

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM
EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

**Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 110

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS



Helsinki 2011

Pūrvāparaprajñābhīnandanam – East and West, Past and Present
Indological and Other Essays in Honour of Klaus Karttunen
Edited by Bertil Tikkanen and Albion M. Butters
Studia Orientalia, vol. 110, 2011

Copyright © 2011 by the Finnish Oriental Society
Societas Orientalis Fennica
c/o Department of World Cultures
P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B)
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
FINLAND

Editor

Lotta Aunio

Advisory Editorial Board

Axel Fleisch (*African Studies*)
Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)
Tapani Harviainen (*Semitic Studies*)
Arvi Hurskainen (*African Studies*)
Juha Janhunen (*Altaic and East Asian Studies*)
Hannu Juusola (*Semitic Studies*)
Klaus Karttunen (*South Asian Studies*)
Kaj Öhrnberg (*Librarian of the Society*)
Heikki Palva (*Arabic Linguistics*)
Asko Parpola (*South Asian Studies*)
Simo Parpola (*Assyriology*)
Rein Raud (*Japanese Studies*)
Riikka Tuori (*Secretary of the Society*)

Typesetting

Lotta Aunio

ISSN 0039-3282
ISBN 978-951-9380-76-6

WS Bookwell Oy
Jyväskylä 2011

CONTENTS

BERTIL TIKKANEN

Preface xi

Select Bibliography of Klaus Karttunen 1980–2010..... xv

Tabula Gratulatoriaxxiii

I INDOLOGY

GREG BAILEY

“Him I Call a Brahmin”: Further instances of intertextuality
between the Mahābhārata and some Pāli texts..... 3

HANS BAKKER

Origin and Spread of the Pāsupata Movement:
About Heracles, Lakulīśa and symbols of masculinity..... 21

JOHANNES BRONKHORST

Archetypes and Bottlenecks:
Reflections on the text history of the Mahābhārata 39

MĀNS BROO

Drama in the Service of Kṛṣṇa: Rūpa Gosvāmin’s Nāṭaka-Candrikā55

RAHUL PETER DAS

The Classical Āyurvedic Representation of Human Anatomy..... 67

MADHAV M. DESHPANDE

Ārṣa versus Anārṣa in Pāṇini and Allied Literature 85

HARRY FALK

Die Kurus und Ihre Jungen Frauen..... 93

MASATO FUJII

The Recovery of the Body after Death:

A prehistory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* 103

JAN MEULENBELD

Lakṣmaṇa's Yogacandrikā 121

PATRICK OLIVELLE

War and Peace: Semantics of *Samdhi* and *Vigraha* in the *Arthaśāstra*..... 131

ASKO PARPOLA

The Three Ways of Chanting in a Sacrificial Laud: Chapter two of Jaimini-
Paryadhya (Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra III) with Bhavatrāta's commentary:

Sanskrit text with an annotated English translation..... 141

RICHARD SALOMON

The Macedonian Month Xandikos in Gandhāran Inscriptions 165

HENRI SCHILDT

Rare Mediaeval Kerala Murals at Kumbla, near Kasargode 171

BERTIL TIKKANEN

Domaki Noun Inflection and Case Syntax 205

II CLASSICAL AND INDO-EUROPEAN STUDIES

OUTI MERISALO

In Horis Sanguinis:

Physiology and Generation in the Pseudo-Galenic *De Spermate* 231

PETRI POHJANLEHTO	
Nasal Reduction in Late Luwian.....	243
JOUNA PYYSALO	
Fourteen Indo-European Etymologies in Honour of Klaus Karttunen.....	249
III HISTORY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES	
HARRY HALÉN	
Henrik Grenman and Olga Sederholm – Two unlucky Finnish Orientalists from the town of Vasa.....	273
TAPANI HARVIAINEN	
Syriac Poems Written by Finnish Scholars in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	285
NADJA JOHANSSON	
Abraham Ibn Ezra on “The Scholars of India” – A twelfth century Jewish view of Indian astrology.....	297
KAJ ÖHRNBERG	
Georg August Wallin: An Orientalist between national and imperial orientalism	309
YAROSLAV VASSILKOV	
From the History of Indian Studies in Russia: Gerasim Lebedev and the Freemasons	317

