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A Glimpse into the Buddhist Past of the Maldives
I. An Early Prakrit Inscription*

For the inhabitants of the Maldivian archipelago, the beginning of
literacy has for long been identical with the conversion of the country
to Islam in the middle of the 12th century of our era. As a matter of
fact, the Maldives have borne witness to a continuous production of
written texts since about 1192 A.D. when the oldest copper plate grants
that have come down to us were issued by Maldivian kings. Both by
their outer appearance and by their linguistic content, however, these
documents clearly suggest that the tradition of literacy must have been
much older, dating back to times when Buddhism was still prevalent in
the islands. This assumption is confirmed off-hand by a very small set
of inscriptions engraved in coral-stone artefacts which were unearthed
in excavations in the capital, Māle, and on Māḷos (Maalhos) Island (Ari
Atoll) and which bear clear indications of pertaining to a Vajrayāna
environment.[1] Even though these inscriptions have not been deciphered
so far,[2] it is generally assumed that they date back to the tenth-eleventh
centuries, thus representing the only remnants of Buddhist literacy
which was otherwise deliberately destroyed by the Islamic conver-
tors.[3]

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  [1] Cf. Naseema 1999: 5/19 and Tholal 2002: 13f. for details.
  [2] A first attempt of decipherment will be published as part II of the present
series.
  [3] In the copper-plate grants (so-called *lōmāfanu*s), the destruction of Bud-
dhist monuments (statues) and institutions (monasteries) as well as the killing of
Buddhist monks not willing to be converted to the new faith is mentioned *in
extenso*; cf., e.g., the Isdū grant of ca. 1194 A.D. ("L2", translated by Maniku –
Wijayawardhana 1986: 2): "In the third year of his reign His Majesty (the great
king Gadanaadheethiya), having destroyed the monastery erected previously on
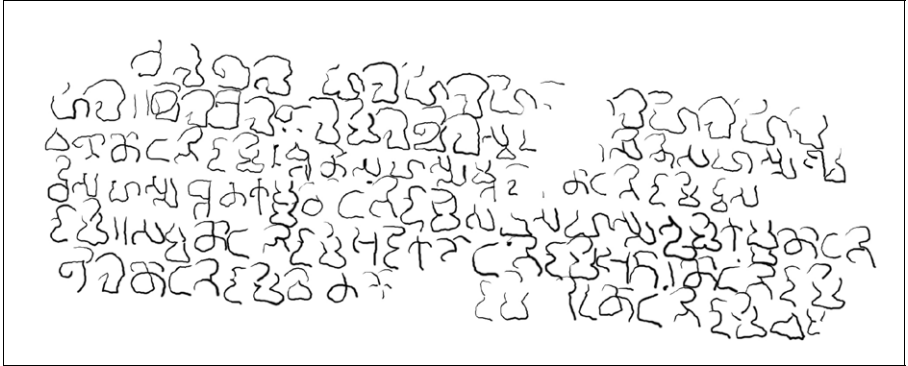
The insight into the Buddhist past of the Maldives we can gain from autochthonous written sources has now increased dramatically by the detection of a stone inscription that must be centuries older than the Buddhist statues mentioned above. The monument in question is a rectangular, brick-shaped block of coral-stone measuring about 56 × 19 × 21 cm, which was unearthed in the remnants of a Buddhist monastery on the island of Landhoo, situated in one of the northernmost atolls of the Maldives. The stone, which is now preserved in the Male National Museum, has broken into three pieces, with the result that parts of it were further damaged at the fractures as well as the outer edges; a smaller fragment of about 10 × 3 × 1 cm which was found at the same site and which bears the same kind of inscription does not fit into any one of the resulting fissures and must thus represent part of another monument. Originally, all four sides of the stone must have been inscribed completely, with three sides bearing six lines extending from the left to the right edge each; the fourth side seems to have been confined to five lines. All in all, about two thirds of the inscription have been preserved, and about one half of it is well readable; it is conceivable (and the reading provided below will confirm this) that it represents a continuous text which ends with the side showing only five lines.

