palītidhama* die Rede ist: *avi ca ahono isa peta avanemciye palītidhama prace sutha viheṣemti paruvāṣi paḡo pake palīti kiḡa avi kilīḡamciyana palīti prace viheṣemti yati eta lekha atra eṣati cavala palītidhama isa visarjīdavya yo puna amṇa adehi rajade samarena tsamḡhina kvemamḡhina palītidhama isa mama prochaṃti avāṣa cavala samḡhalīdavya isa prahadavya avi ca avāṣa paḡo isa visarjīdavya*, „und ferner: Jetzt drängen sie hier<sup>3</sup> die Einwohner des Dorfes Peta sehr wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer. Für das vorige Jahr hat Paḡo die *pake*-Steuer entrichtet. Auch wegen der Steuer der *Kilīḡamciyas* drängen sie. Wenn dieser Brief dort (bei euch) eintreffen wird, ist schleunigst die gesetzliche Steuer hierher zu schicken. Da sie hier ferner die andere von dort, von der Provinz (zu entrichtende) gesetzliche *samarena-*, *tsamḡhina-*, *kvemamḡhina*-Steuer von mir fordern, so ist sie auf jeden Fall

<sup>1</sup> Text hier und nachher *amti*.

<sup>2</sup> Text *vaḡacaṣa*.

<sup>3</sup> Der Brief scheint aus der Hauptstadt geschrieben zu sein.



schleunigst einzusammeln (und) hierher zu senden. Auch ist auf jeden Fall Puḡo hierher zu schicken.“ Auch in 211, einem Privatbrief, kann *paljīdhāma* nur etwas wie „gesetzliche Steuer“ bedeuten: *tanu goṭhade paljīdhāma achinaṣi amñeṣa paljī na praḡaḡa nikhaleṣi — tuo atra triti mahatva ṣi avajajena imade hemamtammi paljī praceya lekha viṣaji(de)mi triti bhagade eka bhaga na paljī iṣa viṣajideṣi yati ahuno bhuya eda paljī na ṣpora iṣa anisyaṃti nacirena tuo ima varṣa vasammi iṣa agamiṣyaṣi*, „die gesetzliche Steuer von dem eigenen Gute enthältst du vor, die Steuer der andern gibst du nicht offen heraus. . . . Du bist dort der dritte hohe Beamte. Bei Gelegenheit habe ich von hier im Winter wegen der Steuer einen Brief geschickt; du hast die Steuer auch nicht zu einem Teil vom dritten Teil<sup>1</sup> hierher geschickt. Wenn sie jetzt fernerhin diese Steuer nicht schleunigst hierher bringen, wirst du in kurzem in diesem *varṣavasa* hierher kommen.“ Dass zwischen *paljīdhāma* und dem einfachen *paljī* kaum zu scheiden ist, zeigt auch der Vergleich von 714 *paljīdhāmaṣa pricha hoti*, „es findet Einforderung der gesetzlichen Steuer statt“, mit 725 *avi kamzavaliyana paljīyasa anada pricha ganana kartavo ṣpura iṣa viṣajidavo*, „auch ist die . . . Einforderung und Zählung der Steuer von Dingen, die an die Schatzbeamten zu liefern sind, zu machen (und sie) ist vollständig hierher zu schicken“.

Von *paljī* ist in den Dokumenten noch öfter die Rede, ich kann hier aber nicht auf die verschiedenen Arten des *paljī* eingehen, da dafür zunächst die Bedeutung von Ausdrücken wie *kilmeciya*, *samarena* (?), *tsamgīna*, *koyimaṇḍhina* usw. klargestellt werden müsste. Auch das Verhältnis, von *paljī* zu *harga* und *śuka* soll hier nicht behandelt werden. Schon aus dem Angeführten scheint mir zur Genüge hervorzugehen, dass *paljī* die von einzelnen Personen wie von der Provinz, dem Dorf und anderen staatlichen Verbänden an die königliche Regierung in Naturalien zu entrichtende Steuer ist. Höchstens in 450 könnte an eine Abgabe an eine Privatperson gedacht werden. Da schreibt Lyipana an ein Ehepaar, Kroae und Luḡaya, nach den einleitenden Floskeln: *avi ca vasamtammi atra kriṣivatra karaṃnae ma imci avakāṣa kariṣyatu ahuno caturtha varṣa huḍa mahi paljī achinaṣi yo tahi atra goṭha bhumaṣṭra taha vikrinamnae parihara*

<sup>1</sup> *Triti bhagade eka bhaga* scheint ein idiomatischer Ausdruck für „wenig“ zu sein. Ein ähnlicher Ausdruck findet sich in dem gleichen Zusammenhang in 315: *yatha purvika adehi tsamgīna paljī cimpīdaga taha ardhade arḍha na aneṃti iṣa bahu dharaṃnaḡa huamti*, „Wie früher ist von dort die *tsamgīna*-Steuer festgesetzt. Sie bringen nicht die Hälfte von der Hälfte. Sie sind hier viel schuldig.“

*oḍidemi tahi samadue bharyae putra dhidarehi iṣa agamḍavo iṣa kriṣivatra kartavo mahi paljī sudha rotamna avi curama ṣa<sup>1</sup> iṣa anidavo amña paljī mahi na kicamaḡa*, „und ferner: im Frühjahr soll keineswegs Erlaubnis gegeben werden, dort (bei euch) das Land zu bestellen. Jetzt ist es das vierte Jahr gewesen, dass du mir die Steuer (oder meine Steuer) vorenthältst. (Was) die Kuhfarm (betrifft) und das Ackerland, die du dort hast, so habe ich (dir) freigestellt (sie) zu verkaufen. Du musst mit deiner Mutter, deiner Frau und deinen Söhnen und Töchtern hierher kommen. Hier ist das Land zu bestellen. Mir ist als Steuer nur Krapp<sup>2</sup> und auch *curama* hierher zu schicken, andere Steuer brauche ich nicht.“ Es ist aber sehr wohl möglich, dass auch hier *paljī* in dem gewöhnlichen Sinne gemeint ist, indem Lyipana die zu liefernden Dinge als *paljī* bezeichnet, weil er sie selbst an das königliche Steueramt abzuliefern hat; jedenfalls haben Krapp und *curama*, öfter *curoma*, *croṃa*, einen Platz in den königlichen Steuerlisten; siehe 357, 387, 714 usw.

Mit der richtigen Lesung und der Feststellung der Bedeutung scheint mir auch die Ableitung von *paljī* gegeben zu sein: es wird nichts weiter sein als sk. *bali*, „Steuer, Abgabe“. Da in den Dokumenten öfter eine anlautende Media durch die Tenuis wiedergegeben wird,<sup>3</sup> macht die Identifizierung von *paljī* und *bali* im Grunde keine Schwierigkeit. Jene Schreibungen treten aber doch immer nur sporadisch auf, während in *paljī* das *p* ebenso ausnahmslos erscheint wie das *ly*. Das lässt doch darauf schliessen, dass man sich des indischen Ursprungs des Wortes nicht mehr bewusst war, und ich möchte es nicht für unmöglich halten, dass *bali* in der bereits zu *paljī* veränderten Gestalt aus einer Sprache wie etwa dem Tocharischen, wo *b* zu *p* werden musste und wahrscheinlich auch das *l* vor *i* palatalisiert wurde, entlehnt worden ist.

Das zweite Wort, in dem ein *ly* vor *i* erscheint, ist *vyalyi*, das offenbar mit *vyala* oder *viyala* zusammenhängt, da beide Beiwörter von *uṭa* „Kamel“, sind.<sup>4</sup> In 437 wird beurkundet, dass Kompala und sein Sohn Suḡiya ein *kuḷi* Mädchen für 45 verkauft haben. Die

<sup>1</sup> Text *curamaḡa*.

<sup>2</sup> So nach Burrow, *BSOS*, 7, 787.

<sup>3</sup> Z.B. *kaṇi draṃḡammi*, *taṇḡa*, *tita*, *tivage*, *tivira*, *toṣa*, *trakhma*, *traṃḡhami*, *triḡha*, *poḡa* usw.

<sup>4</sup> In 703 wird *viyala* ohne deutliche Beziehung auf ein Kamel gebraucht: *iṣa bramamna anamḡasenaṣya viyala krita atra gachanae*, es hindert aber nichts auch hier zu übersetzen: „hier hat er ein *viyala*-Kamel des *bramana* Anamḡasena gekauft, um dorthin zu gehen“.

Käufer haben aber nicht die ganze Summe gezahlt : *taha eta kompala suḡiya ṣa ca ducapariṣa muliyami viyala uta 1 paḍichitamti tade ṣeṣa muli 3 viḥitaḡa huati*, „dieser Kompala und Suḡiya haben ein viyala-Kamel im Werte von 42 erhalten ; der von dieser (Kaufsumme verbleibende) Rest im Werte von 3 ist vorläufig nicht bezahlt worden.“ 590 ist ein Kaufvertrag über eine Frau Lyipaae. Ein gewisser Śāmcā hat sie an den Schreiber Ramṣoṅka verkauft : *tivira ramṣoṅkasa paride stri lyipaae muli śāmcā giḡa eka uta viyala capariṣa muliyena paḍichita bhiti uta akra triṣa muliyena tavastaḡa 1 hasta 10 2 bhiti tavastaḡa hasta 10 1 amṇa sutra muli giḡa 4 4 sarva piṃda muli hoti 20 20 20 20 10 4 4*, „von dem Schreiber Ramṣoṅka hat Śāmcā als Preis der Frau Lyipaae erhalten : ein viyala-Kamel im Werte von 40, ein zweites Kamel, (nämlich ein) akra (!), im Werte von 30, einen 12 Ellen langen Teppich, einen zweiten 11 Ellen langen Teppich. Ferner hat er als sutra-Preis 8 erhalten. Der ganze Kaufpreis beträgt in summa 98.“ Ich bin überzeugt, dass das unverständliche akra nur ein Schreiberversehen für akratsa oder amkratsa ist, das in den Dokumenten öfter als Beiwort von uta auftritt. In 569 wird als Zahlung für ein Ziehkind ein akratsa-Kamel angegeben (*kuṭṭhakṣiraṣa uta akratsa ditaḡa*). Nach 195 haben eine Anzahl von Leuten, die gemeinsam ein Opfer veranstaltet haben, von vāsu Opgeya ein amkratsa-Kamel für dieses Opfer geholt (*vāsu opgeyaṣa paride uta 1 amkratsa yaṃṇami nitamti*). 330 ist eine Urkunde in betreff von akratsa-Kamelen (*akratsa utana prace*), in 383, einer Aufstellung der lebenden und der toten Kamele der königlichen Stuterei, wird auch ein amkratsa erwähnt, ebenso in der durch Bruch verstümmelten Tafel 428 (*uta akra . . .*) und in 163, wo der Zusammenhang nicht klar ist. Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit der Verbesserung von akra zu akratsa scheint mir vor allem 592 zu liefern. Es ist ein Vertrag zwischen Pulnaṃto und dem Schreiber Ramṣoṅka über den Kauf eines kuḡi-Mädchens. Der Preis, den Pulnaṃto empfängt, ist auf ein akratsa-Kamel und eine Khotan-Decke festgesetzt, wobei das akratsa-Kamel genau so wie in 590 mit 30 bewertet wird (*muli uta 1 akratsa triṣa muliyena pulnaṃto paḍichida amṇa aṅḡa muli khotani koḡava 1*). Vergleicht man die Preisangaben in 437, 590 und 592, so ergibt sich, dass ein viyala-Kamel um ein Drittel teurer war als ein amkratsa-Kamel und zum teil noch höher bewertet wurde.

Andererseits ist ein viyala-Kamel etwas weniger wert als eine vierjährige Kamelstute, wie 420 zeigt : *korara kamjaka ari-śaraspaṣa viyala uta 1 dharanaḡa huati yaṃ kala ari-śaraspa ichita maramnaya*

*tam kalammi ari-śaraspa kamjake svasu śariyae hastammi krita uta pruchamṇae ahuno kamjaka uthita śariya śrivammaṣa ca catuvarṣi uti 1 vyōṣita tena kamramṇa utvaravarṣi ditaḡa prace puṅḡetsa 1 1 arohaḡa muli 4 2 kamjaka patama nita*, „korara Kamjaka war Ehrwürden Śaraspa ein viyala-Kamel schuldig. Als Ehrwürden Śaraspa sterben wollte, da hat Ehrwürden Śaraspa es in die Hand (seiner) Schwester Śariyae gelegt, das Kamel bei Kamjaka einzu-fordern. Jetzt ist Kamjaka vor Gericht erschienen. Er hat eine vierjährige Kamelstute an Śariyae und Śrivamma ausgeliefert. Aus diesem Grunde, weil er ein im besseren <sup>2</sup> Alter stehendes (Tier) gegeben hat, hat Kamjaka ein puṅḡetsa als den übersteigenden Preis von 6 wieder herausbekommen.“

Ein puṅḡetsa muss wiederum eine Art von Kamel sein. In 561 heisst es, dass nach dem Urteilsspruch des Richters in einer Diebstahls-angelegenheit : *jimoyaṣa dazasya paride amkratsa puṅḡetsa odarasya ca nidavya huati*. Ich kann dem Text einen Sinn allerdings nur abgewinnen, wenn statt *odarasya ca* vielmehr *odara sa ca* zu lesen ist : „von dem Sklaven Jimoya waren ein amkratsa, ein puṅḡetsa (und) ein odara wegzuholen.“ Das ist nicht geschehen : *puṅḡetsa odara atremi viḥidae*, „der puṅḡetsa (und) der odara sind dort (bei euch) zurückgehalten worden“. Um einen ähnlichen Fall handelt es sich in 359. Da klagt eine Person, deren Name verloren ist, dass ihm im königlichen Gerichte durch Gerichtsbeschluss zwei puṅḡetsa-Kamele als Busse von seiten des Pḡina zugesprochen seien. Von denen sei ein Kamel gegeben worden, das zweite Kamel sei nicht gegeben worden : *pḡinaṣa paride puṅḡetsa uta 2 vyochimnidae tade eka uta dita biti uta na denati*. In 401 handelt es sich um einen Streit um die Miete für ein Kamel ; als Miete für dieses Kamel war ein puṅḡetsa zu liefern : *eda utaṣa parikre puṅḡetsa nidavo*. 526 berichtet von der Aussage eines gewissen Suḡnuta : *suḡnuta vimṇāveti yatha eḡaṣa kuhaniyammi kalu kuḡaya amṇa giḡa puṅḡetsa utena eda uta na viṣajesi*, „Suḡnuta zeigt an, dass kalu Kuḡaya in Kuhaniya von ihm Korn für ein puṅḡetsa-Kamel gekauft hat. Dieses Kamel schickst du nicht.<sup>3</sup> Mit derselben Sache beschäftigt sich noch ausführlicher der Brief 530 : *ahuno iṣa suḡnuta vimṇāveti yatha eḡaṣa kuḡayena amṇa giḡa*

<sup>1</sup> Text hier und stets *puṅḡebha* mit *puṅḡetsa* in der Note. Ich halte *puṅḡetsa* im Hinblick auf *amkratsa* für die wahrscheinlichere Lesung.

<sup>2</sup> Ich nehme an, dass *utvara* für *uttara* steht.

<sup>3</sup> Es ist nicht klar, wer der Angeredete ist. Hinter *na* ist ein Stück von der Tafel abgebrochen und daher vielleicht etwas von dem Texte weggefallen.

*iśa kuhaniyammi milima 3 puṅṅetsa uta muli abhisamitamti tade uvadae bahu varṣa hutamti na denati*, „jetzt zeigt Sugnuta hier an, dass Kuvaya hier in Kuhaniya von ihm 3 *milima* Korn gekauft hat. Sie haben sich über ein *puṅṅetsa*-Kamel als Preis geeinigt. Seitdem sind viele Jahre vergangen, es ist nicht gegeben worden“. Es muss auffallen, dass ein so geringer Wert wie 3 *milima* Korn hier einem Kamel gleichgesetzt sind, aber es steht damit im Einklang, dass in 420 ein *puṅṅetsa*-Kamel auch nur mit 6 bewertet ist. Wir können daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass *puṅṅetsa* der Ausdruck für ein ganz junges Kamel ist, und dafür spricht auch eine weitere Bemerkung in 530. Nachdem dort befohlen ist, die Sache zu untersuchen, heisst es : *bhudartha eva hakṣati uṭa varṣaḡa nacimti dadavo*<sup>1</sup> *athava amna ayoḡena dadavo*, „sollte es sich in Wahrheit so verhalten, so ist ein jähriges Kamel . . . zu geben<sup>2</sup> oder es ist Korn mit Zinsen zu geben.“ Da das jährige Kamel bestimmt ist, auch den Schaden zu ersetzen, der durch die jahrelange Nichtbezahlung des *puṅṅetsa* entstanden ist, so muss es mehr wert sein als ein *puṅṅetsa*.<sup>3</sup>

Wir können also gewissermassen eine Preisliste für Kamele aufstellen : 1) *catuvarṣi uti* 46–48 ; 2) *viyala* 40–42 ; 3) *amkratsa* 30 ; 4) *varṣaḡa* ; 5) *puṅṅetsa 3 milima*–6.<sup>4</sup> Da ferner gesagt ist, dass ein *viyala*-Kamel an Jahren hinter einer vierjährigen Stute und ebenso ein *puṅṅetsa* hinter einem jährigen Kamel zurückstehe, so wird es wahrscheinlich, dass die drei unbekanntenen Ausdrücke *viyala*, *amkratsa* und *puṅṅetsa* sich auf verschiedene Altersklassen beziehen. Ich möchte auch annehmen, dass *viyala* ebenso wie sicherlich *amkratsa* und *puṅṅetsa* aus der Fremdsprache stammen, über deren Natur wir vorläufig nichts wissen. Jedenfalls kann ich der S. 318 geäusserten Ansicht der Herausgeber, dass *vyala*, *viyala* mit sk. *vyāḡa*, *vyāla*, zusammenhänge, nicht beipflichten. Dagegen spricht die Bedeutung, denn das Sanskrit Wort dient im allgemeinen nur zur Bezeichnung von Raubtieren und Schlangen, und wenn es im Sinne von „tückisch, boshaft“ auch von einem Elefanten gebraucht wird, so kann, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, in den Dokumenten doch unmöglich von

<sup>1</sup> Text *varṣaḡana cimtidadavo*, mit der Bemerkung, dass für *cim* auch *rai*, *dhiṃ* oder *rdhi* gelesen werden kann.

<sup>2</sup> *Nacimti* oder, wie die Silben sonst zu lesen sind, verstehe ich nicht. Möglich ist es natürlich auch, dass *varṣaḡana* zusammengehört und ein *cimti* (?) von den jährigen gemeint ist.

<sup>3</sup> Die in 383 dreimal wiederkehrenden Worte *taya* (*tayā*) *dhitu puṅṅetsa* verstehe ich nicht.

<sup>4</sup> Es kommen aber auch abweichende Preisangaben vor. So wird im 571 von einem zweijährigen Kamel, das 50 wert war, gesprochen (*uṭa 1 duvarṣaḡa paṃcaśa muliyena*).

„tückischen“ Kamelen die Rede sein. Ausserdem könnte *vyāḡa*, *vyāla* in dem Prakrit der Dokumente nur als *\*vyāḡa*, *\*viyāḡa* erscheinen, da hier altes *ḡ* niemals als *l* auftritt.

Zu *vyala* gehört nun als Femininum *vyalyi*, das sich in 594 und 546 findet. Der Text von 594 ist ganz fragmentarisch. Nach dem Satze *avi vasaṃtammi uṭaśa karamna tahi vamti jalpita*, „ferner : im Frühjahr hat er mit dir wegen des Kameles gesprochen“, sind nur noch die Worte erhalten : *avaśa ah(u)no i[cha] vuta viyalyi*, aus denen sich nicht viel entnehmen lässt, zumal anstatt *icha* auch *iśa* oder *iḡha* gelesen werden kann. Nur soviel ist klar, dass *vyalyi* sich auf ein Kamel bezieht. Leider ergibt sich auch aus 546 nicht viel mehr. Der *śramana* Dhamapriya schreibt : *mahi uti dvi vyalyi 1 vuḡeyaśa goḡadarana paride niyidavo huati*, „ich hatte von den Leuten auf der Kuhfarm des Vuḡeya zwei Kamele, eine *vyalyi* zu holen.“ Im folgenden ist aber immer nur von einer Kamelstute (*uti*), die Dhamapriya von dem Sohne des Vuḡeya erhalten hat, die Rede, und es lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ob damit eine der beiden nicht näher bezeichneten Stuten oder die *vyalyi* gemeint ist. Wahrscheinlich findet sich *vyalyi* ein drittes Mal in 341 : *avi ca atra rayaka khula uṭa yo trevarṣa yaṃ ca tade a[thavarṣ .] . . [ḡa] ede uṭa ṣoḡhamḡa kolḡisa calmasaśa ca hastami iśa viśajidavo ekadaśi masasya daśammi pisali(yammi) samḡa(lidavo)*<sup>1</sup> — *hotu yo [nu da vyalya vyala] uṭae na*<sup>2</sup> *imci iśa viśajidavo pisaliyade prathama [ . . ] iśa vimṇatilekha prahadavo ede śruniti pisaliyade iśa viśaji(davo)*.<sup>1</sup> Statt *vyalya vyala* wird *vyalyi vyala* zu lesen sein : „und ferner : Die Kamele des königlichen Gestütes dort (bei euch), die dreijährigen und die in höheren Jahren sind (?)“<sup>3</sup> als diese, diese Kamele sind in der Obhut des *ṣoḡhamḡa* Kolḡisa und des Calmasa hierher zu schicken. Sie sind am zehnten des elften Monats in Pisaliya zu sammeln.<sup>4</sup> . . . die *vyalyi* und *vyala* Kamele sind keineswegs hierher zu schicken. Von Pisaliya ist zuerst ein Brief mit der Anzeige hierher zu senden. Diese (Kamele) sind (erst), nachdem man (die Antwort) gehört hat, von Pisaliya hierher zu schicken.“ Bei der Unsicherheit der Textüberlieferung lässt sich vorläufig auch aus dieser Stelle kaum etwas Genaueres über *vyalyi* erschliessen.

Das Auftreten des *ly* ist nicht auf die Stellung vor *i* beschränkt ;

<sup>1</sup> Die Ergänzungen stammen von mir.

<sup>2</sup> Text *uṭa e na*.

<sup>3</sup> *Athavarṣ . . . ḡa* ist unsicher. Das *tade* lässt darauf schliessen, dass ein Wort mit komparativer Bedeutung wie etwa *\*ajhivarṣaḡa* oder *\*utaravarṣaḡa* folgte.

<sup>4</sup> Die auf eine Lücke folgenden Worte *hotu yo nu da* verstehe ich nicht.

*l̥j* findet sich auch vor *a*, *e* und *o*, und zwar wiederum am häufigsten in Fremdnamen: *al̥jaya* 9, 370, 575, 709, *al̥jayasa*, *al̥jayena* 214; *al̥jasena* 684; *kil̥jaji* 348, *kil̥jajīya* 322, *kil̥jajīyasa* 216, 322, 348, *kil̥jajīsa* 36; *kil̥jama* 246; *kol̥jaya*<sup>1</sup> 701; *kol̥jaraṣa* 701; *pul̥ja* 37; *l̥jaka* 701; *l̥jakāha* 701; *ṣpal̥jayasa*<sup>2</sup> 579; *ṣpal̥jaya*<sup>3</sup> 709, *ṣpal̥jaya* 506; *sol̥jaka*<sup>4</sup> 701; *cal̥jeya* 596; *kal̥jotsa*<sup>5</sup> 585. Ein paarmal erscheint *l̥j* vor *a* und *o* auch in Appellativen, aber abgesehen von dem oben behandelten *kal̥jana* nur in Wörtern, die nicht oder wenigstens nicht direkt aus dem Indischen stammen.

In 151 findet sich fünfmal *ḡil̥jam̥yasa*, *ḡil̥jam̥yasa* oder *ḡil̥jam̥ya*, *ḡil̥jam̥ya paṣava* (oder *paṣu*). Da der Ausdruck mit *ghritaṣa* oder *ghrita paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *ghriti paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *pal̥ji paṣava* (oder *paṣu*) in derselben Tafel auf einer Stufe steht, scheint er eine besondere Art von Schafen zu bezeichnen.

In 318 wird in einer Liste von gestohlenen Dingen zweimal ein *l̥joknana* genannt: *ṣamim̥na citraḡa l̥joknana* und *suḡina kirta l̥jokmana*. Von den Beiwörtern ist vorläufig nur *citraḡa* klar, da aber *l̥jokmana* zwischen *kaṃculi* „Jacke“ und *prahuni* „Gewand“ eingeordnet ist, wird es vermutlich ein Kleidungsstück bezeichnen.

Völlig unklar ist *ṣul̥jaḡam̥dha* in dem Satze *avaṣa ṣul̥jaḡam̥dha prahadavo*, mit dem der Brief 127 schliesst. Der eigentliche Inhalt des Briefes ist verloren, und es bietet sich daher kein Anhaltspunkt für die Bestimmung der Bedeutung des Wortes dar.

Besser steht es in dieser Beziehung um *ṣilyoka*, *ṣilyoḡa*, das in den Dokumenten öfter erscheint. In dem zum teil schon oben behandelten königlichen Schreiben 359 heisst es: *avi garahati yatha edaṣa iṣa rayadvarammi ṣilyoka lihitaḡa p̥ḡinaṣa paride pun̥jetsa uta 2 vyochim̥nidaḡe tade eka uta dita biti uta na denati atra (sa)muḡa anada pruchidavo yatha ṣilyoḡam̥mi lihitaḡa im̥huami ahono yatha dham̥ena vibhatiso*<sup>6</sup> *na (im̥)ci tatra am̥natha kartavo* „ferner klagt er, dass ihm hier im königlichen Gerichte ein *ṣilyoka* geschrieben ist: es sind (ihm) zwei *pun̥jetsa*-Kamele (als Busse) von seiten des *P̥gina* zugesprochen worden. Von diesen ist ein Kamel gegeben worden, das andere wird nicht gegeben. Dort (bei euch) ist in Anwesenheit die Sache zu untersuchen. Wie in dem *ṣilyoḡa* geschrieben ist, genau so ist jetzt nach dem Gesetze zu entscheiden, nichts ist in dieser

<sup>1</sup> Text *kolayya* (Druckfehler).

<sup>2</sup> Im Index *ṣval̥paya*.

<sup>3</sup> Oder *kal̥jasa*.

<sup>4</sup> Vielleicht *ṣpal̥jīyasa*.

<sup>5</sup> Oder *sol̥uka*, wie im Text.

<sup>6</sup> Schreibfehler für *vibhatisavo*.

Sache abzuändern.“ Hier ist *ṣilyoka*, *ṣilyoḡa* deutlich ein Schriftstück, das das Urteil des Gerichtshofes enthält. Dieselbe Bedeutung hat *ṣilyoka* in 312: *ahuno iṣa jihmaya garahati yatha edaṣa catata ayasa ca paride mam̥nuṣa kaṃki parikraya vyochim̥nidaḡa ṣilyoka lihitaḡa kitae*, „jetzt klagt hier Jihmaya, dass ihm der Lohn für den Mann *Kaṃki* von seiten des *Catata* und des *Aya* zugesprochen worden ist. Es ist ein geschriebenes *ṣilyoka* gemacht worden“. Es folgen die gleichen Weisungen für die weitere Behandlung der Angelegenheit wie in 359. Auch in 561 bezieht sich die Bemerkung *ṣilyoka lihitaḡa kiḡae* auf das Urteil, das der *kitsayitsa Luṡhu* und der *cozbo Kaṃci* in dem Prozess des *Sunam̥da* wegen gewisser gestohlener Sachen gesprochen haben, und auch hier wieder wird für die weitere Behandlung der Sache bestimmt, die Entscheidung nach dem früheren Spruche, wie das *ṣilyoka* geschrieben ist, zu treffen: *yatha kitsayitsa luṡhu cozbo kaṃci ḡa ca hastama vyochim̥nidaḡa ṣilyoka lihitaḡa syati tena vidhanena ya(tha) dham̥(ena) nice kartavo*. In 729, wo nur der Schluss des königlichen Schreibens erhalten ist, ist in die Phrase noch *hasta lekha*, offenbar „handschriftlich“ eingefügt: *yatha ṣilyoḡa hasta lekha lihitaḡa siyati tena vidhanena nice kartavo*.

Dass das *ṣilyoḡa* aber nicht unbedingt den Urteilspruch enthalten muss, geht aus 492 hervor: *ṣavathena sakṣiyena rayakadham̥ena pruchidavo atra na paribujisatu sakṣiyena ṣavathena matralekhami lihitaḡo ḡa ca ṣilyoḡena hastagada iṣa viṣajidavo*, „(die Sache) ist mit Eid und Zeugenvernehmung nach dem königlichen Recht zu untersuchen. Sollte sie dort (bei euch) nicht klar gestellt werden, ist es mit der Zeugenvernehmung und dem Eid in einen *matra*-Brief<sup>1</sup> zu schreiben und dieser mit dem *ṣilyoḡa* in Obhut hierher zu schicken“. Da es sich hier um den Fall handelt, dass kein Urteil gefällt wird, so kann *ṣilyoḡa* hier wohl nur das Protokoll der Verhandlung sein. Und das Gleiche gilt auch für 471, wo die Auseinandersetzung eines Streitfalls, von der nur die Hälfte erhalten und die daher schwer verständlich ist, mit den Worten schliesst: *eda prace vistarena ṣilyoḡa lihitaḡa rayadvarammi prahadavo ede vevatuḡa hastagada rayadvarammi viṣajidavo*, „wegen dieser Sache ist ein ausführlich geschriebenes *ṣilyoḡa* an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden. Diese Prozessierenden sind in Obhut an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden“.

<sup>1</sup> *Matra* ist wohl so viel wie *mantra*; ein *matralekha* wäre also ein benachrichtigender Brief. Die Lesung ist aber nicht sicher; es kann auch *maha* gelesen werden.

*Ṣilyoḡa* hat aber eine noch allgemeinere Bedeutung. In 140 handelt es sich um Korn, das Kupṣimta, dem Schreiber des Briefes, gehört und sich zum teil in andern Händen befindet: *yo tade ammade nikhastaḡa amṇeṣa ditaya sarva ṣilyoḡammi kritaḡa*, „was von diesem Korn abgeliefert, andern gegeben ist, das ist alles in ein *ṣilyoḡa* gemacht“. Der Ausdruck *ṣilyoḡammi kritaḡa* kann hier kaum etwas anderes bedeuten als „in einer Liste urkundlich aufgezeichnet“. Im Sinne einer urkundlichen Liste wird *ṣilyoḡa* auch in 470 gebraucht, wo aber im Einzelnen Unklarheiten bleiben: *ahuno iṣa yapgu vimṇāveti yatha paruvārsami eṣa uta nikhaliḡa aṣya ima vārsami ganana katvetha ṣilyoḡa lihiḡaḡa katvetha eḡa ṣilyoḡa iṣa a[nida huda]*, „jetzt zeigt Yapgu hier an, dass er im vorigen Jahr ein Kamel herausgegeben hat. Dieses habt ihr in diesem Jahre mitgezählt.<sup>1</sup> Ihr habt ein geschriebenes *ṣilyoḡa* gemacht. Dies *ṣilyoḡa* ist hierher gebracht worden“.<sup>2</sup>

Neben *ṣilyoḡa*, *ṣilyoka* findet sich einmal, in 582, auch *ṣulḡa*. Die Tafel enthält einen Kaufvertrag über einen Acker. Wegen dieses Ackers ist später ein Streit entstanden, und die Entscheidung in dem deswegen geführten Prozesse ist als Nachschrift dem Vertrage angefügt. In dieser Nachschrift steht der Satz: *eḡa ṣulḡa lihiḡaḡa pramana huda*, „dieses geschriebene *ṣulḡa* ist gültig gewesen“. Mit dem *ṣulḡa* ist offenbar die Kaufurkunde gemeint, und *ṣulḡa* kann daher nur als eine nachlässige Schreibung für *ṣilyoḡa* angesehen werden.

Die Bedeutung von *ṣilyoḡa* ist somit „urkundliches Schriftstück“, und ich möchte glauben, dass das Wort nichts weiter als sk. *śloka* ist. Das mag in anbeacht der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit sehr kühn erscheinen, wenn auch innerhalb des Sanskrit die Bedeutungen von *śloka* „Schall, Geräusch, Ruf, Ruhm, Strophe“ recht weit auseinander gehen. Formell würde der Einschub des Teilvokals ohne weiteres begreiflich sein, da wir im Pali *śiloka*, im Prakrit *siloga*, *siloa* haben. Auch im Sakischen erscheint *śloka* als *śilo*. Aber auch das auffallende linguale *ṣ* und die Palatalisierung des *l* hat ihre Parallele in der Ārsi-Sprache. Toch. Gramm. S. 60 wird angegeben, dass sk. *śloka* sieben mal als *ślok*, acht mal als *ślyok* erscheint, allerdings immer in der Bedeutung „Strophe“. Dass zwischen diesem *ślyok* und unserm *ṣilyoka* ein Zusammenhang besteht, scheint mir unverkennbar.

<sup>1</sup> Die Übersetzung ist unsicher. Statt *aṣya* kann *vana* gelesen werden. *Katvetha* das nur hier vorkommt, scheint 2. Plur. Praet. von *kr* zu sein.

<sup>2</sup> Die Lesung *anida huda* ist nicht sicher. Der Schluss des Briefes fehlt.

Der Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* steht eine Palatalisierung des *n* vor *i* in den Fremdnamen zur Seite, so in *amcuṇi*, *acuṇiṣya*, *acuṇiṣyaṣa*<sup>1</sup>; *apṇiḡhade*, *apṇiṣya*, *apṇiṣyani*, *apṇiṣyaṣa*<sup>2</sup>; *kuṇiḡta*, *kuṇiḡtaṣa*, *koṇiḡta*, *koṇiḡtaṣa*; *kuṇiṣae*; *kriṇiḡlaṣa*; *ṣimeyaṣa*; *seṣiḡma*, *seṣiḡmma*; *maṇiḡgeya*. Dass das *i* sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, beweisen Nebenformen wie *maṇiḡgeya*, *maṇiḡgeyani*. In Wörtern indischen Ursprungs und in iranischen Lehnwörtern, auch in dem Ortsnamen *nina*, bleibt das *n* vor *i* unverändert,<sup>3</sup> und auch in Fremdnamen wird öfter *ni* geschrieben; siehe *anisiḡṣe*; *kenika*, *kenikaṣa*, *keniḡa*, *keniḡani*; *cinika*, *cinikani*, *cinikaṣa*, *ciniḡa*, *ciniṣya*; *nammaṣaniṣa*; *nivaḡaṣa*; *paṇniṣyaṣa*; *paṇiḡcaade*, *paṇiḡcanade*; *puṇniṣyade*; *poniḡana*, *poniḡanaṣa*, *poniḡani*; *poniḡa*; *buṇni*, *buṇniḡci*, *buṇniṣyami*; *maniḡi*. Die Verteilung von *ni* und *ni* ist also eine ganz ähnliche wie die von *lyi* und *li*.

Zu der Palatalisierung von *l* und *n* vor *i* stimmt schliesslich auch der Vorschlag eines *y* vor anlautendem *i*, der, wie aus dem Index zu ersehen, in den Fremdnamen ausnahmslos zu Tage tritt und gelegentlich auch auf indische Wörter übertragen wird, so in *yima* 237 neben dem gewöhnlichen *ima*, *yiyō pravamaḡa* 348, 416 neben *iyo pravamaḡa* 655 usw. Der Ansatz eines palatalisierten *l* (*lyi*) scheint mir danach nach allen Seiten gesichert zu sein.

[Das Manuskript dieser Arbeit war vor Erscheinen des Aufsatzes von T. Burrow, „Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan,“ *JRAS.*, 1935, S. 667 ff. abgeschlossen.]

<sup>1</sup> In 327 in der Schreibung *acuṇiṣyaṣa*.

<sup>2</sup> In 251 einmal auch *apṇiṣyaṣa*.

<sup>3</sup> Der Name *dhamṇiḡla* in 678 ist offenbar von *dhānya* abgeleitet; ein Bruder des *Dhamṇiḡla* heisst ebenda *Dhamṇapāla*. Unklar ist vorläufig *kriṣaḡa noṇi* in 383.

No. 27.—SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, BERLIN.

I.—The Mōrā Well Inscription.

Mōrā is a small village 7 miles west of Mathurā City and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathurā to Gōvardhan. In 1882 General Cunningham discovered there a large inscribed slab which formed part of the terrace of an ancient well. In 1908 Dr. Vogel had the slab removed to the Mathurā Museum under supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A transcript and a facsimile of the inscription were published by Cunningham, *ASR*. Vol. XX (1885), p. 49 and Plate V, No. 4. At that time the inscription was already fragmentary, more than half of it having peeled away on the right side, but it has since become much more damaged. It was edited again by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā* p. 184, No. Q1. His transcript was reprinted, with a photolithograph of the inscription in its present state, by Ranaprasad Chanda, *MASI*. No. 1 (1919), p. 22, and Plate VI, No. 5, and an attempt to correct the reading of the second line of the inscription was made by the same scholar in *MASI*. No. 5 (1920), p. 166f. The inscription was carefully engraved in 'archaic' characters and Cunningham's transcript and facsimile are apparently in the main correct. The following text is therefore based on them with such corrections as are warranted by a new impression or suggested by general considerations. In the notes I have stated the readings of the impression, of Cunningham's facsimile, of his transcript and of Vogel's transcript.<sup>1</sup> I think that this rather minute treatment is justified by the importance of the inscription.

TEXT.

- 1  $\text{Ṣ}$  mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putrasa svāmi . . . . .
- 2 bhagavatām Vṛiṣṇinā[m] pañchavirāṇām pratimā[h] śailadevagri . . . . .
- 3 ya[s]=To[shā]yāh śailām śrīmad-griham-atulam-udahasamadhāra . . . . .
- 4 ārchādeśām śailām pañcha jvalata iva paramavapushā . . . . .

NOTES.

Line 1.

Impression: *mahakshat[r]a[pa]*

C.'s facsimile: *mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putra[sa] . v.*

C.'s transcript: *Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Svāmi Va-(Vi)*

Vogel: *Mahak(sha)(rapasa Rājūvulasa putra)*

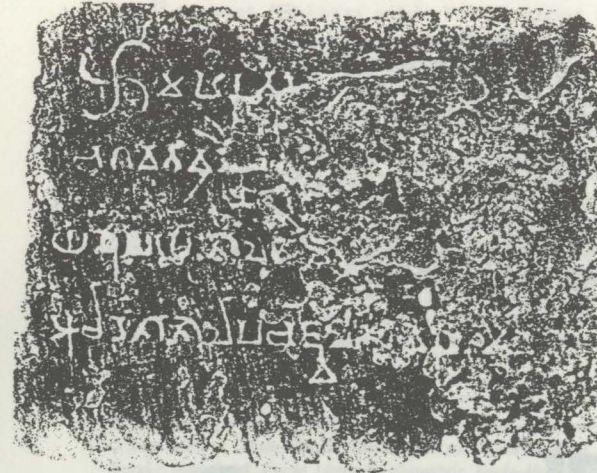
As regards the name of the *mahākshatrapa* Cunningham's facsimile is certainly more trustworthy than his transcript. In the facsimile the *pu* of *putrasa* shows at the top some strokes which might be taken as the sign for *au*, but as the *u*-stroke at the bottom of the letter is quite distinct, *putrasa* must be considered the correct reading. The last word *svāmi* is based only on Cunningham's transcript, the facsimile showing only the subscript *va*. But *svāmi* is exactly what we should expect. Rājūvula's son was Śoḍāsa, who in the Mathurā inscriptions Nos. 59 and 82 of my *List*<sup>2</sup> and in the Mathurā pillar inscription edited below is styled *svāmīn mahākshatrapa*. I have therefore no doubt that Cunningham's transcript is correct as far as *svāmi* is concerned and that the original reading was *svāmisa* (or possibly *svāmi*-) *mahakshatrapasa*.

<sup>1</sup> In Vogel's transcript the portions enclosed within round brackets have been taken from Cunningham's facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers of inscriptions quoted in the following pages always refer to my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.

SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

I.—The Mora Well Inscription.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mora.

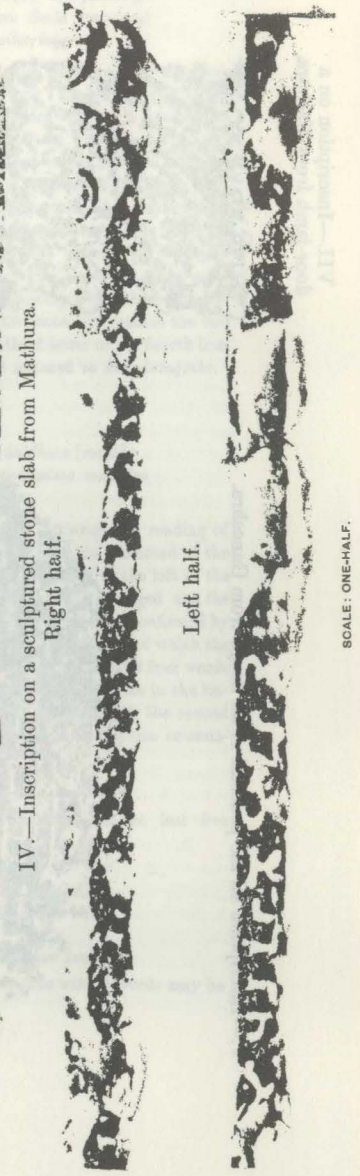


SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH.

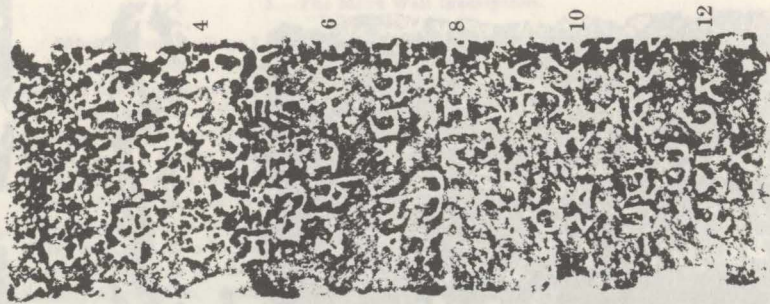


IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.  
Right half.

Left half.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Ganeshra.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

Line 2.

Impression : *bhagavatām Vri[sh]nīn[ā]. . . [cha]*

C.'s facsimile : *bhagavatā Vriṣhṇ . nā pañchavirāṇām pratimā[h] ś[ai]adev. gri*

C.'s transcript : *Bhagavatā Vrishṇena pañcha Vairāṇām pratimu Śaila trva-(gra)*

Vogel : *Bhagavatā Vri(śh)ṇe(na pañcha Vivāṇām pratimā śailatrivagra)*

The *anuvāra* of *bhagavatām* is perfectly clear in the impression, and so is the *i* of *Vriṣhṇīnām*, although it has a peculiar form. The two strokes denoting the long *i* are both turned to the left to avoid their running into the *ksha* hanging down from the first line. Similarly in the next word *pañchavirāṇām* the two limbs of the *i*-sign are drawn wide asunder on account of the long-tailed *rā* standing in the first line just over the *vī*. The *anuvāra* of *Vriṣhṇīnām* has not been noticed by Cunningham and is not visible in the impression on account of a fissure in the stone, but it was no doubt originally engraved. The reading *bhagavato Vriṣhṇeh* proposed by Ramaprasad Chanda is impossible. Between *pratimā*, which is quite distinct in the facsimile, and the following word the intervening space is rather large, and the original reading was apparently *pratimāh*. A trace of the lower dot of the *visarga* is even visible in the facsimile. The last word is not quite distinct in the facsimile, the *la* lacking the long vertical and the *va* showing a small appendix at the bottom which makes it look like *va*, but as Cunningham in his transcript renders the two letters as *la* and *va* and as the third letter clearly is the same as the third letter of the fourth line, the reading *śailadevagri* is practically certain, and the word is to be restored to *śailadevagrihe*.

Line 3.

Impression : *ya . to[shā]yāh ś[ai]lām [śrī]ma*

C.'s facsimile : *yas-toshayā[h] śailām śrīmad-griham-atulam=ī[da]dhasa [ma]dha*

C.'s transcript : *Yasto Shāyāh Śailam Sri mad graha mātula mudhadesa madhāra*

Vogel : *yastoshayā ś(ai)le (śrīmadgrahamatula muda-dhasa)*

Cunningham's transcript of the first two words is probably correct, although his reading of the second and third *aksharas* cannot be verified completely from the impression. Instead of the *s* of *sto* there is at present little more than a square hole, but traces of the hook to the left of the letter are visible, and I consider the reading *sto* as certain. The *sha* also is much damaged and the sign of the long *ā* is indistinct, but, as we shall see later on, the length of the vowel is confirmed by the metre and Cunningham's reading may therefore be taken as correct. The *visarga*, of which the lower dot only is indicated in the facsimile, is quite distinct in the impression. The next four words are perfectly clear in the facsimile. The facsimile has *śrīmad*, but the long *i* is visible in the impression. The last words are uncertain. I can give only Cunningham's reading with the second and third syllables corrected from the facsimile. *Udadhi* would seem to be an obvious emendation of *udadha*, but the word does not fit well into the context.

Line 4.

Impression : *ārchādesām śailām pañcha jvalata [ī]va pa[ra]mavapushā*, but the last five *aksharas* are only faintly visible.

C.'s facsimile : *ārchādesām śailām pañcha jvalata iva paramavapushā*

C.'s transcript : *Ārcha deśām Śailām pañcha jvalatā Iva parama Vapeshā*

Vogel : *archā daśām śailām pañchajvalata iva parama vapusha*

All readings divergent from the text derived from the impression are faulty.

Too much is lost of the text to fill up conjecturally the gaps. The extant words may be translated as follows :

## TRANSLATION.

- (1) Of the son of *mahākshatrapa Rājāvula*, *svāmīn* . . . . .
- (2) The images of the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis*<sup>1</sup> . . . . . the stone shrine . . . . .
- (3) Who the magnificent matchless stone house of *Toṣhā*<sup>2</sup> . . . . .
- (4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty . . . . .

## REMARKS.

As remarked already in the notes on the text, it is most probably the *svāmīn mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa who was mentioned in the first line, and the record has therefore to be dated in his reign, which perfectly agrees with the paleography of the inscription. I consider it also probable that the words preserved of the first line belong to the date. It will be noticed that there is a marked contrast between the first line and the rest of the inscription as far as the language is concerned. Whereas the first line shows the popular language, the following three lines are apparently in pure Sanskrit. This strange diversity would seem to be best accounted for by assuming that the author of the inscription, even when writing in Sanskrit, for the date used the language customary in the documents of the time.

From the second line it appears that the inscription recorded the setting up of five images representing the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis* in a stone temple. *Pañchavīrāṇām* hardly means simply 'of five heroes', which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchānām vīrāṇām*. *Pañchavīrāḥ* would rather seem to denote a fixed group or body. In this sense the word occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the meeting or the meeting-house used by a *ganikā* for her musical performances is called *pañchavīragoṣṭhā*: *Kumāramañjarīyāḥ svasā yavīyāsi Rāgamañjarī nāma pañchavīragoṣṭhā samīpitakam anusūthāsyaṣi* (ed. K. P. Parab, p. 96). In commenting on the passage Kavindra Sarasvatī quotes for the meaning of the word the *Kośasāra*: *taḥ pañchavīragoṣṭhām tu yat tu jānapadam sadaḥ*<sup>3</sup>. *Pañchavīra*, therefore, would seem to be the designation of some administrative body, perhaps equivalent to the modern *pañchāyat*, but, as far as I am aware, no such body is mentioned in the Epic in connection with the *Vṛishṇis*. When some time ago I was reading the inscription with Dr. Alsdorf, I asked him if the term might perhaps be found in the Jaina scriptures, and he promptly favoured me with the following note:

"In the canonical writings of the Jainas, there occurs what might be called a statistics of the subjects ruled by Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva at Dvāravātī. In the first chapter of the *Antagaḍasāo*<sup>4</sup> it reads as follows: *tattha ṇaṃ Bāravāinayarie Kaṇhe nāman Vāsudeve rāyā parivasaḥ* . . . . . *se ṇaṃ tattha Samuddavijayapāmokkhāṇaṃ dasaṇhaṃ Dasārāṇaṃ, Baladevapāmokkhāṇaṃ pañchavīraṇaṃ mahāvīraṇaṃ, Pajjunnapāmokkhāṇaṃ adbhuttāṇaṃ kumārakoḍḍiṇaṃ, Sombapāmokkhāṇaṃ saḥṭṭie duddantasāhasiṇaṃ, Mahāseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ chhapannāse balavagasaḥasiṇaṃ, Viraseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ egaṅgāse vīrasāhasiṇaṃ, Uggaseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ solasaṇhaṃ rāyasaḥasiṇaṃ, Ruppīṇipāmokkhāṇaṃ solasaṇhaṃ devīśāhasiṇaṃ, Aṇaṅgaseṇapāmokkhāṇaṃ aṇegāṇaṃ gaviyāsāhasiṇaṃ, annessiṇ cha bahūṇaṃ isara*" jāva "satthavāhāṇaṃ Bāravāie nayarie adha-Bharaḥassa ya samatthassa āhevaḥchaṇaṃ jāva viharāi.

For those who are not too familiar with Jaina Prakrit, I add the translation of Barnett: 'In this city of Bāravai dwelt King Vāsudeve, hight Kaṇhe, . . . . Here he held sway over Samuddavijāe and the rest of the ten Dasāras, over Baladeve and the rest of the five great heroes, over Pajjunne and the rest of the three and a half crores of princes, over Sambe and the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *bhagavatām* is to be construed with *Vṛishṇīnām*.

<sup>2</sup> I omit the obscure words *śāsthasamādāra*.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation is given also, without stating its source, in Śivarāma's commentary and in the *Laghubhāṣya*.

<sup>4</sup> P. L. Vaidya's edition, Poona 1932, p. 4f.

rest of the 60,000 fighting men, over Mahāseṇa and the rest of the 56,000 mighty men, over Viraseṇa and the rest of the 21,000 warriors, over Uggaseṇa and the rest of the 16,000 kings, over Ruppīṇi and the rest of the 16,000 queens, over Aṇaṅgaseṇā and the rest of the many thousands of courtesans, and over many kings, princes, barons, [prefects, mayors, bankers, traders, captains,] merchants, and others, over the city of Bāravai and the whole of the southern half of Bhārahe-vāse.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth chapter of the *Nāyādharmakathā*, we are told how King Drupada sends a messenger to Dvāravātī and commands him to invite to the *svayamvara* of his daughter Draupadi "Kaṇhaṃ Vāsudevaṃ, Samuddavijayapāmokkhe dasa Dasāre, Baladevapāmokkhe pañcha mahāvīre . . . ." The list which follows agrees verbatim with that of the *Antagaḍasāo*, merely omitting the queens and courtesans, inserting Uggaseṇa between Baladeva and Pajjunna, and inverting the order of Mahāseṇa and Viraseṇa. A third version found in the *Vaṇḍidasāo* is also practically identical.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāmokkhā pañcha mahāvīra* included in the canonical list are identical with the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis* mentioned in the Mōrā inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature.

The question now arises: who are the other four *mahāvīras* besides Baladeva? The canonical list, though it does not give us their names, yet furnishes at least some negative clue for their identification, because it clearly excludes from their number several of the most prominent *Vṛishṇis* known to Jaina tradition, viz., Kṛishṇa, the ten Daśārhas (including Vasudeva), Pradyumna, Śāmba, Ugrasena, Mahāseṇa, and Virasena. We must obviously look for four names, other than those just mentioned, which must be equally well known to the Jainas and the Brahmins. Further, considering that Baladeva, the leader of the group, is the eldest son of Vasudeva, the conjecture is perhaps not too far-fetched that the other four *mahāvīras* might be looked for among the brothers, or half-brothers, of Baladeva. Now the Jaina *Harivamśapurāṇa* gives a long list of Yādava princes who, under Kṛishṇa's command, took the field against Jarāsandha; the list is found, in almost identical form, in Jināsena's *Harivamśapurāṇa* (48, 38-74) and in Hemachandra's *Triśaṣṭhiśālokā-purushacharitra* (VIII, 7, 155-193). In this list no less than 47 sons of Vasudeva are enumerated. This great number is easily accounted for by the fact that Vasudeva has taken the place of Naravāhanadatta in the Jaina version of the *Bṛihatkaṭhā*, the so-called *Vasudevahijḍi*, which forms also part of the *Harivamśapurāṇa*. Just like his Brahmanical counterpart, Vasudeva during his "hijḍi" wins 26 consorts, and the Jainas apparently thought fit that with each, or at least most of them, he should beget one or more sons. The list of the *Harivamśapurāṇa* accordingly distributes the 47 sons among 23 mothers. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that most of those 47 names are secondary Jain inventions not likely to be met with in Brahmanical literature. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are either purely fantastic or, if they do occur in Brahmanical texts, their bearers are certainly no *Vṛishṇis*. The only exceptions to this—apart, of course, from Kṛishṇa and Baladeva—are four names, viz., Akṛūra, Anādhṛiṣṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha. These four are well-known *Vṛishṇi* princes expressly denoted as such in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup>.

That the *Harivamśapurāṇa* list of Vasudeva's sons should include, besides Kṛishṇa, Baladeva and neither more nor less than just four younger brothers of his who are recognised as *Vṛishṇi* princes in the *Mahābhārata* is no doubt a very remarkable coincidence. It can certainly not be regarded as a cogent evidence, yet I think we may feel justified in assuming that the "five great

<sup>1</sup> *Oriental Transl. Fund*, N. 8.—Vol. XVII, p. 13f.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Śāramān's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*.



heroes" of the canonical list, and therefore probably also the ' five heroes of the Vṛishṇis ' worshipped in the temple at Mōrā, were **Baladeva**, **Akrūra**, **Anādhṛuṣṭi**, **Sāraṇa**, and **Vidūrata**."

In the following lines the stone-house (*śailām griham*), of course, cannot be anything else but the stone-temple (*śailadevagrīha*) mentioned before, and the *ārchādēśam śailām pañcha* must refer to the five images of the Vṛishṇis. I take *ārchādēśa* as a compound of *ārchā* ' adoration ' and *dēśa* as used here in the sense that in later literature is conveyed by the synonyms *āspada*, *pada*, *sthāna*. The lengthening of the initial *a* before *r* followed by a consonant found in *ārchā* seems to be a peculiarity of the Mathurā dialect; compare the frequent spelling *ārhat*, *ārhat*, *ārhamita*, *ārhatā* in Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period<sup>1</sup> and *ārthasādhāyā*, *ārtheshu* in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas dating from the same time<sup>2</sup>. That *ārchā* was used with special reference to the worship of images is shown by the fact that the word in course of time assumed the meaning ' image of a god '; cf. *ārghanāsiky-ārchā*, *tuṅganāsiky-ārchā*, *Mahābhāshya* 2,222,18; *Mauriyar-hiraṇyārīhībhir-ārchāḥ prakalpitāḥ*, *ibid.* 2,429,3; *ābhūm līṅge-rohitāḥ Sambhur-archayām bhavātī punaḥ* quoted in the commentary on *Māṅkhā* 138. In the *Kośa* *ārchā* is quoted among the words for image (*pratimā*); *Am.* 2,10,36; *Hal.* 1,131, *Hem. Abh.* 1463, *An.* 2,54; *Vajj.* 220,1. Grammatically *ārchādēśam śailām pañcha* is acc. plur. agreeing with *śailatāḥ*. The spelling with the *anusvāra* instead of *n* is not only quite common in the Central Asian manuscripts of the canon of the Sarvāstivādins, but occurs also in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas<sup>3</sup> and in the manuscript of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* written in early Gupta script<sup>4</sup>.

Little as is left of the last two lines, the language of this portion of the inscription will strike the reader as being unusual in a donative record. An expression such as *śailatā iva paramava-puṣhā* sounds like poetry. Now an examination of the two lines shows that both of them begin like a *Bhujāṅgavijrīmbhita* the scheme of which is — — — — — in the quarter. Even the doubtful word *udāhasoma-dhāra* conforms to it in Cunningham's reading. That this was really the metre in which the two lines were composed can be shown also in a different way. The writing preserved in line 4 which consists of 19 *akṣharas* fills about 11½". A hemistich of 52 *akṣharas* would fill about 27", and allowing 3" or 4" for the blank at the beginning and at the end of the line and between the two quarters of the hemistich, we arrive at a total length of 2' 10" or 2' 11" for the writing of one hemistich, which agrees exactly with Dr. Vogel's statement that the width of the slab is 2' 11". It is thus proved that the stanza was engraved in hemistiches. Our inscription is the earliest example of this mode of writing verses which prevailed in the ornamental inscriptions on pillars and slabs until about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and occasionally occurs still in later times.<sup>5</sup> As far as I know, it is never found in copper plates, but it was practised

<sup>1</sup> See Nos. 78; 102; 106; 110 of my *List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 31. The lengthening bears an analogy to the lengthening of the initial *a* followed by *ai* in the Mathurā inscriptions; see *āśīkārī*, *āśīkārīnī* in Nos. 93; 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 31: *bhaga(vā)ṣi*, and even *śrīpoom* (for *śrīpōm*) *puṣhā*.

<sup>4</sup> *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, p. 40; *amim hi*, *ivam hi*, *manimān paramarehībhibhān ka*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mēharsuli iron pillar inscription of Chandra (GI. No. 32); Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 1); Erāṇ stone inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 2); Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II. (GI. No. 8); Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I. (GI. No. 10); Biḥār pillar inscription of the time of Śkaṇḍagupta (GI. No. 12); Kaḥṣṇ pillar inscription of the reign of Śkaṇḍagupta (GI. No. 15); Barābar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman (GI. No. 48); Nāgārjūni Hill cave inscriptions of the same (GI. Nos. 49 and 50); Mathurā image inscription of G. 135 (GI. No. 63); some of the Ajāpṭā inscriptions A.S. W.I. Vol. IV, pp. 129 and 138. The earliest inscription showing verses in continuous writing seems to be the Gaṅgadhār stone inscription of the time of Viśvavarman, probably dated in V. 490 (GI. No. 17). Of the three inscriptions at Mandasār engraved by Govinda the two copies of the *Prakāśī* of King Yaśodharman (GI. Nos. 33 and 34) have the verses partitioned off, while the well inscription dated in V. 569 (GI. No. 35) is written in continuous lines.

sometimes also in manuscript writing as proved by a palm-leaf manuscript in Gupta characters unearthed in Eastern Turkestan.

The occurrence of this stanza is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujāṅgavijrīmbhita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*;<sup>6</sup> but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if here a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgavijrīmbhita* is used for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that the Sanskrit *Kāvya* poetry was fully developed in the first century B.C.

There is just enough left of the stanza to show that the first hemistich was mainly devoted to the praise of the stone temple where the five images were set up and that the beauty of the images themselves was extolled in the second half of the stanza. From the epithets conferred on the temple, even if they should be slightly overdrawn, we may infer that it was a remarkably fine building, but there is nothing to show that it was exclusively dedicated to the five Vṛishṇis. It is far more probable that it was a Bhāgavata temple where the five images were established. No trace of this temple has until now turned up at Mōrā. When in 1910 Pandit Radha Krishna examined the site, he found only a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks from which Dr. Vogel was able to make out the legend: *jivaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāsvāmīta-dhīṣṭu<sup>7</sup> Yakamatāye kārītaṁ*. As stated by Dr. Vogel, the characters of that inscription are those of the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date also of King Bahasatimita who in all probability is identical with the Brahāsvāmīta of the brick legend. The bricks therefore must have belonged to a much earlier building than the stone temple spoken of in the inscription. The emphatic, twice repeated, statement that the temple was built of stone leads one to think that it was destined to replace the older brick building. We shall see later on that it is not impossible that a detached piece of the temple has been preserved at Mathurā in another place.

Although the stone temple has entirely disappeared, I think it very probable that some remnants of the five images have survived on the spot. When visiting the Mōrā site, Dr. Vogel noticed some fragments of stone images consisting of two torsos of standing male statues, the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet remain, and the pedestal and lower half of a standing female statue<sup>8</sup>. All the images are carved in the round. The two torsos are much alike. Both wear a *dhoti* held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs. The main difference lies in the necklace. One wears a double necklace fastened in front by means of a clasp, the other a heavy single necklace tied in a knot at the back. On the pedestal of the female figure is a fragmentary inscription. The four images were transferred to the Mathurā Museum where they bear the numbers E 20-23.

When Dr. Vogel first announced his discovery, he suggested that the sculptures might be connected with the images mentioned in the inscription. Of course, his conjecture that the male figures represent those of the Pāṇḍava brothers and the female statue is an image of Draupadī is based on the wrong idea that the term *pañchavīrah* in the inscription refers to the Pāṇḍavas, and must be abandoned. The female statue must be left out of consideration altogether, at any rate, at present. We shall see later on in what relation it may possibly stand to the other images and the well inscription. Fortherest, Dr. Vogel's suggestion is plausible enough. From the inscription we should expect to find at the site of Mōrā five remarkably fine statues originating from

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> This is the correct reading, not *Brikhāmīmita*, as read by Vogel, *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 123, Plate LVIII, fig. 16.

<sup>8</sup> *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 151f.; *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 127f. The two torsos are figured *ibid.* Plate LVII, fig. 12-15, the one with the double necklace also in Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII (*Asiaticæ*, XV)

the time of Śoḍāsa and representing Baladeva and four of his brothers or companions and therefore being probably much alike in appearance. There are actually found at Mōrā images of three male persons. The torsos of two of them show that they were very similar in attitude and dress and certainly represented not foreigners as, e.g., the three Mātī statues, but some Hindu personages. They are, moreover, as far as I can judge from the photographs, of superior workmanship and, being carved in the round, cannot be assigned to a later date than the Kushān period, but may be considerably earlier. The identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* which thus becomes highly probable, would be finally established, if the fragments had been found in the ruins of the *śaila-devagriha*, where, according to the inscription, the *pañchavīras* were set up. But, as already remarked above, there is no trace whatever of a stone temple. The images were found lying round about the remains of a building constructed of bricks, but I do not think that for this reason the identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* is to be given up. There is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within that brick enclosure.<sup>1</sup> It can be easily imagined that at the time when the temple was demolished and its materials were carried away, the statues also were cut up and thrown aside. Dr. Vogel himself seems to have changed his mind. He is now inclined to look at the statues as Yaksha images.<sup>2</sup> In my opinion they have a better claim to be regarded as the images of the Vṛishṇi heroes, although I admit that this view cannot be definitely proved at present.

There is still one point that requires elucidation, viz., the word *Tośhāyāḥ* in line 3 of the inscription. I have stated already in the notes on the text that there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reading. Judging from the context *Tośhāyāḥ* can hardly be anything else but the genitive of *Tośhā* dependent on the following *grīham*. At first sight one would obviously understand 'the house of Toshā' as a shrine dedicated to a goddess called Toshā, but I am not aware that there ever existed a goddess of that name. Under these circumstances, Toshā can only be taken as the name of the lady who caused the shrine to be built. Just as we find here *śaṭām grīham* combined with the name of the founder in the genitive case, we have *mahāvājasya rājāivājasya devapūtrasya Hāvśhāsya vāhāre* in the Mathurā inscription No. 62 of my *List*, or *āchāryya-Somatrā-tasya-edam Bhagavatpādopayojyam kuṇḍam=uparyy-āvasathah kuṇḍam ch-āparam* in the Tuśām rock inscription (G.I. No. 67). Toshā does not sound like an Indian name. It is quite probable that Toshā was of Iranian extraction, and there would be nothing strange about the fact that she should have erected a Bhāgavata shrine as we know from the Heliodoros inscription at Bēsnagar that foreigners were adherents of the Bhāgavata religion. We shall probably find the name of Toshā in a different spelling again in the following inscription.

#### II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā.

The inscription is incised on the pedestal of a standing female figure which was discovered by Dr. Vogel at Mōrā together with the remnants of the three statues discussed above. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 109, No. E 20. It is figured *ASI.AR.* 1911-12 [Part II], Plate LVIII, fig. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this statement has to be modified. Mr. V. S. Agravala writes: "I inspected the Mōrā sites with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in November 1934. . . . . Dr. Liders' remark that there is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within the brick enclosure does not seem to be grounded in fact. From actual inspection of the site we found that the images were set up at that very place, since there still exists *in situ* the stone pedestal in which the images were embedded. Mr. Devi Dayal took a photo of this part of the building and also measured the mortise cut into the stone which once received the image." It is not quite clear from this statement whether the five statues were all embedded in one pedestal and whether the measurement of the mortise can be shown to meet one of the *pañchavīra* statues or perhaps that of the Toshā image.

<sup>2</sup> *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 116.

#### TEXT.

1 . . . . . sya(?) Kan(i)[sh]ka[sya](?) . . . . . [r](?) . . . . . [m](?) . . .  
2 . . . . . etasya (?) purvaye M[ā]thuri kalavaḍ[ā] o[ḍakh]i(?) . . .  
3 . . . . . ye Tośhāye patimā . . . . . t(?) . . . . .

#### NOTES.

(1) Probably to be restored *mahārājasya*. (2) Vogel: [H]uv[ish]ka[sya]. The first *akshara* is distinctly *ka*. The vowel-sign of the second *akshara* has disappeared, but the *mātrikā* is distinctly *na*. The *sh* of *shka* and the *syā* are blurred, but certain. (3) Probably to be restored as *samvatsare*. (4) Of the seven or eight *aksharas* following [r], only the lower half of *ma* is distinct. The *akshara* before *ma* seems to have contained a subscript *ma*, so that the original reading may have been something like *grishmamāse*. (5) Traces of two *aksharas* before *etasya* are still visible, but it is impossible to read them. (6) Vogel: *mathurikalavaḍap*. . . The *ā*-sign is not quite certain, but probable. The dot distinguishing the dental *tha* from *ṭha* is indistinct. The seventh letter is certainly *ḍa* as read by Vogel, a similar form occurring in one of the Mātī inscriptions, but there appears to be an *ā*-sign attached to the letter. The reading of the last three *aksharas* is very uncertain. What Vogel reads as *pa* consists, as far as I see, of two letters. The first letter looks like an initial *o*, but in the middle of the vertical line of the letter there is a small horizontal stroke which might suggest to take the letter as *au*; it is, however, probably only accidental. The second letter, the lower portion of which has disappeared owing to an erosion of the stone, may have been *ḍa*. The same erosion has destroyed also the body of the last *akshara* which may have been *khi*. Possibly one *akshara* is lost at the end of the line. (7) The last word also has become illegible on account of the peeling off of the stone with the exception of a subscript *ta* which must have belonged to the third letter of the word. The word is probably to be restored as *patistāpitā*; cf. *pratisāpita* in No. 45<sup>a</sup>, *pratisāpentī* in No. 149<sup>b</sup>. The slanting stroke to the left of the *ta* seems to have been caused by the erosion of the stone.

#### REMARKS.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription, too much of the text being lost to fill up the gaps even conjecturally.

As the date fills half of the text, the numbers of the year, the month and the day were apparently given in words, not in figures. The king's name is distinctly *Kanishka*.

In the third line the only legible words are *Tośhāye patimā* after which probably *patistāpitā* is to be supplied. The meaning of the words may be either that an image was set up by Tośā or that an image of Tośā was set up. If *Tośhāye* were taken as the name of the donatrix, the object of the donation would here simply be called *patimā*. However, this would be quite unusual. In no other inscription of this time<sup>1</sup> *patimā* alone is used in this way, No. 68, where the second line ends with *Jinādāsiye pratimā*, being apparently incomplete. Everywhere the name of the person represented by the statue is added to *pratimā*, sometimes compounded with it (Nos. 13, 28, 29, 37, 50, 51, 118, 121, perhaps also 72), but oftener in the genitive case (Nos. 18, 24, 26, 34, 43, 45, 45<sup>a</sup>, 47, 69<sup>a</sup>, 71, 110; in 74 *Bhagavato Varādhāmānapratimā*). Generally the name in the genitive precedes *pratimā*; a different position of the words occurs only in No. 39 (*dānam pra-*

<sup>1</sup> In later times *pratimā* alone occurs occasionally, e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of G. 113 edited by Bahler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.

*timā Vadhmanasya*), No. 119 (*pratimā praṭishṭhāpītā Vardhā)mānasya*) and apparently in No. 68 quoted above. It is therefore not only possible, but even more likely that *Toṣāye patimā* means 'the image of Toṣā'. Unfortunately the upper half of the statue is lost, and what remains of it is not sufficient to determine exactly the character of the person represented. All that can be said is that it is a woman as shown by the anklets and that she wears a folded cloth with one end tucked up in the waist-belt and the other slung over the left arm. This seems to have been the costume of a fashionable lady of that time. Exactly the same dress is worn by the female worshippers on a doorjamb in the Mathurā Museum (P2)<sup>1</sup>; cf. especially the figure in the upper compartment. There is absolutely nothing to show that the statue was meant for a goddess or a Yakshī or a Nāga woman. Nor do we know of any goddess of the name of Toṣā. Now, considering that the image which according to the inscription probably represents a lady called Toṣā has been found together with the remnants of three statues which probably are mentioned in the well inscription as having been set up in the stone house of Toshā, we can hardly reject the idea that Toṣā and Toshā refer to the same person. The difference in the spelling of the name cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle to the identification as the name appears to be of foreign origin and, moreover, we have even in Sanskrit *kūśma* by the side of *kūshma*, *keśha* by the side of *kośa*, etc. There can be no doubt that the well inscription is about a century older than the statue inscription; it shows the 'archaic' writing that is found in all other records of the time of Śoṣāsa, whereas the statue inscription is dated in the reign of Kanishka and written in the typical clumsy characters of that period. As Toṣā cannot have set up a statue during the reign of Kanishka, if her shrine was already in existence at the time of Śoṣāsa, the identification of Toṣā and Toshā would definitely prove that *Toṣāye patimā* means 'the image of Toṣā'. On the other hand, we should be compelled to assume that somebody erected the statue of Toṣā at her shrine about a hundred years after her death. Such a posthumous honouring by one of her descendants would not seem to be impossible, if we remember that probably a statue of Vima Kadphises was set up at Māt some time after his death, but I admit that the evidence for the identity of Toṣā and Toshā is not much more than a chain of possibilities or probabilities that requires substantial strengthening before it can be regarded as conclusive.

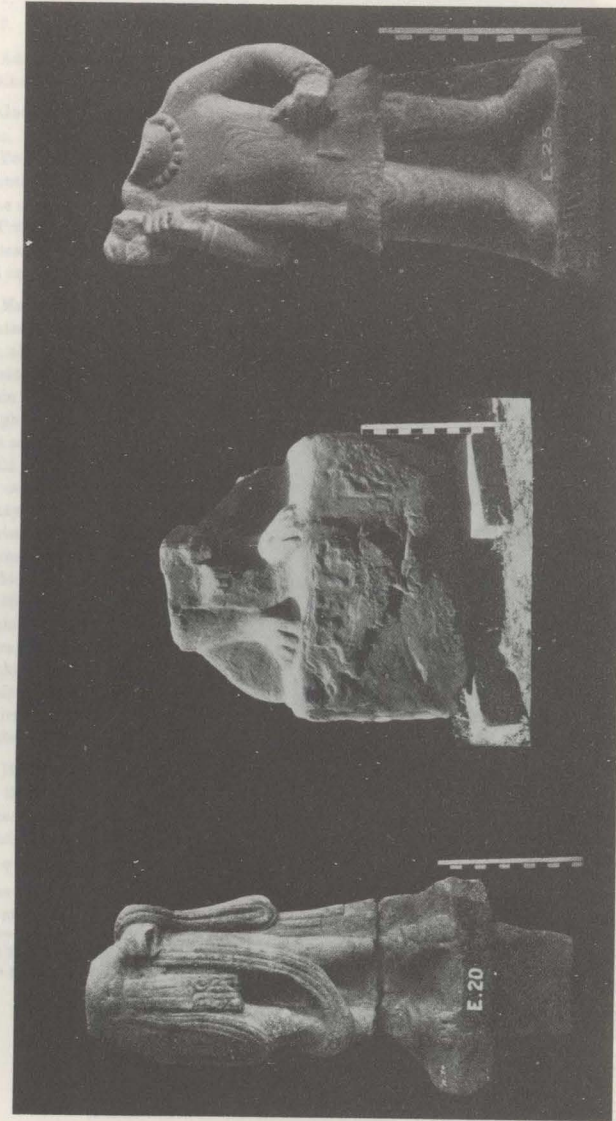
The second line of the inscription affords no help in this respect. *Māhuri kalavaḍā* probably means 'the wife of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā', although the formation of the second word is unusual. In analogy to such derivations as *sārthavāhinī* from *sārthavāha*, we should expect rather *kālavāḍīnī*. As will appear from the following two inscriptions, *kālavāḍa* or *kālavāḍa* was the title of a high official at Mathurā. Owing to the large lacuna of the text in the beginning of the third line, it is impossible to decide whether *Māhuri kalavaḍā* refers to the person who erected the statue of Toṣā or to Toṣā herself. Nor can I suggest anything with regard to the meaning of the following three syllables which I have tentatively read *oḍakhi*.