THE MACEDONIAN MONTH XANDIKOS IN GANDHĀRAN INSCRIPTIONS

Richard Salomon

ABSTRACT

The Macedonian month Xandikos (Ξανδικός), one of eight Macedonian months attested in Indian inscriptions, has previously been noted in only one Gandhāran inscription. However, it also occurs in an inscription on an incense burner dated in the year 24 of the era of Kaniṣka, though it was not hitherto recognized as such.

1. MACEDONIAN MONTHS IN GANDHĀRAN INSCRIPTIONS

It is by now well-known that the Macedonian calendar was in wide use in the northwestern borderlands of the Indian subcontinent, known in antiquity as Gandhāra, between approximately the first century BC and second century AD. By now eight different Macedonian months¹ have been identified in Buddhist inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language from this region and period. Among them, the month Xandikos (Ξανδικός) has hitherto been known only from one such inscription, namely the reliquary inscription of the [Azes?] year 60 (Salomon 2000: 55–59). But it is the contention of this article that Xandikos also occurs in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on an incense burner dated in the [Kaniṣka] year 24, although it was not recognized as such by the editor (Falk 2006: 402–406).

2. THE INCENSE BURNER INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 24

The inscription in question is written on the underside of the base of a brass incense-burner, about 50 cm in length, which is reported to have come from

¹ Artemisios, Daisios, Panemos, Loios/Oloios, Gorpaios, Apellaios, Audunaios, and Xandikos; see Salomon (2000: 57), Salomon (2003: 77), and Falk & Bennett (2009: 210). Another inscription dated in Gorpaios, not included in the preceding lists, has now been published in Falk (2010: 17–19).

“somewhere near Jalalabad in Nangahar, East Afghanistan” (Falk 2006: 403), a region which is (or at least was) extremely rich in Buddhist antiquities. Falk (2006: 404) read and translated the inscription as follows:

*saṃ 20 4 khaṃtikaśaṃtigathubaṃmi bautaṇṇami acaryaṇa dharmagutakaṇa
parigrahami*

(Given) in the year 24, in the Kṣāntika-śāntika-Stūpa at Bahutapana(?), into the care of the teachers of the Dharmaguptakas.

Thus according to Falk, the phrase which follows “the year 24”, *khaṃtikaśaṃtiga-*, was the name of the stūpa to which the incense burner was donated. However, this is the portion of the inscription where, according to the usual dating formula of inscriptions recording donations to Gandhāran Buddhist monasteries, we would expect to find the specification of the month and day. And indeed, on the basis of the eye-copy² of the inscription (reproduced here as Fig. 1) provided by the editor (Falk 2006: 405), the correct reading of this phrase seems rather to be *khsaṃdikasa di [2]*, that is, “day 2 of Khsandika”. This date is thus comparable with that on the aforementioned reliquary of the year 60, which reads *saṃ 20 20 20 khsaṃdikasa 10 4 1*, “Year 60, [day] 15 of [the month] Khsaṃdika.”

The first syllable of the phrase in question, read by Falk as *kha*, actually seems to consist of a large superscript *kh* with a smaller *saṃ* below. It is thus similar to the first syllable of the reliquary inscription of the year 60, except that there the proportions are reversed, with the superscript *kh* smaller than the *saṃ* below it (see Salomon 2000: 58, Figs 2 and 3). The next syllable as represented in the eye copy looks like *ti*, as read by Falk, but the parallel in the other inscription leads us to expect *di*. Moreover, the third following syllable is virtually identical in form, and there the context virtually demands the reading *di*, as will be explained below. Since *ti* and *di* are very similar in many Kharoṣṭhī hands, I think that both here and in the following instance we are justified in reading *di*.³

The third syllable of the word in question is clearly *ka*, as read by Falk. The following character was read by him as *saṃ*, but I think it must rather be *sa*, that is, the genitive ending of the name of the month which is expected on the basis

2 As explained in Falk (2006: 403–404), due to technical difficulties in photographing the inscription a complete reproduction could not be published, and only a portion of the text – the part immediately preceding the one under discussion here – is shown in the photograph in fig. 8 at the bottom of p. 404.

