

Linguistica e Filologia è inclusa in ERIH PLUS  
(*European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences*)

Internet: <http://aisberg.unibg.it/handle/10446/6133>

I contributi contenuti nella rivista sono indicizzati nelle banche dati  
*Modern Language Association (MLA) International Bibliography*  
*e Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts (LLBA)*,  
*Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) e Web of Science*

Licenza *Creative Commons*:

This journal is published in Open Access under a Creative Commons License  
Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

You are free to share – copy, distribute and transmit –  
the work under the following conditions:

You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor  
(but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).

You may not use this work for commercial purposes.

You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.



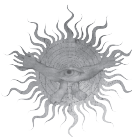
Volume pubblicato dal Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e  
Culture Straniere e finanziato con fondi di Ateneo di ricerca.

ISSN: 1594-6517

# Linguistica e Filologia

# 40

Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Straniere  
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BERGAMO 2020



BERGAMO UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

**sestante** edizioni

### **Direzione della rivista**

*Giuliano Bernini*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Direttore responsabile

*Régine Delamotte*, Université de Rouen

*Klaus Düwel*, Universität Göttingen

*Edgar Radtke*, Universität Heidelberg

### **Comitato editoriale**

*Maria Grazia Cammarota*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Ada Valentini*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Fulvio Ferrari*, Università di Trento

*Emilia Calaresu*, Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia

*Silvia Dal Negro*, Libera Università di Bolzano

*Maria Pavesi*, Università di Pavia

*Alessandro Zironi*, Università di Bologna

### **Comitato Scientifico**

*Cecilia Andorno*, Università di Torino

*Alvise Andreose*, Università e-Campus

*David Ashurst*, University of Durham

*Sandra Benazzo*, Université de Paris VIII

*Gaetano Berruto*, Università di Torino

*Adriana Constăchescu*, Universitatea din Craiova

*Patrizia Giuliano*, Università di Napoli ‘Federico II’

*John McKinnell*, University of Durham

*Maria Grazia Saibene*, Università di Pavia

*Heidi Siller-Runggaldier*, Universität Innsbruck

*Andrea Trovesi*, Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’

*Miriam Voghera*, Università di Salerno

*Marzena Wątarek*, Université de Paris VIII

*Maria Zaleska*, Uniwersytet Warszawski

*Lucia Avallone*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Cécile Desoutter*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Maria Gottardo*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Dorothee Heller*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Stefania Maci*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

*Maria Chiara Pesenti*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

### **Comitato di Redazione**

*Jacopo Saturno*, Università degli Studi di Bergamo

# INDICE

Anna-Maria De Cesare, Begoña Sanromán Vilas <i>Restrictive focus adverbs in contemporary varieties of Italian and European Spanish: A contrastive, corpus-based study</i> .....	pag. 7
Laura Mori <i>La rappresentazione di scenari deontici e l'espressione della performatività nell'italiano delle leggi: dal diritto europeo alla legislazione nazionale</i> .....	» 45
Daniel Russo, Angela Andreani <i>Ogden's Basic English and its roots in the Early Modern English search for language simplicity</i> .....	» 99
Alessandro Zironi <i>Tracce e reminiscenze dei Goti in area ravennate tra il sesto e il decimo secolo: diversità e inclusione alla luce dei dati antroponimici</i> .....	» 129
Andrea Drocco, Neha Tiwari <i>A Pragmatic Approach to Compound Verbs in Hindi/Urdu: The Case of (Inter)subjectivity</i> .....	» 157
Mauro Maggi <i>Annotations on the Book of Zambasta, VIII</i> .....	» 197
<i>Elenco dei revisori per i numeri 37, 38 e 39</i> .....	» 223

MAURO MAGGI  
(Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza)

## *Annotations on the Book of Zambasta, VIII*<sup>1</sup>

*For Raffaele Torella, in friendship,  
on the occasion of his 70th birthday  
on 28th June 2020*

*The article contains annotations on various passages of the Old Khotanese Book of Zambasta and, compared to previous editions and translations of the work, provides refinements and improvements in their interpretation and, in some cases, their reading. The verses taken into account are 2.120-121, 5.81-83, 13.104, 24.174-178, 24.513, 24.516, and 24.650-652.*

*L'articolo contiene annotazioni su vari passi del Libro di Zambasta anticocotanese e, rispetto alle precedenti edizioni e traduzioni dell'opera, fornisce raffinamenti e miglioramenti nella loro interpretazione e, in alcuni casi, nella loro lettura. I versi presi in considerazione sono 2.120-121, 5.81-83, 13.104, 24.174-178, 24.513, 24.516, and 24.650-652.*

The Book of Zambasta (Z for short) is an anonymous religious poem in Khotanese, an Eastern Middle Iranian language attested in manuscripts from the fifth to the tenth century<sup>2</sup>. Composed in the older variety of the language and largely based on Indian sources, the work expounds the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism and is the longest and probably the earliest original Khotanese Buddhist work, as there are good reasons for dating it to the second half of the fifth century (Maggi 2004b; Martini 2013). It is, thus, of the utmost importance for our knowledge of the Khotanese language and the history of Buddhism in Khotan.

<sup>1</sup> I thank Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā and Douglas A. Hitch for comments and suggestions on a first draft of this article. Doug Hitch was also so kind as to revise my English.

<sup>2</sup> Standard edition with English translation by Emmerick (1968a); editio princeps with German translation by Leumann (1933-1936). Emmerick's work forms the starting point for the passages discussed here. All quotations from the Book of Zambasta are cited with Emmerick's translation unless otherwise specified. Verse numbers may be followed by the letters a, b, c, d to refer to single pādas. For Khotanese texts, including Z, I use the conventions listed at the end of the article. Different conventions used by others are converted to the ones adopted here for the sake of consistency. The same applies to the translations quoted.

This article is the third and last batch of philological and linguistic annotations that provide a background to, and in a few cases refine, the Italian translation of chapters 1-2, 5, 13-14, and 24 of the Old Khotanese Book of Zambasta that I published in an extensive anthology of Buddhist texts (Maggi 2004a). That translation activity gave me the opportunity to read afresh parts of the work and prompted me to introduce a number of refinements and improvements in interpretation as compared to the edition and translation by Ronald E. Emmerick<sup>3</sup>.

## 1. Z 2.120-121

### 1.1. Emmerick's edition and translation

- 120 *mahāsamudru ūtca biśśa khaṣṭa hāmāte*  
*bātā ahāna kaṣṭa hāmāte vātā biśśā 9*
- 121 *ne balysi hoto hve' harbiśśu butte karā*  
*balysa buvāre śśūjīye hota samu 20*

<sup>120</sup> The water in the great ocean can all be drunk up; the wind, on attachment by a noose, can all be held—<sup>121</sup> a man does not at all know all the power of a Buddha. Buddhas alone know one another's power.

### 1.2. Revised edition and translation

- 120 *mahāsamudru ūtca biśśa khaṣṭa hāmāte*  
*bātā ahāna \*kaṣṭa (MS kaṣṭa) hāmāte vātā biśśā 9*
- 121 *ne balysi hoto hve' harbiśśu butte karā*  
*balysa buvāre śśūjīye hota samu 20*

<sup>120</sup> Can all the water in the great ocean be drunk up? Can all the wind be held by means of a noose (and) a whip? <sup>121</sup> A man does not at all know all the power of a buddha. Buddhas alone know one another's power<sup>4</sup>.

These verses of chapter 2—a paraphrase of the Bhadramāyākāravāyākaraṇa<sup>5</sup>—are part of a passage where the miraculous powers and true omniscience of the Buddha are compared with the limited knowledge and strength of

<sup>3</sup> The first and second batches of such annotations are contained in Maggi (2009 and forthcoming). Other articles in the series "Annotations on the Book of Zambasta" devoted to other aspects of the work are Maggi (2005, 2017, 2019a, 2019b) and Maggi/Martini (2014). The present one closes the whole series.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1206, 1272 n. 40).

ordinary men like the magician Bhadra, whose alleged knowledge and illusory tricks are stigmatised. In my Italian translation, I adhered to the transmitted text for the sake of caution and basically retained Emmerick's interpretation apart from taking the two clauses in Z 2.120 as questions rather than statements<sup>6</sup>. In a note, however, I suggested a possible emendation because the manuscript reading *kašta* poses problems. Ernst Leumann did not offer a translation of the hemistich 120cd where it occurs (Leumann 1933-1936: 24-25). Emmerick's 'on attachment' follows the analysis of the word by Harold W. Bailey, who regarded *kašta* as an instr.-abl. sg. with the palatalising ending *-ia* from an otherwise unattested action noun *\*kaṣṭi-* 'attaching' to Ir. *\*kas-* 'to attach' and translated it 'on being attached, after capture' (KT 6.43)<sup>7</sup>. Even disregarding that the regular OKh. instr.-abl. endings of the *i*-declension are *-e* and *-ä*, whereas *-ia* is locative<sup>8</sup>, Bailey's analysis is impossible because the consonant cluster *-ṣṭ-* cannot be palatalised and allows palatalisation to go back to the previous vowel segment *-a-*, which would give *\*kīṣṭa* (cf. the palatalised infinitive *khīṣṭe* 'to drink' and the corresponding past participle *khaṣṭa-* 'drunk', Hitch 1990: 193, 188). In light of these difficulties and on account of the strong similarity of the Brāhmī letters *t* and *n*, I suggest emending the manuscript slightly to read *\*kaśna*, the instr.-abl. sg. and, admittedly, the only occurrence of Khotanese *kaśa-* 'whip' ← Skt. *kaśa-* 'whip, thong' (Mahābhārata)<sup>9</sup>.