### III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone-slab from the **Kaṅkālī Tīlā** at Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpi at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate XIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33, and Plate, and commented on *ibid.* p. 393f. It was made the subject of a learned paper, *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 635-655, and R. D. Banerji treated it briefly, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49.

<sup>1</sup> Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 173, and Plate IIb; *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XXIIb.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURĀ MUSEUM.



The inscription which is written in the script preceding that of the Kushān period was read and translated by Bühler as follows:

- "1. [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasya Poṭhayaśaka-  
 2. kālavāśasa  
 3. . . . .<sup>1</sup> Kośikiye Śimitrāye<sup>2</sup> āyāgapato<sup>3</sup> pra.i . . . . .<sup>4</sup>

Adoration to the Arbat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (of) the Kauśika (family), (wife) of Gotiputra (Gautiputra), a black serpent for the Poṭhayaś and Śakas."

Gotiputra's epithet was explained by Bühler as referring to his fights with the Poṭhayaś and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. The Poṭhayaś he identified with the Proshthas, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a nation of Southern India. Fleet, although agreeing with Bühler in the reading and the literal translation of the epithet, tried to show at great length that by the Śakas were meant the Buddhists and by the Poṭhayaś the Digambara Jinas and that Gotiputra, who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, was marked in the record as being particularly successful in disputation with adherents of those rival creeds.

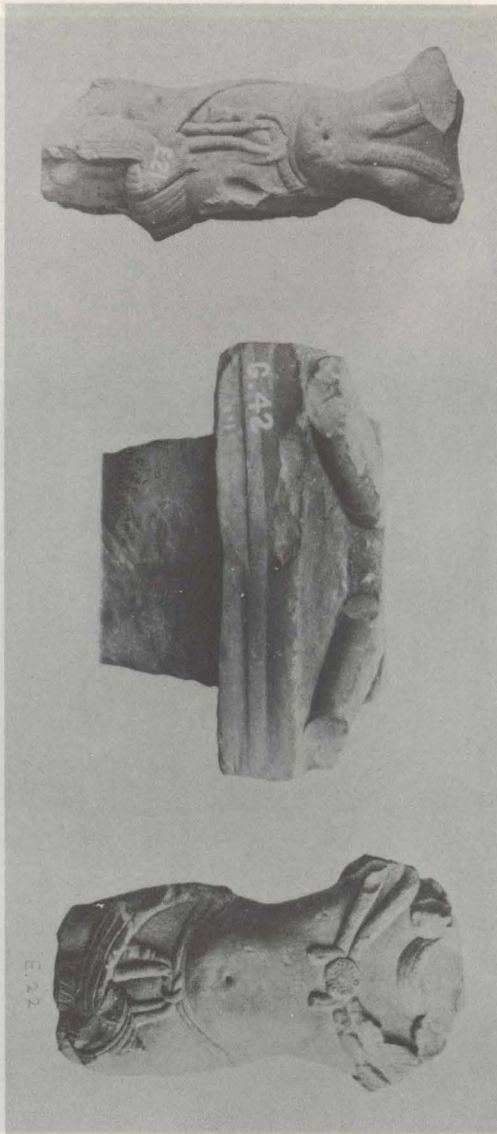
Many grave objections may be raised against these interpretations, but I deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion, as in my opinion they are untenable, or at least highly improbable, already for general reasons. An epithet with the meaning assumed by Bühler and Fleet is against the style of these dedicatory inscriptions, which in a formula language record facts, but refrain from rhetorical embellishments taken from the language of the Kāvya. Secondly, although metronymics are sometimes used instead of personal names, especially in the case of Buddhist saints, I consider it extremely unlikely that in an inscription like this one a private individual should have been called simply by his metronymic. It is far more probable that just as in innumerable other cases the metronymic was followed by the personal name, and there is no reason why Poṭhayaśaka should not be taken as a name formed by compounding the abbreviated form of the asterism Proshthapada and *yaśas*, or rather their Prakrit equivalents, and adding the suffix *-ka*. Personal names the first member of which is the name of a *nakṣatra* are very common in the period to which the inscription belongs. Poṭha itself occurs in Poṭhaghosha in the Mathurā inscription No. 59, Poṭhadevā in the Sānchi inscription No. 205 and the hypocoristic form Poṭhaka in the Sānchi inscription No. 342. For *yaśas* as the second member of a compound name we have in epigraphical records Kṛishṇayaśa in the Kanhiāra inscription No. 8, Dhamayaśā (fem.) in the Sānchi inscription 410, Śivayaśā (fem.) and Phaguyaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 100 and Bhadrayaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 107. As *Phagu* is a shortened form of *Phalgunī* and *Bhadra* an abbreviation of *Bhadrapādā*, the last two names are almost exact counterparts of *Poṭhayaśaka* in our inscription.

If we take Poṭhayaśaka as the name of the husband of Śimitrā, we are driven to the conclusion that the original reading was *Poṭhayaśakasa* and that *kālavāśasa* is an independent word characterising Poṭhayaśaka somehow or other. I think that this is fully confirmed by an examination of the outward appearance of the inscription.

The inscription is damaged both at the beginning and at the end. On the left side a piece of the stone is broken off, which has caused the partial loss of the *na* in the beginning of the upper line and the complete disappearance of three *akṣaras* in the beginning of the lower line. Here

<sup>1</sup> Restore *bhāryāye*.      <sup>2</sup> Read *Śivamitrāye*.      <sup>3</sup> (Bühler: *ayāgapato* (misprint).)  
<sup>4</sup> Restore *pratikṣhāpito*.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.



SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

certainly, as proposed by Bühler, some word like *bhāryāye* has to be supplied. How much of the text is lost on the right side can be determined from the last word of the last line. There can be no doubt that *pra.i* is to be restored as *pra(t)(thāpito)* and that this was the concluding word of the record. The *pra* stands exactly below the *tha* of the first line, and as the inscription is very carefully engraved, it may be taken for granted that the *tha* also was followed by four *aksharas*, which perfectly agrees with my suggestion that *sa* has to be supplied after *Poṭhayaśaka*. There is another point to prove that the text read *Poṭhayaśaka(sa bhāryāye)*. A glance at the inscription will be sufficient to show that originally it consisted of two lines only and that *kālavāśasa* has been inserted by an afterthought below *Poṭhayaśakasa*. The word has been engraved in much smaller characters than the rest of the inscription, the *kā* being only  $\frac{3}{8}$ " high, the *vā* only  $\frac{3}{8}$ ", whereas the second *ka* of *Kośikiye* measures  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and the *va* of *Vardhamānasya*  $\frac{5}{8}$ ". And there is another unmistakable sign that it was incised after the other two lines had been finished. It will be noticed that the *sa* is separated by a considerable space from the preceding letter, which can be accounted for only by the wish of the engraver to avoid the contact of the *sa* with the *i*-sign of *ti* standing in the line below.<sup>1</sup>

I therefore read and translate the inscription as follows :

#### TEXT.

- 1 [na.]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrassa Poṭhayaśa[ka](sa)  
2 kāvāśasa  
3 (bhāryāye) Kośikiye Śimitrāye āyagaṇaṭo pra(t)(thāpito)

#### TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! The tablet of homage has been set up by the Kośiki (*Kośiki*) Śimitrā<sup>2</sup>, (the wife) of the *kālavāśa* Poṭhayaśaka (*Prosthayastaka*), the son of a Goti (*Gaupṭi*).

#### REMARKS.

The exact meaning of *kālavāśa* is not known. The word does not seem to have turned up hitherto in literary sources.<sup>3</sup> Bühler was of opinion that both Śimitrā and her husband were shown by their family names to be of noble or royal descent. But this conclusion goes too far. The use of metronymics was by no means confined to the Kshatriya caste. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 637ff., has collected a large number of cases where the names of Brahmins also and sometimes of persons who seem to be neither Brahmins nor Kshatriyas are coupled with the same metronymics that we find in connection with the names of princes and noblemen. So much only is certain that a man who attaches the metronymic to his name is a person of high social standing. From the fact that Gotiputra Poṭhayaśaka is called *kālavāśa* we may infer that the word denoted some dignitary or high official. From our inscription it appears that the title was

<sup>1</sup> The photolithograph published in *Ep. Ind.* has been tampered with. Here the upper portion of the *i*-sign has been joined to the *sa* and in this form, which has never existed, the *sa* has been entered on Plate II, XX, 41 of Bühler's *Palaography*.

<sup>2</sup> The etymology of the name is not clear. Bühler's correction to *Simitrā* is hazardous and hardly correct. Nor can the name be traced back to *Srimitrā* as Skt. *śri* would have to appear as *śiri*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kālavāśa*, of course, cannot be connected with *kalyapāśa*, *kālavāśa* (*Mahāv.* 186, 109), which denotes a distiller or seller of spirits, the modern *kāśā* or *kālā*. Possibly *kāśa*, which in the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Eastern Turkestan occurs frequently as a very high title, is an abbreviation of *kālavāśa*, but it cannot be proved at present. Professor Thomas, *Festschrift H. Jacobi*, p. 51, thinks that *kāśa* is the same word as *kāra* in Kujula Kara Kadphises, but this suggestion also is not convincing.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads *Vedisa Datasa kalavaśasa dānam*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vedasa Datasa kalavaśasa dānam*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Dataskalivatasā dānam*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172<sup>2</sup> which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Dataskalavaśasa dānam*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Dataskalavaśasa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Kośasa kalavāśasa*. *Kalavaśa* and *kālavāśa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāśa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaśa* is meant for *kālavāśa*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

#### IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the *Kaśikāli Tīrā* at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

#### TEXT.

namo arahato<sup>(1)</sup> Māhāviraśa<sup>(2)</sup> — Māthuraka . . .lavāśasa<sup>(3)</sup> [sā] . . bhayāye<sup>(4)</sup> . .  
vara[kh]itāye<sup>(5)</sup> āyagaṇaṭo<sup>(6)</sup>.

#### NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *māhāviraśa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . .lavāśasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *śa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *śa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāśasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . *va* . . . *itāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *i*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

#### TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Māhāvira! The tablet of homage (is the gift) of the *kālavāśa* of Mathurā together with his wife Śivarakhitā (*Śivarakhitā*).

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhitas Topas*, p. 258.

## REMARKS.

For palaeographical reasons the inscription must be assigned to the period before Kanishka. The fixing of an early date is also supported by the language which is pure Prakrit and further by the fact that the inscription records the setting up of an *āyāga-paṭṭa*. In the Kushān times the dedication of *āyāga-paṭṭas* seems to have gone out of fashion, there being no inscription in Kushān characters on any of the sculptured slabs unearthed at the Kaṅkāli Ṭṭā.

The two words *Māihurakasa kālavāsa*, which, though partly restored, may be regarded as perfectly certain, are of special interest, because they give us a hint as to the meaning of the term. *Māihuri kālavaṣā* used in the Mōrā inscription, and at the same time confirm what I have said about the social position of the *kālavāsa*. The donor of the slab would hardly have called himself simply by his title, without adding his personal name, if he had not been an official of very high rank.

## V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Gaṇṣhrā.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet remain. It is incised on the top of the pedestal between the feet. The stone was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Koli who is said to have obtained it from a Brahmin's house in the village of Gaṇṣhrā, three miles north-west of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 122, No. G42.

## TEXT.

- 1 Maha[daṁḍa]nā[yakasya]<sup>(1)</sup> yamasha-  
2 [heka]s[ya]a<sup>(2)</sup> [v]iś[v]a[saka]sya<sup>(3)</sup> Ulānāsya<sup>(4)</sup> paṭimā

## NOTES.

(1) Only the first two *aksharas* are well preserved, the rest of the word is more or less effaced. Vogel reads *maha[ḥ]nā[yakasya]*, but the reading given above is certain with the exception of the *anusvāra*<sup>1</sup>. (2) This is Vogel's reading. The first *akshara* is possibly *yā*, though the *ā*-stroke would be very short. The lower portion of the *he* and the *ka* and the subscript *ya* have disappeared through the breaking off of the stone. The *he* is doubtful, and instead of *ka* we may read *na*. (3) Vogel: [vi]śā[ya]sya. The lower portion of *vi* and the subscript *va* are mutilated. There may have been an *ā*-sign attached to the *śva*, but it is doubtful. The third and fourth *aksharas* are almost completely effaced, but from the faint traces they can be read with certainty as *saka*. There seems to have been no *i*-sign on the top of the *sa*. (4) Vogel: *Ulanāsya*. The *ā*-sign of *iā* is quite distinct.

## TRANSLATION.

The image of the great general, the *yamashaheka*<sup>(?)</sup> (and ?) *visvasaka* Ulāna.

## REMARKS.

From the inscription it appears that the statue represented the great general Ulāna, who, judging from his name, was certainly a Śaka, *Ulāna* being formed with the suffix *-āna* which is common in the Śaka language. What is left of the statue, points into the same direction. The feet are shod with the same wadded boots that are worn by Kanishka in his well-known statue.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. V. S. Agravala the word was correctly read by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report Northern Circle*, 1921, p. 3, which is not accessible to me.

As regards Ulāna's titles, *mahādaṅḍanāyaka* occurs again in the Mathurā inscription No. 60 of Sañ 74. In my edition of the record I read in ll. 6ff. *mahādaṅḍanāyakasya Vāśinasya*, but the true reading appears to be *Valānasya*, and *Valāna* and *Ulāna* being evidently only different spellings of the same name, it is quite possible that the general mentioned in that inscription is identical with the person represented by the statue. The title *visvasaka* is found in slightly different spellings in several Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period. Nos. 127, 128 and 141 record gifts of the *visvasika* or *visvatika* Vakamihira, No. 1259 a gift of the *visvasika* Aśyala or Suśyala. It will be noticed that the title is only borne by persons who by their names are shown to be of foreign descent. Perhaps the correct form of the title is *visvāsika*. In the *Divyavadāna* p. 188 it is said of a certain Brāhmaṇa: *sa rājñā Prasenañitā Kauśalena hastimadhyasy-opari visvāsikaḥ sthāpitaḥ*, but here also *visvāsikaḥ* is not warranted by the manuscripts which write either *visvāsikaḥ* or *visvāsikaḥ*. *Yamashaheka*, provided the word has been read correctly, would seem to be a foreign title or a local designation, though I cannot suggest anything as to its meaning. But whatever his functions may have been, the title of *mahādaṅḍanāyaka* certainly shows that Ulāna was a high official, and the present inscription, although it is badly preserved and its original place is not known, is yet of great importance as proving that during the Kushān period not only kings, but also dignitaries of lesser rank were honoured by statues. As shown by the following inscription, the statue of Ulāna is not an isolated case.

## VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathurā.

The inscription, as stated by Vogel, is incised on the base of a male figure, standing, clad in the Indo-Scythian dress: tunic, trousers and boots. He holds a bunch of lotus-flowers in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The head is lost. The image was found in a *bāghīcha* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā. It is at present in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, and only the date of the year was read by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 110, No. E25. The statue is figured *JRAS.* 1911, Plate VIII, fig. 2.

## TEXT.

- 1 sa[va]tsarā<sup>(1)</sup> 70 2<sup>(2)</sup> h(e) . . . . . s(e)<sup>(3)</sup> pratha(me)  
2 . . . . . ṛṇasya<sup>(4)</sup> pra(timā)

## NOTES.

(1) The *ā*-sign of *rā* is pretty distinct. After *rā* there is a long vertical stroke, apparently caused by a fissure in the stone. (2) The first figure is not quite distinct. Vogel took it to be 40, but it is more probable that it is 70. The second figure is probably 2. (3) The *e*-sign of *h(e)* and *s(e)*, if they were originally engraved, are entirely obliterated. The word was certainly meant for *hemantamāse*. (4) Before *ṛṇasya* about ten *aksharas* are illegible.

## REMARKS.

Although only one complete word and two numerical signs can be read with tolerable certainty, the inscription, in conjunction with the complementary evidence furnished by the dress of the statue, allows us to affirm that, probably in the year 72 of the Kushān era, in the first month of winter, the statue of a foreigner, whose name ended in *-ṛṇa*, was set up at Mathurā. The custom of erecting portrait statues seems to have been in vogue among the foreign chiefs at Mathurā

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

during the Kushān period. The Mathurā Museum contains no less than six heads of statues<sup>1</sup> wearing the high conical hats which are an essential part of the Scythian dress. In my opinion, these facts give additional weight to the suggestion that the female statue from Mōrā also represents some lady belonging to a clan of the foreign invaders.

#### VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb dug out of an old well in the **Mathurā Cantonments** in 1913 and is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription consists of 12 lines, but the first five lines are so much obliterated that only here and there a letter can be made out with more or less certainty. Each line consisted of nine or ten *aksharas*, of which four or five on the right side are missing. From an examination of the stone Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda came to the conclusion, which undoubtedly is correct, that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned into door-jamb. The inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10<sup>2</sup>, and edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MA SI*. No. 5, pp. 169-173, and Plates XXV and XXVI.

#### TEXT.

- 1 . [v]. . . . .
- 2 sa[s]ya<sup>(1)</sup> . . . . .
- 3 [vaṣ] <sup>(2)</sup> . . . . .
- 4 [p] . . . [ṇa] Siva<sup>(3)</sup> . . . . .
- 5 shapu[t][e]ṇa Kauśi <sup>(4)</sup> . . . . .
- 6 Vasunā bhaga[va](to Vāsude)- <sup>(5)</sup>
- 7 vaṣya mahāsthāna . . . . . (śai)-<sup>(6)</sup>
- 8 lam toraṇam ve(dikā cha prati)-<sup>(7)</sup>
- 9 shthāpito <sup>(8)</sup> pṛito [bha]gavān Vāsu)-<sup>(9)</sup>
- 10 devaḥ svāmi[sya] (mahākshatra)-<sup>(10)</sup>
- 11 paṣya Śoḍā[sa](ṣya) . . . . . <sup>(11)</sup>
- 12 samvartayatām<sup>(12)</sup>

#### NOTES.

(1) *Sasya* is distinct, and as we should expect the inscription to begin with the date, the first line is probably to be restored as *svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śoḍā*. The subscript *va* visible in the first line may have belonged to *svāmisya*. (2) The second *akshara* of this line is *sa* with an indistinct vowel-sign. The preceding *akshara* looks like *va*. Considering that probably the date stood in this line, *vaṣ* is possibly to be restored as *divaṣe*. (3) The reading of the first and third *aksharas* of this line is by no means certain. (*Pra*)*pautreṇa* would be in keeping with the context, but what is visible of the letters can hardly be reconciled with that reading. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *śi* followed by an *akshara* that probably is a *va* of the same shape as in *devaḥ* in l. 10 and *samvartayatām* in l. 12, but it may be *ma*. (4) The first *akshara* is clearly *sha* and to the right of it below the line there is a distinct *pu*, so that at first sight one might read *shpu*. However, there seems to be no connecting line between *sha* and *pu*,

<sup>1</sup>G 32, Add. 1252 (from the village of Māt), 1519, 1546 (from Pālī Kherā), 1567, 2122. Two of them are figured in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate IV; cf. p. 23; 92.

<sup>2</sup>This report is not accessible to me.

and I therefore consider it more probable that *pu* was at first omitted by mistake and afterwards inserted below the line. As the second *akshara* certainly had a subscript *va* and the third *akshara* is *va*, the reading *shaputreṇa* naturally suggests itself, and although the upper portion of the second *akshara* is very indistinct, the reading would not seem to be impossible. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *ka* with the ordinary *o*-sign at the top and another very distinct horizontal line to the left. The next *akshara* is *śa*. From the reverse of the inscription it appears that of the two strokes visible at the top of the letter the one to the left is accidental, whereas the stroke on the right seems to be the *i*-sign. Perhaps the two *aksharas* are to be read *Kauśi* and the word to be restored as *Kauśikiputreṇa*. (5) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (6) The missing portion of the compound *mahāsthāna* . . . . . can hardly be restored with any certainty. At the end of the line I would supply *śai*. Other possibilities are discussed below. (7) Chanda restores *vedikāḥ* (which seems to be a misprint for *vedikā*) *prati*, but the additional *cha* is indispensable. (8) The *o*-sign of *to* is distinct, but *to* must be a mistake for either *te* or *tāni*. (9) Chanda wrongly restores *bhavau* instead of *bhagavān*. (10) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (11) Something like *aśvaryaṁ* or *āyurbalam* is to be supplied at the end of the line. (12) Chanda read at first *samvartayatām* and afterwards *samvart[elyātām]*. The third *akshara* is undoubtedly *ra*, not *re*, the last *akshara* is *tām*, and the reverse of the impression shows clearly that the supposed *ā*-sign of *ya* is only a flaw in the stone.

#### TRANSLATION.

. . . by *Vasu*, a gateway of stone (?) and the railing *was* erected at the . . . of the great temple of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*. *May bhagavat Vāsudeva*, being pleased, promote (*the dominion or the life and strength*) of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*.

#### REMARKS.

Owing to the extreme uncertainty of the reading, the first five lines of the inscription cannot be translated. As stated above, from the few letters legible in the first two lines it becomes probable that the inscription was dated in the reign of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, and this is borne out not only by palaeography, but also by the benediction pronounced on the *mahākshatrapa* in the conclusion. The genealogy of the donor is hopelessly fragmentary. Not a single name can be relied upon, and it is not even quite sure whether the donor's own name was simply *Vasu* or a compound name ending in *-vasu*. Only so much seems to be certain that he was not a foreigner, but a Hindu.

The gift consisted of a gateway (*toraṇa*) and a railing (*vedikā*)<sup>1</sup> and perhaps a third object the name of which ended in *-lam*. Chanda restored *lam* as *chaturśālam* which is highly improbable as this term never occurs in inscriptions of this time. Possibly *lam* is the rest of *devakulam* used here in the sense of a small shrine as in the Jaina inscription No. 78, or, more probably, *lam* is to be restored as *śailam*. If the language of the record were quite correct Sanskrit, the predicate would be either *pratiśhāpitanī* or *pratiśhāpīte*. The form actually found in l. 9, (*prati*)*shthāpito*, is wrong in any case and therefore of no account for the restoration of the subject of the sentence.

The name of the place where the *toraṇa* and the *vedikā* are said to have been erected, is mutilated and cannot be restored, especially because it is doubtful whether one or three syllables are lost after *mahāsthāna*. But whatever the missing syllables may have been, I cannot follow Chanda in taking the term 'the great place of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*' as meaning a spot that was believed to have been either the birthplace of *Kṛishṇa* or the scene of some notable event in his early career.

<sup>1</sup> Chanda translated *vedikā* by 'a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard', but the meaning 'railing' is absolutely certain.

Chanda himself has pointed out that in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 *bhagavato nāgendrasya Dadhikarṇasya stāne* means 'in the temple of the holy lord of the serpents Dadhikarṇa', and I see no reason why *mahāsthāna* should not simply denote a large temple or sanctuary also in the present inscription.

As the pillar, perhaps hundreds of years afterwards, was taken away from the large temple of Vāsudeva to be turned into the door-jamb of another building and ultimately to be thrown away into a well, all that can be possibly asserted with regard to the place of that temple is that it stood in Mathurā or somewhere in the environs of the City. The inscription moreover shows that that temple was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa by a person, who although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official in the service of the *mahākshatrapa*, carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, since in the benediction the benefit of the donation is attributed to Śoḍāsa alone. The facts that we can thus ascertain with regard to the temple of Vāsudeva agree in several respects with what we can infer from the Mōrā well inscription about the Bhāgavata sanctuary at that place. There also a temple (*devagrīha*) is said to have been adorned with the images of the *pañcavīras* of the Vṛishnis during the reign of Śoḍāsa. If my suggestion that in line 8 of the present inscription *lam* is to be restored as *śālam* should prove correct, this also would be a point of agreement as in the Mōrā inscription also the temple and the images are expressly stated to be of stone (*śāila*). Moreover, as no trace of a stone building has been found at Mōrā, it appears that the temple was intentionally pulled down at some time and the materials carried away and probably used for some other purposes. Of course, these coincidences are no conclusive evidence, but considering everything I think it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā.

## Zu und aus den Kharoṣṭhī-Urkunden.

Von

Heinrich Lüders, Berlin.

Vor zehn Jahren erschien der erste Teil des zweiten Bandes des Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, der die Texte der auf indischem Boden gefundenen Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften mit Übersetzung und ausführlicher Erklärung von Konow enthält. Im gleichen Jahre wurde die von Rapson, Boyer, Senart und Noble besorgte Ausgabe der von Sir Aurel Stein in Ostturkestan gefundenen Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente zum Abschluß gebracht. Beide Ausgaben sind mustergültige Leistungen und werden für lange Zeit die Grundlage aller Arbeit an diesen Texten bilden. Die Schrift und Sprache der Inschriften wie der Dokumente bieten aber ganz besondere Schwierigkeiten, und es wäre zu wünschen, daß sich der Kreis der Forscher, die sich bisher mit ihnen beschäftigt haben, allmählich vergrößern möge. Vielleicht können die folgenden Bemerkungen einiges zum Verständnis dieser Texte beitragen und zugleich aufs neue zeigen, wie manches aus ihnen auch für das Nachbargebiet der iranischen Philologie zu gewinnen ist.

### I

In der Inschrift auf dem Löwenkapitäl von Mathurā (Nr. 15) liest Konow: *kṣatrave Śuḍise imo paḍhraviprat(r)és(r)o Veyaüdirna kadhavaro Busaparo kadhavaro vi ya urvaraparena palichina nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o dhamadana Guhavihare*. Er übersetzt: 'by the kshatrapa Śuḍasa this piece of land, (viz.) the encampment Veyaüdirna and also the encampment Busapara, limited by Urvarapara, was granted, after having made it (an appurtenance just) outside the limit—as a religious gift in the cave-monastery.' Wie immer man über die genauere Bedeutung der Worte *Veyaüdirna kadhavaro Busaparo kadhavaro* denken mag, jedenfalls enthalten sie die genauere Bestimmung des vorausgehenden *imo paḍhraviprat(r)és(r)o*.

<sup>1</sup> According to the inscription No. 82 the treasurer of Śoḍāsa also was a Brāhmaṇa.



*Nisima* hat schon Thomas mit Pali *nissīma* identifiziert. Daß *nissīma* substantivisch für ein außerhalb des Vihārabezirkes, aber dem Vihāra gehöriges Stück Land gebraucht werden konnte, scheint mir aus dem Ausdruck *nissīme ghitassa* in Cullav. VI, 11, 3 hervorzugehen. Unsicher ist die Lesung *vi ya urvaraparena*; das folgende Wort hat aber Konow zweifellos richtig als *palichina* erkannt. Allein *palichina* kann nicht Sk. *paricchinna* ‚limited‘ sein, da in der Sprache der Inschrift *r* nicht durch *l* vertreten sein kann. Ich halte *pali* für dasselbe Wort, das in den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten unendlich oft in der Schreibung *palī* erscheint und ‚Steuer‘ bedeutet. Der zweite Bestandteil von *palichina* kann nur das Partizip *chinna* sein, das im Pali in einem adjektivischen Kompositum häufig an zweiter Stelle steht, z. B. *hatthacchinnaṃ, pādacchinnaṃ, hatthapādacchinnaṃ, kaṇṇacchinnaṃ, nāsacchinnaṃ* usw. Mahāv. I, 71, 1 f.; *sisacchinno* Suttav. Pār. 1, 8, 5; *sākaṭiko akkhacchinno* Saṃy. I, 57; *hatthacchinna, pādacchinna, kaṇṇanāsacchinna* Mil. 5.<sup>1</sup> In *palichina* ist *chid* ‚abschneiden‘ offenbar im Sinne von ‚aufhören machen‘, ‚abschaffen‘ gebraucht; vgl. die im PW. unter *chid* angeführten Stellen, insbesondere *ṛṇaṃ chittvā* ‚die Schuld getilgt habend‘ Rājat. 6, 16. Häufig wird in diesem Sinne *vyucchid* gebraucht, so in der in Schenkungsurkunden gebräuchlichen Fluchformel *yaś cainaṃ dharm-maskandhaṃ vyucchindyat sa pañcabhir mahāpātakaīḥ saṃyuktaḥ syād iti* (GI. p. 265).<sup>2</sup> Ich fasse also *palichina* als ‚dessen Steuer

<sup>1</sup> Ebenso auch *akkhabhaggaṇi ca yānaṃ* Jāt. V, 433. In der Sanskrit-Übersetzung der Strophe des Saṃy. (Udānav. 4, 17) ist *akkhacchinno* durch *chinnākṣaḥ* wiedergegeben. Das Pali-Kompositum erinnert an die griechische Ausdrucksweise: *οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς* An. 2, 6, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Für *vyucchid* wird auch *āchid* gebraucht, so z. B. GI. p. 167 (mit Normalisierung der Schreibung): *yaś cainam* (nämlich *dāyam*) *āchindyād āchidyamānaṃ vānumodeta sa pañcabhir mahāpātakaīḥ sopapātakaīḥ saṃyuktaḥ syād iti*, und in der oft (GI. p. 180; 194; 198; 247; 289) wiederkehrenden Strophe:

*saṣṭhiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi svarge tiṣṭhati (modatī) bhūmidah |*  
*ācchettā cānumantā ca tāny eva narake vaset ||*

Hier ist aber *āchid* wohl im Sinne von ‚wegnehmen‘ zu verstehen. Wenn für *ācchettā ākṣeptā* eingesetzt wird (GI. p. 108; 296), so sieht das wie ein Versuch aus, *ācchettā* zu sanskritisieren.

aufgehoben ist, ‚steuerfrei‘ und sehe darin ein Synonym von *ubalika* (*ubbalika*), das in der Rummindēi-Inschrift erscheint. Wie dort Aśoka erklärt, daß er das Dorf Lummini steuerfrei gemacht habe (*Lumminigāme ubalike kaṭe*), so wird hier gesagt, daß Śuḍasa das genauer bezeichnete Stück Land dem Guhāvihāra überwiesen habe, nachdem er es zu einem steuerfreien *nissīma* gemacht hatte. Die Worte *vi ya urvaraparena* weiß ich nicht zu deuten.

## II

Die Inschrift auf einem Stein von Jamālgaṛhī (Khar. Inscr. Nr. 45) ist fast vollständig erhalten; nur am linken Ende fehlt ein kleines Stück. Konows Text und Übersetzung lauten:

- 1 *saṃ 1 1 1 100 20 20 10 4 4 1 Aṣpaī[u]sa paḍhaṃmaṃmi ṣa-vaena Poda[ena sa]haehi pida[pu][trehi\*]*
- 2 *[U]ḍīliakehi i[ṣ]e raṇe preṭhavide dhamaūte [oke] parigrahe sarvasa[pana\*]*

„Anno 359, on the first of Aśvayuj, an asylum connected with religion was established in this grove by the śrāvaka Potaka, with (or, for) the Uḍḍiliaka companions, father and sons, in the acceptance of all beings.”

Die Worte *ṣavaena* und *preṭhavide* sind vollkommen deutlich; auch *Podaena* kann als sicher gelten, wenn auch die beiden letzten *akṣaras* nicht gut erhalten sind. Danach besagt die Inschrift also, daß ein gewisser Śrāvaka, wahrscheinlich Podaa mit Namen, irgend etwas errichtete. Nach Konow ist dieser Gegenstand *dhamaūte oke*, ‚ein mit der Religion in Verbindung stehendes Heim‘ oder ‚Asyl‘. Ich bezweifle, daß *oka* in der Sprache dieser Inschriften in diesem Sinne gebraucht sein könnte. Auch ist die Lesung *oke* keineswegs sicher, da das letzte *akṣara* gänzlich verstümmelt ist. Die letzten Worte *parigrahe sarvasa* sind wieder ganz deutlich, und ich bin überzeugt, daß *sarvasa* zu *sarvasapana* oder *sarvasatvana* zu ergänzen ist. Allein ich glaube nicht, daß man eine Stiftung ‚zur Entgegennahme aller Wesen‘ machte.

Nach buddhistischer Anschauung wird jede Schenkung an den Gesamtorden, den Orden in den vier Himmelsgegenden (*saṃghe cāturdīse*), gemacht. Wenn aber in einer Urkunde die Schenkung an den Gesamtorden erwähnt wird, so wird fast stets auch der Name der besonderen Schule, der das Geschenk überwiesen wird, hinzugefügt.<sup>1</sup> So heißt es in der Inschrift auf einem Schöpflöffel von Mahal (Kh. I. Nr. 33): *Īsarakasa daṇamukho saṃghe catudīse Utararame Takṣasīlāe Kaśaviaṇa parigra[he]*<sup>2</sup>, ‚Gabe des Īsarakasa an den Orden in den vier Himmelsgegenden zur Entgegennahme der Kāśyapīyas in dem Uttarārāma von Takṣasīlā‘.<sup>3</sup> Auch in der Inschrift auf dem Löwenkapitäl von Mathurā sind die Worte *cat(r)udīś(r)asa saḡhasa Sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe* zu übersetzen: ‚für den Orden in den vier Himmelsgegenden zur Entgegennahme der Sārvastivādas‘. Der Ausdruck *parigrahe*, für den gelegentlich in Mathurā-Inschriften<sup>3</sup> auch *pratigrahe* eintritt, ist in der Kurram-Inschrift (Kh. I. Nr. 80) durch *parigrahaṃmi* ersetzt. In der Kārle-Inschrift (Nr. 1106 meiner Liste) liest Senart: *Māhāsaghīyānaṃ parigraha saḡhe cātudīse dina*. Der Gebrauch des Nominativs ist in diesem Falle sehr wohl möglich, da *parigraha* auch sonst die Bedeutung ‚Geschenk‘ annimmt. In zahlreichen Fällen wird nun aber die Bestimmung *saṃghe cāturdīse* als selbstverständlich fortgelassen und nur die entgegennehmende Schule genannt. In allen älteren Inschriften sowohl in Kharoṣṭhī wie in Brāhmī geht aber der Name der Schule dem *parigrahe* voraus;<sup>4</sup> erst später werden die Worte

<sup>1</sup> *Saṃghe cāturdīse* allein findet sich nur in den kurzen Inschriften auf den Säulenbasen des Huviṣkavihāra (Nr. 62; 62b; 64; 132; 133; 139 meiner List of Brahmī Inscriptions).

<sup>2</sup> Analog lautet die Inschrift auf einem anderen Schöpflöffel (Kh. I. 34): *Samgharakṣi[dasa da]na saṃghe cadudīse Uraśaraje acarya(ne)na Kaśyaviyana*. Ich bin überzeugt, daß *parigrahe* hier nur aus Mangel an Platz weggelassen ist. In der Topfinschrift von Pālāṣṭu Dherī (Kh. I. 55 A) stand sicherlich *saṃghe cadudīse* (nicht -śi) *ṣamanana . . . . . parigrahe*.

<sup>3</sup> ASI. Ann. Rep. 1909—10 [Part II], p. 65 und Curzon Museum Nr. 2740.

<sup>4</sup> In der Sārnāth-Inschrift Nr. 923 meiner Liste sind zwei Namen genannt, von denen der eine vor, der andere hinter *parigraha* steht: *ā[cā]ryyaṇaṃ*

gelegentlich einmal umgestellt, wie in der Kura-Inschrift aus der Zeit des Toramāṇa (Ep. Ind. I, p. 240): *cāturdīse bhikṣusaṃghe parigrahe ācārya-Mahās[āsakānām]*. Es ist daher zu erwarten, daß auch in unserer Inschrift der Name der buddhistischen Schule vor *parigrahe* steht, und wenn das vorausgehende Wort mit *dhamaū* beginnt, so ist es von vornherein wahrscheinlich, daß hier die Dharmaguptakas genannt sind. Das auf *dhamaū* folgende *akṣara* ist *te*. Das nächste *akṣara* läßt sich ohne Schwierigkeit als *a* lesen. Der horizontale Strich, der ihm das Aussehen eines *o* gibt, ist offenbar nur ein Riß im Stein, der sich bis zu dem *pa* von *parigrahe* hinzieht;<sup>1</sup> für das *o*-Zeichen wäre übrigens auch, wie das *po* in Zeile 1 zeigt, ein schräger Strich zu erwarten. Das Zeichen vor *parigrahe* ist arg verstümmelt; es spricht aber nichts gegen die Annahme daß es ein *na* war. Wir gelangen so zu der Lesung *Dhamaūteana parigrahe*. Man könnte Dhamaūteana allenfalls als Äquivalent von Sk. \**Dharmagupteyānām* erklären; viel wahrscheinlicher ist es aber doch, daß das Vokalzeichen der nicht gehörig nach unten durchgezogene *i*-Strich ist und daß *Dhamaūtiana* gemeint ist. Der gewöhnliche Name der Schule ist *Dharmaguptaka*; *Dharmagutakāna* findet sich in einer Mathurā-Inschrift.<sup>2</sup> Aber bei der Bildung dieser Schulnamen wechseln die Suffixe vielfach. Anstatt *Vātsīputrīya* findet sich in der erwähnten Sārnāth-Inschrift *Vātsīputrika*. Neben (*Ma*)*hāsāṅghikana* (Mathurā-I.; Ep. Ind. XIX, 68), *Ma(hāsa)ṅghikana* (Mathurā-I. 12<sup>a</sup> meiner Liste), *Mahasamghigaṇa* (Wardak-I.; Kh. I. Nr. 86) erscheint *Mahasaghiana* (Mathurā Löwenkapitäl-I.; Kh. I. Nr. 15), *Mahāsaghīyanā* (Mathurā-I.; Curzon Museum Nr. 2740), *Mahāsaghīyānaṃ* (Mathurā-I.; Curzon Museum Nr. 1612), und daß wenigstens die letzten beiden Formen für *Mahāsāṅghīyānām* stehen, zeigt die Mathurā-Inschrift Curzon Museum Nr. 662, wo deutlich (*Ma*)[*hā*]*saṃghīyānaṃ* steht. Ich möchte

*Sa[mms]tīyānaṃ parigraha Vātsīputrikānāṃ*, aber die drei letzten Worte sind später und zum Teil unter Tilgung des ursprünglichen Textes eingegraben.

<sup>1</sup> Das gleiche ist der Fall in *Uḍḍīakehi*. Auch hier zieht sich ein Riß von dem *a* bis an das *hi* hin, der das *a* einem *o* ähnlich macht.

<sup>2</sup> ASI. Ann. Rep. 1909—10 [Part II], p. 65.

daher glauben, daß auch das *Dhamaiit[i]ana* unserer Inschrift Sk. *Dharmaguptiyanām* reflektiert.

Ist meine Lesung richtig, so ist das *sarvasa* am Schlusse der zweiten Zeile zu *sarvasa(pana puyae)* zu ergänzen, das in den Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften Nr. 24; 27; 46; 80 erscheint.<sup>1</sup> Auch am Ende der ersten Zeile müssen dann vier *akṣaras* fehlen; es wäre etwa *sahaehi pidapu(trehi sadha)* zu ergänzen.

Die vorgeschlagene Lesung macht es ferner nötig, das Objekt der Stiftung in dem Worte zu suchen, das Konow *išerañe* liest und in *iše rañe* zerlegt. Die Lesung ist sehr unsicher. Das zweite *akṣara* kann kaum etwas anderes als *ve* sein, und das dritte *akṣara* könnte doch ein subskribiertes Vokalzeichen haben, wie D. R. Sahni annahm, der *ru* las. Aber auch wenn Konows Lesung richtig sein sollte, ergibt sich kein befriedigender Sinn. Die Form *rañe* könnte allerdings vielleicht auch Nominativ sein, aber das Subjekt von *preṭhavide* kann doch kaum ein Wort sein, das ‚Wald‘ oder ‚Park‘ bedeutet. Ich weiß diese Schwierigkeit nicht zu lösen.

Ich übersetze die Inschrift, soweit es vorläufig möglich ist: ‚Im Jahre 359, am ersten des *Aśvayuj*, hat Podaa zusammen mit seinen Genossen, Vätern und Söhnen, den *Uḍiliakas*, . . . . . errichtet zur Entgegennahme durch die *Dharmaguptiys*, zu Ehren aller Wesen.‘ Für die Geschichte der buddhistischen Kirche ist die Inschrift nicht ohne Interesse, weil sie zeigt, daß die *Dharmaguptakas* in den ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. auch im Nordwesten Indiens eine Stätte hatten, während sie bisher inschriftlich nur für *Mathurā* bezeugt waren. Im 7. Jahrhundert waren sie nach den Angaben *Hüen-tsang's*<sup>2</sup> noch in *Udyāna* vertreten.

### III

In der *Māpikiāla*-Inschrift (Nr. 76) liest Konow *Lala daḍaṇa-yago . . . . etra ṇaṇa bhagava Budhajh[a]va<sup>3</sup> p[r]atistavayati*. Anstatt

<sup>1</sup> Einmal, Kh. I. Nr. 23, findet sich auch *sarvasatvaṇa hidavhae*.

<sup>2</sup> Beal, Si-yu-ki I, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Buddha*- ist natürlich nur Druckfehler.

*jhava* lasen Senart *thuva*, ich selbst *ṭhuva*, Pargiter *ṅava*, aber Konow hat zweifellos recht, wenn er den ersten Buchstaben als *jha* faßt, und ich stimme ihm auch darin zu, daß die Krümmung am unteren Ende der Vertikalen des *jha* zu gering ist, um etwa *jhu* oder *jham* zu lesen. Auch Konows Deutung des Wortes ist sicherlich richtig; nach dem Zusammenhang kann es nur ein Synonym von *śarīra* oder *dhātu* sein. Konow führt dies sonst nicht bekannte *jhava* auf den Kausativstamm zurück, der in P. *jhāpeti* vorliegt, und meint, da *jhāpeti* unter anderem von der Verbrennung der Leiche des Buddha gebraucht werde, könnte *jhava* etwas durch Verbrennen Erzeugtes, also Reliquie, bedeuten. Aber diese Erklärung befriedigt nicht. Ich möchte *jhava* lieber mit Sk. *śava* ‚Leichnam‘ identifizieren. Der Bedeutungsübergang würde eine ziemlich genaue Parallele in *śarīra* haben, das auch öfter geradezu ‚Leichnam‘,<sup>1</sup> im Sk., Pali wie im Sakischen das gewöhnliche Wort für Reliquie ist. Die Verschiedenheit des Anlauts macht allerdings Schwierigkeiten. Wenn das Iranische ein dem Sk. *śava* entsprechendes *sava* besäße, könnte man *budhajhava* als Schreibung für *buddhazava* betrachten und Erweichung des *s* im Inlaut annehmen wie in *majh[e]* für *māse* in derselben Inschrift und in zahlreichen Wörtern in den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten. Allein das iranische *sava* ist vorläufig nur ein Postulat. Nun gehört aber Sk. *śava* zu der Klasse von Wörtern, in denen das anlautende *ś* in den Prakrits durch *ch* vertreten ist. Im Pali lautet es *chava*, und bei der weitgehenden Tendenz der nordwestlichen Sprache, intervokalische tonlose Verschlaußlaute in tönende zu verwandeln, dürfen wir wohl annehmen, daß *buddhachava* zu *budhajhava* wurde.

### IV

Für das öfter in den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten erscheinende *masu* glaube ich SBAW. 1933, S. 1000f. die Bedeutung ‚Wein‘ erschlossen zu haben. Ist das richtig, so kann *masu* kaum auf etwas anderes als Sk. *madhu* oder allenfalls av. *mađu* zurückgehen. Für den Über-

<sup>1</sup> Z. B. *śarīraṃ śvathikūyaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ* Majjh. 3, 91.

gang eines *dh* in *s* findet sich in den Dokumenten nur eine Parallele: *asimatra* 357, 489, für das 392, 552 *asimatra*, 307 *ajhimatra* (d. i. *azimatra*), 385 (*a*)*dhimatra*, 86 *adhimatra* geschrieben ist. Die wechselnde Schreibweise läßt darauf schließen, daß *azimatra* gesprochen wurde, und es ist auffällig, daß *masu* nur mit dem gewöhnlichen *s*, niemals mit dem modifizierten *s* oder mit *jh* vorkommt.

Ein weiteres Beispiel für die Vertretung eines *dh* durch *s* bietet das Kharoṣṭhi-Manuskript des Dharmapada in B 11: *masuru tasa bhaṣita* = Sk. *madhuraṃ tasya bhāṣitam*. Die Stelle findet sich in dem in Leningrad befindlichen Teil der Handschrift. Senart bemerkt, die Lesung sei sehr deutlich, er hält sie aber für einen Schreibfehler. Das ist natürlich möglich, wenn auch die Formen des *dha* und des *sa* in der Schrift des Manuskripts nicht ganz so leicht zu verwechseln sind, wie Senart anzunehmen scheint. Es wäre überdies doch ein seltsamer Zufall, wenn das *su* hier nur durch ein Schreiberversehen gerade in demselben Wortstamm auftreten sollte wie in dem Worte für Wein.

Thomas hat BSOS. Vol. VIII, p. 791 ein paar andere Beispiele aus Kharoṣṭhi-Inschriften beigebracht. In der Shāhbāzgarhī-Version des ersten Aśoka-Edikts hat Hultzsch *samaye sasumate* anstatt Bühlers *samaye srestamati* gelesen. Wenn auch in der Phototypie des Abklatsches das *u* nicht ganz deutlich ist, so ist die neue Lesung doch unzweifelhaft richtig, zumal auch Mān., dem *samājā sādhumatā* der Brāhmī-Versionen entsprechend, *samaja sa[dhu]mata* bietet.

Auf dem Bruchstück des Heiligenscheins einer Buddhastatue im Museum von Lahore (Kh. I. Nr. 49) steht *Bosavarumasa da(ṇa-mukhe)*. Ich habe das *bosa* des Namens als Äquivalent des chinesischen *p'u-sa* = *bodhisattva* erklärt, aber Thomas hat sicherlich recht, wenn er *Bosavaruma* Sk. *Bodhavarman* gleichsetzt.

In der silbernen Rolle von Taxila aus dem Jahre 136 des Azes (Kh. I. Nr. 27) beurkundet Urasaka von den Iṃtavhria-Söhnen, ein Baktrier (*Bahalia*), daß er Reliquien des Buddha *taṇuvae bosisatvagahami* 'in seiner eigenen Bodhisattvakapelle' aufgestellt habe.

Ich glaube, daß diese Inschrift außer *bosisatva* noch einen weiteren Beleg für den Übergang von *dh* in *s* bietet. Nachdem Urasaka in der üblichen Weise angegeben hat, daß er seine Stiftung zur Gewährung von Gesundheit für den König, zu Ehren aller Buddhas, der Pratyekabuddhas, der Arbats, aller Wesen, seiner Eltern, seiner Freunde, Genossen und Verwandten und zur Gewährung von Gesundheit für die eigene Person gemacht habe, schließt die Inschrift mit den Worten: *ṇivṇae hotu a[ya] de samaparicago*. Konows Lesung ist völlig sicher.<sup>1</sup> Er erklärt *samaparicago* nach Boyers Vorgang als *samyakparityāgaḥ*, *aya de* als *ayaṃ te* und kommt so zu der Übersetzung: "May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa." Konow meint, der Satz enthalte den Segenswunsch eines Würdenträgers, wahrscheinlich eines Buddhisten, dem der Dharmarājikā-Stupa in Taxila oder die Kapelle unterstellt war.

Ich muß gestehen, daß mich diese Erklärung nicht befriedigt. Die Anfügung eines einer fremden Person in den Mund gelegten Segenswunsches für den Stifter wäre etwas ganz Ungewöhnliches. Dazu kommt, daß meines Wissens der Ausdruck *samyakparityāga* weder in den Inschriften noch sonst irgendwo in der Literatur vorkommt. Konow glaubt ihn allerdings auf den Topfscherben von Tor Dherai (Kh. I. Nr. 92) wiederzufinden. Er liest hier auf der Scherbe Nr. 29 *he ito ca [sra]*, auf der Scherbe Nr. 30 *rityagato a[gre]* und will das zu der Lesung (*pratigra*)*he ito ca s(r)a(mapa)rityagato agre* vervollständigen. Allein Konow bemerkt selbst, daß die Lesung *sra* in Nr. 29 zweifelhaft sei, und ich sehe in der Tat nicht ein, warum der Buchstabe ein *sra* sein sollte. Vergleicht man ihn mit dem sicheren *de* in Nr. 4, dem *di* in Nr. 19, so ist es mir im Grunde wahrscheinlicher, daß er *de* zu lesen ist und der Text *ito ca de(yadharmapa)rityagato* lautete. Allein wie dem auch sein mag, auf keinen Fall kann angesichts der Unsicherheit der Lesung die Inschrift von Tor Dherai für das Bestehen des Ausdrucks *samyak-*

<sup>1</sup> Das *ca* von *ṇivṇae*, das Thomas zuerst erkannt hat, ist in der Phototypie der Rolle noch deutlicher als in dem Faksimile.

*parityāga* angeführt werden. Ich zweifle nicht, daß der Sinn des letzten Satzes der Taxila-Rolle, in Sanskrit ausgedrückt, *nirvāṇāya bhavatv ayaṃ deyadharmaparityāgaḥ* war.<sup>1</sup>

Der Ausdruck *deyadharmaparityāga* kehrt in buddhistischen Brāhmī-Inschriften der Kushān-Zeit wieder, allerdings zum Teil in sehr verderbter Schreibung. In der Inschrift auf einer Buddha-statue von Saṃ 51 aus dem Mahārājadevapuravihāra in Mathurā (Nr. 52 meiner Liste) lautet der Segenswunsch: *an(e)na deyadharmaparityāgena upadhyāyasya Saghadāsasya nirvānāvaptayestu*, in der etwas späteren Inschrift auf einer Säulenbasis aus demselben Kloster (Nr. 126 meiner Liste): *anena deyadharmaparityāgena sarvveṣāṃ prāhaṇikānaṃ<sup>2</sup> arogyadakṣiṇāye bhavatāṃ*. In drei anderen Inschriften auf Säulenbasen aus diesem Kloster, die von dem *viśvasika* Vakamihira und seinem Sohne Horamurṇḍapharṇa oder Horamurṇḍaga gestiftet sind, steht: *imena devadharmaparityāgena acalam aiśvaryaṃ bhavatu* (Nr. 127 meiner Liste); *imena devāddharmaparityākena acalam iśuryataya bhavatu* (Nr. 128); *imena devadharmapa(r)ī(tyāg)enaṃ acalam aiśvaryatayaṃ bhavatu* (Nr. 141).<sup>3</sup> Der Ausdruck *deyadharmā*, Pali *deyyadhamma*, ‚fromme Gabe‘, ‚religiöse Stiftung‘, scheint in buddhistischen Kreisen entstanden zu sein. Er findet sich zu frühest im Pali in kanonischen Texten, z. B. Saṃy. 1, 175; Aṅg. 1, 150; 166, weiter dann auch im Mahāvastu (1, 297; 3, 312), im Avadānaś. 1, 308 usw. Auch in der Epigraphik tritt er fast ausschließlich in Weihinschriften buddhistischer Stifter auf; wo er einmal in Inschriften vorkommt, die von Personen anderen Glaubens herrühren, dürfte er der buddhistischen Terminologie ent-

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. den Schluß der Inschrift auf der Kupferplatte von Kalawān: *nivānasa pratīae hotu* (Ep. Ind. XXI, 259).

<sup>2</sup> Die Stifter der Säulenbasis sind zwei Mönche, Śurīya und Buddharakṣita, die sich selbst als *prāhaṇikas*, d. i. *prādhānikas*, bezeichnen.

<sup>3</sup> Die Entstellung von *deyadharmā* zu *devadharmā* findet sich auch in einer in Nāgarī-Charakteren des 10. oder 11. Jahrhunderts geschriebenen Inschrift auf einer Statue des Avalokiteśvara von Khaliśākoṭā im östlichen Bengalen: *devadharmmoyam Vighraha(sya)* (ASI. Ann. Rep. 1929—30, p. 194).

lehnt sein.<sup>1</sup> In den westlichen Höhleninschriften ist er seit dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. ganz gebräuchlich. In den nördlichen Brāhmī-Inschriften der Kuṣān-Zeit kommt *deyadharmā* nur in den fünf oben angeführten Fällen vor. Nach dieser Zeit aber verdrängt es den älteren Ausdruck *dāna* vollständig, und in der Gupta-Periode ist es das gewöhnliche Wort für Stiftung.<sup>2</sup> Was die Kharoṣṭhī-Inschriften betrifft, so findet es sich auf dem Reliquienkästchen des Kaniṣka (Kh. I. Nr. 72: *deyadharme*), auf der Skulptur von Mamāne Dherī aus dem Jahre 89 der Kuṣān-Ära (Kh. I. Nr. 88: *deyadharme*) und auf den ungefähr gleichzeitigen Topfscherben von Tor Dherai (Kh. I. Nr. 92: *deyamdharmo*).

Wenn nun in derselben Inschrift, in der *bosiatva* für *bodhisatva* geschrieben wird, *desama* anstatt des zu erwartenden *deyadhama* erscheint, so können wir meines Erachtens daraus nur den Schluß ziehen, daß das intervokalische *dh* zur Spirans geworden war, die durch *s* ausgedrückt wurde, während das *dh*, wie *dhama-raie* und *sarvabudhaṇa* zeigen, im Anlaut und hinter Konsonant unverändert blieb. Man könnte es verwunderlich finden, daß für ein Wort wie *dhamma* oder *dharma* nicht die historische Schreibung beibehalten wurde, es ist aber wohl möglich, daß man sich, als der technische Ausdruck *deyadhama* in die Sprache des Nordwestens aufgenommen wurde, gar nicht bewußt war, daß er das Wort *dhamma* enthielt. Daß das Verständnis des Wortes verlorengegangen war, zeigen doch auch die angeführten Entstellungen zu *deyadharmma*, *devadharmā*, *devāddharmā*, *devadharmā*, *deyamdharmo*.

Es fragt sich weiter, wie sich weiter das *de* für *deya* erklärt. Obwohl die Inschrift durchaus nicht den Eindruck macht, nach-

<sup>1</sup> So in einer Höhle von Udayagiri aus der Zeit Candraguptas II. (GI. Nr. 3), die Fleet für eine Vaiṣṇava-Höhle hält, auf der jetzt verschwundenen Statue von Shāhpur aus dem Jahre 672/73 (GI. Nr. 43), die angeblich Sūrya darstellte, und auf der nachher erwähnten Statue des Tīrthamkara Ṛṣabha von Rājgir.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe z. B. Nr. 147; 148; 149 meiner Liste; GI. Nr. 43; 63; 68; 69; 70; 72; 74; 76.

lässig geschrieben zu sein, sind doch, wie es scheint, an verschiedenen Stellen Buchstaben ausgelassen. So steht *Takṣasīe* für *Takṣasīlae*, *arahaṇa* für *arahataṇa*, *sarvasaṇa* für *sarvasatvaṇa*, *-salohiṇa* für *-salohitaṇa*. Vielleicht beruhen doch nicht alle diese Schreibungen auf bloßer Flüchtigkeit. So könnte zu dem Nominativ *arahā* ein Gen. Plur. *arahāṇaṃ* gebildet sein. *Takṣasīe* könnte allenfalls als *Takṣasīyye* aus *\*Tākṣasīlye* mit Assimilierung des *l* an das folgende *y* erklärt werden; allerdings ist eine solche Assimilation nur der Ostsprache eigentümlich. In *sarvasaṇa* und *-salohiṇa* ist aber offenbar ein Buchstabe ausgelassen, und die Möglichkeit, daß auch in *desama* das *ya* hinter *de* von dem Graveur fortgelassen ist, läßt sich daher nicht bestreiten. Ich möchte trotzdem glauben, daß *desama* tatsächlich die Form ist, die das Wort im Volksmunde angenommen hatte. Daß man in späterer Zeit das Wort *dedhammo* sprach und zu *dedharmmaḥ* sanskritisierte, wird durch inschriftliche Zeugnisse bewiesen. In der Inschrift von Shāhpur aus dem Jahre 672/73 n. Chr. (GI. Nr. 43) steht *dedharmmoyam pratiṣṭhitaṇ*. Eine Statue des Tirthamkara Rṣabha, die aus einem Tempel auf dem Vaibhāragiri zu Rājgir stammt, trägt die Inschrift: *ācarya Vasantanandi dedharmmoyah*.<sup>1</sup> Die Inschrift zeigt die vom 7. bis 9. Jahrhundert übliche nagelköpfige Schrift. In einer Weihinschrift auf einer Skulptur von Nālandā aus dem 8. oder 9. Jahrhundert findet sich *dedhamo*.<sup>2</sup> Nun sind allerdings diese Inschriften rund 600 oder 700 Jahre jünger als die Inschrift des Urasaka und können daher nicht allzuviel beweisen. Eine der Vereinfachung von *deya* zu *de* analoge Erscheinung läßt sich aber auch schon für die ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte nachweisen, und zwar in dem mit der nordwestlichen Sprache so nahe verwandten Dialekte von Krorain.

In diesem Dialekte wurde auslautendes *a* offenbar nicht mehr gesprochen, wenn das auch in der Schrift nur in vereinzelten Fällen

<sup>1</sup> Ramaprasad Chanda, ASI. Ann. Rep. 1925—26, p. 126 und Tafel LVI, Fig. d.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel-Bloch, ASI. Ann. Rep. 1903—4, p. 219; 226. Die Herausgeber lesen *de[ya\*]dha[r]mo*, bzw. *dedharmo*, aber in der Phototypie auf Tafel LXIV ist deutlich *dedhamo* zu lesen.

zutage tritt. Burrow, Lang. p. 4 hat schon darauf hingewiesen, daß statt *na* am Wortende bisweilen *ṇ* geschrieben wird, das wie im Sakischen und Tocharischen für *n* steht. So findet sich neben *rotamna* (261; 295; 357; 385; 450) in 252; 272; 387; 746 *rotam*, neben *codana* (549), *codamna* (437), *cotamna* (345; 572) in 425 *cotaṇ*, neben *gamamna* (637) in 646 *gamam*, neben *śramana*, *śramamna* in 252<sup>1</sup> *śramam*, neben *karana*, *karamna* in 523 *karam*.

Wie am Wortende, so verklingt das *a* auch am Ende des ersten Gliedes eines Kompositums. In der Schrift zeigt sich das in Eigennamen: *Śamasena* 308; 315; 570; 578, *Śamasenasa* 105; 308; 442; 570; 578, aber *Śamseṇna* 147; *Śaragena* 570, *Śaragenasa* 570, aber *Śarsena* 80; 94; 560; 570; 593; 758, *Śarsenasa* 117; 181; 593; 762; *Budhasena* 356; 437, *Budhasenasa* 619, *Budhasenasa* 431; 432; 434, aber *Butsena* 523, *Butsenasa* 181; *Budhasenja* 618, aber *Butsenja* 609; 611, *Butsenjaṣa* 611; 617, *Butsenika* 517; *Yoḡasena* 130, aber *Yoksenasa* 762; *Kunasena* 129; 198; 513, *Kunasena* 74; 75; 80; 198; 205 usw., *Kunasaṇasa* 722; 762, *Kuṃnasaṇasa* 322, *Kuṃnasaṇasa* 132, aber *Kuṃsena* 352; 383, *Kuṃtsena* 592.

Das Verstummen des auslautenden *a* zeigt sich weiter, wie Burrow bemerkt hat, in den mit *-deva* gebildeten Eigennamen, wo *-deva* zu *-de\** und weiter mit Einschub eines überleitenden *y* zu *-deyu* wurde: *Jivadeyu* 80; 94; 477; 597;<sup>2</sup> 607; 611; 613, *Jivadeyusa* 762; 763, *Jivadeyusa* 607; *Budhadeyu* 560; *Baladey(u)* 115; *Upateyu* 345; 601, *Upadeyusa* 79; *Mutradeyusa*, *Mutradeyusa* 79.

Auf dem Verstummen des auslautenden *a* beruht es aber doch auch, wenn in Eigennamen *-pri* an Stelle von *-priya* erscheint, wie in *Dhamapri* 181; 481 neben *Dhamapriya* 111; 152; 288, Gen. *Dhamapriyasa* 181; 465; 607 usw.; *Mokṣapri* 386; 502 neben Gen. *Mokṣapriyasa* 117; 181; 456 usw.; *Ṣammapri* 345. Hier sind *-pri* und *-priya* offenbar nur verschiedene Schreibungen für *-pri*, wobei aber das *ḥ*, wie es scheint, sehr schwach gesprochen wurde. Darauf weisen die von Burrow, Lang. p. 3 angeführten falschen Schreibungen

<sup>1</sup> In demselben Dokument, das *rotam* bietet.

<sup>2</sup> Unsicher; vielleicht *Budhadeyu*.

*ahumapya* (Sk. *aham api*), *veyaṃmapya* (Sk. *vayam api*) in 399. So wird denn gelegentlich auch *-iya* für *-i* geschrieben: *Samṅhabudhiya* 425 neben *Samṅhabudhi* 464;<sup>1</sup> *Samṅhudhiya* 453, *Samṅutiya* 290 neben *Samṅhudhi* 449, 560, *Samṅhuti* 456;<sup>2</sup> wohl auch *pal̥jīya* in 42 (*eda pal̥jī[ya] praceya*) für das gewöhnliche *pal̥jī*, das in demselben Dokumente fünfmal erscheint.

Wie *-iya* zu *-i*, *i*, so wird *-iya* zu *ī*, *ī*, geschrieben *ī*. Sk. *karaniya* wird *karani*, *karaṃni*, in den formelhaften Wendungen *yathakama karani siyati* 568, *yathākāma karaṃni siyāti* 437, *śarva boḡa (poḡa) kikama karaṃni siyati* 222; 571; 572; 715, neben *sarva boḡa kikama karaṃniya siyati (karaniya siati)* 580; 655. Sk. *dvitiya* erscheint als *biti* 7; 140; 159 usw., *bhiti* 78; 123; 348 usw., *dviti* 45; 262; 550, Sk. *tr̥tiya* als *triti* 7; 247; 305 usw. Umgekehrt wird auch anstatt des gewöhnlichen *stri* gelegentlich *striya* geschrieben, so im Nom. Sing. *sa striya* 706 gegenüber *sā stri* 58. Wenn *striya* Akk. Sing. (590) oder Akk. Plur. (63) ist, so könnte man versucht sein, es als Vertreter von Sk. *striyam* oder *striyaḥ* aufzufassen; aber auch in diesen Kasus erscheint häufiger *stri* (Akk. Sing. in 46; 53; 209; 719; Akk. Sing. und Plur. in 63), so daß es viel wahrscheinlicher ist, daß *striya* auch hier nur Schreibung für *stri* ist.

Wie ursprüngliches *-iya* wird auch sekundär entstandenes *-iya* behandelt. Sk. *mūlya* ist zunächst *mūliya*, dann weiter *mūli*, *mūli* geworden. Es wird in den Dokumenten stets *muli* geschrieben. Bei Wörtern, die der höheren Sprache angehören, macht sich das Bestreben nach Sanskritisierung wenigstens in der Schreibung bemerkbar. Sk. *aśvarya* erscheint nicht nur als *śvari* 222; 444; 549, *śvariya* 571, sondern auch als *śvarya* 328; 437; 579; 678, *iśvarya* 568; Sk. *ārogya* als *arogi*<sup>3</sup> 25; 34; 83; 97; 126; 307; 320; 646; 690;

<sup>1</sup> Hier ist doch wohl *daśavida K...rka Samṅhabudhi śaca paśava* . . zu lesen. Der Genitiv lautet natürlich *Samṅhabudhiyasa* 549.

<sup>2</sup> Offenbar aus *Samṅhabuddhi* über *\*Samṅha-uddhi*, *\*Samṅh-uddhi*; vgl. *supra-udhu praujhati* in dem Khar. Dharmapada. Der Genitiv ist *Samṅhudhisa* 460, *Samṅhutiḡa* 181; 442, *Samṅhutiḡasa* 456; 467; 536; 762.

<sup>3</sup> In 612 auch *arogim*, in 305 *arogyi*.

721, *arogī* 100; 106, *arogiyo*<sup>1</sup> 152; 161; 259; 288; 666 und *arogyā* 69; 86; 89; 119; 133; 370; 399, *arogyo* 335; Sk. *kausalya* als *kośalya* 370, *kośalḡa* 177, *kośalya* 107; 140; 162; 335; 399; Sk. *kārya* stets als *karya*, Sk. *bhāryā* stets als *bharya*.

Das Suffix *-ika* findet sich als *-ika*, *-iḡa* in dem häufigen *purvika*, *purviḡa*. Für gewöhnlich aber scheint *-ika* zu *-iya* und weiter zu *i* geworden zu sein. Aus *dharmiyasa* 579, 581, *dharmiasa* 648, 655, 656 läßt sich ein Nominativ *dharmi* erschließen, der wohl nur auf *dhārmika* zurückgehen kann.<sup>2</sup> In vielen Fällen läßt es sich aber kaum entscheiden, ob in den Formen auf *-iya*, *-i* das Suffix *-ika* oder ein altes *ya*-Suffix vorliegt. *Khotaniya*, *Khotani* (*Khotaniya alena kojava* 549; *Khotani kojava* 592 usw.), kann ebensogut auf *Khotaniya* wie auf *Khotanika* zurückgehen, *masuvi* (*masuvi ṣoṭhaṃga* 272 usw.) ebensogut auf *masuviya* wie auf *masuvika*. Jedenfalls bestand neben *-ika* auch *-aka*, das in der Form *-aḡa* auftritt. Das Femininum zu den Maskulina auf *-aḡa* lautet auf *-i*, seltener *-iya* aus: *trevarṣaḡa uṭa* 152, *catuvarṣaḡa aśpa* 431; 437, *aśpa 1 pacavarṣaḡa* 431, neben *catuvarṣi uṭi* 420, *ṣovarṣi gavi* 676;<sup>3</sup> *kuḍ'aḡa* 370; 553; 569 usw., neben *kuḍ'i* 34; 331; 437 usw., *kuḍ'iya* 380; 437; 573, Gen. *kuḍ'iyae* 331; 437, *śpedaḡa kojava* 431; 432, neben *sa arnavaji śpeti* 83; *jivaṃtaḡa* 585; 713 (Plur.), *jivaṃdaḡa* 709, neben *jivaṃti* (Plur.) 180, *jivaṃtiyae* (Sing. prädikativ) 157. Es scheint also, daß *-ikā* zunächst zu *-iyā* wurde und *-iyā* dann weiter Verkürzung und schließlich Verlust des auslautenden Vokals erlitt.

<sup>1</sup> Außer in 152 immer vor folgendem *ca*. Ist *-o* Vertreter von *-am*, das sich vor enklitischem *ca* erhalten hat?

<sup>2</sup> In dem metrischen Texte 511 findet sich ein Nom. Plur. *dharmiya*.

<sup>3</sup> Formen auf *-varṣi* kommen allerdings auch bei Maskulina vor: *paruvarṣi aṃna* 140, *paruvarṣi śuka masu imavarṣi masu* 272, *pal̥ji paruvarṣi*, *imavarṣi pal̥ji* 165, *cauravarṣi pal̥ji* 70 usw. Es besteht aber ein charakteristischer Unterschied. Die Formen auf *-aḡa* sind mit dem gewöhnlichen *ka*-Suffix gebildete Bahuvrīhis, *paruvarṣi*, *imavarṣi*, *cauravarṣi* aber sind von *paruvarṣa*, *imavarṣa*, *cauravarṣa* abgeleitete Adjektiva, und ich bin überzeugt, daß *-varṣi* in diesen Fällen auf *-varṣiya* zurückgeht.

Im Inlaut wird *aya* zu *e* in dem Präsens der Kausativa und Verben der 10. Klasse. Ihnen schließt sich *ānayati* an: *anēnti* 139; 315. In diesen Formen ist das *e* sicherlich alt. Ganz anders entwickelt sich in dem Dialekte von Krorain das *aya* in Wörtern, in denen es sich unverändert erhalten hatte, sowie in Wörtern, die nachträglich dem Sanskrit entlehnt wurden. Hier wird *aya* in der Aussprache zu *ēya*; wo in solchen Wörtern einmal *aya* erscheint, ist es offenbar historische oder durch das Sanskrit beeinflusste Schreibung. So finden wir *sveya* 292; 621, *sveyam eva* 22, neben *svaya* 709, *svayambhuna* 511; *veya* 216; 231; 259; 392; 399; 476; 580, *veyaṃm apya* 399, *veyaṃ ciśa* 475, *veyaṃ ciśe* 721, neben *vayaṃ ca* 663; 666; *ubheya* 580; 581 neben *ubhayamdade* 387; *treya*<sup>1</sup> 106; 157; 162; 571; 593; 630; 721; *praceya* 10; 29; 42; 43 usw., neben *pracaya* 187; 208; *ničeya* 25; 68; 223; 340 usw.;<sup>2</sup> *parikreya* 14; 83; 181 usw., *parikreyena* 77; 223; 401, *parikreyaṃmi* 505, neben *parikraya* 19; 30; 50 usw., *parikrayena* 52; 359, *parikrayade* 52, *krayavikraya*<sup>3</sup> 581; 696; *viṣeyaṃmi* 292, *viṣeṣeṣu* 621; *jeyamtaṣa* 656, neben *jayamtaṣa*<sup>4</sup> 579; 581; 648; 655; *jeya* in den Namen *Jeyanamta* 513; 522, *Jeyabhatra* 582; 732, *Jeyaka* 80; 129; 169; 442; 523, *Jeyakaṣa* 96; 115; 132; 403; 631, *Jeyakasya* 588, *Jeyakani* 210, *Jeyakani* 320, neben *Jayaṣa* 318, *Jayatrada* 578. Ebenso wird *ayi* zu *ēyi* in *bheyidavya* 515, was es wahrscheinlich macht, daß auch *bheya* statt *bhaya* in 399 zu lesen ist, und *ṣeyita* 223; 505, doch ist in den Formen von *śri* das *a* vor *y* öfter erhalten: *ṣayita* 52;<sup>5</sup> 690, *ṣayidemi* 546, *ṣayitamti* 324; 713, *ṣayidavya* 639; 725, *ṣayatu* 639, *ṣayati* 750. Bisweilen tritt *eya*, *aya* auch in dem Präsens des Kausativs anstatt des gewöhnlichen *e* auf: *viṃṇāvayaṃmi* 663 neben *viṃṇābemi* 89; 97; 320, *viṃṇābemi* 320; 722, *viṃṇāvemi* 140; 385, *viṃṇābēyama* 104, *viṃṇāvēyama* 259 neben *viṃṇābēma* 164; 702; *preṣe-*

<sup>1</sup> Zum Teil erstes Glied eines Kompositums.

<sup>2</sup> *ničiya* 585 ist offenbar nur Schreibfehler.

<sup>3</sup> *parikre* 25, *krayavikra* 579 scheinen Schreibfehler zu sein.

<sup>4</sup> Im Titel des Königs.

<sup>5</sup> In demselben Briefe kommt viermal *parikraya* vor.

*yaṃmi* 259 neben *preṣemi* 211; 696, *preṣeyaṃsi*<sup>1</sup> 399, *preṣeyati* 25; 305; 450; 714 neben *preṣeti* 83; 86; 97 usw.; *sampreṣeyati* 288 neben *sampreṣeti* 133; 157. Bei der Beurteilung der ungewöhnlichen Formen ist zu beachten, daß sie sämtlich in Privatbriefen vorkommen, in denen die Schreiber sich mit mehr oder weniger Erfolg bemühen, gebildet, d. h. in Sanskrit zu schreiben.

Nun findet sich im Wortauslaut anstatt des *-eya* häufig auch *e*: *sve* 193; *tre*<sup>2</sup> 72; 152; 341; 383; 415; 634; 715; 719; *prace* 7; 11; 15; 17 usw.; *niče*<sup>3</sup> 1; 3; 6; 7; 9 usw.; *parikre* 272; 401; 476, Instr. *parikrena* 25; *je* in *Jebhatra* 584, *Jepriya* 345, *Jeka* 513. Burrow, Lang. p. 2 f., meint, daß *aya* überall regelmäßig zu *e* wurde und daß auslautendes *-e* = *-aya* dem Deklinationssystem durch die Hinzufügung eines *-a* wieder angepaßt wurde. Mir scheint aus dem oben angeführten Material mit voller Deutlichkeit hervorzugehen, daß *aya* in dem Dialekt zu *eya* wurde und daß dies durch Verstümmen des auslautenden *a* zu *e* wurde, wie in der Kharoṣṭhī-Inschrift, von der wir ausgingen, *deya* zu *de* geworden ist. Offenbar war aber das *y* nach dem *e* noch leise hörbar, wie auch das aus *pracei* entlehnte *pracai* des Sakischen zeigt; man schwankte daher in der Schreibung zwischen *-eya* und *-e*.