From a palaeographic point of view, the inscription bears a clear resemblance to South Indian epigraphical records of the sixth-eighth centuries written in local subtypes of the Brāhmī script,[4] with no tendency yet towards the development of cursive variants typical for the palm-leaf based writing of later centuries. In this way, the inscription has a totally different outlook in comparison with all later monuments of the Maldives, including both the Vajrayāna Buddhist inscriptions and the early Islamic records, whose script (called *dives akuru*)[5] is

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Isdhoo by the infidel kings, uprooted the image and destroyed it and having brought the ordained priests of the community of monks belonging to this monastery all together to Maale and beheaded them." For the name of the king which should rather be read *gaghanādītya* ≈ Skt. *gaganāditya*, cf. Gippert 2003: 34, n. 13.

  [4] A rough survey of the material published in *Epigraphia Indica* yields the following examples of similar-looking types: Vol. 4, no. 25, between p. 196-197 (Vikramendravarman II); Vol. 6, no. 2, p. 18-19 (Kṛṣṇavarman II); Vol. 8, no. 23, p. 234-235 (Kumāraviṣṇu II); no. 24, p. 238-239 (Sarvalokasraya, A.D. 673); Vol. 14, no. 24, p. 334-335 (Madhava II); Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 2-3 (Indravarman); Vol. 24, no. 36, p. 258-259; Vol. 31, no. 12, p. 78-79 (Viṣṇuvardhana II) etc.

  [5] The term *e vēla akuru*, lit. "script of yore", introduced by H.C.P. Bell for the script used on the oldest (inscriptional) monuments known to him (as opposed

clearly of the cursive type, strongly reminding of the mediaeval script used in Sri Lanka.

On the basis of a comparison with South Indian Brāhmī variants, the following transliteration can be proposed for the Landhoo inscription:[6]

Side 1

1 m[a] vi-ṭṭ[ā] vi-l*<-**-**-**-**-**-**-**-**-**-**-**-**->[m]<i> p[i]-sa-ccha-grā-ha to-ṭa bhi-dā-

2 -mi va-smā-ra<-grā-ha to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi **-**-**-grā-ha> to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi bhu-ta-grā-ha to-

3 -ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi bhu[-i]-grā-[h]<a to-ṭa> bhi-dā-mi pre-ta-grā-ha to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi [kā-]la-

4 -ma-ṭṭa-grā-ha to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi <**->[n*-v*-ra]-kku-sa-grā-ha to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi ku-mma-ṇḍa-grā-ha

5 to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi su-va-ṇṇa-grā-ha to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi du-ṭṭa-nā-ga-grā-ha to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-

6 mi sa-rvv[a] to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi s[v]ā-ha i-li mi-li khi-li khi-li khi-li khi-li

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to normal *dives akuru*, lit. "islanders' script", used in paper manuscripts), is not based on autochthonous tradition. The difference between the two script variants in question is much smaller than with the script of the Landhoo inscription. For the emergence of the present-day left-directional *tāna* script, cf. Gippert 1996: 80.

   [6] In the transliteration, ** stands for an illegible *akṣara*, * for an illegible part of an *akṣara* (consonantal or vocalic). Spaces between *akṣara*s indicate presumed word boundaries, while *akṣara*s within a (presumptive) word are separated by hyphens; as there is no indication whatsoever of word boundaries in the original script, this means that hyphens and spaces are freely interchangeable in the transliteration. Parentheses denote uncertain readings; square brackets indicate damaged (parts of) *akṣara*s that are still conceivable, while angle brackets are used to denote gaps caused by damage. *akṣara*s contained in angle brackets are based on mere reconstruction.