## 2. Z 5.81-83

### 2.1. Emmerick's edition and translation

- 81 *nā ju ye hā jsāte mamūka ni vā vara handari hīṣṭi*  
*karā hāḍe pabanā ne haṣḍā ttāna cu viñāno vipākā 1*  
 82 *trāmu vijñāno ttaraṃgga vi—ṣayīgya māšta samudru*  
*kāmā na-ro sarbāte urma—ysde bvāmatīno māsā . 82*

<sup>5</sup> See Régamey (1938) for this text lost in Sanskrit but preserved in the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist canons.

<sup>6</sup> In this I follow Bailey, Dict. 57 s.v. *kas-* 'adhere'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the similar past participle *kaṣṭa-* 'attached' from Ir. *\*kaz-* (SGS 22 with references).

<sup>8</sup> Bailey himself took *kašta* as a locative in Dict. 57 ('can all the wind, being caught in a noose, be held?').

<sup>9</sup> In Maggi (2004a: 1272 n. 40), I opted for the meaning 'bridle [briglia]' on account of one of the meanings of the Skt. feminine *kaśā-* 'whip; rein, bridle' (see MW 265).

- 83 *samu kho durutātu pachī—ysu pabasto khvīyā samu—  
dru kāmu na-ru kalpā nāta’—stā ttāmu buro aṃttā nā nīstā 3*  
<sup>81</sup> One does not go from here to there nor, on the other hand, does another arrive there. But the connexion is not broken because there is *vipāka* in *viññāna*. <sup>82</sup> So in *viññāna* there are waves in the great ocean of objects until the great sun of *bodhi* rises for you. <sup>83</sup> Just as one could think of distance as waves in continuity in the ocean, there is then no end for them until the *kalpa* ends.

## 2.2. Revised edition and translation

- 81 *nā ju ye hā jsāte mamūka ni vā vara handari hīsti  
karā hāḍe pabanā ne haṣḍā ttāna cu viññāno vipākā 1*  
82 *trāmu viññāno ttaraṃgga vi—ṣayīgya māsta samudru  
kā mā na-ro sarbāte urma—ysde \*bvāmatīnai (MS bvāmatīno)  
māstā . 82*  
83 *samu kho duru tātu pachī—ysu pabasto khvīyā samu—  
dru kāmu na-ru kalpā nāta’—stā ttāmu buro aṃttā nā nīstā 3*  
<sup>81</sup> No one here goes away nor does another there arrive hither, yet the connexion is not broken at all because there is fruition (of former karma) in the (storehouse) consciousness. <sup>82</sup> So there are billows in the (storehouse) consciousness, in the great ocean of (sense) objects, until the great sun of awakening rises, <sup>83</sup> just as—to consider the waves in the ocean continuously for a long time—there will be no end of them so long until the aeon ends<sup>10</sup>.

The term *viññāna-*, *viññāna-* (Skt. *viññāna-*) denotes ‘consciousness’. According to Buddhist psychology, there are six kinds of consciousness connected with the six sense organs, including the mind, and their objects. In 5.81-82, *vi(j)ññāna-* is used in the specialised sense of ‘(storehouse) consciousness’ (Skt. *ālayavijñāna-*), an additional kind of consciousness peculiar to the *Vijñānavāda* or *Cittamātra* (Mind Only) tradition. The storehouse consciousness is likened to an ever-changing stream that underlies a being’s cycle of existence and is said to contain the “seeds” for what is perceived, through the various kinds of consciousness, as the phenomenal reality in general and, in particular, the personal experiences resulting from karma. In connection with the passage under consideration,

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1223).



Ernst Leumann had already referred to the waves of consciousness (“Wellen des Vijñāna”) and the storehouse consciousness (“Ālayavijñāna”) in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra, one of the founding texts of the Vijñānavāda tradition (Leumann 1933-1936: 84).

In my Italian translation, I kept to Emmerick’s reading and interpretation with two significant differences. Thus, I did not regard the two verses as two sentences, but as a single sentence with the correlatives *trāmu ... samu kho* ‘So ..., just as’ introducing the principal clause and a clause of comparison respectively; and I did not translate *pachīysu* in verse 83 as an unclear and unspecified modal form with Emmerick (‘one could think’), but as a variant spelling of the infinitive *\*pachīysā* ‘to consider’ with *-u < -ā* by assimilation to the following initial *p-* (comparable to the assimilation in Z 2.159 *pulsu < pulsā* ‘to ask’ due to the preceding *-u-*)<sup>11</sup>. Like Emmerick, however, I took *bvāmatīno* in verse 82 as a contraction of a form of *bvāmatīnaa-* + *-ū* ‘of *bodhi* [...] for you’ and I regarded the verb *pachīysu* as governing *durutātu* ‘distance’<sup>12</sup>, though better solutions had been provided by Ernst and Manu Leumann.

Ernst Leumann’s emendation (1933-1936: 85) *\*bvāmatīnai* for *bvāmatīno* is probably correct. Nowhere else is *-o* a nom. sg. ending of the *aa*-declension and it is unlikely that *-o* is contracted from long *-e* ([*ē*] < *-ai*) + *-ū* 2 pl. enclitic pronoun ‘for you’, since *-ū* is, as a rule, not used after a long vowel or a diphthong and has no counterpart in the Late Khotanese version of the passage (Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvātārasūtra 241 KBT 125 *khu būre vā ne sarbe masta \*urmaysdi bvāmavīja* ‘until the great sun of enlightenment rises’)<sup>13</sup>. The mistaken *-no* may have been influenced by the last syllable of *viñāno* in verse 81 in the manuscript line immediately above *bvāmatīno*.

In reading *durutātu* as a single word meaning ‘distance’ (acc.) in verse 83a, Emmerick followed Bailey’s interpretation of the hemistich as ‘just as one might count as distance the waves continuous in the ocean’ (KT

<sup>11</sup> I also referred the adjective *viśayīgya* ‘pertaining to objects’ (loc. sg. or nom.-acc. pl.) to the nom.-acc. pl. *taramṅga* (‘the waves of objects’) rather than to the loc. sg. *samudru* (‘in the ocean of objects’), but this is unnecessary and is at variance with the metrical segmentation of the hemistich.

<sup>12</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>2</sup>Così, nel grande oceano della coscienza ci sono le onde degli oggetti (*viśaya*), finché non sorge per voi il grande sole del risveglio, <sup>8</sup> <sup>3</sup>proprio come, a considerare la lontananza, le onde di continuo non hanno fine nell’oceano finché non termina l’evo cosmico’ (Maggi 2004a: 1223).

<sup>13</sup> Bailey’s emendation for manuscript *urmaysdā* (*-ā* for *-i* is common in manuscript P 4099). Emmerick’s unpublished translation.

6.121). The reading and analysis of *durutātu* as an otherwise unattested *-tāti-* abstract from *dura-* ‘far, distant’ is kept by Almuth Degener, who understands the word as ‘(temporal) distance’<sup>14</sup>. However, rather than postulating a hapax, it seems safer to keep to the earlier word division *duru tātu*, a collocation that occurs elsewhere and fits well in the present context. In his edition, Ernst Leumann read *durutātu* but did not translate this and most of the hemistich, but Manu Leumann, in the glossary, suggested reading *duru tātu* as a variant spelling of Z 14.15 *duru gāvu* ‘for a long time’ (Emmerick’s translation) on account of the common intervocalic variation *-g-/-t-/-v-* and the enclitic character of *gāvu/tātu*.<sup>15</sup> Sten Konow greeted this as an “ingenious suggestion” that “removes a great difficulty”.<sup>16</sup> Bailey himself later changed his mind and, in his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, read *duru tātu* ‘far away indeed’, “[w]ith *tātu*, *gāvu*, later *-vā*, *-ā* ‘ever’”<sup>17</sup>. This view was in the end adopted also by Emmerick in his unpublished edition and translation of the Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra, where he reads and translates the Late Khotanese version of the passage thus (241-242 KBT 125):

*dūrā pastava behī \*pabastau tta khvī samvadrra*  
*\*kūṣṭi būrai ja kalpa na ṇa ’śta ttā būra atta ne byaidai*  
They have proceeded for long, extremely continuous those waves in the  
ocean. Until the aeon ends, so long is there no end of them<sup>18</sup>.