Ich glaube, daß zum Teil sogar Konsonanten, die durch das Verstümmen des folgenden *a* in den Auslaut traten, nicht mehr gesprochen wurden. Darauf weisen die verschiedenen Schreibungen eines ursprünglichen *-rakṣita* am Ende von Eigennamen: *Budharakṣi* 330; 348; 419, *Budharakṣiya* 425, Gen. *Budharakṣiyāṣa* 288, *Budharakṣida* 415; *Samgarakṣi* 265; 340, Gen. *Samgharakṣisya* 588, *Samgarakṣiya* 646, *Samgarakṣida* 340;<sup>4</sup> *Jivarakṣi* 560; 601; 605; 609; 610; 618; 620, *Civarakṣi* 460.<sup>5</sup> Die Schreibungen *-rakṣi*, *-rakṣiya*

<sup>1</sup> Schreibfehler für *preṣeyasi*.

<sup>2</sup> Zum Teil erstes Glied eines Kompositums.

<sup>3</sup> *niči* 14; 345; 593 sind bei der Ähnlichkeit des Zeichens für *e* und *i* leicht erklärliche Schreibfehler.

<sup>4</sup> Hier neben *Samgarakṣi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jiva[rakṣa]* 80 wird Schreib- oder Lesefehler sein.



führen auf *-rakṣi*, *-rakṣi* als die wirklich gesprochene Form; *-rakṣida* ist gelehrte Schreibung.

Man wird die Schwankungen in der Schreibung des Auslauts auch in Betracht ziehen müssen, wenn es sich darum handelt, die tatsächlich gesprochene Form der vielen Personennamen festzustellen, die weder indischen noch iranischen Ursprungs sind. Der Name der am häufigsten genannten Persönlichkeit erscheint bald als *Ljipeya*, Gen. *Ljipeyaṣa*, bald als *Ljipe*, Gen. *Ljipeṣa*. Die letztere Form würde unbegreiflich sein, wenn man *Ljipeya* gesprochen hätte. Bei der Annahme, daß *Ljipe* gesprochen wurde, ließe sich das *y* im Genitiv *Ljipeyaṣa* als Übergangslaut zwischen *e* und *a* erklären; unerklärt aber würde bleiben, warum dann nicht im Nominativ stets *Ljipe* geschrieben wurde. Die verschiedenen Schreibungen führen darauf, daß man *Lji-pe* sprach. Das gleiche zweite Wordelement zeigt sich in *Cam-pe*, das sich aus *Campeya*, Gen. *Campeyaṣa*, *Campeyaṣa* erschließen läßt.

Unter den auf *-e* auslautenden Namen sind die mit *-ge* gebildeten die häufigsten. Namen, für die alle auch die Schreibung mit *-geya* belegt ist, sind: *Tamge*, *Kutge*, *Motge*,<sup>1</sup> *Kunge*, *Yonge*, *Apge*, *Opge*, *Kapge*, *Ljimge*, *Caṣge* usw. Wie *-eya* für *-e*, so steht vielleicht auch *-aya* im Auslaut von Namen für *-a*; so in *Pultsaya*, *Lalaya*, *Lapaya* usw.<sup>2</sup> Zum Teil ist aber *-aya* nur Schreibung für *-eya*. Der *tivira* *Apḡaya* in 654 ist sicherlich mit dem *tivira* *Apḡeya* in 419; 580; 648 identisch. *Caṣḡayaṣa* in der Aufschrift von 509 ist der Genitiv des Namens, der im Texte *Caṣge* lautet. *Kuonḡayaṣa* in 131 ist wahrscheinlich nur eine andere Schreibung für *Kuonḡeyaṣa* in 66; 235 usw.

Zahlreich sind auch Namen auf *-i*, für das verhältnismäßig selten *-iya* geschrieben wird, wie in *Moḡiya* neben *Moḡi*, *Yipiya* neben *Yipi*, *Ṣgaṣiya* neben *Ṣgaṣi* usw. Neben Namen auf *-u* und *-o* kommen auch Namen auf *-a* vor. Wir werden sie da annehmen dürfen, wo die Endungen *-aṣa* und *-ena* an den auf *a* auslautenden

<sup>1</sup> Text *Kunḡe*, *Moḡe*.

<sup>2</sup> Unter den Namen auf *-aya* finden sich aber auch indische Namen wie *Bhimaya*, *Rutraya*.

Namen gefügt werden, wie in *Caṃcā*, Gen. *Cācāṣa*; *Cinḡa*, Gen. *Cinḡaṣa* (neben *Cinḡaṣa*); Gen. *Taṃcḡaṣa* (neben *Taṃcḡaṣa*), Instr. *Taṃcḡaena*; Gen. *Ljipamḡaṣa*; Gen. *Ljipḡaṣa*. In den meisten Fällen wird aber das auslautende *-a* nach Konsonanten in den Namen nicht gesprochen sein; es ist doch recht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Sprache, der diese Namen angehören, ganz wie das Indische überwiegend *a*-Stämme besessen haben sollte. Unter den nach Abstrich des *-a* konsonantisch endigenden Namen scheinen die auf *-t* und *-n* die häufigsten zu sein. Beispiele sind *Moḡata*, *Kuṇita* und *Koṇita*, *Kalyita*, *Tsulḡita*, *Kupṣuta*, *Poḡana* und *Puḡana*, *Parpana*, *Namṣana*, *Paṃcina*, *Molḡina*, *Parcona*. Allerdings darf nicht ohne weiteres jedes *ta* am Ende des Namens als *t* gelesen werden. *Ljipita* in 237 ist sicherlich nicht als *Ljipit* aufzufassen, sondern ist andere Schreibung für *Ljipta*, die gewöhnliche Form des Namens. Ebenso wird *Ciḡita* in 419 für *Cḡita* stehen, genau so, wie *Ciḡitoena* in 589 für *Cḡitoena* in 634 (Nom. *Cḡito* *ibid.*) geschrieben ist. Andererseits scheint bisweilen ein *-t* am Ende des Namens geschwunden zu sein. Ein überaus häufiger Name ist *Suḡi*, *Suḡiya*, Gen. *Suḡiyaṣa*, *Suḡiṣa*, Instr. *Suḡiyena*, neben dem ebenso oft *Suḡita*, Gen. *Suḡitaṣa*, Instr. *Suḡitena* erscheint. *Suḡi* oder *Suḡita* heißen die verschiedensten Leute, bisweilen läßt aber die Hinzufügung des Titels zu dem Namen doch erkennen, daß *Suḡi* und *Suḡita* dieselbe Person bezeichnen. Der *ari* *Suḡi* (Gen. *ari* *Suḡiyaṣa* in 2) ist doch wohl mit dem *ari* *Suḡita* (Gen. *ari* *Suḡitaṣa*) in 85 identisch, der *ṣoḥamḡa* *Suḡiya* in 567 mit dem *ṣoḥamḡa* *Suḡita* in 43. *Suḡi* und *Suḡita* wechseln weiter in dem Namen eines *aṣḡhila* (*Suḡiyaṣa* 242, *Suḡita* 146, *Suḡitaṣa* 78), eines *aḡeta* (*Suḡiyaṣa* 181, *Suḡitaṣa* 132), eines *kuṣamṡa* oder *kuṣamṡa* (*Suḡiyaṣa* 181; 544, *Suḡitaṣa* 242). In anderen Fällen ist die Identität der Personen und damit auch die Identität der verschiedenen Namensformen zwar nicht zu beweisen, aber doch höchst wahrscheinlich. In 159 findet sich *Kupṣu*, in 566; 570; 593; 650 *Kupṣuta*, in 307 *Kupṣuda*, in 566; 593 Gen. *Kupṣutaṣa*, in 570 Instr. *Kupṣutena*; in 684; 701 *Maltsu*, in 55; 314 *Maltsuta*, in 12; 43; 54; 117; 347 Gen. *Maltsutaṣa*; in 28; 701 *Kultsu*, in 72 Gen.

*Kultsutaga*; in 74; 523; 571; 715 *Tamcjo*, in 604; 762 Gen. *Tamcjoasa*, in 132 *Tamcgotasa*. Das Verstummen des *t* in *Suġit*, *Kupṣut*, *Maltsut*, *Kultsut*, *Tamcgot* hat eine Parallele in dem *-raksi* der indischen Namen, das, wie ich oben zu zeigen versucht habe, auf *-raksi* zurückgeht.

Ist die Ansicht, daß das auslautende *a* in den Fremdnamen nicht gesprochen wurde, richtig, so ergibt sich, daß die überwältigende Mehrheit dieser Namen zweisilbig ist. Wahrscheinlich verdanken aber auch von den Namen, die aus mehr als zwei Silben zu bestehen scheinen, manche dies nur der Schwierigkeit, die Lautverbindungen der Fremdsprache in der Schrift wiederzugeben. Wir haben schon gesehen, daß *Cigito* (in *Cijitoyena* 589) für *Cjito* steht, *Ljipita* in 237 für *Ljipta*. *Mañjeya* 549, *Mañjeya* 587; 589 führen auf *Mañ-gei* als die wirklich gesprochene Namensform. Sollten nicht *Koljije* 93, *Koljeyasa* (Gen.) 546 Versuche sein, *Kol-gei* zu schreiben? Ebenso möchte ich aus *Kaljijeyasa* (Gen.) 207; 495 ein *Kal-gei*, aus *Maljijeya* 237, Gen. *Maljijeyasa* 93; 277 ein *Mal-gei* erschließen. Der Name *Ljipatja* 571, Gen. *Ljipatjasa* 87; 415; 573; 583 usw., erscheint in 415 auch als *Lpatja*, was auf eine Aussprache *Lpat-ja* weist. Daß das *u* in *Palujeyasa* (Gen.) 478 nur Einschubvokal ist, zeigt *Palje*, *Paljeya* 209, Gen. *Paljeyasa* 72. *Camasu* 204 scheint nur Schreibung für *Camsu* zu sein, das in 80 erscheint. Nur selten finden sich einsilbige Namen wie *Pjo* 719, Gen. *Pjoasa* 593, neben dem aber auch *Pujo* 13; 17; 18 usw., Gen. *Pujoasa* 128 vorkommt.

Die vorstehenden Bemerkungen beanspruchen natürlich in keiner Weise, die Frage nach der Sprache, der jene Fremdnamen angehören, zu erschöpfen. Es lag mir nur daran, auf einen Punkt hinzuweisen, der bisher wenig oder gar nicht beachtet zu sein scheint und der vielleicht einmal zur Lösung des Problems beitragen kann. Daß die Sprache, wie Burrow anzunehmen geneigt scheint, das Tocharische ist, erscheint mir ebensowenig glaublich wie ihr Zusammenhang mit dem Tibetischen, den Thomas vermutete. Daß es sich um eine ostasiatische Sprache handelt, ist mir allerdings wahrscheinlich, und ich möchte es nicht für ausgeschlossen halten, daß

wenigstens einige der Namen dem chinesischen Sprachzweige angehören. Ein paarmal werden in den Dokumenten Chinesen mit Namen erwähnt: *Cina Ṣgaṣi*, *Cina Ṣgaṣiya*, Gen. *Cina Ṣgaṣiyasa* 324<sup>1</sup>; *Cina Koljisa* 8; *Cimna Kamcgeya* 80; *Cimna Pjita* 615, Gen. *Cimna Pjitaṣa* 544; Gen. *Cina Catonasa* 446; Gen. *Cimna Aryasasa* 255. Nun ist es bei der starken Volks- und Sprachmischung in Ostturkestan gewiß möglich, daß ein Chinese einen nichtchinesischen Namen angenommen hat, und der Name *Aryasa* mag aus einer anderen Sprache stammen; was aber die Namen *Ṣga-ṣi*, *Ko-lis*, *Kanc-gei*, *Pjit*, *Ca-ton* betrifft, so scheint mir die Frage doch vielleicht gestattet zu sein, ob sie nicht einem chinesischen Dialekte entstammen.

## V

Der größte Teil der in den Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions herausgegebenen Dokumente besteht nach den Titelblättern aus ‚Inscriptions discovered at the Niya Site‘. Daraus scheint sich allmählich die irrige Vorstellung gebildet zu haben, als ob diese Dokumente in Niya gefunden seien. In Wahrheit hat Sir Aurel Stein sie auf einer Ruinenstätte ausgegraben, die ungefähr 65 englische Meilen nördlich von Niya liegt. Aus den Dokumenten hat sich ergeben, daß der Ort, der an dieser Stätte lag, den Namen Caḍ'oda trug. Die Verwechslung von ‚Niya site‘ und ‚Niya‘ hat dann Burrow<sup>2</sup> zu der Angabe verleitet: ‚The bulk of the texts comes from Niya, the ancient Caḍ'ota which lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom bordering on Khotan.‘ Allein Niya ist nicht das alte Caḍ'oda, sondern das in den Dokumenten öfter genannte Nina, und es ist höchst unwahrscheinlich, daß Nina-Niya jemals zu dem Reiche von Krorain oder Lou-lan, aus dem die Dokumente herrühren, gehörte. Hüen-tsang sagt ausdrücklich, daß Ni-jang, das zweifellos mit Niya identisch ist, die östliche Grenzfestung von Khotan war.<sup>3</sup> Daß Nina-Niya bereits 400 Jahre früher die Grenzstadt Khotans war, scheint mir aus den

<sup>1</sup> Im Text auch *Ṣgari*, im Index *Ṣgari*, *Ṣgariya*, *Ṣgariyasa*.

<sup>2</sup> The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents, p. V.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 324.

Angaben des königlichen Schreibens Nr. 14 hervorzugehen. Da heißt es: *ahono isa Šameka viṇṇāveti yatha eṣa Khotamṇami dutiyāya gada Calmadanade valaḡa ditamti yāva Sacammi gada Sacade valaḡa ditamti yāva Ninammi gada Ninade yāva Khotamṇami Caḡodade valaḡa dadavo hoati [yāva Kho]tam ———<sup>1</sup> yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha yahi purvika Ninade Khotamṇammi valaḡaṣa parikreya tena vidhanena ṣadha ayogena dadavo yatha dhamēna niči kartavo*, ‚jetzt zeigt Šameka hier an, daß er als Gesandter nach Khotan gegangen ist. Von Calmadana haben sie eine Schutzwache gegeben. Er ist bis Saca gegangen. Von Saca haben sie eine Schutzwache gegeben. Er ist bis Nina gegangen. Von Nina bis Khotan ist eine Schutzwache von Caḡoda zu geben gewesen. Bis Khotan . . . . . Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort ankommen wird, ist sofort der früher übliche Lohn für eine Schutzwache von Nina bis Khotan nach diesem Verfahren mit Zuschlag (für den Verzug der Zahlung) zu geben. Nach dem Recht ist die Entscheidung zu machen‘.

Aus dem Briefe geht deutlich hervor, daß der gewöhnliche Weg von Calmadana, dem Che-mo-t'o-na Hüen-tsangs, über Saca, das heutige Endere, und Nina-Niya nach Khotan ging, ohne Caḡoda zu berühren. Wenn trotzdem die vom Staat zu stellende und zu bezahlende Schutzwache für die letzte Strecke von Nina bis Khotan nicht von Nina, sondern von dem mehrere Tagereisen entfernten Caḡoda zu stellen war, so kann der Grund dafür doch nur der sein, daß die Beamten in Nina nicht dem König von Krorain unterstanden, Nina also zu Khotan gehörte.

Daß Caḡoda der letzte größere zu Krorain gehörige Ort an der Westgrenze des Reiches war, geht auch aus dem an die Cozbos Somjaka und Tamjaka gerichteten königlichen Schreiben Nr. 367 hervor: *ahumno Puṣe rayaka vyavahara harati edaṣa Sacade uṭa 2 valaḡam ca dadavya simammi leṣiṣamti tade Caḡodade stora aṭh'ove valaḡam ca dadavya acamta Khotamṇammi yati vithana kāriṣyatu yati anath'ove valaḡa dāsyatu manasammi hotu*, ‚jetzt überbring<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Es fehlen ungefähr 19 *akṣaras*.

<sup>2</sup> *Harati* in demselben Sinne wie in *lekharaja*, *lekharaja*.

Puṣe königliche Angelegenheiten. Von Saca sind ihm 2 Kamele und Schutzwachen zu geben. Sie werden (ihn) an die Grenze geleiten. Dann sind von Caḡoda Tiere und geeignete Schutzwachen zu geben bis Khotan. Wenn eine Verzögerung gemacht werden sollte, wenn ungeeignete Schutzwachen gegeben werden sollten, soll es (euch) gedacht werden‘.

## VI

Die von Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 238 ff. herausgegebene Inschrift auf einer Steinplatte von Kura im Salt Range ist in der Regierungszeit des Hunnenkönigs Toramāṇa datiert (*[rājādhi]rājamaḡarāja-Toramāṇa-ṣāhi<sup>1</sup>-jaūvla[sya abhi]vardhamānarājye*). Sie bekundet in schwulstiger, aber sehr fehlerhafter Sprache, daß ein gewisser Roṭa-Siddhavṛddhi, der Sohn des Roṭa-Jayavṛddhi, ein Kloster für den buddhistischen Orden als Sonderbesitz der Maḡśāsakas erbaute. Vater und Sohn waren offenbar hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten in der Umgebung des Königs. Der Vater wird der Herr vieler Vihāras (*anekavihārasvāmin*) genannt, der Sohn bezeichnet sich als Vihāraherr (*vihārasvāmin*). Unter den Personen, denen das Verdienst der Stiftung zugute kommen soll, werden neben den Angehörigen des Stifters die Gemahlinnen, Prinzen und Prinzessinnen des Königs genannt (*maḡarāja-Toramāṇa-ṣāha-jaūvlaḡ sarveṣaṃ devināṃ rājaputrāṇāṃ rājaduhitānāṃ ca . . . anuttarajñānāvāptaye*). Roṭa-Jayavṛddhi erhält außerdem das Beiwort *naścīrapatiprasastādāritanāmadheyaviṣeṣavṛddhiḡ*,<sup>2</sup> das Bühler übersetzte: ‚whose name, praised and honoured by the lord of Naścīra, (indicates a) particularly (great) prosperity.‘ Mir scheint, daß das Kompositum nur bedeuten kann: ‚dessen ganz besonderes Glück<sup>3</sup> sein gepriesener und geehrter Titel *naścīrapati* war.‘ Bühler meinte, *naścīra* sei der Name einer

<sup>1</sup> Vielleicht *ṣāha*, wie nachher.

<sup>2</sup> Nach dem Zusammenhang des Textes ist der Genitiv zu erwarten; *-vṛddhiḡ* ist also, wie Bühler bemerkt, Fehler für *-vṛddheḡ*.

<sup>3</sup> Der Ausdruck *vṛddhi* ist hier sicherlich mit Rücksicht auf den Namen Jayavṛddhi gewählt.

Stadt oder eines Bezirkes, aber ein solcher geographischer Name ist sonst nicht bekannt. Dagegen kommt in den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten wiederholt (13; 15; 156; 509) ein Wort *naṣīra*, d. i. *naścira*, vor, das zweifellos Jagd bedeutet und von Bailey<sup>1</sup> als iranisches Lehnwort (mp. np. *naxcīr* usw.) erkannt ist. Dies *naścira* liegt offenbar auch in *naścīrapati* vor, und ‚Herr der Jagd‘ war ein Titel, der Roṭṭa-Jayavṛddhi von dem König verliehen war und auf den er ganz besonders stolz war. Worin die Tätigkeit eines ‚Herrn der Jagd‘ bestand, wissen wir nicht, und wir können daher auch nicht sagen, wie Roṭṭa-Jayavṛddhi es fertigbrachte, die anscheinend doch etwas auseinander liegenden Ämter eines *naścīrapati* und eines *vihārasvāmin* zu vereinigen. Jedenfalls zeigt aber *naścīrapati* ebenso wie *ṣāha* oder *ṣāhi* in dem Titel des Toramāṇa, daß die Hunnenfürsten in Indien neben den indischen auch rein iranische Titel verwendeten, wie es vor ihnen die Śakas und Kuṣāns getan.

## VII

Tedesco hat ZII. II, 40f. Sk. *āsvavāra* ‚Reiter‘ auf ap. *asabāra* zurückgeführt. Er glaubte, das Wort im Indischen schon für das 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nachweisen zu können, aber das nicht von Pāṇini, sondern erst von Patañjali zu Pāṇ. 8, 2, 18 angeführte *āsvavāraḥ* hat, wie Thieme, ZDMG. N. F. XVI, 90 bemerkt hat, mit *āsvavāra* ‚Reiter‘ nichts zu tun, sondern ist ‚Pferdehaar‘. Thieme selbst meint, der älteste Beleg für *āsvavāra* im Sk. sei Śiś. 3, 66. Der älteste sichere Beleg im Sk. ist es allerdings. Von den Lexikographen verzeichnet erst Hemacandra, Abh. 761 das Wort; An. 4, 337 gebraucht er *āsvavāraka* zur Erklärung von *āsvāroha*. Puruṣottamadeva lehrt Trik. 422 *āsvavāra* im Sinne von *vallabhapālaka*, 890 *kumāra* im Sinne von *āsvavāraka*. Prabodhac. 78, 16 schwanken die Handschriften zwischen *āsvavāra* und *āsvavāha*, und für Rām. B 5, 73, 11 *rathinaś cāsvavārās ca* steht in C 6, 3, 27 *rathinaś cāsvavāhās ca*. Auch das von Tedesco aus der Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī an-

<sup>1</sup> BSOS. Vol. VII, p. 513; Burrow, Lang. p. 99.

geführte *āsavāra* wechselt mit *āsavāha*; Jacobi, Erz. 49, 16 steht *āsavāro*, 49, 27 in allen Handschriften *āsavāho*.

Trotzdem läßt sich mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß das iranische Wort nicht erst in Māghas Zeit, also in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, in die indische Sprache aufgenommen worden ist. In den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten, die etwa dem 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. angehören, findet sich *āspavara* in 133 und 688. Die Sprache der Dokumente beruht auf dem nordwestlichen Prakrit; in der Sprache des indischen Grenzlandes war das Wort also wahrscheinlich längst heimisch geworden. Wir finden es aber in noch früherer Zeit auch auf rein indischem Boden. In der Inschrift auf einem Steinzaun von Mathurā,<sup>1</sup> die aus dem Anfang unserer Zeitrechnung stammt, steht: *Bodhilasa putreṇa Kauśikiputreṇa āsvavārikeṇa Bodhiyaśena bhagavato Mahātmano vedikā kārīta*. Eine Inschrift von dem Stūpa I in Sānci (Nr. 381 meiner Liste) lautet: *Vedisakasa Pusarakhitāsa asavārakasa pajāvati(ya) Nāgadatāya dānaṃ*, eine andere auf einem Pfeiler in Bhārhut (Nr. 728): *Bibikanadikaṭa Suladhasa asavārikāsa dānaṃ*. *Asavārika* lebte also schon in der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Munde des indischen Volkes, wenn sich auch daneben der altindische Ausdruck *āsvāroha*, *assāroha* erhielt. Die Form, die das Lehnwort in der ältesten Belegstelle zeigt, klingt so stark an ap. *asabāra* an, daß man annehmen möchte, daß Entlehnung aus dem Altpersischen vorliegt. *Asavārika* kann aber Schreibung für *assavārika* sein und das indische *assa* = Sk. *āsva* enthalten, und jedenfalls ist man sich immer bewußt geblieben, daß das erste Glied des Kompositums das Wort für Pferd war, und hat danach das iranische Wort indisiert. Später wird *āsvavāra* sogar als echt indisches Wort angesehen, das allerdings der Erklärung bedarf. Mallinātha bemerkt zu Śiś. 3, 66 *āsvān vārayanti ye te 'śvavāraḥ āsvārohāḥ*.

## VIII

Der Satz *pasāva Kabujiya uvāmarśiyuś amariyatā* in der Inschrift von Behistūn hat Wilhelm Schulze Gelegenheit gegeben, seinen

<sup>1</sup> ASI. Ann. Rep. 1923—24, p. 101.

glänzenden Aufsatz ‚Der Tod des Kambyses‘ zu schreiben.<sup>1</sup> Schulze suchte nachzuweisen, daß *wāmaršiyuš* nur ‚eines natürlichen Todes sterbend‘ bedeuten könne. Mir scheint, daß man sich dem Zwang des gewaltigen, von Schulze mit staunenswerter Belesenheit zusammengebrachten Beweismaterials nicht verschließen kann. Herzfeld hat sich dagegen gewandt<sup>2</sup> und die Auffassung von *wāmaršiyuš* als auf den Selbstmord bezüglich verteidigt. Ich muß es anderen überlassen, zu beurteilen, wieviel Gewicht den elamischen und akkadischen Versionen des Textes beizumessen ist. Ich möchte hier nur auf einen Ausdruck in den Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumenten hinweisen, der für Schulzes Deutung spricht, und das um so mehr, als er aus einer Sprache stammt, die zwar indisch, aber stark vom Iranischen beeinflusst ist.

In dem Schreiben aus der königlichen Kanzlei Nr. 40 heißt es: *yatra rayaka khula uṭa durbale bhaviṣyati na śakiṣyati gachamnae<sup>3</sup> tatremi rajammi pariṣalidavya yadi go-ḡa- [u]kastade darṣidaḡena mariṣyati valaḡa dharanaḡa bhaviṣyati athava svamaramnena mariṣyati tatremi rajammi paṃcare dadavo.*

Das Dokument enthält, abgesehen von dem verstümmelten Worte im zweiten Satze, das ich nicht herzustellen vermag, zwei Ausdrücke, die der Erklärung bedürfen: *ukastade* und *paṃcare*. Für *ukas* gibt Burrow, Lang. p. 79 die Bedeutung ‚to depart, go away‘ an. Mir scheint aus den Texten hervorzugehen, daß es ‚reiten‘ bedeutet. In den meisten Fällen wird es in Verbindung mit ‚Pferd‘ oder ‚Kamel‘ gebraucht.

509: *ahuno iṣa Caṣḡe viṇṇavēti yatha eṣa rayaka sruva tomḡa taha eṣa ede vaḡ'avi Suṽayasa jheniḡa kiḡa rakṣamnae paḡevara parikraya dita taha Suṽayena tade vaḡ'avi 1 Gavaṣa naḡira ukasamnae dita tena sū vaḡ'avi mṛda yati eda kilamudra atra eṣati praṭha aṭra samuḡa anada pruchidavo bhudārtha eva haḡṣati taha*

<sup>1</sup> SBAW. 1912, S. 685 ff. Kleine Schriften, S. 131 ff.

<sup>2</sup> BSOS. Vol. VIII, p. 589 ff.

<sup>3</sup> So im Index verbessert für *rachamnae*.

*na dhama amṇeṣa tanu amṇa ukasamnae pareṣa [denati]*, ‚jetzt zeigt Caṣḡe hier an, daß er königlicher *sruva tomḡa* war. Er hat diese Stuten<sup>1</sup> dem Suṽaya anvertraut, um sie zu hüten. Er hat Verpflegung und Lohn gegeben. Suṽaya hat dann eine Stute dem Gavasna(?) gegeben, um auf die Jagd zu reiten. Dadurch ist diese Stute totgeblieben. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (in Caḡ'oda) angekommen sein wird, ist dort sofort in Gegenwart (des Beklagten) sorgfältig zu untersuchen, ob das wahr sein wird. Es ist nicht recht, daß einer das Eigentum anderer dritten Personen zum Reiten gibt.<sup>1</sup>

223: *ahuno iṣa Saṃghila viṇavēti yatha eṣa Khotamnammi dutiyae gachiṣyāti atehi rajade amṭaḡi aṣpa 1 ukasamnae dadavya asi*, ‚jetzt zeigt hier Saṃghila an, daß er als Gesandter nach Khotan gehen sollte. Von dort (von Caḡ'oda) war ihm von der Provinz ein *amṭaḡi*<sup>2</sup>-Pferd zum Reiten zu geben‘.

71: *ahono iṣa Lyimsu viṇṇavēti yatha edeṣa Simaśriae sapimḡa uṭi hoati eda uṭi Simaśriae go[ṭha]de [manu]ṣa Suḡika taya dhitu Smaḡasae ca ukastamti palayamni gatamti*, ‚jetzt zeigt hier Lyimsu an, daß er und Simaśriae eine Kamelstute in gemeinsamen Besitz haben. Diese Kamelstute haben von dem Landgut der Simaśriae weg der Mann Suḡika und ihre Tochter Smaḡasae geritten. Sie sind entflohen‘.

125: *ari-Apeṃnasa uṭa acovammi ukasidavya Apeṃna durbala hudae paḡa acovimna gaṃdavo*, ‚Ehrwürden Apeṃna hatte im Kurierdienst ein Kamel zu reiten. Apeṃna ist krank geworden. Er wird später als Kurier zu gehen haben‘.

340: *pruchidavo keti maḡa divaḡa [ca] . . tammi uṭa ukasita*, ‚es ist zu untersuchen, wie viele Monate und Tage er das Kamel in Caḡ'oda(?) geritten hat‘.<sup>3</sup>

83: *yam kala tuo nigata rayadvarammi [u]—sidavo<sup>4</sup> akṣati eda maḡe divaḡa mahi ṣrunamnae kartavo aham ṇadartha kartavo . . . . .*

<sup>1</sup> *ede* ist vielleicht nicht richtig. Über *e* stehen zwei Punkte.

<sup>2</sup> Über *amṭaḡi* siehe Burrow, BSOS. Vol. VII, p. 779 f.

<sup>3</sup> Der vorhergehende Text ist lückenhaft. Es handelt sich darum, daß schon fünf Jahre lang der Lohn für dieses Kamel nicht gezahlt war.

<sup>4</sup> Offenbar ist *ukasidavo* zu lesen.

*ya[tā] tuo nigata ukasidavo akṣati emeva mahi su—śrunanae kartavo yadi tuo na ukasi—<sup>1</sup> akṣatu emeva mahi śrunaṇnae kartavo akṣaga praceya samtiṭhegi aśpa Campeya paca atra niṣyati*, ‚wenn du *nigata*(?)<sup>2</sup> zum Königshof zu reiten haben wirst, ist mir dieser Monat und Tag mitzuteilen. Ich bin (davon) zu unterrichten . . . . . Wenn du *nigata* zu reiten haben wirst, ist es mir ebenso mitzuteilen. Solltest du nicht zu reiten haben, ist es mir ebenso mitzuteilen. Wegen des Pferdes hast du Anweisung gegeben. Campeya wird das Pferd später dorthin (nach Caḍ'oda) bringen‘.

637: *yaṃ kala deviyae Khotamṇaṇmi ukasta . . . . yaṃ kāla kala Puṃṇabala parvateṣu ukasta*, ‚als die Königin nach Khotan ritt . . . als *kāla* Puṃṇabala in die Berge ritt‘.<sup>3</sup>

320: *tusa imade ukastetu isa tumahu goṭha parivara sarvi aroḡemti*, ‚seit du von hier fortgeritten bist,<sup>3</sup> sind die Dienstleute auf deinem Landgut hier alle gesund geblieben‘.

Schwieriger ist es, die Bedeutung von *paṃcara* zu bestimmen. Das Wort kommt noch einmal in 349, das davon abgeleitete *paṃcaraiṃna*, *paṃcarayina* in 146 vor. Immer ist in Verbindung mit dem Worte von Kamelen die Rede. Die Überschrift der Liste in 146 lautet: *rayaka khula uṭana paṃcaraiṃna dadavya*. In derselben Liste steht *Vuruasa pradefami yatma Pḡetaṣa aṃna paṃcarayin milima 20 2*. *Paṃcarayina* ist also ein fiskalischer Terminus für Korn, das als Futter für die Kamele des königlichen Gestüts bestimmt war. Nun hören wir von *paṃcara*-Korn aber auch gerade in Verbindung mit toten Kamelen. So heißt es in 349: *avi kala Purnabalaga uṭa 2 Cakuṽala nida ede mṛtamti ede uṭa 2 paṃcara dadavo sā aṃna samḡalidavo eda aṃnaṣa aṃṇa pajeka yatmi kartavo*. Toten Kamelen kann kein Futter geliefert werden; *dadavo* muß hier also im Sinne von ‚zurückzugeben‘, ‚abzuliefern‘ gebraucht sein: ‚auch hat Cakuṽala zwei Kamele des *kāla* Purnabala gebracht. Diese sind totgeblieben. Der *paṃcara* für diese zwei Kamele ist

<sup>1</sup> Offenbar ist *ukasidavo* zu lesen.

<sup>2</sup> Burrow, Lang. p. 101: ‚down to‘, was nicht befriedigt.

<sup>3</sup> Das muß der Sinn des Satzes sein.

abzuliefern. Dieses Korn ist einzusammeln. Aus diesem Korn ist anderes, an verschiedene *yatmas* zugeteiltes zu machen.<sup>1</sup> Auch in dem Satze *aṃṇa mṛga uṭasa<sup>2</sup> paṃcaraiṃna aṃna huda milima 4 khi 10* in 146 ist sicherlich *mṛga* für *mṛta* verlesen oder verschrieben: ‚Für ein anderes totes Kamel ist das *paṃcaraiṃna*-Korn 4 *milima 10 khi* gewesen.‘ Es scheint also, daß der *paṃcara* ein bestimmtes Maß Korn war, das den Benutzern der Kamele des königlichen Gestüts zur Verpflegung der Tiere mitgegeben wurde und das in dem Falle, daß das Tier einging, wieder abgeliefert werden mußte, soweit es nicht verbraucht war.

Glücklicherweise hängt das Verständnis des Wortes, das uns hier in erster Linie interessiert, in keiner Weise von der genauen Bedeutung von *ukastade* oder *paṃcare* ab. Ich übersetze den Brief 40: ‚Sollte ein Kamel aus dem königlichen Gestüt krank werden und nicht mehr gehen können, so ist es an Ort und Stelle<sup>3</sup> in der Provinz zu pflegen. Sollte es . . . infolge des Reitens wegen der Belastung totbleiben, so wird der Kamelführer (dafür) zu zahlen haben. Sollte es „durch sein eigenes Sterben“ totbleiben, so ist der *paṃcara* an Ort und Stelle in der Provinz abzuliefern.‘ Da Kamele keinen Selbstmord zu begehen pflegen,<sup>4</sup> kann sich *svamaraṃnena* unmöglich auf etwas anderes als den natürlichen Tod beziehen, der hier dem durch Überlastung verschuldeten gegenübergestellt ist. Sollen wir nun wirklich glauben, daß das ap. *uvāmarṣiyuṣ amariyatā* in so ganz anderem Sinne gebraucht sein sollte als das *svamaraṃnena marīṣyati* in der so nahe verwandten Sprache der Kharoṣṭhi-Dokumente?

<sup>1</sup> Die *yatmas* sind Beamte, die mit dem Transport zu tun haben; siehe Burrow, Lang. p. 113. *Yatmi* ist offenbar *yatmiya* ‚einem *yatma* gehörig‘. Burrows Übersetzung des Satzes ‚of this corn other *yatmas* are to be made severally‘ verstehe ich nicht.

<sup>2</sup> So ist nach dem Index zu lesen.

<sup>3</sup> Wörtlich: ‚gerade dort‘.

<sup>4</sup> Konow macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß Morgenstierne, A. O. 17, 237, ähnliche Bedenken gegen den nach Herzfeld anzunehmenden Selbstmord (*waḍ-miri*) der Schafe im heutigen Belutschistan geäußert hat.

## IX

In den Kharoṣṭhi-Urkunden über den Verkauf eines Ackers oder Weinberges werden die Rechte des Käufers gewöhnlich in der Formel festgelegt, daß er durch den Kauf die Macht (*eṣvariya*) erlangt habe,

auf dem Acker zu säen: *vavaṃṇae* 222. 549. 571. 572. 579. 580. 582. 587. 654. 655. 715, *vavaṃṇaya* 677;

zu pflügen: *kiṣaṃṇae* 571. 579. 580. 587. *kiṣanae* 572, *kiṣaṃṇaya* 677, *kriṣaṃṇae* 582, *kiṣavaṃṇae* 549. 655, *kiṣivaṃṇae* 654. 715, *kriṣivaṃṇae* 222;

in dem Weinberg Stützen anzubringen, zu graben, Bäume zu fällen, zu bewässern: *ṣḡabhanae nihanamṇae vṛakṣi chinamṇae pivamṇamṇae* 586;

das Grundstück einem anderen zu schenken: *aṃṇisa prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* 571. 580. 582, *aṃṇasa (aṃṇasa) prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* 579. 654, *aṃṇa prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* 581. 715; *aṃṇa nova prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* 549, *praho . . . .* 655, *aṃṇeṣa laṣi deyaṃṇae* 678, *laṣi deyaṃṇae* 677;

zu verkaufen: *vikrinanae* 678, *vikrananae* 655, *vikranamṇae* 586. 587;<sup>1</sup>

*badho deyaṃṇae* 587, *baṃdh[o]va thavaṃṇae* 678;

*namamṇiya deyaṃṇae* 571. 581. 586. 655, *namamṇiya deyaṃṇaye* 580, *namamṇi deyaṃṇae* 582. 587, *namanaḡa deyaṃṇae* 222;

jede Nutznießung nach Belieben daraus zu ziehen: *ḡarva (sarva) boḡa (poḡa) kikama (kikama) karaṃṇiya (karaniya, karaṃṇi, karani) siyati (siati)* 222. 571. 572. 580. 582. 586. 587. 654. 655. 678. 715, *ḡarva bhoḡa paribhuchamṇae kikama karaṃṇi siyati* 579. 581.

Ähnliche Formeln werden in den Urkunden über den Kauf eines Sklaven oder einer Sklavin verwendet. Der Käufer hat die Macht, den Sklaven oder die Sklavin

<sup>1</sup> Ist [*viciṃṇanae*] in 654 für *vikrinanae* verschrieben oder verlesen?

zu prügeln: *taḍamṇae* 590. 592;

zu fesseln: *baṃnamṇae* 590; *baṃnanae* 592;<sup>1</sup>

ändern zu schenken: *aṃṇa nova prahu[ḍa\*] deyaṃṇae* 590, *aṃṇeṣa prahuḍa deyaṃṇae* 591;

zu verkaufen: *vikrinanae* 591, *vikranamṇae* 590. 592;

*badho deyaṃṇae* 590. 592; *badho thavaṃṇae* 591;

*namamṇiya deyaṃṇae* 590, *nammaniya deyaṃṇae* 592, *namani deyaṃṇae* 591;

jede Nutznießung nach Belieben daraus zu ziehen: *ḡarva boḡa kikama karaṃṇi (karamṇae) siyati* 590. 591. 592.

Für *badho deyaṃṇae* oder *thavaṃṇae* hat Burrow, Lang. p. 109, sicherlich mit Recht die Bedeutung ‚verpfänden‘ angenommen.<sup>2</sup> Im Sk. wird genau entsprechend *bandhake dadāti* ‚er gibt in Verpfändung‘, ‚er verpfändet‘, *bandhake tiṣṭhati* ‚er steht in Verpfändung‘, ‚er ist verpfändet‘ gesagt. Burrow selbst hat schon auf Kullūkas Erklärung von *ādḡau sopakāre* in Manu 8, 143 verwiesen: *bhūmi-godhanādau bhogārthaṃ bandhake datte*. Die Verbindung mit *sthā* zeigt sich in den Definitionen von *dhenusyā*, dem schon Pāṇini 4, 4, 89 bekannten technischen Ausdruck für eine Kuh, die mit dem Rechte, die Milch zu benutzen, verpfändet ist,<sup>3</sup> bei den Lexikographen: *dhenusyā bandhake sthitā* Am. 2, 9, 72; Vaij. 69, 100; *pīta-dugdḡā tu dhenusyā samsthitā dugḡhabandhake* Hem. Abh. 1270. Es ist wohl möglich, daß der Ausdruck *badho deyaṃṇae* oder *thavaṃṇae* auf eine Verpfändung eingeengt war, bei der der Gläubiger, anstatt Zinsen zu empfangen, die Nutznießung des Pfandes hatte, wie das in Indien bei dem *ādḡiḡ sopakāraḡ* der Fall war; siehe Manu 8, 143 *na tv evādḡau sopakāre kauṣīdīm vṛddḡim āpnuyāt*; Gant. 12, 32 *bhuktādḡir na vardḡate*; Viṣṇu 6, 5 *ādḡyupabhoge vṛ-*

<sup>1</sup> Prügeln und Fesseln wird nur in den Urkunden über den Kauf einer Sklavin erwähnt.

<sup>2</sup> Warum er sagt: ‚in distinction to the other phrases the verb used is *thavaṃṇae* „to place“ not *deyaṃṇae* „to give“‘, verstehe ich nicht.

<sup>3</sup> Kāśikā: *yā dhenur uttamaraṇyā ṛṇapradānād dohanārthaṃ dīyate sā dhenusyā, pīta-dugdḡheti yasyāḡ prasiddḡiḡ | dhenusyāḡ bhavate dadāmi*.

*ddhyabhāvaḥ*. Die grammatische Erklärung des vor *deyaṃnae* oder *thavaṃnae* erscheinenden Wortes ist, wie schon Burrow bemerkt hat, schwierig. *Badho*, die in den Kaufurkunden häufigste Form, wird man doch wohl als Akk. des Partizips = sk. *baddham* erklären müssen. In zwei Schreiben findet sich anstatt *badho baṃdhava*, in 492: *śramana Mokṣasena viṃṇāveti yatha edeṣa śramana Samājha stri Camavati Yonjeṣa vaṃti baṃdhava thavida*, und in 473: *Yapgu viṃṇāveti yatha edaṣa śramana Saṃgaṣira masuṣaṭa bhuma-kṣetra baṃdhava thaviti siyati atra samuha anada prohidavo bhudartha eda baṃdhava thavidaḡa siyati . . . . . yena baṃdhava thavidaḡa siyati tanu nivartavidavo*. Auch in der Kaufurkunde 678 ist offenbar *baṃdhava thavaṃnae* zu lesen; die Herausgeber lesen *baṃdh[o]va* mit eingeklammertem *o*. Dies *baṃdhava* dürfte *bandhavva* repräsentieren und auf ein ursprüngliches \**bandhavya* zurückgehen; dem Sinne nach bleibt es sich gleich, ob etwas ‚als gebunden‘ oder ‚als zu binden‘ gegeben oder gestellt wird. Allerdings zeigt das Gerundiv sonst entweder den rein sanskritischen Ausgang auf *-vya* oder den prakritischen auf *-vo*; in der engen Verbindung *baṃdhava thavida* könnte sich aber die Form auf *-vva* erhalten haben. Übrigens liegt die Form auf *-vo* wahrscheinlich der fehlerhaften Schreibung *ba vo* in 331 zugrunde: *sa kuḍi Kacanaga na vikrinidavo na ba vo thavidavo*. Es bleibt endlich noch die eigentümliche Form *baṃthova* in 569: *eṣa ṣamaṃnera unid'aga na dajha kaḍ'avo na vikrinidavo na baṃthova thavidavo*. Mir scheint diese vereinzelte Form einfach ein Schreibfehler zu sein.

Für *namaṃniya* oder *namaṃnaḡa deyaṃnae* hat Burrow, Lang, p. 100, die Bedeutung ‚austauschen‘ vermutet. Die einzige Stelle, wo *namaṃnaḡa* außerhalb der Kaufurkunden vorkommt, scheint ihm recht zu geben. In 279<sup>1</sup> wird auseinandergesetzt, daß Pgena aus dem Ajiyama *avāna* eine Frau aus dem Yaṣe *avāna* heiratete, ohne *lote mukeṣi* zu geben. Später heiratete Camcā aus dem Yaṣe *avāna*

<sup>1</sup> Burrow hat Lang, p. 116 den Text bis zu dem unvollständigen Satz übersetzt.

Sarpinae, die Tochter des Pgena in dem Ajiyama *avāna: matuae bhaḡena Yabe avānaṃmi Cācāsa*<sup>1</sup> *bharya Sarpina huda*, ‚an Stelle der Mutter war Sarpina die Frau des Camcā in dem Yaṣe *avāna*‘. Daran schließt sich der leider unvollständige Satz: *yo pitu Pgena dhitu Sarpinae namaṃnaḡa dita tena parihaṣina*<sup>2</sup> *Pgenasa putrehi śaka . . .*. Es liegt nahe zu übersetzen: ‚daß der Vater Pgena seine Tochter Sarpinae in Austausch gegeben habe, mit dieser Klage von den Söhnen des Pgena . . .‘ Ganz sicher ist das freilich wegen des Fehlens des Nachsatzes nicht. Die Klage könnte sich umgekehrt gerade darauf beziehen, daß kein Austausch, sondern eine andere Form der Überlassung des Mädchens stattgefunden habe. Die Zusammenstellung mit Verkaufen, Verschenken, Verpfänden in den Kaufurkunden würde es an und für sich vielleicht näherlegen, in *namaṃniya* oder *namaṃnaḡa deyaṃnae* das zeitweilige Überlassen einer Sache an einen andern zu sehen, also das Ausleihen oder, wenn für die Benutzung der zeitweilig überlassenen Sache eine Vergütung an den Eigentümer zu zahlen war, das Vermieten oder Verpachten. Im Sinne von ‚Darlehen‘ könnte *namaṃnaḡa* in 677 gebraucht sein, wo es heißt: *stri Kosenaya yi staṃ svina namaṃnaḡa muliyena bhuma kridaḡa Siḡayitasa paride*. Das ist vielleicht dahin zu verstehen, daß die Frau Kosenaya von Siḡayita ein Feld für den Preis eines früher gegebenen Darlehens gekauft hat, doch sind die Worte *yi staṃ svina* unverständlich und auch der folgende Text ist nicht klar. Daß die zeitweilige Überlassung einer Sache im Iranschen durch *nam* ausgedrückt werden konnte, scheint mir aus einer Stelle des Avesta hervorzugehen. Vend. 4, 1 lautet:

*yō naire nēmaṃhēnte  
nōit nēmō paiti,baraiti  
tāyūṣ nēmaṃhō bavaiti  
hazaṃha nēmō,barahe*

*aeṣamciṭ iḡra vā asni iḡra vā xṣafne maṣpanahe hvāi  
pairi.gaurvayeite.*

<sup>1</sup> Oder *Camcāsa*.

<sup>2</sup> Lies *parihaṣena*.



Das *nəmah* und das *nəmaṇhat* haben den Erklärern seit alter Zeit viel Kopfzerbrechen gemacht. Die Pehlevi-Übersetzung gibt *nəmah* durch *nyāyišn* ‚Bitte‘, *nəmaṇhat* durch *nyāyišnōmand* ‚mit Bitte versehen‘ wieder, aber schon Spiegel, Comm. 1, 116, bemerkte, daß diese Bedeutung hier für *nəmah* nicht passe, daß aber auch Rückerts Übersetzung ‚wer dem grüßenden Manne nicht den Gruß wiedergibt‘ nicht möglich sei, und daß er selbst am liebsten übersetzen möchte: ‚wer einem leihenden Manne die Schuld nicht abträgt‘. Spiegel ließ sich durch ein ganz richtiges Gefühl leiten, und Darmesteter, SBE. Vol. IV, p. 35, nahm denn auch *nəmah* im Sinne von ‚Darlehen‘ und übersetzte: ‚he that does not return a loan to the man who let it, steals the thing and robs the man.‘<sup>1</sup> Aber Geldner, Studien, S. 95, erklärte wieder, Rückert habe im wesentlichen das Richtige vermutet und hinsichtlich *nəmō* bleibe er bei Roths Deutung, wenn sich auch die neueren Übersetzer gegen die zwingende Erklärung sperrten. Er selbst übersetzte (S. 88):

Wer einem Mann, der ihm Achtung bezeugt,  
die Ehre nicht erwidert,  
der ist ein Dieb der Achtung,  
ein Räuber an dem Ehrerbietigen;  
oder wenn jemand nur eine winzige  
Habe, ob am Tag,  
ob in der Nacht, aus dem Hause  
in das seinige hinüberbringt.

Der verbindende Gedanke zwischen den beiden Sätzen soll nach Geldner sein: beide Dinge scheinen zwar geringfügig, sind es aber in Wirklichkeit nicht. Ich gestehe, daß mir das nicht verständlich ist, zumal auch von der Winzigkeit der Habe im Texte gar nicht die Rede ist. Man fragt sich aber weiter auch vergebens, warum denn diese Strophe über die unterlassene Achtungsbezeugung

<sup>1</sup> So auch Zend-Avesta II, 49, wo aber der Versuch gemacht wird, etwas von der Pehlevi-Übersetzung zu retten: ‚celui qui ne rend pas à l'homme qui le réclame l'argent prêté sur sa prière est larron de la chose prêtée, est brigand à l'égard du prêteur.‘

an die Spitze des Kapitels gestellt sein sollte, das im übrigen nur von Materien aus dem Rechtsleben, vom Vertragsbruch, von Bedrohung, Körperverletzung, Diebstahl und dergleichen handelt.

So führt denn der innere Textzusammenhang der Strophe wie ihre Stellung im vierten Fargard mit Notwendigkeit auf den schon von Spiegel angedeuteten Bedeutungsansatz von *nəmah* zurück. Nach Bartholomae ist zu übersetzen: ‚Wer einem darleihenden Mann das Darlehen nicht wiedergibt, wird zu einem Dieb des Darlehens, zu einem Räuber an dem Darlehensgeber; (als ob) er, seis am Tage, seis in der Nacht, die Habe des (fremden) Hauses für seinen (Bedarf) wegnähme.‘<sup>1</sup>

Zur Erklärung von *naməṇniya*, *naməṇnāja* bemerkt Burrow: ‚Both forms must be derived from a word *namana*. This may be < an Iranian *nimāna* (for *na* < *ni*, cf. *namata* < *nimata*), cf. Arm. L. W. *nman* „instar,” „similis,” N. Pers. *namūnah*, „similar, like,” „pattern,” etc. The meaning „exchange,” i. e. give something for something like it, might easily develop from this.‘ Mir scheint das etwas weit hergeholt und wenig überzeugend zu sein. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist es doch, daß das av. *nəmah* und das *naməṇniya*, *naməṇnāja* der Urkunden auf eine gemeinsame Wurzel *nam* zurückgehen, deren Bedeutung sich vielleicht im Laufe der Zeit in den verschiedenen iranischen Sprachen zu ‚verleihen‘ und ‚vertauschen‘ differenzierte. Die Bedeutungen, die die Nachkommen der idg. Wurzel *nem* in den europäischen Sprachen angenommen haben, gehen noch viel weiter auseinander.

<sup>1</sup> Wolff, Avesta, S. 332. Besser vielleicht ‚sich selbst aneignete‘; vgl. Bartholomae, Wörterb. Sp. 1846.

## **IV. Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte**

## Indische Höhlen als Vergnügungsorte.

Von

Heinrich Lüders.

Im vorletzten Hefte dieser Zeitschrift (S. 455 ff.) macht Herr Dr. Bloch einige Mitteilungen über eine Höhle am Ramgash Berge in Sirguja, die, wie aus ihrer Anlage und aus Inschriften, die sie enthält, hervorgeht, offenbar für dramatische Aufführungen bestimmt war. Bei dem allgemeinen Interesse, das diese Entdeckung erregen wird, ist es vielleicht nicht unangebracht, auf einige Stellen in der Kunstdichtung und in der epigraphischen Literatur hinzuweisen, wo von der Benutzung von Höhlen zu dem gleichen oder einem ähnlichen Zwecke die Rede ist.

In der Beschreibung des Himālaya im Kumārasambhava (I, 10) erwähnt Kālidāsa auch die „Höhlenhäuser“, wo die Waldbewohner nachts beim Scheine der selbstleuchtenden Kräuter mit ihren Freundinnen der Liebe pflegen:

*vanecarāṇām vanitāsakhānām dāriḡrhotsaṅgaṇiṣaktabhāsaḥ |  
bhavanti yatrauśadhayo rajanyām atailapūrāḥ suratapradīpāḥ ||*

Und ein paar Strophen weiter (I, 14) sagt er, daß die vor den Eingängen zu diesen „Höhlenhäusern“ herabhängenden Wolken die Stelle von Vorhängen einnehmen, hinter denen sich die Kimpuruṣa-frauen schamhaft verbergen; wenn ihre Liebhaber ihnen ihre Toilette in Unordnung gebracht haben:

*yatrāmsūkākṣepavilajjitānām yadṛcchayā kiṃpuruṣāṅganānām |  
dāriḡrha dvāravilambbimbās tīraskariṇyo jaladā bhavanti ||*

So phantastisch diese Schilderungen im einzelnen sein mögen, so beruhen sie doch sicherlich auf realem Grunde. Kālidāsa würde den „König der Berge“ nicht mit Höhlen, die der Liebe dienen, ausgestattet haben, wenn er solche nicht in den Bergen seiner Heimat gekannt hätte. Und in der Tat findet sich in seinen Werken eine Stelle, wo er von solchen Vergnügungshöhlen an einem Berge in der Nähe von Vidiśā spricht. Im Meghadūta (I, 25) schildert er den Nīcairgiri als den Berg, „der durch seine Steinhäuser, die den Liebesduft käuflicher Weiber ausströmen, die ausgelassene Jugend der Städter verrät“:

*yaḥ paṇyastriratiparimalodgāribhir nāgarānām  
uddāmāni prathayati śilāveśmabhir yauvanāni* ||

Daß unter *śilāveśman* hier genau dasselbe wie unter *dārigrha* zu verstehen ist, wird auch durch Mallinātha bezeugt, der das Wort durch *kandara* wiedergibt. Über die innere Einrichtung dieser Höhlen können wir aus der Stelle leider nichts entnehmen, doch dürfen wir aus Kum. I, 14 wohl schließen, daß man den Eingang durch einen Vorhang zu schließen gewöhnt war, genau wie es nach Bloch's Angaben in der Sitabengahöhle der Fall war.

Nach Kālidāsa trieben in diesen Höhlen die Hetären ihr Wesen; daß aber auch theatralische Aufführungen dort veranstaltet wurden, und zwar gerade von diesen Hetären, dafür tritt ein inschriftliches Zeugnis ein. Unter den älteren Jainainschriften zu Mathurā findet sich ein Verzeichnis der Schenkungen einer *ganikā* namens Nādā, die sich selbst als Tochter der *ganikā* Daṃdā, der *leṇasobhikā*, bezeichnet.<sup>1)</sup> Das Wort *sobhika* oder *śaubhika* begegnet uns im Sinne von Schauspieler in der bekannten Stelle des Mahābhāṣya, wo von den Aufführungen der Tötung des Kaṃsa und der Fesselung des Bali die Rede ist (zu Pāṇ. 3, 1, 26, Vārtt. 15);<sup>2)</sup> *leṇasobhikā* bedeutet also wörtlich „Höhlenschauspielerin“, und es läßt sich kaum bezweifeln, daß es die spezielle Bezeichnung von Hetären war, die in Höhlen wie der von Bloch beschriebenen mimische Darstellungen zum besten gaben.

Ich bin überzeugt, daß noch manche andere Höhle in Indien nicht die Wohnung stiller Mönche, sondern der Aufenthaltsort von *ganikās* und *leṇasobhikās* und ihrer Liebhaber war. Weitere sichere Beispiele sind die sogenannten Höhlen der Königin und des Gaṇeśa in Udayagiri, deren Reliefs, worauf mich Jacobi aufmerksam machte, das Treiben jener Damen und Herren in zum Teil höchst realistischer Weise darstellen. Das von Bloch aufgefundene Höhlentheater hat aber noch ein besonderes Interesse: es ist nach griechischem Muster angelegt. Die vielbehandelte Frage der Beeinflussung des indischen Theaters durch das griechische ist durch die bekannten Untersuchungen von Reich in ein neues Licht gerückt worden, und die Möglichkeit oder vielmehr die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Zusammenhanges zwischen dem indischen Drama und dem antiken Mimus läßt sich kaum noch in Abrede stellen. Das Bestehen eines „griechischen“ Theaters auf indischem Boden würde natürlich ein wichtiges Glied in der Beweiskette sein, und wir sehen daher mit Spannung der ausführlichen Beschreibung entgegen, die Bloch uns im Archæological Annual zu geben verspricht.

1) Siehe Indian Antiquary XXXIII, 152f.

2) Die Handschriften schwanken zwischen *sobhikā*, *śaubhikā*, *śaunaṭā* und *sobhanikā*; die letztere Form hat Kielhorn in den Text aufgenommen.

## TEXTILIEN IM ALTEN TURKISTAN

AUS DEN ABHANDLUNGEN  
DER PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
JAHRGANG 1936. PHIL.-HIST. KLASSE. NR. 3

Die von Sir Aurel Stein im Süden des Tarimbeckens aufgefundenen Dokumente in Kharoṣṭhi-Schrift enthalten eine solche Unsumme von Nachrichten über die Staatsverwaltung, die Rechtspflege, die wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse des indischen Kolonialreiches in Ostturkistan, daß sie unbedingt zu den wichtigsten Quellen für die Alte Geschichte des Orients gerechnet werden müssen. Ihre Benutzung wird durch die Sprache erschwert, die, wenn sie auch von dem im Nordwesten Indiens gesprochenen Dialekte ausgeht, sich doch in ganz eigenartiger Weise entwickelt und insbesondere zahlreiche Fremdwörter aufgenommen hat. Um zum Verständnis dieser Urkunden zu gelangen, wird es zunächst vor allem darauf ankommen, die genaue Bedeutung der mehr oder minder unbekanntenen Ausdrücke aus der Rechts- und Verwaltungssprache und für die Gegenstände des täglichen Lebens festzustellen. Manches ist in dieser Hinsicht schon durch die Arbeiten von Thomas, Konow, Bailey, Burrow und anderen geschehen. Die folgenden Bemerkungen über die in den Texten genannten Textilien dienen demselben Zwecke; vielleicht sind sie darüber hinaus als ein kleiner Beitrag zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen der Alten Welt nicht ohne Interesse.

### *koj'ava*, *goni* und *pali gonaka*.

*Koj'ava* kommt in den Dokumenten 18 mal vor<sup>1)</sup>; 6 mal wird dafür *koṣava* geschrieben, was auf eine Aussprache *koṣava* schließen läßt. *Koj'ava* bezeichnet deutlich eine Ware; siehe z. B. 633 *tatra koj'ava tavastaḡa ghrīda ṣa ca kṛīṇāvo*. Es ist ferner eine Ware von beträchtlichem Werte. Nach 327 hat der Käufer eines Ackers als Preis eine Kuh im Preise von 10 der der Berechnung zugrunde liegenden Werteinheit und als Zusatzpreis ein *koj'ava* im Preise von 5 gegeben, so daß der Gesamtpreis 15 betrug: *tita muli go 1 daṣa muliyena aṃṇa oṅga muli dītaḡa koj'ava 1 paṃca muli piṇḡa muli hutī*<sup>2)</sup> 10 4 1. In 222 wird von einem doppelt so teuren *koj'ava* gesprochen: *bhumaṣa pratikara laṣa tita koj'ava 1 daṣa muli pramana* 'als Gegengabe für den Acker hat er einen *koj'ava* im Kaufpreise von 10 geschenkt'. Es ist daher begreiflich, daß *koj'ava* in Abgabenlisten und Kaufverträgen häufig als Zahlungsmittel erscheint. In 431 wird ein weißer *koj'ava* erwähnt: *ṣpedaḡa koj'ava 1*. Besonders geschätzt waren offenbar die *koj'avas* aus Khotan. In 583 wird *khotamni koj'ava 1* in Zahlung gegeben. Nach dem Kaufvertrag 549 haben die Verkäufer einen khotanischen *alena* (?) *koj'ava* und 5 *milima* Korn erhalten, nach Berechnung

<sup>1)</sup> Außer in den im Index angeführten Stellen noch in 448.

<sup>2)</sup> Ob *hutī* richtig ist, ist mir zweifelhaft. Zu erwarten wäre *huta*.

einen Preis von 15: *khotamiya alena koj'ava* 1 *aṃṃa milima* 4 1 *paḍ'ichidaṃti muli* 10 4 1 *gaṃmana*. Wenn, wie im Index auf Grund von 210 vermutet wird, der *milima* Korn die Werteinheit bildete, so würde auch hier der khotanische *koj'ava* einen Preis von 10 haben.

Thomas, AO. 12, 54 sieht *koj'ava* als Äquivalent von sk. *kauseya* 'Seide' an, allein es ist zweifellos *p. kojava*, das schon im Pali-Vinaya erscheint.

Mv. 8, 1, 36 erlaubt der Buddha den Gebrauch eines *kojava*: *kojavaṃ uppannaṃ hoti amujānāmi bhikkhave kojavan ti*. Die Bemerkung findet sich im Anschluß an Regeln über den Gebrauch von Kleidungsstücken wie *gahapatiāvāra*, *pāvāra*, *koseyyapāvāra*. Das läßt darauf schließen, daß der *kojava* mehr als Überwurf oder Decke denn als Teppich zum Daraufsitzen verwendet wurde.

Das gleiche geht aus Dhammap. Komm. 3, 297 hervor, wo von einer Königin von Benares erzählt wird, daß sie nicht leiden kann, Jucken verursachendes Kacchu-Pulver auf ihr Bett und in ihren Mantel, ihren *kojava* usw. streut (*sayane c'eva pāvārakojavādīnañ ca antaresu*). Deutlich ist *kojava* 'Decke' Dāthāv. 5, 36, wo von einem mit einem wollenen *kojava* belegten Throne die Rede ist (*sihāsane paṭikakojavasanthamhi*). Charakteristisch für den *kojava* ist seine Weichheit. In der Geschichte von dem Knaben Ghosaka, der allen Mordanschlägen entgeht, heißt es Dhammap. Komm. 1, 177, daß er, als er von einem Felsen herabgestürzt wird, in ein Jīnjuka-Gebüsch fällt wie auf einen *kojava*.

Daß der *kojava* als Decke auf einem Sitz verwendet wurde, geht aber auch aus einer stereotypen Phrase im Divyāvadāna 40; 550 (zweimal); 553 (zweimal) hervor. Sie lautet in der Textausgabe: *pañca vihārasatāni kartavyāni (kārayitavyāni 553a, kāritāni 40, 550b, 553b) pañca (anekāni ca 40) mañca-piṭha* (ins. *satāni 553a*)-*vṛṣi-kocaka* (*kocca 553*)-*bimbopadhāna*<sup>1</sup>-*caturasakaśatāni dātavyāni (dāpitāni 550b; 553b; amupradāpitāni 40)*. Anstatt *kocaka* lesen die Handschriften aber 40 und 553 an der zweiten Stelle *kocava*, in 550 an der ersten Stelle A *kotvaca*, B *kocakta*, C *kovaca*, D *kovvaka*). Die richtige Lesung ist sicherlich *kocava*<sup>2</sup>, und diese Form findet sich auch zwischen *sthūlakambala* und *namata* Mahāvvyutp. 232, 21. In der chinesischen Übersetzung der Mahāvvyutpatti<sup>4</sup> wird dies *kocava* durch 襴子 *ho-dsi* 'grober Wollstoff' wiedergegeben, in der tibetischen Übersetzung durch *bal-la-ba* 'wollene Decke'. Als

<sup>1</sup> Eine andere Lesart ist *pāpurane paccattharaṇādīnañ ca*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bimbopadhāna* 'Rundkissen' (im Gegensatz zu dem quadratischen *caturasaka*-Kissen) ist trotz der Verschiedenheit der Vokalquantität wahrscheinlich das Grundwort für *p. bimbohāna*, das in Verbindung mit *bhisi*, aber auch in der Reihe *mañca, piṭha, bhisi, bimbohāna* (z. B. Cv. 4, 4, 4) erscheint. Die im PTS. Dictionary vorgeschlagenen Etymologien von *bimbohāna* sind verfehlt.

<sup>3</sup> Wenn die Schreiber im Divy. aus *kocava kocaka* oder *kocca* machen, so haben sie vielleicht an *p. koccha* gedacht, das einen aus Rinde, Rohr oder Gras hergestellten Sitz bezeichnet.

<sup>4</sup> Ich habe hier und im folgenden für die chinesischen Übersetzungen die Ausgabe von Wogihara benutzt, für die tibetischen die Ausgabe von Sakaki. Für die Übersetzungen aus dem Chinesischen bin ich Fr. Dr. v. Gabain für ihre freundliche Hilfe zu Dank verpflichtet.

*kocavakam* wird das Wort noch einmal in Mahāvvy. 273, 34 aufgeführt. Hier lautet die chinesische Übersetzung 大毛刷絨 *da-mau schua-jung* 'langhaariger Bürsten-(artiger) Samt', die tibetische *la-ba* 'Wolldecke'.

Sicherlich ist das *c* von *kocava* älter als das *j* von *kojava*, denn *kocava* hat eine Stütze an der Form des Wortes, die im Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra erscheint. Dort wird (29) unter den aus Schafwolle hergestellten Textilien (*āvika*) hinter *kambalah* 'Decke' *kaucapakah* aufgeführt. Daß die Späteren mit dem Worte nichts anzufangen wußten, ergibt sich schon aus der Fülle der handschriftlichen Lesarten<sup>1</sup>. *Kaucapaka* gibt aber in Wahrheit Silbe für Silbe ein durch das *ka*-Suffix erweitertes *kojava* wieder. Die Herkunft des Wortes bleibt vorläufig dunkel. Man könnte daran denken, *kocava* und *kaucapaka* auf ein *\*kaucava* zu vereinigen; *kocava* würde eine unvollkommene Sanskritisierung eines prakritischen *kojava* sein, während das *p* von *kaucapaka* als Hypersanskritismus anzusehen wäre. *\*Kaucava* würde sich leicht auf *\*kucu* zurückführen lassen, wenn sich dies als Name des Stoffes, aus dem die Decken verfertigt wurden, oder als Name ihres Ursprungslandes nachweisen ließe. Das ist aber nicht der Fall<sup>2</sup>, und wie wir später sehen werden, gibt es auch eine Tamsache, die stark zu Gunsten von *\*kaucapa* als der Grundform des Wortes spricht.

Im Pali findet sich noch ein anderes Wort, das etwas dem *kojava* ganz Ähnliches bezeichnet, das ist *gonaka*<sup>3</sup>. *Gonaka* ist eine Decke, die auf einen *pallanka*, einen Divan oder ein Ruhebett gebreitet wird; vgl. *caturāsiti pallankasahassāni ... goṇakathatāmi* Samy. 3, 144; *pallāṅko goṇakathato* Aṅg. 1, 137; 3, 50; 4, 231; *pallāṅkā ... goṇakasanthatā*<sup>4</sup> Petav. 2, 12, 8; *goṇakatūlikasanthatam*<sup>5</sup> ... *sayanam* Therig. 378; *bahugoṇakamhi ... sabbasayanamhi* Jāt. 537, 110. Dīgh. 1, 7 wird *gonaka* hinter *pallanka* unter den eleganten Sitzen aufgezählt. Neben *gonaka* findet sich bisweilen auch *gona*: *pallāṅke goṇasanthate* Vimānav. 81, 8; Petav. 3, 1, 17<sup>6</sup>. Ganz sicher ist

<sup>1</sup> Von den Herausgebern und Erklärern des Textes und des Kommentars des Bhaṭṭasvāmin wird für *kaucapakah* auch *kaucayakah*, *kaucaśakah*, *kaucapākah*, *kaucalakah*, *kecalakah*, *kecalakah* angeführt. Bhaṭṭasvāmin erklärt das Wort als Kappe, die die Waldbewohner gegen die Kälte tragen: *vanagocarāṇam* (so offenbar zu lesen) *śitavāraṇasirastrāṇam*. Es handelt sich in diesem Zusammenhange aber doch sicherlich um eine Art Tuch oder Stoff.

<sup>2</sup> An *Kuci* ist kaum zu denken, da der Name in der alten Zeit sicherlich auf *-i* auslautete; vgl. Pelliot, T'oung-Pao 22, 126f. In dem alten Ostdialekt der Aśoka-Inschriften, wo öfter *-aya* durch *-ava* ersetzt wurde, wäre allerdings eine Bildung *kocava* von *Kuci* nicht undenkbar, da wir hier neben *socaye* (S. E. 2) auch *socave* (S. E. 7) von sk. *śuci* finden. Aber gerade für *socave* besteht der Verdacht, daß es unter dem Einfluß der daneben stehenden *madave sādhave* entstanden ist. Angesichts dieser Fülle von Unsicherheiten kann die Zurückführung von *kocava* auf *Kuci* nicht ernstlich in Betracht kommen.

<sup>3</sup> Childers führt das Wort mit dentalem *n* auf und bemerkt, daß einige Handschriften *goṇaka* schreiben. Die Textausgaben haben gewöhnlich *goṇaka* und das Pali Text Society's Dictionary hat diese Schreibung angenommen. Wahrscheinlich ist aber *gonaka* die ursprüngliche Form, die unter dem Einfluß von *goṇi, goṇa* zu *goṇaka* umgestaltet wurde. In den zitierten Stellen gebe ich das Wort in der Schreibung der Ausgaben.

<sup>4</sup> Ausgabe *-saṃphita*.

<sup>5</sup> Ausgabe im Text *-santatam*, im Komm. *-patthapam*.

<sup>6</sup> Ausgabe *-saṃphite*.

aber die abgekürzte Form nicht. An der Stelle des Petav. lesen die birmanischen Handschriften *gonakathate*. Sumāṅgalavil. 1, 86 wird *gonaka* als ein großer *kojava* mit mehr als vier Finger langen Haaren erklärt: *gonako ti dīghalomako mahākojavo caturāṅgulādhikāni kira tassa lomāni*. Dieselbe Erklärung wird Abhidhānapp. 312 gegeben: *mahantakojavo dīghalomako gonako mato*, auch im Komm. zu Petav. 2, 12, 8 (S. 157): *gonakasanthatā ti dīghalomakena kojavena santhatā*. Im Komm. zu Therīg. 378 wird, vorausgesetzt daß der Text in Ordnung ist, noch hinzugefügt, daß der *gonaka* schwarz sei, was in dieser Verallgemeinerung jedenfalls kaum richtig ist: *dīghalomakālojavena ceva haṃsalomādīpunnāya tūlikāya ca patthaṭaṇṇa*.

Im buddhistischen Mischdialekt wird statt *gonaka* das Femininum *gonikā* gebraucht: *pariyamkām ... soḍaśagonikāstrītāṃ* Mahāv. 2, 115; *gorathakān ... tūlikāgonikāstarāṇān* Saddharmap. 75, 5ff.

Man könnte geneigt sein, *gonaka* mit dem *goni* zu identifizieren, das ein paarmal in den Dokumenten erscheint. Das Täfelchen 154 ist offenbar das Begleitschreiben einer Karawane, in dem die Waren verzeichnet sind, die jedes einzelne Mitglied für sein Kamel empfangen und bei der Ankunft am Bestimmungsort abzuliefern hatte. In drei Eintragungen ist außer einer Last (*nadhā*), deren Maß in *milima* und *khi* angegeben ist und die daher sicherlich in Korn bestand, Butter, Stricken und *ṣoṣami*, dessen Bedeutung ich nicht kenne, auch *goni* genannt:

*suḡitaṣa nadha milima 1 khi 3 goni 1 ghrida khi 1 raju 1*  
*pirovala suḡiyaṣa nadha milima 1 ghrida khi 1 goni 1 raju 1*  
*suḡitaṣa goni 1 ṣoṣami 20 1*

Ebenso ist in 414 *goni* neben *raju* gestellt: *avi adehi dū goni 2 dū ra[j]u kotareyana' preṣi[t.]*. In der Abgabenliste 207 findet sich *goni* zwischen *kamuṇṭa*<sup>2</sup> und Körben: *kamuṇṭa 10 4 2 goni 3 peḍ'a 3*. Die Zusammenstellung mit Stricken, mit Fangseilen und Körben macht es doch wahrscheinlich, daß *goni*<sup>3</sup> nichts weiter als sk. *gonī* 'Sack' ist, das in der gleichen Bedeutung bis auf den heutigen Tag in fast allen Volkssprachen fortlebt<sup>4</sup> und als *gunny* ins Angloindische aufgenommen ist<sup>5</sup>. *Gonī* findet sich schon bei Pāṇini 1, 2, 50; 4, 1, 42; 5, 3, 90<sup>6</sup>, ist aber doch wohl mit Charpentier, MO. 18, 32 als eine prakritische Ableitung von *go* 'Rind' anzu-

<sup>1</sup> *Kotareyana* ist unverständlich. Davor sind ein oder zwei *akṣaras* verlorengegangen. Dahinter stehen zwei Punkte, die Verbesserung andeuten.

