



Consonanze 11.1

ANANTARATNAPRABHAVA

STUDI IN ONORE DI GIULIANO BOCCALI

*a cura di Alice Crisanti, Cinzia Pieruccini,
Chiara Policardi, Paola M. Rossi*

I



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I

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Khotanese *baṣṣä* and *bibaḍe*

Mauro Maggi

These notes on two words from the ancient Indo-Iranian contact area in Central Asia are offered as a small tribute to Giuliano Boccali, who introduced me to Indo-Iranian studies in my undergraduate years at Milan University, together with the late Indo-Europeanist Enzo Evangelisti and Indologist Carlo Della Casa.¹ Both notes are connected with the hapax *baṣe* ‘garments, covers (?)’ I came across while interpreting the Khotanese inscription on the wooden tablet 90-YKC-040 from Karadong.²

1. *Khotanese* *baṣṣä*

Chapter 17 of the *Book of Zambasta* (henceforth *Zambasta*) – a fifth-century didactic poem in Old Khotanese based on, but not directly translated from Indian sources and expounding the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism in 24 chapters³ – is written in the outstanding metre C⁴ and opens with a vivid but fragmentary poetic description of the mountains in the different seasons and the nearby monks’ dwellings in the summer monsoon season. This description features elements typical of mountains as represented in Indian *kāvya* such as «many great blue [clouds]»⁵ (v.

1. I am grateful to Doug Hitch for comments and suggestions and Cinzia Pieruccini for other help in the preparation of this article.

2. Maggi forthcoming b.

3. Ed. and trans. by Emmerick 1968a, whence quotations in this article are taken unless otherwise indicated. See Maggi 2004, 2005, 2009, 348-357, and 2015, 961-862 for the dating and further references. Chapters 17 and 18 in Emmerick’s numbering actually form a single chapter on the fallacy of worldly pleasures, and a lost chapter once existed between Emmerick’s chapters 21 and 22 (Maggi–Martini 2014).

4. On Old Khotanese metrics see now Hitch 2014. An outstanding position for metre C is suggested by inserts in C (*Zambasta* 2.105-122, 24.208-214, and 24.244-248) that are encapsulated in chapter 2, written in metre A, and chapter 24, written in metre B, and are preceded and followed by remarks such as «These and many such verses came out of the gong» and «When Bhadra heard these verses, (...)» in 2.104 and 123 (in parallel with the edition, in translations I use [...] for lacunae and (...) for ellipses).

5. My supplement.

2), «herbs, elixirs, perfumes, flowers» (v. 6), wild mountain animals (v. 7), mineral substance⁶ (v. 8), thundering clouds, rains, waters (vv. 9-19), comparison of a violent river with «a rutting elephant» (v. 19), and waterbirds (v. 20).⁷

The manuscript is regrettably defective here because of the loss of the right half of the manuscript folios and, thus, of the third and fourth *pādas* of each verse.⁸ This not only hinders the appreciation of the poetical value of the passage, but also impedes the understanding of the several hapaxes found in it.

One such hapax – which was brought to my mind by the similarly sounding *base* in the Karadong tablet – is the unclear noun *baṣṣā* [baṣə] that occurs in the hemistich *Zambasta* 17.14a-b: *ku vātco nyūlte kho baṣṣā nyūḍāre samu*. Ernst Leumann left *baṣṣā* untranslated.⁹ Sten Konow suggested deriving it from **uaxṣu-*, to be compared with the river name *Oxus*, and decided on the translation ‘a rapid river’.¹⁰ He was followed by Harold Walter Bailey, who finally decided on the meaning of ‘stream’.¹¹ The hemistich was translated ‘in places it [that is, water] rushes down as only torrents rush down’ by Emmerick,¹² who inferred the more specific meaning ‘torrents’ from the context and, thus, apparently also followed Konow’s suggestion. Later, in an article on this very hapax, he reaffirmed his translation, but showed that the word cannot go back to Konow’s **uaxṣu-* because this would involve lengthening of the preceding vowel (**-axṣ-* > *-āṣṣ-*, not *-aṣṣ-*). Ruling out on semantic grounds the possibility that *baṣṣā* is a loanword from Gāndhārī *vaṣa-* – which was known to him in the sense of ‘year’ from the Khotan *Dharmapada*, «but undoubtedly was also used in the sense of ‘rain(y season)’» (Sanskrit *varṣa-* and *varṣā-*) – Emmerick concluded, as «the last possibility that remains», that *baṣṣā* may be onomatopoeic and «have been named after the swishing sound of water dashing against rocks as the torrent rushes down the mountainside».¹³ Emmerick attempted to argue in favour of his etymology by recalling that «Khotan is far from the sea and the torrents played a [...] significant role in the lives of its inhabitants».¹⁴

Instances of substitution of local customs and ideas for Indian ones do occur, as in the case of Khotanese *jūṣḍānā-* ‘musk grain’ replacing Indian *candana-* ‘sandal-

6. Khotanese *dhātta-* [dāta-] ← Sanskrit *dhātu-* ‘primary element of the earth, i.e., metal, mineral, ore’ (Monier-Williams 1899, 513). Emmerick 1968a, 257 opts for ‘metal’.