The occurrence of the collocation in Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra 6.1.54 *cerā duru gāvu* ‘for as long as’ as a rendering of Skt. *dirgha-rātram* ‘for a long time’ shows that *duru gāvu/tātu* has a temporal value, as already understood by Emmerick in Z 14.15 (‘for a long time’), rather than a local one<sup>19</sup>.

Notice that I consider the subsequent infinitive *pachīysu* as the (middle intr. = passive) verb of an absolute clause, which has *khvīyā* ‘waves’ as its

<sup>14</sup> Degener (1989: 281) s.v. *durutāti-*: ‘(zeitliche) Entfernung’.

<sup>15</sup> Leumann (1933-1936: 84-85, 417) s.v. *gāvu*. Cf. Emmerick (1989a: 214 § 3.2.3.3.3.3.6 (1-2)) on the variant spellings *-g-/-t-/-y-/-v-* for [ʔ] between vowels.

<sup>16</sup> Konow (1939: 46) s.v. *gāvu*.

<sup>17</sup> Dict. 161 s.v. *dura-*.

<sup>18</sup> *\*pabastau* and *ṇa ’śta* result from Emmerick’s emendation for manuscript *bastau* (cf. Z 5.83 *pabasto*) and his expunction for manuscript *ṇa ’śta ṇa ’śta* (by dittography) respectively; *\*kūṣṭi* is Bailey’s emendation for MS *kūṣṭā* (cf. fn. 13) I have very slightly modified the translation.

<sup>19</sup> See Skjærvø (2004: vol. 1, 96-97) and cf. BHSD 265 s.v. *dirgharātra-*.

overt subject ('to consider the waves') and which stands in an adverbial relation to the remainder of the clause of comparison: *pachīysu pabasto khvīyā samudru* 'to consider the waves in the ocean continuously'.

### 3. Z 13.104

#### 3.1. *Emmerick's edition and translation*

104 *būtajina karmyo bei`ṇa . agvahāna āchā hvṇ`ndā .  
balysā kari pracai nāstā tca—mna āchinei hāmīya 4*

<sup>104</sup> Through a preparer of food, through *karmas*, through poison, through indigestion, illnesses arise for a man. For a Buddha there is no reason at all why he should become ill.

#### 3.2. *Revised translation*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Through (possession) caused by demons, through *karmas*, through poison, through indigestion, a man has illnesses. For a Buddha there is no reason at all why he should become ill<sup>21</sup>.

Emmerick's translation of *būtajina* as 'Through a preparer of food' agrees with Bailey's hypothesis that the word is the same as *būkaja-* in Z 24.513 ('devoted men', Emmerick 'devotees') and *Jātakastava* 30 (8r3) *bukajā* ('steward') and that, in the present passage, it means 'preparer of food' (KT 6.255-256)<sup>22</sup>.

The alternation *-k-/-t-* is far from common, however, and it seems safer to regard *būtaja-* as a different word from *būkaja-* (see § 5 below). On the contrary, the alternation *-t-/-v-* in the vicinity of *ū* is well known already in Old Khotanese<sup>23</sup>, so that it is far more likely that *būtaja-* is a variant of the adjective *būvaja-* 'caused by spirits', a *-ja-* derivative from *būta-*, LKh. *būva-* ← Skt. *bhūta-* 'a spirit (good or evil)'<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> No revision in edition.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1235).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bailey (1953: 99: "The adj. E 14.104 *būtaja-* means 'connected with food'"), KT 4.97-98, and Dict. 29 s.v. *būtaja-*. Likewise, Degener (1989: 211) has a single entry for "*būkaja-*, *būtaja-* [...] 'Küchenmeister', 'Anhängers'".

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Emmerick (1989a: 214 § 3.2.3.3.3.3.6 (2)).

<sup>24</sup> See Degener (1989: 211 s.v. *būvaja-*) and cf. Leumann (1933-1936: 478 s.v. <sup>2</sup>*būta-*), Dresden (1955: 461 s.v. *būva-*), and MW 761 s.v. *bhūta*.

In actual fact, this interpretation was already offered by Ernst Leumann (1933-1936: 183), who translated *būtajina* as ‘durch von Bhūta(-Geistern) herrührendes (Besessensein)’ and it is scarcely to be doubted that he was right. The belief that illness was not only of natural or human origin, but could also be brought about by the action of supernatural and demonic forces—and, for that matter, of karma, also mentioned in the passage under consideration—was common in ancient India and demonic possession and attacks formed an important part of the classical treatises of āyurvedic medicine<sup>25</sup>. Thus, among the branches of medicine listed, for example, in § 1.1 of Ravigupta’s Siddhasāra, included in the Tanjur division of the Tibetan Buddhist canon and largely preserved in Khotanese, there is *bhūta-cikitsita*- ‘cure of (illnesses caused by) spirits’, which is rendered as Tibetan *gdon bsal-ba* ‘removing demons’ and, rather freely, as LKh. Siddhasāra 1.1 (2v5 KT 1.4) *sparśā*’ *pverq̄ma* ‘the removal of (illnesses due to) contact (with spirits)’<sup>26</sup>.

In a medical context, the Khotanese adjective *būvaja*- ‘caused by spirits’ and its base lexeme occur together in Jīvakapustaka [2-3].9-10 (45v3-5 KT 1.137) *harbīśām būvajām āchām vīra . śā*’ *agada haṃdrauja pīsālyāna : naṣa m̄ara-m̄ jsa harbīśa vittāla : būva u kūra hīra* ‘in (the case of) all diseases due to Bhūtas, this remedy must be smeared on the forehead. Thereby will be pacified all Vetālas, Bhūtas, and evil things’, where *harbīśām būvajām achām* ‘in (the case of) all diseases due to Bhūtas’ translates Skt. *\*sarva-bhūta-vikāreṣu* (MS *sarva-bhūta-vakāriṣū*)<sup>27</sup>. Spirits and diseases are referred to again in Jīvakapustaka [47].10 (91r4 KT 1.173) *būvyām jsa u yikṣyām jsa paśāva āchā* ‘diseases let loose by bhūtas and yakṣas’ (Skt. *\*bhūta-yakṣa-vikāreṣu*, MS *bhūta-yak<ṣ>a-vakāriṣū*)<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See Wujastyk (1999) on the effects of possession by evil spirits and Leslie (1999) on the effects of bad karma according to classical Indian medicine.

<sup>26</sup> See Emmerick (1980-1982: vol. 1, 17; vol. 2, 14-15). Emmerick’s unpublished translation of the Khotanese.

<sup>27</sup> Ed. and trans. by Emmerick (1992b: 67-68). His omission of the last syllable and the following colon in *pīsālyāna* : is but a slip.

<sup>28</sup> Trans. by Konow (1941: 55).

#### 4. Z 24.174-178

##### 4.1. *Emmerick's edition and translation*

- 174 *maskhalä nā nāma hvāṣṭā tārthā paḍauysā*  
*ttrāmu māñṇāṇḍā . dātā vaska kho ttā 'ṣā' .*
- 175 *ṣātā vātco pūraṇi haṃberāte māstā*  
*śamā rrundi kuṃbiye ttāna pūraṇa nāma 5*
- 176 *dādā aysāte nāma asāda hāra vāte nyūte*  
*ysamaśśandau ttānai aysāte nāma yiḍāṇḍi .*
- 177 *prabhūttā nāma ṣā baśdiye prahūtā .*  
*sañai kāḍe asāda ṣā vā saṃñai nāma 7*
- 178 *niyaṇḍā nāma nyātā pūrā kye kaṣṭe*  
*ysamaśśandau harbiśśu ṣṣavamera gyaḍīṃgya 78*

<sup>174</sup> Maskarin by name is their chief, leading heretic. He is similar to a thief with regard to the Law. <sup>175</sup> The second, moreover, Pūraṇa, fills the large Pot(hell)s of King Yama. Therefore he is Pūraṇa by name. <sup>176</sup> The third, Asita by name, has taught the world about evil things. Therefore they have made him Asita by name. <sup>177</sup> He is Prabhūta by name who is abounding in evil. Very imperfect are his plans: he is Saṃjaya by name. <sup>178</sup> He is Nirgrantha by name, the son of Jñātr, who attached the whole world to the night-time of ignorance.