<sup>2</sup> *Kamuṇṭa* = *kamuṇṭa*, *kaṃṇuṇṭa* in 272, 714. Den Zusammenhang des Wortes mit npers. *kamand* haben unabhängig voneinander Schaefer und Henning erkannt.

<sup>3</sup> Auf das *goni yonmi* in 214 möchte ich hier nicht eingehen, da mir der Textzusammenhang nicht klar ist. In 686 ist *go niyonmi* oder *go veyonmi* zu lesen.

<sup>4</sup> Siehe Pischel, BB. 3, 237; Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe, S. 325.

<sup>5</sup> Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson s. v.

<sup>6</sup> Außerdem im *gaṇa aṅgulyādi* in 5, 3, 108. Die Bedeutung von *gonī* ist auch bei Pāṇini sicherlich schon Sack. 4, 1, 42 wird die Anfügung von *i* an *goṇa* gelehrt, wenn es einen Behälter (*āvapaṇā*) bedeutet. Nach 5, 3, 90 sagt man *gonītari*, wenn es sich um eine kurze (*hrasvā*) *gonī* handelt. Unter 1, 2, 50 erklärt die *Kāśikā* die schon im Mahābh. angeführten Beispiele *pañcagomīh*, *pañcasūcīh* durch *pañcabhir gomībhih kṛitah pañah pañcagomīh*, *pañcabhih sūcībhih kṛitah pañcasūcīh*; die Bedeutung wird eher 'in fünf Säcke gepackt', 'mit fünf Nadeln festgesteckt' sein.

sehen wie pr. *goṇa* 'Ochse', *goṇī* 'Kuh' (von Pāṇjali, Mahābh. 1, 2, 24 als *Apabhraṃṣa* angeführt). Es müßte dann ursprünglich die als Sack verwendete Rinds- haut bezeichnet haben. Von dieser Grundbedeutung ist allerdings im Gebrauche des Wortes schon in alter Zeit nichts mehr zu spüren; *Sūruta* 4, 4, 16 wird von einer *goṇī* aus dem Fell von Katzen, Wiesel, Kamelen oder Antilopen gesprochen (*bidālanakuloṣṭrāṇāṃ carmagonyāṇ mṛgasya vā*). In den heutigen Volkssprachen wird das Wort für einen aus Hanf, auch Palmblättern, und in neuerer Zeit insbesondere aus Jute hergestellten Sack verwendet. Wo das Wort in einer iranischen Sprache erscheint, wie in *waz. gōnai, gīnai* 'häfnier Sack'<sup>1</sup>, ist es offenbar durch den Handel vermitteltes Lehnwort aus dem Indischen.

Ist die vorgetragene Ableitung von *gonī* richtig, so ist p. *gonaka* davon völlig zu trennen<sup>2</sup>. Die Herkunft dieses Wortes läßt sich durch Heranziehung eines griechischen Wortes mit Sicherheit bestimmen. Schwyzler, ZII. 6, 234, hat dem griech. *καυνάκη, καυνάκης, γαυνάκης, γαυνάκιον* eine ausführliche Untersuchung gewidmet. Er hat nachgewiesen, daß das griechische Wort, das zuerst in Aristophanes' *Wespen* erscheint, niemals einen Pelz bezeichnet, sondern überall einen wollenen Stoff, den man als Decke oder als Mantel benutzte. Über die Art und die Herkunft dieses Gewebes werden wir durch die Angaben bei Aristophanes gut unterrichtet. Es hat starke Zotten: V. 1144 wird es scherzhaft *κρόκης χόλιξ*, etwa 'wollenes Gekröse' genannt; es hat ein ganzes Talent Wolle geschluckt (V. 1146). Auch in einem von Schwyzler angeführten Scholion wird als charakteristisch hervorgehoben, daß es auf einer Seite Zotten habe. Es erinnert den unglücklichen Philokleon an eine *σούρα*, einen Pelz, wie ihn die Leute aus dem Demos *Thymaitadai* tragen (V. 1138). Er wirft dem *Bdelykleon* vor, er wolle ihn darin ersticken (V. 1134); er kommt sich darin wie in einem Backofen vor (V. 1153). Das alles paßt so gut auch für den *gonaka* mit seinen '4 Finger langen Haaren', daß an der Identität von *καυνάκη(ς)*, *γαυνάκης* und *gonaka* nicht zu zweifeln ist<sup>3</sup>. Nun wird aber von der *καυνάκη* bei Aristophanes ausdrücklich gesagt, daß sie aus Persien stamme. 'Die einen', sagt *Bdelykleon*, 'nennen sie einen Perser (*Περσίδα*), die andern eine *καυνάκη*' (V. 1137), und genauer noch erklärt er nachher dem Vater, diese Gewebe würden in *Ekbatana* hergestellt (V. 1143). *Καυνάκη* erwähnt auch *Arrian*, An. 6, 29, 5, bei der Beschreibung des Grabes des *Kyros* in *Pasargadai*: *ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκίματι πύελον χρυσῖν κείσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθηπτο, καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πύελῳ πύδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους καὶ τάπητα ἐπιβλημάτων βαβυλωνίων, καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα*. Auf dieser Stelle beruht offenbar, wie Schwyzler S. 237 bemerkt hat, die Angabe des *Pollux* On. 7, 60: *βαβυλωνίων δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καυνάκης*. Bei flüchtigem Lesen konnten die Worte *Arrians*

<sup>1</sup> Morgenstierne, *Pashto Voc.* S. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Doch könnte das oben aus dem buddhistischen Sanskrit angeführte *gonikā* unter dem Einfluß von *gonī* aus *gonaka* umgestaltet sein.

<sup>3</sup> Wegen der Lautverhältnisse und des Geschlechtswechsels des griechischen Wortes verweise ich auf Schwyzlers Aufsatz.

leicht dazu führen, den *καυνάκαι* denselben Ursprung zuzuschreiben wie den *ἐπιβλάματα*; im Grunde freilich läßt gerade die Hinzufügung von *βαβυλωνίων* zu *ἐπιβλάματων* darauf schließen, daß die *καυνάκαι* nicht babylonisch waren. On. 7, 59 sagt übrigens Pollux selbst unter Anführung der Aristophanesstelle: *ἢ που δὲ καὶ καυνάκης Περσῶν*. Weitere äußere Zeugnisse für die babylonische Herkunft der *καυνάκαι* gibt es nicht.

Für den iranischen Ursprung von *gonaka* sprechen weiter auch chinesische Quellen. Laufer, Sino-Iranica S. 496, führt aus zwei chinesischen Werken ein Fremdwort 護那 oder 護那 *hu-na*, alt *γιο-νά*, an, das ein Textilerzeugnis Persiens bezeichnet. Laufer vermutete Zusammenhang mit sk. *goni* 'Sack', allein das ist ganz unwahrscheinlich, da das indische Wort auf iranischem Boden höchstens an der Sprachgrenze vorkommt und vermutlich auch erst in moderner Zeit eingedrungen ist und die damit bezeichnete Sache auch kein typisches persisches Produkt ist. Es kann wohl als sicher gelten, daß *γιο-νά* die chinesische Transkription desselben iranischen Wortes für Decke oder Teppich ist, aus dem griech. *καυνάκη(ς)* und p. *gonaka* stammen.

Auch in das Aramäische des Targum ist das Wort aufgenommen. Paul Bötticher (de Lagarde) stellte Arica S. 19 zu *καυνάκης* 'targumice *gōnākā*, Qimhī: operimentum crassum et villosum'. Die weiteren Zusammenstellungen mit sk. *goni*, russ. *gun'a* sind allerdings, wie schon Schwyzer bemerkt hat, ebenso wie die Etymologie von *goni* verfehlt.

Die iranische Herkunft des *gonaka*-*καυνάκη(ς)* läßt auch auf die iranische Herkunft des Namens schließen. Schon Schwyzer hat *καυνάκη(ς)* auf ein iranisches *\*gaunaka* zurückgeführt und darin eine Ableitung von *\*gauna* gesehen, das in av. *gaona* 'Haar' oder 'Farbe', mp. *gōn*, np. *gūn* 'Farbe' vorliegt. Schwyzer ist geneigt, *καυνάκη(ς)* darnach als das 'farbige' Gewebe zu deuten. Nun nennt in der Tat nicht nur Arrian die *καυνάκας πορφυρούς*, sondern auch Menander; Schwyzer führt aus Pollux 6, 11 an: *καυνάκας δὲ τινὰς πορφυρούς ἐπὶ στρωμάτων Μένανδρος ὀνόμασεν*. In der Beschreibung der *καυνάκη* bei Aristophanes wird über ihre Farbe nichts gesagt, aber Schwyzer führt ein Scholion an, wo es mit Bezug auf die *καυνάκη* heißt: *φαίνεται καὶ ἡ σισύρα βαπτύ<sup>1</sup>*. Daß man die *\*gaunaka* wenigstens teilweise rot färbte, ist danach unbestreitbar, aber charakteristischer als die Farbe scheinen mir für sie die Zotten zu sein, die 'langen Haare', wie der Inder sich ausdrückt. Ich bin daher überzeugt, daß wir *\*gaunaka* als das 'haarige' Gewebe auffassen müssen. Dann aber wird es wahrscheinlich, daß dieser Name im östlichen Iran entstanden ist, denn vorläufig können wir die Bedeutung 'Haar' für *\*gauna* nur im Ostiranischen nachweisen.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Im 2./3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wird, wie Schwyzer bemerkt, ein *γαυνάκος χρυσάντιος* erwähnt. Damit ist aber schwerlich noch ein aus Persien eingeführtes Gewebe gemeint; auf der *καυνάκη*, wie sie Aristophanes beschreibt, kann man sich kaum ein Muster von Goldblumen vorstellen.

<sup>2</sup> Geldner, KZ. 25, 402, und ihm folgend Lidén, IF. 19, 316ff., sind allerdings der Ansicht, daß sich die Bedeutung 'Farbe', 'Art' aus 'Haar' entwickelt hat.

Für das Avestische verweise ich auf die Zusammenstellungen bei Schwyzer a. a. O. S. 240f.<sup>1</sup>

Im Sakischen ist *ggūna* das gewöhnliche Wort für 'Haar'. In dem Lehrgedicht werden 21, 54 *ggūne* unter den Bestandteilen des menschlichen Körpers aufgezählt; 25, 250 wird von dem Greis gesagt: *ššiyāni ggūne*, 'weiß sind ihm die Haare'. In der Schilderung der Leichenstätte 2, 44 heißt es: *ggūne pharu ššā : tcabrīye diše vīri brinthejsa kšautte*, 'viel Haare liegen (da) abgerissen, durch den Wind in (alle) Himmelsgegenden zerstreut'. Ebenso sind in der Beschreibung der Frauenleiche 22, 11 *ggūne* sicher die Haare und so wohl auch in 21, 40. Andererseits hat *ggūna* aber auch die Bedeutung 'Farbe'. Samghātas. 84 b 3f.<sup>2</sup> werden Strahlen erwähnt *satā ysāre gūna*, 'von hunderttausend Farben', *spāly[ā]ta gūne ālsā gū[ne]*, 'krystallfarbene, silberfarbene'; Suvarṇabh. (Nebenst. 57, 31) sieht Ruciraketu *ysarragūni tcaršū kūsi* 'eine goldfarbige glänzende Pauke'. Auch in dem Lehrgedicht 21, 36 wird *āššēinaggūna*, von den Beinen der verwesenden Leichen gesagt, eher 'dunkelfarbig' als 'schwarzhaarig' sein; 23, 147, wo von dem Pferd des Cakravartin gesagt wird: *kāhyāmai ggūmna rruštā*, kann man übersetzen: 'es glänzt von Messingfarbe' oder 'es glänzt von Messing-(farbenem) Haar'<sup>3</sup>.

In modernen Sprachen findet sich afgh. *gūna* 'Haar des Körpers' und 'Farbe', oss. *qin*, westoss. *γun* 'Haar, Wolle, Fell, Bündel Wolle', schugn. *γunj* 'Haar' (mit jüngerem *k*-Suffix), par. *γind* 'Haar' (Morgenstierne, Pashto Voc. 25).

Ist aber der Name ostiranisch, so wird auch die Herstellung der *\*gaunaka* ihren Ursprung im östlichen Iran gehabt haben und sich von dort nach Ekbatana und dem westlichen Persien ausgebreitet haben. Bei Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien, Tafel 51, Nr. 2 ist ein Goldareikos der Achämenidenzeit abgebildet, auf dem der Perserkönig, wie Schaefer gesehen hat, einen *\*gaunaka* als Mantel trägt. Die *\*gaunaka* müssen sich auch im Ausland großer Beliebtheit erfreut haben. Da *gonaka* wiederholt im Pali-Kanon erscheint, dürfen wir die Ausfuhr nach Indien jedenfalls für das 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. annehmen. In Griechenland war die *καυνάκη*, wie die Schilderung bei Aristophanes verrät, gegen das Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. noch eine Seltenheit. Nach Kleinasien muß sie aber schon früher gekommen sein. Auf die Bemerkung des Philokleon, er habe die *καυνάκη* für eine *σισύρα* gehalten, erwidert Bdelykleon, das sei kein Wunder; er sei ja noch nicht nach Sardes gekommen, sonst würde er besser Bescheid wissen (V 1139f.)<sup>4</sup>. Die Einfuhr von *\*gaunaka* nach dem Westen muß später aber beträchtlich gewesen

<sup>1</sup> Auch von den unter 'Haarfarbe, Farbe' angeführten Wörtern lassen sich einige direkt unter 'Haar' einordnen.

<sup>2</sup> Konow, Saka Studies, S. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Im Sogdischen heißt 'Haar' *γžw* (Dhyāna-Text bei Reichelt, Soghd. Handschriftenreste I, 36, 44 usw.). Danach ist, wie mir Lentz mitteilt, auch SCE. 302 anstatt *γwn* vielmehr *γwž* zu lesen, was durch christl. *γžw* bestätigt wird. Dies *γžw* ist von *žw* (Reichelt a. a. O. 42, 151 usw.) nicht zu trennen; *γwn* und *γwnž* bedeuten 'Farbe', 'Art'.

<sup>4</sup> Aus den Worten geht aber keineswegs hervor, daß Sardes einer der Hauptorte für die Herstellung von *καυνάκος* war, wie Langdon, JRAS. 1920, p. 327, meint.

sein, da das Wort in die Sprache des täglichen Lebens aufgenommen wurde. Auch in den Papyri begegnet es öfter. Natürlich läßt es sich bei den Erwähnungen von *καυνάκις* schon in hellenistischer Zeit nicht genau feststellen, ob es sich um eingeführte oder einheimische Ware handelt. Sicher ist die Herstellung von *καυνάκι* für Ägypten erst im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bezeugt, wo wir, wie Schwyzer bemerkt, in den Papyri einen *καυκακοπλόκος* und einen *καυκακοποιός* finden. Das Sui-schu, die Chronik der Sui-Dynastie, aus der Laufer *hu-na* zitiert, bezeugt die Bekanntschaft der Chinesen mit den *\*gaunaka* jedenfalls für die erste Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts.

Ins Lateinische ist *\*gaunaka* mit anlautender Media aufgenommen, die, wie Schwyzer S. 237 gezeigt hat, auch für das griechische Wort schon in einem Papyrus des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und später aus dem 2. und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bezeugt ist. Nur der Grammatiker Scaurus zitiert neben *gaunacem* auch *caunacem*. Die Gründe für den Wechsel des Anlauts hat Schwyzer S. 239 ausführlich erörtert. Da meines Erachtens die Herkunft des Wortes aus *\*gaunaka* jetzt feststeht, so kann wohl nur die letzte von Schwyzer erwogene Möglichkeit in Betracht kommen: die anfängliche Entstellung des Wortes ist bei späterer engerer Berührung mit dem Orient berichtigt worden. Direkt hat das Lateinische das Wort sicherlich aus dem Griechischen übernommen. Varro, der es l. l. 5, 167 zuerst erwähnt<sup>1</sup>, bezeichnet es als griechisches Fremdwort. Das Merkwürdige ist aber, daß sich im Lateinischen *gaunaca* (-es) aufs nächste mit einem andern Worte berührt, das seit Lucilius bezeugt ist, nämlich *gausape* (-pum, -pes, -pa). Das ganze Material für *gaunaca* und *gausape* liegt jetzt im Th. l. l. von M. Leumann gesammelt vor; ich kann daher für alle Einzelheiten auf Leumanns Darstellung verweisen. Die Berührungen sind sowohl sachlicher wie sprachlicher Natur. Wie die *καυνάκι* werden die *gausapes* als Decken und als Umhang oder Mantel verwendet. Genau wie bei jenen wird ihre Zottigkeit betont und ihre Farbe wiederholt als purpurrot angegeben, wenn auch daneben weiße und naturfarbene *gausapes* erwähnt werden. Ich führe als Belege aus dem Th. l. l. an: Lucil. 568 *purpureo tersit tum late gausape mensas*; Aug. frg. *gausapes, lodices purpureas et colorias meas*; Cass. Sev. frg. *gausapo purpureo salutatus*; Mart. 14, 145 tit. *paemula gausapina: is mihi candor inest, villorum gratia tanta, ut eqs.*; 14, 147 tit. *cubicularia gausapina: stragula purpureis lucent villosa tapetis*. Es ist daher schließlich nicht auffällig, daß die Glossen *gaunaca* durch *gausapa* erklären. Es ist aber sogar bis zur Vermischung der beiden Wörter gekommen. Aus *gaunaca* (-es) und *gausapum* (-es) ist im Spätlatein *gaunapum* oder *gaunapes* gebildet worden, und das wurde weiter in vornehmerer Sprache zu *galnapes* umgestaltet, das als *galnabis* noch im Mittellatein vorkommt.

Der Ursprung von *gausape* ist völlig dunkel; nur soviel kann als sicher gelten, daß es ein Fremdwort ist. Im Th. l. l. bemerkt Leumann: orig. peregr., fort. orientalis vel Patavinae, sec. Varronem graecae. Für das erste wird auf Messala frg.

<sup>1</sup> Leider ist die Überlieferung nicht ganz sicher. Leumann führt im Th. l. l. an: *peregrina, ut .. gaunac[um]a* (Goetz; -cum[a]?) et *amphimallum graeca*.

*Armenii regis spolia gausapae* verwiesen, für das zweite auf Strabo 5, 218 *ἑτέραν ... φέρουσι ... τὴν δὲ μέσιν οἱ περὶ Πατάουσιον, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τάπητες οἱ πολυτελεῖς καὶ γαυσάπαι καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος πᾶν, ἀμφίμαλλον τε καὶ ἑτερόμαλλον* und Mart. 14, 152 tit. *gausapum quadratum*. deinde: *nos Helicaomia* (i. Patavina) *de regione sumus*. Das sind aber sehr schwache Stützen, zumal das Wort in der Kaiserzeit offenbar im Lateinischen bereits völlig eingebürgert war. Wenn Varro *gausape* ebenso wie *gaunaca* als griechisch angesehen hat, so ist daraus höchstens zu folgern, daß es über das Griechische hinüber ins Lateinische entlehnt wurde.

Nun besteht aber dasselbe nahe Verhältnis wie zwischen *gaunaca* und *gausape* auch zwischen *\*gaunaka* (p. *gonaka*) und *\*kaucapa* (*kaucapaka*; pr. *kaosava*); der *gonaka* ist ja, wie wir sahen, nur ein größerer und besonders langhaariger *kaosava*. Ich möchte es daher als nahezu sicher ansehen, daß lat. *gausape* auf *\*kaucapa* zurückgeht. Die Vertretung des *c* durch *s* ist ganz normal; ich brauche nur an die Wiedergabe von Candragupta durch *Κανδράκοττος* zu erinnern. Das *g* anstatt des zu erwartenden *c* scheint sich mir ohne Schwierigkeit durch die Einwirkung des sinnverwandten *gaunaca* zu erklären. Etymologisch ist *\*kaucapa*, wie ich schon oben bemerkt habe, dunkel. Sicherlich ist es aber kein echt indisches Wort; vermutlich wird es ebenso wie *\*gaunaka* aus dem Iranischen stammen, wo ich es allerdings vorläufig nicht nachzuweisen vermag.

Eine ganz andere Erklärung von *καυνάκι(ς)* hat Heuzey, Revue Archéologique, III, 9, 257ff. vorgeschlagen. Er wollte *καυνάκι(ς)* mit dem bekannten Zottengewand identifizieren, das in der altsumerischen Kunst als Tracht sowohl von Männern wie von Frauen, wenn auch in etwas verschiedener Form, erscheint und nach dem Ende der archaischen Zeit als Kleidung von Gottheiten beibehalten wurde. Er meinte, daß die Zotten die Schlaufen eines Gewebes darstellen sollten. Andere haben ihm teils zugestimmt, teils abweichende Erklärungen vorgebracht. In einem Artikel: *Womit kleideten sich die alten Sumerer?* Arch. f. Orientforschung 6, 19ff. hat Opi tz die ganze Frage ausführlich behandelt. Er kommt zu dem Schlusse, daß, wie Unger längst vermutet hatte, das sumerische Zottengewand aus einem Ziegen- oder Schaffell bestand. Zum Beweise beruft er sich auf Tierfiguren, die neuerdings bei den Ausgrabungen in Ur gefunden sind und deren Fell die gleichen Zotten zeigt wie die Kleidung der menschlichen Statuen. Opi tz hat a. a. O. 7, 225 noch weitere Einzelheiten angeführt, die entschieden für die Auffassung des Zottengewandes als Tierfell sprechen. Ist sie richtig, so haben das Zottengewand und *καυνάκι(ς)* nichts miteinander zu tun, denn *καυνάκι(ς)* bezeichnet stets ein Gewebe, niemals ein Fell.

Langdon hat sich JRS. 1920, p. 326ff. bemüht, Heuzey's Ansicht auch sprachlich zu stützen. Er versucht zu zeigen, daß der Name des Zottenrockes *gú-èn*, *gú-èn-na*, *gú-an-na* lautete, und meint, daß dieses Wort über ein semitisches, aber nur erschlossenes *\*gummakku*, *\*gummakku* hinüber als *καυνάκι(ς)* ins Griechische aufgenommen sei. Ich kann mir über die Ausführungen Langdons kein Urteil erlauben und kann hier nur darauf hinweisen, daß Meissner, Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.



47, 151f. *aguhhu*, ursprünglich 'eine Tracht aus Fell', als assyrischen Ausdruck für das Zottenkleid nachweist. Ich halte es nach alledem für ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß irgendein Zusammenhang zwischen dem sumerisch-akkadischen Gewande und jenem Gewebe besteht, das die Griechen *καυνάκκ(ς)*, die Inder *gonaka* nannten.

#### *agışdha.*

In der Liste von Waren in 207 folgt auf *koşava* 4 2: *akişdha* 1 *thavamnae* 4 1. Auch in den Dokumenten 431 und 432, von denen das eine nur die Abschrift des andern ist, steht *agışdha* zweimal unmittelbar hinter *koşava*: *amña biti aşpa itu ageta şpağa atra nita suvēsta mareğa pađ'ichitena aşpēna sadha koşava* 1 *agışdha* 1 *triti aşpa tomgha şājaasa paride ešemi suvēsta mareğa pađ'ichida catuvarşaga tena aşpēna sadha avale* 1 *koşava* 2 *amña agışdha* 1 *atra visarjidae piṇḍa* 20 20 4 *şpedağa koşava* 1 'ein anderes zweites Pferd hat der *ageta* Şpağa von hier dorthin gebracht (und) mit dem von *suvēsta* Mareğa empfangenen Pferde zusammen eine langhaarige Decke (und) ein *agışdha*. Ein drittes Pferd hat derselbe *suvēsta* Mareğa von *tomgha* Şāja empfangen (und zwar) ein vierjähriges. Mit diesem Pferde zusammen sind ein *avale* (?), zwei langhaarige Decken, (und) ein anderes *agışdha* dorthin gesandt worden, in Summa 44 (der Werteinheit) (und) eine weiße langhaarige Decke'. In demselben Dokumente ist schon vorher von *agışdha* 2 die Rede gewesen, und ich zweifle nicht, daß auch in der Liste 154, wie im Index vermutet wird, *agışdha* anstatt *agışga* zu lesen ist. In der Schreibung *agışta* erscheint das Wort in der Kaufurkunde 652: Der *şramaņa* Dhamaładha hat an den Schreiber *Lyipaņa* ein Stück Land für 10 *khi* Wein und 3 *agışta* verkauft (*giđ'a muli masu khi* 10 *agışta* 3). Die Zusammenstellung von *agışdha* mit *koşava* spricht entschieden dafür, daß auch *agışdha* eine besondere Art von Decke oder Teppich ist. Die Herkunft des Wortes bleibt allerdings zunächst dunkel; der Form nach dürfte es eher iranischen als indischen Ursprungs sein.

#### *tavastağa.*

Sicher iranisch ist ein anderer Name für Teppich, *tavastağa*, einmal (583) auch *tāvastağa* geschrieben, einmal (714) auch fälschlich *thavastae*<sup>1</sup>. Nach dem Index hat Thomas das Wort als 'Teppich' erklärt und zu np. *tāftan*, 'drehen, spinnen', Präs. *tābad*; *tāfta* 'Taffet', *tafna* 'Spinnengewebe' gestellt. Das ist sicherlich richtig, wenn auch die Bildung nicht ganz durchsichtig ist. *Tavastağa* kommt in den Dokumenten ungefähr ebenso oft wie *koşava* vor<sup>2</sup>; es wird wie dieses als Zahlungsmittel benutzt. Häufig wird hinter *tavastağa* die Länge in *hasta* angegeben; so werden Stücke von 4 (583), 6 (581; 583), 8 (578), 9 (728), 11 (590), 12 (527; 590) und 13 *hasta* (431; 432; 579) erwähnt. Da der *hasta*, die Länge des Armes vom

<sup>1</sup> Vielleicht in Anlehnung an *thavamna*. *Thavastae* ist Plural. Auch in 59 ist sicherlich die Pluralform *tavastae* zu lesen.

<sup>2</sup> Zu den im Index verzeichneten Stellen kommt noch aus 59: *tavastae şpayine*(?) *vo[şava](?) arnavađ'i iša prahadavo*; die Lesung der beiden auf *tavastae* folgenden Worte ist aber sehr unsicher.

Ellbogen bis zur Fingerspitze, etwa 50 cm beträgt<sup>1</sup>, so muß die Länge der Teppiche zwischen rund 2 und 6½ Metern geschwankt haben. Diese Unterscheidung von Decken und Teppichen nach Ellen hat sich bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten. Nach Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, S. 146, ist *pachatthi* der Name einer Decke von 5 Ellen Länge, *chahattha* oder *chahatthi* ist eine 6 Ellen lange Decke. Die größeren Teppiche standen ziemlich hoch im Preise. In 431 (= 432) wird berichtet: *amña yala iša devi ayida suvarna şadera* 1 *pruchida suvarna nasti huati taşa bhağena tavastağa trodaşa hasta ditama*, 'zu einer andern Zeit ist die Königin hierher gekommen. Sie hat einen Gold-Stater gefordert. Gold ist tatsächlich nicht vorhanden. Wir haben statt dessen einen Teppich von 13 *hasta* (Länge) gegeben'. In dem Kaufvertrag 579 wird der Preis eines solchen Teppichs genau angegeben: *asti maṇṇuśa carapuruşa moğata nama še uthida tivira ramşotsaşa vaṇṭi akri bhuma vikrida ađ'ini bhij'apayati milima* 1 *khi* 10 *giđ'a muli tavastağa hasta* 10 3 *badaşa muliyena*, 'da ist ein Mann, der Geheimagent Moğata mit Namen. Der ist (vor Gericht) erschienen. Er hat an den Schreiber Ramşotsa einen erstklassigen Acker (von der Größe, daß man darauf) 1 *milima* 10 *khi* ađ'ini(?) säet, verkauft. Er hat als Preis einen Teppich von 13 *hasta* (Länge) im Werte von 12 (Werteinheiten) erhalten'. Auf ungefähr denselben Wert führen die Angaben in dem Kaufvertrag 590: *asti maṇṇuśa şāṃcā naṇṇa še uthida divira ramşotsaşa vaṇṭi striya lyipaae nama vikrida tivira ramşotsaşa paride stri lyipaae muli şāṃcā giđ'a eka uṭa viyala capariśa muliyena pađ'ichita bhiti uṭa akra triśa muliyena tavastağa* 1 *hasta* 10 2 *bhiti tavastağa hasta* 10 1 *amña sutra muli giđ'a* 4 4 *şarva piṇḍa muli hoti* 20 20 20 10 4 4, 'da ist ein Mann namens Şāṃcā. Der ist erschienen. Er hat an den Schreiber Ramşotsa eine Frau namens Lyipaae verkauft. Von dem Schreiber Ramşotsa hat Şāṃcā den Preis für die Frau Lyipaae erhalten. Er hat ein *viyala*-Kamel im Werte von 40 (Werteinheiten) empfangen, ein zweites *akratsa*<sup>2</sup>-Kamel im Werte von 30, einen Teppich von 12 *hasta* (Länge), einen zweiten Teppich von 11 *hasta* (Länge). Ferner hat er als 'Fadenpreis'<sup>3</sup> 8 erhalten. Alles zusammengerechnet (beträgt) der Preis 98'. Lyipaae muß ungewöhnliche Vorzüge gehabt haben, daß sie dem Schreiber Ramşotsa so teuer zu stehen kam. Rechnet man von der Gesamtsumme 98 den Preis der beiden Kamele und den 'Fadenpreis' im Betrage von 78 ab, so ergibt sich für die beiden Teppiche zusammen der Wert von 20.

#### *namata, kavaj'i.*

Viel geringer an Wert sind offenbar die Teppiche, die in den Dokumenten als *namata* (151. 184. 382. 385. 387. 575; Plur. *namate* 476, *namati* 345, *naṇṇamati*<sup>4</sup> 728), *namatha* (154), *namatağa*, *naṇṇamatağa* (728), *namadağa* (431. 432. 534, Plur. *namatae* (714) bezeichnet werden. Wenn sie daher auch als Zahlungsmittel dienen

<sup>1</sup> Der heutige persische *dast* beträgt 56 cm.

<sup>2</sup> *Akra* ist Schreibfehler für *akratsa*.

<sup>3</sup> Auf diesen Ausdruck gedenke ich an andern Orte zurückzukommen.

<sup>4</sup> Nicht ganz sicher. *Namati* ist überhaupt wohl nur Schreibfehler für *namate*.

und unter den als Dorfsteuer zu entrichtenden Gegenständen genannt werden (714), so kommen sie doch in den Kaufurkunden, in denen es sich im allgemeinen um den Kauf wertvollerer Objekte, eines Ackers oder eines Menschen, handelt, nicht vor. Nur aus dem Gerichtsurteil 575 erfahren wir, daß Lyipeya einen Sklaven für ein dreijähriges Kamel, 5 *mīlīma* Korn, eine langhaarige Decke, ein *namata* und ein *avaliḱa* verkauft hatte. Schon Sir Aurel Stein hat, Anc. Khotan S. 367, *namata* mit pers. *namad*, hind. *namā* identifiziert, dem Namen für die Filzteppiche, die, wie Stein bemerkt, bis auf den heutigen Tag ein besonderes Erzeugnis der Hausindustrie von Khotan sind und in großen Mengen jährlich nach Ladāk und Kaschmir ausgeführt werden. Unsere Dokumente zeigen, daß die Filzfabrikation in alter Zeit nicht nur in dem sakischen Khotan, sondern auch in Krorain blühte. Die Teppichfilzerei wurde aber im Altertum gewiß ebenso wie heute auch im Norden des Tarimbeckens betrieben. Von Le Coq hat drei Filzteppiche in Kutscha erworben, die O. von Falke beschrieben hat<sup>1</sup>.

Man hat übrigens Filz im alten Turkistan, wie die Funde beweisen, nicht nur zu Teppichen verarbeitet, sondern auch zu Bekleidungsgegenständen verwendet. Man könnte daher *kavaj'i* in 431 (= 432): *aṅṅā kavaj'i<sup>2</sup> namadaḱa 4 rad'i* 1 vielleicht als adjektivische Bildung von *kavaca* mit *namadaḱa* verbinden und *kavaj'i namadaḱa* als 'zu *kavaca* dienende Filze' auffassen wollen. Allein *kavaj'i*, *kavasi* wird sonst nur selbständig gebraucht. Nach 505 hat Tsugenamma unter anderen Dingen *kavasi* 1 empfangen; nach dem Kaufvertrag 581 hat der Schreiber Ramṣotsa zur Zeit einer Hungersnot einen Weinberg für einen 6 *hasta* langen Teppich, ein *kavaj'i*, zwei Schafe und einen *mīlīma* Korn gekauft: *tita muli tavastaḱa hasta 4 2 kavaj'i* 1 *paṣu 2 aṅṅa mīlīma* 1. Man wird daher *kavaj'i* besser als Vertreter von sk. *kavacikā* fassen, das Mahāvī. 238, 7 aufgeführt und in der chinesischen Übersetzung durch 避袍 *dschō-pau* 'schützendes Obergewand' wiedergegeben wird, und auch in 431, 432 übersetzen müssen: 'ferner ein Panzerrock, 4 Filze, 1 *rad'i* (?)'.

*Nomada* erscheint auch im Sanskrit und Pali. Yādavaprakāśa lehrt es 241, 69 in der Bedeutung 'Produkt aus Wolle' (*īrṇāvīkāre namataḱa<sup>3</sup>*), 172, 332 in der Bedeutung 'Decke' (*namataṃ cāpy āstaraṅgam*). Hemaandra, Abh. 680, hat dafür *navata*<sup>4</sup>. In der Mahāvīyutpatti wird *namata* 232, 22 hinter *kocava* aufgeführt. Nach der chinesischen und der tibetischen Übersetzung ist es 'Filz', chin. 毡 *dschan*, tib. *phyin-ba*. Belegt ist das Wort bisher nur in der buddhistischen Literatur. Cullav. 5, 19, 1 wird die Benutzung eines *namataka* gestattet mit der Bestimmung, daß es nicht dem einzelnen, sondern dem gesamten Saṅgha gehören solle. Da sich die nächste Bestimmung auf ein *āsittakūpadhāna*, eine besondere Art Kissen oder

Polster, bezieht, so ist mit *namataka* hier sicherlich eine Filzdecke gemeint<sup>1</sup>. An andern Stellen bezeichnet es aber eine zur Aufbewahrung eines Messers dienende Hülle. Cullav. 5, 11, 1 wird erzählt, daß die Mönche, wenn sie sich Kleider machten, das Zeug mit den Händen zerrissen, so daß die Kleider ausgezackt wurden. Der Buddha gestattete ihnen darauf *sattḱaṃ namataṃ*, ein Messer und einen Filz. Buddhaghosa erklärt *namataṃ* hier durch *sattḱakaveṭṭhanakam pilotikakhaṇḍam* 'ein Lappen zum Einwickeln des Messers'. Cullav. 5, 27, 3 erlaubt der Buddha den Mönchen den ganzen zum Haarscheren erforderlichen Apparat, ein Schermesser, einen Schleifstein, ein Messerkästchen und einen Filz (*khuraṃ khurasilaṃ khurasippāḱam<sup>2</sup> namataṃ sabbaṃ khurabhāṇḍam*). Cullav. 10, 10, 4 wird den Nonnen verboten, ein *namataka* zu tragen: *na namataṃ dhāretabbaṃ*. Da die unmittelbar vorhergehenden Verbote sich auf die Ausübung von gewissen Gewerben beziehen, so meinen die Übersetzer in dem SBE. 20, 343, der Ausdruck besage, daß den Nonnen das Barbierhandwerk untersagt sei. Allein aus Cullav. 5, 27, 3 läßt sich doch kaum entnehmen, daß das *namataka* das charakteristische Abzeichen des Barbiers war, und so möchte ich das Verbot doch lieber auf das Tragen von Filzkleidern beziehen<sup>3</sup>. Daß Filz tatsächlich zum Teil von buddhistischen Mönchen getragen wurde, geht aus einer Liste der Dhutaṅgas hervor, in der dem *pāṃsukūlikah* und dem *traicivarīkah* der *nāmatīkah*, tib. *phyin-ba-can*, 'der in Filz Gekleidete' hinzugefügt ist; siehe Burnouf, Introduction I (1844), p. 306.

Im Pali findet sich auch ein an *namataka* anklingendes Wort *nantaka*. Für *nantaka* wird überall durch den Zusammenhang die Bedeutung 'Lumpen', 'Lappen' gesichert. Jāt. 306, 2 wird von dem aus ärmlichen Verhältnissen zur Königin aufgestiegenen Mädchen gesagt, daß sie einst *nantakavāsini*, 'in Lumpen gekleidet', Brustbeeren gesammelt habe. Ein armer Mann läuft in der Hitze *kāsāvanantakanivāsano*, 'in gelbbraune Lumpen gekleidet' (Jāt. 3, 447, 5). Ein Caṇḍālajunge ist *nantakavāsī*<sup>4</sup>, 'in Lumpen gekleidet' (Aṅg. 4, 376). Ein Ariyasāvaka lebt von einem Mundvoll Speise und trägt Lumpen (*nantakāni ca dhāreti*) (Samy. 5, 342). Insbesondere wird *nantaka* von den Lumpen gebraucht, die der *pāṃsukūlika* vom Müllhaufen zusammensuchen pflegt. Von einem solchen Mönche, der auf der Straße einen *nantaka*, einen Lappen, findet, ist Aṅg. 3, 187 die Rede. Der Thera Poṭṭhapāda sucht vom Kehrlichthaufen *nantaka* zusammen, macht daraus ein Lumpenkleid und schenkt es dem Orden (*thero saṅkārakūṭato uccinivāna nantake pilotikam paṭam katvā saṅghe cātuddise adā*, Petav. 3, 2, 14). Die Erklärungen der Kommentare stimmen damit überein. Jāt. 306, 2 wird *nantaka* durch *jīṃpilotikā* wiedergegeben. Zu der Stelle des Petav. bemerkt der Kommentar, zum Teil im Hinblick auf die angebliche Etymologie des Wortes: *nantake ti chinmapariyante*

<sup>1</sup> Von Le Coq, Volkskundliches aus Ost-Turkistan, S. 33f. und Tafel 18; wieder abgedruckt von Le Coq, Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan, S. 177ff. und Tafel 48.

<sup>2</sup> Da *j'a* und *ḱ'a* sich sehr ähnlich sehen, wäre an und für sich auch die Lesung *kavad'i* möglich, sie wird aber durch die Schreibung *kavasi* in 505 ausgeschlossen.

<sup>3</sup> Außerdem *dhīme dinakare pi ca*.

<sup>4</sup> Über das Verhältnis von *navata* zu *namata* siehe nachher S. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Die SBE. 20, 116 gegebene Übersetzung halte ich nicht für richtig.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa: *khurasippāḱam ti khurakosakam*.

<sup>3</sup> Auch die folgenden Verbote beziehen sich alle auf das Tragen von bestimmten Kleidungsstücken.

<sup>4</sup> So M 6. Text *nantika*.

*choḍḍitadussakhaṇḍe te pana yasmā khaṇḍabhūtā pilotikā nāma honti| tāhi ca thero cīvaraṃ katvā saṅghassa adāsī.* Was sich für die Deutung von *nantaka* aus dem Indischen beibringen läßt, hat Trenckner, Pali Misc. p. 81, besprochen. Es ist ebenso unbefriedigend wie die Etymologien von *naktaka* und *laktaka*, die im Sanskrit als Synonyme von *nantaka* erscheinen<sup>1</sup>. Daß die Lumpen *nantaka* genannt seien, weil sie kein regelrechtes Ende haben oder ihrer kein Ende ist (*na-antakāni, antavirahitāni vatthakhaṇḍādāmi*<sup>2</sup>), oder *naktaka*, weil die Nackten mit ihnen ihre Blöße bedecken, oder *laktaka*, weil sie mannigfach gefärbt sind, dürfte wohl niemandem einleuchten. Trenckner meinte, daß die verschiedenen Formen nur Versuche seien, eine arische Etymologie für ein aus einer fremden Sprache entlehntes Wort zu finden. Kern hat dann Toevogelselen I, 169 *nantaka* für 'eine andere Aussprache' von *namataka* erklärt. Als sicher kann diese Zusammenstellung indessen nicht gelten, da, wie oben gezeigt, ein Unterschied in der Bedeutung vorhanden ist. Die Bedeutung 'Filz' läßt sich für *nantaka* nicht erweisen, und schließlich sind Lumpen und Filz nicht dasselbe. Kern beruft sich darauf, daß Buddhaghosa auch *namataka* in Cull. 5, 11, 1 durch *pilotikakhaṇḍa* erkläre; es ist mir aber einigermmaßen zweifelhaft, ob Buddhaghosa eine ganz klare Vorstellung von der dort erwähnten Messerhülle hatte. Jedenfalls würde aber Kerns Erklärung voraussetzen, daß *nantaka* und *namataka* die Wiedergaben eines Fremdwortes sind, und das trifft wenigstens für *namataka* sicherlich zu.

Ich habe schon bemerkt, daß *namata* dem np. *namad* entspricht, das ein mp. *namat* fortsetzt. Auch dieses bedeutet nur Filz. Aus dem Śāyast nē śāyast 2, 101 (ed. Tavadia S. 65) geht hervor, daß man eine Filzmatte mit einer Matratze darüber als Ruhebett benutzte: *ka apar bōp i bē mīrēt, ka bōp apar namat ēv-kartak kart estēt, namat u bōp har 2 rēman, u ka yut-kartak, namat pāk*, 'wenn jemand auf einer Matratze stirbt, wenn die Matratze über Filz in einem Stück hergestellt ist, so sind Filz und Matratze beide unrein; sind sie aber getrennt, so ist der Filz rein'.

Für das av. *namata* hat man geglaubt, von der Bedeutung 'Filz' absehen zu müssen; in Bartholomae's Wörterbuch wird es als 'Reisig' erklärt. Allein Benveniste, BSL. 32, 82, hat bereits gezeigt, daß, von zwei Stellen abgesehen, auch nicht der geringste Grund vorliegt, in *namata* etwas anderes als 'Filz' zu sehen. Vd. 8, 1 wird gefragt, wie die Mazdahverehrer verfahren sollen, wenn ein Hund oder ein Mensch sterben sollte *dāuru.upa.darane vā namatō<sup>3</sup>.aiwi.varane vā*, 'in einer mit Holz gestützten

<sup>1</sup> *Naktaka* wird Am. 2, 6, 115, Hem. Abh. 676 (*samau naktaka-karapaṭau*), Vaij. 169, 260 (*naktakāḥ karpaṭāḥ*) gelehrt, bei Am. mit der Variante *laktaka*. Im Kommentar zu Am. wird es durch mar. *phaḍakḥm, chāpi* erklärt.

<sup>2</sup> *Vimānav.* 7, 6, 7 wird allerdings das Tuch, in das der Hirte sein Essen eingeschlagen hat, *anantaka* genannt (*dadāmi bhante ti khipiṃ anantakaṃ*), ebenso v. 9, wo aber das Metrum für *nantakaṃ* spricht (*bhikkhu ca taṃ sāmāṃ muḍcivā anantakaṃ*). Im Kommentar wird *anantaka* dem *nantaka* gleichgesetzt: *anantakan ti nantakaṃ kammāsaṃ pakkhipivā khaṇḍevā thapitapilotikaṃ | akāro c'ētha nīpātamattaṃ*. Im Copenhagener Pāli Dictionary wird für *anantaka* unter Vergleich von Amg. *ananta* (*rajoḥaraṇa*) als Grundbedeutung 'the borderless, brimless one' vermutet, was aber nicht einleuchtet.

<sup>3</sup> Ausg. *nimato*, aber K 1. P 2 (pr. m.) usw. *namatō*.

oder mit *namata* gedeckten (Behausung)<sup>1</sup>. Daß es sich um menschliche Behausungen (*nmāna*) handelt, die im Notfall zu transportieren waren, geht aus der Antwort hervor: wenn sie einsehen, daß der Tote leichter hinzubringen ist, sollen sie den Toten wegtragen und folglich die Behausung dalassen; im andern Falle sollen sie die Behausung wegtragen und folglich den Toten dalassen (*yezi aētam iristam upa. bərəθwōtarəm ava.zanqan ava aētam iristam barayən avāḥa nmānəm hərəzayən . . . yezi aētam nmānəm upa.bərəθwōtarəm ava.zanqan ava aētam nmānəm barayən avāḥa iristam hərəzayən*); in jedem Falle sollen sie die Behausung mit allerlei wohlriechenden Stoffen ausgeräuchern. Benveniste hat gewiß Recht, wenn er in den *namatō.aiwi.varana* filzgedeckte Jurten sieht, wie sie noch heute bei Kirgisen und anderen nomadisierenden Stämmen in Gebrauch sind.

Vd.9, 45f. fragt Zaratustra, wie man die Nasu, die Leichendämonin, bekämpfen könne. Ahura Mazda antwortet ihm, er solle gewisse Strophen aufsagen: *manayan bā spitama zaratustra aiṇi tā nasuḥ zgabaitē yaḥa išuḥ xvāḥaxtō yaḥa vā namatō tarō yārō yaḥa vā raḥwya varəna*<sup>1</sup>, 'man könnte wirklich meinen, o Spitama Zaratustra, darauf fliegt die Nasu fort wie ein gut angezogener Pfeil, wie der *namata* übers Jahr oder wie der Jahreszeit entsprechend die Wolle'. Benveniste scheint *namata* hier auf die einzelne fortfliegende Wollflocke zu beziehen, aber wozu sollte dann der Zusatz *tarō yārō* gemacht sein? Meines Erachtens liegt das tertium comparationis nicht, wie man wegen der Erwähnung des Pfeiles zunächst annehmen könnte, in der Schnelligkeit; wie der Vergleich mit der Wolle zeigt, soll vielmehr betont werden, daß die Nasu so sicher davon geht, wenn die Strophen rezitiert werden, wie ein Pfeil, wenn er bis aufs äußerste angezogen ist, oder wie alljährlich zur Zeit des Haarwechsels die Wolle der Tiere abfällt. Gerade die offensichtliche Parallelität von *namata* und *varəna* scheint mir zu beweisen, daß die beiden Ausdrücke, wenn sie nicht vollständige Synonyma sind, doch etwas ganz Ähnliches bezeichnen. Ich halte es für sehr wohl möglich, daß der iranische Viehzüchter scharf zwischen dem Grannenhaar und dem Wollhaar unterschied und das eine von beiden — und dann wahrscheinlich das Wollhaar — *namata*, das andere *varəna* nannte. Wahrscheinlich hat man *namata* auch zunächst von der natürlich verfilzten tierischen Haardecke gebraucht und den Ausdruck später auf das Kunstprodukt übertragen; die ursprüngliche Bedeutung würde sich dann hier erhalten haben.

Vd. 5, 38 wird von dem Druganhänger gesagt: *juvō . . . narəm ašavanəm haḥuḥ xvarəthaheca vastraheca draošca namataheca<sup>2</sup> ayasheca apa. baraiti*, 'bei Lebzeiten bringt er den dem Aša anhängenden Mann um den Genuß von Nahrung und Kleidung und Holz und *namata* und Metall'. Auch hier fügt sich der Filz ausgezeichnet in

<sup>1</sup> Schaefer macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß die Worte eine vierzeilige Strophe bilden:

*aiṇi tā nasuḥ zgabaitē  
yaḥa išuḥ hu.āḥaxtō  
yaḥa (vā) namatō tarō yārō  
yaḥa vā raḥwya varəna.*

<sup>2</sup> Ausg. *nimataheca* mit K 1; die übrigen *namataheca*.

den Zusammenhang ein, und man kann sich höchstens fragen, ob man darunter die bearbeitete oder, wie in Vd. 9, 46, die noch unbearbeitete Wolle zu verstehen hat.

Schwieriger ist die Erklärung von *nəmata* in Vd. 3, 35, wo von demjenigen, der dem Aša-Anhänger seine Arbeit nicht angemessen bezahlt, gesagt wird: *avi tam spayāt spəntayā ārmatōš tāmō āca vaēšō āca acištəm āca ahūm ā vīspaca avi tiyra nəmata*<sup>1</sup>, 'den soll man von der Erde weg zur Finsternis werfen, zur Verwesung, zum übelsten Dasein und auf lauter *tiyra nəmata*'.

Was der Pehlevi-Übersetzer sich hier unter den *tiyra nəmata* gedacht hat, läßt sich nicht sagen; während er an allen anderen Stellen *nəmata* durch *namat* wiedergibt, ist seine Übersetzung hier unklar. Daß man von 'spitzigen Filzen' gesprochen haben sollte, ist nicht anzunehmen, aber auch die bisherigen Erklärungsversuche befriedigen nicht<sup>2</sup>. Da man Filzdecken, wie aus der angeführten Stelle des Šāyast nē šāyast hervorgeht, als Ruhebett benutzte, liegt es nahe, statt *tiyra nəmata tiyri nəmata* als Kompositum zu lesen<sup>3</sup>. Die Änderung ist leicht, und auf lauter 'Pfeildecken' geworfen zu werden, d. h. auf Decken, die aus Pfeilen anstatt aus Haaren gefilzt sind, dürfte eine ganz angemessene Höllenstrafe sein. Mir scheint, daß man auch hier mit der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung von *nəmata* auskommt und daß die Stelle nicht so hoffnungslos dunkel ist, wie Benveniste meint.

Anders liegt die Sache in der Stelle Vd. 14, 14, die Benveniste gänzlich übergeht. Dort wird als Sühne für die Tötung einer Otter unter anderem festgesetzt: *nmānəm gāvayanəm nava.hāθrəm nava.nəmatəm<sup>4</sup> nərəbyō ašavabyō ašaya vaohuya urune cibīm nisirimuyāt*. Geldner hat die Stelle KZ. 25, 565 ff. behandelt. Von der Voraussetzung ausgehend, daß *nəmata* in Vd. 9, 46 'Stroh', 'Strohalm' bedeute, sah er in der Verbindung von *nava* mit *nəmata* den Beweis, daß *nava* nicht das Zahlwort, sondern das Adjektiv 'neu' sei. Er folgerte daraus weiter, daß auch *hāθra* hier nicht das gewöhnliche Längenmaß sein könne, sondern ein anderes Wort sein müsse, das er zu der Wurzel *hā* = skr. *sā* stellte und dem er die Bedeutung 'Zaun' gab. So kam er zu der Übersetzung: 'Er soll einen Rinderpferch mit neuem Zaun und frischem Stroh frommen Männern in aufrichtiger Gesinnung zur Sühne für seine Seele schenken.' Die Übersetzung von Wolff-Bartholomae lautet: 'Einen Rinderstall mit neun Pferchen (und) neun Reisig(scheidewänden) soll er den ašagläubigen Männern nach Recht (und) Pflicht für (seine) Seele als Sühne überantworten.'

Beide Übersetzungen erscheinen mir unannehmbar, da für *nəmata* und *hāθra* Bedeutungen angenommen werden, die sich anderswo für diese Wörter nicht nachweisen lassen. *Nəmata* ist sonst, wie wir gesehen haben, stets 'Filz', 'Filzdecke'; *hāθra* bezeichnet sonst überall ein bestimmtes Maß, und so kann *nava.hāθra* nichts anders als 'neun *hāθra* messend' bedeuten. Ehe wir aber an die Frage herantreten,

<sup>1</sup> Ausg. *nimata*. Die Handschriften schwanken zwischen *nimata*, *nəmata*, *nīmān*.

<sup>2</sup> Cannizzaro, *Il capitolo georgico dell' Avesta* 51 f., hat sie zusammengestellt.

<sup>3</sup> Vielleicht ist die Änderung von *tiyra* in *tiyri* nicht einmal nötig. Es ist schließlich ganz wohl möglich, daß auch *tiyra* Pfeil bedeutete.

<sup>4</sup> Nur L. 4 hat *nəmatəm* zu *nīmānəm* oder umgekehrt verbessert.

in welchem Sinne die Beiwörter *nava.hāθrəm nava.nəmatəm* von dem *nmānəm gāvayanəm* gebraucht sein können, wird es nötig sein, den Sinn dieses Ausdrucks selbst festzustellen. *Gāvayana* begegnet noch einmal in Vd. 2, 25. Dort erteilt Ahura Mazda den Auftrag, den Var zu bauen: *āaṭ təm varəm kərənava carətu.drājō kənciṭ paiti cabrušanəm narəm aiwi.xšōiθne carətu.drājō kənciṭ paiti cabrušanəm gavəm gāvayanəm*, 'dann mache diesen Var einen *carətu* lang nach jeder der vier Seiten für die Menschen zu wohnen, einen *carətu* lang nach jeder der vier Seiten als *gāvayana* für die Rinder'. Bartholomae gibt für *gāvayana* an dieser Stelle 'Rinderstall', 'Stall' als Bedeutung an. Es kann aber nicht etwa ein einziger Stall gemeint sein, da er ebenso groß sein würde wie die gesamte den menschlichen Wohnungen zugewiesene Fläche<sup>1</sup>. Das Wort wird hier also kollektiv für die Stallgebäude gebraucht sein, allenfalls könnte man auch an eine 'Rindertrift' oder einen 'Rinderperch' denken. Das *nmānəm gāvayanəm* aber wird nicht mit Geldner als Rinderperch auffassen dürfen; mit *nmāna* ist doch der Begriff einer gedeckten Behausung, welcher Art auch immer sie sein mag, verbunden. *Nmānəm gāvayanəm* wird also tatsächlich irgendeine Behausung für Rinder sein. Daß *nmāna* auch von der Behausung für Vieh gebraucht wurde, geht aus Vd. 2, 23 hervor, wo von dem Vieh, das *jafrušva raonəm paxrunaēšu nmānaēšu*, 'in den Tälern der Flüsse in festen (?) Behausungen' ist, im Gegensatz zu dem Vieh auf den Höhen der Berge. Mit der Bedeutung 'Rinderhaus' ist nun aber das Beiwort *nava.hāθra* unvereinbar. Die Länge eines *hāθra* ist unsicher, sie muß aber beträchtlich gewesen sein, wenn, wie Bartholomae im Wtb. angibt, nach dem Frahang i oīm ein mittleres *hāθra* 1000 Schritt zu je 2 Fuß betrug. Ein neun *hāθra* messendes Haus für Rinder herzustellen, dürfte doch wohl etwas schwierig gewesen sein. Es ist aber weiter auch höchst auffällig, daß, obwohl die Größe des *nmānəm gāvayanəm* durch *nava.hāθrəm* schon bestimmt ist, im folgenden doch noch gefragt wird: *ovaṭ yavaṭ nmānəm*, 'wie groß soll das Haus sein?', worauf die Antwort lautet: *dvadasa vitāra upəma nava vitāra madəma xšvaš vitāra nitəma*, 'zwölf Gänge sollen darin sein höchstens, neun im Mittel, sechs mindestens'<sup>2</sup>. Ist es nun ein Zufall, daß die Pehlevi-Übersetzung dieses *nava.hāθrəm* gar nicht kennt? Wenn es im Texte gestrichen wird, ergibt sich auch für *nava.nəmatəm* ein annehmbarer Sinn. Im unmittelbaren Anschluß an *nava.hāθrəm* kann *nava.nəmatəm* kaum etwas anderes bedeuten als 'mit neun Filzen versehen', was, obwohl die Pehlevi-Übersetzung es durch '9 *namat*' wiedergibt, doch im Grunde unverstänglich ist. Fällt aber das *nava.hāθrəm* fort, so hindert nichts, im *nava*, wie schon Geldner wollte, das Adjektiv 'neu' zu sehen und zu übersetzen: 'er soll eine Behausung für Rinder aus neuem Filz den ašagläubigen Männern überantworten.' Das *nmānəm gāvayanəm* würde dann ein für die Rinder zum Schutz gegen das Wetter mit Filz gedecktes Zelt sein, vermutlich im Gegensatz zu dem Vd. 15, 29 f. genannten *gaostāna*, der ein festes Gebäude war. Es ist daran

<sup>1</sup> Nach der Pehlevi-Übersetzung ist ein *carətu* so viel wie ein *tacar* oder zwei *hāθra*.

<sup>2</sup> Nach Bartholomae.

zu erinnern, das Vd. 8, 2f. auch die als Wohnung für Menschen dienende Filzjurte *nmāna* genannt wird. Da es sich um eine Sühne handelt, wird auch die ausdrückliche Bestimmung, daß zur Herstellung des Rinderzeltes neuer Filz verwendet werden soll, begreiflich; im allgemeinen wird man sich für diese Art von Zelten mit alten gebrauchten Filzen begnügt haben. Mehr als ein Versuch, das Verständnis der schwierigen Stelle zu gewinnen, kann meine Erklärung natürlich nicht sein<sup>1</sup>.

Auch im Sogdischen erscheint *nmt* (*namat*) in der Bedeutung 'Filz'; siehe Reichelt, Soghd. Handschriftenreste I, 62, 19; II, 8, 10. Die in modernen iranischen Sprachen und Dialekten auftretenden Formen des Wortes, ostoss. *nīmāt*, westoss. *nīmāt*, gil. *nāmād*, färiz. *nāvadz*, yaran. nat. *nāvēdz*, hat Benveniste a. a. O. S. 83 zusammengestellt. Da sie zum Teil ein *v* oder *b* an Stelle des *m* aufweisen, so meint Benveniste, daß sie auf zwei ursprüngliche Synonyma *\*namata* und *\*navata* zurückgehen, die in der indischen Lexikographie treu bewahrt seien. Das *v* und das *b* ist aber offenbar, wie sich aus Christensen, Contr. dial. ir. (I), p. 129 für die nordwestiranischen Formen ergibt, durch Dissimilation innerhalb der iranischen Dialekte entstanden, wie andererseits *navata* sich innerhalb des Indischen aus *namata* entwickelt hat. Der Übergang eines *m* über nasalisiertes *v* in *v* ist im Prakrit gerade in der Lautaufeinanderfolge *nam* häufig, z. B. pr. *navāi* = sk. *namati*, pr. *nava-kāra* = sk. *namaskāra* usw.; siehe Pischel, Prakt. Gr. § 251.

Wenn aber *namata* auch sowohl im Iranischen wie im Indischen erscheint, so ist es doch ganz unwahrscheinlich, daß das Wort etwa schon gemeinsamer arischer Besitz war. Daß die Inder es auch später als Fremdwort empfunden haben, zeigt Kṛṣṇadāsa's Pārasiprakāśa (476), wo das Wort, natürlich in der neupersischen Form, mit der Übersetzung *ūrṇādhya* aufgeführt wird: *ūrṇādhyaṃ<sup>2</sup> namadaṃ smṛtam*. Aus dem Auftreten von *namata* im Pali-Kanon darf man schließen, daß das Wort, und sicherlich zugleich die Sache, schon in früher Zeit, vielleicht schon vor dem 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr., nach Indien kam. Früh muß es, worauf schon Weber, Über den Pārasiprakāśa, S. 45 hingewiesen hat, auch ins Arabische aufgenommen sein, wie die Schreibung mit *ḫā* (خا) beweist.

### *arnavaj'i*.

In 385 schreibt der *divira* Naṃdasena: *avi ca mahi adehi jaṃnaṣa paride giṃ-midavya śramanṇa saṃgarathasa paride ornavaj'i* [I] *suyamaṣa paride namata caru jimoyasa paride namata* I *maravara kuviṇeyaṣa paride namata* I *teṣa piḍ'ita anati*

<sup>1</sup> Gänzlich außer Betracht bleiben für die Erklärung von *namata* muß *nāmōkā* (Bartholomae *nāmōkā*), das Yt. 14, 55 irgendeine Holzart bezeichnet. Daß das Wort Reisig bedeuten sollte, wie Bartholomae annimmt, halte ich für ausgeschlossen. Ob es überhaupt etwas mit *nāmata* zu tun hat, ist ganz zweifelhaft, zumal da auch die Schreibung in den Handschriften starke Schwankungen zeigt.

<sup>2</sup> *Ūrṇādhyaṃ* (Handschriften: *-dyaṃ*, *-dyaṃ*, *-dyām*, *ūrarnāgha*) ist aber kaum die richtige Lesart. Zu erwarten wäre *ūrṇāyau*; vielleicht ist *ūrṇāyavāṃ* zu lesen, indem *ūrṇāyau* als Femininum gebraucht ist.

*ditae siyati cavala eda<sup>1</sup> isa preṣeyamti*, 'ferner habe ich von dort von den Leuten zu empfangen: von dem *śramona* Saṃgaratha eine *arnavaj'i*, von Suyama eine Filzdecke, von dem *caru* Jimoya eine Filzdecke, von dem *maravara* Kuvīṇeya eine Filzdecke; sollte diesen ein Gesamtbefehl erteilt werden, so schicken sie dies schleunigst hierher'. Schon die Zusammenstellung mit *namata* macht es wahrscheinlich, daß *arnavaj'i* eine Art Decke oder Teppich ist. Dazu stimmt 714, wo unter den als Steuerabgabe von dem Dorfe Ajiyama zu liefernden Sachen die *arnavaj'i* zwischen *koṣava* und *thavastae raj'i namatae* aufgezählt werden<sup>2</sup>. Auch in 59 erscheint *arnavaj'i* hinter *tavastae*. Die Bestätigung liefert 83, wo Kuṣṣiṃta mitteilt, daß er als Miete für ein Kamel in der Obhut des Naṃtaśrṇma eine 8 *hasta* lange *arnavaj'i* geschickt habe, und zwar eine weiße: *uṭaparikreya arnavaj'i hasta 4 4 naṃtaśrṇmaṣa hastaṃmi atra prahidemi sa arnavaj'i śpeti*. Woher der Name stammt, weiß ich nicht zu sagen; mit sk. *arṇavaja* 'os sepiae' hat er kaum etwas zu tun.

### *thavaṃna, thavaṃnaḡa und somstaṃni*.

*Thavaṃna, thavaṃnaḡa* bedeutet in der Zusammensetzung mit *maya* sicherlich 'Tuch' im Sinne von 'Stoff', 'Gewebe'. In der Liste der gestohlenen Sachen in 318 findet sich *umathavanagaṃae<sup>3</sup> kaṃculi*, 'eine aus wollenem Tuch gemachte Jacke'. In 534 sind 4 *thavaṃnae* — aus Tuch gemachte — *pasannaṃno* erwähnt, was immer auch unter diesem Worte zu verstehen ist<sup>4</sup>. *Thavaṃna(ḡa)* tritt aber auch selbständig mit einer Zahl verbunden auf und bedeutet dann offenbar ein Stück Tuch; so in 207 *thavaṃnae 4 1* (hinter *koṣava 4 2 akiṣḍha 1*), in 141 *tha[vaṃ]naḡa 10 4 1*. In 149 sagt ein entlaufener Sklave aus: *saṃme 4 4 1 maṣe 1 divaṣe 20 4 4 palayaṃnaḡa maṣaḡa maṃtreti mahi artha[dana] kaṭathavaṃne 4 omathavaṃne<sup>5</sup> 3 rupyabhana 1 māṣa sahasra 2000 śata 500 kaṃculi 2 somstaṃni 2 kayabamdhana 3 ciṃna cimara 3*, 'im Jahre 9 im ersten Monat am 28. Tage sagt der entlaufene Maṣaḡa aus: mein *arthadana*<sup>6</sup> (ist) 4 Stück *kaṭa*-Tuch, 3 Stück wollenes Tuch, 1 silberner

<sup>1</sup> So im Index verbessert.

<sup>2</sup> Ich kann daher die Vermutung nicht ganz unterdrücken, wenn sie auch vielleicht kühn erscheint, daß das *asam[kha]raj'iya*, das in 207 in der Liste der von demselben Dorf Ajiyama als Abgabe zu liefernden Sachen vor *koṣava, akiṣḍha, thavaṃnae* aufgeführt wird, ein verlesenes *arnavaj'iya* ist. Die Zeichen für *na* und *saṃ, va* und *ra* liegen in der Form nicht allzu weit auseinander und das *kha* ist unsicher. Möglich ist es aber auch, daß in dem Worte das *raj'i* steckt, das nach seiner Stellung in der Liste von 714 wohl wiederum eine Art Teppich oder Filz bedeutet. Dies *raj'i* kommt in unklarem Zusammenhang noch einmal in 655 vor (*arṇha raj'i amila 2*) und ist wahrscheinlich weiter mit dem Worte identisch, das in 431, 432 hinter *kavaj'i namadaḡa 4* erscheint und hier von den Herausgebern *rad'i* oder *safi, sad'i* gelesen wird. Thomas, AO. 13, 79, will an der letzten Stelle das Wort als Vertreter von *safi* fassen. Allein in der Sprache der Dokumente sind die drei ursprünglichen Zischlaute erhalten, und für sk. *safi*, wenn dies gemeint sein sollte, wäre daher *safi* oder *sad'i* zu erwarten.

<sup>3</sup> Auch die Lesung *omna-* ist möglich.

<sup>4</sup> Es kann auch *pasannaṃta* gelesen werden, was im Grunde wahrscheinlicher klingt.

<sup>5</sup> Mögliche Lesung ist *umna-*.

<sup>6</sup> Die genaue Bedeutung von *arthadana*, das in 58 und 471 wiederkehrt, ist noch zu ermitteln.

Schmuck<sup>1</sup>, 2500 *māṣa*, 2 Jacken, 2 *soṃstaṃni*, 3 Leibgurte, 3 chinesische Gewänder<sup>2</sup>. Die vier letzten Wörter sind bis auf *soṃstaṃni* klar. Da *soṃstaṃni* zwischen *kaṃcuḷi* und *kāyabandhana* steht, bezeichnet es sicherlich ein Kleidungsstück. Ich möchte es daher mit *sunthāṇā* identifizieren, das Mahāvīyutp. 232, 9 dicht vor *kāyabandhanam* (15) angeführt und in der chinesischen Übersetzung durch 褲子 *ku-ḍṣī*, in der tibetischen durch *dor-ma*<sup>3</sup> wiedergegeben wird, also 'Hose' bedeutet. *O* und *u* wechseln in der Schreibung der Dokumente beständig, vgl. z. B. *prahoḍ'a* und *prahuḍ'a*, *ahono* und *ahuno*, *prochida* und *pruchida* usw., und das *th* von *sunthāṇā* läßt sich ohne Schwierigkeit als der prakritische Vertreter eines *st* erklären. Daß *sunthāṇā* eigentlich ein Prakrit-Wort ist, macht auch das zerebrale *ṇ* wahrscheinlich. Wenn nun aber die beiden Arten von *thavaṇṇa* von den fertigen Kleidungsstücken gesondert aufgeführt werden, so stimmt das gut zu der oben geäußerten Vermutung, das *thavaṇṇa* ein Stück Tuch ist. *Kaṭathavaṇṇa* muß, da es neben dem wollenen Tuch genannt ist, eine besondere Art Tuch bezeichnen. Das Wort findet, wie mir scheint, seine Erklärung durch einen Ausdruck im Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra. Dort werden in Kap. 29 nach den aus Schafwolle hergestellten Geweben (*āvika*) die aus den Haaren wilder Tiere verfertigten (*mṛgaroman*) aufgezählt und unter ihnen *kaṭāvānaka*, das 'Mattengewebe', das nach Bhaṭṭasvāmin ein grobfädiges Tuch ist<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Rupyabhana* ist sk. *rūpyabhāṇḍam*. Die Bedeutung 'Schmuck' ist im PW. aus den Epen belegt; sie liegt aber noch in manchen Stellen vor, wo sie bisher verkannt ist. So ist z. B. *svaṃabhāṇḍa* im Mṛcchakaṭīka nicht ein goldenes Kästchen, wie alle Übersetzer, Wilson, Regnaud, Böhlingk, Fritze, Kellner, Ryder, es fassen, sondern der Goldschmuck. Es wechselt daher beständig mit *alaṃkāra*; so I, 630 (BSS.) *maitreya gṛhyatām ayam alaṃkārah*; I, 665 *idam ca svaṃabhāṇḍam rakṣitavyam tvayā rātrau*. Von einem Schmuckkasten kann hier ja gar nicht die Rede sein, da die Hetäre, als sie in Cārudatta's Haus kommt, ihren Schmuck doch einfach abstreift und übergibt, genau so wie im 6. Akt, wo sie ihren Schmuck dem kleinen Rohasena schenkt. Im 9. Akt, als die Schmuckstücke (*ābharaṇāni* 446) dem Vidūṣaka entfallen, fordern der Śreṣṭhin und der Schreiber die Mutter der Vasantasenā auf, das *svaṃabhāṇḍam* genau daraufhin anzusehen, ob es das ihrer Tochter sei (463). Die Alte macht Ausflüchte: es sei ähnlich, aber nicht dasselbe; es feßle den Blick durch die Fertigkeit des Künstlers, aber dasselbe sei es nicht. Das kann sich selbstverständlich nur auf die Schmuckstücke, nicht auf den Kasten beziehen. Der Richter fragt sie dann auch, ob sie die Schmuckstücke (*ābharaṇāni* 473) kenne, und sie verneint es wieder und meint, der Schmuck könnte vielleicht von einem andern nachgebildet sein. 5, 52 spricht der Vidūṣaka wegwerfend von dem geringwertigen *svaṃabhāṇḍam*, für das sie die kostbare Halskette hingegeben hätten. Auch da kann doch nur der Goldschmuck, nicht der Kasten gemeint sein. Auch im Cārudatta werden *alaṃkāra* (29, II. 12; 63, 2 usw.), *svaṃālaṃkāra* (30, 6; 58, 16) und *svaṃabhāṇḍa(ka)*, *svaṃabhāṇḍa(a)* 53, 2; 58, 3. 4; 61, 6; 62, 1) unterschiedslos für dieselbe Sache gebraucht. Einmal wird in Mṛcch. (3, 185) für *svaṃabhāṇḍa* auch *alaṃkaraṇabhāṇḍa* gebraucht. Auch das bedeutet nur soviel wie 'der gesamte Schmuck'. In genau demselben Sinne kommt der Ausdruck im Pali, Jāt. 3, 221, 13 vor, wo die Frau den Räuber bittet, ihren ganzen Schmuck — *sabbam ābharaṇabhāṇḍam* — in ihr Obergewand einzubündeln und durch den Fluß zu tragen. In der Gāthā I ist der Ausdruck zu *sabbam bhāṇḍam* vereinfacht.

<sup>2</sup> *Cimara* für sk. *civara* zeigt den Übergang von *v* in *m*, der auch in *saṃme* aus *\*saṃve* vorliegt.

<sup>3</sup> So ist statt *ror-ma* der Ausgabe zu lesen.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaṭāvānakaṃ sa eva śhūlasūtrito bhāṣyaka itī taddēṣyānām prasiddhah.*

Die Worte *kaṭāvānaka* und *kaṭathavaṇṇa* sind in ihrer Bildung so ähnlich, daß sie sich ohne weiteres als Synonyma auffassen lassen. Vielleicht liegt *kaṭathavaṇṇa* auch in 583 vor, wo als Zahlung *kaṭ'aha vaṇṇa* hasta 2 *tāvasta* hasta 4 genannt sind. Das *j'a* und das *ṭa* sind so ähnlich, daß die beiden ersten *aḱṣaras*, wie auch in der Note bemerkt wird, auch *kaṭa* gelesen werden können. Das dritte *aḱṣara* ist allerdings nach der Phototypie deutlich *ha*, so daß man, wenn *kaṭathavaṇṇa* gemeint sein sollte, wohl einen Schreibfehler annehmen müßte<sup>1</sup>. In abweichender Schreibung begegnet *thavaṇṇa* endlich auch in dem Briefe 476: *avaṣa namate tavanaṇa prahatavya paṣava prahatavya*, 'auf jeden Fall sind Filze und Tuch zu schicken. Die Schafe sind zu schicken'.