7. Cf. Boccali 2001 and 2003.

8. Facsimile in Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij–Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965, 227-229.

9. Leumann 1933-1936, 220.

10. Konow 1939, 67.

11. Bailey 1950, 402 (‘river’), 1967, 231 (‘stream’), and 1979, 273 (‘stream’).

12. Ed. and trans. Emmerick 1968a, 256-257.

13. Emmerick 2000, esp. 31-35 for a survey and criticism of previous etymological attempts, including additional references, and 35-36 for the quotations.

14. Emmerick 2000, 36.

wood' in an Indian maxim that occurs in Brahmanical, Jain, and Buddhist works, and could be easily adapted: «Whoever injures one arm of mine (or) sprinkles one with musk grains, towards both is my mind always equally well-disposed, Bhadra» (*Zambasta* 2.139).¹⁵ However, this does not seem to be the case with the passage under consideration, which sounds purely Indian in terms of content (there is no monsoon in Khotan), style (inspired by *kāvya*), and also vocabulary, as is suggested by the mention of elephants (*bastā* ← Gāndhārī *basti*-,¹⁶ Sanskrit *hastin*-) and the occurrence of *siya*-, the regular Khotanese rendering of Sanskrit *haṃsa*- 'goose, swan, etc.'¹⁷

Before proceeding with the discussion of *baṣṣā*, it is appropriate to quote the entire passage (*Zambasta* 17.2-26):¹⁸

2 Lofty peaks, many great blue [clouds¹⁹ ...] 3 day becomes clear. Just so do they appear [...] 4 In winter, snow covers the peaks [...] 5 In spring, overgrown are all kinds of good [...] 6 Various herbs, elixirs, perfumes, flowers [...] 7 Many *drrauṣṣas* and *purṣṣas* go about on the mountains [...] 8 Where it is not overgrown, there there is mineral substance²⁰ [...] 9 In summer, the clouds thunder very loudly [...] 10 The rain rains down; streams flow down from the mountains [...] 11 Much other water moves inside the mountain [...] 12 flows down from the mountains. All the water falls away [...] 13 makes eddies, somewhere²¹ deep whirlpools [...] 14 elsewhere it rushes down as only *baṣṣā*²² rush down [...] 15 somewhere it spreads out; many streams go forth [...] 16 elsewhere on the bank, thick, collected [...] 17 In its great swirl they rise aloft [...] 18 streams down from the mountains just as from a prison [...] 19 somewhere it crushes like a rutting elephant, perverse [...] 20 elsewhere *haṃsas* go about there [...] 21 Near the mountains, on the bank of the river [...] 22 Gardens are established. The streets, springs are beautiful [...] 23 enclosures, *ārāmas*,²³ cells. Many Buddhas [...] 24 everything is known to him. Once there were many here [...] 25 scented with meditations, all encompassed by merits [...] 26 surrounded by gardens, trees, seed-fields [...]

15. For the interpretation of the first hemistich see Maggi forthcoming a.

16. In the Khotan *Dharmapada* 279, ed. Brough 1962, 163.

17. On *siya*- = *haṃsa*- see Bailey 1967, 361 and cf. Konow 1939, 78.

18. Trans. after Emmerick 1968a, 255-259 with modifications.

19. See n. 5.

20. See n. 6.

21. The Khotanese has 13 (...) *ku vā* (...) 14 *ku vātco* (...) 15 *ku vā* (...) 16 *ku vātco* (...) 19 *ku vā* (...) 20 *ku vātco* (...). The regular alternation of *ku vā* and *ku vātco* may not merely be due to the exigencies of metre. So, I translate '13 somewhere (...) 14 (...), elsewhere (...) etc.'. Emmerick has 13 'where', 14 'in places', and then just 'elsewhere', including 20 'Elsewhere' as the beginning of a new sentence.