Side 2

1 <**-**> g[i]-li g[i]-li [hi-li hi-li hi-]<li hi->li hi-li hi-li
2 hi-li ‖ khi-li bi-li i-li mi-li khi-li s(v)a-[h]<a a->si-ti sa-ha-ssa (cai-)
3 va-ṇa to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi [na]-vu-ti sa-ha-ssa m[u-l]<*-k*> to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi cā-sa-
4 -ṭṭhi sa-ha-ssa [cu]-ta-ka-(r)mma [t]o-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi sa-[va] sa-ha-ssa bhu-mi-
   ka-m[pa] to-ṭa bhi-
5 -dā-mi ‖ sa-vv[a] to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi [a]-ṭṭi-ka [t]o-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi [a-bhā-ra] to-
   ṭa[ṃ] bhi-dā-mi
6 gi-la to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi [vi-ca] [to-]<ṭa bhi>(-dā-mi) <**>-ri-ḍa to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi
   [ca-m*-]
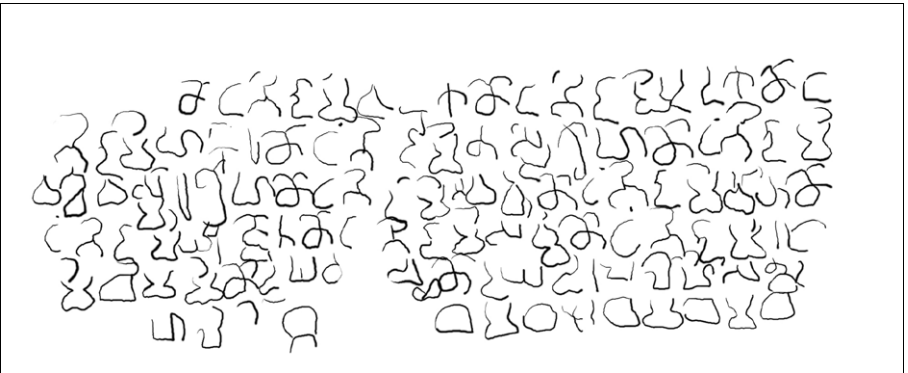
Side 3

1 <**-**-**-**> to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi [s*-]<**>-ka to-ṭa bhi-dā-mi da-ḍa-ka to-ṭa
2 [bhi]-dā-mi h[a-**-ra] to-ṭaṃ bhi-[dā]-mi ta-s[ya grā]-ha to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi
3 va-[cca]-va-[smā]-ra-gr[ā]-ha to-ṭa [bhi]-dā-[m]i v[a-the] to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi [bha-
   te] to-
4 -ṭaṃ [bhi]-dā-[mi] [yu-ñja-na] to-ṭa [bhi]-dā-mi sa-[r]vva to-ṭaṃ bhi-dā-mi [‖
   b*-]<**->
5 [-m]i [bi]-mā-mi [to-ṭā-ya] <t*>[-ccha] to-[ṭā]-ya [da-ra-ya] [lā-hi]-sa-t[va]<-
   **->
6 [**-** ha-la *o-**-**]<**-**-**->[dha]-ma [dha-ma dha-]ma dha-ma dha<-
   **>

Side 4 + Extra Fragment

1 <** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **><** ** **-*m** *pa-ta*> [*p**]-*ta* [*hā*]-*ta*
   va-t[*a*] [*v**-]

2 <** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **><** ** ** *v**> [‖] *ja-la ja-la ja-la ja-la*
   ja-la ja-

3 <** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **><** **-*l**> [*pa*]-*la pa-la* [*pa-la pa-*]*la*
   pa-la ‖ *ma-ha*

4 <** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **><**> [*ma-ha la-**-**-la*]-*ma ka-*[*ro*]-*mi*
   ma-ha-k[*u*]-*ti*

5 <** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** **><**> [*sa-va chi-di bhi-*]*di* [|] *sva-ha* ‖

The extra fragment reads: 1 *-tvā-na-*   2 *-dā-mi*   3 [*bh*]*i-dā-*

With respect to the palaeography of the monument, the following ob-
servations can be made: First, it must be noted that in contrast to many
other South Indian Brāhmī variants, the given script clearly distin-
guishes <n> from <t> *akṣaras*[7] in that the latter have a closed loop to
the left at their bottom (cp. *preta*, 1:3) while <n> *akṣara*s have none (cp.
nāga, 1:5).[8] <k> *akṣara*s are also clearly marked, viz. by a nearly hori-
zontal stroke crossing their vertical line in its upper half (cp. *karmma*
and *kampa*, 2:4). On the other hand, it seems extremely hard to dif-
ferentiate between <d> and <ḍ> (cp. *ḍaḍaka*, 3:1) as well as <v> and
<c> (cp. *vasmāra*, 1:2, and *cāsaṭṭhi*, 2:3). The retroflex <ṇa> (cp. °*vaṇa*
2:3) looks quite as a dental <no> would look like. Other difficulties in
the decipherment will be discussed below; in many cases, the scanty

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[7] Angle brackets comprising single *akṣara*s or letters are used to indicate
graphemic entities in this article.
[8] Cp., e.g., the inscription published as no. 3 in *EI* 3 (1894-1895) 18-19 which
shows an opposite distribution of <t> and <n> *akṣara*s.

material the inscription provides does not admit final decisions about the intended reading.