##### 4.2. *Revised translation*<sup>29</sup>

<sup>174</sup> Maskarin by name is their chief, leading heretic: he is similar to a thief (Skt. *taskara-*) with regard to the Dharma. <sup>175</sup> The second, moreover, Pūraṇa, fills (Skt. *pūrṇa-* 'full') the large cauldrons of King Yama (in hell): therefore he is Pūraṇa by name. <sup>176</sup> The third, Asita by name, has taught the world about unproved things (Skt. *asiddha-*): therefore they have made him Asita by name. <sup>177</sup> He is Prabhūta by name who is abounding (Skt. *prabhūta-*) in evil. Very imperfect are his expedients (Kh. *sañā-*): he is Saṃjaya by name. <sup>178</sup> He is Nirgrantha by name, the son of Jñāta, who attached the whole world to the impenetrable darkness of ignorance (*ajñāna-*)<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> No revision in edition.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1251, 1281-1282 n. 139). See Skjærve in Studies 2.140-143 for the reading and translation *ṣṣavamera* 'impenetrable darkness' instead of *ṣṣava-mera* 'night-time' and Emmerick (1989b) for its etymology from \*-mahā-tantra- 'moon darkness' (hence *ṣṣavamāra-* 'darkness of a moonless night').

This passage presents the six chief heretical masters of the time of the Buddha and explains their names through folk-etymological puns based on the phonic resemblance of the names with other words and aimed at disparaging the heretics. The Sanskrit, Gandhari, and Pali equivalents of the Khotanese names are<sup>31</sup>:

Khotanese	Sanskrit	Gandhari	Pali
<i>Maskhala</i>	<i>Maskarin Gośālīputra</i> <sup>32</sup>	<i>Makhali</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>Makkhali Gosāla</i>
<i>Pūraṇa</i>	<i>Pūraṇa Kāśyapa</i>	<i>Purana Kaśava</i>	<i>Pūraṇa Kassapa</i>
<i>Aysāta</i>	<i>Ajita Keśakambala</i>	—	<i>Ajita Kesakambala</i>
<i>Prabhūta</i>	<i>Krakuda Kātyāyana</i>	—	<i>K/Pakudha Kaccāyana</i>
<i>Samñāa</i>	<i>Samjayin Vairāṭīputra</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>Samjaia</i> 'follower of S.'	<i>Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta</i>
<i>Niyaṇḍa</i>	<i>Nirgrantha Jñātaputra</i> <sup>34</sup>	—	<i>Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta</i>

Comparison of the heretical masters' names with the Sanskrit and Khotanese terms involved in their folk-etymological explanations, summarised in the following list, shows that folk etymology is based on Indian rather than Khotanese genuine words and that, therefore, the passage under consideration is probably not a Khotanese original invention but depends on some Indian source, be it in Sanskrit, Gandhari, or other<sup>35</sup>:

Khotanese name	Sanskrit folk etymology	Khotanese equivalent
174 <i>Maskhala</i>	<i>taskara-</i> 'thief'	<i>ttā'sa'</i>
175 <i>Pūraṇa</i>	<i>pūrṇa-</i> 'full'	<i>hamber-</i> 'to fill'
176 <i>Aysāta</i>	<i>asiddha-</i> 'unproved'	<i>asāda-</i> (LW)
177 <i>Prabhūta</i>	<i>prabhūta-</i> 'abundant'	<i>prahūta-</i> (LW)

<sup>31</sup> The Khotanese names *aysāta-* and *maskhala-* also occur elsewhere in the Book of Zambasta: see Leumann (1933-1936: 390, 483). See also KT 6.5 s.v. *aysāta-*, 137 s.v. *niyaṇḍā*, 276 s.v. *maskhalā*, 355 s.v. *saṃñāi*. Other variants of the Sanskrit and Pali names exist: see BHSD 7, 163, 300, 351, 420, 551 for Sanskrit and Malalasekera (1938: vol. 1, 37-38; vol. 2, 64-65, 89-90, 242-243, 398-400, 999-1000) for Pali. For the Gandhari names, see Falk (2010: 16 and 2014: 35 l. 20).

<sup>32</sup> See Vogel (1970: 23 n. 19) for a Skt. patronymic *Gośālāputra* evinced from Tibetan instead of the metronymic *Gośālīputra*.

<sup>33</sup> See Vogel (1970: 25 n. 29) for variants of the metronymic or patronymic containing the verb *vi-vad-* 'to contradict, oppose' instead of \**vi-raṭ-* 'to shout'.

<sup>34</sup> So in Avadānaśataka.

<sup>35</sup> I refer only to Sanskrit for the sake of simplicity.

177 <i>Samñāa</i>	<i>saṃjñā-</i> ‘idea’	<i>sañā-</i> ‘expedient’ instead of <i>saṃñā-</i> (LW) ‘idea’!
178 <i>Niyaṇḍa</i>	<i>a-jñāna-</i> ‘ignorance’	<i>gyaḍīnaa-</i> ‘pertaining to ignorance’.

The probable dependence on some Indian source is especially clear in the case of 174 *Maskhala*, which corresponds to Skt. *Maskarin* (basically ‘religious mendicant’<sup>36</sup>) and is explained by means of Kh. *ttā`ṣa`* - ‘thief’. This makes sense only if Kh. *ttā`ṣa`* - is here a rendering, so far unnoticed, of Skt. *taskara-* ‘thief’ and indicates that the original wordplay used the rhyme *MaskarV* ~ *taskarV*, essentially lost in Khotanese.

Likewise, 178 *Niyaṇḍa*, notwithstanding its decidedly Prakrit appearance, presupposes Skt. *Nirgrantha Jñātaputra*, whose patronymic, omitted in Khotanese, is explained by means of Kh. *gyaḍīnaa-* ‘pertaining to ignorance’ from *gyaḍia-*, the usual equivalent of Skt. *ajñāna-*, *avidyā-* ‘ignorance’.

The substitution of Kh. 176 *Aysāta* (Skt. *Asita*) for Skt. *Ajita* is presumably due to the influence of the name of the Indian sage Asita—mentioned in Z 2.21 as *Aysāta* together with the mythical sages Bhārgava, Vyāsa, and King Bhagīratha in a speech by Maskarin himself—or of the chaplain of King Śuddhodana, the father of the Buddha, who features in Z 24.230-239. Notice that, in the explanation of this heretical master’s name, the loanword 176 *asāda* (← Skt. *asiddha-*) does not simply mean ‘evil’, but has to be taken in its philosophical sense of ‘unproved’, as was already understood by Ernst Leumann<sup>37</sup>.

Of special interest is the pun on *Samñāa/Saṃjayin*, which most likely originally connected Skt. *Saṃjayin* and *saṃjñā-* ‘idea, conception, imagination’. Metrics requires that 177 *sañai kāḍe* ~ ~ ~ ~ scans as a five-mora segment and, thus, shows that *sañai* ~ - ‘his expedients’ (< *sañā* + -*ā* 3 sg. enclitic pronoun) is not a defective spelling for *sa(m)ñai* -- ‘his ideas’ (< *saṃñe* + -*ā*)<sup>38</sup>. So, some misunderstanding, or deliberate adaptation, of the source occurred in the explanation of the name 177 *Samñāa* by means of Kh. *sañā-* ‘plan, expedient, means’ (a genuine

<sup>36</sup> MW 794.

<sup>37</sup> Leumann (1933-1936: 318) (‘unbewiesene’). See MW 120 s.v. *asiddha* and 1215 s.v. <sup>2</sup>*siddha*.

<sup>38</sup> So mistakenly understood in Maggi (2004a: 1251).

Iranian word) instead of expected Kh. *saṃñā-* ‘idea’ (a borrowing ultimately from Skt. *saṃjñā-* through Prakrit)<sup>39</sup>. As well as in the Book of Zambasta, the terms *sañā-* ‘expedient’<sup>40</sup> and *sañā-brīcā-* ‘familiarity with expedients’ render Skt. *upāya-* ‘(skilful) means’ and *upāya-kausalya-* ‘skilfulness in means’ in fifth-century translations of Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* and the *Ratnakūṭa*<sup>41</sup>. It is significant that *sañā-* occurs in Z 2.18 in a statement on the uselessness of the ascetic practices and teachings of the heretics who opposed the Buddha: *sañā ni pharu harbi[ś]ś[ä] kūra tteri atāca kho ni rro parāhā* ‘Their many expedients are all false, as ineffective as their restraint’ (Emmerick). Given the specifically Mahāyānist conception of “skilful means”, that is, the Buddha’s and bodhisattvas’ ability to appear and teach in different ways in order to adapt to different beings so as to bring them to deliverance<sup>42</sup>, the replacement of expected *saṃñā-* ‘idea’ with *sañā-* ‘expedient’ suggests that the passage was misunderstood or, more probably, was changed on purpose in order to coat it in a Mahāyānist varnish. Though the two abstract concepts of *saṃñā-* ‘idea’ and *sañā-* ‘expedient’ are close in shape and semantics and Khotanese novices could confuse them, the composer of the Book of Zambasta likely understood the Indian pun and made an independent contribution that would work with his audience.

