



Kusanica

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Kusanica

By H. W. BAILEY

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1. bakanapati

1. From the period of the rule of the Kusāṇa family of the Saka kings come three inscriptions from Mathurā.¹ Of the first two neither is completely preserved, but in both a word *bakanapati* is unmistakably present. The first inscription is of the time of the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra*² *Huviṣka*. The second inscription written on a pedestal seems to contain the name *Vima*, and this by both K. P. Jayaswal and Mme van Lohuizen de Leeuw is considered to mean Vima Kadphises, though Sten Konow expressed his doubts.³

2. The context of the word *bakanapati* in the first two inscriptions can be approximately understood though both are broken. In no. 1 the word is the title of a man whose name began with *Śaukr-*, son of a *mahā-dandanāyaka* ‘captain’,⁴ whose name began with *Masa-*. He made a *taḍāga* ‘pond’, and restored a broken and fallen *devakula* ‘temple’.⁵ The second inscription likewise is concerned with a *devakula* and its appurtenances: *ārāma* ‘garden’, *puskariṇī* ‘lotus-pool’ and *udapāna* ‘watering-place’.⁶ Here also the word is a title before a name beginning with *Huma-*.⁷ The history of the *devakula* is well known. The modern survivals are in Bengali *deul*, Hindi *dewal*, and in Singhalese *deval*, and others. Earlier we find Prakrit *devaula*, *devayaula*, and *deula*. It is often a wayside shrine into which the traveller turns at night. In Pali the old form *devakula* occurs in the Jātaka story (II 411) *ekasmim devakule dāru-kalāpaṇ uṣṣisake katvā nipajji* when the wood-cutter carrying his wood to town lies down in the temple beside the road. In the Pratimānāṭaka many more details about a *devakula* are cited.⁸

The attendant in charge of a *devakula* was called the *devakulika*, with a title formed by the suffix *-ika*, which we note also in *ārāmika-* ‘gardener’, *mahānāvika-* ‘sea captain’, *paṭikamakārika-* ‘executor of repairs’,

¹ J. Ph. Vogel, *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India* 1911–2; id. *Verslagen en Mededeel. K. Akad. van Wet.* 1920, 218 ff.; D. R. Sahni, *JRAS* 1924; J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The ‘Scythian Period’*, p. 379. The third was edited by Sten Konow in *Epigraphia Indica* 21, 1931, 55 ff., and K. P. Jayaswal, *J. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.* 18, 1932.

² For a recent summary of the evidence on the title of *devaputra*, see F. W. Thomas, *B. C. Law Volume II*, 1946, 305 ff., where, however, the denial of the title *devaputra* to the coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa cannot be sustained.

³ ‘Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology,’ *Journ. of Ind. Hist.*, 12.36.

⁴ The title *dandanāyaka* occurs in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions; no. 76 in Sten Konow’s edition has *dadanayako*. As *dadanāyaka* it occurs on a recently found (1949) Kharoṣṭhi inscription. In H. Lüders’ List of Inscriptions, no. 60, from Mathurā, has the title with *mahā-*. In the Buddhist Dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti*, *dandanāyaka* occurs in a list of titles.

⁵ *devakulam bhagna-patitam vīśīnam*.

⁶ The *udapāna* may be compared with the *prapā*, see *BSOAS* 13.925.

⁷ See the remarks of Sten Konow on K. P. Jayaswal’s discussion, loc. cit. p. 60, note 2.

⁸ See the discussion by O. Stein, *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 14.646 ff.

navakarmiga- ‘restorer’, *āvāsika-* ‘official in charge of *bhikṣus*’ lodgings’.¹ The *devakulika* occurs in a Mathurā inscription, no. 63 in H. Lüders’ List. He is an actor in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka*. In the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Sakaki 3748) *daivakulika* corresponds to *devakulika* of N. D. Mironow’s edition. It is explained as the ‘guardian of a temple’.

A parallel to the use of *kula* in *devakula* is given by *rājakula* ‘royal family, court’. It is rendered by Khotanese *kūṣda-*.²

3. The context of the word *vakanapati* in the third inscription is the presentation of a *punya-śālā* endowed to assist the poor. Here also the title is associated with foreign names, *Khasāra-lera-pati* son of *Kanasarukamāna*. It is placed after the names, which still await explanation. The *lera-* recalls the same syllables in the names of the colophons of Gilgit manuscripts: *Lera-kṣīṇa-*, *Lera-pukhra-*, and *Lera-nihela-mati-*.³

4. *bakana-pati*, *vakana-pati* contain the *pati-* which can mean not only ‘lord of’ but is attested frequently both in Indian and Iranian with the meaning ‘official in charge of’. From Iranian *spāda-* ‘army’ with *pati* survives in Mid. Parth. *sp'dpty*,⁴ Zor. Pahl. *spāhpāt*, Armen. *sparapet*, and Khotanese *spāta*. Other compounds occur in Armenian *hazarapet*, Mid. Parth. *hzrwpt*,⁴ Armen. *karapet* ‘caravan-leader, forerunner’, and in Old Iran. Avestan *daišhupaiti-*, later *dahyupat*, *dēhbād*, and many others. From Indian it will suffice to quote *senāpati* ‘captain’.

5. *bakana-*, *vakana-* in *bakanapati*, *vakanapati* can be compared directly with an Iran. **bagana-* ‘connected with the gods’ as an adj. in *-ana-* from *baga-* ‘god’. The full word is attested in Sogdian *βyn-* ‘temple’, and *βyn-ptw* ‘sorcerer’, *βyn-pt'nč* ‘sorceress’.⁵

A different derivative gave Mid. Parth. *bg'nyg* and Mid. Pers. *by'nyg* **bayānīγ* and **bayānīγ* in the meaning ‘divine’.⁶

If we equate the *bakanapati* with *βyn-pt-* we have a title ‘official in charge of temples (or a temple)’, which would suit the *devakulika*, whose charge, the *devakula*, is found in the first two inscriptions, and would well apply also to the *punya-śālā* ‘hall of merit’ of the third.⁷

6. In explanation of the form *bakana*, *vakana* the following notes are required.

baka- and *vaka-* for Iran. *baga-* can be set beside the *vaka-* and *vaga-* attested

¹ *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. U. Wogihara I 166; *Ancient India* 5, p. 6; *Epigraphia Indica* 2.100; *Kharoṣṭī Inscriptions*, ed. Konow, no. 76.12; Ed. Chavannes and Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* 1915, 1.193 ff.