22. Emmerick 'torrents'.

23. Emmerick 'enclosed *ārāmas*'.

I think that Emmerick surrendered too quickly to the extreme solution of an onomatopoeic explanation. In vv. 13-20 the religious poet, whatever his source, describes with Indian eyes the various forms taken by water flowing down from the mountains. In particular, he describes rapids in v. 13, waterfalls in v. 14, and tranquil water reaches and braided streams in v. 15. From an Indian perspective, it is only natural to describe waterfalls with reference to the heavy showers and torrential rainfalls accompanying the summer monsoon, which «over southern Asia can reach record amounts» (my emphasis).²⁴ The fact that Gāndhārī *vaṣa-* (also spelled *varṣa-*) is not attested in the sense of ‘rain’ or ‘monsoon’ is likely due to chance. Several modern languages of the North-West feature continuation of Old Indian *varṣa-* in the sense of ‘rain’: Pashai II, 21, 27, 28 *wāṣ*, 26 *wāṣ*, 29, Q-š *wāṣ*, Dameli *baṣ*, Gawar-Bati *wāṣ*, Kashmiri *woṣ* (‘downpour, cloudburst’), Kalasha (Rumbūr and Urtsun) *b’āṣik*, Woṭapūrī (Kaṭārqaḷā) *baṣ* (Morgenstierne), *baṣ* (Buddruss), East Kati *woṣ*, West Kati *waṣ*, *woṣ*, Khowār *boṣik*, Niṅgalāmī *baṣ*, Biōrī Phalūṛa *bāṣ*, Punjabi *varhā*, Shumashti *wāṣ*, Savi *baṣ*, and Waigali (Kegal, Waigal, and Zhönchigal) *wāṣ*.²⁵ Accordingly, Gāndhārī *vaṣa-* may well be the source of Khotanese *baṣṣā*, an Indian loanword used in the passage in question precisely to refer to ‘monsoon rains’, a natural phenomenon found in India but not experienced in Khotan: «elsewhere it [that is, water] rushes down as only monsoon rains rush down».

Other Prakrits are to be ruled out because only Gāndhārī continues the three Old Indian sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, and *ṣ* as separate phonemes.²⁶ As for the initial consonant, it should be noted that, in loanwords from Gāndhārī, *v-* is usually rendered by Khotanese *v-*. However, apart from the varied modern north-western continuations of Old Indian *varṣa-*, original *v*, which is mostly retained in Gāndhārī, is occasionally represented as *b*²⁷ and *vaṣa-* itself is spelled with *b-* in *barsakudīṇa* genitive plural ‘for (...) crores of years’ and possibly [*bar..*]ṇa (reconstructed as *bar>(*ṣa)ṇa*) accusative plural ‘for (...) years’ in *Anavataptagāthā* 87b and 72d.²⁸ Two other instances of Khotanese *b-* from Gandhari *v-* are known (see § 2).

As for the form, it is not possible to determine whether the Khotanese nominative-accusative plural *baṣṣā* governing the third plural present indicative middle

24. Ahrens 2012, 185. Reference to monsoon rains was suggested to me by Doug Hitch commenting on an early draft of Maggi forthcoming b (personal communication, 30 August 2015).

25. For ‘year’ other words are mostly used. See Fussman 1972, vol. 1, maps «Année», «Pluie», vol. 2, 62-64, 277-279 (numbers and the siglum Q-š before Pashai words refer to the points on the maps). Cf. Turner 1966, 664.

26. See von Hinüber 2001, 177-178.

27. Allon 2001, 78 and Salomon 2008, 116.

28. Ed. and trans. Salomon 2008, 184, 186. In his conventions, brackets [] indicate «[a]n unclear or partially preserved *akṣara* (graphic syllable) whose reading is less than certain» and parentheses with an asterisk (*) indicate «[a] lost or illegible *akṣara* that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel texts, or other evidence» (p. XX).

nyūdāre ‘they rush down’ is an *-a-* or an *-ā-* stem, because the ending *-ā* occurs with both.²⁹ The fact that Gāndhārī *vaṣa-* is neuter, as shown by the aforementioned accusative plural *bar(*ṣa)ṇā*³⁰ and the locative plural *vaṣeṣu* ‘years’ (in Aśoka’s Shāh-bāzgarhi rock edict 3,6),³¹ suggests that Khotanese *baṣṣā* is from a neuter *baṣṣa-* with *-ā* as a variant spelling for *-e*.³²