## 5. Z 24.513

### 5.1. Emmerick’s edition and translation

513 *tcei`mañinu bāgya [nā]tasta būkaja balysä*  
*auysāra buṇḍa kyau tta śśānye daimä 13*

<sup>513</sup> The devotees of the Buddha have fallen before our eyes, enraged, wicked, you whom I see lying thus.

<sup>39</sup> This *Samñāa* (Skt. *Samjāyin*, Pali *Sañjaya*) was erroneously equated by Leumann (1933-1936: 10-11) (followed by Régamey 1938: 5 n. 17) with the different person Z 2.26 *sacai nigranthā* ‘Satyaka the Nirgrantha’ (Skt. *Satyaka*, Pali *Saccaka*), “a contemporary of Buddha, described as a great debater” (BHSD 554).

<sup>40</sup> See Leumann (1933-1936: 510), Emmerick (1966: 177, 1967: 44), and Dict. 417. Bailey’s idea (KT 6.354-355, essentially followed by Tremblay 2005: 434) that Kh. *sañā-* is from Gandhari *sañā-* (i.e. *saṃñā-* < OInd. *saṃjñā-*) is untenable on phonological and semantic grounds.

<sup>41</sup> See Maggi (forthcoming) on Z 14.11-12, with further references.

<sup>42</sup> On “skilful means”, see Pye (2003).



5.2. *Revised edition and translation*

513 *tcei`mañinu bāgya [vā]ta sta būkaja balysä*  
*auysära buṇḍa kyau tta śśānye daimä 13*

<sup>513</sup> Instead of (tearing out my sinner's) eyes, you have been the slaughterers of the Buddha, enraged, wicked, you whom I see lying thus<sup>43</sup>.

This verse is part of an episode which occurs towards the end of a paraphrase of the prophecy of decline of Buddhism narrated in the Candragarbhasūtra<sup>44</sup> and which contains the mourning of King Duṣprasaha for the death of the whole community of monks, who have fought and murdered one another, and for the consequent complete loss of any religious guidance. Emmerick's translation of the first hemistich can be compared with Bailey's working translation 'under our (their) eyes fallen the devoted men of the Buddha' (KT 6. 255). Apart from the postposition *bāgya*, which does not mean 'before' but 'instead of' and the like as was later shown by Emmerick himself<sup>45</sup>, the interpretation of the verse is problematic because of the gap in [+] *ta sta* and the rare word *būkaja*, which occurs only here and once more as LKh. Jātakastava 30 (8r2) *bukajā*<sup>46</sup>.

In a first very tentative attempt at translation, Leumann, who was unaware of the Late Khotanese occurrence of *būkaja-*, translated this provisionally as 'grief' or 'tears' and read and emended the defective word as *n{ät}a< >sta* 'has seated' 3 sg. f. or pl. m. prf. intr. of *nād*-<sup>47</sup>. Bailey and Emmerick opted for the hapax legomenon [*nä*]*tasta* '[they] have fallen', 3 pl. prf. intr. from a participle *\*kasta-* (with preverb *\*ni-*) to an alleged Ir. root *\*kah-* 'to move'<sup>48</sup>. Since the king, who is holding the dead bodies of the religious leader Śiṣyaka and his opponent Sūrata in his arms, first addresses his own preceptor Śiṣyaka in the 2 sg. in verse

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1266, 1284 n. 167), where, however, I translated *tcei`mañinu bāgya* as 'instead of (being) my eyes [invece di essere i miei occhi]'.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Nattier (1991: 170-173).

<sup>45</sup> See Emmerick in Studies 1.86 and Skjærvø in Studies 3.112-114.

<sup>46</sup> Z 13.104 *būtajina* has been considered to belong here but is actually a different word (see § 3.2 above).

<sup>47</sup> Leumann (1933-1936: 346-347: 'Uns auf die [auf meine] Augen ist niedergesessen [hat sich gelegt] Trauer [?, oder: Tränen ?] um den Priester'). See SGS for the form.

<sup>48</sup> KT 6.44 and Dict. 57, 73; cf. EWAia 1.332-333.

512 (*thu paro dritai balysānu utāru* ‘You have kept the noble Buddha-command’), he is then likely, in the immediately following verse under consideration, to address both leaders or, more probably, all slaughtered monks in the 2 pl. Accordingly, I supplement the 2 pl. prf. intr. [*vā*]*ta sta* ‘you have been’ (cf. Z 23.102 *uhu nu hā ggīhā vāta sta* ‘you have been their helpers’).

We have seen above (§ 3.2) that Emmerick’s translation ‘devotees’ for *būkaja* in the verse in question followed a suggestion by Bailey, who tried to reconcile in this way the present occurrence of the word with the *bukajā* occurring in Jātakastava 30 (8r3) and interpreted by him as ‘preparer of food, steward’ on account of a supposed Pali counterpart *bhatta-kāraka*<sup>49</sup>. Bailey’s interpretation is based on the assumption that *būkaja-* is a *-ja-* derivative from a *būka-* occurring only once in Old Khotanese in a fragmentary and not entirely clear context (Z 18.8 *būku* acc. sg.) and understood by him as ‘food’<sup>50</sup>. Apparently, Bailey thought of a semantic development such as ‘preparer of food → steward → [attendant →] devoted person’. Apart from the little convincing outcome ‘devoted person’, however, the meaning of the supposed base lexeme *būka-* itself is far from certain in my opinion, since this *būka-* may, but need not, be a different word from LKh. *būka-* in the eighth-century documents, where it seems to mean ‘troop’ or the like<sup>51</sup>.

The rendering ‘slaughterers [macellai]’ for *būkaja* in my Italian translation was conjectural. It fits well the context in the Book of Zambasta, with figurative reference to the monks who have all ‘slaughtered’ one another in a fierce battle, and the context in the Jātakastava, where a king of the deer—the Bodhisattva, the Buddha-to-be in one of his births—offers himself as a ransom to the servant who is about to slaughter a pregnant doe for the king of Benares, who used to have meat at every meal:

<sup>49</sup> See fn. 22 and cf. Dresden (1955: 482 s.v. *bukaja-*).

<sup>50</sup> See KT 6.256 s.v. *būku* (where the reference “291<sup>8</sup>” is to the folio and verse numbers), Emmerick (1966: 162-163, 174), and Dict. 295. On a possible but uncertain Late Khotanese occurrence of *būka* ‘food’ in the Chinese-Khotanese bilingual P 2927 24 KT 3.103 see Bailey, KT 4.97-98 and Takata (1988: 207 [食べ物 *tabemono* ‘food’ with no Chinese parallel], 227).

<sup>51</sup> So Skjærvø, Catalogue lxxvii: “\*troop’ (? there are first, second, etc. *būkas* [...])”. Bailey suggested some kind of “workmen or employed at the guard post” (KT 4.95) and an “official title” (cf. Dict. 295).

- 30 *barbīrye gūysna ja va mu 'śda' jsa pātcā .*  
*bukajā puṣa tsuai . rruṃdāña hurāśña*  
*cu didi pha ysairka yuḍḍā pāñe paṃna .*  
*śau na ye vena tvī cuai jīye hera :*

<sup>30</sup> Afterwards for the sake of the pregnant deer, in compassion, you went at once to the slaughterer in the royal kitchen [?], [the deer] which made so much lament in front of all. There was no one save you who would give his life for her<sup>52</sup>.

I suggest separating *būkaja-* from *būka-* and, instead, seeing in *būkaja-* a loanword from a variant of the OInd. word *\*bokkasa-*—continued as Prakrit *bokkasa-* ‘a non-Aryan people’, Nepali *bokso* ‘wizard’, *boksi* ‘witch’<sup>53</sup>—and variously spelled, on account of its origin from some non-Indo-Aryan language, as Vedic *paukasá-* ‘a type of half-caste’, Classical Skt. *pulkasa-* ‘name of a despised mixed tribe’ (with the Epic Skt. variants *pukkasa-*, *pukkaśa-*, *pukkaṣa-*, and the variant *bukkasa-* ‘a *caṇḍāla*’ in lexicographical works), *pulkasaka-* ‘a barbarian tribe’, and Pali *pukkusa-* ‘a despised caste’<sup>54</sup>.