² In the bilingual text edited in Hvatanica III, *BSOS* 9, lines 31 and 53.

³ Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* 1932, 1.45; Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* I, colophons of the *Bhaiṣajya-guru-sūtra* and *Ajitasena-vyākarana*.

⁴ Śāhpuhr inscription Parthian, line 23, 24, 25.

⁵ Discussed by W. B. Henning in *BSOS* 8.583 ff. Arm. *bagin* has *-in* < *-anya*.

⁶ See C. Salemann, *Manich. Studien* I, glossary.

⁷ Sten Konow thought hesitatingly of Wakhān, which is known in Sanskrit as *Vokkāna*. L. Bachhofer, *JAOS* 1941, 250, mentioned the same conjecture. For the names of Wakhān, see *BSOAS* 13.402.

in the proper names *Vaka-mihira-* and *Vaga-mihira-*, that is, Old Iran. *baga-miθra-* from *baga-* ‘god’ and *Miθra*.¹ The first part of a name in the Kharoṣṭī inscription no. 86: *Vāga-mareğasa* ‘of Vaǵamareǵa’ almost certainly contains the same word. The second component suggests a connexion with *māra-* from Old Iran. *manθra-* ‘spell’. The Iranian *baga-* is found in Old Pers. *baga-*, Avestan *baya-*, and in Greek script *βαγο-*,² Mid. Parth. *bg*, Mid. Pers. *by*, and Sogd. *βγ-*, *fay-* (= *vay-*). It is likely to be the *beg-* of the Turkish name in Khotanese script *be'garakä*, Turk. *bägräk*.³

The alternation of *b* and *v* in Indian texts and modern languages has always caused difficulty. J. Bloch has pointed out⁴ that Marāthī, Gujarātī, Sindhī, Panjābī, Kāśmīrī, and Singhalī have kept *v* distinct from *b*. In the Veda some mixture has already occurred⁵ and in Sanskrit *b* has at times replaced *v*. Pali and the Prakrits do not change *v* to *b*. In Buddhist Sanskrit there is some uncertainty. In the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra from a Central Asian manuscript⁶ both *śivikā* and *śibikā* are recorded. Usually in Khotanese the *v* and *b* in Indian words are distinct, but I have noted *biharāre* ‘they go about’ from *vihar-*, *Bīmacātri aysuri* ‘the asura-demon Vemacitra’, in E, where, however, the Khot. word *bīma-* ‘rock’ may have intervened (= Mid. Parth. *vēm*, Avestan *vaēma-* and Armen. *vēm*). In a Sanskrit text from Khotan occurs also *bināyeka* for ‘Vināyaka (the demon)’.⁷ For writing Indian *va* the Chinese employed signs beginning with *b'-*.

To spell Iranian words of Khotanese the Brāhmī script could offer only *b* or *v* for the local *β* and *γ*, so that the writers vacillated.⁸

In Old Indian the base *barh-* stands beside *varh-* ‘to tear out’, but in the Rigveda *bālh-* corresponds to the Avestan *vād-* ‘thrust’. Here too should be noted a word of the Rigveda *batā-* which has already been much discussed, but without consideration of the relevant Iranian evidence, hitherto ignored because it is not found in the incomplete remains in Old Iranian.⁹ In Rigveda 10.10.13 occurs in a (metrically irregular) verse: *batō batāsi yama* ‘Yama, ah, you are a villain’. The verse is repeated in the Atharva-veda 18.1.15 where in his commentary W. D. Whitney proposed to take the adjective as primary. This is confirmed by the Iranian evidence. Zor. Pahl. *wt*, Mid. Pers. *wd* ‘bad’, whose

¹ See H. Lüders, *Die Šakas und die ‘nordarische’ Sprache*, 1913, 422; I. Scheftelowitz, *Acta Orient.* 11.295.

² See O. Hansen, in F. Altheim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum*, 1951, plate 10 b 3. For *māra-*, see *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 162.

³ See *Asia Major*, n.s., I 51.

⁴ *La Langue Marathe*, p. 152 ff.

⁵ J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* I 183.

⁶ Ed. E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil I, pp. 119, 120 and 124. Similarly *br̥mndam* in H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, p. 8, fol. 8 r 2.

⁷ P 2900, quoted *BSOAS* 10.894. *bihar-* in *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 1, Kha 1.13, 134 v 1.

⁸ See *Asia Major*, n.s., II 32, Add *uda* ‘old’ in the Sudhana story, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 29.197, 204, which is probably from **br̥zda-* to the base *barz-* ‘increase’.

⁹ See H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Textkritische und Exegetische Noten*, on the passage, citing J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* II 1.5.

w- represents only Old Iran. *v-*, corresponds to Khotanese *bata-* ‘small’,¹ whose *b-* can represent in Old Iranian either *v-* or *b-*. This connexion seems most likely, and if it is accepted, the proposed comparison with *βάτας* ‘lecherous’, *βάταλος* ‘cowardly’ cannot be sustained.²

Variation in the effort to express the fricative *γ* was noted in *BSOAS* 10.780 for Kharoṣṭī script. They used *g*, *k*, *ǵ*, *k̄*. In Brāhmī script either *g* or *k* could be employed.

7. In *Asia Major*, n.s., II 29 the Khotanese *vāna-* ‘temple’ was quoted as a further cognate, if it is traced to **bagāna-*.

8. In the Khotanese official letters another word *vānā* occurs, still unexplained, for something which can be bought. In Or 11344.11.b 2 occurs *vānā gāryem mūrā hastūsi* ‘I bought *vānā* for eighteen mūra-coins’.³

2. pharṣavata

1. Of this title five forms occur: *pharṣavata*, *pharsata*, *pharsava*, *pharsa*, *pharṣa*. It is inflected as an *-ā* stem. It was this *-ā* inflection, like the fem. *-ā* suffix, which misled E. Leumann into taking the word as a feminine name.⁴ Its use in official documents is frequent. It has been found in Tibetan script in Or 11253.36 *phar-śa*, and in two Hedin Tibetan documents 1.3 *par-śa* and 3.7 *pa-śa*. In a bilingual Chinese-Khotanese Hedin document, no. 16, the word is written in Chinese script 破沙 K 753, 846 *po-sa* from *puā-śa*.

2. No translation of the title has been found so far. But it is possible to show that it most likely represents the ‘judge’. The following is the evidence.