*Thavaṇṇa(ḡa)* ist sakisches Lehnwort; Burrow, BSOS. 7, 512 hat es mit sak. *thauma* identifiziert, das in dem Lehrgedicht 25, 218 deutlich 'Tuch' bedeutet; es heißt dort von dem Bodhisattva bei seiner Geburt *śśakkrā brahmānā thaumu vīri nāndā*, 'Śakra und Brahman nahmen ihn in einem Tuche auf'. Die Bedeutung 'Tuch, Zeug, Stoff' paßt auch in den übrigen Stellen, so in dem Lehrgedicht 5, 96 *o kho kāḍe rīmajsi thauni kṣārā biṣṣā haysīāte rīma*, 'oder wie die Lauge von einem sehr befleckten Tuch alle Flecken abwäscht'; 6, 86 *trāmu hā paṣatā kho śṣīyā rrahamaṇa thonā paṣinde*, 'er ist so hingeschlagen, wie ein weißes Tuch mit einem Wagenkolben geschlagen wird'; 4, 82 *gyastīṇa thauma kāṣāyavastra rrusana pruhauṣṭa ā're sarvaṇa balysa biṣṣā*, 'in himmlische Stoffe, in rotgelbe glänzende Kleider gekleidet sitzen alle die allwissenden Buddhas'. In der leider sehr lückenhaften Stelle, Nebenst. 52, 18, ist offenbar davon die Rede, daß man aus der Flachs (*attasi*) genannten Pflanze *vicitra thauma*, 'verschiedene Zeuge', herstellt. Lehrg. 23, 209 wird von dem Kaufmann Sudhana, dem einstigen Anāthapiṇḍika, beim Auftreten des Maitreya gesagt: *thamyaujsa Mātrai vaska uryānu ggāndā t[ū] kālu*, und hier faßt Leumann *thauma* als Gewand: 'mit den (beiden Mönchs-) Gewändern (bekleidet) dem Maitreya nach in den Park geht er (hinaus) zu jenem Zeitpunkt'. Ich bezweifle aber, daß diese Übersetzung den Sinn trifft. Wie sollte man dazu kommen, unter dem Plural *thauma* gerade die beiden Mönchsgewänder zu verstehen? Außerdem kann *ggāndā* kaum 'er geht' bedeuten. Konow, Saka Studies, S. 31, 136 (unter *ggār*) leitet *ggāndā* von *grab* ab und will den Satz übersetzen: 'er erhebt für Tuche einen Park für Maitreya zu jener Zeit.' Ich halte das für richtig. Der Kauf des Parkes durch Sudhana, von dem allerdings in den indischen Quellen nichts gesagt wird, ist offenbar das Gegenstück zu dem Kauf des Jetavana durch Anāthapiṇḍika. Sak. *thauma* stimmt also in der Bedeutung genau mit *thavaṇṇa* überein, das auch lautlich als die direkte Vorstufe von *thauma* angesehen werden kann. Konow, a. a. O. S. 29, hat *thauma* zu der Wurzel gestellt, die in np. *tāftan* vorliegt. Er nimmt *\*tafna*

<sup>1</sup> Im Sakischen wird allerdings inlautendes *th* zwischen Vokalen zu *h*, aber das Kompositum *kaṭathavaṇṇa* wird doch erst in der Sprache von Krorain gebildet sein.

<sup>2</sup> So Leumann. Mit *rrahamaṇa*, ist wohl der Hammer des Wäschers gemeint; vgl. 20, 58 *kāleina paṣinde rrahamaṇa*.

als Grundform an und erklärt den Übergang des anlautenden *t* in *th* durch den Einfluß der folgenden ursprünglichen *f*. Das *thavaṃna* der Dokumente macht diese Erklärung aber doch sehr zweifelhaft.

Sak. *thama* ist, wie Schaefer nach mündlicher Mitteilung gesehen hat, in der Form *ton* auch ins Uigurische aufgenommen worden, hat hier aber die Bedeutung 'Kleid' angenommen; siehe SBAW. Ph. H. Kl. 1929, S. 251: *ton üzä ton kâñtli sanga*, 'Kleid über Kleid wurde dir angezogen'; Ung. Jahrb. 10, 200: *qaltı bašta tamtulmıš tonta tutunmıš köyir otuy öcürgäli tawramurča*, 'wie man sich beeilt, das am Kopf(haar) ausgebrochene und sich über das Kleid verbreitende brennende Feuer zu löschen', usw. Die gleiche Bedeutung tritt in der Ableitung *tonayyu*, *tonarayu* (z. B. SBAW. Ph. H. Kl. 1934, S. 138) zu Tage wie in *uzuntonluy*, 'Weib', wörtlich 'langröckig', dem Bang, Ung. Jahrb. 5, 231 einen seiner turkologischen Briefe gewidmet hat.

### *paṭa*.

Häufig erscheint in den Dokumenten als Zahlungsmittel *paṭa*. Da das Wort stets mit *ṭ* geschrieben wird, so ist es offenbar *paṭṭa*, nicht *paṭa* zu lesen. Damit ist freilich noch nicht gesagt, was wir darunter zu verstehen haben, denn im Sanskrit ist *paṭṭa* ebenso wie *paṭa* ein ziemlich vieldeutiges Wort. Oft findet sich hinter *paṭa* eine Zahl; so in 3: *ahono iṣa suḡita viṃñāveti yatha eṣa stri suḡisae muli dāda muli paṭa 20 1*, 'jetzt zeigt Suḡita hier an, daß er die Frau Suḡisae gekauft hat; der Preis (betrug) 41 *paṭa*'. In 345 bezeugt Larsu, daß Budhagoṣa, der Sklave des *śramaṇa* Anandāsena, ihm von dem Gute des Cugōpa unter andern Dingen 12 *paṭa* gestohlen habe: *se mahi cuḡoṣa goṭhade corita paṭa 10 2*. Weitere Beispiele finden sich in den Listen 225 und 660; ich will aus der letzteren nur die Eintragungen anführen, die die merkwürdige Pluralform *paṭamca* enthalten: *pumñāsena 4 3 paṭamca gimñita, parvatīye paṭamca 2 gimñitamti*. Insbesondere wird die Zahlung einer bestimmten Anzahl von *paṭa* als Strafe festgesetzt. In dem vor dem buddhistischen Saṃgha von Caḍoda zwischen zwei Angehörigen des Saṃgha geschlossenen Kaufvertrag (419) wird zum Schluß bestimmt: *ko a paṭimakalāmi bhīti vajo<sup>1</sup> mantra nikhaleyati vikarida karaṃnae bhikṣusaṃghaṣa puraṭhida apramana avidhama paṭa 4 1 dhamta prahara 20 10 10*, 'und wenn einer in späterer Zeit zum zweitenmal die Abmachung beseitigen sollte, um sie zu verändern, so soll es vor dem Saṃgha der Mönche ohne Gültigkeit sein. Die Buße (soll) 5 *paṭa* (betragen); die Strafe 50 Hiebe.' Ähnlich heißt es in dem Kaufvertrag 348: *ko paṭakalāmi mantra nikhaliṣati dhamta dheṣati sarva saṃgaṣa paṭa 4 1*, 'wer in späterer Zeit die Abmachung beseitigen wird, wird als Strafe an den gesamten Saṃgha<sup>2</sup> 5 *paṭa* zahlen', obwohl in diesem Falle vorher nicht gesagt ist, daß die Vertragschließenden dem Saṃgha angehörten. Nach 345 ist eine Strafe in *paṭa* aber auch an die Staatskasse zu entrichten: *yadi*

<sup>1</sup> *Vajo* ist Schreibfehler für *vara*; vgl. *biti vara* in derselben Phrase in 437.

<sup>2</sup> Oder 'als Strafe gesamt an den Saṃgha'?

*paṭima kalaṃmi śramaṇa anandāsena athava eṭaṣa putra praputra ṇati prañati puna eṭa amnyatha icheyamti karaṃnae mantravivata uhaṣeyamti taha te rayadvarammi muha cotamna apramamna daṃḍa prapamca bhavēyamti deveyamti daṃḍa (ra)ya-kaṃmi paṭa 20 10 sarva eṭa daṃḍa daditva avāse ca eva eṭa bhavēyati yatha upari lihita[ga]*, 'wenn in späterer Zeit der *śramaṇa* Anandāsena oder seine Söhne und Urenkel, seine Verwandten oder Nachkommen von Verwandten wünschen sollten, dies wieder abzuändern, oder einen Streit über die Abmachung anheben sollten, so soll die mündliche Einrede<sup>1</sup> vor dem königlichen Gerichtshof ohne Gültigkeit sein. Sie sollen in Strafe genommen werden (und) sollen in die königliche (Kasse) 30 *paṭa* zahlen. Und wenn diese ganze Strafe gezahlt ist, soll dies durchaus so sein, wie es oben geschrieben ist'. Auch in der königlichen Verordnung für den Saṃgha der Mönche in Caḍoda (489) werden Strafen in *paṭa* festgesetzt, die offenbar in die Staatskasse fließen: *yo bhikṣu saṃgakarami na anuvarteyati taṣa (daṃḍa) dadavo paṭa 1 10 bhikṣu posathakamāya nānuvarteyati taṣa daṃḍa paṭa 1 10 bhikṣu posathakamānimam- treṣu grihastā coḍ'ina praviṣayāti taṣa daṃḍa davo<sup>2</sup> paṭa 1 10 bhikṣu bhikṣuṣya prahara deyati mṛduka paṭa 4 1 madya paṭa daṣa 10 asimatra paṃcadaṣa 10 4 1*, 'Welcher Mönch nicht den Pflichten des Saṃgha nachkommen sollte, der hat als Strafe 1 *paṭa* zu geben. Welcher Mönch nicht die Uposatha-Zeremonie befolgen sollte, für den ist die Strafe 1 *paṭa*. Welcher Mönch bei den Einladungen zur Uposatha-Zeremonie einen nichtgeschorenen<sup>3</sup> Haushalter einführen sollte, der hat als Strafe 1 *paṭa* zu geben. Welcher Mönch einem Mönche einen Schlag versetzen sollte, (für den ist die Strafe, wenn es) ein milder (ist), 5 *paṭa*, (wenn) ein mittlerer, 10 *paṭa*, ein übermäßiger, 15.'

Es ist klar, daß *paṭa* an allen Stellen, wo es ohne weiteren Zusatz mit einer Zahl verbunden auftritt, nicht 'Stoff', 'Zeug' im allgemeinen bedeuten kann, sondern ein Stück bestimmten Stoffes bezeichnen muß, und dann kann es meines Erachtens nur ein Ausdruck für Seidenballen oder Seidenrolle sein. Im Sanskrit ist die Bedeutung 'Seide' für *paṭṭa* gesichert, wenn es mit *cīna* verbunden ist. Suśruta 1, 18, 11 wird *cīnapaṭṭa* neben *kaūṣeya* unter den Verbandstoffen aufgezählt. Daß mit *cīnapaṭṭa* die aus China eingeführte Seide gemeint ist, wird ausdrücklich Kauṭ. 29 gesagt, wo *cīnapaṭṭāḥ* ebenfalls neben *kaūṣeya* genannt ist: *taṣā kaūṣeyam cīnapaṭṭās ca cīnabhūmijā vyākhyātāḥ*. Bei Späteren wird *cīnapaṭṭa* aber nicht nur für den Stoff, sondern auch im Sinne von Seidengewand gebraucht, so z. B. Bhaṭṭik. 10, 60, wo der die Erde umgebende Ozean mit einem Seidengewand verglichen wird, das von den Brüsten der Berge aus Freude über den Anblick des Rāma herabgeglitten ist (*galitam iva bhūvo vilokya rāmaṃ dharaṇidharastanaśuklacīnapaṭṭam*). Kathās. 43, 89 preist die Frau den fremden Kaufmann, der ihr für eine Nacht 100 Pferde und 1000 *cīnapaṭṭas* geben will. Somadeva wird auch hier an fertige Seidengewänder

<sup>1</sup> Die Konstruktion ist nicht genau; *te* gehört zu *bhavēyamti*.

<sup>2</sup> Schreibfehler für *dadavo*.

<sup>3</sup> So Thomas, AO. 12, 62.

gedacht haben, da er vorher (43, 75) erzählt, daß der Kaufmann 20000 Pferde mitbrachte und unzählige treffliche Kleiderpaare, die aus dem Lande China stammten (*cīnadeśajasadvastrayugmāry aṅaṅāni ca*).

Das ursprüngliche *cīnapaṭṭa* hat sich dann später gewissermaßen in zwei Wörter gespalten, indem die beiden Glieder des Kompositums selbständig für 'Seide' gebraucht werden. Hemaṅgala An. 2, 260 und Trik. 791 wird *cīna* im Sinne von *vastra* gelehrt, Med. im Sinne von *aṅśuka*, Trik. 433 auch als Synonym von *patākā*. *Cīnasīcāya* ist das Seidengewand Pañcar. 3, 5, 28. Häufiger ist *cīnāṅśuka*, das Kālidāsa für das seidene Fahnentuch (Śak. 1, 27 = B 33 *cīnāṅśukam iva ketoh*; Kum. 7, 3 *cīnāṅśukaiḥ kalpitaketumālam . . . puram*), Spätere geradezu für Seidengewand gebrauchen (Amaru 86 *vyādhyā cīnāṅśukam*; Daśak. (NSP.) 112 *atīṣṭiṣṭa-cīnāṅśukāntarīyam*; Komm. zu Hem. An. 2, 260 *cīnāś cīnaṃ samaśnanti cīnāṅśukasukomalāḥ*; Hariv. 12745).

In ganz demselben Sinne wie *cīnāṅśuka* wird nun aber auch *paṭṭāṅśuka* gebraucht; so von dem seidenen Kleiderpaar Daśak. 109 *vāsātāmbūlapaṭṭāṅśukayugalabhūṣaṅāvayavagarbhāṃ ca vaṅgerikām*; Ratn. 4, 2 *paṭṭāṅśujalām*). Auch Daśak. 133 ist sicherlich *mahārajanadhvajapaṭṭāṅśukam* zu lesen<sup>1</sup>, 'das saffranfarbene seidene Fahnentuch'. Neben *paṭṭāṅśuka* findet sich *paṭṭavastra*. Das *cīnāṅśukoiḥ* in Kum. 7, 3 erklärt Mallinātha durch *paṭṭavastraiḥ*. Daśak. 136 werden unter den *paṭṭavastrāṇi*, die im Feuer geopfert werden sollen, seidene Kleider zu verstehen sein. In der bekannten Mandasor-Inscription von 473 (GI. 18) heißt es, daß diese Erde durch die Gilde der Seidenweber gleichsam mit einem Seidenkleide, *paṭṭavastreṇa*, geschmückt war (Z. 12). Daß *paṭṭa* hier den Stoff bezeichnet, zeigt der Ausdruck *paṭṭamayavastrayugāni* (Z. 12) und der Name für die Seidenweber, *paṭṭavāya* (Z. 16), in derselben Inschrift. Sicherlich ist auch Rājat. 5, 162 nicht an die Herstellung von Wollzeugen zu denken, wie Stein meint, sondern an Seidenwebereien: *khyātīhetuh paṭṭavānām paśūnām krayavikrayau | ityādi yat pattane 'sti tat tasmīn hi pure 'bhavat*, 'denn was es als Ursache der Berühmtheit in einer Stadt gibt, wie Seidenweberei, Viehhandel usw., das war in dieser Stadt'<sup>2</sup>. Andere Belege für *paṭṭa* im Sinne von Seide aus älterer Zeit sind Suśr. 3, 3, 15, wo *paṭṭa* als feiner Stoff neben *kaūśeya* genannt wird: *dukūlapaṭṭakaūśeyabhūṣaṅādiṣu dauḥṛdāt*; 4, 1, 101, wo das Auflegen einer in ein seidenes Tuch eingeschlagenen Paste vorgeschrieben wird: *sneham auśadhāsāraṃ ca paṭṭavastrāntarīkṛtam . . . lepasyopari dāpayet*; Kād. 36 (NSP.), wo von einem Lager mit einem seidenen Kissen am Kopfende die Rede ist: *paṭṭopadhānādhyāsitasirodhānmā . . . sayanena*; Bhartṛh. 3, 74, wo *paṭṭa* neben *paṭa*, mit dem es in Handschriften so oft verwechselt wird<sup>3</sup>, erscheint: *jīrnā kanthā tataḥ kim*

<sup>1</sup> Ausgabe *-paṭṭāṅśukam*.

<sup>2</sup> Stein faßt den Vers in seiner Übersetzung auch sonst etwas anders auf.

<sup>3</sup> Die Angaben *paṭṭa* 'gewebtes Zeug', *paṭṭakarmakara* 'Weber' und *paṭṭakarman* 'Weberarbeit' in den PW. beruhen auf falschen Lesarten. Pañcat. 5 (ed. Bühler) p. 52, 14, 17; 54, 11, 12, (Pūrṇabh. ed. Hertel) 273, 6, 9; 275, 7, 9 steht überall die richtige Form *paṭa*.

*sitam amalapaṭam paṭṭasūtram tataḥ kim*, 'ist es nicht gleich, ob es ein alter Flickerock ist oder ein weißes fleckenloses Tuch aus seidenen Fäden?', Bhartṛh. 3, 34 *udakṣīpan paṭṭadukūlaketim*, 'sie richteten die Banner aus Seide und Leinen hoch'.

Eine besondere Seidenart scheint *paṭṭāṅśu* zu sein, das in der Mahāvīyutpatti 232, 41 aufgeführt wird. Von *paṭṭāṅśuka* ist es offenbar gänzlich zu trennen. Die chinesische Übersetzung gibt es durch 羅 lo 'netzartiger Seidenstoff', 'Seidengaze' wieder; *paṭṭāṅśu* 'Seide-Strahl' scheint danach eines jener Komposita mit umgestellten Gliedern zu sein, wie sie besonders im Prakrit öfter vorkommen. Manu 5, 120; Yājñ. 1, 186f. kommt auch ein *aṅśupaṭṭa* vor; *M. kaūśeyāvīkayor uśaiḥ kutapānām ariṣṭakaiḥ śrīphalair aṅśupaṭṭānām kṣaumānām gaurasarṣapaiḥ*, '(die Reinigung) von seidenen und wollenen Stoffen (soll) mit alkalischen Erden (stattfinden), von *kutapas* mit Früchten des Seifenbaums, von *aṅśupaṭṭas* mit Belfrüchten, von leinenen Stoffen mit gelbem Senf'; *Y. soṣair udakagomūtraiḥ sudhyat y avikakaūśikam | saśrīphalair aṅśupaṭṭam sārīṣṭaiḥ kutapam tathā || sagaurasarṣapaiḥ kṣaumam*. Die Erklärungen der Kommentatoren des Manu, deren Text zum Teil wohl nicht richtig überliefert ist, gehen weit auseinander. Außer Medhātithi, der *aṅśupaṭṭa* einfach als eine besondere Art Seide erklärt (*kaūśeyah paṭṭaviśeṣah | evam aṅśupaṭṭam*), suchen sie in dem Worte bald eine Art Bast, bald ein seidenes Frauengewand; Govinda: *aṅśupaṭṭānām valkalatamukṛtānām paṭṭānām*; Nārāyaṇa: *aṅśūnām nāḍvādivalkalajātīnām sūtrānām | paṭṭānām kaūśeyaviśeṣānām ca* (!); Nandana: *aṅśupaṭṭo valkalaviśeṣah*; Kullūka: *aṅśupaṭṭānām paṭṭasāṭhānām*; Rāghavānanda: *aṅśupaṭṭah paṭṭasāṭhī*. Dieses Schwanken zeigt deutlich, daß man sich über die Bedeutung des Wortes später nicht mehr klar war. Jedenfalls muß *aṅśupaṭṭa* in diesem Zusammenhang einen Stoff bezeichnen. *Paṭṭa* kann dann kaum etwas anderes als Seide bedeuten, und zwar, da *kaūśeya* daneben genannt wird, chinesische Seide; man vergleiche das Nebeneinanderstehen von *kaūśeya* und *cīnapaṭṭāḥ* oder *paṭṭa* im Kauṭīliya und bei Suśruta. Dürfen wir annehmen, daß *aṅśupaṭṭa* die richtigere Form für das *paṭṭāṅśu* in der Mahāvīy. ist? Die Bedeutung Seidengaze scheint aber für die Stelle zu speziell zu sein, und vielleicht ist mit der 'Strahlenseide' die chinesische Seide überhaupt gemeint. Der Ausdruck würde für die ältere chinesische Seide ganz passend sein. Wie Andrews gezeigt hat, weisen die Seiden aus den Gräbern von Lou-lan, die während der Han-Zeit aus China eingeführt sind, eine Textur auf, die man als Rips bezeichnen muß<sup>1</sup>, und es würde ganz begrifflich sein, wenn man die 'Rippen' des Gewebes 'Strahlen' genannt hätte.

Daß *paṭṭa* in den Dokumenten als 'Seidenrolle' zu verstehen ist, wird durch die chinesische und die tibetische Übersetzung von *paṭṭah* in der Mahāvīyutpatti 232, 27 bestätigt. Der Chinese gibt es mit 絹疋 *djūan-pi* 'Ballen dünnen Seidenstoffes' wieder, der Tibeter mit *dar-yug*, was Jäschke, Tib. Dict., durch 'a narrow ribbon-like piece of silk-stuff' erklärt<sup>2</sup>. Solche Rollen oder Ballen Seide dienten noch 400 Jahre

<sup>1</sup> Siehe Stein, Inn. As. I, S. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch ebd. unter *yug*: the silk fabric, designated by *dar-yug*, seems not to exceed much the breadth of ribbons.



später genau so wie in unseren Dokumenten als Zahlungsmittel. In der Biographie Hüan-tsangs, Kap. I, wird erzählt, daß der König von Kao-tschang, als er den Pilger für seine Reise ausrüstete, ihm 100 Unzen Gold, 30 000 Stück Silber und 500 Ballen feinen Seidenstoffes (綾 *ling*) und dünner Seide (絹 *djüan*) und dgl. mitgab, genug, um die Ausreise und Heimreise des Meisters auf 20 Jahre zu sichern. In dieser Form muß auch der Verfasser des Kauṣ. die chinesische Seide gekannt haben, da er zur Bezeichnung des Stoffes den Plural *cinapaṭṭāḥ* 'die Seidenrollen' verwendet.

So wird es auch klar, wie *paṭṭa*, das eigentlich 'Streifen', dann 'Binde, Stirnbinde, längliche Kupferplatte, Steinbank' usw. bedeutet, überhaupt zu einer Bezeichnung der Seide werden konnte<sup>1</sup>. Man hat die verhältnismäßig schmalen, aufgerollten Seidengewebe, die aus China eingeführt wurden, zunächst *cinapaṭṭa*, 'chinesische Streifen', und dann einfach *paṭṭa* genannt, während man die im Lande selbst erzeugte, aber nicht von Bombyx mori herrührende Seide *kauseya* 'aus dem Cocon stammend' nannte<sup>2</sup>. *Kauseya* entspricht also dem heutigen *tasar*<sup>3</sup>. In alter Zeit wird man vermutlich auch chinesische Rohseide in Indien verarbeitet haben, denn der Verfasser des Periplus (64) berichtet, daß von Thinai nicht nur fertige Seidengewebe, sondern auch Rohseide und Seidengarn über Baktrien nach Barygaza und ebenso mittels des Ganges nach Damirike<sup>4</sup> gebracht wurden (πόλις μεσόγειος μεγίστη λεγομένη θίβαι ἄφ' ἧς τό τε ἔριον καί τὸ νῆμα καί τὸ θρόνιον τὸ Κηρικὸν εἰς τὰ Βαρούγαζα διὰ Βάκτρων περὶ φέρεται καί εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν [Δαμυρικὴν] πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ).

In Krorain scheint eine einheimische Seidenzucht nicht bestanden zu haben; man bezog die Seide offenbar ausschließlich aus China. Dafür spricht das leider unvollständige Dokument 35: *suḡita varidavo ahono cinasthanade nasti vaniye ahono paṭa rna na prochidavo uṭa prace taṃci na<sup>5</sup> vihed'idavo yaṃ kala cinasthanade vaniye agamiṣyati taṃ kala paṭa rna prochidavo* 'Suḡita ist zurückzuhalten. Jetzt sind keine Kaufleute aus China da; jetzt ist die Seidenschuld nicht einzufordern. Taṃci ist wegen des Kamels nicht zu drängen<sup>6</sup>. Wenn die Kaufleute von China kommen werden, dann ist die Seidenschuld einzufordern<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mit *paṭa* hat *paṭṭa* gar nichts zu tun. Selbstverständlich ist *paṭṭa* auch nicht etwa aus *patra* entstanden; *tr* wird in den alten Prakrits niemals zu *ṭṭ*. Von den beiden dafür bei Pischel, Prak. Gr. § 292, angeführten Beispielen ist das angebliche *puṭa* für sk. *putra* gänzlich unsicher und *ṭṭai* = sk. *ṭṭyati* deutlich sekundär aus dem viel häufigeren *ṭṭai* durch Assimilation des anlautenden *t* an das folgende *ṭṭ* entstanden.

<sup>2</sup> Ein dem *kauseya* entsprechender Name ist *kīṭaja*, Manu II, 169, der dann den unlogischen Ausdruck *paṭaja* für die chinesische Seide hervorgerufen hat: Mbh. 2, 51, 26 *aurṇaṃ ca vāṅkavaṃ caiva kīṭajaṃ paṭajam tathā*.

<sup>3</sup> Den Unterschied zwischen *kauseya* und *cinapaṭṭa* hat J. Ch. Ray richtig erkannt. Er hat auch *patrorṇa* als eine besonders gute Art der einheimischen Seide bestimmt. Seine Abhandlung 'Textile Industry in Ancient India', Journ. Bih. Or. Res. Soc. 3, 179ff., enthält manches Interessante, leider aber auch viele Unrichtigkeiten und Ungenauigkeiten.

<sup>4</sup> So ist nach Schoff, Periplus p. 205, anstatt Limyrike zu lesen.

<sup>5</sup> Ausg. *uṭ'a prace taṃcīna*.

<sup>6</sup> Offenbar hatte Taṃci von Suḡita ein Kamel für eine gewisse Zahl von Seidenrollen gekauft, aber nicht bezahlt.

### *citrapaṭa, ṣaṃpaṭa.*

Zweimal erscheint *paṭa* im Kompositum mit einem andern Wort. In 566, einem Briefe aus der königlichen Kanzlei, heißt es: *ahuno isa kuṣṣuta tilutamaae ca viṃṃāveti yatha edeṣa naṭha mutilata 4 3 adarṣa 1 citrapaṭamae<sup>1</sup> lastuḡa 1 suḍ'i karnabaṃdhana tsamḡina moṣḡhaya mahatvanam puratḥa pariladha imṭhu jalpita bhudartha ahu kuṣṣuta tilutamaae ca eda bhaja coridemi komumae vanti vikridemi na kiṃci muli giḍ'emi*, 'jetzt zeigen Kuṣṣuta und Tilutamae hier an, daß ihnen abhanden gekommen sind 7 Perlenschnüre, 1 Spiegel, ein aus *citrapaṭa* gemachter *lastuḡa*<sup>2</sup>, ein *suḍ'i* Ohrgehänge. Der *tsamḡina* Moṣḡhaya hat vor den Notabeln verhaftet (?) so ausgesagt: Ich habe in der Tat dem Kuṣṣuta und der Tilutamae diese Sachen<sup>3</sup> gestohlen. Ich habe sie an Konumae verkauft. Den Kaufpreis habe ich nicht erhalten'. Burrow übersetzt *citrapaṭamae* 'made of many-coloured cloth'; noch näher läge es vielleicht, das Wort als *citrapaṭṭamayah* 'aus bunter Seide gemacht' zu fassen. Allein in der Mahāvvyutpatti wird 232, 28 *citrapaṭah* besonders hinter *paṭṭah* aufgeführt, und das macht es wahrscheinlich, daß es eine besondere Art Stoff bedeutet. Im Chinesischen wird es denn auch durch 錦 *djin* 'Brokat' wiedergegeben, im Tibetischen durch *za-hog*, was Jäschke, Tib. Dict., als 'heavy silk cloth' erklärt. Wir dürfen danach in *citrapaṭa* wohl den technischen Ausdruck für einen schweren Brokatstoff sehen. Ob die Schreibung mit einfachem *ṭ* in der Mahāvvyutpatti richtig ist, mag dahingestellt bleiben; die Schreibung in dem Dokument kann in dieser Hinsicht nichts entscheiden.

Schwieriger ist die Erklärung von *ṣaṃpaṭa*, das in 318 in einer langen Liste von Sachen vorkommt, die Kacano, ein Sklave des Samgila, dem Larsu gestohlen, aber später wieder ausgeliefert hat. Ich gebe den Text der Liste mit einigen Abweichungen, die sich, wie ich glaube, auch ohne Einsicht in das Original rechtfertigen lassen: *suj'inakirta<sup>4</sup> vi da pa na da śpa ta<sup>5</sup> priḡha kaṃculi ṣaṃiṃna citraḡa lyokmana<sup>6</sup> pitavaṃṃidaḡa<sup>7</sup> kuvāna prahuni ṣaṃpaṭamae<sup>8</sup> kaṃculi kharavāna prahuni suj'inakirta lyokmana<sup>9</sup> uṃnathavanaḡamae<sup>10</sup> kaṃculi kre me ru pa li ya rna ḡa*

<sup>1</sup> *Citrapaṭamae* ist als ein Wort zu lesen.

<sup>2</sup> *Lastuḡa* hat Burrow, BSOS. 7, 786 besprochen. Er möchte es zu np. *dastār* 'towel, handkerchief, napkin, sash, turban' stellen, das mit anderm Suffix von *dast* 'Hand' abgeleitet ist. Das ist natürlich vorläufig nur eine Möglichkeit der Erklärung. Wenn die im Index vorgeschlagene Lesung *lastuḡa* für *larsuḡa* in 728 richtig ist, muß der *lastuḡa* ein längeres Band sein, denn dort wird ein 7 *hasta* langer *lastuḡa* erwähnt. Für eine Turbanbinde würde das ganz gut passen.

<sup>3</sup> Das *bhaja* ist kaum richtig. Da *ja* und *ḡa* sich sehr ähnlich sehen, ist wohl *bhāḡa* = *bhāṃḡa* = sk. *bhāṅḡa* zu lesen, wenn auch als eigentliche Dialektform *bhāna* zu erwarten wäre.

<sup>4</sup> Ausg. *su j'i na ki rta*.

<sup>5</sup> Ausg. *daṃsa ta*.

<sup>6</sup> Ausg. *lyokma na*.

<sup>7</sup> Ausg. *pe ta vaṃṃidaḡa*.

<sup>8</sup> Ausg. *ṣaṃpa paṭa maha*; in der Note *e* für *ha*.

<sup>9</sup> Ausg. *su j'i na ki rta lyokmana*.

<sup>10</sup> Ausg. *uṃna thavanaḡa mae*.

*prahumī suśarnadare 4 varṣāga 1 uṣṇamae hasta 4 1 nilarataḡa bhīḡi 2.* Die Lesung *ṣaṃnaṣaṣamae kaṃculi*, 'eine aus *ṣaṃnaṣaṣa* gemachte Jacke' scheint mir sicher zu sein, und ich glaube weiter, daß Burrow, BSOS. 7, 787, Recht hat, wenn er *ṣaṃna* als 'Hanf' faßt und es wegen der Schreibung mit *ṣ* anstatt des zu erwartenden *ś* als iranisches Lehnwort erklärt. Die neupersische Lexikographie hat in der Tat ein *ṣan* in der Bedeutung 'Hanf' überliefert; das Wort dürfte aber aus dem ostiranischen Sprachgebiet stammen, wo, wie Andreas, SBAW. 1910, S. 312 ff. gezeigt hat, öfter ein *ś* als Vertreter eines iranischen *s* erscheint. Ob *paṣa* hier als *paṣa* 'Zeug' oder als *paṣṭa* 'Streifen' anzusehen ist, läßt sich mit Sicherheit nicht entscheiden. *Ṣaṃnaṣaṣa* ist nach dem PW. Rām. B 5, 44, 12 tatsächlich belegt. Dort heißt es von den Rākṣasas, daß sie den Hanumat mit Hanfbinden und Baumbaststreifen fesselten: *ṣaṃnaṣaṣaiś ca drumavalkaiś ca saṃhataiḥ*<sup>1</sup>. Ich würde es trotzdem vorziehen, *ṣaṃnaṣaṣa* hier im Sinne von 'Zeug, das aus Hanf hergestellt ist' zu fassen.

### *prigha.*

In der oben angeführten Liste von Sachen in 318 kommt ein *prigha kaṃculi* vor. *Prigha* findet sich noch einmal in 316, einem kurzen Briefchen der Cukapae an ihre liebe Schwester (*priyaśpasuae*) Purnāalazaa: *prahidasmī paṃzavaṃta prighamaḡa 1*<sup>2</sup> 'ich habe ein aus *prigha* gemachtes *paṃzavaṃta* geschickt'<sup>3</sup>. Ich möchte dies *prigha* mit *prīḡa*<sup>4</sup> identifizieren, das Mahāvī. 232, 26 zwischen *netram*<sup>5</sup> und *paṣṭaḥ* aufgeführt und im Chinesischen durch 縹紫絹 *tsai-djūan* 'geblühter dünner Seidenstoff', im Tibetischen durch *dar ri-mo-can* 'Seide mit Figuren oder Muster' wiedergegeben wird.

In 318 liegt es sehr nahe, anstatt *ṣpa ta prigha* vielmehr *ṣpetapriḡa* 'weißer Seidenstoff' zu lesen. Sollte das richtig sein, so würde unter *prigha* nicht ein bunter Seidenstoff, sondern ein einfarbiges, mit Figuren durchwirktes Seidengewebe, also Damast zu verstehen sein.

<sup>1</sup> In C 5, 48, 46 steht dafür *ṣaṃavalkaiś ca drumacīraiś ca saṃhataiḥ*. Rām. B 5, 56, 138 (= C 5, 58, 152) wird erzählt, daß die Rākṣasas Hanumats Schwanz, den sie in Brand setzen wollen, *ṣaṃavalkaiḥ paṣṭaiḥ kārpaśikaiś tathā* umwickeln. Aber hier beruht *paṣṭaiḥ* wieder auf Verwechslung mit *paṣaiḥ*, es sind natürlich baumwollene Tücher gemeint. B 5, 49, 5 (= C 5, 53, 6), wo dieselbe Sache erzählt wird, ist *paṣaiḥ* durch das Metrum gesichert: *aveṣṭa-yanta (C veṣṭante tasya) lāṅḡūḷaṃ jīṛṇaiḥ kārpaśikaiḥ paṣaiḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Ausg. *paṃjhavaṃta prighamaḡa na*.

<sup>3</sup> *Priḡha* in 264, *piḡga* in 416 ist offenbar ein anderes Wort.

<sup>4</sup> Handschriftliche Lesarten auch *prīḡā*, *prīḡu*, *vradrāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> *Netra* ist eine Art Seide. Nach Ray, a. a. O. S. 214, führt Kṣīrasvāmin im Kommentar zu Amar. *netrapaṣa* als Beispiel für *kaṣeya* an. Im alten Bengali soll *net* in der Bedeutung Seide vorkommen. Ray will es mit dem heutigen *hawā'i* 'luftig', einer Art Seidenmusselin, identifizieren. Der Chinese und der Tibeter übersetzen das Wort in der Mahāvī. einfach durch Seide.

### *suḡ'inakirta.*

Faßt man, wie vorgeschlagen, in 318 *ṣpa ta prigha kaṃculi* als *ṣpetapriḡa kaṃculi*, so ist der erste in der Liste genannte Gegenstand *suḡ'inakirta vidapaṇada*<sup>1</sup>. *Suḡ'inakirta* kehrt in der Liste noch einmal in Verbindung mit *lyokmana* wieder. Ich vermag weder die Bedeutung von *vidapaṇada* noch die von *lyokmana* anzugeben. Die Ausdrücke stehen aber offenbar mit den *kaṃculi* und *prahumī* der Liste auf einer Stufe, und wir können daher mit Sicherheit annehmen, daß sie irgendein Kleidungsstück bezeichnen. In dem Falle muß *suḡ'inakirta* eine Art Stoff sein, und es ist ohne weiteres klar, daß es mit dem arabischen *sūsanjird* identisch ist, dem Namen eines besonderen Teppichgewebes in Hautelisse-Technik, dem Karabacek eine Monographie 'Die Persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird' (Leipzig 1881) gewidmet hat. Auf S. 69 ff. seines Werkes gibt Karabacek die Geschichte der Deutung des Wortes, das natürlich nur iranisches Lehnwort sein kann. Schon Ouseley, The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (London 1800), p. 132 f., hatte die in der persischen Übersetzung des Istachri-Balchi auftretende Form des Wortes, *sūzankard*, durch 'embroidery performed with a needle', 'needle-work' wiedergegeben. Auch A. v. Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen II, 297, hatte den Namen der Sūsanjird-Teppiche als 'mit der Nadel verfertigt' erklärt. Dagegen wollte Blau, ZDMG. 31, 503 den Namen für den Teppich von Sūsanjird, dem Namen eines Dorfes bei Baghdād, herleiten und erklärte diesen als 'Lilienstedt', indem er den ersten Bestandteil des Wortes als np. *sūsan*, ar. *sausan* 'Schwertlilie', den zweiten als *jird* im Sinne von 'Stadt' auffaßte. Demgegenüber deutete Nöldeke, ZDMG. 33, 144 *sūsanjird* als 'Šušān-Gemachtes', 'Ware aus Sūs', während Karabacek mit gewichtigen Gründen für die Erklärung Ouseleys und v. Kremers eintrat. Diese Erklärung wird jetzt durch das *suḡ'inakirta* des Kharoṣṭhī-Dokuments endgültig als richtig erwiesen. Die Form *sūzankard*, richtiger wohl *sōzankard*, die in persischen Übersetzungen arabischer Werke für *sūsanjird* vorkommt, gehört offenbar dem westlichen Persien an; in unserm *suḡ'inakirta*, d. i. *sūḡ'inakirta*, möchte ich ein Lehnwort aus dem Sakischen sehen. Das Wort für Nadel ist allerdings in den sakischen Texten bisher nicht belegt; zu vergleichen wäre etwa bal. *sūčīn*, *sičīn*, n. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin* (Horn, Grundr. Np. Et.), par. *sučīn* (Morgensterne, Pashto Voc. 66), kurd. *šūšīn* neben *sušīn* (Grundr. Ir. Phil. I, 2, 259) gegenüber np. *sozan*. Das in den späteren sakischen Texten *yāḡa* lautende Partizip 'gemacht' geht auf \**kārta* zurück, dessen *ā* einem *i* sehr ähnlich klang<sup>2</sup> und das daher in eine andere Sprache nur als *kirta* übernommen werden konnte. Allein, wenn auch das *suḡ'inakirta* des Kharoṣṭhī-Dokuments der älteste Beleg für den Namen des Gewebes ist und die Form dieses Wortes auf Herkunft aus dem Sakischen schließen läßt, so wäre es doch vorschnell, darum auf die Entstehung

<sup>1</sup> Vielleicht ist der Name des Gegenstandes *paṇada*; *suḡ'inakirtavida* könnte Part. Prät. Pass. eines von *suḡ'inakirta* abgeleiteten Denominativums sein wie *kaṃavida* von *kaṃa* u. a. m.

<sup>2</sup> Konow, Saka Studies, p. 5.

der Sūsanjird-Technik in Ostiran zu schließen. Im Mittelalter waren jedenfalls, wie Karabacek, S. 106ff., nachweist, die südpersischen Provinzen Chūzistān und Fārs die Hauptsitze der Sūsanjird-Fabrikation.

*astaraṃṇa, vastaraṃṇa, vastarna.*

*Astaraṃṇa vastaraṃṇa* findet sich in 431 = 432 *eṣa masu śarva astaraṃṇa vastaraṃṇena vikrīṇidavo huda*, 'all dieser Wein war für *astaraṃṇa vastaraṃṇa* zu verkaufen', und in 187, wo es heißt, daß eine Anzahl Brüder das ganze väterliche Erbe zu gleichen Teilen geteilt haben: *bhumakṣetra masuṣaḍ'a astarana vastarana<sup>1</sup> ṣeṣa viṣeṣa*. Die Grundformen sind sicherlich *āstarāṇa* und *upastaraṇa* und die Verbindung soll offenbar das gesamte Material an Decken, sowohl die zum Zudecken bestimmten wie die als Unterlage dienenden, bezeichnen. Vielleicht ist mit *vastarana* das *vastarna* identisch, das in 565 in Verbindung mit *pravarana* erscheint: *kukuḍ'aniḥṣatrami pravarana vastarna chimāḍavya sīvidavya*, 'unter dem Sternbild des Hahnes soll man Mantel und Decke zuschneiden und nähen'. Es ist aber auch sehr wohl möglich, daß *vastarna* Lehnwort aus dem älteren Sakisch ist. Später wird im Sakischen für Decke *baṣṭarra* (Nebenst. 176, 10), *baṣṭarrgya* (Lehrg. 2, 49; 4, 41) gebraucht, die ebenso wie das Part. Pass. *baṣṭarra* (Konow, Saka Studies, Index) von der durch den ursprünglich präsensbildenden Nasal erweiterten Wurzel abgeleitet sind. Das anlautende *b* und das *ṣṭ* führen auf eine Grundform *\*viṣṭarna*. Das *ba* anstatt des zu erwartenden *bi* läßt darauf schließen, daß in *baṣṭarra* Verschmelzung eines *\*viṣṭarna* mit einem *\*vastarna* (von *upastar-*) eingetreten ist, das vielleicht gerade das *vastarna* der Dokumente ist.

*coḍ'āḡa.*

Während im klassischen Sanskrit *nicola*, *nicolaka*, wofür die Lexikographen auch *nicula*, *niculaka* bieten, öfter in der Bedeutung 'Überwurf, Mantel, Panzer, Futteral' vorkommt, scheint das einfache *cola* außerhalb der buddhistischen Literatur nicht bezeugt zu sein. Die Lexikographen führen allerdings *cola* in der Bedeutung 'Frauenjacke' (*kūrpāsaka* usw.) auf (Am. 2, 6, 118; Hem. Abh. 674; Vaij. 169, 255). Hār. 199 wird diese Bedeutung auf *ardhacolaka* beschränkt; *colaka* soll 'Panzer' sein. Hem. An. 2, 116 gibt das Wort in der älteren Form *coḍa* (*kañcuka*)<sup>2</sup>, ebenso Med. ḍ 13 (*prāvarana*). Vaij. 169, 253 wird das Femininum *colī* als Synonym von *śāṭikā* 'Frauengewand' gelehrt; auch Hem. Abh. 675 findet sich *śāṭī colī*. Die Schreibung mit *ṭ* ist, wofern sie überhaupt richtig überliefert ist, als Hypersanskritismus anzusehen, da das Wort in den modernen Sprachen ein *l* (*l*) zeigt, während das ursprüngliche *ṭ* als *ṛ* oder *r* erscheinen müßte, wie schon die Entwicklung des da-

<sup>1</sup> Ausg. *astarana astarana*.

<sup>2</sup> Festschrift Wackernagel S. 306.

nebenstehenden *śāṭikā*, *śāṭī* zu *sārī*, *sārī* zeigt<sup>1</sup>. *cola* ist offenbar aus dem Prakrit entlehnt. Im Pali ist *cola* und das Deminutiv *colaka*, vielfach fälschlich *cola* und *colaka* geschrieben, sehr häufig. *Colaka* ist ein Tuch, ein Lappen, der zu den verschiedensten Zwecken verwendet wird: zum Scheuern (Mahāv. 1, 25, 15 = Cullav. 8, 11, 9), zum Wischen (Cullav. 6, 3, 1), zum Reinigen der Schuhe (Cullav. 8, 1, 2) oder der Füße (Cullav. 6, 19), zum Abwischen des Gesichts (Mahāv. 8, 18), als Unterlage für daraufgestellte Schalen (Cullav. 5, 9, 4) oder als Brettbezug (Cullav. 6, 20, 2). Auch der Lappen, in den man beim Feuerreiben den Funken auffängt, ist *colaka* (Mil. 53). In verächtlichem Sinne wird auch *colakhaṇḍa*, ein Tuchlappen, gebraucht (Mil. 169). Insbesondere wird *cola* und *colaka* von den Lumpen gebraucht, die sich buddhistische Mönche und andere Asketen vom Kehrriehaufen sammeln, um sich ein Gewand daraus zu verfertigen (Jāt. 497, 1; Dhammap. Komm. 2, 173). In diesem Sinne ist auch wohl *coḍaka* in Divyāv. 415, 6 gebraucht, wo der in Bettlerkleidung umherziehende Kunāla genannt wird: *rathyācoḍaka-saṃghātapratyavareṇa vāsasā lakṣyālakṣyapracchāditakauṇḍinam*, 'dessen Scham nur unvollkommen von einem Gewande bedeckt war, das weniger war als ein Haufen auf der Straße aufgelesener Lumpen'<sup>2</sup>. *Cola* bezeichnet gelegentlich aber auch 'Tuch' als Stoff: Suttav. Pāc. 14, 2, 1 sind *uṇṇabhisi*, *colabh.*, *vākabh.*, *tiṇabh.*, *paṇṇabh.* zusammengeordnet, und so ist es auch Kleidung im allgemeinen Sinne: die Mönche, deren Gewänder schlecht aufbewahrt sind, sind *duccoḷā lūkhacivarā* (Mahāv. 2, 12, 3; Suttav. Niss. 29, 1, 2); Mahāvastu 2, 466ff. sind *coḍakāni* die Gewänder der Haremsfrauen. Insbesondere wird aber *cola*, *coḍa* im Pali und im buddhistischen Sanskrit in Verbindung mit *piṇḍa*, *bhojana* und vor allem *bhakta* verwendet, um den Begriff 'Kleidung und Nahrung' auszudrücken. So heißt es Saṃyuttan. 1, 34: geizige Menschen werden in einem armen Hause wiedergeboren, *colaṃ piṇḍo ratī khiḍḍā yattha kicchena labbhati*, 'wo Kleidung, Nahrung, Lust und Vergnügen schwer zu erlangen sind'; Saddharmap. 113, 8 *kim adya coḍena tha bhojanena vā*; 112, 4 *grāmeṇa grāmaṃ anucaṅkramantaḥ paryeṣate bhakta tathāpi coḍam*; 112, 8 *bhaktam ca coḍam ca gaveṣamāṇah*; Śikṣāsam. 20, 17 *bhaktacoḍakaparamo vatāyam*; 113, 8 *bhakte ca coḍe ca bhavaty abhīkṣam*; Śikhālakas. (handschriftlich) *bhaktacoḍānuḥpradāne(ṇa)*<sup>3</sup>. In genau der gleichen Verbindung wird *coḍ'āḡa* in den Dokumenten gebraucht. In 506 beschwert sich der *śramaṇa* Śaṃca, daß die Gutsleute des *śramaṇa* Tatiḡa seinem entlaufenen Sklaven Śraḍḍha Kleidung und Nahrung gegeben haben: *taṣa śraḍḍhaṣa tatiḡaṣa goḥhadare bhata coḍ'āḡa titaṇṭi*. In 19 wird bestimmt, daß einer gewissen Person wie früher nach dem Provinzrechte Kleidung, Wegzehrung und Lohn zu geben sei: *yatha purva rajadhamena coḍ'āḡa paḍevara parikraya dadavo*.

<sup>1</sup> Der von Uhlenbeck, Et. Wtb. vorgeschlagenen Zurückführung von *cola* auf *crt* wird dadurch der Boden entzogen.

<sup>2</sup> Der Text ist aber nicht ganz sicher.

<sup>3</sup> In der entsprechenden Stelle des Singālovādas. (Dighan. 3, 191) steht *bhattavetanānuḥppaḍāmena* (Text: *-vettanā-*); *bhattavetana* ist auch sonst, wie die im P.T.S. Dictionary angeführten Stellen zeigen, die im Pali gebräuchliche Verbindung.

In 722 findet sich der Satz *cod'āga cavala kartavo*, 'die Kleidung ist schleunigst zu machen'. Genaueres läßt sich nicht sagen, solange die Lesung der vorausgehenden Worte nicht gesichert ist<sup>1</sup>. Das schon erwähnte kurze Briefchen der Cukapae (316) schließt: *avaśa mahi coṭāga visarjīdavo*. Nach der Phototypie zu urteilen, ist die Schrift des Täfelchens ziemlich blaß, aber meines Erachtens steht auch hier deutlich *cod'āga* da. Der Sinn wird also auch hier sein: 'Auf jeden Fall ist mir die Kleidung zu schicken'.

### *chataḡa*.

Ein allgemeiner Ausdruck für Kleidungsstück ist vielleicht auch *chataḡa*, das Burrow, BSOS. 7, 783 als Schreibung für *chādaḡa* oder *chadaḡa*, einer Ableitung von *chad*, ansieht. Es erscheint in den Dokumenten zweimal. In 505 heißt es: *tsuḡe-naṣṣa pačevara satu milima 2 khi 10 4 1 mak'a khi 4 1 kavasi 1 pačevara piṃḡa milima 3 chataḡa 1 katari 1 tena tsuḡe-naṣṣa giḡ'a*, 'als Reiseverpflegung hat Tšuḡe-naṣṣa<sup>2</sup> empfangen 2 *milima* 15 *khi* Grütze, 5 *khi mak'a*, 1 Panzerrock — als Reise-

<sup>1</sup> Immerhin scheint mir der Zusammenhang nicht ganz so dunkel zu sein, wie man nach der Übersetzung annehmen muß, die Thomas AO. 12, 67f. von dem Briefe gegeben hat. Als Adressat ist auf der Vorderseite der Obertafel der liebe *apru* Kunaṣena angegeben. Das Schreiben beginnt, wie gewöhnlich, auf der Vorderseite der Untertafel und setzt sich auf der Rückseite der Obertafel fort. Es ist an den lieben *apru* Kunaṣena und Visāliae, offenbar ein Ehepaar, gerichtet. Als Absender bezeichnen sich Kuṃḡāḡa, Sriyavaṃṭīae, Svarnabala, Svaraṣena, Suhavati und Puṃḡāvatīae. In welchem Verhältnis diese Personen zu Kunaṣena und Visāliae stehen, wird sich erst feststellen lassen, wenn die Bedeutung von *apru* ermittelt ist. *Apru* ist sicherlich kein Titel; in Aufschriften und Eingangsformeln bezieht sich das auf *priya* folgende Wort sonst überall auf die Stellung des Adressaten zu dem Schreiber (*pitu*; *matu*; *putra*; *dhitarana*; *bhratu*; *bhratarana*; *svasu*; *sali*; *jamata*; *mītra*; *nivasaga*). Die sechs Personen empfehlen einen gewissen Ad'ina, der augenscheinlich der Überbringer des Briefes ist, und erklären, warum Svarnabala nicht der Bote ist. Dann nimmt Svarnabala selbst das Wort und bittet dringend um Übersendung eines Bogens, den Tamjaka dem Camḡāḡa gegeben hat, einiger Pfeile und eines *dhipu*. Mit Zeile 5 der Rückseite der Obertafel beginnt ein zweites Schreiben, von dem Geheimagenten (*carapurusa*) Camḡāḡa an den lieben *sveta* Kamcaḡa, Sarpisaae und Kunaṣena gerichtet. Warum Thomas annimmt, daß Camḡāḡa ein Bote sei, verstehe ich nicht; Camḡāḡa ist natürlich mit dem *carapurusa* Caṃḡila identisch, der den Brief 200 an Tamjaka (oder Samjaka), Sarpisa (oder Sarpisaga), Upaśura und Upaṣena geschrieben hat. (*Tamjaka sarpisaga* klingt so auffällig an *kamcaḡa sarpisaae* an, daß sich eine Nachprüfung der Lesung empfehlen würde). Für *sveta* gilt das für *apru* gesagte. Kamcaḡa und Sarpisaae sind offenbar wiederum ein Ehepaar. Zu Kunaṣena muß es in nahem Verhältnis stehen, so daß Camḡāḡa eine Mitteilung, die in erster Linie für Kamcaḡa und Sarpisaae bestimmt ist, dem Schreiben an Kunaṣena anfügen konnte. Die Mitteilung ist übrigens unbedeutend; Camḡāḡa hat nichts weiter zu berichten, als daß er gesund und wohlbehalten aus der Hauptstadt (*khamniyade*) zurückgekehrt ist. Er hat dann aber auch der Visāliae, der Frau des Kunaṣena, noch etwas zu bestellen, und da auf der Rückseite der Obertafel kein Platz mehr war, hat er — oder der Schreiber, der den Brief für alle geschrieben hat — den Schluß auf die Vorderseite der Obertafel unter das Siegel gesetzt. Es ist also *avi ca tahi visaliyae vanti lihami* zu lesen: 'und ferner schreibe ich an dich, Visāliyae', usw. Damit scheinen mir die Schwierigkeiten, die sich dem Verständnis dieses Schriftstückes entgegenstellen, wenn auch nicht beseitigt, so doch erheblich vermindert zu sein.

<sup>2</sup> Die doppelte Nennung von Tšuḡe-naṣṣa scheint eine Ungeschicklichkeit zu sein. Statt *tena tsuḡe-naṣṣa* sollte man entweder *sa tsuḡe-naṣṣa* oder *tena tsuḡe-naṣṣamena* erwarten.

verpflegung im ganzen 3 *milima* — 1 Kleidungsstück(?), 1 *katari*'. Burrow meint, daß *chataḡa* das vorhergehende *kavasi* wieder aufnehme, wie sicherlich *pačevara piṃḡa milima* 3 die vorher einzeln aufgeführten Beträge an Grütze und *mak'a* zusammenfaßt. Das ist möglich, wenn auch bei dieser Auffassung das *katari* 1 unerklärt bleibt. Leider wird auch durch 634 die Bedeutung von *chataḡa* nicht gesichert: *cḡito cakuvāla tahi śadha parvataṃṃi gaṃṭavo vaṣḡhīḡa karaṃṃaya yaṃ ca tatra stora manaḡa [chata]ḡa vusma śa [ca] śarva tahi niḡhalīdavo yahi tatra cita na kariṣyatu taha maṃṃasaṃṃi hutu*, 'Cḡito (und) Cakuvala müssen mit dir zusammen nach Parvata gehen, um *vaṣḡhīḡa* zu machen. Und was dabei an Lasttieren, *manaḡa*, Kleidung (?), *vusma* (ist), das ist alles von dir herauszuschaffen. Wenn darauf nicht Aufmerksamkeit verwendet werden sollte, soll es (dir) nicht vergessen sein'<sup>1</sup>.

### *prahuni*.

Mit größerer Sicherheit als für *chataḡa* läßt sich die Bedeutung für *prahuni* feststellen, das dreimal in 318 in der Liste der dem Larsu gestohlenen Sachen vorkommt: *pitavaṃṃidaḡa<sup>2</sup> kuvāna prahuni, kharavārna prahuni, kremerupaliyamaḡa<sup>3</sup> prahuni*. Burrow, BSOS. 7, 514 hat sicherlich Recht, wenn er *prahuni* mit dem sakischen Worte für Kleid gleichsetzt, das gewöhnlich in der Schreibung *prahona* (Lehrg. 4, 44; 4, 55; 4, 87; 5, 36; 22, 32; Nebenst. 107, 34; 176, 7; Saṃḡhāṣ. 13<sup>b</sup> 2), bisweilen auch als *prahaṃṃa* (Lehrg. 2, 63; 23, 309 *rrusta-vrahauṃṃa*; Nebenst. 120, 26), *pruhona* (Lehrg. 6, 31) erscheint<sup>4</sup>. Da *o* und *u* in der Schreibung der Dokumente wechseln, kann *prahuni* als genaue Wiedergabe des gewöhnlichen sak. Nominativs *prahonā* aufgefaßt werden. Ist meine Konjekturen *pita-* für *peta-* richtig, so würde zunächst von einem gelbgefärbten<sup>5</sup> *kuvāna*-Kleid und weiter von einem eselfarbenen Kleid die Rede sein; das dritte Beiwort von *prahuni* weiß ich nicht zu erklären.

Die aus den Dokumenten gewonnenen Ergebnisse werden in den Hauptpunkten durch die bei den Ausgrabungen gemachten Funde teils bestätigt, teils ergänzt. Wie oben S. 28 bemerkt, läßt das Schreiben 35 darauf schließen, daß in Krorain keine einheimische Seidenzucht bestand, sondern daß man die fertigen Seidenstoffe aus

<sup>1</sup> Wörtlich 'soll es im Sinne sein'. Im Sinne einer Drohung wird *maṃṃasaṃṃi hotu* auch 68, 367, 633 gebraucht. Im guten Sinne ist es 217 zu verstehen, wenn dort *ahano ca(ṃ) va(ṃ) viṣajīṣasi maṃṃasaṃṃi hodu* zu lesen ist: 'wenn du ihn schnell herschicken wirst, soll es dir gedacht sein'.

<sup>2</sup> Text: *pe ta vaṃṃidaḡa*.

<sup>3</sup> Die Lesung ist nicht sicher; siehe die Noten.

<sup>4</sup> Lehrg. 2, 63; Nebenst. 107, 34; Saṃḡhāṣ. 13<sup>b</sup> 2 ist es insbesondere von dem *uttarā-saṃḡa* gebraucht.

<sup>5</sup> Statt *-vaṃṃidaḡa* wäre *-varṃidaḡa* zu erwarten, doch kann auch *vamna* in 501 wohl nur sk. *varṃa* sein.

China bezog. In den Gräbern bei Lou-lan hat Stein zahlreiche Reste von Seidenzeug gefunden, das zur Einwicklung der Leichen gedient hatte. Sie gehen in ungefähr die gleiche Zeit hinab wie die Dokumente. Stein hält es für zweifellos, daß das gesamte bei Lou-lan zutage geförderte Material an Seide aus dem Innern Chinas eingeführt ist. Den Beweis liefern die verwendeten Muster, die sämtlich im chinesischen Stil sind, und die in manchen Stücken eingewebte Schrift in chinesischen Charakteren<sup>1</sup>.

Wenn aber in Krorain bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. keine einheimische Seide erzeugt wurde, so ist es recht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Seidenraupenzucht damals bereits in dem westlicher gelegenen Khotan bestanden haben sollte. Andererseits gibt Hüan-tsang in seiner Beschreibung von Khotan an, daß das Land Seide produzierte, aber er bemerkt ausdrücklich, daß das Land in alter Zeit nichts von Maulbeerbäumen und Seidenraupen wußte, und erzählt dann, wie beides durch eine chinesische Prinzessin, die die Gemahlin eines Königs von Khotan wurde, in Khotan eingeführt wurde. In etwas abweichender Form wird dasselbe auch in den Annalen von Li-yul berichtet; der König von Khotan wird hier Vijayajaya, die Prinzessin Puṇyeshar (?) genannt. Stein hat außerdem in Dandān-Uiliq ein Tafelgemälde entdeckt, das, wie er überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, eine Darstellung jener Geschichte bietet<sup>2</sup>. Die ganze Art der Erzählung Hüan-tsangs läßt darauf schließen, daß man die Einführung der Seidenzucht zu seiner Zeit als ein Ereignis einer ziemlich entfernten Vergangenheit ansah. Wir dürfen daher wohl vermuten, daß sie im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. erfolgte, als durch den Untergang des indischen Reiches die direkte Handelsverbindung mit China im Süden des Tarimbeckens unterbrochen war. Seit jener Zeit ist Khotan bis auf den heutigen Tag eine der Hauptstätten des Seidenbaus und der Seidenindustrie in Ostturkistan geblieben.

Auch was wir über die Form, in der die chinesische Seide in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung in den Handel gebracht wurde, aus dem indischen Ausdruck *paṭṭa* entnehmen können, wird durch die Funde bestätigt, die Stein, Ser. I, 373ff., II, 700ff. beschreibt. Auf der Ruinensätte von Lou-lan ist ein kleiner Ballen gelber Seide zu Tage gekommen, noch fest gerollt und offenbar ungebraucht, aber stark zermürbt<sup>3</sup>. An der chinesischen Mauer sind ein paar Streifen Seide gefunden worden, die zu solchen Ballen gehört haben müssen. Einer trägt eine Aufschrift in Chinesisch, die in Chavannes' Übersetzung lautet: 'Eine Rolle Seide von K'ang-fu in dem Königreiche Jên-ch'êng. Breite 2 Fuß 2 Zoll; Länge 40 Fuß;

<sup>1</sup> Stein, Innermost Asia I, 232ff. und Tafel XXXIII—XLIII, XLV. Die aus späterer Zeit stammenden, in den Gräbern von Astāna gefundenen Seidenstoffe zeigen dagegen vielfach westasiatische Motive und unterscheiden sich auch in der Webetechnik von den älteren Stoffen aus Lou-lan; siehe Stein, ebd. II, 673ff.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, Ancient Khotan S. 259f. und Tafel LXIII. Die Erzählungen Hüan-tsangs und der Annalen hat Stein, ebd. S. 229ff., ausführlich besprochen.

<sup>3</sup> Abbildung auf Tafel XXXVII.

Gewicht 25 Unzen; Wert 618 Geldstücke<sup>1</sup>. Da das Reich von Jên-ch'êng im Jahre 84 n. Chr. gegründet wurde, läßt sich das Stück in das Ende des ersten oder den Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. datieren. Ein anderer Streifen muß aus ungefähr derselben Zeit stammen, da er eine Aufschrift in der Brāhmī der Śāka- oder der älteren Kušan-Zeit trägt<sup>2</sup>. Boyer hat sie [*ai*]ṣṭasya paṭa giṣṭi śaparīsa gelesen. Weder die Lesung noch die Deutung ist ganz sicher, nur so viel läßt sich wohl mit Bestimmtheit sagen, daß das letzte Wort, wahrscheinlich *caparīsa* = 40, die Länge des Stückes angab und daß *paṭa* nicht 'piece [of cloth]' bedeutet, sondern ungenaue Schreibung für *paṭṭa* 'Seidenballen' ist. Aus den Maßen des Ballens und der Streifen, soweit sie sich bestimmen lassen, ergibt sich, daß die Breite der Seidenstücke immer ungefähr die gleiche war; sie betrug rund 50 cm. Die Länge muß dann nach der chinesischen Aufschrift etwas über 9 m betragen haben.

Was die oben S. 29 und 30 vorgeschlagenen Erklärungen von *prigha* und *citra-paṭa* betrifft, so möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß sich in den Gräbern von Lou-lan außer zahlreichen polychromen gemusterten Seidenstoffen auch eine Anzahl monochromer Seidendamaste gefunden haben; siehe die Zusammenstellung bei Stein, Inn. As. I, S. 234, Anm. 16 und Tafel XL und XLIII. Seidenbrokate hat Stein in den Ruinen von Endere ausgegraben; siehe Anc. Khotan I, 441 und Tafel LXXXVII E 1. 018. 019. 020.

Auf der Stätte von Lou-lan, besonders in den Gräbern, haben sich auch Reste von wollenen Samtteppichen (*pile carpets*) erhalten; eine Anzahl sind bei Stein, Inn. As. Tafel XLIV und LXXXVII, Ser. Tafel XXXVII, abgebildet. Gleichartige Stücke sind in den Ruinen von Caḍoda entdeckt; siehe Stein, Anc. Khot. I, 398; Ser. I, 250. Ich stehe nicht an, diese Samtteppiche mit den *koj'ava* der Dokumente zu identifizieren. Alle sind polychrom, doch lassen sich, wie Stein Inn. As. I, 231f. bemerkt, die Muster nicht deutlich genug erkennen, um sie einem besonderen Stil zuzuweisen. Stein vermutet, daß sie Erzeugnisse der einheimischen Industrie sind. Ist meine Identifizierung der Samtteppiche mit den *koj'ava* richtig, so wird Steins Ansicht durch die Dokumente 549 und 583, in denen khotanische *koj'ava* erwähnt werden, bestätigt.

Wesentlich verschieden von den Samtteppichen sind die wollenen, augenscheinlich zur Wandbekleidung dienenden Teppiche, von denen die Lou-lan-Gräber Reste bewahrt haben. Abbildungen solcher Teppichstücke finden sich bei Stein, Inn. As. Tafel XXXI und XXXII. Wie die Samtteppiche mit den *koj'ava*, so sind die Wandteppiche offenbar mit den *tavastaḡa* (*tāvastaḡa*) der Dokumente identisch. Stein hat a. a. O. S. 241f. darauf hingewiesen, daß die in diesen Wandteppichen verwandten Muster im allgemeinen nicht chinesisch sind, sondern hellenistische Motive fortsetzen; nur in dem auf Taf. XXXII abgebildeten Stücke findet sich ein Paar pferdefüßiger Vögel, die, wie Andrews gezeigt hat, dem chi-

<sup>1</sup> Abbildung bei Chavannes, Doc. chin. Tafel XV.

<sup>2</sup> Abbildung auf Tafel XXXIX.

nesischen Formenschatz entlehnt sind. Das läßt, wie schon Stein bemerkt hat, darauf schließen, daß auch die *tavastağa*, wie wir diese Teppichart nun wohl benennen dürfen, einheimische Arbeit sind, sie verraten aber noch in ihrem Namen wie in der Technik und den dekorativen Mustern ihren entfernten westasiatischen Ursprung.

Was die *namata* betrifft, so haben sich Filzreste genug gefunden. Abbildungen solcher Filze aus den Ruinen von Cağoda sind Anc. Khot. Tafel LXXVI gegeben. Leider sind die Stücke in den meisten Fällen nicht groß genug, als daß man mit Bestimmtheit feststellen könnte, welchen Zwecken sie gedient haben. Jedenfalls wurden Filzdecken unter anderm als Sattelunterlagen benutzt, wie das Bild eines Reiters aus Dandān-Uiliq, Anc. Khot. Tafel LIX, zeigt<sup>1</sup>. Filz wurde aber auch als Futter für Gewänder benutzt (Stein, Inn. As. I, 232), und in Gräbern in der Nähe von Lou-lan waren die Toten, die offenbar der alten einheimischen Bevölkerung angehörten, mit Filzkappen auf dem Kopfe bestattet; siehe Stein, Inn. As. I, 264ff. und Tafel XXIX.

Hanf ist nach den Funden im Süden des Landes zu allerlei Gebrauchsgegenständen, insbesondere zu Schuhen, verarbeitet worden; siehe Stein, Anc. Khotan I, 297<sup>2</sup>. Das zeigt, daß sich sachlich jedenfalls nichts gegen die oben S. 29f. angeführte Erklärung von *ṣamnapaṣamae kamculi* als 'Jacke aus Hanfgewebe' einwenden läßt.

Auffällig ist, daß in den Dokumenten die Baumwolle nicht erwähnt zu sein scheint und sich hier auch ein Name für baumwollene Stoffe nicht nachweisen läßt. Aber auch das stimmt mit den Ergebnissen der Grabungen überein. In seinem letzten Werke, Ser. I, 221; 279, gibt Stein an, daß sich unter den Haufen von Textilien an der Stätte des alten Cağoda und in Endere keine Baumwollenreste gefunden haben, und zusammenfassend bemerkt er, ebd. S. 160; 279, daß die Untersuchung der zahlreichen Gewebe aus den Ruinen von Khādalik bis zum Lop-nōr bis jetzt nur Wolle, Hanf und Seide festgestellt habe<sup>3</sup> und daß sich Baumwolle überhaupt erst in den Funden aus der Zeit der T'ang oder noch späterer Zeit nachweisen lasse.

<sup>1</sup> Man vergleiche damit die viel prächtigeren 'numdahs' auf den tönernen Pferdestatuen aus den späteren Astāna-Gräbern, Inn. As. Tafel XCV und XCVII.

<sup>2</sup> Auch in chinesischen Dokumenten, Anc. Khotan I, 540; Ser. II, 649, werden Hanfschuhe erwähnt.

<sup>3</sup> Wie sich die einzige, S. 160 angeführte Ausnahme erklärt, bleibt abzuwarten.

## THE ERA OF THE MAHĀRĀJA AND THE MAHĀRĀJA RĀJĀTIRĀJA

By H. LÜDERS

The scholar to whom this volume is dedicated has solved so many riddles connected with Indian epigraphy and history that I venture to offer him the following remarks on a difficult problem in the hope that he will either assent to them or arrive at a more satisfactory solution.

Among the finds discovered by Führer during his excavations of the Kankālī Tīlā at Mathurā in the working season of 1895-96, there is an inscription on a stone slab which was published by Bühler, *Academy*, Vol. XLIX, p. 367 = *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 578f. = *Vienna Orient. Journ.*, Vol. X, pp. 171f., and again by R. D. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 33ff., and Plate III. I edit it here from excellent estampages which I owe to the authorities of the Lucknow Museum where the stone has been deposited.

### TEXT.

1. nama svarvaśīdhanā<sup>1</sup> ārahātvanā<sup>2</sup> mähārājasya rājātirājasya svarvachchhara svate<sup>3</sup>.....
2. 200 go [2]<sup>4</sup> hamatamāse<sup>5</sup> 2 divase 1 ārahāto Mahāvīrasya prāti[m](ā).....
3. ....s[y]a Okhārikāye vitu Ujhatikāya<sup>6</sup> cha Okhāye svāvīkā-bhagīniy[e]<sup>7</sup>.....
4. ....śīrikāsya<sup>8</sup> Śīvadīnāsya<sup>9</sup> cha eteḥ<sup>10</sup> ārahātāyatāne<sup>11</sup> sthāpitā<sup>12</sup>.....
5. ....i<sup>13</sup> devakulam cha—

### NOTES ON THE TEXT.

<sup>1</sup> Banerji: *Sarva śīdhanam*. Although the last *akshara* is undoubtedly meant for *nam*, the actually engraved letter can be read only *nā* as done by Bühler. <sup>2</sup> Bühler: *Ārahāntanā*; Banerji: *Ārahātanam*, but the last two letters are distinctly *vanā*, although *nā* again is certainly meant for *nam*. <sup>3</sup> Banerji: *samvachchharasate*. The reading given above is perfectly clear. Of the *akshara* following *svate* only a small portion is preserved. Bühler took it as the rest of *dū* and wanted to restore the line as *dūtiye nava (?)navatīyadhike*. However, what is left of the letter does not conform very well with the reading *dū*. The distinct slanting line has the appearance of the *ri*-sign, and I should read *iri*, if a plausible explanation could be found for that syllable in this place. <sup>4</sup> The figure for the unit of the date of the year is of unusual form. It was doubtfully read 9 by Bühler. Banerji thought

that it might be the earlier symbol for 9, which, for general reasons, is quite unlikely. In my opinion, it may just as well be the symbol for 8, the sign being stretched in a vertical direction with addition of a curve. But whether it be taken as 9 or as 8, in either case the very distinct two horizontal strokes after the figure as well as the slanting line crossing the middle of the figure would be left unexplained. May we not assume that the figure for 9 or 8 or whatever it may be was crossed out and replaced by the figure for 2? Under these circumstances I have ventured to put 292 as the date of the year in my transcript, but I admit that it is no more than a probability. <sup>5</sup> Perhaps the third *akshara* is really *hā*. <sup>6</sup> Both Bühler and Banerji read *Ujhatikāye*, but here the *ya* has no *e*-sign. <sup>7</sup> The *ya* is much smaller than the rest of the letters. The *e*-sign is doubtful. <sup>8</sup> This is probably only the second member of a compound name. <sup>9</sup> Bühler and Banerji read *Śivadīnāsya*, but the *i*-sign of *dī* is distinct. <sup>10</sup> I have no doubt that Bühler was right in reading *eteḥ*, a mistake for *etaiḥ*. Banerji took the two horizontal strokes to be marks of interpunctuation. <sup>11</sup> The last *akshara* looks almost like *te*. <sup>12</sup> Banerji: *sthāpit(o)*, but the last *akshara* is clearly *tā* as read by Bühler. <sup>13</sup> The *i*-sign was not noticed by Bühler and Banerji. May it be the rest of a word like *pushkarīṇi*?

#### TRANSLATION.

Adoration to all Siddhas, to the Arhats! In the..... year of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja, (in the year) 292 (? or 299?), in the 2nd month of winter, on the 1st day, an image of the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*), (the gift) of . . . , of Okhārikā and (their) daughter Ujhatikā, of Okhā the lay-sister, of . . . . śrīka ( . . . . *śrīka*) and Śivadīna (*Śivadatta*)—by these (persons the image) was set up at the sanctuary of the Arhats, a . . . . and a shrine.