In particular, Kh. *būkaja-* mirrors an Indic variant *\*bokkaśa-* with initial *b-* like Skt. *bukkasa-*, Prakrit *bokkasa-*, Nepali *bokso*, *boksi* and with *-ś-* like Epic Skt. *pukkaśa-*. The change Skt. *o* → Kh. *ū* is common and is to be found, for instance, in *koṭi-* ‘crore, ten millions’ → *kūla-* (Z 22.160 +), *vimokṣa-* ‘release, deliverance’ → *vāmūha-* through Prakrit (Z 10.30 +), etc. The occasional rendering of Skt. *-ś-* through Khotanese *-j-* can also be observed in OKh. *ājāvāṣa-* ‘venomous snake’ ← Skt. *āśvīṣa-* (Z 3.76 etc.), *vijīṣḍā-tara-* ‘more special, very special’ ← Skt. *viśīṣṭa-* (Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra 6.3.5), LKh. *dajagraiva* ← Skt. *daśagrīva-*, the name of a demon (Book of Vimalakīrti 352 KBT 111, Rāmāyaṇa P 2781.119 KT 3.70), and LKh. *arja-* ‘piles’ ← Skt. *arśas-* (Siddhasāra 0.11 [2r1 KT 1.4] +)<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Ed. and trans. by Dresden (1955: 425), with ‘slaughterer’ substituted for his ‘steward’. Jātakaṣṭava 30-31 summarises the Nigrodhamigajātaḥa (see Dresden 1955: 447 for references).

<sup>53</sup> See Turner (1966: 528 s.v. *\*bōkkasa-*).

<sup>54</sup> See MW 631 s.vv. *pukkaśa* and *pukkasa*, 638 s.v. *pulkasa*, 652 s.v. *paukasá*, 733 s.v. *bukkasa*, and PED 461 s.v. *pukkusa*. On this word family see Kuiper (1991: 54-57) and EWAia 2.152 s.v. *pulkasa-*. Vedic *pūklaka-*, *pūlkaka-*, *pūtlaka-* ‘little boy’ are not variants of *pulkasa-* (so e.g. MW 631) but dialectal or popular variants of *putraká-* ‘little son’ (Hoffmann 1982: 86-90).

<sup>55</sup> See KT 6.11 for *ājāvāṣa-*, Skjærvø (2004: vol. 2, 340) for *vijīṣḍā-tara-*, Maggi (2013: 143) for *dajagraiva*, and Konow (1941: 85) for *arja-*.

As for the meaning, it should be recalled that, in lexicographical works arranged systematically, Skt. *bukkasa-* and *caṇḍāla-* ‘outcaste’ are considered to be synonymous and are listed in the proximity of people involved in killing animals like hunters, fishers, fowlers, butchers, and the like (e.g. in Hemacandra’s *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 927-933<sup>56</sup>). Similarly, Pali *pukkusa-* denotes ‘a low social class, the members of which are said (in the *Jātakas*) to earn their living by means of refuse-clearing’ and which features right at the end in enumerations of social classes and despised clans that usually also include the term *caṇḍāla-* ‘outcaste’<sup>57</sup>. All this suggests that the task of killing was left to outcastes such as *caṇḍālas* or *bukkāsas/pukkūsas*, as is confirmed by the occurrence of Buddhist Skt. *caṇḍālaka-* ‘outcaste, *caṇḍāla*’ in a list of enemies of birds<sup>58</sup>. In the Book of *Zambasta* itself, when the heretics plot to get rid of the Buddha, one of them even suggests to have him killed by a *caṇḍāla*: *Z* 2.30 *o ye caṇḍālā ttata heḍā se thvī ttuṣṣe yana ṣṣīve* ‘or (suppose) one gives money to a *caṇḍāla*: “Destroy him in the night”’.

In light of the preceding, it seems likely that Kh. *būkaja-* is a borrowing from Indic *\*bokkaśa-* ‘outcaste’ and that, in the *Jātakastava*, LKh. *bukajā* is the butcher who has to slaughter the deer and, in the Book of *Zambasta*, OKh. *būkaja* are, metonymically, the slaughterers of the Buddha, that is, the destroyers of his teachings entrusted to them.

## 6. *Z* 24.516

### 6.1. *Emmerick’s edition and translation*

516 [pha]ru padya [+ ] – u – ’ rre ṣṣamana banāre  
kye nā rro gratu hvānāte śśākṣāvātā heḍā 6

516 In many ways ... The king, the monks lament: “Who will preach instruction to us now, will give the *śikṣāpadas*?”.

<sup>56</sup> See the ed. and trans. by Böhtlingk/Rieu (1847: 173-174), where verses 927-933 contain words for: ‘55. *Jäger* (4 W[örter]). – 56. *Jagd* (5 W.). – 57. *Der mit Netzen jagt* (2 W.). – 58. *Jägernetz* (2 W.). – 59. *Strick* (7 W.). 60. – *Fischer* (3 W.). – 61. *Angel* (2 W.). – 62. *Fischernetz* (2 W.). – 63. *Fischkorb* (2 W.). – 64. *Vogelsteller* (2 W.). – 65. 66. *Fleischer* (4 W.). – 67. *Schlachthaus*. – 68. *Netz, Kette oder Käfig, um Vogel und vierfüssige Thiere zu halten*. – 69. *Schlinge* (2 W.). – 70. *Grube, um Wild zu fangen* (2 W.). – 71. *Falle* (2 W.). – 72. 73. *Mensch, der zu keiner Kaste gehört* (7 W.). – 74. 75. *Caṇḍāla* (10 W. [including *bukkasa-*])’ (my italics).

<sup>57</sup> See PED 461 s.v. *pukkusa* and Cone (2013: 99-100 s.v. *caṇḍāla*).

<sup>58</sup> See BHSD 223 s.v. *caṇḍālaka*.

6.2. *Revised edition and translation*

516 [pha]ru padya [hā]ruv[a]’ rre ṣṣamana banāre  
kye nā rro gratu hvāñāte śśākṣāvātā heḍā 6

<sup>516</sup> In many ways the merchants (and) the king lament the (dead) monks: “Who will preach instruction to us now, will give the moral commandments?”<sup>59</sup>.

This verse belongs to the same episode as the previously discussed one (513). If the rare verb *ban-* ‘to lament’ is regarded as only intransitive (SGS 93), the resulting translation ‘the monks lament’<sup>60</sup> is at variance with the fact that the monks are said to be all dead after their fight: Z 24.499 *śśūjāteye vaska ākṣuvīndā juvāre varī puṣṣo śśūjātu biśśā tvīṣṣe yanīndā* ‘they [i.e. the monks] begin to fight with one another. At once they all destroy each other’ (Emmerick). I suggest that the rare verb *ban-* ‘to lament’ is both transitive and intransitive just like English *to lament* and that *ṣṣamana* ‘monks’ is the object and the substantive lost in the gap and *rre* ‘king’ are the subject of the clause: ‘the ... (and) the king lament the [dead] monks’.

Since the presence of merchants as the king’s counsellors (cf. Skt. *śreṣṭhin-*) in this episode is indicated by Z 24.508 *karavātā naltsute hā hārvyau haṃtsa* ‘In the morning [after the monks’ slaughter] he [i.e. the king] went out with the merchants’ and 514 *kye vara hāruvānu ttā vāta* ‘Those of the merchants who were there’ (Emmerick), I based my Italian translation of the passage on the restoration [hār]u[va] rre ‘the merchants (and) the king’, which fits the metre perfectly. In doing so, I deviated from Leumann’s and Emmerick’s reading of the last damaged akṣara, under which they saw a subscript hook (–)<sup>61</sup>, and tentatively regarded the sign as a letter fragment detached from a contiguous, now lost folio and specularly stuck below verse 516, as sometimes happens. The suggested supplement [hār]u[va] rre – ◡ ◡ – would fit the 6-mora segment before the final cadence *ṣṣamana banāre* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ in this metre B hemistich<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1266, 1284 n. 169).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Leumann (1933-1936: 346: ‘Die Mönche jammern’), KT 6.224 (‘the *śramaṇas* lament’), and Dict. 268 (‘the *śramaṇa*-ascetics lament’).

<sup>61</sup> The hook mostly continues Ir. intervocalic \*-š- and is often combined with hiatus-bridging consonants like -t- or -v-. It possibly expressed breathiness (Emmerick 1992a: 158-165) and is usually transliterated as an apostrophe or an aleph sign.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Hitch (2014: 3-5).

Although closer inspection of the facsimile shows that there is no letter fragment stuck to this folio and that the sign is a fairly well preserved subscript hook<sup>63</sup>, no other restoration seems to be possible than *[hā]ruv[a]*’ with hook instead of the normal nominative-accusative plural *hāruva* (Z 5.96 22.208 23.45 23.136). The unexpected addition of the hook may be accidental and be due to influence of similarly spelled words like, for instance, Z 2.174 13.106 23.16 *aruva*’ ‘medicine’ or words with the loc. pl. ending *-uvo*’, as is the case with such words with unetymological subscript hook as the loc. sg. Z 13.82 22.115 *āvuto*’, 6.24 *āvuvo*’ ‘village’ instead of normal *avuvo* (Z 13.90)<sup>64</sup> and the acc. sg. Z 23.122 *ṣṣuvo*’ ‘news’ instead of normal *ṣṣuvo* (Z 22.333)<sup>65</sup>.