In Or 9268 a, b 6–9 a business dispute is brought before two pharsa-officials at the *hangrama-* ‘court’.⁵

śi' gvārā hamgrīma ā vye pyamtsü pharṣa < . > ḡugula⁶ u pharṣa vikrāntadattā. [Follows a list of the names of witnesses.] *tti ra śā' pāda pramāṇa himi khūī pharṣa bara pyaśdā* ‘this business has been brought before the pharsa < . > ḡugula and pharsa Vikrāntadatta. [Witnesses.] This document then becomes authoritative when the pharsa Bara seals (?) it’.

The word *hangrima* has now been found in Hedin documents:—

49 b 2 *parau tta tti mūrā hamgrīma ā samauṭtādā śe hwadye mūrā pārrve 15*
‘the command is such, they allotted these mūra-coins in the Court, to each man were paid 15 mūra-coins’.

53 b 2 *svī ysai mara hamgrīma ājuma* ‘bring here into the Court early tomorrow morning’.

55 b 1 *hagrrama āna ttyā dvi hvaḍā hīvī herā hamkhīysä yuḍādā < tt>ī ttā mūri haraṣṭādā* ‘in the Court they counted the property of these two men. Then they arranged about the mūra-coins’.

¹ Greek *δλίγος* beside Alban. *l'igu-* ‘bad, lean’ shows a similar difference of meaning.

² F. Specht, *Zeits. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 66, 1939, 11.

³ The *mūra* coins corresponded to the Chinese 錢 *ts'ien* ‘cash’.

⁴ *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, p. 355.

⁵ Part of this text was edited by Sten Konow, *Norsk Tidssk. for Sprogvid.* 11.21 ff.

⁶ The first akṣara of this word is still uncertain.

Kha vi 4, frag. 1, b 5 <ci syam>d<ai> braukalā spalāte bvāñā si hamgrīma pūrūm ‘whose left eyebrow twitches, to him it must be known : I shall win in the Court’.

This *hamgrīma* is loc. sing. to **hamgrama*-, which may, indeed, be seen in Hedin 55 b 1, but there the omission of the *i* may be accidental, and the locative seems to suit better. The word could be traced to Old Iran. **han-karma*- and be compared with Avestan *hankərəma*- ‘establisher’ and *hankərəti*- ‘completion, settlement’. Hence the Khotanese *hamgrama*- would be the ‘place of settlement’ where the judges settled civil cases.

3. No other word has been noted in Khotanese texts which could represent the ‘judge’. But the office is known from Tibetan documents : *khrims-dpon*, *khrim-bon*.¹ For ‘judge’ the documents from Agni and Kuci show *prakṣānt-* and *preksenta*-, that is, ‘questioner’.² In the Maralbashi text occurs *pursickari* in which ‘investigation’ has been detected.³ Similarly ‘questioning’ is recognized as a function of the judge in Sanskrit *prād-vivāka*.

The *pharṣa* is sufficiently important to receive the epithet *salya-bāyai* ‘president of the year’ in Dumaqu a, 4. 1–2 *salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari*. This *Sāṃdara* is frequent in the documents. In the two Hedin Tibetan texts cited above we have *par-śa so-hdah*, *pa-śa soṇ-dar* and *par-śa soṇ-hdar*. More commonly occurs the phrase *sau . . . salya* ‘in the year of the sau-official’.

4. If therefore the meaning ‘judge’ is assigned to *pharṣavata*, as the ‘official in charge of questioning’, the word can be traced to the base Old Iran. *fras-* ‘to ask, question’. Derivatives from this base *fras-* are found in Khotanese *bras-* in *brāskā-* ‘question’, and the present theme *puls-*, partic. *braṣṭa*-, infin. *brrīṣte*. In the Tumshuq text we have *rās-* ‘ask’.⁴ With the preverb *ā-* the Khotanese has *aurāś-* ‘to inform’ from **ā-frās-ya*-, corresponding to Zor. Pahl. *āfrās*, and similar Mid. Iranian forms.

5. If we seek then to trace **fraša-pati*- in *pharṣavata* the dialectal difference in the initial *ph-* (= *f*) demands explanation, as does also the *phar-* from *fra-*, the *s* and the *rs*.

The keeping of *f*- can be compared with the *phr-* in another word : *phrrūmā* in Siddhasāra 20 v 5 *phrrūmā churba* corresponding to Tibetan *bskyur-ba* | *phyur-ba* for the Sanskrit 9 r 5 *kīlāta* ‘thickened milk’ (from which Romani has *ciral* ‘cheese’, and Baškarik *kilēr*, Yidya *kirāṛ*).⁵ Tibetan *bksyur-ba* is for *skyur-ba* ‘acidity; sour’ and *phyur-ba* is for *chur-ba*, according to H. A. Jäschke’s Dictionary ‘a kind of vermicelli prepared from butter-milk boiled’, in S. C. Das’s Dictionary ‘a kind of cheese or curd extracted from milk after boiling and evaporation’. Tibetan *phy-* at some time took the pronunciation

¹ F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, II 124, 322, 336.

² E. Sieg, *Die Udanālankāra-Fragmente*, p. 145; *Tochar. Gram.* 449.

³ W. B. Henning, *ZDMG* 90.12, note 4, referring to Sten Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*.

⁴ *BSOAS* 13.659.

⁵ *Acta Orient.* 18.217. Other words are quoted by T. Burrow, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946, 2.

tion *ch-*. In *phrrūma-* ‘kilāta’ is found a connexion of Zor. Pahl. *frwšk* ‘thick milk’, New Pers. *furša* ‘beestings’, as from **fraušma-* or **frušma-*.¹

For the -š- of *fraša-* it will be necessary to recognize Indo-Eur. *prek-* with suffix -s- : hence *fraš-* from *prek-s-*. With this can be compared the present base of **prek-* in Agni and Kuci *prak-s-* and *prek-s-*. The Pašto *vrāša* ‘speech’ fem., has its -š- from -s-y-.² The metathesis *phar-* from *fra-* is assumed because the base is *fras-* with -ra-, and in Khotanese -rš- passed to -rr-.³ If the word *pharsavata* were a loan-word in Khotanese,⁴ this second point would not necessarily require metathesis.