Through the breaking off of the lower corner on the proper right side of the slab, the beginnings of lines 3-5 are damaged, two *aksharas* being lost in line 3, three or perhaps four in line 4 and about five in line 5. It is more difficult to make out how much of the writing is missing at the end of the lines. The words at the end of lines 2 and 4 are complete or nearly so, only a small portion of the *mā* being destroyed. The smallness of the *ye* at the end of line 3 would seem to indicate that it was pressed in for want of space and that consequently only a narrow strip of the stone was missing, but possibly the letter has been inserted by an afterthought. At any rate, it is hard to believe that only one *akshara* should be lost at the end of the first line. Here a word of several syllables appears to be required by the context, and it is therefore probable that at the end of lines 2-4 also several *aksharas* are missing. We are thus justified in supplying, at the end of line 2, some word like *dānam*, which is of importance for determining the relation of the words in the list of the donors. Bühler took *vitū*, which is evidently miswritten for *dhitu*, as an instrumental in apposition to *Ujhatikāya*, which he connected with the *sthāpitā* of line 4. The construction

is possible as *dhitu* occurs in exactly the same function also in the inscriptions Nos. 102 and 107.<sup>1</sup> But if Ujhatikā is taken as the first name in the list of the persons who set up the image, it is difficult to explain the *cha* after *Ujhatikāya* and perhaps even more difficult to explain the omission of the *cha* after the name of the mother; indeed of . . . . *sya Okhārikāye dhitu Ujhatikāya cha* we should rather expect . . . . *sya Okhārikāye cha dhitu Ujhatikāya*. If *dānam* is supplied, we may translate, as I have done above: 'the gift of . . . . , of Okhārikā and (their) daughter Ujhatikā,' which seems to me to be faultless language. In this way the genitives . . . . *śrīkāsyā Śivadīnāsya cha* in line 4 also would become intelligible. It is hardly possible to connect them with *Okhāya svāvikā-bhagīniye* by supplying some word denoting relationship such as *e.g.* *mātu* in the beginning of line 4, as usually, at any rate, such a word is placed after the genitive. Nor is it likely that the genitives should be used here instead of the instrumentals in connection with *sthāpitā*, although in the Sārnāth inscription No. 925 we read: *bhikshusya Balasya treṇṇakasya bodhisatvo chhatrayashtī cha pratishṭhāpito . . . . sahā mātāpitihī*. In the present inscription the genitives are followed immediately by *eteḥ*, which evidently stands for *etaiḥ*, and it would be inexplicable why the author of the text should not have given the personal names also in the instrumental case. In my opinion then the image is first denoted as the joint gift of six persons: of some man whose name is lost, of Okhārikā and their daughter Ujhatikā, of the lay-sister Okhā, of . . . . śrīka and Śivadīna, and then it is added that by these persons the image as well as some other object and a shrine was established at the sanctuary of the Arhats. The wording of the record is similar as in No. 45<sup>a</sup>: *Yaśāya dāna Sambhavasya prodīma pratistāpita*, and in No. 47: *Dināye dānam pratimā voḍve thuṇe devanirmite pra(tihāpite)*.

The name of Okhārikā, in the slightly differing spelling Okharikā, is found again in a Jaina inscription from Mathurā which has been edited by D. R. Sahni, *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 67, and Plate. Sahni reads *Damītrasya dhi[ū] Okharikāye Kuṭubīniye Datāye dānam Vardhamāna-pratimā pratihāpita*. Judging from an estampage, I think that the first name has to be read *D[ī]mītrasya*. The lower position of the *i*-sign of *dī* is still preserved and the *i*-sign of *mī* is pretty distinct. I understand the inscription to record the gift of Dīmītra's daughter Okharikā and his housewife Datā, whereas Sahni translates: '(this) image of Vardhamāna, a gift of Okharikā, the daughter of Dāmītra, and Datā (Sanskrit Dattā), the wife of

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the inscriptions refer to my *List of Brahmī Inscriptions*.

a householder', and adds in a note that *Kuṭubini* may equally well be a proper name so that three ladies would have been mentioned as having presented the image. However that may be, Okharikā is certainly called the daughter of Dimitra. As Dimitra clearly represents the Greek name Demetrios, it is more than probable that Okharikā—Okhārikā also is a Greek name, and I think we may identify it with Eucharis, a female name, or perhaps better still, with Eucharis, which may have been formed as counterpart of the male name Eucharior. As for the rest of the names occurring in the present inscription, Ujhatikā, the name of Okhārikā's daughter, is hardly Indian, but I am unable to trace it back to a Greek prototype, whereas Okhā may very well reflect the Greek name Euche. Only the last-mentioned two men, . . . . Śirika and Śivadina, appear to bear true Indian names.

Considering that Okhārikā or Okharikā is a very uncommon name, we should naturally feel inclined to regard the ladies of that name mentioned in the two inscriptions as identical, but for palaeographical reasons this is impossible. The inscription edited by Sahni is dated in *Sam* 84, which undoubtedly is to be referred to the Kushān era as the characters show the ordinary features of the Kushān period. The date of the present inscription is problematic, but, as pointed out already by R. D. Banerji, the script forbids us to assign it to the later times of the Kushān rule. The subscript *ya* appears everywhere in the full tripartite form. During the Kushān period this form occurs in the Māt inscription edited by Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 12ff., which for palaeographical reasons must be assigned to the first years of the Kushān rule, in the Sārnāth inscriptions Nos. 925–927 of the monk Bala, dated in *sam* 3, and in the Saheth-Maheth inscription No. 918, the date of which is lost, but which appears to belong to the same time as if records a gift of the aforesaid monk. In the Saheth-Maheth inscription, however, by the side of six instances of the tripartite form the cursive form also turns up in *Pushya[vuddhis]ya*. In the Mathurā inscriptions of this period the tripartite form occurs only occasionally along with the later form. In a Buddhist votive inscription of *sam* 23<sup>1</sup> the tripartite form is used in *mahārā[ja\*]sya*, the cursive form in *etasya*, *v[i]hārasv[ā]m[i]sya Gundasya*, and *Puśyada[tā\*]*. In No. 38, dated in *sam* 33, we find the tripartite form in *bhikshusya Balasya*, the cursive form in *devaputrasya, Kanishkasya, trepītakasya*, and an intermediate form in *mahārājasya*. In No. 35<sup>2</sup>, which belongs to the time of Huvishka, the tripartite form occurs in *maharajasya, Nagadatasya*,

<sup>1</sup> First noticed by D. R. Sahni, *J.R.A.S.* 1924, pp. 400f.

<sup>2</sup> The date is lost. It is not dated in *sam* 29.

the cursive form in *devaputrasya* and probably in *Hukshasya* (for *Hushkasya*). In No. 41, dated in *sam* 38, a very cursive *ya* appears to be used in *mahārājasya devaputrasya Huvishkasya*, but the tripartite form in a word read *aryyena* by Cunningham<sup>1</sup>. In No. 75, dated in *sam* 99, an intermediate form is found in *aryya-*, the later form in *Grahadatasya*. In No. 110, which is not dated, but probably belongs to the earlier Kushān times, we have the tripartite form in *ganisya*, the cursive form in *Parśvasya*. The exclusive use of the tripartite subscript *ya* is the strongest argument for referring the inscription to pre-Kushān times. It is supported by the fact that the *ya* throughout appears in the archaic form without the curve or the loop of the left bar which commonly is found in the inscription of the Kushān period. The second letter which here appears in the archaic form is the *śa*. It shows throughout the slanting central stroke which in the Kushān times turns up only sporadically<sup>2</sup> and generally is replaced by a horizontal cross line. The *va* occurs in two different forms, in the ordinary triangular form of the Kushān times in *divase, mahāvīrāsya, vitu* (for *dhītu*), and in an oblong rounded form in *sarvachchhara, Śivadīnāsya, devakulam*. Both forms are used promiscuously also in the words discussed below where the *va* seems to denote a modification of the *s*-sound. It is not easy to decide whether the rounded *va* is the direct successor of the Maurya form or a retrograde development of the triangular form, though the latter view is the more probable one as a round *va* is occasionally found also in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān times.<sup>3</sup> Whereas on account of the subscript tripartite *ya* and the archaic *śa* the inscription would seem to belong to the Kshatrapa period, there are a few letters which point to a little later time. The stroke which denotes the length of initial *ā* is here attached to the vertical, not opposite to the middle bar as in the Kshatrapa time, but lower down as in the Kushān period. The bottom-line of the *na* is here curved as in the Kushān inscriptions, although in various degrees. Whereas the curve is quite insignificant in *nama*, the *ne* of *ārāhātāyatāne* looks almost like *te*. In the inscriptions of the Kshatrapa period the base of *na* is generally still a straight line,

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is lost, and we have to rely on Cunningham's drawing and a rubbing which is entirely spoiled by pencilling out the letters. The reading *aryyena* is extremely doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> No. 79 (time of Kanishka; only Cunningham's facsimile); No. 34 (*sam* 29); No. 41 (*sam* 38; only Cunningham's facsimile); No. 46 (*sam* 48); No. 45a (*sam* 48); No. 47 (*sam* 49); No. 56 (*sam* 60); No. 57 (*sam* 62); No. 35 (time of Huvishka); No. 62 (*sam* 77); No. 73 (*sam* 90); No. 74 (*sam* 93); No. 81 (date lost, but of Kushān time).

<sup>3</sup> No. 53 (*sam* 52); No. 57 (*sam* 62). An almost round *va* occurs already in No. 23a (*sam* 12) in *sāvīkṣyam*.



but a tendency to curve it is observable not only in Nos. 82, 98, 100, 105, but also in No. 93 which is probably about a century older than the Śodāsa inscriptions. In *ka* also the middle bar is curved as in the Kushān inscriptions. In the *ka* of the earlier period it is straight; a very slightly curved line is found only rarely, e.g., in Nos. 98 and 105. In *divase*, *Śvadānāsya*, *devakulam*, we find the regular *da* of the Kushān inscriptions. As regards the epigraphs of the Kshatrapa times, the same form occurs in No. 98 and approaching but a little more archaic forms in No. 105 and in the inscription edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *M.A.S.I.*, No. 5, pp. 149ff. Taking all things together, I think, we may assert that as far as the palæographical evidence goes, the inscription has to be assigned to the time between the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa and the Mahārāja Kanishka.

Now, however, the word following *svarvachchhara* may be restored and whatever may be thought about the meaning of the last figure of the date of the year, the inscription is certainly incised after the year 290 of some Mahārāja Rājātīrāja. Before entering into the question how this date can be reconciled with the results arrived at by the examination of the script, we have to take into consideration another Mathurā inscription now preserved in the Curzon Museum (No. 1315). It is incised on a round piece of stone which was recovered from the Giridharpur Jitlā. Unfortunately the inscription is in a very fragmentary state, the proper left side of the stone being lost. I edit it here from an estampage kindly placed at my disposal by the Curator of the Museum.

#### TEXT.

- I. vavika <sup>1</sup>
2. mahārājasya 200 70 bhū.....
3. Gotamiye Balānā <sup>2</sup>.....
4. tumā <sup>3</sup>
5. baladhikāsya bh <sup>4</sup>.....
6. bhāryaye dānam sa[r]va <sup>5</sup>.....
7. [dha]pūchaye <sup>6</sup> sap[i].. mada <sup>7</sup>.....

#### NOTES ON THE TEXT.

<sup>1</sup> The word is apparently meant to be inserted after the date. <sup>2</sup> The following letter may have been *sa* or *sya*, but this is not certain. <sup>3</sup> Perhaps *tumā* was followed by another *akshara* which now is illegible. The two, or three, *aksharas* seem to have been inserted afterwards. <sup>4</sup> The *akshara* was possibly *bhu*. <sup>5</sup> The *r*-sign is uncertain. <sup>6</sup> The reading of the first *akshara* is uncertain. <sup>7</sup> With the exception of *ma*, the reading of the word is quite uncertain. The first *akshara* may be *se*. The *i*-sign of *pi* is doubtful. The third *akshara* may be *bhu* or possibly *bu*.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription. It records the gift of a lady who is called Gotamī (*Gautamī*) and the wife of some person who is styled *baladhika*, evidently an imperfect writing for *balādhika*. Possibly *balādhika* is the same military title which appears in the form of *balādhikrīta* in the Shāhpur inscription Gs. No. 43 <sup>1</sup>, or it may stand for the more common title *balādhyaksha*. The name of the *balādhika* is lost with the exception of the first letter which perhaps was *bhu*. The words between *Gotamiye* and *baladhikāsya* must belong to the further description of the donatrix. Perhaps we may restore *balānā* in line 3 as *Balānāsya dhi* and combine the last syllable with the *tu* in the next inserted line, although in this way the *mā* after *tu* would be left unexplained. *Balāna* would be the true Śaka equivalent of the Iranian name *Vardāna* which as *Valāna* and *Ulāna* occurs also in records of the Kushān time. If the suggested restoration should be correct, it would follow that the donatrix was of Śaka descent, which at first sight would seem to be incompatible with her designation as *Gotamī*. But *Gotamī* need not necessarily be taken as an epithet characterising her as belonging to the Brahmanical gotra of the Gautamas. Among the Buddhists *Gotamī* appears to have been used also as a personal name in remembrance of the foster-mother of the Buddha. As such it occurs e.g. in the Sānchi inscription No. 623 which records a gift of the nun *Gotamī*. Unfortunately this explanation also is uncertain, as the object of the gift cannot be made out and we are not sure that the donatrix was an adherent of the Buddhist creed. Assuming that *pūchaye* is miswritten for *pūjāye* and that the next word begins *samitu*, the words of the last line may perhaps be translated: 'for the worship of...., (in honour) of their own father and mother'.

Unsatisfactory as the understanding of the record is, its date fortunately is perfectly clear, and there can be little doubt that 'the year 270 of the Mahārāja' refers to the same era as 'the year 292 (or 299) of the Mahārāja Rājātīrāja' in the Jaina inscription. Palæography also shows that the two inscriptions cannot be separated by a long interval. The script of the Giridharpur record closely resembles the Kshatrapa alphabet. We find here the subscript tripartite *ya* and the *ka* with a straight, though a little slanting, middle bar. The bottom line of the *na* is only slightly curved. In the *sha* of *rsha* the central bar does not touch the right vertical. The *da* looks even more archaic than in the Śodāsa inscriptions. As the Giridharpur inscription is at least 22 years, and if the reading

<sup>1</sup> A *mahābalādhikrīta* occurs in the Majhgawā copper-plate, Gs. No. 23.

299 is accepted, 29 years older than the Jaina inscription, this is exactly the state of things that we might expect.

In trying to determine the era used in the two inscriptions we have to fall back on the dates of Śodāsa and Kanishka. The only known date of Śodāsa is the year 72 in the Amohini tablet (No. 59). I agree with Professor Konow who refers it to the Vikrama era, in which case it would correspond to 15 A.D. The era employed by Kanishka and his successors seems to have started in 128 A.D. If the years 270 and 292 or 299 are to be located within these limits, they can only be years of the Parthian era of 248-247 B.C. The dates then would correspond to 23 A.D. and 45 or 52 A.D. As we know nothing about the history of Mathurā during the century intervening between Śodāsa and Kanishka, we cannot tell at present why the Parthian era should have been used there at that time, but in my opinion the suggestion that the dates refer to a foreign, and probably the Parthian, era, is supported by styling the years simply years of the Mahārāja or of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja without adding a personal name. This strange mode of denoting the era has a parallel in Greek documents dated according to the Parthian era. In his masterly work 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', p. 65, W. W. Taru states that, when the Parthian kings had imitated the Seleucid era with one of their own, 'even under Parthian rule both Babylonia and the Greek cities kept to the Seleucid dating, though in Babylonia regularly, and among Greeks sometimes, both calendars were used as double dating, the Arsacid in that case being called by Greeks 'as the king reckons' and the Seleucid 'by the former reckoning'. Does not the term 'of the Great King' or 'of the Greek King, the King of Kings' sound like the Suddan equivalent of the Greek 'as the King reckons'?

The choice of the Parthian era for dating the two records will perhaps appear less surprising if we bear in mind that at least some of the donors evidently were foreigners. It is true, not much can be asserted in this respect as regards the Giridharpur inscription, but, as I have remarked above, it is not improbable that the donatrix is called there the daughter of a man who bears the Iranian name of Balāna. It is different with the Jaina inscription. Okhārikā, Ujhatikā, and Okhā are proved by their names to have been foreigners. Okhārikā and Okhā are presumably Greek names, but that would not preclude their bearers from being Iranians as we know that a strong predilection for Hellenistic culture was prevailing in the countries subject to the Parthian rule. May we then assume that there were Parthians at Mathurā who had immigrated during the rule of the Kshatrapas and who, although they were converted to the Jaina faith, upheld the traditions of their native country?

Perhaps also the curious spelling of some words in the record reflects the alterations which the Indian language had undergone in the mouth of these foreigners. *Ārahātvanā* for *arhantānam* may be due to the carelessness of the engraver who mistook the *na* of the original copy for *tva*, just as *vitū* certainly is a simple mistake for *dhitū*. But the constant spelling *sva* and *svā* for initial *sa* and *sā* in *svarva-*, *svarvachchara-*, *svate* (if this is meant for *sate*=*sate*), *svāvikā-*, and so on cannot be considered as a mere blunder of the engraver, but must have some foundation in pronunciation. The spelling *śī* for *si* in *śīdhanā* can be paralleled by the transition of *s* into *śś* before palatal vowels in the Śaka language; cf. *śśāra*, *śśāna*, *śśīya*. The insertion of *r* also which here appears in *svarvachchhara-* is frequent in Śaka in Indian loan-words such as *avaśśirshṭa*=*avaśishṭa*, *Armāhāya*=*Amitāyu*, etc.

## Von indischen Tieren

Von Heinrich Lüders

Es gibt eine Menge altindischer Tiernamen, deren Bedeutung unklar ist. Die Angaben der Lexikographen sind vielfach zu allgemein, als daß sich danach das Tier, das gemeint ist, feststellen ließe. Auf die Kommentatoren ist kein Verlaß; hinter ihren Erklärungen verbirgt sich häufig krasse Unwissenheit. Auch ist zu beachten, daß Tiernamen nicht nur örtlich in verschiedenem Sinne gebraucht sein können, sondern bisweilen auch im Laufe der Zeit ihre Bedeutung ändern. Ich habe aus der Fülle des Materials, das sich darbietet, vier Namen ausgewählt, die alle schon im Veda vorkommen, und versucht ihre Bedeutung genauer zu bestimmen, und ich meine, daß die darauf verwendete Mühe nicht umsonst ist. Ich halte es jedenfalls nicht für gleichgültig, ob die vedischen Arier sich ein Krokodil oder einen Delphin vor dem Wagen ihrer Ásvins dachten, ob sie glaubten, daß die Hexenmeister Kuckucksgestalt annehmen oder sich in Wehrwölfe verwandeln könnten, und ich hoffe, zeigen zu können, daß die Feststellung der wahren Bedeutung von Namen wie *godhā* und *parasvat* sogar das Verständnis der vedischen Texte berichtigen und vertiefen kann.

### 1. Godhā

*Godhā* ist der Name einer Eidechsenart, die in der Sanskrit-Literatur seit dem R̥gveda oft erwähnt wird. Es werden nach der Färbung verschiedene Arten unterschieden; Varāhamihira spricht Br̥hats. 53, 13 von einer weißen (*śvetā*), 53, 69 von einer braunen (*kapilā*) *godhā*. Br̥hats. 87, 3; Agnip. 230, 19 wird sie unter den Tieren genannt, die bei Tag und Nacht wandeln. Bei Suśruta 1, 46, 76 und Vāgbhaṭa, Aṣṭāṅga-

saṃgr. (ed. G. S. Tarṭe) p. 33, 20; Aṣṭāṅgahr̥d. 1, 6, 46 wird sie in der Liste der *bilesayāḥ*, der Tiere, die in Erdlöchern wohnen, aufgezählt. Caraka 1, 27, 36 nennt sie unter den *bhūmisayāḥ*, meint aber damit dasselbe, denn die *bhūsayāḥ* sind so genannt, weil sie in Erdlöchern wohnen (*bhūsayā bilavāsivāt* [*saṃjñitāḥ*] 1, 27, 52). In der Erzählung von dem Froschkönig und der Schlange im Pañcatantra IV (T. S.<sup>1</sup>) und Pūrṇabhadra<sup>2</sup>) tritt denn auch eine *godhā* auf, die in einem Loch in einem Brunnen wohnt. Br̥hats. 52, 120 wird von einer *godhā* inmitten eines Baumes in einem Zusammenhang gesprochen, der darauf schließen läßt, daß man an einen hohlen Baumstamm als ihren Wohnort zu denken hat<sup>3</sup>).

Die *godhā* hält sich aber offenbar nicht nur auf der Erde, sondern auch auf Bäumen auf, da sie in der Liste der Opfertiere beim Ásvamedha zusammen mit der *kālakā*<sup>4</sup>) und dem Specht den Baumgottheiten geweiht wird (*godhā kālakā dārvāghāṭas te vanaspatinām* VS. 24, 35; Maitr. S. 3, 14, 16; Kāṭh. V 7, 5; Taitt. S. 5, 5, 15, 1). Daß sie sich gern am Wasser aufhält, geht aus der Bemerkung in Pañc. I (T. S.<sup>5</sup>) hervor, daß *godhās* und Krokodile den austrocknenden See verlassen. Amara 1, 10, 22 führt die *godhā* (*godhikā*) denn auch geradezu unter den Wassertieren auf. Suśruta 5, 3, 4 nennt die *godhā* auch unter den Tieren, deren Zähne und Nägel Gift enthalten, doch ist damit nicht gemeint, daß sie zu den eigentlichen Gifttieren gehört, da sie mit Katze, Hund, Affe usw. zusammen genannt wird<sup>6</sup>). Im Bhāṣya zu Patañjalis Yogasūtras 3, 30 wird die Bewegungslosigkeit (*sthairya*) des Yogin mit der der Schlange und der *godhā* verglichen.

Die *godhā* gehört ferner zu den fünf fünfzehigen Tieren,

1) ED. BÜHLER 9, 1 *anyakoṭaranivāsiniṃ godhām*.

2) ED. HERTEL 235, 17 *tasminn eva kūpe 'nyakoṭaravāsiniṃ godhām*.

3) *chedo yady avikāri tataḥ śubhaṃ dāru tad gṛhpayikam | pīte tu maṇḍale nirdīset taror madhyagāṃ godhām ||*

4) Vielleicht das Chamäleon.

5) ED. KIEHLHOEN 43, 25 *kecic ca makaragodhāśiśumārajalahasti prabhṛtayaḥ svayam eva gacchanti*.

6) Eine *kṛṣṇagodhā*, deren Biß giftig ist, nennt Suśruta auch 5, 8, 5 unter den *kīṭa*, doch ist es nicht ganz sicher, welche Art Tier gemeint ist.

die nach den Dharmaśāstras als eßbar gelten (Āpastamba 1, 17, 37; Baudhāyana 1, 12, 5; Gautama 17, 27; Vasiṣṭha 14, 39; Viṣṇu 51, 6; Manu 5, 18; Yājñavalkya 1, 177; auch Rām. 4, 17, 39; Kūrmapurāṇa S. 572; Jāt. 537, 58)<sup>1)</sup>. Öfter wird denn auch *godhā*-Fleisch als Speise erwähnt; z. B. Suśr. 1, 46, 79; 3, 3, 15; Car. 1, 27, 73; Vāgbhaṭa, Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgr. p. 35, 3; 16; Bṛhats. 50, 35. Die Mediziner geben auch allerlei besondere Vorschriften. *Godhā* auf Feuer aus Rizinusholz oder mit Rizinusöl gekocht soll man nicht essen (Suśr. 1, 20, 13). *Godhā*-Fleisch zusammen mit Milch genossen wirkt wie Gift (Suśr. 1, 20, 7). Auch in der Heilkunst werden Fett und andere Bestandteile der *godhā* vielfach verwendet (Suśr. 1, 16, 18, 27; 4, 18, 20; 25, 13; 6, 17, 13). Im Bower Manuscript 2, 801 wird *godhā*-Fleisch und Apāmārgasaft als Mittel gegen Niesen empfohlen.

Ein viel anschaulicheres Bild von dem Tiere als die Sanskrit-Literatur gewähren uns aber die Pāli-Schriften. Im Vinaya scheint die *godhā* allerdings nur in Mahāv. 6, 22, 2 erwähnt zu werden; aus der dort erzählten Geschichte geht hervor, daß die Größe des Maules der *godhā* sprichwörtlich war<sup>2)</sup>. Die Suttas ergeben nichts. Sehr häufig ist aber in den Erzählungen der Jātakas und des Kommentars zum Dhammapada von dem Genuß des *godhā*-Fleisches die Rede, und wir erfahren dabei zugleich mancherlei über das Aussehen, die Lebensweise und den Fang des Tieres.

Im Sasaj. (316) wird erzählt, wie ein Schakal einem Feldhüter sein Nachtmahl stiehlt, das aus zwei Spießen voll gebratenem Fleisch, einer *godhā* und einem Topf saurer Milch besteht<sup>3)</sup>.

1) Siehe ZDMG. LXI, 641 ff.

2) Im ganz andern Sinne scheint *godhāmukha* Mahāvastu II, 193, 15 gebraucht zu sein. Hier scheint es *godhā*-Köpfe zu bezeichnen, die als Verzierung an Toren angebracht waren.

3) So nach der Prosa (III, 52, 21 f.): *dve māmsasūlāni ekam godham ekañ ca dadhivārakam*, in G. 2 steht aber *māmsasūlā ca dve godhā ekañ ca dadhivārakam*, wo *māmsasūlā* doch wohl als dem *dve godhā* koordiniert zu fassen ist: „zwei *godhās*, auf einen Bratspieß gesteckt, und ein Topf saurer Milch“.

Das Godhāj. (333) ist die lustige Geschichte von einem Prinzen, der seine Frau anlog. Die beiden wandern aus der Verbannung in die Heimat zurück. Jäger schenken ihnen, als sie von dem Marsche erschöpft sind, eine gebratene *godhā*. Die Prinzessin trägt sie an einer Schlingpflanze, bis sie zu einem Teich kommen. Da schlägt der Mann vor, die Mahlzeit zu halten. Die Prinzessin hängt die *godhā* an einen *Āsvattha*-baum und steigt dann auf die Aufforderung ihres Mannes zu dem Teiche herab, um Wasser zu holen. Kaum ist sie fort, so fällt der Mann über die *godhā* her und ißt sie ganz auf bis auf das Schwanzende, das er noch in der Hand hält, als die Frau mit dem Wasser zurückkehrt. Er erklärt ihr, die *godhā* sei von dem Zweige, an dem sie aufgehängt war, heruntergeklettert und in einen Termitenhügel geschlüpft. Er sei ihr nachgelaufen und habe sie noch gerade am Schwanz gepackt. Da sei das Schwanzende abgebrochen in seiner Hand geblieben, die *godhā* aber sei in das Loch gekrochen. Gelassen antwortet die Frau: „Gut, mein Fürst; wenn eine gebratene *godhā* davonläuft, was können wir da machen? Komm, laß uns weiter gehn<sup>1)</sup>.“ Sie hat aber die Sache nicht vergessen, und als der Prinz sie später vernachlässigt, erinnert sie ihn daran und weiß ihn dadurch zur Reue über sein häßliches Benehmen zu erfüllen. Das Jātaka ist in das Mahāvastu aufgenommen (II, 64 ff.). Die ersten drei Gāthās finden sich hier wieder, aber die Tendenz der Geschichte ist etwas verändert und die Erzählung weicht auch in Einzelheiten ab. So gelangt das Ehepaar hier dadurch in den Besitz der *godhā*, daß eine Katze ihnen das Tier, das sie getötet hat, in den *āśrama* bringt, den sie während der Verbannung bewohnen. In einer dritten Fassung, die sich im Fo-pên-hing-tsi-king<sup>2)</sup> findet, hat der Prinz selbst die *godhā* erlegt.

Die Szene des Tittiraj. (438) ist eine Waldschule, in der nach dem Tode des Lehrers ein kluges Rebhuhn Brahmanenkaben unterweist und in der sich auch allerlei Tiere, darunter

1) Die gleiche Geschichte wird im Paccuppannavatthu von einem andern Ehepaar erzählt.

2) Beal, Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p. 82f.

eine *godhā* mit ihren zwei Jungen, aufhalten. Eines Tages, als die Knaben, um ein Fest zu feiern, fortgegangen sind und die Schule in der Obhut der *godhā* steht, kommt ein böser Mensch dahin. Die *godhā* nimmt ihn freundlich auf und gibt ihm Reis, damit er sich eine Mahlzeit bereiten kann. Als sie sich dann entfernt hat, um ihrer Nahrung nachzugehen, schlachtet der Bösewicht die beiden jungen *godhās* und bereitet sich aus ihnen eine Brühe (*rasa*) zu seinem Reis. Dann verzehrt er im Laufe des Tages auch noch das Rebhuhn, eine Kuh und ihr Kalb. Als die *godhā* zurückkehrt, findet sie den Mann schlafend vor. Eine Baumgottheit rät ihr, die Zähne in den Mörder ihrer Jungen zu schlagen und ihn totzubeißen, aber sie weigert sich Rache zu nehmen.

Das Godhajātaka (138) gehört zu den Geschichten von den verräterischen Freunden. Der Bodhisattva lebt als *godhā* im Walde in einem Termitenhügel in der Nähe des Wandelgangs eines Einsiedlers. Täglich zwei bis dreimal besucht er den frommen Mann und lauscht seinen Worten. Als der Einsiedler fortgezogen ist, setzt der Bodhisattva die Besuche bei seinem Nachfolger fort, ohne zu wissen, daß dieser ein falscher Mensch ist. Eines Tages fällt mitten im Sommer ein Regen, der die Termiten veranlaßt, aus ihren Hügeln herauszukommen<sup>1)</sup>. Das lockt viele *godhās* herbei, die sich an den Termiten gütlich tun. Da rücken aber auch die Dorfbewohner aus, fangen die *godhās*, bereiten das Fleisch mit allerlei öligen Zutaten sauer und süß zu und geben auch dem Einsiedler davon zu kosten. Der ist von dem Geschmack des ihm unbekanntes Gerichtes entzückt, und als er erfährt, daß es *godhā*-Fleisch sei, beschließt er die große *godhā*<sup>2)</sup>, die ihn zu besuchen pflegt, zu töten und zu ver-

1) *vammikehi makkhikā nikkhamimsu*. Nach dem Zusammenhang können mit den *makkhikā* nur die Termiten gemeint sein, obwohl das Wort sonst nur Fliege oder Biene bedeutet. Die Angaben des Erzählers zeugen übrigens von guter Naturbeobachtung. Der Hochzeitsflug der Termiten findet gewöhnlich nach heftigen Regengüssen statt, und unzählige Tiere strömen dann zusammen, um ein Festmahl zu halten. Siehe MARAIS, Die Seele der weißen Ameise, S. 132, 140; ESCHERICH, Termitenleben auf Ceylon, S. 46 ff.

2) Im Pali *mahāgodho*. Da der Bodhisattva niemals als ein weibliches Wesen geboren wird, so war der Erzähler gezwungen aus der *godhā*

zehren. Er läßt sich einen Kochtopf, Butter, Salz und was sonst dazu gehört bringen und lauert mit einem Hammer unter dem Gewande am Eingang seiner Laubhütte der *godhā* auf. Als die *godhā* am Abend kommt, merkt sie an dem veränderten Aussehen des Einsiedlers, daß er etwas Böses im Schilde führt, auch wittert sie den Geruch des *godhā*-Fleisches, das er gegessen hat, und so macht sie sich davon. Zornig schleudert ihr der Einsiedler den Hammer nach, trifft aber nur die Spitze ihres Schwanzes. Die *godhā* schlüpft in einen Termitenhügel, steckt den Kopf aus einem Loch heraus und wirft dem Einsiedler seine Falschheit vor.

Eine in der Prosa gekürzte, in den Gāthās aber vollständigere Fassung derselben Geschichte findet sich in einem andern Godhaj. (325). Hier sucht der heuchlerische Einsiedler die *godhā* zur Umkehr zu bewegen, indem er ihr seinen feinen Reis, Öl, Salz und Pfeffer anbietet. Die *godhā* aber meint, sie wolle lieber auch fernerhin in den hundert *porisa* hohen Termitenhügel kriechen; Öl, Salz und Pfeffer bekämen ihr nicht. Diese vollständigere Fassung ist auch in den Kommentar zum Dhammapada (IV, 154 ff.) aufgenommen<sup>1)</sup>.

Der Termitenhügel als Zufluchtsort der *godhā* wird noch öfter erwähnt. Im Dh. Komm. III, 42 f. findet sich die erbauliche Geschichte von sieben jungen Kuhhirten aus Benares, die eines Tages, als sie ihre Herde heimtreiben,

einen *godha* zu machen. Auch in G. 325, 3 *ehi godha nivattassu* ist *godha*, da es sich auf den Bodhisattva bezieht, als Maskulinum gebraucht. Im übrigen ist der Name stets Femininum. J. V, 489, 32 ist statt *godho* mit den singhalesischen Handschriften *godhā* zu lesen. Im Kompositum wird der Auslaut von *godhā* am Ende des ersten Gliedes natürlich regelmäßig verkürzt.

1) In einer Kleinigkeit ist hier die Prosaerzählung genauer als im Jātakabuch. In G. 1 sagt die *godhā* zu dem Einsiedler:

*samaṇaṃ taṃ maññamāno upagañchiṃ asaññataṃ |*  
*so maṃ daṇḍena pahāsi yathā assamaṇo tathā ||*

„ich kam zu dir, dem Unbeherrschten, weil ich dich für einen Samaṇa hielt. Du hast mich mit dem Stock getroffen wie ein Nicht-Samaṇa.“ Übereinstimmend damit wird im Dh. Kommentar erzählt, der Asket habe seinen Stock (*daṇḍa*) nach der *godhā* geworfen, während er im Jātaka dazu einen Hammer (*muggara*) benutzt.

eine *godhā* erblicken. Sie suchen sie zu fangen, aber die *godhā* schlüpft in einen Termitenhügel. Die Hirten stopfen die Löcher des Baues mit Zweigen zu, um die *godhā* am nächsten Tage herauszuholen. Aber erst nach sieben Tagen denken sie wieder an das eingesperrte Tier, und als sie dann die Zweige entfernen, kommt die *godhā* in so kläglichem Zustand heraus, daß sie sie laufen lassen. Für das, was sie der *godhā* angetan, haben die sieben in ihrer späteren Existenz als buddhistische Mönche in entsprechender Weise durch eine siebentägige Einsperrung in einer Höhle zu büßen.

Im Dh. Komm. III, 420 belehrt ein Novize den Mönch Poṭhila, er solle, um die Erleuchtung zu erlangen, wie beim *godhā*-Fang vorgehen. Wenn man eine *godhā* in einen Termitenhügel kriechen sieht, in dem sechs Löcher sind, so stopft man, um sie zu fangen, fünf Löcher zu und fängt sie durch das Loch, in das sie eingekrochen ist; so solle auch Poṭhila fünf von den sechs Toren der Sinne verschließen und seine Aufmerksamkeit auf das offene Tor des Manas richten.

Daß die *godhā*-Jagd als Gewerbe betrieben wurde<sup>1)</sup>, zeigt das Godhaj. (141). Der Bodhisattva wird als *godhā* wiedergeboren. Er lebt als König der *godhās* am Ufer eines Flusses in einer großen Höhle, von vielen Hunderten von *godhās* umgeben. Sein Sohn faßt eine tiefe Zuneigung zu einem Chamäleon (*kakaṇṭaka*). Vergebens warnt ihn der Vater, die Chamäleons seien Geschöpfe niederer Art, denen man kein Vertrauen schenken dürfe. Die stürmischen Zärtlichkeiten des *godhā*-Sohnes werden schließlich dem Chamäleon zu viel; es beschließt sich seiner und der ganzen Schar der *godhās* zu entledigen. Als es einen *godhā*-Jäger (*godhaluddaka*) sieht, der von seinen Hunden begleitet und mit einer Hacke ausgerüstet in den Wald zieht, um die *godhā*-Höhlen auszugraben, verrät das Chamäleon ihm den Aufenthalt der *godhās*, die in großer Schar zusammengekommen sind, um die Termiten zu fressen, die ein plötzlicher Sommerregen aus ihren Hügeln hervorgeglockt hat<sup>2)</sup>. Der Jäger macht vor der Höhle, in der sich die

1) Die *godhā*-Jagd wird auch J. V, 163, 14f. erwähnt.

2) Auch hier wieder wie in J. 138: *vammikā makkhikā uṭṭahimsu*.

*godhās* versteckt haben, ein Strohfeuer an. Als die *godhās*, durch den Rauch gezwungen, herauskommen, schlägt der Jäger sie mit einem Hammer tot. Was ihm entkommt, reißen die Hunde nieder. Nur der *godhā*-König rettet sich nach der Prosaerzählung durch ein Windloch, das er vorsichtig vorher angelegt hat, erstens weil er der Bodhisattva ist, der nicht zugrunde gehen darf, und dann, um in der Gāthā die Moral der Geschichte, daß der Umgang mit Bösen Verderben bringt, zu verkünden. Ehe die Geschichte zum Jātaka umgewandelt war, wurde diese Gāthā sicherlich von dem Erzähler selbst gesprochen<sup>1)</sup>.

Auf den Genuß von *godhā*-Fleisch wird auch in sprichwörtlichen Redensarten angespielt. *Mamsakācam avahāya godham anupatām' aham*, „die Tragstange voll Fleisch lasse ich im Stich und laufe einer *godhā* nach“, sagt J. 515, 13 Bhadrakāra, um anzudeuten, daß er, seine eigene Frau verschmähend, der Frau eines anderen Mannes nachstellt.

Von dem Edelmut einer *godhā* wird in der Prosa des Cullapadāmaj. (193) erzählt. Ein Prinz ist durch sein ungetreues Weib in einen Abgrund gestürzt. Er bleibt in den Zweigen eines Udumbarabaumes hängen und nährt sich von den Früchten des Baumes. Ein sehr großer *godhā*-König (*mahāsarīro godharājā*), der an den Ort zu kommen pflegt, um die Udumbarafrüchte zu verzehren, befreundet sich mit dem Prinzen. Er läßt ihn auf seinen Rücken steigen und trägt ihn aus dem Walde auf die Landstraße hinaus.

Der Name der *godhā* lebt noch heute in hind. *gohsāmp* und singh. *tala-goyā* und *kabara-goyā*. (*Goh sāmp*<sup>2)</sup>), aus *godhā sarpah*,

1) Sie ist übrigens, wie Sprache und Metrik zeigen, verderbt. Es ist etwa zu lesen:

*na pāpajanasamsevī accantam sukham edhati |  
godhā kulam kakaṇṭā va kaliṃ pāpeti attanā ||*

„wer mit bösen Menschen umgeht, genießt nicht dauernd Glück, wie die *godhā* selber ihre Familie von dem Chamäleon her ins Unglück bringt.“

2) Der auffallende Zusatz *sāmp* erklärt sich wohl daraus, daß die Warane in ihren Bewegungen und der Art, wie sie züngeln und schlingen, nach dem Urteil von DE GRUBS so sehr an Schlangen erinnern, daß man sie ungeachtet ihrer wohlentwickelten Extremitäten für nahe mit ihnen

„*godhā*-Schlange“, und *tala-goyā*, „Land-*goyā*“, bezeichnen den in ganz Indien und Ceylon verbreiteten *Varanus monitor*<sup>1)</sup>, eine große etwa  $1\frac{3}{4}$  Meter messende Eidechsenart. Die Angloindier pflegen das Tier Iguana, auch wohl Leguan, zu nennen, was insofern ein unglücklich gewählter Name ist, als es Iguaniden in Indien überhaupt nicht gibt; sie gehören fast ausschließlich dem amerikanischen Kontinent an<sup>2)</sup>. Etwas

verwandt halten möchte; vgl. die Schilderung in Brehms Tierleben V, 133 ff. Die Bezeichnung als *sāmp* zeigt jedenfalls, daß man in Indien zwischen Eidechsen und Schlangen keine ganz scharfe Linie gezogen hat. Dahin weist auch das Pašto Sprichwort: „Die Eidechse wurde von den Schlangen ausgestoßen, weil sie das Unglück hatte, Füße zu haben (Thorburn, Bannú; or our Afghán Frontier, p. 389; 464). Darf man die Vermutung wagen, daß auch der Nāga Takṣaka, der zuerst AV. 8, 10, 29 als ein *sarpa* namens Takṣaka Vaiśāleya erscheint, eigentlich eine mit Füßen versehene Schlange, eine Eidechse, war? Dann könnte er einen Namen tragen, der sich auch in unserm Worte Eidechse, ahd. *egidehsa*, ags. *ápeze*, erhalten hat. Die Gleichsetzung von *-dehsa* mit ahd. *dehsa* „Spindel“, die man auf Grund des Verhältnisses von russ. *weretenica* „Eidechse“ zu *wereteno* „Spindel“ angenommen hat, ist keineswegssicher. Das idg. *\*tekso-* oder *\*tokso-* könnte dann auch in dem Stadtnamen *Takṣasīlā* „Dechsenstein“ enthalten sein. Die kürzere Namensform findet sich auch Kauś. S. 74, 8, wo Takṣa und Upatakṣa als zwei Nāgas erwähnt werden. Daß Nāganamen von anderen Tieren entlehnt wurden, zeigt der Name des Nāga Karkoṭa oder Karkoṭaka, der doch sicherlich mit dem in AV. 7, 56 genannten *sarkoṭa* identisch ist; *sarkoṭa* aber bezeichnet, wie ich schon bei anderer Gelegenheit bemerkt habe, deutlich den Skorpion. Die Zusammenstellung von Takṣaka und Eidechse ist vielleicht nicht besser, aber, wie mir scheint, auch nicht schlechter als die übliche Erklärung des Namens als „Zimmermann“; vgl. HOPKINS, Epic Mythology, p. 29.

1) Die Terminologie und die Angaben über die Verbreitung der Arten nach MALCOLM A. SMITH, Fauna of British India, Reptilia and Amphibia Vol. II, p. 398 ff.

2) Es gibt wohl kaum eine Tierart, die mit soviel falschen Namen belegt worden ist wie die Varaniden. Daß sie zu den einer falschen Etymologie entsprossenen Echsen gezählt werden, ist ein Los, das sie mit anderen Kriechtieren teilen. Aus *waran*, dem arabischen Namen des ägyptischen Vertreters des Genus, haben aber bekanntlich deutsche Forscher ein „Warner“ oder „Warneidechse“ gemacht, und daher waren die Varaniden eine Zeitlang mit dem Namen „monitor“ belastet, der noch jetzt in dem wissenschaftlichen Namen des gewöhnlichen indischen Waran gebräuchlich ist.

kleinere Arten sind *Varanus griseus* in Rajputana und *Varanus flavescens* in Nordindien. Größer noch als der gewöhnliche Waran ist der *kabara-goyā*, der gesprenkelte *goyā*<sup>1)</sup>, *Varanus salvator*, bei den Zoologen auch Wasser- oder Bindenwaran genannt. Ausgewachsen erreicht er eine Länge von  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , in Ausnahmefällen von 3 Metern. Der Bindenwaran ist in Ceylon heimisch, kommt aber auf der vorderindischen Halbinsel heute nur im äußersten Nordosten, insbesondere in dem Sumpfbereich der Sunderbans, vor.

Auf die Warane paßt alles, was wir aus der alten Literatur über die Körperbeschaffenheit der *godhā*, ihre auffallende Größe und ihre Fünfzehigkeit entnehmen können. Im allgemeinen werden wir unter der *godhā* den gewöhnlichen Waran, *V. monitor*, verstehen müssen. Wenn Varāhamihira von einer weißen und einer braunen *godhā* spricht, so mag mit der einen der etwas heller gefärbte *V. griseus*, mit der andern der dunkelbraune *V. flavescens* gemeint sein, doch wechselt auch bei dem gewöhnlichen Waran die Färbung nach dem Alter des Tieres. Das Jātaka von dem Prinzen, der sich, auf einer *godhā* reitend, aus der Schlucht rettet, hat sein Seitenstück in einer Geschichte von dem bekannten Marathenfürsten Sivajī. Er soll aus einer Festung, in der er eingeschlossen war, dadurch entkommen sein, daß er sich von einem Waran auf die Mauer hinaufziehen ließ, und man behauptet, daß Einbrecher gewohnheitsmäßig das Tier für solche Zwecke benutzen<sup>2)</sup>. Was von den Lebensgewohnheiten des Tieres und seiner Eßbarkeit erzählt wird, trifft ebenfalls auf *V. monitor* zu, der mit Vorliebe in Termitenhügeln oder im Innern eines hohlen Baumes lebt und bei Tag und bei Nacht seiner Nahrung nachgeht. Er wird auch heute noch gegessen. Man bemächtigt sich des Tieres gewöhnlich durch Aufgraben seiner Höhlen und in den Seeprovinzen von Ceylon wird er auch jetzt noch mit Hunden gejagt<sup>3)</sup>.

Auch was in Jāt. 138 und 141 über die Nahrung der *godhā*

1) GEIGER, Etymologie des Singhalesischen Nr. 297.

2) J. L. KIPLING, Beast and Man in India, p. 317.

3) M. A. SMITH, a. a. O. p. 403; TENNENT, Ceylon I, p. 182.

gesagt wird, paßt durchaus auf die Warane. Die gewöhnliche, *tala-goyā* genannte Art lebt, wie TENNENT, Ceylon I, 182 angibt, hauptsächlich von Ameisen und Insekten. Der Prosaerzähler von Jāt. 193 läßt die *godhā* allerdings auch Udumbarafrüchte fressen. Das ist unrichtig, da alle Varaniden ausschließlich tierische Nahrung zu sich nehmen. Die falsche Darstellung mag auf Unachtsamkeit oder Unwissenheit des Erzählers beruhen, doch ist zu beachten, daß auch die Bewohner der Garoberge behaupten, die Warane kämen in die Felder und fraßen Melonen, Gurken und Reisähren<sup>1)</sup>. Etwas anders liegt die Sache, wenn die *godhā* als Beispiel für Bewegungslosigkeit hingestellt wird. Hier kann *godhā* auf keine Species der Varaniden gehn, da diese ungemein lebendige und bewegliche Tiere sind. Man könnte an das Chamäleon denken, das oft tagelang seine Stellung nicht ändert, aber mit dem Chamäleon wird die *godhā* sonst nicht verwechselt<sup>2)</sup>. Vielleicht hat der Kommentator den Gecko gemeint, der auch bisweilen *godhā* genannt wird<sup>3)</sup>.

Wenn die *godhā* in Am. als ein Wassertier klassifiziert wird, so mag an den Bindenwaran gedacht sein, der sich am Tage gewöhnlich im Gezweig größerer Bäume, die Flüsse oder Bäche überschatten, aufhält und, wenn verfolgt, sofort ins Wasser flüchtet. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß das Verbrei-

1) M. A. SMITH, a. a. O. p. 400.

2) In den Dharmaśāstras, Manu 11, 132, Yājñ. 3, 270, Viṣṇu 50, 32, werden Bußen für die Tötung einer *godhā* vorgeschrieben. In der entsprechenden Vorschrift nennen Āpast. 1, 25, 13, Baudh. 1, 19, 6 anstatt der *godhā* den *pracalāka*, Gaut. 22, 19 den *bimba*. *Pracalāka* ist, wie besonders Jāt. 345, 1 beweist, ein Name des Chamäleons, das in einer Art in Indien vertreten ist. Auch *bimba* bezeichnet wahrscheinlich das Chamäleon — Govindasvāmin erklärt: *pracalāko limbah*, wo sicherlich *bimbah* zu lesen ist —, doch könnte auch der in Indien ungemein häufige *Calotes versicolor* gemeint sein, der „Blutsauger“ der Singhalesen, der wegen seines Farbenwechsels oft auch Chamäleon genannt wird. Es liegt aber kein Grund für die Annahme vor, daß *godhā* in diesem Falle dasselbe Tier bezeichne wie *pracalāka* und *bimba*; es handelt sich hier offenbar um sachliche Differenzen. Vas. 21, 23 ff. erwähnt in der entsprechenden Regel überhaupt keine Eidechsenart.

3) Siehe S. 14.

tungsgebiet des Bindenwaran auf dem indischen Festland einst größer war als heute. Aber auch die übrigen Warane, mit Ausnahme von *V. griseus*, sind gute Kletterer und halten sich gern am Wasser auf. Das legt es nahe, in Godāvārī, dem Namen des bekannten Flusses im Dekkan, den Namen der *godhā* zu suchen. Im PW. wird *Godāvārī* in *go* und *dāvārī* zerlegt, aber warum der Fluß die „Kuhshenkerin“ genannt sein sollte, bleibt dunkel. Dem Sinne nach würde jedenfalls die Zurückführung auf *godhā-varī*, die „Godhäreiche“, viel besser passen. Da die Femininbildung mit dem Suffix-*varī*, wie sie in ved. *sumnāvārī*, *sūnṛtāvārī* vorliegt, in nachvedischer Zeit nicht mehr lebendig ist, müßte man annehmen, daß der Name von den arischen Kolonisatoren in sehr früher Zeit gebildet wurde und daß später *Godhāvārī* im Munde der dravidischen Bevölkerung, deren Sprache keine Aspiraten kannte, zu *Godāvārī* umgestaltet und in dieser Form wieder ins Sanskrit übernommen wurde. Da der Name des Flusses in der vedischen Literatur nicht vorkommt, *Godāvārī* vielmehr nach dem PW. zu frühest im Mbh., Rām. und bei Kālidāsa erscheint, bereitet diese Annahme keine Schwierigkeiten. Zu ihren Gunsten spricht aber entschieden, daß im Pali der Fluß stets *Godhāvārī* heißt; so schon in dem alten Pārāyanasutta, Sn. 977<sup>1)</sup>. Für die Annahme, daß der Name im Pali umgedeutet sei, scheint mir kein Grund vorzuliegen<sup>2)</sup>.

Der Aufenthalt der *godhā* am Wasser und die Größe des Tieres scheint dazu geführt zu haben, daß der Name in neuerer Zeit auch für eine Krokodilart gebraucht wird. Wenigstens wird in Wörterbüchern moderner indischer Sprachen für *godhā* auch noch die Bedeutung „alligator“<sup>3)</sup> oder „the Gangetic alligator“<sup>4)</sup> angeführt. Es ist nicht leicht zu sagen,

1) Belege aus späterer Zeit Jāt. V, 132, 3; 6; 25; 136, 4; 6; 10.

2) Bei den späteren Lexikographen, Hem. An. 2, 473; Med. I 14, auch Hem. Deśināmamālā 2, 104, findet sich als Name des Flusses auch *Golā*, dessen Verhältnis zu *Godāvārī* unklar ist.

3) KITTEL, Kannaḍa-English Dict. unter *gōdhike*: a kind of lizard or alligator, lacerta godica, the aquatic iguana. KITTEL scheint danach den Waran für eine Krokodilart zu halten.

4) PLATTS, Urdū-English Dict. unter *gōh*; KITTEL, a. a. O., unter *gōdhi*.



was unter „alligator“ zu verstehen ist. Angloindier bezeichnen mit diesem Ausdruck, der eigentlich nur den amerikanischen Krokodilen zukommt, oft die beiden indischen Krokodilarten, *Crocodylus palustris* und *Crocodylus porosus*. Vielleicht ist aber auch der *Ghaṛiyāl* gemeint, der wahrscheinlich infolge eines Druckfehlers in der zoologischen Literatur als *Gavial*, *Gavialis gangeticus*, lebt. Ich will nicht bestreiten, daß der Name *godhā* heute auf eine Krokodilart übertragen sein könnte; in der alten Literatur aber bezeichnet die *godhā* sicherlich niemals das Krokodil. Die Krokodilarten haben an den Vorderfüßen allerdings fünf Zehen, an den Hinterfüßen aber nur vier; sie sind also nicht *pañcanakha* im vollem Sinne, und sicherlich wurde weder ein Krokodil noch der *Ghaṛiyāl* von den arischen Indern gegessen<sup>1)</sup>.

Die *godhā* hat natürlich in den indischen Volkssprachen noch andere Namen geführt; auf einen derselben werden wir später zurückkommen. Die Lexikographen verzeichnen im allgemeinen als Synonym *nihākā*<sup>2)</sup>. Am. 1, 10, 22 lehrt *nihākā godhikā same*, wo aber *godhikā* wohl ebenso wie in 2, 5, 6 im Sinne von *godhā* steht. Das Deminutiv *godhikā*, das vermutlich für die kleineren Waranarten gebraucht wurde, erscheint sonst noch in dem Kompositum *grhagodhikā*<sup>3)</sup>, auch *āgāra-godhikā*<sup>4)</sup>, wofür unter anderm *musalī*<sup>5)</sup> und *kuḍyamatsya*<sup>6)</sup> als Synonyme angegeben werden. Daß mit der „kleinen Hausgodhā“, dem „Wandfisch“, die Geckos gemeint sind, wird niemand bezweifeln, der diese Tiere am Abend an der Wand

1) Nach KIPLING, *Beast and Man in India*, p. 318 essen heute nur einige „outcast river-side tribes“ Krokodillfleisch.

2) Śāśv. 686; Mañkha 415; Trik. 770; Hem. Abh. 1297; Vaij. 150, 51; Med. dh 6.

3) Suśr. 5, 3, 4; 6, 18, 46; 49, 22; Brhats. 53, 16; 85, 37; 87, 8; 47; Agnip. 230, 27; Svapnacint. 2, 11; auch *grhagodhā* Hār. 185.

4) Suśr. 4, 1, 95 (Komm., wie auch für *grhagodhikā*: *ṭikāṭikī ity ākhyāyate*).

5) Am. 2, 5, 12; Hem. Abh. 1297; An. 3, 672; Vaij. 150, 60.

6) Hem. Abh. 1298; Vaij. 150, 61; Brhats. 87, 8. Ein anderer Name ist nach Vaij. 150, 60; Trik. 284 *ṭaṭṭanī*. Das Tier verdankt ihm dem Laut, den es auszustoßen pflegt; vgl. *ṭikāṭikī*, die bengalische Bezeichnung des Gecko.

seines Zimmers gesehen hat<sup>1)</sup>. Daß bisweilen dann auch *godhā* im Sinne von Gecko gebraucht wird<sup>2)</sup>, ist begreiflich.

Pāṇini braucht zwei Regeln (4, 1, 129; 130), um die Bezeichnung eines Abkömmlings (*apatya*) einer *godhā* zu lehren; sie lautet *gaudhera*, nach der Meinung der nördlichen Lehrer *gaudhāra*<sup>3)</sup>. Da *godhā* auch in dem *gaṇa śubhrādayaḥ* aufgeführt wird, kann nach 4, 1, 123 auch *gaudheya* gebildet werden. *Gaudhera* und *gaudhāra* bezeichnen nicht etwa eine junge *godhā*, sondern, wie aus den Angaben der Lexikographen hervorgeht, eine andere böartige Eidechsenart, von der man glaubte, daß sie aus der Vereinigung einer Schlange und einer *godhā* abstamme<sup>4)</sup>: *trayo gaudheragaudhāragaudheyā godhikātmaje* Am. 2, 5, 6; *godhā muśalikā proktā gaudherās tatsutā matāḥ* Hal. 2, 79; *godhā nihākā gaudheragaudhārau duṣṭatatsute* |

1) Hem. Abh. 1297 führt neben *grhagodhikā grhagolikā* an (*godhikā-golike grhāt*) und als Synonym *grholikā*, das auch Trik. 284 erscheint. Vaij. 150, 59 verzeichnet *grhagaulikā* neben *grhagodhikā*. Kād. (N.S.P.) 422 steht *golikā* im Text, aber mit den handschriftlichen Varianten *grhagodhikā* und *godhikā*. Jāt. II, 147, 15 erklärt der Kommentator *sarabū* durch *gharagolikā*. Märk. Pur. 15, 24 findet sich *grhagolakāḥ*. *Golikā* (*gaulikā*) geht aber nicht etwa auf *godhikā* zurück, da *dh* nicht zu *l* werden kann. Es ist offenbar Lehnwort aus dem Dravidischen; vgl. tam. *kauli*, malay. *gauli*, kan. *gavuli* „Hauseidechse“. Neben *grhagolikā* findet sich auch *grhakolikā* (Dārila zu Kauś. 30, 16). *Grhagolaka* ist ein neu zu *grhagolikā* gebildetes Maskulinum. *Grholikā* wird direkt auf *grhagolikā* zurückgehen; *grhālikā* in Hār. 185 wird ein Fehler sein.

2) Halāy. 2, 79 *godhā muśalikā proktā*; Vaij. 150, 51 *godhā musalī*. Auch Sāyaṇa erklärt Taitt. S. 5, 5, 15, 1 *godhā* durch *musalikā*, fügt aber hinzu, daß einige darunter die große *godhā* verstehen. Die letzteren haben sicher recht, denn die Hauseidechsen würden wohl kaum den Bäumen geweiht sein.

3) Kād. (N.S.P.) 422 ist *godhāra* schlechtere Lesart für *godhā*.

4) Man hat in Indien das System der Mischkasten auch auf die Tierwelt, insbesondere auf die Schlangen übertragen. So ist nach Suśr. 5, 4, 9 ein *mākuli* aus der Verbindung eines *kṛṣṇasarpa* mit einer *gonasī* oder umgekehrt, ein *poṭagala* aus der Verbindung eines *rājila* mit einer *gonasī* oder umgekehrt, ein *snigdharāji* aus der Verbindung eines *kṛṣṇasarpa* mit einer *rājimatī* oder umgekehrt, entstanden. Der Glaube an solche Mischlinge lebt in Indien noch heute. Nach MOLESWORTH, Mar. Dict., ist *dhāmanya* „a species of coluber, said to be the offspring of a *dhāman* by a cobra de capello“.

*gaudheyo 'nyatra* Hem. Abh. 1297; *atha gaudheragaudhārau bhujagīgodhayoḥ sute | gaudheyas ca* Vaij. 150, 52f. Nach einer Notiz im Kommentar zu Am. ist es ein vierfüßiges Tier, das von einer schwarzen Schlange und einer *godhā* erzeugt ist und *agār<sup>a</sup>* heißt: „durch den Biß dieser Schlange stirbt der Mensch auf jeden Fall“. Die Angaben der Mediziner stimmen damit überein. Vāgbhāṣa, Aṣṭāṅgahṛd. 6, 36, 7, sagt, der *gaudhera* sei der Sohn einer *godhā* (*godhāsutaḥ*), habe vier Füße und sei an Gift den Haubenschlangen gleich. Suśruta 5, 8, 10 kennt sogar fünf Arten von *gaudherakas*, deren Biß dem Biß von Schlangen gleicht.

In Ceylon wird der *kabara-goyā* zur Herstellung des Cobra-tel verwendet. Eine genaue Beschreibung der Bereitung dieses gefürchteten Giftes hat Sir JAMES EMERSON TENNENT geliefert<sup>1)</sup>. Danach macht man verschiedenen giftigen Schlangen Einschnitte in die Köpfe und hängt sie über einem Gefäße auf, indem man glaubt, auf diese Weise das ausfließende Gift auffangen zu können. Das so gewonnene Blut wird mit Arsenik und anderen giftigen Substanzen vermischt und in einem Menschenschädel gekocht. Von drei Seiten werden Warane gegen das Feuer gesetzt, mit den Köpfen diesem zugewandt, festgebunden und so lange mit Schlägen mißhandelt, bis sie zischen, also das Feuer anblasen. Der Schaum von ihren Lippen wird dann noch der kochenden Mischung hinzugefügt. Diese Angaben helfen uns, eine merkwürdige Bemerkung in der *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* zu verstehen. *Brahmajālas. 1, 1, 22* (*Dīgh. N. I, 9*) wird unter andern Künsten, mit denen sich gewisse *Samaṇas* und Brahmanen abgeben, die Kenntnis der Merkmale verschiedener Tiere, darunter auch der *godhā*, aufgeführt. *Buddhaghosa, Sum. I, 94*, kommt bei der Erklärung von *godhālakkhaṇa* auch auf bildliche Darstellungen einer *godhā* zu sprechen und erzählt dabei die folgende Geschichte: *ekasmim kira vihāre cittakamme godhaṃ aggiṃ dhamamānaṃ akaṃsu | tato paṭṭhāya bhikkhūnaṃ mahāvivādo jāto | eko āgantukābhikkhu taṃ disvā makkhesi | tato paṭṭhāya vivādo mandābhūto*, „In einem gewissen Vihāra stellten sie in einem

1) Ceylon (London 1860), Vol. I, p. 183, note 2.

Gemälde eine *godhā* dar, die ein Feuer anblies. Seitdem herrschte großer Streit unter den Mönchen. Ein zugewanderter Mönch sah das Bild und strich es über. Von da an hörte der Streit auf.“ Man hat also die das Feuer anblasende *godhā* offenbar schon in alter Zeit im Zauber verwendet.

Aufgefallen ist dem Inder die Rauheit der Haut der *godhā* *Mahāvs. 24, 49* erhält der Thera Tissa das Beiwort *Godhagatta*, nach der von Turnour benutzten *Ṭikā*, weil er ein Leiden hatte, das seine Haut schuppig wie die einer *godhā* machte. Das gleiche wird schon *Pañcav. Brāhmaṇa 9, 2, 14* von der *Akūpārā Āṅgirasī* gesagt: *tasyā yathā godhāyāsvag evaṃ tvag āsīt*. Indra soll ihr durch ein bestimmtes dreimaliges *Sāman* eine sonnengleiche Haut gemacht haben. Wie OERTEL, *JAOS. XVIII, 26ff.* gesehen hat, ist die Geschichte der *Akūpārā* eine andere Version der bekannten *Apālā*-Legende, die an *ṚV. 8, 91* anknüpft. Indra heilt die *Apālā* von einer Hautkrankheit, indem er sie nacheinander durch das Nabenloch des Streitwagens, das Nabenloch des Karrens und das Loch des Joches zieht. Dabei wird sie nach der Erzählung im *Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa 1, 220* nacheinander eine *godhā*, ein weibliches Chamäleon und eine *saṃśviṣṭikā* (?)<sup>1)</sup>. Klarer ist der Vers in der *Bṛhaddevatā 6, 106<sup>2)</sup>*, wonach aus der ersten abgestreiften Haut der Igel, aus der zweiten die *godhā*, aus der dritten das Chamäleon ward: *tasyās tvag apahatā yā pūrvā sā śalyako 'bhavat | uttarā tv abhavad godhā kṛkalāsas tvag uttamā*. Deutlich tritt hier die allmähliche Verfeinerung der Haut in der Auswahl der Tiere zutage. Nach dem Grundsatz der *attractio similitum* verwendet man noch heute in Ceylon die Haut des *kabaragoyā* äußerlich als Heilmittel gegen Hautkrankheiten<sup>3)</sup>.

1) Im *Sātyāyanabrāhmaṇa* weist der Text so, wie ihn *Sāyaṇa* zu *ṚV. 8, 91, 7* anführt, offenbar, wie OERTEL bemerkt, eine Lücke auf. Hier steht *saṃśliṣṭakā* anstatt *saṃśviṣṭikā*; ob das ein Tiername ist, wie OERTEL annimmt, ist mir zweifelhaft. Nach dem dritten Durchziehen ist *Apālā* ja rein und hat eine sonnengleiche Haut.

2) Mit leichten Abweichungen auch in *Ṣadguruśiṣyas Vedārthadīpikā* zur *Sarvānukramaṇī* und der Sache nach bei *Sāyaṇa* in der Einleitung zu *ṚV. 8, 91*.

3) TENNENT, a. a. O. I, 183.

Wie die Haut der Warane schon längst in Ceylon zu Schuhen verarbeitet wurde<sup>1)</sup> und heute in enormen Mengen zur Herstellung von Luxuswaren dient<sup>2)</sup>, so hat man sie auch schon im alten Indien für gewerbliche Zwecke benutzt. In vedischer Zeit umwickelte man beim Bogenschießen den linken Arm, um ihn vor dem Anprall der zurückschnellenden Sehne zu schützen, mit dem *hastaghna*, wie aus dem Waffensegen RV. 6, 75, 14 hervorgeht: „Wie eine Schlange läuft er in Windungen um den Arm, den Schlag der Sehne abwehrend. Der *hastaghna*, aller Regeln kundig, der männliche, möge den Mann auf allen Seiten schützen.“ Der Ausdruck *hastaghna* oder *hastatra*<sup>3)</sup> kommt in der vom Veda unabhängigen Literatur nicht mehr vor<sup>4)</sup>, aber einen ähnlichen Hand- oder Fingerschutz hat man auch später noch gebraucht. Er wird *talatra*<sup>5)</sup> oder *talatrāna*<sup>6)</sup>, *aṅgulitra*<sup>7)</sup>, auch *talāṅgulitra*<sup>8)</sup>, genannt. Daneben findet sich aber auch der Ausdruck *godhāṅgulitra*<sup>9)</sup>, *godhāṅgulitrāna*<sup>10)</sup>, „*godhā*-Fingerschutz“, der doch nur darin seinen Grund haben kann, daß dieser Fingerschutz aus der Haut der *godhā* hergestellt war. Ebenso wie man *talatra* zu *tala* abkürzte<sup>11)</sup>, brauchte man gelegentlich auch das einfache *godhā* für *godhāṅgulitra*;

1) TENNENT, Ceylon I, 182.

2) Nach M. A. SMITH, a. a. O. S. 16, wurden im September 1932 allein aus Kalkutta über 600 000 Häute von Reptilien, größtenteils Waranen, verschifft.

3) Lāṭy. Śr. S. 3, 10, 7 in einem Yajus.

4) Im Anschluß an den Mantra wird *hastaghna* Nir. 9, 14 f.; Āp. Śr. S. 20, 16, 12 gebraucht. Naigh. 5, 3 wird er unter den Waffennamen aufgezählt.

5) Mbh. 3, 268, 19; 6, 45, 4; 106, 24; 8, 16, 7; Har. 3, 55, 81.

6) Mbh. 3, 37, 19; 45; 7, 119, 13.

7) Mbh. 6, 106, 24 (neben *talatra*).

8) Mbh. 1, 180, 14; Rām. 2, 87, 23 (*talāṅgulitravān*).

9) *godhāṅgulitrāṅ* Rām. 2, 99, 23; *baddhagodhāṅgulitravān* Mbh. 3, 17, 3; 37, 19.

10) *baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṅ* Mbh. 1, 125, 8; *-trāṅ* Mbh. 4, 5, 1; *-trāṅ* Rām. 2, 23, 35; *-trāṅ* Rām. 1, 22, 9.

11) *talam* Āśv. Gṛhy. S. 3, 12, 11; *talabaddhāṅ* Mbh. 6, 16, 14; Har. 3, 38, 8; 54, 36; *talaśabdāṅ* Mbh. 7, 16, 36; *dhanurjyātalaśabdāṅ* Mbh. 1, App. 78, 27; *jyātalaśoṣaṅ* Mbh. 13, 161, 14; *jyātalanirghoṣaṅ* Mbh. 1, 123, 5; *jyātalanirghoṣāṅ* Rām. 6, 100, 61.

so Mbh. 7, 139, 52 *tataś caṭacaṭāśabdo godhāghātād abhūt tayoh*. So erklärt es sich, daß die Lexikographen sämtlich *godhā* die Bedeutung „Handschutz“ zuweisen<sup>1)</sup>.

In der Bedeutung „Handschutz“ soll nach Sāyaṇa *godhā* auch in RV. 8, 69, 9 gebraucht sein:

*āva svarāti gārgaro godhā pāri saniṣvanat |*  
*piṅgā pāri canīṣkadad indrāya brāhmōdyatam ||*

„Es ertöne der *gargara*, rings klinge die *godhā*. Ringschwinge die *piṅgā*. Indra ist das *brahman* dargebracht.“ Sāyaṇa sieht in den ersten drei Pādas eine Schilderung des zum Kampf gerüsteten Indra, aber der Zusammenhang, in dem die Strophe erscheint, läßt nicht darauf schließen, daß von einem Kampf die Rede ist. In der vorhergehenden Strophe werden die Priyamedhas aufgefordert zu singen:

*ārcata prārcata priyamedhāso ārcata |*  
*ārcantu putrakā utā pūraṅ nā dhṛṣṇv ārcata ||*

„Lobsinget, hebt an zu lobsingen, ihr Priyamedhas, lobsinget! Die Knäblein sollen lobsingen. Lobsinget ihm kräftig, der einer Burg gleicht.“ Die folgende Strophe enthält die Aufforderung, dem Indra Soma darzubringen. Mit Ausnahme von GELDNER, der Sāyaṇa folgt, und HOPKINS<sup>2)</sup>, der *godhā* als Bogensehne faßt, haben sich denn auch alle Übersetzer, soweit sie *godhā* überhaupt übersetzen, an ROTHE angeschlossen, der im PW. das Wort als „Saite“ erklärt. Allein dieser Bedeutungsansatz „Bogensehne“ und „Saite“ ist mit der feststehenden Bedeutung von *godhā* unvereinbar. Leider ist auch die Bedeutung von *gārgara* und *piṅgā*, die mit *godhā* zusammengeordnet sind, nicht sicher. Sāyaṇa erklärt *piṅgā* als Bogensehne (*vyā*), aber zu dieser Erklärung ist er offenbar durch die sicherlich falsche Deutung von *godhā* gekommen und sie fällt daher mit jener, wenn auch, wie im PW. angegeben wird, in Mbh. 7, 145, 94 Śivas Bogen, das Ājagava,

1) Am. 2, 8, 84; Śāśv. 686; Maṅkha 415; Trik. 770; Hem. Abh. 776; An. 2, 237; Vaij. 116, 310; Med. dh. 6.

2) JAOS. XVII, 53.

*piṅgalajya* „mit gelber Sehne versehen“ genannt wird<sup>1)</sup>. *Gárgara* ist AV. 4, 15, 12 (*śváśantu gárgarā apām*) „Strudel“, „gurges“; später bezeichnet *gargara*, *gargarī* das Butterfaß, p. *gaggari* auch den Blasebalg des Schmieds. Hier nimmt Sāyaṇa *gargara* als Namen eines Musikinstruments (*gargara-dhvaniyukto vādyaviśeṣaḥ*), und das wird richtig sein; das Wort wird lautnachahmend sein wie *karkarī*, *karkarī*, das RV. 2, 43, 3; AV. 4, 37, 4; Jaim. Br. 2, 404 ein Musikinstrument bezeichnet<sup>2)</sup>. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, daß auch *godhā* und *piṅgā* Musikinstrumente sind<sup>3)</sup>, und für *godhā* läßt sich das in der Tat beweisen. Beim Mahāvratā werden eine große Anzahl von Musikinstrumenten verwendet, darunter nach Kāty. Śr. S. 13, 3, 17 die von Frauen gespielten *godhāvīṅākās* (*godhāvīṅākāḥ kāṇḍavīṅās ca patnyo vādayanty upagāyanti*). Aus dem Namen ist zu schließen, daß die *godhāvīṅākā* ein kleineres Saiteninstrument war, dessen Schallkörper mit der Haut einer *godhā* bezogen war. Das wird durch die Erklärung des Wortes im Saṃkṣiptasāra bestätigt: *godhācarmanā naddhā vīṅā godhāvīṅā hrasvā godhāvīṅā godhāvīṅākāḥ*. Die Santals haben noch heute eine einsaitige Fiedel, *banam* genannt, die mit der Haut des *goh sāmp* bespannt ist. Auch die zweisaitige Röhrengige der Singhalesen hat als Schallkörper eine halbe, mit einer Eidechsenhaut bespannte Kokosnußschale<sup>4)</sup>. Wie man den

1) *Piṅgala* wird die Sehne hier wohl genannt, weil sie golden war; schon AV. 11, 2, 12 wird dem Rudra ein gelber goldner Bogen zugeschrieben: *dhānur bibharṣi hāritam hiraṇyāyam*.

2) GELDNER übersetzt *gárgara* daher fragend durch „Trommel“. *Karkarī* ist aber ein Saiteninstrument. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 17, 3, 12 wird eine *Vīṅā*art *ghāṭakarkarī* erwähnt; in AV. stehen *āghāṭāḥ karkarāḥ* nebeneinander.

3) So schon HILLEBRANDT, Ved. Myth. I, 144. Wahrscheinlich ist auch *piṅgā* lautnachahmend und hat mit *piṅga* „gelb“ gar nichts zu tun.

4) DAVY, An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its Inhabitants, p. 242 (mit Abbildung). Ähnlich benutzen die Nāgas für ihre Röhrenlaute, die *koṅkeh*, ein Stück Schlangenhaut, das über einen Bambuszylinder befestigt wird; SACHS, Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens, S. 113. Auch eine Spieß-Schalenlaute aus den nördlichen Šan-Staaten hat eine Decke aus Schlangenhaut; SACHS, Die Musikinstrumente Birmas und Assams, S. 26.

Handschatz nach dem Material, aus dem er verfertigt ist, als *godhā* bezeichnete, hat man offenbar auch für die *godhāvīṅākā* den kurzen Ausdruck *godhā* gebraucht. Daß eine solche Abkürzung möglich ist, zeigen die Gāthās Jāt. 547, 706f., wo in einer langen Reihe von Musikinstrumenten auch eine *godhā* aufgezählt wird:

*āhaññantu sabbavīṅā bheriyo deṇḍimāni ca |*  
*kharamukhāni dhamantu vadantaṃ ekapokkharā ||*  
*mutiṅgā paṇavā saṃkhā godhā parivadantikā |*  
*dindimāni ca haññantu kuṭumbā tindimāni ca ||<sup>1)</sup>*

Daß *godhā* hier ein Musikinstrument ist, ist klar; schwieriger ist die Gattung, zu der es gehört, zu bestimmen. Vorausgehen im ersten Pāda *mutiṅga*, die Doppelkonustrummel, *paṇava*, eine andere Trommelart, *saṃkhā*, die Muschel; es folgt im zweiten Pāda *parivadantikā*, das sicherlich ein Synonym von *parivādinī*, dem Namen der siebensaitigen, mit dem Plektron (*parivāda*) gespielten *Vīṅā*, ist. Es ist daher das Wahrscheinlichste, daß die *godhā* auch hier eine Art von *Vīṅā*, also die *godhāvīṅākā* ist.