Regarding the contents of the inscription, it will nevertheless be clear at first glance that the text we have here is a *dhāraṇī* spell, consisting of but a few (≈ 36) *mantra*s of apotropaic character and interspersed with the *bīja* formulas typical for this genre of tantric Buddhism.[9] It will also be clear that the language used is basically Prakrit, with sanskritisms (and even hyper-sanskritisms) occurring here and there. Even though it is for certain a different text, it bears a close resemblance with the famous Sitātapatrādhāraṇī [10] which, preserved both in Sanskrit and in various translated versions, contains similar formulas used to prevent the possession (**graha*, see below) caused by spirits such as *preta*s, *piśāca*s, *kumbhāṇḍa*s, and *rākṣasa*s.[11] And also the *bīja* syllables in question, beginning with *ili mili khili*, can be traced in several other texts of the *dhāraṇī* type. On this basis, the given text can be established and interpreted to a certain extent as follows:

§ 1

m*vaṭṭāvil*<…>[12] [*m*]<*i*>	??
p[*i*]*sacchagrāha toṭa bhidāmi*	I smash the possession caused by *piśāca*s into pieces.
vasmāra<grāha toṭa bhidāmi>	I smash the possession caused by *apasmāra*s into pieces.
<***grāha> toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by ??? into pieces.
bhutagrāha toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by *bhūta*s into pieces.
bhu[*i*]*grā*[*h*]<*a toṭa*> *bhidāmi*	I smash the possession caused by *bhūtī*s into pieces.

   [9] For the main elements of this textual genre, cf., among others, Winternitz 1920: 269-273; Dasgupta 1974: 56-60; Mylius 1983: 414ff.; Porció 2000: xviiff.

   [10] The full name of the text (henceforth STDh.) is given as *sarva-tathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatrā-nāma-aparājitā-mahāpratyaṅgirā* (*vidyā-rājñī*) in Sander – Waldschmidt 1980: 274.

   [11] For an early use of √*gra*(*b*)*hⁱ*/*gṛ*(*b*)*hⁱ* in this sense cp. the Late Vedic Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa, 2, 2, 2, which is about somebody who is possessed by a *rakṣas*: *yo rakṣasā gṛhītaḥ syāt* ... (ed. Sharma 1964: 107,16). Cf. Sutherland 1991: 166ff. for the tradition of "possession by demons" in Old Indic literature.

   [12] Ca. 13 *akṣara*s are missing; the last word should be *bhidāmi*.

pretagrāha toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by *preta*s into pieces.
[kā]lamaṭṭagrāha toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by *akālamṛtyu*(s) into pieces.
*<**>[n*v*ra]kkusagrāha toṭaṃ bhidāmi*	I smash the possession caused by *??-rākṣasa*s into pieces.
kummaṇḍagrāha toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by *kumbhāṇḍa*s into pieces.
suvaṇṇagrāha toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by *suparṇa*(s) into pieces.
duṭṭanāgagrāha toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by wicked *nāga*s into pieces.
sarvv[a] toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash all (of them) into pieces.
s[v]āha	Hail!

*ili mili khili khili khili khili <*****> g[i]li g[*]li [hili hili hi]*
<li hi>li hili hili hili ‖

§ 2
khili bili ili mili khili

s[v]a[h]<a>	Hail!
<a>siti sahassa (cai)vaṇa toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the 80,000 *śravaṇa*s (?) into pieces.
*[na]vuti sahassa m[ul]<*k*> toṭa bhidāmi*	I smash the 90,000 *mūlika*s (?) into pieces.
cāsaṭṭhi sahassa [cu]taka[r]mma toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the 66,000 *cyuta-karma*s (?) into pieces.
sa[va] sa[has]sa bhumikam[pa] toṭa bhidāmi ‖	I smash the 100,000 earth-quakes into pieces.
savv[a] toṭa bhidāmi	I smash all (of them) into pieces.