## 7. Z 24.650-652

### 7.1. Emmerick’s edition and translation

650 *[cī]tā nā ju ye vīri [asā]du o śśāru yīndā*  
*atī saṃtsera . hāmāte māstā vivāgā*

651 *[+] rro tterā oṣye scā[tā] [mara]ta ye kāli .*  
*cī haṃgrīsīndi . balysā pūra hamālā . 51*

652 *[vāna] balysā nīstā kye yuḍu yīndā pamā—*  
*tu tte bhikṣu-saṃggā . vasve māstā ṣṣahāne 52*

<sup>650</sup> If one does not do evil to anyone or (if one does) good, there will be very great *vipāka* for him in *saṃsāra*. <sup>651</sup> (So) also at such an evil time here, in a period when the sons of the Buddha assemble in a group. <sup>652</sup> (Apart from) the Buddha, there is no one who can measure the pure, great virtues of this Bhikṣusaṅgha.

### 7.2. Revised edition and translation

650 *[a]tā nā ju ye vīri [asā]du o śśāru yīndā*  
*atī saṃtsera . hāmāte māstā vivāgā*

651 *[ṣṣai] rro tterā oṣye scā[tā] hama]taye kāli .*  
*cī haṃgrīsīndi . balysā pūra hamālā . 51*

<sup>63</sup> See the facsimile in Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij/Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja (1965: 293).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Hitch (2015: 316 n. 33; 2016: 283).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Hitch (2016: 270).

652 [väna] balysä ništā kye yuḍu yīndā pamā—  
tu tte bhikṣu-saṃggā . vasve mäštā ṣṣahāne 52

<sup>650</sup> (If) one does not do much evil to anyone or (if one does) good, there will be very great ripening for him in the cycle of birth.

<sup>651</sup> Even in such an evil age (as the present Kaliyuga), at the very time when the sons of the Buddha (i.e. the monks) assemble in a group, <sup>652</sup> (apart from) the Buddha, there is no one who can measure the pure, great virtues of this community of monks<sup>66</sup>.

This passage belongs to the conclusion of chapter 24 and of the entire Book of Zambasta. After narrating the rise of Buddhism and prophesying its future decline due precisely to the decay of the monks' morality, chapter 24 closes with an exhortation for the audience to follow the Buddha's teachings and rely on the community of monks, whose importance is said to be so invaluable that only the Buddha, not ordinary people, can fully appreciate it.

I follow Leumann in restoring [a]tā 'much' at the beginning of verse 650 and take the clause as a conditional clause with implied conjunction, because Emmerick's [cī]tā 'when, if' would make the hemistich hypermetrical with an initial 6-mora instead of 5-mora segment ([a]tā nā ju ye ~ ~ ~ ~ ~).

I restore the adverbial collocation [ṣṣai] rro 'even' at the beginning of verse 651, as it fits this passage and occurs frequently in the text (Z 2.201 2.243 5.29 6.57 13.58 24.646 ṣṣai rro; 14.87 ṣṣai rro; 2.114 2.125 8.30 22.232 ṣṣei rro; 2.198 ṣṣai rru; 20.61 ṣṣai ro; 5.104 ṣṣai ru). In my Italian translation, I also suggested that what Leumann read [~ ~] ta ye and Emmerick restored as [mara]ta ye must be a single word because the remaining ye (not translated by Emmerick) can only be the indefinite pronoun 'one' and cannot be reconciled with the context. I presumed that the defective word may be an adjective accompanying the gen.-dat. *kāli* 'time' but offered no restoration. Here I propose to restore [hama]taye *kāli* 'at the time itself, at the very time': though the gen.-dat. sg. m. of the emphatic reflexive pronoun *hamata-* is *hamatye* in Z (2.229 24.453), OKh. *hamataye*, apparently from a secondary *hamataa-*, occurs in IOL Khot 36/3 (Kha. viii.1) a5, Catalogue 255-256 [ba]lysūñāvūysei hamataye āsā

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Maggi (2004a: 1267, 1284-1285 nn. 173-174).

[tc]e[ra] ‘the bodhi-seeker should himself do memorization of the teaching’ (also a3 *hamatayai*, i.e. *hamataye* + -ä 3 sg. enclitic pronoun).

It should also be noted that *kāli* ‘period’ is probably not just a synonym in apposition with the preceding *scā[tā]* ‘time’, as was translated by Emmerick. Rather, *kāli* generically means ‘a time’ here, whereas *tterā ośye scā[tā]* ‘in such an evil age’ has a specific reference and matches the Kali age (Kaliyuga), our decayed fourth and last age of the world, which is mentioned and compared with the Kṛtayuga, the first, golden age of the world, in Z 24.3-4:

- 3 *kho ye pyūṣḍe crrāmu ṣu vāta kṛyi yuggā satva*  
*crrāmu vātā kālā kho ttārā staurā hamāstä 3*  
4 *ne ne ju hā māñātā karā kho ye hāra daiyā*  
*kalā yuggī harbiśśu tterā stauru hamāstä 4*

<sup>3</sup> When one hears what beings were like in the Kṛtayuga, what that age was like, how very greatly has it changed! <sup>4</sup> It does not resemble at all how one sees things. So greatly has the Kaliyuga changed it all<sup>67</sup>.

Mention of *tterā ośye scā[tā]* ‘such an evil age’ at the end of chapter 24—where the virtues of the Buddhist monks are indicated as a religious and moral counteragent—is a way to recall *kalā yugga-* ‘the Kaliyuga’ at chapter beginning and can be regarded as an instance of concentric concatenation.

Mauro Maggi  
Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza  
Istituto italiano di studi orientali  
Circonvallazione Tiburtina 4  
I-00185 Roma  
mauro.maggi@uniroma1.it

<sup>67</sup> This refers to the change to worse of the *uysnorāṇu padaṃgya* ‘the build of beings’ in the preceding verse 24.2. See Degener (1989: 204-205) on *padaṃgyā-* ‘build, physical appearance’ (from the past participle of *padīm-* : *padanda-* ‘to make, build’) and Skjærnø in Studies 3.86-88 on its further, secondary meanings ‘exposition, description; display, presentation’.



## Conventions

<i>italics</i>	(or roman in quotations in italics) letters not clearly visible;
+++	illegible or partially preserved akşaras for which no reading can be suggested;
–	illegible or partially preserved consonant base or vowel mark for which no reading can be suggested;
[+++]	akşaras lost in a lacuna;
[–]	consonant base or vowel mark lost in a lacuna;
[abc]	restoration of a lacuna; translation of a lacuna;
<abc>	editor’s supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna;
{abc}	editor’s deletion;
*	emendation (the manuscript reading is given in parentheses or in a note);
—	blank in the manuscript between parts of a word;
(abc)	explanatory amplification in translations.

## Abbreviations

### *Books*

BHSD	Edgerton (1953: vol. 2)
Catalogue	Skjærvø (2002)
Dict.	Bailey (1979)
EWAia	Mayrhofer (1992-2001)
KBT	Bailey (1951)
KT 1-7	Bailey (1945-1985)
MW	Monier-Williams (1899)
PED	Rhys Davids/Stede (1925)
SGS	Emmerick (1968b)
Studies 1-3	Emmerick/Skjærvø (1982-1997).

### *Other*

1/2/3	first/second/third person
acc.	accusative
f.	feminine
gen.-dat.	genitive-dative
instr.-abl.	instrumental-ablative

intr.	intransitive
Ir.	Iranian
LKh.	Late Khotanese
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
OInd.	Old Indian
OKh.	Old Khotanese
pl.	plural
prf.	perfect
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit.

*Khotanese texts*

Jātakastava	ed. and trans. Dresden (1955: Ch. 00274)
Jīvakapustaka	ed. KT 1.135-196 (Ch. ii.003); paragraph numbers according to Konow (1941) with added verse numbers according to Emmerick (1992b) and Chen (2005)
Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvātārasūtra	ed. KBT 113-135 (P 4099)
Saṅghāṭasūtra	ed. and trans. Canevascini (1993)
Siddhasāra	ed. KT 1.2-132 (Ch. ii.002), 5.315-324 (P 2892); paragraph numbers according to Emmerick (1980-1982)
Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra	ed. and trans. Skjærvø (2004)
Z = Book of Zambasta	ed. and trans. by Emmerick (1968a).