3 It is theoretically conceivable that the correct reading of the second syllable is in fact *ti* rather than *di*, representing the otherwise unattested Indianized equivalent of an alternate form of the name of the month in Greek, namely Ξανθικός. However, the expected Gāndhārī equivalent of this form would rather be *khsathika-*, so this alternative is unlikely at best.

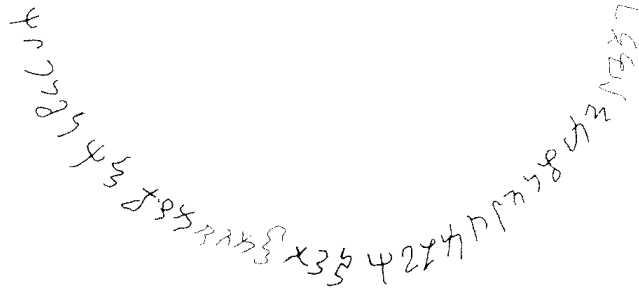


Figure 1 Eye-copy of the inscription of the year 24 on an incense burner
(from Falk 2006: 405)

of the context and of the parallel inscription. The eye copy shows a diagonal line running down toward the left from the head of the *s*, which would suggest the reading *so*. But again on the grounds of context and numerous formulaic parallels in the dates of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, I am inclined to provisionally dismiss this unexpected stroke as an engraver's error or a crack in the metallic surface, though only a direct examination of the object itself could confirm this.

The next letter, like the second one discussed above, looks in the eye-copy like *ti*, but here the context virtually demands that it be read as *di*, that is, the abbreviation for *divase* 'on the day', which regularly follows the name of the month in inscriptional dates of this type. This, as noted above, justifies reading the earlier occurrence of the same syllable as *di* rather than *ti*.

The last letter of the sequence in question, which was read by Falk as *ga*, should, according to the interpretation being proposed here, be the numeral for the day of the month. As shown in the eye-copy, the character has a peculiar form which does not correspond exactly to any normal numerical character of Kharoṣṭhī script, nor to the normal shape of *ga* or any other letter, but it could be a cursively written form of 2, or conceivably a miswritten or badly preserved 20. Once again, the correct reading could only be established by an examination of the original inscription – if then.

According to Falk's interpretation (2006: 405), the name of the monastery to which the incense burner was dedicated was *khaṇṭikaśaṇṭiga*, equivalent to Sanskrit *kṣāntika-sāntika*, whereas the following word *baūtaañami*, which he hesitatingly equates with Sanskrit **bahutapana* 'much heat/much penance', refers to its location. According to the reinterpretation being proposed here, *baūtaañami* alone describes the stūpa, referring either to its name or its loca-

tion (if the two were different). I will not, however, venture an identification or interpretation of this proper name.

I therefore propose the following reinterpretation of the inscription as a whole:

*saṃ 20 4 khsaṃdikas[a] di[2] thubammi baūtaañami acaryaṇa dharmagutakaṇa
parigrahami*

(Given in) the year 24, day 2 (?) of Khsaṃdika (Xandikos) to the stūpa at Baūtaañā, in the possession of the Dharmaguptaka masters.

3. DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

As to the absolute date of the object and accompanying inscription, according to Falk (2006: 405) its palaeographic features indicate that the year 24 of the unspecified era should be attributed to “the first Kuṣāṇa century, resulting in a date $127 + 24 = \text{AD } 151$ ”. He thinks (p. 404) that the year 24 “cannot be an Azes date”, which would correspond to c.34 BC. This would seem to be the correct conclusion, but it raises a problem. For the reliquary of the year 60 has more archaic palaeographic features which led me to conclude that it could not be dated in the Kaniṣka era (Salomon 2000: 57), so that I attributed it to the Azes era, equivalent to about AD 2. These two conclusions are not in and of themselves incompatible, but the very close similarities in the dating formulae suggest that they could be closer to each other in date than a century and a half. This point is not sufficiently persuasive to overrule the proposed datings, but it provides yet another reason to feel less than confident about the reliability of the methods commonly followed in the palaeographic dating of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, as of Indian inscriptions generally (Salomon 1998: 168–170).