§ 3

[a]ṭṭika [to]ṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the *ārthika*s (?) into pieces.
[abhāra] toṭa[ṃ] bhidāmi	I smash ??? into pieces.
gila toṭa bhidāmi	I smash the (poison) swallowed (?) into pieces.
[vica] [to]<ṭa bhi>dāmi	I smash (other) poison (?) into pieces.
*<**>riḍa toṭaṃ bhidāmi*	I smash Garuḍa (?) into pieces.
[cam]<********> toṭa bhidāmi*	I smash ??? into pieces.
[v]<**>ka toṭa bhidāmi*	I smash ??? into pieces.

daḍaka toṭa [bhi]dāmi	I smash the (punishment by the) stick into pieces.
*h[a][**ra] toṭaṃ bhi[dā]mi*	I smash ??? into pieces.
tas[ya grā]ha toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash the possession caused by it (?) into pieces.
va[cca]va[smā]ragr[ā]ha toṭa [bhi]dā[m]i	I smash the possession caused by *vañca-apasmāra*s (?) into pieces.
v[athe] toṭaṃ bhidāmi	I smash ??? into pieces.
[bhate] toṭaṃ [bhi]dā[mi]	I smash ??? into pieces.
[yuñjana] toṭa [bhi]dāmi	I smash ??? into pieces.
sa[r]vva toṭaṃ bhidāmi [‖]	I smash all (of them) into pieces.

§ 4

b]<**>[m]i [bi]māmi*	I ???, I destroy (?);
[toṭāya] <t>[ccha]*	smash into pieces, into pieces (?),
to[ṭā]ya [daraya]	smash into pieces, destroy (?),
*l[ā]hisatv[a]<**>*	???

*[**** hala *o****]<******>[dha]ma [dhama dha]ma dhama dha<**>*
*<…>[13]<******m* pata> [p*]ta [hā]ta vat[a]*
[v<…>[13]<******v*> [‖]*
*jala jala jala jala jala ja<…>[13]<**** l*> [pa]la pala [pala pa]la pala ‖*

§ 5

*maha <…>[13]<**>*	???
*[maha la****la]ma ka[ro]mi*	I make ???.
*mahak[u]ti <…>[13]<**>*	???
*[sava chidi bhi]di [*i]*	cut (and) smash all (of them),
svaha ‖	Hail!

Of the five paragraphs thus divided by the insertion of *bīja* formulas and by the usage of double *daṇḍa*s at their ends, it is the first one which finds the most striking parallel both in its contents and its wording in the STDh., viz. in the several enumerations of "possessor" demons and evil circumstances appearing in the *mantra* portions as well as other passages of this wide-spread text. The formulas used here are quite different, though. Taking the better preserved Chinese and Tibetan versions to support the fragmentary Sanskrit tradition, we can estab-

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[13] Ca. 12 *akṣara*s are missing.

lish the underlying text of the most consistent enumeration in the following way (correspondences with the Landhoo inscription are marked in bold characters):[14]