2. Khotanese *bihaḍe*

While arguing for the correspondence of Khotanese *baṣe* ‘garment, cover (?)’ in the Karadong tablet with Gāndhārī *vaṣe* in Niya 534 B2,³³ I happened to compare Khotanese *bihar-* ‘to dwell’³⁴ and Gāndhārī *viharadi* (for instance in *Ekottarikāgama*-type *sūtras* 127, 37, 45, 48, 51, 55, 58,³⁵ Sanskrit *viharati*).³⁶ Until some twenty years ago, Khotanese *bihar-* was attested only in the third plural present indicative middle *biharāre* (in *Śūranigamasamādhisūtra* 3,1V1).³⁷

The St. Petersburg materials have provided a clearly connected word in *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 10.40 (SI M13 4+15+7 14), which Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja read *bihare*³⁸ and take as a late form of an A type third singular present indicative middle **bihar-āte* with the usual development of Old Khotanese *-āte* [-əʔe] > Late Khotanese *-e* [-e].³⁹ Such a late form is in principle not impossible in an Old Khotanese text, but it would be fairly exceptional in such an early manuscript palaeographically datable to the fifth or sixth century.

In his edition and translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Prods O. Skjærvø follows Emmerick and Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja’s reading and, in the diplomatic edition, reads *bihare* in manuscript Or. 59 (= SI M13 4+15+7) 14 and *ḷhare* in man-

29. Emmerick 1968b, 264, 278 (nouns), 284, 288 (adjectives).

30. Salomon 2008, 141.

31. Ed. and trans. Hultzsich 1925, 52.

32. See Leumann 1933-1936, 386, Emmerick 2009, 385, and Maggi forthcoming b.

33. Ed. Boyer *et alii* 1920-1929, 195; untranslated in Burrow 1940, 105-106.

34. Emmerick 1968b, 99.

35. Ed. and trans. Allon 2001, 121-123, 126-129.

36. Khotanese *binā-* ‘lute’ and Gāndhārī *vinā-* ‘lute’ (in *Anavataptaḡāthā* 38b, ed. and trans. Salomon 2008, 178) cannot be taken into account, since Sanskrit *vīṇā-* ‘lute’ stands «in einem nicht näher aufgeklärten Entlehnungszusammenhang» with Khotanese *binā-*, *bināna-* ‘music; musical instrument’, Christian and Manichaean Sogdian *wyn* ‘lute, harp’, Middle Persian *win* ‘lute’, Armenian (← Iranian) *vin* ‘lute’ (Mayrhofer 1956-1980, vol. 3, 236; see also Bailey 1967, 247-248, Mayrhofer 1992-2001, vol. 2, 568).

37. Ed. and trans. Emmerick 1970, 20-21.

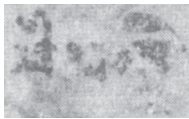
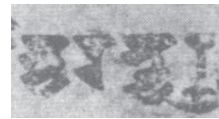
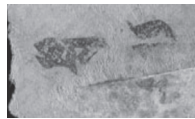
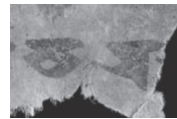
38. Roman type in forms quoted stands for italics in the edition and indicates uncertain reading.

39. Emmerick-Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja 1995, 188, 211; for the verb types and the ending see Emmerick 1968b, 177, 198-199.

uscript Q (Kha. i.136.2) r4 (**bihare* and **bihare* respectively in the critical edition), but he tentatively explains the word as a form of an otherwise unattested noun *bi-harā*- ‘*inner, *core’ (genitive-dative singular? nominative-accusative plural?). The solution he adopts results in the following interpretation of the passage in Or 59r4: *ttīśā subāvatānā u phārrā tsāttātā mamā ttarandaru vātā patārahāte *bihare nāttā* ‘Splendour, goodness, and glory (and) richness will support (themselves) upon my body (and) sit down in (my) *inner’.⁴⁰

The Sanskrit original is of no real help in solving the problem of **bihare* here, because it has the single verb *āveksanti* to correspond with the Khotanese verb *patārahāte*, the mysterious **bihare*, and the verb *nāttā*: *tejaś ca śrīś ca lakṣmīś cāmākaṇṇ kāyam āveksanti*⁴¹ ‘Splendour, glory, and wealth will settle in our body’.

Inspection of the facsimiles shows that neither manuscript supports the proposed readings and that the word has rather to be read *bihāde*. The consonant base in the last *akṣara* is damaged in both manuscripts, but the reading is beyond doubt. The remnants in manuscript Or. 59r4⁴² correspond to the peculiar shape of *ḍ*- rather than to an *r*-, as is confirmed by comparison with *mādāna* ‘gracious’ and *ttarandaru* ‘body’ on the same line. The less clear remnants in manuscript Q r4⁴³ are compatible with a reading *ḍ*- but are too high for *r*-, as comparison with *varā[sāṃdā* ‘they will experience’ in v5 of the same fragment shows by contrast. The word can be read *bihāde* in Or. 59r4 and *bi]hāde* in Q r4.