In the documents a proper name variously spelled occurs : *hvrrīvidti*, *hrrīviti*, *hvīvīti* and *hvīvi-* in the inst. sing. *hvīvina*.⁵ In Chinese script this became 拂里勿 K 47, 529, 1278 *fu-li-u* from *p'juət-lji-mjuət*. Here also an attempt to express a foreign *fr-* is probable and the name might be an Iranian *friya-pita-* (or *friya-pati-*) attested in *Φριαπίτης*, Priapatius.⁶

7. There are then three dialectal treatments of Old Iran. *fr-* : Khotanese *br-*, Tumshuq *r-* and the third unnamed dialect retaining *fr-* (written *phr-* and *hvr-*).

The *fr-* was retained in the Kharoštī inscriptions in India and to express the foreign *f-* for which the Kharoštī script had no sign a modification of *v* was adopted : it has been transliterated *ph'*⁷ and *vh*.⁸ The sign for *vhr-* occurs in the inscription no. 77 from Mānikiāla, south-east of Taxila, found with a coin of Huviška, in the name *Āṇavhryaka* and in no. 27.2 from Taxila in the name *Imtavhri'a-putr<e>na*.

By this evidence the word *pharsavata* is a loan-word in Khotan. For a word as important as the ‘judge’ a loan from the dominant language of the Kuṣāṇa Saka would be readily explicable.

To support this recognition of a loan-word in Khotanese it is necessary to refer again to the word *čandana-* discussed in *BSOAS* 13. 926 ff. I had intended there to point out that in Khotanese the Old Iran. -nd- passed to -n-.⁹ Hence

¹ I owe this explanation to I. Gershevitch. Other forms are quoted by W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 11.719. I see no way to use here Tibetan *phru-ma* ‘womb’.

² G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. Voc. of Pašto*, p. 107.

³ For -rš- replaced by -rr-, note Jātaka-stava 26 v 4 *arrū* ‘bear (animal)’, beside Avestan *araša*, Sogd. ’ss̥ in the Sūtra of Causes and Effects, 359. In Khotanese -š- was preserved in secondary contact in *jśā'ñ-* ‘to make to boil’, from **yaiš-* attested in 3rd sing. pres. *jīṣdi* ‘boils’; *jīṣta-* ‘boiled’.

⁴ This is proposed below. Ossetic *ars* ‘bear’, New Pers. *xirs* and Munjānī *yarš* have kept two consonants. In Pašto -rš- passed to -ž- (-ȝ-), see G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. Voc. of Pašto*, pp. 33, 34.

⁵ Or 11344.1.3, Hedin 6.4, Hedin 1.6, Hedin 15.

⁶ F. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 106.

⁷ In the edition of the Central Asian Prakrit texts in Kharoštī.

⁸ This was used by Sten Konow in his edition of the inscriptions and I adopted it for the Dharmapada in *BSOAS* 11.488 ff.

⁹ See *BSOAS* 11.767 : *bana-* < *banda-*. Similarly *hana-* ‘blind’ corresponds to Old Ind. *andha-*.

a word *čandana-* is probably a loan-word. Since it was used as a Kuṣāṇa title the source may be Kuṣāṇa.¹

8. The transference of *-pati-* to an *-ā* stem agrees with the regular Khotanese replacement of *-i* and *-ī* stems both in Iranian and in Indian loan-words. Thus Khotanese *spāta* from *spāda-pati-* retains *-a* from *-ā*. Similarly the many Indian words in *-vatī* which became *-vatā* and then *-va*; and *-pati*, retained as *-va* in *saināva* ‘senāpati, captain’ and *dānava* ‘dānapati, benefactor’.²

The recognition that the Indian *-a-pati-* in compounds passed through *-a-vatā* to *-a-va* and thence to *-a* suggests the explanation of the title in Chinese Buddhist texts 維那 K 1265 A, 647 *uei-na* from *wi-nā*.³ The meaning is explained by the Bud. Sansk. word *karmadāna*, the man who distributes the tasks to the monks in a *vihāra*. Hence in Indian **vidhāna-pati-* may be at the base of *uei-na* by way of a Prakrit **vijaya-vattā*, *vīnava*, *vīna*.

10. A *pharsavata* occupied by a civil case is found also in the Stein document F II 1. 006 written on wood. It is printed here since the volume containing it may be delayed in publication.

1. tya pharsavata vamñā muho jsa amanā ma yanā aysä ra ttū sa-
2. lāvā padā mara kīntha bāśa anattī hvemā ttī miqānā hvemā ttū bā-
3. sa miđe ma<ñ> nä hūđe ttānu cu tu pyūstämä se ttū bāsa rrispurā kheysarā ham-
4. jsā'rá haurā <vam>ñā ttā puñadāysä buđe u miqānāna ra ttā pāđa bu-
5. // / -o / / / hā karya sahyä cu vara hvā'ndā u stūra kum nä hā puñadāysä pa-
6. // / <pha>rśavata ra hama pīre vā muhau vara pāđa haure u cu ra ma / /
7. // / vā ha . ma ta ⁴ hvāñā pā

‘The . . . pharsavata-official should now not act in an unfriendly way to me. I for my part first spoke this word here in the city all of it in full. Then I spoke to the Gracious one. The Gracious one did not give me the house.⁵ Because I heard that they intended to give this house to Prince Kheysara. Now therefore Punyadāsa has taken and to the men of the Gracious one carried (?) this document. . . . to exert energy. What men and cattle are there where

¹ A further point touching *čandana-* to be mentioned here is that there is an Old Ind. word *syandana-* ‘chariot’. From the same base occurs Bud. Sansk. *syandanikā* ‘gutter’. But beside this spelling with *sy-* we find in Pali *candaniķā*, and a form with *c-* is attested in Chinese, see Sylvain Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhanga*, pp. 22 ff. Thus *syand-* and *cand-* stand side by side. It might therefore be thought that in the Khotanese Sudhana text a word **candana-* ‘chariot’ might be found. But the equation there of *cadana* with *bve'yāscye* ‘shining’ seems secure and satisfactory. In assuming in Iranian a word in *-ana-* where Indian had *-ra-*, it is possible to point also to Khotanese *ttūpna-* ‘strong’ (probably from **tumana-*) beside Old Ind. *tumrā-*.

² See the Indian words cited in *BSOAS* 10.914, 917. For *dānapati* see *BSOAS* 13.655, and Hedin 23 b 14 *dānava*. The *saināva* occurs in *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 72, 15.

³ Perhaps preserved in the *vina* of a Khotanese Hedin document no. 33. An edition and translation of the Hedin Collection is ready and it is hoped will shortly be published.

⁴ An unclear mark after *ha*, and broken *ta*.