## References

- Bailey, Harold W., 1945-1985, *Khotanese texts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: vol. 1, 1945; vol. 2, 1954; vol. 3, 1956 (vols. 1-3, 2nd ed. in one volume 1969; repr. 1980); vol. 4, *Saka texts from Khotan in the Hedin collection*, 1961 (repr. 1979); vol. 5, 1963 (repr. 1980); vol. 6, *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*, 1967; vol. 7, 1985.
- Bailey, Harold W., 1951, *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, Tailor's Foreign Press (2nd ed., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- Bailey, Harold W., 1953, "Analecta Indoscythica, I". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1953/3-4: 95-116.
- Bailey, Harold W., 1979, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Böhtlingk, Otto / Rieu, Charles, 1847, *Hemākandra's Abhidhānakīntāmaṇi: ein systematisch angeordnetes synonymisches Lexicon*, St. Petersburg.
- Canevascini, Giotto, 1993, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṣasūtra: a critical edition*, Wiesbaden, Reichert.
- Chen, Ming 陳明, 2005, *Dunhuang chutu Hu yu yi dian "Qipo shu" yanjiu 敦煌出土胡語醫典 <<耆婆書>> 研究 = A study on Sanskrit text of Jīvaka-pustaka from Dunhuang*, Taipei, Xin Wenfeng Chuban Gongsi.
- Cone, Margaret, 2013, *A dictionary of Pali. 2: G-n*, Bristol, The Pali Text Society.
- Degener, Almuth, 1989, *Khotanische Suffixe*, Stuttgart, Steiner.
- Dresden, Mark J., 1955, *The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's former births": Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) text, English translation, grammatical notes and glossaries*, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society (= Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., 45/5): 397-508.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*. Vol. 1, *Grammar*; vol. 2, *Dictionary*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1966, "The nine new fragments from the Book of Zambasta". *Asia Major*, n.s., 12/2: 148-178.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1967, "The ten new folios of Khotanese". *Asia Major*, n.s., 13/1-2: 1-47.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1968a, *The Book of Zambasta: a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1968b, *Saka grammatical studies*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1980-1982, *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*, Wiesbaden, Steiner: vol. 1, *The Sanskrit text*, 1980; vol. 2, *The Tibetan version with facing English translation*, 1982.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1989a, "Khotanese and Tumshuqese". In: Rüdiger Schmitt (Hrsg.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, Reichert: 204-229.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1989b, "A Khotanese nightmare". In: *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Paris: 95-98.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1992a, "The Dunhuang MS. Ch 00120: its importance for reconstructing the phonological system of Khotanese". In: Alfredo Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-huang: the texts: encounter of civilizations on the Silk route*, Firenze, Olschki: 145-170.
- Emmerick, Ronald E., 1992b, "The Svastika antidote". *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 2: 60-81.

- Emmerick, Ronald E. / Skjærvø, Prods O., 1982-1997, *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese*, Wien: vol. 1, 1982; vol. 2, 1987; vol. 3, ed. by Ronald E. Emmerick, contributed by Giotto Canevascini et al., 1997.
- Falk, Harry, 2010, "The 'split' collection of Kharoṣṭhī texts". *Annual report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 14: 13-23.
- Falk, Harry, 2014, "A new Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* (Texts from the split collection 3)". *Annual report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 18: 23-62.
- Hitch, Douglas A., 1990, "Old Khotanese synchronic umlaut". *Indo-Iranian journal* 33/3: 177-198.
- Hitch, Douglas A., 2014, "Meter in the Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*". *Ars metrica* 2014: 1-43.
- Hitch, Douglas A., 2015, "Contracted diphthongs in Old Khotanese". *Indo-Iranian journal* 58/4: 293-324.
- Hitch, Douglas A., 2016, "Contracted semivowels in Old Khotanese". *Indo-Iranian journal* 59/3: 259-294.
- Hoffmann, Karl, 1982, "Vedica". *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 41: 61-94.
- Konow, Sten, 1939, "The late Professor Leumann's edition of a new Saka text, II". *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* 11: 5-84.
- Konow, Sten, 1941, *A medical text in Khotanese: Ch. ii 003 of the India Office Library with translation and vocabulary*, Oslo, Dybwad.
- Kuiper, Franciscus B. J., 1991, *Aryans in the Rigveda*, Amsterdam, Rodopi.
- Leslie, Julia, 1999, "The implications of the physical body: health, suffering, and karma". In: John Hinnells / Roy Porter (eds.), *Religion, health, and suffering*, London, Kegan Paul International: 23-45.
- Leumann, Ernst, 1933-1936, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus: Text und Übersetzung*, aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von Manu Leumann, Leipzig, Brockhaus.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2004a, "Il libro di Zambasta: capitoli 1-2, 5, 13-4, 24". In: Raniero Gnoli (a cura di), *La rivelazione del Buddha*, vol. 2, *Il Grande veicolo*, introd. di Claudio Cicuzza e Francesco Sferra con contributi di Mauro Maggi e Cristina Pecchia, Milano, Mondadori: 1193-1285.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2004b, "The manuscript T III S 16: its importance for the history of Khotanese literature". In: Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (eds.), *Turfan revisited: the first century of research into the arts and cultures of the Silk Road*, Berlin, Reimer: 184-190, 457.

- Maggi, Mauro, 2005, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, II: Khotanese *maṃkyā*”. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, n.s., 19: 103-109.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2009, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, I”. In: Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst / Christiane Reck / Dieter Weber (Hrsg.), *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 153-171, pl. i.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2013, “Four more questions and answers from the Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti*”. In: Matteo De Chiara / Mauro Maggi / Giuliana Martini (eds.), *Buddhism among the Iranian peoples of Central Asia*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 131-151.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2017, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, IV: Ronald E. Emmerick’s notes”. In: Enrico Morano / Elio Provasi / Adriano V. Rossi (eds.), *Studia philologica Iranica in memory of Professor Gherardo Gnoli*, Roma, Scienze e lettere: 273-291.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2019a, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, V: Indian parallels to 2.139 and the musk of Khotan”. In: Almut Hintze / Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst / Claudius Naumann (eds.), *A thousand judgements: Festschrift for Maria Macuch*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz: 291-309.
- Maggi, Mauro, 2019b, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, VI: Ronald E. Emmerick’s *\*nvāta*- and Persian *navāxtan*”. In: Sabir Badalkhan / Gian Pietro Basello / Matteo De Chiara (eds.), *Iranian studies in honour of Adriano V. Rossi*, Napoli, Università degli studi di Napoli L’Orientale, 2019: 519-522.
- Maggi, Mauro, forthcoming, “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, VII: chapter 14 revisited”. *Folia Orientalia* 57 (2020).
- Maggi, Mauro / Martini, Giuliana, 2014. “Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*, III: chapter 18 no more”. *Scripta: an international journal of codicology and palaeography* 7: 139-158.
- Malalasekera, George Peiris, 1938, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*, London, Murray, 2 vols.
- Martini, Giuliana, 2013, “Bodhisattva texts, ideologies, and rituals in Khotan in the fifth and sixth centuries”. In: Matteo De Chiara / Mauro Maggi / Giuliana Martini (eds.), *Buddhism among the Iranian peoples of Central Asia*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 13-69.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred, 1992-2001, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Heidelberg, Winter: vol. 1, 1992; vol. 2, 1996; vol. 3, 2001.

- Monier-Williams, Monier, 1899, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press.
- Nattier, Jan, 1991, *Once upon a future time: studies in a Buddhist prophecy of decline*, Berkeley, Calif., Asian Humanities Press.
- Pye, Michael, 2003, *Skilful means: a concept in Mahayana Buddhism*, 2nd ed., London, Routledge.
- Régamey, Konstanty, 1938, *The Bhadramāyākāravāyākaraṇa: introduction, Tibetan text, translation and notes*, Warsaw, Nakład Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego.
- Rhys Davids, Thomas W. / Stede, William, 1921-1925, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English dictionary*, Chipstead, The Pali Text Society.
- Skjærvø, Prods O., 2002, *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: a complete catalogue with texts and translations*, with contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams, London, The British Library.
- Skjærvø, Prods O., 2004, *This most excellent shine of gold, king of kings of sutras: the Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2 vols.
- Takata, Tokio 高田 時雄, 1988, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugo shi no kenkyū: kyū, jū seiki no Kasei hōgan 敦煌資料所見中國語言史之研究: 九・十世紀の河西方言 = A historical study of the Chinese language based on Dunhuang materials: the Hexi 河西 dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries*, Tōkyō, Sōbunsha.
- Tremblay, Xavier, 2005, "Irano-Tocharica et Tocharo-Iranica". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68: 421-449.
- Turner, Ralph L., 1966, *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Vogel, Claus, 1970, *The teachings of the six heretics according to the the Pravrajyāvastu of the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya: with an appendix containing an English translation of the pertinent sections in the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, Wiesbaden, Steiner.
- Vorob'ëv-Desjatovskij, Vladimir S. / Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, Margarita I., 1965, *Skazanie o Bhadre: novye listy sakskoj rukopisi "E": faksimile teksta, transkripcija, perevod, predislovie, vstupil'naja stat'ja, glossarij i prilozhenie*, Moskva, Nauka.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, 1999, "Miscarriages of justice: demonic vengeance in classical Indian medicine". In: John Hinnells / Roy Porter (eds.), *Religion, health, and suffering*, London, Kegan Paul International: 256-275.