Or. 59r4 *bihāde*Or. 59r4 *mādāna*Or. 59r4 *ttarandaru*Q r4 *bi]hāde*Q v5 *varā[sāṃdā*

40. Skjærvø 2004, vol. 1, 210-211 (critical edition and translation); vol. 2, 31, 69 (diplomatic edition), 193-194 (commentary), 316 (glossary). In his conventions, a raised multiplication sign * indicates a certain restored form in the critical edition; an asterisk * indicates a probable but hypothetical restoration in the critical edition and an uncertain meaning in the translation. Same reading of Q r4 in Skjærvø 2002, 214.

41. Ed. Skjærvø 2004, 211. See Edgerton 1953, 16 for *kṣ* instead of *kṣy*.

42. Facsimile in Emmerick-Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1993, 142.

43. Scans of fragment IOL Khot 22/8 = Kha. i.136.2 are published in the International Dunhuang Project database (available at <http://idp.bl.uk>).

The improved reading *bibaḍe* provides the first occurrence of the regular Old Khotanese third singular present indicative middle of *bihar-* and reveals that this is a B verb (ending *-tte*: *-r-* + *-tte* > [-ḍḍe] usually written *-ḍe*)⁴⁴ rather than an A verb (ending *-āte*), which had to be left undecided by Emmerick on account of the then only attested plural *biharāre*.⁴⁵ Emmerick warns that borrowed verbs are mostly A type and that, «[u]nless therefore a present is of type A or D, one should be cautious about accepting it as a loanword». However, two other type B verbs are known that are certainly Indian loanwords: *ahāvāys-* [ahawa:z-] ‘to endure; condescend’ (cf. Gāndhārī third singular optative *aśivasaeḥa* ‘let him endure’ in *Arthapada* 966b;⁴⁶ Buddhist Sanskrit *adhivāsayati* ‘to endure; consent’) and *namas-* ‘to worship’ (cf. Gāndhārī third singular optative *namasea* ‘let him pay homage’ in Khotan *Dharmapada* 3c;⁴⁷ Sanskrit *namasyati* ‘to pay homage, worship’).⁴⁸ Khotanese *bihar-* ‘to dwell’ is, thus, just one further type B loan verb.

The reading *bibaḍe* also confirms the occurrence of three verbs as posited by Emmerick and Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja, if not their reading. Their translation ‘Brilliance, blessing, and splendour, wealth will enter, dwell, settle in my body’, however, does not do justice to the stylistic choice of the Khotanese translator, who decided to render the single Buddhist Sanskrit plural verb *āveṣṣanti* ‘they will settle’ with three singular verbs (*patārahāte bibaḍe nāttā* ‘will establish itself, dwell, settle’) so as to parallel the three subjects of the clause: (1) *ttīśā* ‘splendour’ = Sanskrit *tejas-*, (2) the hendiadys *subhāvatānā u phārrā* ‘lustre and glory’ = Sanskrit *śrī-*,⁴⁹ and (3) *tsāttātā* ‘wealth’ = Sanskrit *lakṣmī-*.⁵⁰ The passage under consideration, to be read *ttīśā subhāvatānā u phārrā tsāttātā mamā ttarandarū vātā patārahāte bibaḍe nāttā*, can be more closely translated as ‘Splendour, lustre and glory, (and) wealth will (each) rest on, dwell, (and) settle in my body’.

44. On the B ending *-tte* [-te] (rather than Emmerick’s *-te*, see no. 39) resulting from metanalysis of stem and ending boundary see Hitch 2016, 76-79, 85, 156-158, 183-184, 189-192, 194-195, and esp. 227-233.

45. Emmerick 1968b, 99: «A/B».

46. Corresponding to the Pāli *Aṭṭhakavagga*; ed. (aṣ°) and identification by Falk 2010, 13-14.

47. Ed. Brough 1962, 118.

48. See Emmerick 1968b, 7, 48, and 179 for the quotation. Hitch (forthcoming) has shown that Emmerick’s D verbs can be conveniently described as A verbs with final vowel stems.

49. Khotanese *subhāvatāna-* translates *śrī-* also in 6.2.16, 6.2.73, 17.158. See Skjærvø 2004, vol. 1, LXXV-LXXVI on dyadic translations.

50. The translation ‘brilliance, blessing, and splendour, wealth’ in Emmerick 1995, 59 is, thus, to be preferred.

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