4. DISPOSITION OF THE INCENSE BURNER

According to Falk (2006: 406), “The burner never made it to the *gandhakuṭī*, since it was meant from the start to be given into a newly built or enlarged stūpa in the year Kuṣāṇa 24, just like the ‘perfume box’, *gandhakaraṇḍa*, which likewise was made to be deposited inside the enlargement section of the so-called Kaniṣka-stūpa at Peshawar.” Here the implication seems to be that since the inscription refers to the receiving stūpa in the locative case (*thubami bautaañami*), the inscribed object was intended to be permanently interred “in” the stūpa as a supplemental offering together with the relics which the stūpa must have contained. However, I do not think that this conclusion is warranted by the text of the inscription. For other inscriptions on portable objects such as vases,

bowls, and lamps sometimes similarly include the word *stūpa* in the locative case together with a toponym, as in the following cases:

1. Utmanzai lamp inscription [CKI 175]: *thuvami danamukhe gramathuvami sagarakṣidasa danamukhe.*
2. Butkara earthenware vase [CKI 218]: *thubami dhamaraāmi da(*namukhe)...*
3. Inscribed stone bowl from Bajaur (?) [CKI 404]: *... daṇamuhe io vajrakuḍae ṇiyatati thubami ...*

In these cases, it is clear that the locative form does not mean literally “in” the *stūpa*, but rather refers metonymically to the monastic institution associated with it. In grammatical terms, it can be understood as a referential rather than a spatial locative, corresponding to English “to” and specifying the *stūpa*, or rather its monastery, as the recipient of the donation.

Since no information as to the circumstances of the discovery of the incense burner is available, we cannot be sure about its disposition, but, pace Falk, the inscription does not imply that the object was never put to practical use in the monastery affiliated with the Bautaṇa *stūpa*. It is true that the inscription on it does not include the word *daṇamukha* which is normally used in donative inscriptions on utensils and portable objects, but there are other instances where this term is omitted from inscriptions of this type (see Salomon 1999: 241). In the case of the famous “perfume box” from the Peshawar *stūpa* referred to by Falk, a donated utensil was apparently reused as a reliquary or supplemental offering, just as water-pots were sometimes recycled to serve as containers for the ritual interment of bodily relics and/or manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 80, 152, 246; 2009: 20). But I think we can be fairly sure that neither that perfume box nor the incense burner in question here was originally donated with the intention that they be interred in a *stūpa*, although the former, at least, eventually was.

REFERENCES

- CKI = Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. <www.ebmp.org/a_inscriptions.php>
- FALK, Harry 2006. Three inscribed Buddhist monastic utensils from Gandhāra. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156: 393–412.
- FALK, Harry 2010. Signature phrases, Azes dates, nakṣatras and some new reliquary inscriptions from Gandhāra. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism* 13: 13–33.
- FALK, Harry & Chris BENNETT 2009. Macedonian intercalary months and the era of Azes. *Acta Orientalia* 70: 197–216.

- SALOMON, Richard 1998. *Indian Epigraphy. A Guide to the Study of the Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. (South Asia Research series) NY: OUP.
- SALOMON, Richard 1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- SALOMON, Richard 2000. Two new Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 14: 55–68.
- SALOMON, Richard 2003. The Senior manuscripts: Another collection of Gandhāran Buddhist scrolls. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123: 73–92.
- SALOMON, Richard 2009. Why did the Gandhāran Buddhists bury their manuscripts? In: Stephen C. BERKWITZ, Juliane SCHÖBER & Claudia BROWN (eds), *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*: 19–34. (Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism) London: Routledge.