⁵ If the final *-a* is to be trusted this is the Late Khotanese acc. sing. fem. If the scribe has omitted *-ā* then the word would be *bisā* ‘servant’.

Punyadāsa . . . The pharsavata-official for his part may write and give me a document there. And what . . . must be said . . .'

In this text *anattī* is from *ananta-* with the pronoun *-ī*. The Gracious one means the king, who has the titles *miḍā jasta* 'gracious god'. From his title the adj. *miḍāna-* is formed, 'the men of the king'. Similarly *yauvarāyāna-* 'men of the Yuvarāja' occurs in documents.

11. Besides the reference to the *pharsavata*, one other detail in this text may be signalized : the name of the Prince, *rrispurā kheysarā* 'Prince Kheysara'.

It would be most intriguing to find here the same name as that of *Phrom Ge-sar* in Tibetan documents.¹ But it has to be recognized that two Indian words came to Khotan, one *kesarī* 'lion', in E 6.38 as *kesarā* and in Agni 12 b 3 *kesār śiśāk* 'kesarin lion' from Bud. Sanskrit. From a Prakrit form of *kesarin-* the Khotanese *kheysara-* could well have come with the retention of *-e-*, as we find it in *kideśa* from *kleśa*, and in *deśana* 'confession' from Ind. *deśanā*, beside *dise'ni* and *disē'na*. The other word was *khiysara-* 'filament of a flower', Bud. Sansk. *kesara-*.

12. E. Leumann had thought to find the name of *Caesar* in a Khotanese text.² I pointed out in a note in *BSOS* 9. 71 that this was a misinterpretation. But since the note, being in an obscure place, has been overlooked and the passage quoted for Gesarica, I should put the matter more clearly here. The colophon is to be explained as follows :—

pharṣavata ysambastā parste pīde hamtsa purakā ysarkulna

that is, 'The pharṣavata-official Ysambasta ordered to write together with his son Ysarkula.' The collocation with *-na* only to the second word is frequent, as in P 3513, 51 v 4 *dāyi cakrrina* 'by means of the wheel of the Law'; N 101. 41 *mirāhīnai hārṇa* 'with a pearl necklace'.

The name *Ysarkula-* has not been found elsewhere, but other names ending in *-ṛla-* occur, as Hedin 26.15 *braguli*; Or 11344. 6 a 2 *samgūlai*; and a place name *vīmgūlāṇa* in Or 11252.2.7. For the presence of the son, compare the Brāhmī inscription 1140 (H. Lüders' List) *saha putrēṇa dhammarakhitena* 'with his son Dhammarakhita'; and no. 127 *vakamihirasya sahā putrena* 'of Vakamihira with his son'.³

So far, therefore, it is not possible to point to *Caesar* in Khotanese texts.

13. It is known that in the Aśoka inscriptions of the north-west of India certain Persian words entered the vocabulary. The best known are *dipi-* 'inscription' and *nipista-* 'written'. With these it seems proper to set also the word *prasāṇḍa* of the Śāhbāzgarhī text (xii 3) representing **prāṣāṇḍa-* or **pāṛṣāṇḍa-* 'member of a religious sect'. It is a word well known later in Sansk. *pāṣāṇḍa-* and the central Prakrit *pāṣāṇḍa-*.

¹ See the passage quoted in *BSOAS* 13.392. For the Ge-sar story there is a bibliography by G. Roerich, 'The Epic of King Kesar of Ling,' *JRAS of Bengal*, 1942.

² *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht*, p. 355.

³ Quoted by H. Lüders, *Die Śakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache*, p. 422.

If we associate this word with an Iran. *fraš-* as an early loan-word **frašanta-*, with *fraša-* as in *pharsavata*, the *-s-* would exclude an Indian form from *pras-* ‘ask’. Both Iranian and Indian use of this base to mean ‘study’ is familiar. In the *-anda-* can then be recognized a replacement of Iran. *-anta-*. Later in Khotanese this *-ant-a-* became *-anda-*, as in *māñanda-* ‘resembling’ and *śānamda-* ‘lying down’. But it appears outside the verbal system in *khīñda-* ‘appearance, likeness’, occurring in hendiadys with Ind. *veṣa-* ‘guise’ in Hedin 23.17. Khotanese *mande* ‘woman (as bearing children)’ probably also contains a participle in *-anda-*, perhaps from *maik-* ‘to suckle’ (Avestan *maēkantī*). In adjectival use *khīñdaa-* occurs in Siddhasāra 7 r 3 *hūñi paśāme khīñdai krra striha ni tcerā* ‘a severe treatment like the letting of blood must not be applied’. In *khīñda-* I recognize a present participle to a verb *khah-* : *khasta-* ‘appear’, to be connected with Ind. *kas-¹*.

Within Indian itself also the older *-ant-a-* appears as *-anda-* in *taranda-* ‘ferry’.

3. i. Pātu

1. The transference of ethnic names from one people to another can easily be exemplified. The name of the *Scoti* has been extended to the Brythons of Strathclyde and even to the invading Angles who settled in the land. The Ossetes have yielded up the name of *Asi*, by which in various forms (*Os*, *Ovs*, *Ās*) their neighbours continue to call them, to the Balkar Turks.

A name *Pātu* is found in Chitral whose history is not recorded.² It is used by the Kalāṣā speakers of South Chitral for the Khō people of Mastūj, North Chitral. The Kho are the speakers of Khōwār, the chief language of the state and the most archaic of New Indo-Aryan dialects. The Kalāṣā and Khowar languages are closely related.³

2. The attempt to trace connexions of the name *Pātu* is faced by various solutions. The name may belong to all the Kho and have been retained in use only by the Kalāṣā ; or it may have been a name for a section of the Kho and have been extended by the Kalāṣā to all the Kho ; or the name may have been transferred to the Kho from another people either in their present home in North Chitral or before the two groups of Kho and Kalāṣā immigrated into Chitral from the South.

3. That old names are preserved among neighbours can be seen by two examples from this same mountainous region. Thus the Sanglēči use *Šām* in *Šām Čatrād*, and the Prasun *Šim*, for North Chitral. In these two names has survived the old name known in Sanskrit *Śyāmāka* and in Chinese 商彌 (Hüan

¹ Forms of this word are Krorayina Kharoṣṭhi *akas-*, *ağas-*, *ağaj-*, *ukas-*, *nikas-*, *nikhas-*; AMāg. *nikas-*. Khotanese *uskhasta* (correcting *BSOAS* 10.898); *khaittā* in P 5538 a 12; and *nasakhastye* in P 4649.1. Khowar *kas-*, G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 72. This assumes that *-ahati* became *-aittā*.