Eidechsenhaut hat übrigens auch als Membrane für Trommeln Verwendung gefunden. Auf Neupommern wird die Haut des *Varanus indicus* als Fell für kleine Handtrommeln gebraucht<sup>2)</sup>. Ähnliches muß auch im alten Indien vorgekommen sein; so erklärt es sich, daß gewisse Trommelarten den Namen von Eidechsen tragen. Āyāraṃgas. 2, 11, 3 wird den Mönchen und Nonnen das Anhören von *tāla*-Klängen, wozu die Klänge von *lattiya* und *gohiya* gehören, verboten. Unter *tāla* sind hier Schlaginstrumente zu verstehen; *lattiya* und *gohiya* aber sind, wie schon JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 183 bemerkt hat, beides

1) In 707 ist wahrscheinlich *dindimāni* und der letzte Pāda verderbt. In der ersten Hälfte von 707 ist offenbar *vadantaṃ* nach dem *vadataṃ* von 706 zu ergänzen. *Godhā* und *parivadantikā* sind nicht als Kompositum zu fassen, wie es im PD. geschieht. Im Kommentar ist *godhā parivadantikā dindimāni kuṭumbadindimāni imāni cattāri turīyaṇ'eva* zu lesen.

2) Brehms Tierleben V, 131.

Namen von Eidechsen. *Gohiyā* ist die oben erwähnte *godhikā*; *lattiyā* ist sk. *lattikā*, dessen Bildung Uṇādis. 3, 147 gelehrt und von Ujvaladatta durch *godhā* erklärt wird. Die direkte Gleichsetzung von *lattikā* und *godhā* wird allerdings nicht richtig sein, denn die *lattikā* ist wahrscheinlich mit der *golattikā* identisch, die in den Yajustexten in den Listen der Opfertiere aufgeführt wird, aber von der *godhā* verschieden sein muß, da diese schon vorher genannt ist<sup>1)</sup>.

*Godhā* wird in dem *gaṇa bhidādayaḥ* aufgeführt, der nach Pāṇ. 3, 3, 104 Wörter enthält, die von Wurzeln mit dem Suffix *añ* gebildet sind. *Godhā* soll also eine Ableitung von der Wurzel *gudh* sein, die im Dhātupāṭha mit der Bedeutung „bekleiden“ (*pariveṣṭane*) und „wütend sein“ (*roṣe*) aufgeführt wird. Daß diese Erklärung nicht richtig sein kann, geht, von allem andern abgesehen, schon daraus hervor, daß das *-ā* von *godhā* wurzelhaftes *ā* ist. In den vedischen Saṃhitās kommt von dem Wort nur der Nom. Sing. vor; er lautet überall *godhā*<sup>2)</sup>. Aber in ṚV. 10, 28, 11, *tébhyo godhā ayáthaṃ karṣad etát*, liest der Padapāṭha *godhāḥ*. Hier hat sich also die Erinnerung an den ursprünglichen Ausgang des Nominativs erhalten; der Nominativ *godhā* zeigt wie Nominativ zahlreicher anderer femininer Stämme auf wurzelhaftes *ā* im Veda Übergang in die Flexion der abgeleiteten *ā*-Stämme<sup>3)</sup>. *Godhā* wird daher im PW. sicherlich richtig in *go* und *dhā* zerlegt, aber die Bedeutung kann unmöglich, wie dort vermutet wird, „das was man vom Rinde erhält“ sein. Diese Erklärung, die schon vom grammatischen Standpunkt aus höchst anfechtbar ist,

1) Vāj. S. 24, 35, 37; Maitr. S. 3, 14, 16; 18; Kāṭh. V 7, 5; 6; Taitt. S. 5, 5, 15; 16. Sāyaṇa erklärt allerdings *golattikā* als Bachstelze (*khañjarīṭakā, pītasukleti kecī*).

2) *Godhā* erscheint auch als Name eines weiblichen Ṛṣi, der Dichterin von ṚV. 10, 134, 6b 7 (Bṛhaddevatā 2, 82; Sarvānukramaṇī). Aus *Godhā* ist später der Ṛṣi *Godhas Āngirasa* geworden (zu SV. 1, 176). Als Volksname findet sich *Godha* in Mbh. 6, 9, 42; die Kalkuttaer Ausgabe liest aber *Sodhāḥ* anstatt *Godhāḥ*.

3) LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 444f.; MACDONELL, Ved. Gr. p. 251.

beruht auf der falschen Annahme, daß *godhā* Sehne bedeute und daß die Bedeutung „Handschutz“ primär sei<sup>1)</sup>. Wenn *godhā* überhaupt das Wurzelnomen *dhā* enthält, kann es nur das *dhā* sein, das in *payodhā* „Milch saugend“ (ṚV. 7, 56, 16) vorliegt. Daß nicht nur die Milch, sondern auch das Tier oder die Person, aus der die Milch gesogen wird, das Objekt von *dhā* bilden kann, zeigen Stellen wie *sá im śísur dhayati* ṚV. 2, 35, 13; *pūrvīr eko adhayat pípyānāḥ* ṚV. 3, 1, 10; *uttānām ūrdhvó adhayaj juhūbhiḥ* ṚV. 5, 1, 3; *yatraitad anaḍvān dhenum dhayati* und im Mantra: *anaḍvān dhenum adhayat* Kauś. S. 113, 1f.; *yatraitad dhenur dhenum dhayati* ibid. 114, 1. *Godhā* würde also eigentlich die „Kuhsaugerin“ sein, und diese Deutung findet eine Stütze in außerindischen Parallelen.

FICK hat BB. XVII, 321; Wtb. I<sup>4</sup>, 407 *godhā* zu lat. *būfo* gestellt. Die Verbindung ist lautlich nicht nur einwandfrei, da *bufo* als oskisch-sabellisches Lehnwort angesehen werden muß, sondern auch einleuchtender als die von NIEDERMANN, BB. XXV, 83f. vorgeschlagene Zusammenstellung von *bufo* mit apr. *gabawo* „Kröte“, ab. *žaba* „Frosch“, as. *quappa*, nhd. Kaulquappe, die die Annahme von Stammabstufung (*g\*abh-*, *g\*ēbh-*, *g\*ōbhō*) nötig macht und das auslautende *-o* von *bufo* im Grunde unerklärt läßt.

Man hat die FICK'sche Zusammenstellung im Grunde auch nur wegen der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit des indischen und des lateinischen Wortes abgelehnt<sup>2)</sup>; äußerlich besteht ja auch nicht die geringste Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem großen Waran und der Kröte. Allein diese Schwierigkeit schwindet, wenn wir annehmen dürfen, daß man schon in indogermanischer Zeit gewisse Tiere, von denen man glaubte, daß sie den Kühen die Milch entzögen, als „Kuhsauger“ bezeichnete. Daß dieser Name später auf verschiedene Tiere übertragen wurde, ist ohne weiteres verständlich. Nun ist aber der Glaube an kuhsaugende Tiere in der ganzen Welt verbreitet. Jedem wird sofort unser Ziegenmelker (*Caprimulgus europaeus*) ein-

1) Ebenso wenig kann *godhā* „Kühe (fest)haltend, fangend“ bedeuten, wie WEBER, Ind. Stud. XVIII, 16 vermutete.

2) So NIEDERMANN; WALDE, Lat. Etym. Wtb. unter *bufo*.

fallen, der auch Ziegen-, Kuh- oder Milchsauger heißt<sup>1)</sup>. Auch die Mauerschwalbe (*Cypselus apus*) wird in Schwaben Kuhmelker genannt<sup>2)</sup>. Insbesondere haftet die Sage aber an Schlangen und Kröten. Schon Plinius H. N. 8, 37 erklärt den Namen der bovae (boae): *aluntur primo bubuli lactis suco, unde nomen traxere*. In Brehms Tierleben V, 335 wird es als eine allbekannte Sage bezeichnet, daß die Ringelnatter am Euter der Kühe und anderer milchender Haustiere sauge, um sich einen Genuß zu verschaffen. Dasselbe glaubt man, wie NESSELMANN, Lit. Wtb. S. 538 bemerkt, in Litauen von dem *žaltis*; der *žaltis* ist nach NESSELMANN die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung der großen Bruchschlange mit bläulich weißen Schildern, also offenbar wiederum der Ringelnatter. In Dalmatien heißt die Streifennatter geradezu Kuhmelkerin<sup>3)</sup>. Die Kleinrussen erzählen von der Rache der Schlange, die man verhindert hat am Euter der Kuh zu saugen<sup>4)</sup>. Wie KARL P. SCHMIDT, *The Truth about Snake Stories*<sup>5)</sup>, p. 12 ff. angibt, gilt im östlichen Nordamerika insbesondere *Lampropeltis triangulum* als „milk snake“, während im westlichen Teile des Landes die zahlreichen Gopherschlangen (*Pituophis*) in diesem Rufe stehen. In Brasilien glaubt man sogar, daß sich gewisse Schlangen nachts in die Hütten der Indianer schleichen, um die Milch der menschlichen Mütter zu trinken<sup>6)</sup>.

Auch in Indien scheint der Glaube an kuhsaugende Schlangen zu herrschen. BATE, *Hind. Dict.*, FALLON, *Hindust.*

1) Brehms Tierleben VIII, 373.

2) BIBLINGER, *Augsburger Wtb.* 295b.

3) Brehms Tierleben V, 365 f.

4) БОЛТЕ-ПОЛІВКА, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm II, 459.

5) Field Museum of Natural History, Zoology, Leaflet 10 (Chicago 1929). In der Bibliographie, p. 19, werden einige Aufsätze von JOHN K. STRECKER in den mir nicht zugänglichen Publikationen der Texas Folklore Society angeführt, die nach dem Titel weitere Angaben über „milk snakes“ enthalten werden.

6) Zur Erklärung wird bemerkt, daß in Nordamerika die Sage von den kuhsaugenden Schlangen wahrscheinlich darauf zurückzuführen sei, daß sie sich gern in der Nähe der Viehställe aufhalten, wo sie reichlich Mäuse finden, die ihre Hauptnahrung bilden.

*Dict.*, PLATTS, *Urdü Dict.*, geben an, daß h. *dhāman* oder *dhāmin* der Name einer harmlosen Schlange sei, von der man behauptet, sie sauge den Kühen die Milch aus<sup>1)</sup>.

Von der Kröte bemerkt L. Ph. FUNKE<sup>2)</sup>: „Daß sie, wie der einfältige Landmann sich einbildet, darum so gern nach den Viehställen komme, weil sie den Kühen die Milch aussauge, ist eine alberne Sage.“ Diese Sage ist aber auch heute noch nicht ausgestorben<sup>3)</sup>. Saugen Kröten am Kuheuter, so entsteht eine Beule oder die Milch vergeht<sup>4)</sup>. Man glaubt aber auch, daß es Hexen sind, die sich in Kröten verwandelt haben, um den Kühen die Milch auszusaugen<sup>5)</sup>. Sachlich läßt sich also gegen die Deutung von *bufo* als „Kuhsauger“ nichts einwenden.

Auch große Eidechsenarten sind als Kuhsauger verschrien. Heinz v. Ortenberg sagt in seinen Erinnerungen an allerlei Getier, das ihm auf seinen Weltfahrten über den Weg gelaufen ist<sup>6)</sup>; „Ich denke an Rieseneidechsen und Schlangen, die unserm Vieh in Südamerika nächtens die Milch absogen“. Für die *godhā* kann ich allerdings ein direktes Zeugnis, das sie als Kuhsauger erwiese, nicht beibringen. Immerhin ist es bemerkenswert, daß die *Dharmaśāstras*<sup>7)</sup> als Strafe für den

1) Im Marathenlande schreibt man dem Tier eine andere Schädigung der Kühe zu. Nach MOLESWORTH, *Mar. Dict.* ist *dhāman* „a species of coluber, said to be destructive to cattle, in the nostrils of which it insinuates its tail, and then draws it forth with violent abrasion.“

2) Ausführlicher Text zu Bertuchs Bilderatlas für Kinder (Weimar 1798) V, 562.

3) Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde I, 13.

4) Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens V, 774.

5) Ebd. V, 625. Hexen verwandeln sich überhaupt gern in Kröten, um in dieser Gestalt allerlei Unheil anzurichten (*Schweizerisches Idiotikon* III, 877). Sie saugen als Kröten sogar an kleinen Kindern, daß sie aufgelaufene Brüste bekommen (FISCHER, *Schwäb. Wörterb.* IV, 784). Mit der Kröte als Kuhsaugerin hängt auch die „Butterkröte“ zusammen; vgl. SCHWARTZ, *Z. E.* XXVI, 1f.

6) Unterhaltungsbeilage der Täglichen Rundschau, Jahrg. 37, Nr. 116 (19. Mai 1917).

7) *Manu* 12, 64; *Yājñ.* 3, 215; *Viṣṇu* 44, 29.

Diebstahl einer Kuh die Wiedergeburt als *godhā* festsetzen<sup>1)</sup>, doch könnte in diesem Falle der rein lautliche Anklang von *godhā* an *go* die Zusammenstellung veranlaßt haben. Größeres Gewicht hat eine vedische Stelle, die die *godhā* erwähnt und die durch die Erklärung des Wortes als Kuhsauger überhaupt erst ihren eigentlichen Sinn erhält.

AV. 4, 3 ist ein Zauberlied, das der auf die Weide hinausziehenden Kuhherde Sicherheit gewähren soll. Als Feinde des Viehs werden in V. 1 zunächst drei genannt: der Tiger, der Mensch, der Wolf. In den folgenden Strophen wird wiederholt auf sie zurückgegriffen, auf den Tiger in V. 3; 4; 7, auf den Wolf in V. 2 und 4, auf den Menschen in V. 2; 4; 5, wo er als Dieb oder Räuber (*tāskara*, *stená*) bezeichnet wird. Dazu kommt aber in V. 2 noch der „gezähnte Strick“ (*datvātī rájjuḥ*), der sicherlich mit der in V. 4 genannten Schlange (*áhi*) identisch ist, und der Zauberer (*yātudhāna*) in V. 4. Plötzlich taucht in V. 6 auch noch die *godhā* auf: *nimrūk te godhā bhavatu nīcāyāc śāśayūr mṛgāḥ*. Der Text der Zeile bereitet Schwierigkeiten; er ist vielleicht zum Teil verderbt, aber soviel ist doch klar, daß *nimrūk te bhavatu* einen ähnlichen Sinn haben muß wie *nīcāyat*<sup>2)</sup>. Und einerlei, ob das dunkle *śāśayūr mṛgāḥ*<sup>3)</sup> sich auf die *godhā* bezieht oder ein anderes Tier bezeichnet, jedenfalls enthält der dritte Pāda eine Verwünschung der *godhā*, des Waran<sup>4)</sup>. Warum die *godhā* hier als Feind der Kuhherde genannt ist, wird aber doch nur verständlich, wenn man weiß, daß sie als „Kuhsaugerin“ galt.

1) Wer Hülsenfrüchte stiehlt, wird nach Märk. Pur. 15, 24 als *gṛhagolaka* wiedergeboren.

2) Einfacher wäre es, wenn man *nimruktā*, „untergegangen“ im Sinne von „zugrunde gegangen“, lesen dürfte.

3) Daß *śāśayū*, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, das Wort für Hase enthält, möchte ich sehr bezweifeln. Dürfte man *śāśayūḥ* zu *śāśayūḥ* verbessern, so könnte man das Wort als eine Ableitung vom Intensivstamm von *śī* (*śāśay-yate*) fassen und *śāśayūr mṛgāḥ* als ein Synonym von *śayūḥ*, das nach den Lexikographen (Am. 1, 8, 5; Hal. 3, 20; Hem. Abh. 1305; Vaij. 149, 37) ein Name der Boa constrictor ist.

4) Daß nur dies die Bedeutung von *godhā* ist und nicht Sehne (PW.; GRILL), Alligator (WEBER), Krokodil (LUDWIG) oder „dragon“ (BLOOMFIELD), kann nach dem Gesagten wohl als sicher gelten.

In dieser Hinsicht steht die *godhā* mit dem in V. 4 genannten *yātudhāna* auf einer Stufe. Auch er wird in dem Liede an Agni, den Rakṣastöter, (RV. 10, 87) als ein Kuhsauger geschildert: er nimmt den Kühen die Milch weg (*yó aghnyāyā bhārati kṣīrām* V. 16); er sucht die Biestmilch zu entwenden (*pīyūṣam agne yatamās tīrpsāt* V. 17); Agni soll verhindern, daß er genieße, was die Kuh ein Jahr lang an Milch gibt (*samvatsarīnam páya usriyāyās tāsya māsīd yātudhāno nṛcakṣaḥ* V. 17); er wird verflucht, Gift von den Kühen zu trinken (*viṣām gāvām yātudhānāḥ pibantu* V. 18). Da die *yātudhānas* die verschiedensten Tiergestalten annehmen<sup>1)</sup>, halte ich es sogar für sehr wohl möglich, daß man in der kuhsaugenden *godhā* einen verwandelten Hexenmeister sah, wie man bei uns die kuhsaugenden Kröten für verwandelte Hexen hielt<sup>2)</sup>. Der Glaube, daß niedere Gottheiten und Dämonen die Gestalt von *godhās* annehmen, findet sich auch sonst. Die Gottheit des Ortes, an dem Vissakamma die Ziegel für den großen Stūpa des Duṭṭhagāmaṇi niedergelegt hat, zeigt sich einem Jäger in Gestalt einer *godhā* und führt ihn zu dem Platz (Mahāvamsa 28, 9f.), und unter den tiergestaltigen Unholden Śivas werden auch *godhā*-ähnliche Wesen genannt (Mbh. 9, 44, 27); unter den Dānavas gibt es solche mit *godhā*-Gesichtern (Har. 1, 41, 95).

Noch einmal wird die *godhā* in dem Dialogliede RV. 10, 28 genannt. Dort heißt es V. 10:

*suparṇā itthā nakhām á siṣyāvaruddhaḥ paripádam ná simhāḥ |  
niruddhás cin mahiśás tarṣyāvān godhā tasmā ayáthaṃ karṣad  
etát ||*

Das läßt sich etwa übersetzen: „So hat der Adler seine Krallen verwickelt, gefangen wie ein Löwe in der Falle. Gefangen sogar wurde der durstige Büffel; die *godhā* wird ihm das Bein zerren (?).“ Nach dem PW. und GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch

1) Siehe RV. 7, 104, 22.

2) Auf die Unheimlichkeit des Tieres mag es zurückgehen, daß die Begegnung mit einer *godhā* als schlechtes Omen gilt; siehe Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, transl. by COWELL and GOUGH, p. 237, note 3.

soll *godhā* hier Sehne sein; in der Übersetzung gibt GRASSMANN wie LUDWIG das Wort durch Riemen wieder. HOPKINS, a. a. O. behauptet, es sei die Bogensehne. Da *godhā* sonst nirgends diese Bedeutung hat, werden wir daran festhalten müssen, daß es auch hier das Tier bezeichnet<sup>1)</sup>, was im Grunde schon durch die Erwähnung der andern Tiere in den drei ersten Pādas nahegelegt wird. Im übrigen wird freilich das volle Verständnis der Strophe erschwert, ja nahezu unmöglich gemacht dadurch, daß wir die Tierfabel, auf die hier angespielt ist, nicht kennen. Dazu kommt, daß die Bedeutung des nur hier erscheinenden *ayātha* recht unsicher ist. Daß *ayāthaṃ karṣati* eine verderbenbringende Handlung ist, geht aber aus der folgenden Strophe hervor: *tébhyo godhā ayāthaṃ karṣad etād yé brahmāṇaḥ pratipīyanty ānnaiḥ*, „denen soll die *godhā* das *ayatha* zerren, die die Brahmanen mit Speisen verhöhnen“. Sicherlich tritt also die *godhā* hier als Feindin des Büffels auf<sup>2)</sup>, und das wird wahrscheinlich doch wiederum in der Vorstellung begründet sein, die man von ihr als der Schädigerin der Rinder hatte.

Die vorgeschlagene Erklärung von *godhā* empfängt schließlich, wie mir scheint, eine weitere Stütze dadurch, daß sich ein jüngerer Name des Tieres in der gleichen Weise deuten läßt. In Marāṭhī ist der gewöhnliche Name des Bindenwaran *ghor<sup>a</sup>paḍ<sup>a</sup>*<sup>3)</sup>. Trotz aller lautlichen Verschiedenheiten gehört *ghor<sup>a</sup>paḍ<sup>a</sup>* unverkennbar mit pr. *goramphiḍī* zusammen, das Deśināmamālā 2, 98 in der Bedeutung *godhā* verzeichnet ist.

1) Aber nicht das Krokodil, wie GELDNER in seiner Übersetzung meint.

2) OLDENBERG, Rgveda II, 232, vermutet allerdings, daß *ayātha* soviel wie „Gang“ ist und daß die *godhā* dem irgendwie gefangenen Büffel einen Weg furche oder schaufle, anscheinend zu seiner Befreiung, in Wirklichkeit wohl zu seinem Unglück. Mir scheinen das viel zu komplizierte Gedankengänge zu sein. Die Situation ist doch wohl die, daß der Büffel, an Durst leidend, am Ufer eines Flusses trinkt und dabei von einer *godhā*, deren Lieblingsaufenthalt ja das Flußufer ist, gepackt wird.

3) PLATTS, Urdū-English Dictionary, gibt (unter *ghōṛ*) *ghor-phor* „a species of lizard, a skink, or guana, Lacerta scincus“ an. Wenn die Namensform richtig wiedergegeben ist, muß sie weitere Umgestaltung von *ghōṛ-par* sein.

*Ghor<sup>a</sup>paḍ<sup>a</sup>*, aus \**goraphaḍa*, ist eine der bei Tiernamen so häufigen Umdeutungen eines in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung unverständlich gewordenen Wortes. Jedenfalls aber ist *go* der erste Bestandteil von *goramphiḍī*, denn Deś. 7, 4 wird als Name der *godhā* auch *rapphaḍiā* gelehrt, das doch sicherlich des gleichen Ursprungs wie *goramphiḍī* ist. Der zweite Bestandteil *ramphiḍī* erklärt sich leicht als eine Ableitung von der Wurzel *raph*, die in *raphitā* in RV. 10, 117, 2 vorliegt, und die nach den indischen Grammatikern das Präsens *raphati*, *ramphati*, *ramphati*, *rarmphati* (?) bildet; das Suffix *-ḍī* wird das Suffix *-ḍa*, fem. *-ḍī*, sein, das im Prakrit sehr häufig angefügt wird, ohne den Sinn zu verändern<sup>1)</sup>. *Rapphaḍiā* mag von *rarmph*, der seltsamen Nebenform der Wurzel gebildet oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, aus *ramphaḍiā* entstellte sein. Welchen Veränderungen gerade Tiernamen im Munde des Volkes ausgesetzt sind, zeigt der Name des fliegenden Fuchses; zu den SBA W. Phil. Hist. Kl. 1933, S. 1014 f. zusammengestellten Formen füge man noch p. *maddālaka* Jāt. 547, 416. Als Bedeutung der Wurzel wird unter anderm *himsāyām* angegeben, womit sich die Bedeutung von *raphitā*, die etwa „geschädigt“, „herabgekommen“ sein wird, gut vereinigen läßt<sup>2)</sup>. *Goramphiḍī* würde danach „Kühe verletzend“ oder „schädigend“ sein, was dem Sinne nach mit *godhā* „Kuhsauger“ übereinstimmen würde. Eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie *goramphiḍī* hat vielleicht auch das oben angeführte *golattikā*, das, wie das danebenstehende p. *lattiyā* zeigt, aus *go* und *lattikā* zusammengesetzt ist, wenn es auch kein direktes Synonym von *godhā* sein kann.

## 2. Parasvat

In dem Vṛṣākapiliede RV. 10, 86 heißt es in V. 18:

*ayām indra vṛṣākapiḥ párasvantaṃ hatāṃ vidat |  
asiṃ sūnāṃ návaṃ carūm ād édhasyāna ácitāṃ  
viśvasmād indra úttaraḥ ||*

1) FISCHL, Pr. Gr. § 599; ALSDOBF, Apabhraṃśa-Studien, S. 18 ff.

2) Sāyaṇa: *dāridryeṇa himsitāya*. Warum GELDNER *raphitā* durch „klappernd“ übersetzt, ist mir unverständlich.



„Dieser Vṛṣākapi, o Indra, fand einen getöteten *parasvat*, ein Schlachtmesser, ein Fleischbrett, einen neuen Topf, dazu einen mit Brennholz beladenen Karren. Indra ist höher als alles!

Im AV. findet sich *párasvat* außer in 20, 131, 22 *ádhyardhas ca párasvataḥ* in dem Zauberspruch für Erlangung von Manneskraft 6, 72, 2; 3:

*yáthā pásas tāyādarāṃ vátena sthūlabhāṃ kṛtām |  
yávat párasvataḥ pásas távat te vardhatām pásah ||  
yāvadaṅgīnam párasvataṃ hástinaṃ gārdabhaṃ ca yát |  
yāvad ásvasya vājīnas távat te vardhatām pásah ||*

„Wie das Glied des Tayādara<sup>1)</sup> durch den Wind dick gemacht wird, wie groß das Glied des *parasvat* ist, so groß soll dein Glied wachsen.“

„Zu welcher (Art) Glied gehörig<sup>2)</sup> das des *parasvat*, des Elefanten und des Esels ist, wie groß das eines zeugungskräftigen Rosses ist, so groß soll dein Glied wachsen.“

Auch in der Liste der Opfertiere beim Ásvamedha wird der *parasvat* genannt. Nach Vāj. S. 24, 28; Maitr. S. 3, 14, 10 sollen *parasvats* dem Íśāna geopfert werden (*íśānāya parasvata ālabhate*), eine Vorschrift, die Mādhava in seinem Jaiminīya-Nyāyamālāvistara 9, 4, 18 erwähnt. In Kāṭh. V 7, 11; Taitt. S. 5, 5, 21, 1 wird der *parasvat* vielmehr dem Kāma geweiht: *kāmāya parasvān*, während Vāj. S. 24, 39; Maitr. S. 3, 14, 20 dem Kāma der *pika*, der Koil, zugewiesen wird.

Kauṣ. Up. 1, 2 wird eine Liste der Daseinsformen gegeben, in denen der Mensch wiedergeboren werden kann: *sa iha kīto vā pataṅgo vā matsyo vā śakunir vā siṃho vā varāho vā paraśvān vā śārdūlo vā puruṣo vānyo vā teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu pratyājāyate yathākarma yathāvidyam*. Daß *paraśvān* nur

1) Der Kommentar liest *tāyodaraṃ*. Das Tier ist unbekannt.

2) Statt des gegen das Metrum verstoßenden *yāvadaṅgīnam*, das der Kommentar als zwei Worte auffaßt, schlägt WHITNEY vor, *yāvad āngam* zu lesen. Aber warum sollte *āngam* zu *āṅgīnam* verderbt sein? Leichter erscheint mir die Annahme, daß unter dem Einfluß des daneben stehenden *yāvad yadaṅgīnam* zu *yāvadaṅgīnam* umgestaltet wurde.

falsche Schreibung für *parasvān* ist, scheint mir selbstverständlich. Śaṅkara, der übrigens *paraśvā* gelesen hat, erklärt das Wort als Name einer Schlangenart (*dandasūkaviśeṣah*) und bemerkt, durch das *vā* sei angedeutet, daß auch Skorpione und ähnliche Tiere gemeint seien. Daß das falsch ist, liegt auf der Hand. Die Liste der Tiere ist deutlich in aufsteigender Linie geordnet: Würmer, Insekten, Fische, Vögel, dann größere vierfüßige Tiere und abschließend der Mensch; zwischen dem Löwen, dem Wildschwein und dem Tiger ist kein Platz für die Schlange. Śaṅkara hat einfach nicht mehr gewußt, was der *parasvat* war, und das gleiche gilt für alle andern Kommentatoren. Sāyaṇa weiß so wenig mit dem Worte anzufangen, daß er im ṚV. *parasvantam* durch *parasvam ātmano viṣaye 'vartamānam* erklärt. Im AV. begnügt er sich, ebenso wie Mahīdhara in Vāj. S., mit der Bemerkung, *parasvat* sei eine Tierart dieses Namens; in Taitt. S. erklärt er, es sei der Büffel (*mahiṣa*). Dieselbe Erklärung gibt Yādavaprakāśa, soweit ich sehe, der einzige Lexikograph, der *parasvat* überhaupt anführt: *gavalaś ca parasvāms ca mahiṣaḥ syād aranyajaḥ* (Vaij. 65, 21). Aber auch das ist nur eine Verlegenheitserklärung. *Parasvat* kann nicht der wilde Büffel sein, denn in Vāj. S. 24, 28; Maitr. S. 3, 14, 10 stehen *parasvataḥ* und *mahiṣān* nebeneinander: *íśānāya parasvata ālabhate mītrāya gaurān varuṇāya mahiṣān bṛhaspataye gavayāms tvaṣtra uṣṭrān*, und *mahiṣa* kann hier nur der wilde Büffel sein, da es sich in dem ganzen Abschnitt nur um die Opferung von wilden (*āranya*) Tieren, nicht von Haustieren (*grāmya*) handelt. In den Mantras Baudh. Śr. S. 2, 5 findet sich *parasvati me 'samṛddhiḥ khaḍge ma ārtiḥ*, „in den *parasvat* mein Mißerfolg, in das Nashorn mein Leid“.

Śaṅkara folgend, übersetzte in der Upaniṣad DEUSSEN *paraśvān* durch „Beißtier“, KEITH<sup>1)</sup> fragend durch „snake“. ROTHE, der nur die Stellen in ṚV., AV. und Vāj. S. kannte, vermutete im PW., daß *parasvat* der Wildesel sei, augenscheinlich mit Rücksicht auf die Angaben in AV., die auf ein dem

1) Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, p. 17.

Esel ähnliches Tier schließen ließen. Seitdem gilt der *parasvat* als Wildesel, nur GELDNER hat in seiner Übersetzung daraus einen Waldesel gemacht, was eine nicht ganz passende Bezeichnung für den *ghōrkhar* sein dürfte, da dieser nur in der indischen Wüste von Cutch bis Bikaner vorkommt.

Nun läßt sich aber zeigen, daß *parasvat* ein ganz anderes Tier ist. Sicherlich ist *parasvat* mit dem *palasata* identisch, den Aśoka im Säulenedikt 5 unter den Tieren nennt, deren Tötung er verboten habe<sup>1)</sup>. *Palasata*, das für *palassata* steht, ist die regelrechte Form, die *parasvat* in der östlichen Volkssprache annehmen mußte. Andererseits haben schon TRECKNER, Pali Miscellany I, 59, und nach ihm KERN, Toevogeselen II, 13f., *parasvat* mit dem Palinamen des Rhinoceros zusammengestellt, der Abhidhānapp. 613 als *palāsāda* angegeben wird, während er in der Literatur in vielfach wechselnden Schreibungen erscheint. In einer Liste von wilden Tieren, die gleichlautend im Sudhābhojanaj. (535, 75f.) und im Vidhura-panḍitaj. (545, 66f.) erscheint, lautet die zweite Zeile *palasatā ca gavaḥ<sup>2)</sup> mahisā rohitā rurū*. Anstatt *palasatā* lesen die singhalesischen Handschriften in Vidh. im Kommentar *phalāsātā*; dazu wird bemerkt, daß auch die Lesart *balāsātā* vorkomme. In Sudhābh. lesen die singhalesischen Handschriften im Texte *palāsājā*, die birmanischen *palasadā* und *pallasadā*. Alle diese Formen gehen im Grunde auf *palassatā* zurück. *Palāsāda*, die in Abhidhānapp. angenommene Form, ist eine der bei Tier- und Pflanzennamen so häufigen sinndeutenden Umgestaltungen; *palāsāda* ist der „Laubfresser“. An der Richtigkeit der Bedeutungsangabe in der Abhidhānapp. und dem Jātakakommentar ist nicht zu zweifeln. Es scheint aber, daß das Wort, das in vedischer Zeit allgemein galt, in der Zeit des Aśoka nur noch im Osten gebräuchlich war und später ganz ausstarb. So erklärt es sich, daß es ins Pali in der östlichen Form übernommen und so mannigfach umgebildet

1) Die richtige Erklärung von *palasata* hat BÜHLER durch den Hinweis auf die Paliformen gegeben (Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften, S. 261; 299).

2) In Vidh. wird noch *ca* hinzugefügt.

wurde und daß es den späteren Sanskritgelehrten gänzlich unbekannt war<sup>1)</sup>.

Wie wenig man schon bei der Übertragung der Jātaka-gāthās in die westliche Sprache mit dem Worte anzufangen wußte, zeigt Jāt. 546, 160f. Da sagt Mahosadha zu dem feindlichen König Brahmadata:

*yathā phalasataṃ cammaṃ kontimantīsuniṭṭhitam |  
upeti tanutāṇāya sarānaṃ paṭihantave ||  
sukhāvaho dukkhanudo vedehassa yasassino |  
matim te paṭihaññāmi usum phalasatena va ||*

Der Kommentator erklärt *phalasataṃ* als *phalasatappamānaṃ bahukhāre khādāpetvā mudubhāvaṃ upanītacammaṃ*, „ein 100 *phala* großes, durch Behandlung mit viel Ätztstoff weichgemachtes Fell“. KERN, Toev. II, 14 hat schon richtig erkannt, daß *phalasata* für *pālāsata* oder vielmehr *pālāsata* steht: „Wie eine Rhinoceroshaut, von einem Gerber<sup>2)</sup> gut bereitet, zum Schutze des Körpers, um die Pfeile abzuwehren, dient<sup>3)</sup>, so werde ich, dem ruhmvollen Videherkönig Glück bringend, Leid fernhaltend, deinen Anschlag abwehren wie einen Pfeil mit der Rhinoceroshaut.“

Wir können danach den Wildesel wohl endgültig aus der Liste der im Veda genannten Tiere streichen. Für das Rhinoceros paßt das, was im AV. über den *parasvat* gesagt ist, ebenso wie seine Weihung an Kāma ausgezeichnet, denn die Geschlechtsteile des großen indischen Nashorns (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) sind sehr groß, die männlichen überdies sonderbar gestaltet. Andererseits ist mit der Feststellung, daß *parasvat* das Nashorn ist, der Deutung von V. 18 des Vṛṣākapihiedes,

1) Wenn bei Baudh. *parasvat* und *khaḍga* nebeneinander genannt werden, so sind damit vielleicht die beiden Rhinoceros-Arten gemeint, Rh. *unicornis* und Rh. *sondaicus*; die letztere Art kommt noch heute in den Sunderbans und im östlichen Bengalen vor (Fauna of British India, Mammalia, p. 475). Wahrscheinlich liegt aber nur ein *paunaruktyam* vor; der Text der Mantras ist verwahrlost.

2) *Kontimantī* ist nach dem Kommentar soviel wie *cammakāra*, doch ist die Erklärung kaum richtig.

3) *Upeti*, eigentlich „sich einstellt“, dann „paßt“; vgl. *na upeti* Majjh. N. I, 486.

auf die L. v. SCHROEDER, *Mysterium und Mimus im R̥gveda*, S. 310f., so großes Gewicht legt, völlig der Boden entzogen. SCHROEDER meint, die Strophe beziehe sich auf die Sühne, die der Brahmacārin bei einem Keuschheitsvergehen zu verrichten hat und die in der Opferung eines Esels besteht<sup>1)</sup>, und er folgert daraus weiter, daß in dem Mimus, den er rekonstruiert, die Begattung des Vṛṣākapi und der Indrānī unmittelbar vorausgegangen sein müsse. Davon kann gar keine Rede sein<sup>2)</sup>. GELDNER hatte früher<sup>3)</sup> die Strophe ganz richtig auf den Schmaus bezogen, bei dem Indra nach V. 1 den Vṛṣākapi antrifft. In der Übersetzung kommt er der SCHROEDERschen Auffassung halb entgegen<sup>4)</sup>, indem er bemerkt, Vṛṣākapi habe wohl die Überreste eines Opfers gefunden, das ein Schüler, der die Keuschheit verletzt hat, darbringen sollte. Allein in V. 1 heißt es doch, daß Vṛṣākapi sich an dem reichen Besitz eines *ari* götlich tat: *yátrāmadad vṛṣākāpir aryáh puṣṭéṣu mátsakhā*. Es ist also doch ein Festmahl gemeint, das ein reicher Herr dem Vṛṣākapi zugerichtet hat. Daß dabei Nashornbraten aufgetischt wurde, ist nicht weiter verwunderlich. Nach den Dharmasāstras gehört das Nashorn zu den eßbaren Tieren, und wenn auch einige, wie Vasiṣṭha und Baudhāyana bemerken, darüber anderer Meinung waren<sup>5)</sup>, muß sich doch das Nashornfleisch ganz besonderer Schätzung erfreut haben. Die Dharmasāstras lehren, daß es zu den Speisen gehört, die die Manen, länger als alle anderen Speisen, für unendliche Zeit sättigen<sup>6)</sup>.

1) Pār. Gr̥hyas. 3, 12, 2; Vas. 23, 1.

2) Man beachte auch, daß SCHROEDER, um die Strophe mit seiner Idee in Einklang zu bringen, gezwungen ist, den Sinn der Worte *para-svantam hatām vidat* leise umzubiegen, indem er aus dem angeblichen Wildesel einen gewöhnlichen Esel macht und *vidat* „er fand“ durch „erschafft sich“ übersetzt: „Hier, Indra, der Vṛṣākapi schafft einen toten Esel sich“.

3) Ved. Stud. II, 24.

4) Auch OLDENBERG, *R̥gveda* II, 293, findet SCHROEDER's Einfall hübsch und knüpft daran allerlei Vermutungen, ohne zu einem positiven Resultat zu kommen.

5) Siehe die ZDMG. LXI, 642 angeführten Stellen.

6) Āpast. 2, 17, 1; Gaut. 15, 15; Manu 3, 272; Yājñ. 1, 259; Viṣṇu 80, 14.

Man darf gegen die Erklärung von *parasvat* auch nicht etwa einwenden, das Rhinoceros könne den Ariern zur Zeit des R̥gveda noch kaum bekannt gewesen sein. Heute ist es allerdings auf Kuch-Bihār und die Ebene von Assam beschränkt. Vor 70 oder 80 Jahren war es aber im Tarai von Sikkim noch häufig genug<sup>1)</sup> und im Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts war es im nordwestlichen Indien ganz gewöhnlich. BABER erzählt in seinen Memoiren<sup>2)</sup>, daß es in den Dschungeln von Peshawar und Hashtnagar, zwischen dem Indus und den Dschungeln des Panjab und an den Ufern der Gogra massenhaft vorkomme und daß einige Tiere auf seinen Zügen nach Indien bei Peshawar und Hashtnagar erlegt wurden.

Die Etymologie von *parasvat* ist dunkel. Das Wort ist offenbar eine Ableitung von *paras* mit dem Suffix *vat*. Zwei Eigenschaften fallen an dem indischen Nashorn auf, das Horn und die faltige Haut. Nach dem Horn ist es *khaḍgaviṣāna* oder abgekürzt *khaḍga* genannt; sollte *paras* vielleicht ein altes Wort für „Falte“ sein und auf \**pelos* zurückgehn? Dann würde sich *paras* mit *puṣa*, „Falte“, „Tüte“, aus \**plto-* zusammenordnen lassen<sup>3)</sup>.

### 3. Koka

*Koka* ist nach den Lexikographen der Name sehr verschiedener Tiere. Alle führen das Wort in der Bedeutung „Wolf“ auf<sup>4)</sup>. Häufiger ist die Zusammenstellung *kokaḥ tv ihāmṛgo vṛkaḥ* (Am. Hal. Vaij. Hem. Abh.), denen bei Hal. und Hem. Abh. noch *aranyaśvan* als Synonym hinzugefügt wird. Auch Abhidhānapp. 615 wird *koka* neben *vaka* gelehrt. Alle Lexikographen verzeichnen ferner die Bedeutung „*cakra-vāka*“<sup>5)</sup>. Nach Hem. An. 2, 7, Med. k 23 bezeichnet *koka* weiter den Frosch, nach Med. auch die *jyaiṣṭhī*, eine Geckoart.

1) Fauna of Brit. India, Mammalia, p. 473; Brehms Tierleben XII, 602.

2) Bābur-nāma, transl. by A. S. Beveridge II, 490.

3) Vgl. *gaṇḍaka (gaṇḍāṅga)* „Rhinoceros“, eigentlich doch wohl „der mit Beulen versehene“.

4) Am. 2, 5, 7; Śāśv. 622; Hal. 2, 73; Trik. 567; Vaij. 65, 15; Mañkha 17; Hem. Abh. 1291; An. 2, 7; Med. k 23.

5) Am. 2, 5, 22; Śāśv. 622; Hal. 2, 89; Trik. 567 (621; 904); Vaij. 26, 18; Mañkha 17; Hem. Abh. 1330; An. 2, 7; Med. k 23.

Die Verschiedenheit der Bedeutungen erklärt sich natürlich aus dem onomatopoetischen Charakter des Wortes; *koka* gibt sowohl das Heulen des Wolfes wie den Ruf des *cakravāka*, das Quaken des Frosches wie den leisen Laut, den die Geckos ausstoßen, wieder. Es wird sich also darum handeln, an den Stellen wo *kōka* in der Literatur erscheint, die Bedeutung des Wortes aus dem Zusammenhang heraus zu bestimmen.

Wenn Rām. 5, 25, 5 Sītā in der Mitte der Rākṣasafrauen mit einer Antilope verglichen wird, die von der Herde abgekommen ist und von *kokas* bedrängt wird (*vane yūthaparibhraṣṭā mṛgī kokair ivārditā*), so paßt die Bedeutung „Wolf“ vortrefflich. Auch wenn Durgā in ihrer furchtbaren Form Mbh. 6, 23, 8 *aṭṭahāse kokamukhe raṇapriye* angeredet wird, wird man das übersetzen dürfen: „du lautlachende, wolfs-gesichtige, schlachtenfreudige“, wenn auch *kokamukhā* sonst nicht als Beiwort der Göttin vorzukommen scheint und Nilakaṇṭha zu gewundenen Erklärungen veranlaßt<sup>1)</sup>. Rām. B 3, 52, 45 fragt Rāvaṇa die einsam im Wald zurückgebliebene Sītā:

*ime sālāmṛgāḥ siṃhā vyāghrā dvīpimṛgās tathā |*  
*rakṣās tarakṣavaḥ kokāḥ katham tebhyo na te bhayam ||*

„Hier sind Wildhunde, Löwen, Tiger und Panthertiere, Bären, Hyänen, *kokas*; wie kommt es, daß du keine Furcht vor ihnen hast?“ Ähnliche Aufzählungen von Raubtieren finden sich

1) *kokaṃ cakravat vṛttam vā raktabījavadhē 'surādānaśīlam vā mukham yasyāḥ sā kokamukhā*. Die Geschichte des Kampfes der Durgā mit dem großen Asura Raktabīja, bei dem sie die aus seinem Blute entstehenden Asuras auffrißt, wird im Märkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 88, 39ff. erzählt.

2) In C 3, 46, 29f. ist die Strophe stark verderbt:

*iha sākhāmṛgāḥ siṃhā dvīpivyāghramṛgā vṛkākḥ |*  
*rakṣās tarakṣavaḥ kaṅkākḥ katham tebhyo na bibhyase ||*

Daß sich Sītā vor Affen und Reihern fürchten sollte, kann Rāvaṇa kaum annehmen, und *vṛkākḥ* ist offenbar erst, nachdem *kokākḥ* durch *kaṅkākḥ* verdrängt war, als Ersatz für die nicht zu entbehrenden Wölfe hinzugefügt. Andererseits hat sich *koka* fälschlich in Rām. 6, 99, 42f. eingeschlichen, wo es heißt, daß Rāvaṇa verschiedenartige Pfeile schoß: *siṃhavyāghramukhān, kaṅkakokamukhān, gṛdhrāsyenamukhān, śṛgālavadanān, ihāmṛgamukhān* usw. Die Zusammenstellung von *kaṅka* „Reiher“ und *koka* „Wolf“ ist auffallend. Es wären Namen von zwei gleichartigen Tieren zu erwarten wie bei den an erster und dritter Stelle

in Pali-Texten. Suttav. Pār. 2, 7, 11 wird von Mönchen berichtet, die die Überreste der Mahlzeit von Raubtieren kochen lassen und verzehren. Es werden nacheinander *sihaviḥāsa, vyagghav., dīpiv., taracchav., kokav.* genannt. Jāt. 535, 75<sup>1)</sup> beginnt eine Liste von Waldtieren: *sihā vyagghā varāhā ca acchakokataracchayo*. Die Wildschweine sind hier aber durch ein Versehen hineingeraten; sie werden im folgenden auch noch einmal genannt. Gewöhnlich, z. B. Apad. 3, 1, 25; 402, 27; 516, 17 lautet die Zeile: *sihā vyagghā ca dīpī ca acchakokataracchayo*, in Prosa aufgelöst Jāt. V, 416, 20<sup>2)</sup>: *sihavyaggha-dīpiacchakokataraccha-*; eine ähnliche Liste findet sich Mil. 267: *sihā byagghā dīpī acchā kokā taracchā soṇā sigālā*<sup>3)</sup>. In allen diesen Fällen muß *koka* „Wolf“ bedeuten; der in ganz Indien verbreitete Wolf (*Canis pallipes*) kann in der Liste der Carnivora nicht fehlen. Auch Jāt. 547, 302 sind die *kokas*, die Jūjaka im Walde umzingeln (*taṃ pavīṭṭham brahārañṇam kokā nam parivārayam*), natürlich Wölfe, nicht die Hunde des Jägers, wie der Kommentator erklärt<sup>4)</sup>.

Nun wird der *koka* schon im ṚV. erwähnt. ṚV. 7, 104, 22 = AV. 8, 4, 22 wird Indra gebeten:

*ūlūkayātum śusulūkayātum jahī svāyātum utā kōkayātum |*  
*suparṇāyātum utā gṛdhrayātum dṛṣādeva prā mṛṇa rākṣa indra ||*

Sāyaṇa erklärt hier *koka* als *cakravāka*. ROTH gab im PW. als Bedeutung von *kōkayātu* an: „nächtliches Gespenst in Gestalt des *koka* (Kuckucks)“. GRASSMANN, WHITNEY, HILLEBRANDT<sup>5)</sup>

genannten Tieren; *koka* kann aber hier unmöglich der *cakravāka* sein, dessen Schnabel nichts Gefährliches hat. In B 6, 79, 69 steht nun aber statt *kaṅkakokamukhān* vielmehr *kākakaṅkamukhān* „mit Krähen- und Reiherschnabeln“, was sich nach dem Gesagten ohne weiteres als das Ursprüngliche erweist.

1) Nur formell abweichend auch Jāt. 545, 66.

2) Die Stelle, obwohl in Prosa, gehört dem kanonischen Text an.

3) In Jāt. 547, 413 *pelakā ca vighāsādā sihā kokanisātakā* ist das letzte Wort offenbar verderbt. Die Erklärung KERN's, Toev. I, 152 befriedigt nicht.

4) Neben *koka* hat sich auch im Pali das altererbte *vaka* erhalten; siehe die im P. D. angeführten Stellen.

5) Lieder des Ṛgveda, S. 114.

übersetzen daher *koka* mit Kuckuck, LUDWIG und GELDNER lassen es unübersetzt. Mir scheint der Parallelismus der Glieder der Reihe deutlich zu zeigen, daß hier Hund und Wolf, zwei Vertreter der Hundefamilie<sup>1)</sup>, zusammengeordnet sind wie an erster Stelle zwei Vertreter der Eulenarten, an dritter zwei Raubvögel. Sāyaṇas Erklärung hat nicht das geringste Gewicht. Es ist also zu übersetzen: „Den Zauberer in Eulengestalt, den Zauberer in Käuzchengestalt, erschlag den Zauberer in Hundegestalt und den Zauberer in Wolfsgestalt, den Zauberer in Adlergestalt und den Zauberer in Geiergestalt, wie mit einem Stein zerschmettere das Rakṣas, Indra.“

Für *koka* in der Bedeutung Brahmani-Ente (*Anas casarca*) verweise ich auf die in den Petersburger Wörterbüchern angeführten Stellen. Hier wird in den meisten Fällen durch die Zusammenstellung mit andern Vogelnamen wie *haṃsa*, *kāraṇḍava* (Mbh. 13, 26, 58; Bṛhats. 12, 11) oder den Hinweis auf die Trennung des Kokapärchens (Sāh. D. p. 122, 8; Gīt. 5, 17; Kuval. 30; Śatr. 5, 3) die Bedeutung festgelegt. Als Vogel erklärt Bhaṭṭotpala, vielleicht mit Unrecht, den *koka* auch in Bṛhats. 85, 21:

*kroṣṭukolūkakarītakākakokarkṣapīṅgalāḥ |*  
*kapotaruditākrandakrūrasābdās ca yāmyataḥ ||*

Sāh. D. 282, wo der *koka* unter den glückverheißenden Dingen genannt ist, ist sicherlich darunter der *cakravāka* zu verstehen<sup>2)</sup>. Wohl unrichtig nimmt KIRFEL *koka* in der Bedeutung Wolf in einer Liste der Reittiere der Indras in der Trailokyadīpikā<sup>3)</sup>. Hier werden nach den vier Welttieren (Elefant, Pferd, Löwe, Stier) zunächst lauter Vögel und unter ihnen der *koka* angeführt (*sārasa*, *pīka*, *haṃsa*, *koka*, *garuḍa*); der *koka* ist also wahrscheinlich der *cakravāka*<sup>4)</sup>. Niemals aber ist *koka* ein

1) Allein sind die *śvāyātavaḥ* schon in V. 20 genannt.

2) In Baudh. Śr. S. 2,5 *kloke ma īrṣyā* ist *kloke* offenbar zu *koke* zu verbessern: „in die Brahmani-Ente meine Eifersucht“.

3) Kosmographie, S. 303.

4) Im Sinne von *cakravāka* wird *koka* auch in *Kokanadā* enthalten sein, dem Namen einer himmlischen Viṅā in Jāt. V, 281, 14; 290, 4,

Name des Kuckucks gewesen. Diese Bedeutung, die Gemeingut der Wörterbücher geworden ist, beruht einzig und allein auf ROTHS irriger Vermutung im PW.

Zweimal kommt endlich *kōka* noch im AV. vor, wo die Bedeutung schwer zu bestimmen ist. AV. 8, 6, 2 erscheint es als Name eines der dämonischen Wesen, die die Leibesfrucht einer Schwangeren fressen oder töten. WHITNEY gibt den Namen durch „cuckoo“ wieder, was sicherlich falsch ist, WEBER durch „Wolf“. Vielleicht ist an einen *yātudhāna* in Wolfsgestalt zu denken. In AV. 5, 23, einem Zauberliede zur Vernichtung von Würmern in einem Kinde, heißt es V. 4:

*sārūpau dvaū virūpau dvaū kṛṣṇau dvaū rōhitau dvaū |*  
*babhrūs ca babhrūkarnaś ca gṛdhraḥ kōkaś ca té hatāḥ ||*

„Die beiden gleichfarbigen, die beiden verschiedenfarbigen, die beiden schwarzen, die beiden roten, der braune und der braunohrige, der *gṛdhra* und der *koka*, die sind tot.“

WHITNEY übersetzt *gṛdhraś ca kōkaś ca* „the vulture and the cuckoo“, BLOOMFIELD „the (one like a) vulture, and the (one like a) cuckoo“, es ist aber schwer einzusehen, wie Würmer diesen Vögeln gleichen sollten. Auch WEBER'S Vermutung<sup>1)</sup>, daß die beiden Würmer wegen ihrer Gefräßigkeit Geier und Wolf genannt sein sollten, leuchtet nicht ein. Vielleicht war *kōka* wirklich der Name eines Wurmes. Mahāvvyutp. 213, 93 wird *kokaḥ* unter den Namen von allerlei Insekten aufgeführt. Die unmittelbar vorausgehenden Namen (*khadyotakaḥ*, *pataṅgaḥ*, *utpātakaḥ*, *trailātā*, *tryambukaḥ*, *dhvāṅkṣaḥ* mit v. l. *dhaṅkṣa*) sind allerdings zum Teil unsicher, es folgen *yūkā* „Laus“, *likṣā* „Nisse“, *indragopaḥ* „Coccinelle“.

und dem Namen zweier Göttinnen in Saṃy. N. I, 29f. Die *devatā* *Kokanadā* und die *devatā* *Cullakokanadā* sind mit der *Mahākokā devatā* und der *Cullakokā devatā* der Bhārhut-Inschriften identisch. Als Name eines *sainika* des Skanda in Mbh. 9, 45, 60 f.; 74 wird *Kokanada* wohl eher „wie ein Wolf heulend“ bedeuten. Sicherlich ist *Koka* im Sinne von Wolf zum Mannsnamen geworden: Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4, 17; Dh. Komm. III, 31.

1) Ind. Stud. XVIII, 258.

Was der tibetische Übersetzer unter *koka* verstand, bleibt unklar, und wenn der moderne chinesische Übersetzer es als Schmetterling erklärt, so beruht das kaum auf Überlieferung.

#### 4. Śīsumāra

*Śīsumāra*, das RV. 1, 116, 18; AV. 11, 2, 25; Taitt. S. 5, 5, 11, 1; Jaim. Br. § 62; 194, und bisweilen noch in der späteren Literatur (Rām. 2, 50, 25; Pañcat. SP. 1551 ff.; Vaij.) mit Nasalisierung der ersten Silbe als *śīṃsumāra* erscheint, wird Am. 1, 10, 20; Śāśv. 268; Med. r 299 im allgemeinen als Wassertier (*jalajantu*, *jalodbhūtajantu*, *ambusambhūtajantu*) erklärt. Śāśv. 393; Trik. 596; Vaij. 245, 146; Hem. An. 3, 95; Med. k 163 wird als Synonym von *śīsumāra śīśuka* gelehrt. *Śīṃsumāra* ist die Grundform des heutigen hind. *sūsmār*<sup>1)</sup>, auf *śīśu(ka)* gehn hind. *sūs*, beng. *śīśuk*, *śūsuk*, *śīśū*<sup>2)</sup> zurück. Die modernen Ausdrücke bezeichnen den Schnabeldelphin, Platanista gangetica<sup>3)</sup>, der trotz seines zoologischen Namens nicht nur im Ganges und seinen Nebenflüssen, sondern auch im Brahmaputra und im Indus lebt.

Zu der damit festgelegten Bedeutung von *śīsumāra* stimmen auch die übrigen von den Lexikographen angeführten Synonyme. Das Tier heißt *uṣṇavīrya* „von heißer Art“<sup>4)</sup> (Hem. Abh. 1350; Vaij. 152, 108), was offenbar auf die Warmblütigkeit zurückgeht, die bei der Fischähnlichkeit auffallen mußte. Seinem halbmondförmigen geteilten Schwanz verdankt der *śīsumāra* die Bezeichnung *asiṃpucchaka* „Schwertschwanz“ (Här. 77); auf das gleiche Körpermerkmal bezieht sich wohl

1) Ins Persische ist das Wort aus dem Hindostāni übernommen. Auf die Vertreter von *śīṃsumāra* in Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Panjābī und Sindhī werden wir noch zurückkommen.

2) So im Kommentar zu Suśr. 1, 46, 109.

3) Der unerklärte Gattungsname geht auf Plinius zurück, der H. N. 9, 15 berichtet: in Gange Indiae platanistas vocant rostro delphini et cauda, magnitudine autem XVI cubitorum. Die angegebene Länge ist übertrieben, denn das Tier wird nur etwa 2 Meter lang.

4) *Uṣṇavīrya* ist hier in demselben Sinne gebraucht wie *śītavīrya*, *uṣṇavīrya*, *snigdhavīrya* usw. in medizinischen Schriften; vgl. Suśr. 1, 41, 12 *ime guṇā vīryasaṃjñakāḥ*.

*asiṃplava* (Vaij.). Er heißt *mahāvasa*, der „Speckreiche“ (Hem. Abh.; Vaij.), wegen der bekannten Spiellust aller Delphinarten *jalakapi* (Här.), *ambukapi* (Vaij.), der „Wasseraffe“, auch *capalāṅga*, „Zappelleib“ (Här.)<sup>1)</sup>. Schwerer ist es zu sagen, was ihm die Namen *ambukūrma*, „Wasserschildkröte“ (Hem. Abh.) und *jalasūci*, „Wassernadel“ (Hem. An. 4, 51; Med. c 20) eingetragen hat. Ganz ähnliche Namen werden Trik. 166 für den *śīśuka* angegeben: *vasāḍhya*, *ambukīśa*, *jalakūrma*<sup>2)</sup>.

Ich sehe keinen Grund, weshalb wir das Zeugnis der Lexikographen, das durch die modernen Sprachen gestützt wird, verwerfen sollten. Schildkröten, Krebse, Krokodile, *makaras* und *śīśukas* werden Mbh. 12, 29, 27 zusammen genannt: *kūrmān karkaṭakān nakrān makarān chiśukān api*. Viel häufiger erscheint in der Sanskrit-Literatur *śīsumāra*. RV. 1, 116, 18 wird gesagt, daß ein Stier und ein *śīṃsumāra* an den Wagen der Aśvins gespannt waren, als sie für Divodāsa, für Bharadvāja die Umfahrt machten (*vr̥ṣabhās ca śīṃsumāras ca yukṭā*)<sup>3)</sup>. AV. 11, 2, 25 werden die *śīṃsumāras* mit Riesenschlangen und allerlei Fischen zusammengestellt: *śīṃsumārā ajagarāḥ purikāyā jaṣā mātsyā rajasā yēbhyaśyasi*. Beim Tieropfer des Aśvamedha werden dem Meere oder der (oder dem) Sindhu *śīsumāras* geweiht: *samudrāya śīsumārān ālabhate* Maitr. S. 3,

1) BABER gibt in seinen Memoiren eine anschauliche Beschreibung des Spiels des Tieres: It comes up suddenly out of the water; its head appears and disappears; it dives again and stays below, shewing its tail. When at play in the water, it looks like a water-carrier's bag (*mashak*). Water-hogs, playing in the Sarū, leap right out of the water; like fish, they never leave it (transl. by A. S. Beveridge II, 502).

2) Ein anderer Name des *śīśuka* soll *ulūpi* oder *ulūpin* (Am. 1, 10, 18; Hem. Abh. 1346), *ulūpin* (Med. k 163) sein. Das Vaij. 152, 109 als Synonym von *śīṃsumāra* angeführte *bulūki* ist wohl alter Fehler für *culūki*. Car. 1, 27, 38 wird *culūki*, Vāgbhaṭa, Aṣṭāṅghrd. 1, 6, 52 *culūki*, Aṣṭāṅgasāṃgr. p. 34, 9 *cullakī* unter den Fischnamen neben *śīsumāra* genannt.

3) Diese Bespannung, die mit Rücksicht auf die Fahrt zu Lande und zu Wasser gewählt ist, ist aber ein besonderer Zug der Sage. Für gewöhnlich fahren die Aśvins mit Flügelrossen und einem Esel, aber nicht, wie meistens angenommen wird, mit Schwänen oder Falken oder Buckelochsen. Genaueres darüber an anderer Stelle.

14, 2; Vāj. S. 24, 21; *samudrāya śiśumāraḥ* Maitr. S. 3, 14, 11; Vāj. S. 24, 30; *sindhos śiśumāraḥ* Kāth. V 7, 1; *sindhoh śiṃsumāraḥ* Taitt. S. 5, 5, 11, 1. Daß Sāyana *śiṃsumāra* in ṚV. und Taitt. S. durch den unbestimmten Ausdruck *grāha*, in AV. durch *nakraviseṣa* erklärt<sup>1)</sup>, verpflichtet natürlich nicht, *śiṃsumāra* als Krokodil zu fassen, wie GELDNER und KEITH es in ihren Übersetzungen von ṚV. und Taitt. S. tun. Auch die Weihung an das Meer legt es doch näher, in dem *śiśumāra* den Delphin zu sehen, denn wenn auch von den drei indischen Krokodilarten wenigstens eine, das Leistenkrokodil (*Crocodilus porosus*), häufig von den Mündungen der Flüsse in das Meer hinausschwimmt<sup>2)</sup>, so ist es doch kein eigentlicher Meerbewohner. Das ist allerdings auch der Schnabeldelphin nicht; er hält sich aber, besonders während der Regenzeit, gern in den noch der Ebbe und Flut unterworfenen Flußstrecken auf<sup>3)</sup>, und es ist daher leicht begreiflich, daß man ihm, wie jedem großen „Fische“, das Meer als Wohnort andichtete. Außerdem wird in den Listen der Opfertiere der *nākra*, der doch wohl das Krokodil ist, noch besonders genannt: *varuṇāya nākrān* Maitr. S. 3, 14, 2; Vāj. S. 24, 21; *nākro makaraḥ pulikayas* (Kāth. *pulirayas*; Taitt. S. *kulikayas*; Vāj. S. *kulipayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (Kāth. *kūvarasya*) Maitr. S. 3, 14, 16; Kāth. V 7, 3; Taitt. S. 5, 5, 13, 1; Vāj. S. 24, 35. Caraka nennt 1, 27, 38 in seiner Liste der Wassertiere (*vārisayāḥ*) den *śiśumāra* zwischen *matsya* und *timīṅgila*, hat also offenbar darunter den Delphin, nicht das Krokodil verstanden, das er erst später unter dem Namen *kumbhira* anführt. Vas. 14, 41 wird der *śiśumāra* unter den nicht eßbaren Fischen genannt, was allerdings nicht viel besagen will, da dort auch Krokodil und Krebs zu den Fischen gerechnet werden (*matsyānāṃ vā ceṭagavayaśiśumāranakrakulirāḥ*). Ebenso erscheint *śiśumāra* Aṣṭāṅgasamgr. p. 34, 9, Aṣṭāṅgahṛd. 1, 6, 52 neben Schildkröte, Krokodil, Krebs usw. unter den Fischen. Auch in den

1) Mahīdhara sagt nur *śiśumārān jalacārajantūn*; *śiśumāraḥ eko jalacāraḥ*.

2) Brehms Tierleben IV, 541.

3) Fauna of British India, a. a. O. p. 591.

Stellen, die im PW. aus dem Epos angeführt werden, spricht, soweit ich sehe, nichts gegen die Auffassung des *śiśumāra* als Schnabeldelphin.

Den in der bekannten Rahmenerzählung des vierten Buches des Tantrākhyāyika (S. 148f.) auftretenden *śiśumāra* erklärt HERTEL als Krokodil<sup>1)</sup>. Man wird aber zugeben müssen, daß das Krokodil, das sich sowohl auf dem Lande wie im Wasser bewegen kann, im Grunde gar nicht recht in die Geschichte paßt, die als Gegenspieler des Affen vielmehr ein Tier verlangt, das durchaus an das Wasser gebunden ist. Dazu kommt, daß der *śiśumāra* hier als Meertier hingestellt wird. Am Ufer des Meeres (*samudratīre*) lebt der Affe, der ihm die Udumbarafrüchte zuwirft. Der *śiśumāra* will den Affen zu einem Inselchen mitten im Meer (*samudramadhye*) bringen; es wird aber nicht etwa gesagt, daß der *śiśumāra* selbst auf dieser Insel wohnt. Der Aufenthalt am Meer ist nun freilich nach dem, was ich schon oben über das Wohngebiet des Schnabeldelphins und des Krokodils angeführt habe, nicht entscheidend, ich glaube aber doch, daß der Erzähler, wenn er das Krokodil im Auge gehabt hätte, eher die Gaṅgā oder einen andern Fluß als das Meer zum Schauplatz der Geschichte gemacht hätte. Auch der Name Kṛśaka, „der Magere“, paßt für den Delphin, wenn man darin einen Spottnamen für das Tier sieht, das sonst gerade „der Fette“ (*mahāvāsa, vāsāḍhya*) heißt<sup>2)</sup>. Das südliche Pañcatantra hat ebenso wie Somadeva und Kṣemendra in ihren Auszügen den *śiśumāra* beibehalten und nichts deutet an, daß sie darunter etwas anderes als den Delphin verstanden; Somadeva sagt ausdrücklich (Kathās. 63, 101), daß sich bei den täglichen Zusammenkünften der *śiśumāra* im Wasser, der Affe auf dem Ufer aufhielt (*tenānvahaṃ taṭasthasya jalastho nikāṭe kapeḥ | śiśumāro dinaṃ sthitvā*). Die Darstellung ändert sich sofort in den Texten, in denen der *śiśumāra* sekundär durch den *makara* ersetzt ist.

1) Übersetzung S. 140, Anm. 2.

2) Daß der *śiśumāra* Udumbarafrüchte frißt, trifft natürlich für den Delphin nicht zu, aber ebensowenig für das Krokodil. Das ist dichterische Erfindung.

In dem Textus Simplicior und in Pūrṇabhadras Pañcākhyā-naka kriecht der *makara*, der den charakteristischen Namen Karālamukha oder Vikarālamukha führt, aus dem Meere heraus und legt sich auf den weichen Sand des Strandes nieder: *samudrasalilān niṣkrāmya sukomalavālukāsanāthe tīropānte niviṣṭah (nyaviṣata)*, und das Haus des *makara* ist auf einer Sandbank im Meer: *asti samudrānte ramye (-drāntah suramye) pulinapradeśe 'smadgrham*. Mit dem *makara* ist hier sicherlich schon das Krokodil gemeint, das heute in den nordindischen Volkssprachen allgemein *magar* genannt wird<sup>1)</sup>.

Nun hat aber *śiśumāra* in gewissen Texten in der Tat die Bedeutung Krokodil angenommen. Jaim. Br. § 62 der Ausgabe von CALAND<sup>2)</sup> wird auseinandergesetzt, daß man in dem Yajñāyajñīya anstatt *girā girā ca dākṣāsā*, um das *girā* zu vermeiden, das als eine Form von *girati* „verschlingen“ aufgefaßt werden kann, vielmehr *o yirā yirā ca dākṣāsā* sagen sollte: „wenn er *girā girā ca* sagte, so würde Agni Vaiśvānara ihn verschlingen; indem er aber *o yirā yirā ca dākṣāsā* sagt, — *irā* ist ja Speise — so legt er Speise in den Mund des Agni Vaiśvānara“. „Darüber“, heißt es weiter, „pfligten die Brahmanen der alten Zeit die folgende Betrachtung zu halten: ‚Wer wird wohl heute dem aufgesperrten Rachen der *śiṃśumārī* entschwimmen? (*ka u svid adya śiṃśumāryai vyāttam atiproṣyata iti*).‘ Das Yajñāyajñīya nun ist die *śiṃśumārī*, die am schmalen Durchgang mit gegen den Strom aufgesperrtem Rachen (auf der Lauer) liegt; dieser legt er dadurch Nahrung in den Mund, so daß er mit heiler Haut an ihm vorbeikommt.“ Die Ersetzung von *girā girā* durch *irā irā* wird auch Pañc. Br. 8, 6, 8f. besprochen. Dort heißt es: „Dies sagte Kūśāmba Svāyava, der Lātavya Brahmane: ‚Wen wird heute die *śiśumārī*, auf den Opferpfad geworfen, verschlingen? (*kaṃ svid adya śiśumārī yajñapathe 'pyastā gariṣyati*).‘“ Und zur

1) Das gleiche gilt wohl auch von dem *makara* in der Fassung der Geschichte im Textus Simplicior der Śukasaptati (Kathā 67).

2) Verhandl. Koninkl. Ak. Wetensch. Amsterdam. Afdeel. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIX, No. 4. Ich folge der Übersetzung von CALAND.

Erklärung wird hinzugefügt: „Das Yajñāyajñīya ist diese auf den Opferpfad geworfene *śiśumārī*. Wenn der Udgāṭṛ *girā girā* sagt, so verschlingt er sich damit selbst.“ „Wen wird heute die *śiṃśumārī* verschlingen“ scheint danach eine sprichwörtliche Redensart gewesen zu sein, wobei es auffällig bleibt, daß gerade das weibliche Tier genannt wird. Im übrigen glaube ich, daß CALAND Recht hat, wenn er *śiṃśumārī* als Delphin faßt, zumal diese Bedeutung auch an einer andern Stelle des Jaim. Br. zutage tritt.

Jaim. Br. § 194 wird die Entstehung des Śārkara-Sāman erzählt. Indra wird von allen Geschöpfen gepriesen, nur der *śiṃśumāra* Śārkara will ihn nicht preisen. Er sagt zu Indra: „Ich werde dich nicht loben; ich bewege mich im Meere, im Wasser untertauchend, mit so vielem möchte ich dich loben (*samudre vā aham apsv antaś carāmy upanimajjann etāvato ahaṃ tvāṃ stuyām*)“, und damit zeigt er ihm das Wasser<sup>1)</sup>. Parjanya schwemmt ihn darauf durch den Regen aufs trockne Land und läßt ihn durch den Nordwind ausdörren. Der *śiṃśumāra* entschließt sich dann, Indra durch einen Mantra zu preisen und bittet ihn, er möge ihn wieder ins Meer hinabschwimmen lassen (*imam eva mā samudraṃ punar abhyavaplāvaya*). Parjanya schwemmt ihn darauf wieder hinab. Zum Schluß wird bemerkt: *sa tenaiva mantreṇa svargaṃ lokam udakrāmat | sa evaiṣa sa śārkara udeti | tad vā asya svargyam | aśnute svargaṃ lokam ya evaṃ veda | samudro vai chandomāḥ | śiṃśumāro vai samudram atipārayitum arhati | tad yad atra śārkaraṃ bhavati samudrasyaivātīpāraṇāya*, „Durch denselben heiligen Text stieg er zum Himmelsraum empor. Er ist dieser Śārkara, der dort (als Gestirn) aufgeht. Diese Singweise war ihm zu (der Erreichung des) Himmelsraumes behilflich gewesen. Es erreicht den Himmelsraum, wer solches weiß. — ‚Die Chandoma-Tage sind ein Meer und der *śiṃśumāra* ist imstande über ein Meer hinüberzusetzen.‘ Daß also hier die Śārkara-Singweise verwendet wird, geschieht zur Übersetzung dieses Meeres.“ Die gleiche Geschichte wird kürzer Pañc. Br.

1) So nach CALAND's Textverbesserung.



14, 5, 15 erzählt<sup>1)</sup>. Mit dem *śiṃsumāra*, der hier durchaus als Meertier auftritt, ist offenbar der Delphin gemeint.

Mit diesem *śiṣumāra* ist nun aber der *śiṣumāra* identisch, von dem Taitt. Ār. 2, 19 die Rede ist. Dort werden gewisse Formeln gelehrt, die nach Sāyaṇas Erläuterungen entweder am Anfang aller Opfer oder am Schluß der abendlichen Sandhyāzeremonien zu sprechen sind. Während der Beter sie hersagt, soll er sich das Brahman als einen *śiṣumāra* vorstellen, dessen einzelne Glieder Gottheiten sind. Das, dem die Verehrung dargebracht wird, ist das Haupt, Dharma ist der Scheitel (?<sup>2)</sup>), Brahman (m.) die obere Kinnlade, das Opfer die untere, Viṣṇu das Herz, das Jahr das Zeugungsglied, die Āsvins sind die beiden Vorderfüße, Atri ist die Mitte, Mitra und Varuṇa sind die beiden Hinterfüße, Agni ist das erste Glied des Schwanzes, Indra das zweite, Prajāpati das dritte, das Abhaya das vierte; „das ist“, schließt die Schilderung, „dieser himmlische mächtige *śiṣumāra*“ (*sa vā eṣa divyaḥ śākvaraḥ śiṣumāraḥ*). Dann soll der Beter nach dem Polargestirn (*dhruvamaṇḍala*) blicken und eine Reihe von Formeln sprechen, die mit den Worten *dhruvas tvam asi dhruvasya kṣitam asi* „du bist der Feststehende, du bist der Sitz des Feststehenden“ beginnen und mit *namaḥ śiṣukumārāya* (oder *śiṣumāra-kumārāya*) *namaḥ* schließen. Wenn es auch in dem Texte selbst nicht direkt ausgesprochen ist, so macht es doch die Verbindung mit dem Polarstern sicher, daß mit dem *śiṣumāra* hier das Sternbild gemeint ist, von dem im Jaim. Br. gesprochen wird; nach den späteren Texten steht der Polarstern im Schwanz des *śiṣumāra*<sup>3)</sup>. Die Erwähnung der Vorder- und

1) Den verbesserten Text und eine Übersetzung der Stelle hat CALAND ZDMG. LXXII, 22 gegeben. Über die Natur des *śiṣumāra* läßt sich aus dieser Darstellung nichts entnehmen.