² Quoted by G. Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 48, and again in *BSOS* 8.661.

³ The local relations can be seen on the maps given in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 8, opposite p. 1, and vol. 10, opposite p. 5.

Tsang)¹ K 859, 618 *sang-mi* from *siang-mjię*. Somewhat similar is the case with the Sanglēčī name Kīvī for the Kho, and with the names for *Munjan*.²

4. Since the history of the name *Pātu* is not recorded the only help, if we are to seek to explain it, comes from the linguistic evidence. G. Morgenstierne himself in his study of the Iranian element in Khowar recognized that Middle Iranian words had reached the Kho.³ Hence he saw that in *Kalāṣā Pātu* could have been earlier **pārtay-*, and have preserved a name from the time of an ancient invasion of Parthians.⁴

5. But from the linguistic side that is not the only solution. Since in this region the word may be either Iranian or Indo-Aryan, both types must be considered. An important feature is the medial *-t-* which survives from a consonant group. In both groups it is possible to trace *-t-* to *-kt-*. First as to the Iranian. In Pašto *-t-* has replaced *-xt-*: *sātəl* ‘to keep’ has *sāt-* from *saxta-*. The *-t-* may be lost, as in *sə* ‘burnt’ from *suxta-*.⁵ Pašto is spoken in South Chitral.⁶ In Wakhī *-xt-* is replaced by *-yd* as in *nāyd* ‘night’, Old. Iran. *naxt-*, Old Ind. *nakt-*. Secondly as to Indo-Aryan of the Darada group. Khowar has kept older *-rt-*, but has changed *śukta-* ‘sour’ to *śut*. In Siñā also *-t-* has replaced *-kt-*. Thus Siñā *bat* ‘cooked rice’ is from *bhaktam*, Hindī *bhāt*; *mutu* ‘saved’ is from *mukta-*, and *satu* ‘attached’ from **sakta-*.

For *Kalāṣā* the published information is scanty.⁷ From R. L. Turner and G. Morgenstierne I have the following: *-kt-* replaced by *-t-* in *ritem* ‘I pour into’ from *rikta-* (as *Tirāhī rətu* ‘empty’) and *sātem* ‘I embrace’ from **sakta-*.⁸

Since *Kalāṣā* had *-āt-* from *-akt-* it would not be possible to distinguish between Old Ind. *-akt-* and *-ākt-*.

If the form of the word *Pātu* had been attested for us in Khowar, it could have represented **paktay*, but not **partay*. But in *Kalāṣā* intervocalic *-t-* is ambiguous: it may represent either older *-rt-* or *-kt-*,⁹ hence either **paktay* or **partay*.

Clearly both Iran. **paxtay-* and Indo-Aryan **paktay-* would suffice as the

¹ Two other Chinese spellings are given by Ed. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 8, 1907, 190–1.

² See G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 6 ff.; *BSOS* 6.439 ff., and *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p. 46 ff.

³ *BSOS* 8.657 ff.

⁴ For the name of the Parthians, see H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 63; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, 1950, 196. The name came to India in the form Pahlava, Palhava, and through the Buddhist books reached Khotan as Palvala.

⁵ In Pašto *-t-* arises also from *-śt-*, as in *watəl* ‘to fly’ from *vaśta-*. The group *-rt-*, however, became *-r-*, as in *sōr* ‘cold’, from *sarta-*.

⁶ D. J. T. O'Brien, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowar Dialect*, 3rd ed., 1937, p.3.

⁷ *Linguistic Survey of India* 8.2.69 ff.; R. L. Turner, *BSOS* 4.535 ff.; G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, 47 ff., and in the Volume presented to J. Ph. Vogel, 240–7, *The Spring Festival of the Kalash Kafirs*.

⁸ For the *s-*, see *BSOAS* 11.776. Add *avasangā* in the Central Asian manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, ed. E. Waldschmidt 91.4. In Khotan *sanniśadyā-* was replaced by *śsandāśśajā-*. The *s-* does not justify the explanation of *sakta-* from *srāj-* as proposed by T. Burrow in *BSOAS* 12.650. It probably arose after preverbs with *-i*. Mahāvy. 5570 *avāśangab-*.

⁹ In *varōti* ‘fairy’ from **vātā-purikā*, *-t-* is from *-tr-*, but in *pūtr* and *putr* ‘son’ the *-tr-* survives.

source of *Pātu*. But since in Khowar a Middle Iranian *apāxtar* has survived with -*xt*- in *paxturi* ‘sunny side’,¹ it would seem better to take the Indo-Aryan form with -*kt*- as the immediate source of *Kalāśā Pātu*.

The modern linguistic evidence, though incomplete, leads back as one possibility to a form **paktay-* or **pāktaya-*. Such an old ethnical name, however, immediately calls to mind the name *Πάκτνες*.

ii. *Πάκτνες*.

The people *Πάκτνες* and the land *Πακτνική* have been much discussed by historians and geographers. They occur in the text of Herodotus and perforce every student of Herodotus has had to face the problem; and it concerns equally the historian of India. It has unfortunately proved impossible to locate the names exactly. A. W. Lawrence in his notes to the re-edition of G. Rawlinson’s translation² put the Paktues in Gandara, that is, the region south of Kabul, with the capital *Puṣkalāvati*.³ Earlier J. Marquart⁴ connected them with North Arachosia. This agrees with E. Herzfeld who recently⁵ equated them with the Paropamisadai. They wore skins (Herod. 7.67 *σισυρνοφόροι*) which points to a mountainous home.⁶

References to the ancient Paktues, though few, show clearly that they were an important people during the Persian Achaemenian period. Historians have therefore naturally looked about to find if possible a trace of the name in modern Afghanistan. A superficial resemblance often led them to point to the name *Paštō*, *Paštūn*, the present name of the dominant people of the land. The assumption that the other modern dialectal pronunciation *Paxtō*, *Paxtūn* was old enough to be equated with *Πάκτνες* was naive. J. Marquart protested that -*št*- of *Paštō* did not represent an older -*kt*.⁷ The details were then given by G. Morgenstierne⁸: *Paštō* -*št*- has replaced an earlier -*rs*.⁹ The names likely to correspond to *Paštō* were therefore the *Παρσιῆται* and *Πάρσοι* of the Greek geographers. E. Herzfeld, seeing the difficulty of comparing *Πάκτνες* and *Paštō* thought to emend the Greek form by insertion of -*s*- between -*k*- and -*t*. The Greek form seems, however, to be too well established to allow this explanation.

An alternative interpretation is therefore worth putting forward. Here the *Kalāśā Pātu* offers a possibility.

¹ *BSOS* 8.668.

² *The History of Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, 1935, p. 302.

³ See A. Foucher, ‘De Kāpiśi à Pushkarāvati,’ *BSOS* 6.341 ff.

⁴ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, 2, 1905, pp. 175 ff.

⁵ *India Antiqua*, presented to J. Ph. Vogel, 1947, p. 182.

⁶ On the identification of the uncertain *P’u-ta*, *P’u-tiau*, I have nothing to add to Ed. Chavannes, *T’oung Pao* 6, 1905, 514, and 8, 191; J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The ‘Scythian Period’*, p. 372.

⁷ *Untersuchungen* 2.177.

⁸ *Acta Orientalia* 18.138 ff. (with reference to P. Tedesco); *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, 70 ff.; *ibid.* 1950, 207.

⁹ It replaced also -*rst*- and probably -*xst*-; the latter was assumed in the discussion in *BSOAS* 13.125, cf. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1950, 207.

It is known from the Greek spellings of *τύκτα* for Iran. *tuxta*¹ and *Báktrpa* for Old Pers. *Bāxtriš* that the Greeks put *-kt-* for Iran. *-xt-*. The name *Paktues* came to them from the Persians in a form **paxtu-*. Beside the Iranian form an Indo-Aryan form **paktu-* probably existed in the mouths of Indo-Aryan speakers.

The ending *-u* is the reduced grade to *-au-*: Greek *Πάκτυες* and **paktau-* attested in Kalāṣā *Pātu* can therefore be the same word. If it is preferred to derive *Pātu* from an adjectival **pāktaya-*, the two words would stand in the relation of noun in *-u* to the adj. in *-ava-*, the usual type as in Ind. *manu-* : *mānava-*.

It may be possible in the future to decide whether the *Πάκτυες* placed in the region of Kabul, and the *Pātu* in North Chitral, separated by a period of more than two thousand years, are too remote from each other to permit a connexion, and whether the explanation of *Pātu* from **paktau-* and **pāktaya-*, in Iranian with **paxt-*, and the comparison here proposed with *Πάκτυες* are entirely illusory.

4. mahisī

The Khotanese word *mäjsei'* and *mijse'* was already known to E. Leumann, who had met it in two colophons.² The passages read *mijse'* *Khilaha parstā pīdi* 'the lady Khilaha ordered to write' and *mäjsei'* *Tamaksana parstā pīdā* 'the lady Tamaksana ordered to write'. The verb *parstā* is feminine. The word *mijse'* could then also be quoted from the text printed by A. F. R. Hoernle.³ Since that time the word has been found in many passages. In the *Siddhasāra* 125 v 4 *mijse'* *vī ksi'me* corresponds to Tibetan *bud-med-la dgah* 'takes pleasure in a woman', and ibid. 144 v 5 *mijse'* *vī tsūma* renders Tibetan *ñal-po*. The plural occurs in P 2834. 40 *ttī va hā' ttā majsi' braštā*⁴ 'then she asked the women', and in Or 11252.1.41⁵ *mijsi' mirāre* 'the women die'. It would seem to be the honorific beside the other words *strīya* 'woman', *nāra* 'wife', and *mande* 'woman (as bearing children)'. The various spellings are: *mijsyē*, *mijse'*, *mäjsei'*, *mijsi'*, *mijśām'*, *majsām'*, *maijsyām*.⁶

From the attested forms the base can be set down as *mijsyā-* and *mijśā-*. The first syllable had the older *-ā-*.

2. It is possible to derive *mijse'* from **maziśi* through **maziżā-* or **maziżyā-* by transference to the *-ā* inflexion.

By umlaut the *a-i* gave *ā*, then *i*, and the second syllable was dropped, as in *gyasta-* from *yazata-*. This type of umlaut is attested in *mästa-*, *mista-* 'great',

¹ For *τύκτα* in Herodotos 9.110, see E. Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.* 47, 1951, 38–9.

² Nebenstücke, pp. 163 and 164. He rendered it 'edle'. From here it appears in Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*.

³ *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, p. 402, plate 17.

⁴ *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 46.

⁵ *BSOS* 8.927.

⁶ P 2781.80; N 163.20; *Siddhasāra* 125 v 4; N 164.3; P 2893.159; P 2834.43; *Jivakapustaka* 54 r 4.

Avestan *masita*.¹ The first syllable -ä-, -i- of *mäjsā* ‘marrow’ arose by the same umlaut.

The -j- of *mijse* needs further explanation. I take the replacements to have been **mazižā*- to **maizzā*- and **mäizzā*- . In this the ž was replaced by dž for which the Khotanese written symbol was -j-, whereas ž (palatalized z) was written š'.

This same replacement of -ž- by -dž- in consonant groups can be cited in two other words. To translate Sansk. *p̄l̄han*- ‘spleen’ the Khotanese used (in E) *spulja-*; and in the later medical texts this became *spijaa-* and *spaijaa-*. Here then we find **sprz-ya*- with the same suffix -ya- that occurs in the three names of parts of the body in the Rigveda *āsyā-*, *pājasyā-*,² *sphigyā-*. In Khotanese -ržy- has then been replaced by -lž-, and that by -ldž, which is written -lj-. In other Iranian dialects occur Avestan *spərəzan-*, Zor. Pahl. *spyhl*, *sp'lz*,³ New Pers. *supurz*, Balōči *isp'ulk*.

The second word is *mäjsā*, *mijṣā*, loc. sing *mijṣāya* ‘marrow’, with the derivative *mijṣāka*, later *mijṣāka*- ‘kernel’. Here we have **mazg-yā-ka*- passing by way of *mäžjā*- to **mädzjā*- . From this the Khotanese spelling would have given **mäjjṣā*- , for which *mäjsā* is written with the -j- in double employ.⁴ In Old Iranian occurs Avestan *mazga-*.