2) *Mūrdhānam*, das kaum richtig ist.

3) CALAND meint daher, daß *śākvaraḥ śiṣumāraḥ* in der angeführten Stelle aus *śārkaḥ śiṣumāraḥ* verderbt sei. Ich möchte eher glauben, daß *śārkaḥ* absichtlich durch *śākvaraḥ* ersetzt wurde, da das Sternbild ja nun nicht mehr als der alte Śarkara, sondern als eine Form des Brahman angesehen wurde.

Hinterfüße und des in vier Abschnitte zerlegten Schwanzes beweist, daß mit dem *śiṣumāra* hier das Krokodil gemeint ist.

Diese *śiṣumāra*-Andacht ist später in eine Verehrung des Viṣṇu in der Form des als *śiṣumāra* gedachten, um den Polarstern sich drehenden Sternenhimmels bei der abendlichen Sandhyāzeremonie umgewandelt worden. Der *śiṣumāra* ist die aus Sternen bestehende Form Haris am Himmel; der Polarstern steht in seinem Schwanz, heißt es Viṣṇup. 2, 9, 1: *tārāmayam bhagavataḥ śiṣumārākṛti prabho | divi rūpaṃ harer yat tu tasya pucche sthito dhruvaḥ*, und *tārāmayācyuta* wird Śāśv. 268, *tārātmakācyuta* Med. r 299 als Bedeutung von *śiṣumāra* angegeben. Der himmlische *śiṣumāra*, dessen Anblick entsündigt und das Leben verlängert, wird in den Purāṇas (Viṣṇup. 2, 12, 29 ff.; Vāyup. 1, 52, 90 ff., Matsyap. 127, 16 ff.) ähnlich wie im Āraṇyaka beschrieben und bei der Verteilung der Gottheiten auf die Glieder wird auch hier von den Vorder- und Hinterfüßen gesprochen (Viṣṇup. 2, 12, 32 f.; Vāyup. 1, 52, 93 f.; Matsyap. 127, 23): *āsvinau pūrvapādayoḥ | varuṇaś cāryamā caiva paścime tasya sakthini*<sup>1)</sup>. Im Bhāgavatap., 5, 23, 4 ff., wo die Verehrung des „aus allen Gottheiten bestehenden“ *śiṣumāra* besonders ausführlich gelehrt wird, werden Ārdrā und Āśleṣā den Hinterfüßen zugewiesen (V. 6 *ārdrāśleṣe ca dakṣiṇāvāmayoḥ paścimayoḥ pādayoḥ*). Die Übertragung des Namens des Schnabeldelphins auf das Krokodil, die wir für das Taitt. Ār. feststellen konnten, ist also, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, in der darauf zurückgehenden *śiṣumāra*-Verehrung der Purāṇas beibehalten worden.

Ich glaube, daß wir auch den Grund für diesen auffallenden Wechsel der Bedeutung erkennen können. Alles spricht dafür, daß das Taitt. Āraṇyaka in dem Lande südlich der Narmadā entstanden ist<sup>2)</sup>. Der Text ist fast ausschließlich in südindischen

1) Mitra wird hier der späteren Anschauung entsprechend dem *apāna* zugewiesen. Wenn der *śiṣumāra* Vāyup. 1, 52, 92 *śāśvataḥ śiṣumāro* 'sau genannt wird, so scheint *śāśvataḥ* wiederum eine Umwandlung von *śārkaḥ* zu sein.

2) Ich verweise auf die Ausführungen BÜHLER's über die Heimat der Āpastambīyas, SBE. II, p. XXXIII ff.

Handschriften überliefert; die Handschriften in Nāgarī scheinen daraus umgeschrieben zu sein<sup>1)</sup>. Das zehnte Buch liegt uns in zwei Rezensionen vor, von denen die eine als Drāviḍa, die andere als Āndhra bezeichnet ist; wir wissen außerdem noch von einer Karṇāṭaka-Rezension. Ist aber das Taitt. Ār. ein südindisches Werk, so wird es begreiflich, wie der Verfasser dazu kam, das Krokodil als *śiśumāra* zu bezeichnen. Der Schnabeldelphin kommt in der Narmadā und in den Flüssen des Deccan nicht vor, und so wurde im Süden der Name *śiśumāra* auf das Krokodil übertragen, wozu auch die anscheinende Grundbedeutung des Wortes mitgewirkt haben mag.

Ebenso wird sich auch sonst der Gebrauch von *śiśumāra* im Sinne von Krokodil aus der örtlichen Herkunft des Verfassers erklären. Im Textus Simplicior des Pañcatantra, I, 43, 25 der KIELHORN'schen Ausgabe, erzählt der Reiher den Fischen, daß aus Furcht vor einer bevorstehenden Dürre die Wassertiere aus allen seichten Gewässern von ihren Angehörigen in tiefere Gewässer gebracht würden und einige, wie *makaras*, *godhās*, *śiśumāras* und *jalahastins* selbst dorthin gingen. Hier können mit den *śiśumāras* nur Krokodile gemeint sein, wenn es auch unklar bleibt, inwiefern sie sich von den *makaras*, unter denen der Verfasser ebenfalls nur Krokodile verstanden haben kann, unterscheiden. Nun ist der Verfasser, wie HERTEL gezeigt hat<sup>2)</sup>, ein Jaina, der der sprachlichen Färbung seines Sanskrit nach aus Gujarāt stammt. In Gujarāt kommt der Schnabeldelphin nicht vor; hier war *śiśumāra* offenbar genau so wie im Süden Indiens zu einer Bezeichnung des Krokodils geworden und wurde daher von dem Verfasser in diesem Sinne gebraucht. Die Bestätigung liefern die modernen Sprachen. Während die Vertreter des alten *śiśu*, *śiśuka*, *śiśumāra* in Hindī und Bengali den Schnabeldelphin bezeichnen, sind in Gujarātī *sus<sup>a</sup>vāḍ<sup>a</sup>*, *sus<sup>a</sup>vāl<sup>a</sup>*, in Marāṭhī *susvar<sup>a</sup>*, *susar<sup>a</sup>* gewöhnliche Namen des Krokodils, in Panjābī soll *sinsār* insbesondere der Name des

1) ZIMMERMANN, Quellen der Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad, S. 64.

2) Pañcatantra, S. 71.

Gavialis gangeticus sein<sup>1)</sup>. In Sindhī sollten wir eine auf *śiśumāra* zurückgehende Bezeichnung für den Schnabeldelphin erwarten und in der Tat wird in der Fauna of British India, Mammalia, p. 590 *sūnsar* neben *bhulan* als sindh. Name der Platanista angegeben. In dem Wörterbuch von SHIRT, UDHA-RAM THAVURDAS und MIRZA wird aber *śisār<sup>u</sup>*, *śisar<sup>u</sup>* als eine große Art Krokodil erklärt. Was hier das Richtige ist, vermag ich mit den mir zu Gebote stehenden Hilfsmitteln nicht zu entscheiden<sup>2)</sup>.

Etwas anders liegt die Sache, wenn Suśr. 1, 46, 109 der *śiśumāra* neben der Schildkröte, dem Krokodil, dem Krebs und dem schwarzen Krebs unter den „mit Füßen versehenen“ Wassertieren aufgezählt wird: *kūrmakumbhīrakarkaṭaka-kṛṣṇakarkaṭakaśiśumāraprabhṛtayaḥ pādinaḥ*. Auffallend ist es schon, daß neben *śiśumāra* auch *kumbhīra* genannt ist, das sicher ein Name des Krokodils ist. Da es aber in Indien drei Krokodilarten gibt, das Sumpfkrokodil (*Crocodylus palustris*), das Leistenkrokodil (*Crocodylus porosus*) und den Ghaṛiyāl (*Gavialis gangeticus*), so könnten *kumbhīra* und *śiśumāra* ja schließlich Namen verschiedener Arten sein. Merkwürdig ist nun aber, daß alles, was Suśruta in seinem Werke von dem *śiśumāra* angibt, gerade für den Delphin paßt. Während Krokodilfett meines Wissens in der indischen Medizin nicht gebraucht wird, schreibt Suśruta mehrfach die Verwendung von *śiśumāra*-Fett vor. Bei Strikturen der Harnröhre soll eine Begießung mit Fett und Mark von *śiśumāra* und Eber gemacht werden (4, 20, 26), und gegen die „großen Windkrankheiten“, d. h. Störungen rheumatischer und nervöser Art, Lähmungen, Krämpfe usw., wird Fett des Hahns, des Krebses, des schwarzen Fisches, des *śiśumāra* und des Ebers vorgeschrieben (4, 5, 27). Hier ist der *śiśumāra* offenbar der Schnabeldelphin,

1) BHAI MAYA SINGH, Panjābī Dictionary.

2) Bei dieser Sachlage ist es natürlich nicht möglich, in jedem einzelnen Falle die Bedeutung von *śiśumāra* mit völliger Sicherheit festzustellen. So könnte z. B. in dem spätvedischen Bilva-Zauberliede, Śāikh. Ār. 12, 28: *nainam pramatam varuṇo hinasti na makaro na grahaḥ śiśumāraḥ* mit *śiśumāraḥ*, wofür übrigens nach Ausweis des Metrums *śiśumāraḥ* zu lesen ist, schon das Krokodil gemeint sein.

dessen dünnflüssiger Tran noch heute als Heilmittel bei Gliederschmerzen und Lähmungen gilt<sup>1)</sup>. In 4, 26, 4 werden in *śiśumāra*-Fett gebackene Kuchen aus Sesamkörnern, die vorher in Milch eingeweicht sind, in der die Hoden eines Ziegenbocks gekocht sind, als ein besonders starkes Aphrodisiacum empfohlen (*śiśumāravasāpakvāḥ śaṣkulyas tais tilaiḥ krtāḥ | yaḥ khādet sa pumān gacchet strīṇāṃ śatam apūrvavat*). Nicht minder kräftige Wirkung haben nach 4, 26, 9 die Hoden eines Ziegenbocks oder eines *śiśumāra*, mit Pfeffer und Salz in Schmelzbutter zubereitet (*pippalīlavanopete bastāṇḍe gṛta-sādhite | śiśumārasya vā khādet te tu vājīkare bhṛsam*). Der Gebrauch des Duals schließt die Bedeutung „Eier“ für *aṇḍe* aus; außerdem werden Krokodilseier, die den gleichen Zweck dienen, im folgenden noch besonders genannt (*kuḷīrakūrmanakrāṇām aṇḍāny evaṃ tu bhakṣayet*). Auch in diesem Falle spricht die heutige Verwendung des Schnabeldelphins dafür, daß dieser unter dem *śiśumāra* zu verstehen ist; Einreibungen mit dem Tran des Schnabeldelphins sollen Männer stark machen, und sein Fleisch wird von den Frauen einiger Stämme gern gegessen, weil es Kindersegen bringen soll<sup>2)</sup>. *Śiśumāra* scheint also auch für Suśruta der Schnabeldelphin zu sein. Das ist auch die Meinung des Kommentators Hārāṇacandra Cakravartī, da er gerade in 1, 46, 109 *śiśumāra* durch *śiśū* erklärt. Weshalb dann *śiśumāra* unter den *pādinah* aufgeführt wird, ist schwer zu sagen. Daß man die Bauchflossen als Füße angesehen haben sollte, ist kaum anzunehmen; wahrscheinlich ist es, daß *śiśumāra* in der Liste von einem Späteren eingefügt ist, der sich darunter ein Krokodil vorstellte.

Im Pali ist sowohl in *śiśumāra* als auch in *śiśuka* Angleichung des Vokals der ersten Silbe an das *u* der zweiten Silbe eingetreten. *Śiśumāra* erscheint in birmanischen Handschriften meist als *susumāra*; die gewöhnliche Form ist aber *suṃsumāra*,

1) Brehms Tierleben XII, 452.

2) Brehms Tierleben, a. a. O.

das sich direkt auf das vedische *śiṃsumāra* zurückführen läßt. *Susuka* wird Abhidhānapp. 1003 verzeichnet; in den Texten ist das Wort aber nur als Femininum *susukā* nachzuweisen. *Susuka* soll nach Abhidh. ein Synonym von *suṃsumāra* sein, in dem der Verfasser, wie wir sehen werden einen Namen des Krokodils sah; *susukā* wird ebd. 672 als Name einer Fischart (*macchappabheda*) aufgeführt, in Wahrheit wird kein Unterschied in der Bedeutung zwischen dem Maskulinum und dem Femininum bestanden haben. Culla-Nidd. 470 ist das *susukābhayaṃ* in den im folgenden aus Majjh. N. und Aṅg. N. angeführten Stellen durch *suṃsumārabhayaṃ* ersetzt. Mahāv. 6, 2, 1 erlaubt der Buddha als Heilmittel Bärenfett, Fischfett, *susukā*-Fett<sup>1)</sup>, Schweinefett und Eselsfett. Nach dem, was wir oben über den Gebrauch des Trans der Platanista gangetica kennengelernt haben, kann es wohl keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß auch hier diese gemeint ist, nicht der Alligator, wie SBE. XVII, 43 zu lesen ist. Majjh. N. I, 459; Aṅg. N. II, 123 wird auseinandergesetzt, daß den, der ins Wasser hinabsteigt, vier Gefahren bedrohen: Gefahr der Wellen, Gefahr der *kumbhīlas*, Gefahr der Strudel, Gefahr der *susukās*. Auf dieselben vier Gefahren wird auch Mil. 196 hingewiesen. *Susukā* muß hier ein großes, von dem Krokodil (*kumbhīla*) verschiedenes Wassertier sein; es kann aber weder der Alligator<sup>2)</sup>, den es in Indien gar nicht gibt, noch der Hai<sup>3)</sup> sein, sondern ist offenbar wiederum der Schnabeldelphin. Dasselbe wie *susukā* ist sicherlich auch *susu*, das in den Gāthās in der am Versende gebräuchlichen Formel *kumbhīlā makarā susu* erscheint (Jāt. 529, 31; 547, 405). Hier scheint *makara* noch für den Meerdelphin gebraucht zu sein, während *susu* den Schnabeldelphin bezeichnet. Daß die drei Tiere bald Meerbewohner (*sāmuddikā*) genannt, bald in einen Lotussee (*pokkharāṇī*) versetzt werden, wird man der dichterischen Freiheit zugute halten müssen;

1) Statt *susukāvasaṃ* liest die birmanische Handschrift *susumāra-vasaṃ*. Die singhalesische Handschrift B läßt das Wort aus.

2) Pali Dict.; SBE. XXXV, 276; Nyanatiloka, Fragen des Milindo II, 10.

3) NEUMANN, Reden Buddhos, Mittl. Samml. II, 252.

der Kommentator erklärt *susū* als gefährliche Fische (*caṇḍamacchā*).

P. *suṃsumāra* gilt allgemein als Name des Krokodils, der Verfasser des Niddesa aber gebraucht, wie oben bemerkt, *suṃsumāra* als Synonym von *susukā*, das sicherlich die Plata-nista bezeichnet, und nichts hindert uns das Wort, wo es in den alten kanonischen Texten vorkommt, in Übereinstimmung mit dem älteren Sanskrit in demselben Sinne zu fassen. Saṃy. N. IV, 198f. wird in einem Gleichnis von einem Manne erzählt, der sechs verschiedene Tiere aus verschiedenen Gebieten gefangen und mit einem Strick gefesselt hat; wenn er sie wieder losläßt, sucht jedes Tier das ihm eigene Gebiet zu erreichen, die Schlange den Termitenhügel, der *suṃsumāra* das Wasser, der Vogel die Luft, der Hund das Dorf, der Schakal den Schindanger, der Affe den Wald. Wenn Wasser Sünden tilgt, heißt es Therīg. 241, dann werden alle Frösche, Schildkröten, Schlangen, *suṃsumāras* und andere Wassertiere in den Himmel kommen. Jāt. 545, 70; Apad. 3, 1, 4f. werden als Wassertiere, die in den Flüssen leben, Krokodile (*kumbhīlā*), *makaras*, *suṃsumāras*, Schildkröten und allerlei Fische aufgezählt. Ähnliche, *kumbhīlā suṃsumārā ca* beginnende Listen finden sich Apad. 3, 1, 19; 3, 402, 23<sup>1</sup>). Im Vikaraṇakaj. (233) wird erzählt, daß ein König die Fische eines Sees regelmäßig füttern ließ. Wenn die Fische an der Futterstelle zusammenströmten, kam ein *suṃsumāra* und fraß sie auf, bis er endlich von dem Fischwärter von einem Boot aus harpuniert wurde. Der *suṃsumāra* wird in G. 2 erwähnt (*macchānugo so-r-iva suṃsumāro*), gehört also sicherlich der ursprünglichen Geschichte an. Was von ihm erzählt wird, paßt im Grunde für den Schnabeldelphin, der sich von Fischen und Krebsen nährt, ausgezeichnet.

1) Auch Divy. 502 werden unter den Gefahren des Ozeans die von *kumbhīras* und die von *śiśumāras* drohenden genannt; für den Verfasser bezeichnen also die beiden Ausdrücke jedenfalls nicht dasselbe. Ebd. 231 werden Fische, Schildkröten, *vallabhakas*, *śiśumāras*, *makaras* und andere Fischarten als Meeresbewohner genannt. Von dem Vairambha-Meer wird 105 gesagt, daß es selbst für *makaras*, Schildkröten, *vallakas*, *śiśumāras* usw. zu stürmisch sei.

Die Rahmenerzählung des vierten Buches des Tantrākhyāyika kehrt im Pali in dem *Suṃsumāraj.* (208) und dem *Vānaraj.* (342) wieder. Die Gāthās der beiden Jātakas gehören aber ursprünglich alle zu derselben Geschichte<sup>1</sup>); die Prosaerzählung wird daher auch in Jāt. 342 mit ausdrücklicher Bezugnahme auf das vorhergehende Jātaka gekürzt. Die Geschichte wird auch hier von einem *suṃsumāra* und einem Affen erzählt, und daß der *suṃsumāra* der ursprünglichen Geschichte angehört, geht aus der Gāthā 208, 2 hervor, wo der Affe dem Betrogenen zuruft: *suṃsumāra vañcito me si gaccha dāni yathāsukhaṃ*, „*Suṃsumāra*, du bist betrogen. Reise nun glücklich“. Allein der Schauplatz der Geschichte ist nach der Prosaerzählung nicht das Meeresufer. Der Affe wohnt in einer waldigen Gegend an einer Krümmung der Gaṅgā, der *suṃsumāra* lebt in der Gaṅgā. Er spricht mit dem Affen, als dieser, nachdem er Wasser getrunken, am Ufer der Gaṅgā sitzt, und verspricht ihm, ihn zu einem Orte am andern Ufer der Gaṅgā zu bringen, wo es Bäume gibt, die süßere Früchte tragen. Allein die ursprüngliche zu den Gāthās gehörende Erzählung stimmt genau mit den sanskritischen Fassungen überein, denn in der Gāthā 208, 1 sagt der Affe zu dem *suṃsumāra*:

*alam etehi ambehi jambūhi panasehi ca |*  
*yāni pāraṃ samuddassa varaṃ mayhaṃ udumbaro ||*

„Was soll ich mit jenen Mangos, Rosenäpfeln und Brotfrüchten, die am andern Ufer des Meeres sind; lieber ist mir der Udumbara.“

1) Die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der Gāthās scheint 208, 1 = 342, 2; 208, 2; 342, 1, 3, 4 gewesen zu sein. Die ersten drei Gāthās spricht der Affe. Mit den beiden ersten verhöhnt er den *suṃsumāra*, nachdem er sich wieder auf den Udumbarabaum gerettet hat. Dann aber hat offenbar der *suṃsumāra*, genau so wie im Tantrākhyāyika, den Affen nochmals aufgefordert, zu ihm herunterzukommen, obwohl in der Prosaerzählung nichts davon gesagt wird; die dritte Gāthā spricht ganz deutlich die Ablehnung eines solchen Vorschlags aus. Die beiden letzten Gāthās werden von dem Prosaerzähler ebenfalls dem Affen in den Mund gelegt, aber sicherlich mit Unrecht. Es sind zwei Gāthās, die mit geringen Abweichungen öfter (Jāt. 383, 6, 7; 419, 8, 9; 448, 9, 10) am Erzählungsschlusse erscheinen; sie hätten als Abhisambuddhagāthās bezeichnet werden müssen.

Hier wird also nicht nur die Reise übers Meer erwähnt, sondern sogar der Udumbarabaum als Wohnsitz des Affen, von dem die Prosaerzählung nichts weiß.

Die Unursprünglichkeit der Prosaerzählung wird durch die Fassung des Jātaka im Mahāvastu (II, 246, 3ff.) bestätigt<sup>1</sup>). Die beiden Gāthās des Pali Jāt. 208 kehren hier wieder, allerdings umgestellt, mit Änderung der zweiten Hälfte von G. 2<sup>2</sup>) und mit dem vollständig sinnlosem Einschub einer Strophe, die an das Ende der Erzählung gehört. Der Affe lebt hier am Meeresufer (*samudrakūle*) von den Früchten eines Udumbara. Der *śuśumāra* kommt aus dem Meere an den Ort (*tato ca samudrāto mahānto śuśumāro taṃ pradeśam āgato*). Der Verfasser hat sich unter dem im Meere lebenden *śuśumāra* offenbar den Delphin gedacht; wenn er von diesem weiter sagt: *sa tatra samudratīre āsati*, so wird *āsati* im allgemeinen Sinne gebraucht sein: „er hält sich dort am Meeresufer auf“<sup>3</sup>). Ganz anders der Verfasser der Pali Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā. Er läßt den Affen den *suṃsumāra kumbhilarāja*, „Krokodilkönig“, anreden; für ihn ist also der *suṃsumāra* ein Krokodil. Er steht mit dieser Auffassung aber nicht allein da. Während *suṃsumāra* in den kanonischen Schriften der Name des Delphins ist, bezeichnet es in der ceylonesischen Kommentarliteratur, soweit der Zusammenhang ein Urteil zuläßt, überall das Krokodil. Deutlich ist das, wenn die Ehrenbezeugung durch Niederwerfen auf den Boden als die Verehrung durch *suṃsumāra*-Niederfallen bezeichnet wird: *rājā suṃsumārapatitena theram vandanto* Sum. I, 291. Der Buddha, heißt es, ist *enijaṅgha* „antilopenbeinig“; das ist eines der 32 Merkmale des großen Mannes. Im Kommentar zu Sn. 207 wird das dahin erklärt, daß die

1) Eine Bearbeitung des Mahāvastu-Jātaka ist die Erzählung im Fopēn-hing-tsi-king (Beal, Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p. 231 ff.). Der *śuśumāra* ist im Chinesischen zu einem „dragon“ geworden.

2) Vgl. die Bemerkungen über den Text der Gāthā KZ. 52, 107f.

3) In demselben Sinne ist *āsati* in 246,18 gebraucht, wo die *śuśumārī* ihren Mann fragt: *kahiṃ tvaṃ mama mūlāto gatvā āsasi*, „wo hältst du dich auf, wenn du von mir fortgegangen bist?“ Ebenso im folgenden: *tatra mama vānaro mitro tena saha ālāpasamlāpena āsāmi; tāvad eṣo mama svāmi tahiṃ gatvā vānareṇa sārđhaṃ ālāpena āsiṣyati*.

Beine nicht vorne fleischlos und hinten aufgeblasen sind wie der Bauch eines *suṃsumāra* (*suṃsumārakucchi viya uddhumātā*). Sicherlich ist auch das Krokodil gemeint in der sprichwörtlichen Redensart „einen *suṃsumāra* in einem Wassertopf“ oder „in einem Wassertropfen sehen“: *tvaṃ udakapātiyaṃ suṃsumāraṃ passasi* Jāt. IV, 164, 28; *tvaṃ udakabindumhi*<sup>1</sup>) *suṃsumāraṃ passasi* Dh. Komm. III, 194. *Suṃsumārā* in Therīg. 241 wird im Kommentar (204) durch *kumbhīlā* erklärt, und Abhidhānapp. 674 wird *suṃsumāra* als Synonym von *kumbhīla* und *nakka* gelehrt<sup>2</sup>).

Wenn der Verfasser der Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā unter dem *suṃsumāra* das Krokodil verstand, so wird es auch begreiflich, weshalb er trotz des klaren Hinweises auf das Meer in der Gāthā den Schauplatz der Geschichte an die Gaṅgā verlegte; für ein Krokodil schien ihm das Meer als Wohnort nicht zu passen.

Der Grund, weshalb man in Ceylon *suṃsumāra* als Namen des Krokodils auffaßte, ist offenbar derselbe, der den Verfasser des Taitt. Ār. veranlaßte, das Krokodil *śiśumāra* zu benennen. Die Platanista gangetica kommt in Ceylon ebensowenig vor wie im südlichen Indien; so übertrug man den fremden Namen auf das Krokodil. Der wirkliche Name des Krokodils war aber in Ceylon nur *kumbhīla*, das noch heute in Singh. *kiñ bul* lebt.

An einer Stelle findet sich, wie schon oben bemerkt, *suṃsumāra* in der Bedeutung „Krokodil“, auch in einem Werke das dem Kanon angehört, in dem Kapirājacariya des Cariyāpiṭaka (3, 7). Dies *cariya* beruht auf dem Vānarindaj. (57), das in der Jātakasammlung, um eine Gāthā vermehrt, noch einmal als Kumbhīlaj. (224) erscheint. Man hat in diesem Jātaka vielfach nur eine schlechtere Variante des *Suṃsumāraj.* (208) gesehen<sup>3</sup>), allein die beiden Geschichten haben

1) Lesart: *-pātimhi*.

2) Mil. 67 werden nebeneinander *makariniyo, suṃsumāriniyo, kacchapiniyo* genannt. Vielleicht können hier die *suṃsumāriniyo* noch als Delphinweibchen verstanden werden.

3) HERTEL, Tantrākhyāyika, Übers. I, 89; WINTERNITZ, Ind. Litt. Gesch. II, 101; 131.

nichts miteinander zu tun; sie sind sich nur insofern ähnlich, daß in beiden ein Affe ein Wassertier, das ihn bedroht, überlistet. In der *Atthavaṇṇanā* wird erzählt, daß der Bodhisattva als Affe am Ufer eines Flusses lebt und täglich ein Inselchen in der Mitte des Flusses besucht, um sich von den Früchten, die dort wachsen, zu nähren. Um dahin zu gelangen, muß er immer zunächst auf einen Felsen zwischen dem Flußufer und der Insel und erst von da aus auf die Insel springen. In dem Flusse lebt ein Krokodil (*kumbhīla*). Um das Gelüste seines Weibes nach dem Herzfleisch des Affen zu befriedigen, lauert das Krokodil, auf dem Felsen gelagert, dem Affen auf, als dieser am Abend auf das Flußufer zurückkehren will. Auf listige Weise zwingt der Affe das Krokodil, seine Absicht zu enthüllen. Er erklärt sich auch bereit, sich zu opfern; das Krokodil solle nur sein Maul aufsperrn, um ihn zu packen, wenn er komme. „Wenn die Krokodile ihr Maul aufsperrn, schließen sich ihre Augen.“ Als nun das Krokodil mit geöffnetem Rachen und geschlossenen Augen daliegt, springt der Affe auf seinen Kopf und von da blitzschnell auf das andere Ufer. Das Krokodil spricht bewundernd die Gāthā:

*yass' ete caturo dhammā vānarinda yathā tava |  
saccaṃ dhammo dhīti cāgo diṭṭhaṃ so ativattati<sup>1)</sup> ||*

„Wer diese vier Tugenden besitzt gleichwie du, o Fürst der Affen, Wahrheit, Rechtlichkeit, Entschlossenheit, Hingabe, der überwindet das (ihm vom Schicksal) Bestimmte<sup>2)</sup>“.

Aus der Gāthā geht nur hervor, daß der Held der Geschichte ein Affe ist; über die Art seines Feindes läßt sich nichts daraus entnehmen. Wir haben aber keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, daß es ein Krokodil war, denn der Glaube, daß die Kroko-

1) Was hier positiv gesagt ist, wird in G. 2 von J. 224 noch einmal vom negativen Standpunkt aus wiederholt:

*yassa te ca na vijjanti guṇā paramabhaddakā |  
saccaṃ dhammo dhīti cāgo diṭṭhaṃ so nātivattati ||*

2) Der Kommentator erklärt *diṭṭhaṃ* durch *pacāmittaṃ*, und alle Übersetzer geben es durch „Feind“ wieder. Aber p. *diṭṭha* „Feind“ gibt es nicht; *diṭṭhaṃ* geht auf sk. *diṣṭam* zurück; vgl. Mbh. 5, 192, 56 *diṣṭam etat purā manye na śakyam ativaritum*; 14, 53, 16 *na diṣṭam apy atikrāntuṃ śakyam buddhyā balena vā*.

dile, wenn sie den Rachen aufsperrn, die Augen schließen, bildet einen wesentlichen Punkt in der Geschichte<sup>1)</sup>. Die gänzlich überflüssige Motivierung des Verhaltens des Krokodils durch das Verlangen seines Weibes nach dem Herzen des Affen ist sicherlich erst sekundär aus der Delphingeschichte hineingetragen<sup>2)</sup>. Daß der Affe sich durch *dhīti*, durch Entschlossenheit, rettete, ist verständlich; schwerer einzusehen ist es aber, inwiefern er bei dieser Gelegenheit *sacca*, Wahrheitsliebe, *dhamma*, was immer man darunter verstehen mag, und *cāga*, Hingabe, Selbstaufopferung, betätigt haben sollte, wie es die Gāthā von ihm rühmt<sup>3)</sup>. Der Verfasser des *Cariyā-*

1) Daß, wie CHALMERS in seiner Übersetzung I, 143 bemerkt, dieser Glaube nicht den Tatsachen entspricht, tut natürlich nichts zur Sache.

2) In anderer Weise ist die Geschichte im *Vānarajātaka* des *Mahāvastu* (III, 31, 6 ff.) umgestaltet. Der Bodhisattva lebt hier als Leiter einer großen Affenschar am Himavat. Als er in einem Teiche mit zerklüftetem Ufer seinen Durst löschen will, fällt er ins Wasser. Eine Pythonschlange (*ajagara*), die in einer Höhle an dem Teiche lebt, will ihn verschlingen. Er lenkt aber die Aufmerksamkeit der Schlange auf die übrigen Affen, und als die Schlange sich diesen zuwendet, springt er auf ihren Kopf und von da ans Ufer. Über die Klugheit des Affen verwundert, spricht die Schlange zwei Gāthās, von denen die zweite eine Variante der Pali Gāthā ist:

*yasyeme caturo dharmā vānarendra yathā tava |  
vīryaṃ buddhiḥ smṛtiḥ prajñā so duḥkham apavartati ||*

Hier zeigt sich Beeinflussung durch das bei den Buddhisten hochangesehene *Naḷapānaj*. (20), das im *Mahāvastu* (III, 29, 8 ff.) ebenfalls *Vānaraj*. betitelt ist. Die Schlange in dem Teich geht offenbar auf den Wasserdämon in dem Teiche, aus dem die Affen in dem *Naḷapānaj*. trinken wollen, zurück; der Bodhisattva als ihr Leiter überlistet den Dämon allerdings in ganz anderer Weise. Ganz deutlich tritt die Vermischung des *Kumbhīlaj*. und des *Naḷapānaj*. im Pali selbst in dem *Tayodhammaj*. (58) zutage, wo der Bodhisattva als Affe dem Dämon des Teiches durch seine Springkünste entgeht und sogar die dem Dämon in den Mund gelegte Gāthā nur eine Variante der Gāthā des *Kumbhīlaj*. ist:

*yass' ete tayo dhammā vānarinda yathā tava |  
dakkhiyaṃ sūriyaṃ paññā diṭṭhaṃ so ativattati ||*

3) Man scheint diese Schwierigkeit auch in Indien gefühlt und deshalb die vier Eigenschaften in der Gāthā von Jāt. 58 durch *dakkhiya*, Geschicklichkeit, *sūriya*, Heldenmut, *paññā*, Klugheit, ersetzt zu haben. Wahrscheinlich lautete die Geschichte von Jāt. 58 ursprünglich genau

piṭaka hat aber offenbar sowohl die Prosaerzählung als auch die Gāthā genau so vor sich gehabt wie sie heute lautet; er hat die Geschichte gerade als Beispiel für die *saccapāramitā* des Bodhisattva ausgewählt. Er sagt:

1. *yadā ahaṃ kapi āsiṃ nadīkūle darīsaye |  
pīḷito suṃsumārena gamanaṃ na labhāmi haṃ ||*
2. *yamh' okāse ahaṃ thatvā orapāraṃ patām' ahaṃ |  
tatt' acchī sattu<sup>1)</sup> vadhako kumbhīlo ruddadassano ||*
3. *so maṃ asaṃsi ehīti ahaṃ emīti taṃ vadi |  
tassa matthakam akkamma parakūle patitthahiṃ ||*
4. *na tassa alikaṃ bhaṇitaṃ yathā vacaṃ akās' ahaṃ |  
saccena me samo n'atthi esā me saccapāramī ||*

„Als ich ein Affe war am Ufer eines Flusses in einem Höhlenlager, fand ich, von einem *suṃsumāra* bedrängt, keine Möglichkeit zu gehn. Auf dem Platze, auf den ich hintrat, wenn ich von einem Ufer zum andern zu springen pflegte, da lag der mörderische Feind, das Krokodil, schrecklich anzusehen. Das rief mir zu: „Komm!“ „Ich komme“, sagte ich zu ihm. Nachdem ich auf seinen Kopf gesprungen war, faßte ich am andern Ufer Fuß. Nicht ist ihm eine Unwahrheit gesagt worden. Wie ich es gesagt hatte, so habe ich es ausgeführt. In Wahrheitsliebe kommt niemand mir gleich. Dies ist meine *saccapāramī*.“

Für den Verfasser des *Cariyāpiṭaka* sind, wie V. 1 und 2 zeigen, *suṃsumāra* und *kumbhīla* Synonyme, ich glaube aber nicht, daß dadurch das, was wir oben über die Verschiedenheit der Bedeutung von *suṃsumāra* in der kanonischen und in der Kommentar-Literatur ermittelt haben, hinfällig wird. Das *Cariyāpiṭaka* verrät, wie mir scheint, schon durch seine Sprache, daß es jünger ist als die alten kanonischen Texte. Die Lehre von den zehn *pāramīs* des Bodhisattva, auf die es so wie die von Jāt. 57; was die *Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā* anstatt dessen bietet, ist ziemlich albern. Auch in der Gāthā des *Jātaka* im *Mahāvastu* ist sicherlich nicht ohne Grund die Liste der Eigenschaften von *vīryaṃ buddhiḥ smṛtiḥ prajñā* verändert.

1) Text *sattu*. Die Verbesserung stammt von CHARPENTIER, WZKM. XXIV, 391.

aufgebaut ist, ist den ersten vier *Nikāyas* ebenso wie den alten Schriften des *Khuddakanikāya* fremd. CHARPENTIER hat in seiner Abhandlung „Zur Geschichte des *Cariyāpiṭaka*“<sup>1)</sup> nachgewiesen, daß der Verfasser der *Nidānakathā* in seiner Schilderung der *pāramīs* (Jāt. I, 45, 11 ff.) ein anderes *Cariyāpiṭaka* benutzte als das uns vorliegende; das würde er kaum getan haben, wenn das *Cariyāpiṭaka* des *Khuddakanikāya* zu seiner Zeit schon in dem Kanon seiner Schule enthalten gewesen wäre. Wenn wir nun in dem letzteren *suṃsumāra* in dem Sinne gebraucht finden, den es in Ceylon angenommen hatte, so scheint mir das entschieden dafür zu sprechen, daß das Werk nicht dem alten auf dem dritten Konzil abgeschlossenen Kanon angehörte, sondern viel später in Ceylon abgefaßt und erst nachträglich dem *Khuddakanikāya* als letztes Werk angegliedert wurde<sup>2)</sup>.

In den kanonischen Texten der Jainas wird der *suṃsumāra*<sup>3)</sup> öfter unter den Wassertieren aufgeführt<sup>4)</sup>. Gewöhnlich umfaßt die Liste der *jalayaras* fünf Tierarten: *maccha*, *kacchabha*, *gāha*, *magara* und *suṃsumāra*<sup>5)</sup>. Mit *suṃsumāra* ist hier offenbar die *Platanista* gemeint; in der *Pannav.* wird ausdrücklich bemerkt, daß es zwei Arten von *magaras* gebe, *soṇḍamagara* und *matthamagara*, aber nur eine Art von *suṃsumāra*.

Die Etymologie von *sisumāra* ist dunkel. Da das Wort deutlich ein Kompositum ist, liegt es nahe, das zweite Glied

1) WZKM. XXIV, 351 ff.

2) Das Werk braucht aber nicht erst um 430 n. Chr. entstanden zu sein, wie CHARPENTIER annimmt. Es kann längst bestanden haben, ehe es in den Kanon aufgenommen wurde. CHARPENTIER'S Rekonstruktion eines Ur-*Cariyāpiṭaka* halte ich für gänzlich verfehlt. Ebenso muß ich aber auch die Ansicht von WINTERITZ ablehnen, daß „um die Zeit, als der Kanon abgeschlossen wurde“, eine Schule die *Jātakasammlung*, eine andere das *Cariyāpiṭaka* zusammenstellte (Ind. Litt. G. II, 133).

3) In den Drucken bisweilen auch *susumāra*; siehe PISCHEL, Pr. Gr. § 117. Der Freundlichkeit SCHÜBBING'S verdanke ich die Stellenangaben nach den in seiner „Lehre der Jainas“, S. 62 ff. genannten Bombayer Ausgaben.

4) *Panhāv.* 7b usw.

5) *Sūyag.* 2, 3, 22; *Nāyādh.* 97a; *Vivāg.* 44a; 76a; *Jiv.* 41b; 52a; *Pannav.* (Bombay 1928) 43b; 44a; *Uttar.* 36, 173.

als „tötend“ oder „Tod“ aufzufassen. Mit dieser Bedeutung spielt Vasubandhu. Er erzählt Vāsav. 280, 1, daß in dem Augenblick, als die himmlische Stimme den Kandarpaketu abhält, sich im Brackwasser des Meeres zu ertränken, alle dort lebenden Seetiere, die *grāhas*, die großen Fische, Schildkröten, Krokodile, Delphine und *śiśumāras* friedlich werden; die *śiśumāras* werden „nicht tötend“ (*amāreṣu śiśumāreṣu*). Sāyaṇa deutet *śiśumārī* im Pañc. Br. als „Kinder tötend“: *śiśumārī śiśuvat prayogānabhijñānāṃ ghātinī*, ebenso im Taitt. Ār.: *śiśūn mārāyati mukhena nigiratīti śiśumāro jalagrahaviśeṣaḥ | sa hi jalamadhye 'tyantavivṛtena mukhena manuṣyān grhṇātīti*<sup>1)</sup>. Ich glaube trotzdem nicht, daß das die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes sein kann, denn wenn man sich vielleicht auch fürchtete, dem großen Tier im Wasser zu begegnen, so hat der Schnabeldelphin doch wohl noch niemals ein Kind oder überhaupt einen Menschen getötet; ebensowenig frißt er etwa seine eigenen Jungen. Daß das Wort für Kind nicht in *śiśumāra* stecken kann, geht auch schon daraus hervor, daß die am frühesten bezeugte Form des Wortes, die sich zum Teil in den Prakrits fortsetzt, *śiṃśumāra* ist. In *śiśu* „Kind“ ist aber niemals Nasalierung der ersten Silbe eingetreten; *śiśumāra* ist wahrscheinlich sinndeutende Umgestaltung des älteren *śiṃśumāra*. Wenn sich anstatt *śiśumāra* im Sk. *śiśuka*, im Pali *susu*, *susuka*, in den heutigen Sprachen *sūs*, *śiśuk*, *śuśuk* finden, so können diese Formen als Verkürzungen von *śiśumāra* aufgefaßt werden wie sk. *khaḍga*, p. *khagga*, für *khaḍgaviśāṇa*. *Śiṃśu*, *śiśu* könnte aber auch der aus einer einheimischen nichtarischen Sprache entlehnte Name des Delphins sein, der mit *māra* zusammengesetzt wurde. Man könnte versucht sein, dies *māra* als eine Nebenform von *makara* aufzufassen, das höchstwahrscheinlich ebenfalls Lehnwort aus einer nichtarischen Sprache ist, so daß *śiṃśumāra* der „*śiṃśu*-Delphin“ bedeuten würde. Es ist aber im Grunde zwecklos, sich in solchen Vermutungen zu ergehen.

1) Andererseits wird Hemaçandra, Uṇādig. 411 *śiśumāra* unter den mit dem Suffix *āra* gebildeten Wörtern genannt.

## V. Register



## I. SACHREGISTER

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Bālabhāratavyākhyāna 182                    | Krokodil 542 ff.   |
| Baum (Bild des Weisen) 44                   | Manohara – Juwel 40f., 46                                |
| Baumwolle 480                               | Namenslisten von Göttern 86                              |
| Bodhisatva – Verehrung 249                  | Niya (Geschichte) 425f.                                  |
| Bhujāṅgavijṛmbhita – Metrum (Alter) 392f.   | Personennamen nicht-arischen Ursprungs in Krōrainā 422f. |
| Caḍ'oda (Geschichte) 425f.                  | Rājavāsati 62  |
| Catuposathajātaka 37                        | Rākṣasa (Aussehen) 89f.                                  |
| Dharmaguptaka 410                           | Rāṣṭrakūṭa – Genealogie 137                              |
| Eidechsen 490ff.                            | Reḍḍi – Könige von Koṇḍaviḍu 183                         |
| Feuer (zerstört Diamant und Donnerkeil) 234 | Rhinozeros 520   |
| Filz 456, 480                               | Schlangen (zornig) 38                                    |
| Fische (Speiseregeln) 80                    | Seide 467f., 477f.                                       |
| Gajapati – Könige 183                       | Strafen 81f.   |
| Gandharvas (verliebt) 38                    | Termiten 494, 496  |
| Garuḍas (hungrig) 38                        | Termitenhügel 495 f.                                     |
| Gūguli – Brahmanen 284                      | Theater 120ff.   |
| Guhila (Dynastie) 280                       | Varuṇa 38f., 101   |
| Juwel (des Cakravartin) 46                  | Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka 36ff.                               |
| Kaniṣka – Datierung 247                     | Virāṭaparvan 51  |
| Kaufvertrag (Khar. Dok.) 434                | Würfelspiel 410f.  |
| Kāvya (Alter) 393                           | Zorn (schwarz mit gelben Augen) 91                       |

II. VERZEICHNIS DER PERSONENNAMEN  
(Auswahl)

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Akālavarṣa Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137 | Ahlanadevi 281           |
| Agnīśarma 180             | Ānandasūri 281, 283      |
| Anupamadevi 281, 283      | Indra II. Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137 |
| Appa 184, 202             | Irugapa 269              |
| Amaracandrasūri 283       | Irugendra 269            |
| Amarasūri 281             | Irugesvara 269           |
| Amoghavarṣa I. 136        | Ujhatikā 482 ff.         |
| Arkakīrti 134, 139        | Udayaprabhasūri 281      |
| Arṇorāja Vāghela 279      | Udayāditya Hoysala 173   |
| Arhadāsi 358              | Ulāna 400                |
| Avaśiri 346               | Ūsavāla – Familie 284    |
| Aśani 235                 | Ecaladevi 175            |
| Aśvarāja 278              | Eṣasiddhi 226f., 238     |
| Asā 262                   | Eṣyaṅga Hoysala 173      |

Okhā 482f.  
 Okhārikā 482ff.  
 Oḍḍyanaka 251  
 Kakasaghasta 255f.  
 Kakka Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Kaṭhika 263  
 Kaṇiṣka (Schreibungen in Inschriften) 311f.  
 Karikāla 225  
 Karka Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Karkuhastha 255  
 Kalikāla 225f., 234  
 Kalala 346  
 Kānhaḍadeva 284  
 Kālamukha 176  
 Kumāradevī 278  
 Kumārapāla Caulukya 279  
 Kumāraśirī 361  
 Kṛṣṇa I. Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Kṛṣṇamāmbā 184  
 Kṛṣṇarāja Paramāra 283  
 Kṛṣṇarājadeva 279, 284  
 Kṛṣṇarāya von Vijayanagara 182, 201, 208, 220  
 Kṛṣṇāmbā 184, 202  
 Kedāraśaktipaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Kelhaṇa 297  
 Kokanadā (Göttin) 526f.  
 Kośiki 398  
 Kṣema 259  
 Khaḷamitta 72  
 Khujacia 329  
 Khuḍā 245  
 Khuḍacia 329  
 Khoṭṭimitta 72  
 Gajapati 201  
 Gaṇḍagopāla 238  
 Gahamitrā 361  
 Gāṇadeva Rautarāya 183  
 Goṭṭika 254  
 Gotamī 487  
 Goti 398  
 Gopa 184, 202  
 Govinda Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Govinda III. Prabhūtavaraṣa 134  
 Gośāla 349  
 Gautamapaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Grahapalā 346  
 Grahabala 256  
 Grahamitra 346  
 Grahavilā 358  
 Grahaśirī 361  
 Ghastuhasti 254  
 Caṇḍapa 278  
 Caṇḍeśvara 281  
 Caṇḍaprasāda 278  
 Candrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Cākirāja 134, 139  
 Caicapa 269f.  
 Jagaddeva 174  
 Jabhaka 247  
 Jayadāsi 361  
 Jayantasimha 281  
 Jayabhaṭṭa 247  
 Jānaki 269  
 Jālhū 279  
 Jinadādi 257, 361  
 Jivaśirī 345  
 Jaitrasimha 175, 281  
 Tammusiddhi 225ff., 234ff.  
 Taraka 346  
 Timmaya 182  
 Tiluṅgabijja 234  
 Tiluṅgavidya 226f.  
 Tejaḥpāla 278, 283  
 Toṣā 394f.  
 Tribhuvanadevī 281  
 Datā 483  
 Datta 265  
 Dadhikarṇa (Gott) 252  
 Daṃḍā 264  
 Dantidurga Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Dantivarman II. Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Dāttāgāli 361  
 Dāyabhima 226f.  
 Dimitra 483  
 Doca 189  
 Dovadatta 259  
 Dovā 361  
 Devila 252

Dhañāvala 348  
 Dhañāśirī 348  
 Dhanadevī 279  
 Dhandhuka 279  
 Dharaṇiga 281  
 Dharāvilā 359  
 Dharkaṭa – Familie 284  
 Dharmadāsa 267  
 Dharmadeva 251  
 Dhāndhala 281  
 Dhārāvaraṣa 279f.  
 Dhārāvaraṣa Śrī-Prṭhivivallabha Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Dhārmavarmma 345  
 Dhūmarāja 279  
 Dhūmarājadeva 283  
 Dhruva Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Dhruvabhaṭṭa 279  
 Nayacandrasūri 285  
 Narasimha Hoysala 175  
 Nallasiddhi 227  
 Nāgalā 220  
 Nāgāmbikā 220  
 Nādā 264  
 Nādi (Nandin) 247  
 Nādiṇḍla 184, 186, 202  
 Nādiṇḍla Gopa 208  
 Nāndi 361  
 Nāndika 262  
 Nāndighoṣa 262  
 Paṇḍitārya 270  
 Padamaladevī 279  
 Puphaka 262  
 Puśila 361  
 Pūrṇasimha 281  
 Pūśabalā 345  
 Peṭhaḍa 281  
 Poṭhayaśaka 398  
 Pottapi Cola 226f.  
 Prabhūtavaraṣa Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Prabhūtavaraṣa Śrī-Prṭhivivallabha Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Pravaraka 259  
 Prahādāna 279f.  
 Prāgvāta – Familie 281, 284  
 Balāna 487  
 Ballāla 279  
 Ballāla Hoysala 173  
 Bukkaṇa 269  
 Bukkarāya 269  
 Buddhādāsa 345  
 Buddhadeva 345  
 Buddhanandi 261  
 Buddharakṣita 266, 345  
 Buddhila 338  
 Budhika 348  
 Burita 341  
 Betta 234  
 Betta I. 226f.  
 Betta II. 226f.  
 Baicapa 269  
 Brahāsvātimita 393  
 Brahman 175  
 Brahmasoma 267  
 Bhillama 175  
 Bhīmadēva II. 280, 282f.  
 Maṅgapa 269  
 Maṅguhasti 254  
 Madhurāntaka 226f.  
 Manmasiddhi 226f.  
 Malladeva 279, 281, 283  
 Maha 248  
 Mahendrasūri 281  
 Māū 279  
 Māghahasti 254  
 Mitraśirī 361  
 Mitrā 349  
 Muṭṭiyampākka 238  
 Mogali 262  
 Moḍha – Familie 286  
 Yaśā 348  
 Yaśodhavalā 279  
 Yaśovarman Cālukya 138  
 Rāca 182, 201  
 Rājūvula 388  
 Rāmadeva 279  
 Rāyaṇa Bhāskara 189  
 Rudradatā 361  
 Rudradevasāminī 361  
 Rudradevā 361

Lakṣmamma 209f.  
 Lala 323f.  
 Lalitādevī 281  
 Lavaṇaprasādadeva 283  
 Lavaṇaprasāda Vāghela 279  
 Lāvaṇyasimha 281  
 Lilukā 281  
 Lūṇasimha 278, 283  
 Lūṇiga 278  
 Lolla Lakṣmīdhara Yajvan 209  
 Vamaḍāsi 361  
 Vayajukā 279  
 Varuṇa 259  
 Vallabhendra Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137  
 Vasu 403  
 Vasū 247  
 Vastupāla 279, 281, 283  
 Vāmaśaktipaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Vāliṇa 313  
 Vāsā 264  
 Vāsuṣka 256f.  
 Vijayakīrti 139  
 Vijayasenasūri 281  
 Vidyābharapaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Vinayāditya Hoysala 173  
 Vimalāditya 134  
 Vimalāditya Cālukya 138  
 Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala 173  
 Vira Ballāḷa II. Hoysala 175  
 Vira Ballāḷa III. Hoysala 173  
 Viradhavala 280  
 Viradhavala Caulukya 278  
 Viradhavaladeva 283  
 Viradhavala Vāghela 279  
 Virabhadra 220  
 Visaladeva 280  
 Vusu 247  
 Vema 182, 201  
 Veeśisa 323f.  
 Vairamegha Rāṣṭrakūṭa 137

Śarva 136  
 Śavatrātā 348  
 Śāntisūri 281  
 Śivadīna 482  
 Śivarakhita 399  
 Śegrava gotra 319f.  
 Śoṇḍāsa 318f.  
 Śoḍāsa 388, 403  
 Śaigrava gotra 319  
 Śrīkaṇṭhapāṇḍitadeva 177  
 Śrīdevī 226f.  
 Śrīmāla – Familie 284  
 Śrutamuni 270  
 Saṃgharakṣita 267, 345  
 Saṃdhi 338  
 Sāū 279  
 Sāmantasimha 280  
 Sālvatimma 182f., 201  
 Siddhi 226f.  
 Simitrā 398  
 Sihadata 253  
 Siha 265  
 Suhaḍādevī 286  
 Sūra 254  
 Segrava gotra 260  
 Settiniha 244  
 Sena 245, 257  
 Soḍāsa 260  
 Soma 278  
 Somasimha Paramāra 283  
 Somasimhadēva 279, 281f., 284  
 Someśvaradeva 278, 281, 283  
 Someśvarapaṇḍitadeva 177  
 Sohagā 279  
 Sthāvarajātra 345  
 Svarabuddhi 341  
 Haribhadrāsūri 281, 283  
 Hastahasti 254  
 Hastisenā 361

III. VERZEICHNIS DER ORTSNAMEN  
 (Auswahl)

Acalapuri (= Koṇḍaviḍu) 185  
 Aṇahilapura 278  
 Adhicchatra 364  
 Annavara 189  
 Appāpura 188, 205  
 Amarāvati 185  
 Ākhi 284  
 Ātukūru 188, 205  
 Ābuya 284f.  
 Iḍigur 141  
 Uccaṅgi 174  
 Ujyapuri 226  
 Uḍiyana 251  
 Udayādri 220f.  
 Umbaraṇiki 284f.  
 Ūtaracha 284f.  
 Oṃkāra 187 (Fluß-N.)  
 Orāsā 284f.  
 Kālīṅga 182, 201  
 Kāsahrada 284  
 Kunuṅgil 138  
 Kuntaḷa 175  
 Kunti (Fluß-N.) 186  
 Kaivaṇṭūr 228  
 Koṭaḍi 284f.  
 Koṇḍakāvūri 189  
 Koṇḍaviṭi 182, 201, 208  
 Koṇḍaviḍu 220  
 Kaunkāna 280  
 Kratuka 176f.  
 Krāñjā 187  
 Gaḍāhaḍa 284f.  
 Guḍḍanūr 141  
 Gutti 185, 203  
 Gopapura 189  
 Gopavara 186, 189  
 Candrāvati 283  
 Jālamaṅgala 134, 141  
 Ḍavaṇi 284  
 Taṛipāḷi 141  
 Talikiya 313, 317  
 Tiruppāsūr 226  
 Tiruvālaṅgāḍu 225  
 Tiruvoṛṇiyūr 234  
 Tryambaka (Berg-N.) 205  
 Deulavādā 283  
 Dhaūli 284f.  
 Nandipāṭi 187  
 Nallapāṭi 190  
 Nādiṇḍla 188  
 Nūntulapāṭi 187  
 Paṇṭarāṣṭra 238  
 Pattana 286  
 Painimarri 186  
 Philiṇi 284  
 Bellakoṇḍa 220  
 Beḷuḡuḷa 270  
 Beḷiṇḍa 141  
 Beḷvola 176  
 Brahmāna 284  
 Bhartapūṇḍi 189  
 Bhālibhāḍā 284  
 Maṅgalaśaila 188  
 Madderela 186, 188  
 Manyāpura 140  
 Mayūrakhaṇḍi 134, 138  
 Mallavara 187  
 Mānyakheṭa 141  
 Muṇḍasthala 284f.  
 Medapāṭa 280  
 Maindavolu 208, 210  
 Yajñavāṭi 208, 210  
 Yercūri 188  
 Rārā 255f.  
 Reṭūri 188  
 Rompicarla 186  
 Lemballe 208  
 Lökkiguṇḍi 176f.  
 Vāhirahadi 284  
 Vinikoṇḍa 185, 187, 203, 220f.

Śasakapura 173  
 Śilāgrāma 140  
 Śivanasamudra 220f.  
 Śrikuṇḍa 345  
 Śrimātāmahabu 284  
 Saraūli 284  
 Sālā 284f.

Sāhilavādā 284  
 Sihara 284f.  
 Svastimaṅgala 141  
 Haṇḍāūdrā 284  
 Heṭhaūñji 284f.  
 Hombāḷalu 176f.

IV. VERZEICHNIS DER *kula, gaccha, gaṇa* ETC. DER JAINAS

Ucanāgari śākhā 348	Bamadāsiya kula 348
Ucenāgari śākhā 244, 253, 361	Baṃbhadaśiya kula 361
Koṭṭiya gaṇa 68f., 245f., 265	Brahmadāsika kula 245, 253
Koḷiya gaṇa 68f., 348, 361	Yāpaniya – Sekte 139f.
Koḷeya gaṇa 346	Yāpuliya – Sekte 140
Kauṭika gaṇa 71	Vajanākari śākhā 358
Thaniya kula 346	Vajranāgari śākhā 364
Dehikiya gaṇa 259	Varaṇa gaṇa 358
Nagendra gaccha 281	Vairā śākhā 346
Nandi saṃgha 139	Śirika saṃbhoga 358
Pacanāgari śākhā 348	Haṭṭakiya kula 253
Paridhāsika kula 259	Hāṭṭiya kula 71
Punnāgavṛkṣamūla gaṇa 139	Hālijja kula 71
Petaputrikā śākhā 259	Hāliya kula 71
Petivāmika kula 364	

V. VERZEICHNIS DER BEHANDELTEN WÖRTER  
(Auswahl)

Althochdeutsch (h)lit 102	nipacchita 124
Altpersisch uvāmaršiyuš 430	nepaccha 122
Awestisch gāvayana 461 nemata 458f.	naivasthita 124
Buddhistisches Sanskrit kocava 446 koccaka 446 deyadharmā 414f. devadharmā 415	pratisaṃvid 170
	bheṣyate 32
	Griechisch
	ἀργέλιον 95
	καυνάκη 449
	Inschriften
	(Sanskrit und Prakrit)
	akṣarasamjña 202
	anvaya = gotra 184
	apanaga 326
	apabhāra „Last“ 282

asavārika 429	mahanta 285
āṣṭāhikā 282	mahājana „Bankier“ 282
etra 322	yamaṣaheka 401
kakaṭika 345	rayaga 246
kaḍariki 117	rayagini 246f.
kavilāsa 284	rāṭhiya 282
kārāpaka 329f.	lohikāraka 254f.
kālavāḍa 396	vaddhaddini 362
kālavāḷa 398f.	varṣagranthi 282
khattaka 278	vijapi 114f.
gañjavara 319	viśvasaka 401
gandhika 257, 259	viharamāṇa 286
goṭṭika 72	śamaṇasāvika 263
goṣṭhika 255	śraddhacara 243
caturākāra 134	śramāṇasāvika 263
cāturdiśa saṃgha 251	ṣāyamaḍa 260
cārvi 134	saṃghapati 286
ṭhakurājñi 286	sachasana 337
tathājñātiya 282	saḍhacari 243
tūbara 175	satka 282
trepitaka 248	saṃtati 202
dedharma 416	saṃtāna 202f.
devikula 252, 264	sarvamānya 187
dhuramdhara „Gouverneur“ 185	sarvasapana 327
dhaureya „Gouverneur“ 185	sārā 282
nagarāja 202	sudhā 134
naṃdiviśāla 249f.	sovaṇika 262
navakarmiga 338	horakaparivara 326
navamikā 312	horamurta 325
naścīrapati 427f.	hairaṇyaka 262
nāligerāna 95	
pacana 345	Latein
paṇatiharī 361	caunacem 452
parigraha 408	gaunacem 452
palasata 520	gausape 452f.
palichina 406	
pasāda „Geschenk“ 262	Neuhochdeutsch
pratigraha 408	Lid 102
baladhika 487	
balānaka 278	Niya – Prakrit
buddhajhava 411	akra 380
bhavya 275	agiṣḍha 454
bhāvvyati 134	arnavaji 462
madhya 292	astaramna 474
masa 340f.	ukastade 430
	kavaji 455
	kojava 445, 479

galṛiti 373  
 goni 445, 448  
 caṁdri kaṁṁaṁta 375  
 citrapaṁa 471, 479  
 coḁ'aga 474  
 chataga 476  
 tavastaḁa 454  
 thavaṁna 436, 463  
 thavaṁnaḁa 463  
 dadavo 432  
 deyaṁnae 435f.  
 namata 455, 480  
 namaṁnaḁa 436f.  
 namaṁniya 436f.  
 paṁcara 432f.  
 paṁa 466, 479  
 paḁi 374ff., 406  
 paḁidhaṁa 377f.  
 puṁḁetsa 381f.  
 poṁga 374  
 prahuni 477  
 prigha 472, 479  
 lastuḁa 471  
 ḁyokmana 384  
 'varṁi 419  
 vastaraṁna 474  
 vastarna 474  
 vyala 379f.  
 ṁaṁapaṁa 472  
 ṁaṁnaṁa 471  
 ṁilyoka 384f.  
 ṁilyoga 384f.  
 ṁulga 386  
 ṁulyaḁaṁdha 384  
 sujinaḁarta 473  
 soṁstaṁni 463

## Pāli

abbhatika 42  
 kattar 48ff.  
 kaḁāra 89, 94ff.  
 kicca 163  
 kiccakāla 163  
 koka 525

kojava 446  
 khattar 48ff.  
 godhā 492ff.  
 godhā „Musikinstrument“ 509  
 gonaka 445, 447  
 chavakacaṁḁāla 105  
 janasandha 42  
 dasanāṁmaka 85  
 diḁharattam „lebenslänglich“ 39  
 dhammakathika 39  
 dhammapāla 42, 61  
 nantaka 457  
 namataka 456  
 nara „Ehemann“ 118  
 nāḁikera 95  
 nikkhantadanta 89  
 nikkhantadāṁha 89  
 nibbiddha 93  
 nepaccha 123  
 paṁisaṁbhida 170  
 palasata 520  
 palāsāda 520  
 pahūtakāṁa 42  
 piṁgala 90, 93ff.  
 putta (ifc.) 52  
 bimbohana 446  
 bhindhara 170  
 mantabhāṁin 168  
 mandabhāṁin 168  
 yātānuyāyin 61  
 vammadhāra 42  
 vijjādhara 104  
 satanāṁmaka 85  
 saṁthānakāra 42  
 samaṁa 36f.  
 susu 539  
 susukā 539  
 susumāra 538ff.

Prākṛit<sup>1</sup>

kaḁāra „Kokosnuß“ 96  
 goramphiḁi 516  
 ṁiṁṁāsā 80  
 ṁiṁāsā 80

ṁevaccha 123  
 nevaccheti 123  
 nevattha 123  
 makaṁikā 78  
 makkhika „Termite“ 494  
 macchāṁikā 79f.  
 mūsikā 78  
 ḁiṁa 78f.  
 ṁuveṁanilayā 83f.

## Sakisch

thauna 465  
 rrahamūna 465

Sanskrit<sup>2</sup>

aṁṁsupaṁa 469  
 aṁgulitra 506  
 adhirāja 139  
 āsvavāra 428  
 ācchid 406  
 āvaraṁa 204  
 upasarga (gr.) 34  
 uṁnavīrya 528  
 kaṁavānaka 464f.  
 kaḁāra 95f.  
 kanyā „Tochter“ 57  
 karaṁa (Kaste) 56f.  
 karāla 89, 95  
 karmaṁravacaniya (gr.) 34  
 kulanāṁikā 82  
 koka 523ff.  
 koḁiya 71  
 kaucapaka 447  
 kauṁeya 470  
 kṁattṛ 48ff.  
 kṁattṛ (Kaste) 52ff.  
 gaṁḁaka „Rhinozeros“ 523  
 ḁṁholikā 503  
 Godāvāri 501  
 godhā 60, 490ff., 510f.  
 godhā „Handschutz“ 506  
 godhāngulitra 506  
 godhāngulitrāṁa 506  
 godhāvīṁākā 508  
 golikā 72, 503  
 govikarta 50  
 gaudhāra 503  
 gaudheya 504  
 gaudhera 503  
 carmasāḁikā 76  
 cāraṁa 112  
 cīnāṁṁsuka 468  
 coḁaka 475  
 cola 474  
 ṁhur (gr.) 33  
 Takṁāṁila 498  
 talatra 506  
 talatrāṁa 506  
 traipiṁaka 248  
 daṁḁanāṁha 182  
 daṁḁanāyaka 175  
 daṁanāṁmaka 84ff.  
 daṁṁyanta 54  
 namata 456  
 nara „Ehemann“ 118  
 nāḁikera 95  
 nārikela 95  
 nālikera 95  
 niṁāda 54  
 nihākā 502  
 netra „Seide“ 472  
 nepathya 120ff.  
 nepathyagṁha 122  
 naipathya 120  
 nyakkāra 175  
 paṁcavīra 390ff.  
 paṁa „Seide“ 467  
 paṁtavastra 468  
 paṁṁāṁṁsu 469  
 paṁṁāṁṁsuka 468  
 pattroraṁa 470  
 parasvat 517f., 523

<sup>2</sup> Siehe auch: Inschriften (Sanskrit und Prākṛit). – Der Zusatz „(gr.)“ hinter einem Lemma verweist auf den Wortgebrauch der einheimischen indischen Grammatik.

<sup>1</sup> Siehe auch: Inschriften (Sanskrit und Prākṛit)

pārasava (Kaste) 54ff.  
 piṅga 90ff.  
 piṅgala 90ff.  
 pīnasa 81  
 pur (gr.) 33  
 pṛiṅga 472  
 pracaḷāka 500  
 bandhake dadāti 435  
 bimba „Chamäleon“ 500  
 bimbopadhāna 446  
 bulūki 529  
 bhāgadugdha 50  
 bhāṇḍa „Schmuck“ 464  
 bhidura 170  
 maṇḍala „Provinz“ 139  
 matsyāśikā 79  
 madhupiṅgala 90  
 madhyedinama 230  
 madhyevyoma 230  
 yuga (gr.) 31  
 raṅga 125  
 raṅgāvatāraka 127  
 raṅgāvatārin 127f.

rūpa (gr.) 32  
 lattikā 510  
 vajra 234  
 vātaputra 111  
 vātika 111  
 vāyuputra 110  
 vāyusūnu 110  
 viklidha 100ff.  
 vidyādhara 106  
 Vidhura / Vidura / Vitura 48  
 viśvāsika 401  
 vyucchid 406  
 śaśayú 514  
 śiśumāra 528f.  
 śeṣā „Girlande“ 147  
 śaubhikā 444  
 samāsana 58  
 sarvatobhadra 254  
 sūnā 48  
 harivāsara 184  
 hastaghna 506  
 hastatra 506

VI. VERZEICHNIS DER BEHANDELTEN TEXTSTELLEN  
 (Auswahl)

Atharvaveda  
 3. 24. 7 : 49  
 4. 3 : 514  
 5. 17. 14 : 48  
 5. 23. 4 : 527  
 6. 72. 2 : 518  
 6. 72. 3 : 518  
 8. 4. 22 : 525  
 Jātaka  
 1. 488. 21f. : 497  
 2. 206. 10f. 544  
 3. 528. 17 : 107  
 3. 529. 11 : 108  
 3. 529. 27 : 109f.

4. 166. 1ff. : 163  
 5. 440. 11 : 117f.  
 6. 454. 18f. : 521  
 Kātantra<sup>1</sup>  
 1. 1. 20\* : 28  
 1. 2. 1\* : 30  
 Kharoṣṭhī – Inscriptions  
 (hg. v. Boyer – Rapson – Senart)  
 14 : 426  
 35 : 470  
 40 : 430, 433  
 42 : 376  
 70 : 377  
 71 : 431

83 : 431  
 125 : 431  
 140 : 386  
 162 : 373  
 163 : 377  
 165 : 375  
 207 : 374, 463  
 211 : 378  
 223 : 431  
 275 : 375  
 312 : 385  
 315 : 378  
 318 : 471  
 320 : 432  
 340 : 431  
 341 : 383  
 345 : 466f.  
 349 : 432  
 359 : 381, 384  
 367 : 426  
 385 : 462  
 401 : 381  
 420 : 380f.  
 437 : 380  
 450 : 378  
 470 : 386  
 471 : 385  
 489 : 467  
 492 : 385  
 505 : 476  
 509 : 430  
 526 : 381  
 530 : 381f.  
 546 : 383  
 561 : 381  
 566 : 471  
 590 : 380, 455  
 594 : 383

634 : 477  
 637 : 432  
 703 : 379  
 714 : 374  
 722 : 476  
 Kharoṣṭhī – Inscriptions  
 (hg. v. S. Konow)  
 15 : 405  
 45 : 407  
 76 : 410  
 92 : 413  
 Mahābhārata  
 (Kritische Ausgabe)  
 1. 1. 201a : 24bf.  
 1. 1. 202 : 25a  
 1. 102. 23 : 56f.  
 4. 63. 50ff. : 51  
 Mṛcchakaṭikā  
 1. 23 : 76  
 1. 51 : 78  
 Pāṇini<sup>1</sup>  
 1. 1. 69\* : 27  
 1. 4. 14\* : 28  
 2. 1. 18 : 230  
 6. 1. 72\* : 31  
 Ṛgveda  
 7. 104. 22 : 525  
 8. 69. 8f. : 507  
 10. 28. 10 : 515  
 10. 86. 18 : 517, 522  
 Samyuttanikāya  
 (hg. v. L. Feer)  
 1. 131. 11 : 170  
 Videvdāt  
 4. 1 : 437f.  
 11. 14 : 460f.

<sup>1</sup> Ein Asteriskus nach dem Stellenzitat weist darauf hin, daß auch die einheimischen Erklärer zu dieser Stelle besprochen werden.

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pārasava (Kaste) 54ff.  
 piṅga 90ff.  
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 bandhake dadāti 435  
 bimba „Chamāleon“ 500  
 bimbopadhāna 446  
 bulūki 529  
 bhāgadugdha 50  
 bhāṇḍa „Schmuck“ 464  
 bhidura 170  
 maṇḍala „Provinz“ 139  
 matsyāśikā 79  
 madhupiṅgala 90  
 madhyedinam 230  
 madhyevyoma 230  
 yuga (gr.) 31  
 raṅga 125  
 raṅgāvatāraka 127  
 raṅgāvatārin 127f.

rūpa (gr.) 32  
 lattikā 510  
 vajra 234  
 vātaputra 111  
 vātika 111  
 vāyuputra 110  
 vāyusūnu 110  
 viklidha 100ff.  
 vidyādhara 106  
 Vidhura / Vidura / Vitura 48  
 viśvāsika 401  
 vyucchid 406  
 śaśayú 514  
 śiśumāra 528f.  
 śeṣā „Girlande“ 147  
 śaubhikā 444  
 samāsana 58  
 sarvatobhadra 254  
 sūnā 48  
 harivāsara 184  
 hastaghna 506  
 hastatra 506

VI. VERZEICHNIS DER BEHANDELTEN TEXTSTELLEN  
 (Auswahl)

Atharvaveda  
 3. 24. 7 : 49  
 4. 3 : 514  
 5. 17. 14 : 48  
 5. 23. 4 : 527  
 6. 72. 2 : 518  
 6. 72. 3 : 518  
 8. 4. 22 : 525  
 Jātaka  
 1. 488. 21f. : 497  
 2. 206. 10f. 544  
 3. 528. 17 : 107  
 3. 529. 11 : 108  
 3. 529. 27 : 109f.

4. 166. 1ff. : 163  
 5. 440. 11 : 117f.  
 6. 454. 18f. : 521  
 Kātantra<sup>1</sup>  
 1. 1. 20\* : 28  
 1. 2. 1\* : 30  
 Kharoṣṭhī – Inscriptions  
 (hg. v. Boyer – Rapson – Senart)  
 14 : 426  
 35 : 470  
 40 : 430, 433  
 42 : 376  
 70 : 377  
 71 : 431

83 : 431  
 125 : 431  
 140 : 386  
 162 : 373  
 163 : 377  
 165 : 375  
 207 : 374, 463  
 211 : 378  
 223 : 431  
 275 : 375  
 312 : 385  
 315 : 378  
 318 : 471  
 320 : 432  
 340 : 431  
 341 : 383  
 345 : 466f.  
 349 : 432  
 359 : 381, 384  
 367 : 426  
 385 : 462  
 401 : 381  
 420 : 380f.  
 437 : 380  
 450 : 378  
 470 : 386  
 471 : 385  
 489 : 467  
 492 : 385  
 505 : 476  
 509 : 430  
 526 : 381  
 530 : 381f.  
 546 : 383  
 561 : 381  
 566 : 471  
 590 : 380, 455  
 594 : 383

634 : 477  
 637 : 432  
 703 : 379  
 714 : 374  
 722 : 476  
 Kharoṣṭhī – Inscriptions  
 (hg. v. S. Konow)  
 15 : 405  
 45 : 407  
 76 : 410  
 92 : 413  
 Mahābhārata  
 (Kritische Ausgabe)  
 1. 1. 201a : 24bf.  
 1. 1. 202 : 25a  
 1. 102. 23 : 56f.  
 4. 63. 50ff. : 51  
 Mṛcchakaṭikā  
 1. 23 : 76  
 1. 51 : 78  
 Pāṇini<sup>1</sup>  
 1. 1. 69\* : 27  
 1. 4. 14\* : 28  
 2. 1. 18 : 230  
 6. 1. 72\* : 31  
 Ṛgveda  
 7. 104. 22 : 525  
 8. 69. 8f. : 507  
 10. 28. 10 : 515  
 10. 86. 18 : 517, 522  
 Samyuttanikāya  
 (hg. v. L. Feer)  
 1. 131. 11 : 170  
 Videvdāt  
 4. 1 : 437f.  
 11. 14 : 460f.

<sup>1</sup> Ein Asteriskus nach dem Stellenzitat weist darauf hin, daß auch die einheimischen Erklärer zu dieser Stelle besprochen werden.

<sup>1</sup> Ein Asteriskus nach dem Stellenzitat weist darauf hin, daß auch die einheimischen Erklärer zu dieser Stelle besprochen werden.

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