3. This Khotanese *mijse* attests for Old Iranian a word **mazišī* ‘woman’. To it corresponds in Old Indian *mahiṣī* ‘woman of rank’ and also ‘buffalo cow’. It should, however, be noted that in translating Bud. Sansk. *mahiṣī* in *agra-mahiṣī* the Khotanese translator did not use *mijse*, but gave in the *Suvarṇabhāṣā* 35 a 4 (gen. sing.) *hvāṣṭye rrīñē* ‘chief queen’.⁵

4. The Indo-Aryan word itself requires some elucidation. The main information has long been tabulated :—

mahiṣā- ‘great’ in the Rigveda as an epithet : *mrgó ná mahiṣó* ‘like the great beast’ (9.92.6), *mahiṣó mrgānām* ‘great one of the beasts’ (10.96.6), later as itself the noun *mahiṣā* ‘buffalo’. The feminine *máhiṣī* was used for the buffalo cow. In the Atharva-veda (12.3.38) occurs the verse :—

tásmin̄ chrayātai mahiṣāḥ suparnō devā enam devatābhyaḥ prá yachān

‘To it shall resort the mighty eagle, the gods shall hold him forth to the deities.’

But in another development from the time of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa the word *mahiṣī* was an epithet of a noble lady, wife of a king. The compound *agra-mahiṣī* for the chief queen is frequent.

¹ The ä resulting from the i-umlaut of a is important for the pronunciation of ä in Khotanese. When the following two consonants became a single sound the result was a long ī, thus in *yśidaa-* ‘yellow’, Avestan *zairita-*, with -d- from -rt-, and in *bīdā* ‘he bears’ from *barati*.

² See *BSOAS* 12.326.

³ Greater Bundahišn 190.1 ; 195.14.

⁴ For the -ä, -āya, cf. nom. sing. *hadā*, gen. sing. *hadai*, loc. sing. *hadāya* ‘day’, *hasai*, *hasāya* ‘dhātu’ (*BSOAS* 10.899), and *nātā* ‘river’.

⁵ Sten Konow, *Zwölf Blätter einer Handschrift des Suvarṇabhāsasūtra*, p. 27.

5. The form of this feminine *máhiṣī* is noticed by E. Benveniste.¹

6. The Middle Indo-Aryan north-western Prakrit forms for 'buffalo' are attested in Agni (301 a 4) *mahirṣ-āñ* plur.; Khot. *mahaīṛṣa-* in the adj. *mahaīṛṣiñā* (*s'* = *z*); Tibetan *mahe* and *mahiṣa*.²

From a Khotanese text³ was quoted *mahaīṣa*'. It reads *uysamesta bārā aśa hasta mahaīṣa*' 'well-groomed riding animals, horses, elephants and buffaloes'. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscription no. 15 in Sten Konow's edition A 2 we have *agra-mahesi* 'chief queen', where the *-e-* is notable.⁴

Pali used three forms *mahiso*, *mahiṣo* and *mahimso*. In Prakrit, ArdhaMāg. and Mahārāṣṭri, *mahiṣa* is used. Hence the second syllable had at different times *-i-*, *-ī-*, *-im-* and *-e-*.

7. In New Indo-Aryan the word for 'buffalo' is widely attested. Significant forms are Śinā *mīṣ* fem.; Śumāṣṭī *māīṣa*, *māīṣī*, Hindi *bhaīṣ* fem., Marāṭhī *mhaīṣ* fem.⁵

8. Beside these forms with *-ṣ-* and *-z-* stand others with *-d-*, *-l-*. The Atharva-veda has once (10.10.6) *mahiṇukā* (Paippalada variant *mahiṇokā*) as an epithet of the cow. The Girnār text of the Aśoka inscriptions has *mahiḍāyo* 'women' parallel to the *iṭhī*, *strīyaka* and *abaka-janiyo* ('mothers').⁶ ArdhaMāg. and Mahārāṣṭri have *mahiḷā*, and *mahelā*.⁷ Later Sanskrit has from Middle Indian *mahiḷā*, *mahelā*, *mehalā*, *mehalā* and *mehilā*. Such variation in vowel is a mark of Middle Indian, not foreign, origin.⁸

9. I see no reason to doubt that the words are related, but the choice between various explanations remains open: either a phonetic replacement of (*s >*) *z* by *d* (*> l*); or (if early) from *mahiṣ-* direct before the *-bh-* of case endings, as has been proposed for *id-* in *idā-* 'offering'⁹; or by a different suffix *-id-* in place of *-is-*.

10. A similar replacement of *-ṣ-* by *-l-* can be pointed out in another word. The *uṣṇīṣa-* 'headband', frequent from the time of the Atharva-veda onwards in Hindu and Buddhist texts, has taken the form *uṣṇīra-* attested in Agni *uṣṇīr* and Uigur *uṣnir* (whence Mongol *usnir*).¹⁰ In Khotanese occur (E 24.40) *uṣṇīra-* and (Kha 1.306 a, r 1) *ttītī vā tta tta ciṇḍāñā si vañā mamāñai uṣṇīlāna*

¹ Bull. Soc. Ling. 35, 1934, 105, and *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, p. 34. Note also the treatment of *-is-* and *-as-* by F. B. J. Kuiper, *Acta Orient.* 20.23 ff., and earlier on *-is-* in *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflexion*, p. 25.

² See *BSOAS* 11.776.

³ *BSOAS* 11.776, now printed in full in *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 25, line 124. The translation must be changed.

⁴ Cf. *vilayā* 'woman' beside *vidabā* 'mare', H. Oertel, *Zeits. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 1948, 26 ff.

⁵ Other details in R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 483.

⁶ See H. Lüders, 'Avriḍwopov Wackernagel', p. 306; J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, p. 114; ed. E. Hultzsch, p. 16.

⁷ Sheth, *Pāīa-sadda-mahānnava*.

⁸ T. Burrow proposed a Dravidian origin, *BSOAS* 12.390.

⁹ Recently rediscussed from the Italic side by V. Pisani, *Noterelle ario-tocariche*, Acme I (University of Milan), 1948, 315–19.

¹⁰ F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II 50, 57.

āṣsiṇi bā'yä naramdi 'then by him it must be thus thought, now from my headband a blue ray has issued'. Here we have both *-r-* and *-l-*. In Sogdian occurs *wśn'yš*¹ and in India Pali has *unhīsa-*.

The explanation as a phonetic change where *-z-* has been replaced by *-d-* and *-l-* seems best to suit. At the end of words the replacement of *-is* by *-iz* and thence to *-ir* is the regular sandhi change.

11. The Khotanese word *mijše'* is thus an important link in the history of *mahišt̄*. The word was Indo-Iranian : **mazišt̄* beside *mahišt̄*. With it belongs *mahidā*.

¹ P 5.58 and Dhyāna 38, 39.