Reconstructed text of STDh.	BST	KhA	KhB	T no. 944	T_1	Items
oṃ svastir bhavatu mama	*[oṃ] svastir bhavatu mama*	*auma svasta(ka)ra bavattu mama*	*àum svasta(ka)ra bhavaṃtu [ma]mama*	*oṃ svastir bhavatu mama*	99	Oṃ! Salvation be mine,
		sīdyākara-casya	*itthanāmasya*			(So-and-So's,)
rāja-bhayāt	*[rā]jabhay[ā]t*	¹*rāja-bayā*	*rājabhayāt*	*rājabhay(āt)*	100	from the danger of the king('s wrath)
cora-bhayāt	*caurabhayāt*	⁵*cāra-bayā*	*caurabhayāt*	*corabhay(āt)*	101	from the danger of thieves,
agni-bhayāt	*agnibhayāt*	⁶*agna-bayā*	*agnibha(yā)t*	*agnibhay(āt)*	102	of fire,
udaka-bhayāt	*udakabhayāt*	⁷*udhaka-bayā*	*udakabhayāt*	*udakabhay(āt)*	103	of water,
viṣa-*bhayāt*	*viṣabhayāt*	²*vaṣa-bayā*	*viṣabhayāt*	*viṣabhay(āt)*	104	of poison,
śatru-bhayāt	*trubhayāt*				106	of enemies,
śastra-bhayāt	*śastrabhayāt*	³*śastra-bayā*	*śastrabhayāt*	*śastrabhay(āt)*	105	of weapons,
paracakra-bhayāt	*paracakra-bhayāt*	⁴*paracakrra-bayā*	*paricakrra-bhayāt*	*paracakra-bhay(āt)*	107	of armies of enemies,
durbhikṣa-bhayāt	*durbhikṣa-bhayāt*	⁸*dūrbaikṣa-bayā*	*durbhiksa-bhayāt*	*durbhikṣa-bhay(āt)*	108	of famines,
ari-bhayāt	*aribhayāt*	⁹*śastra-bayā*	*śatrubhayāt*		109	of foes,

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[14] The three Sanskrit manuscripts in question are fragments from Turfan and Khotan. The passage here quoted comprises no. 631 m4 to q3 (p. 278f.) in Sander – Waldschmidt 1980: 278f. (BST), and p. 362, l. 48-56 ("KhA") and p. 370, l. 62 – p. 371, l. 73 ("KhB") in Bailey 1963. The Chinese transcript, by Amoghavajra, is contained in the Taishō canon (hereafter quoted from *CBETA* 2002) as no. 944 (vol. 19, p. 101a, l. 13-27; a similar text will be found in no. 945, vol. 19, p. 135a, l. 16 – p. 135b, l. 4). Parts of this passage are contained in the fragments of the Uyghur version of the STDh. published by Müller (1911: 64 [T III M 182]). Four Tibetan versions have now been edited *in extenso* in Porció 2000. In the following quotations, Porció's numbers established for the items of the main Tibetan text, T_1, will be used as a convenient system of reference to individual text passages; the passage in question here extends from 99 to 159 (deviations from the order given there are indicated by superscript numbers introducing the respective text passages; text duplications are indicated by curly brackets). Other enumerations of the given type are found in T_1 under nos. 259-274 (≈ Taishō no. 944: vol. 19, p. 102a, l. 28 – p. 102b, l. 13 / no. 945: p. 136b, l. 1-10) and, in a *mantra* passage transcribed in the Tibetan text, under nos. 227-236 (cf. below). Cf. Porció 2000: xxviii ff. for a thorough analysis of the different lists appearing in the Tibetan texts.

Reconstructed text of STDh.	BST	KhA	KhB	T no. 944	T_1	Items
aśani-bhayāt	aśanibhayāt	[10]aśūca-bayā	aśunabhayāt	aśanibhay(āt)	110	of thunderbolts,
akālamṛtyu-bhayāt	akālamṛtyu-bhayā[t]	akālamṛrettya-bayā	akālamṛtyu-bhayāt	akālamṛtyu-bhay(āt)	111	of untimely death,
dhāraṇī(-**bhū-mi**)-**kampa**-bhayāt	(dhā)[ra]ṇī-kampabhayāt	daraṇī būmai-ka<ṃ>paulka-pā[pa]tta-bayā	dharaṇī-bhumekaṃ-paulkāpāta-bhayāt	dhāraṇībhūmi-kampabhay(āt)	112	of earth-quakes
ulkapāta-bhayāt	ulkapāta-bha[yā]t			ulkapāta-bhay(āt)	113	of meteors falling,
rājadaṇḍa-bhayāt	[rā]ja[da]ṇḍa-bhayāt	rāja-dhaṇḍi-bayā	rajadaṇḍa-bhayāt	rājadaṇḍa-bhay(āt)	114	of punishment (by) the king's stick,
nāga-bhayāt	[nāga]bhay[ā]t	nāga-bayā	nāgabhayāt	nāgabhay(āt)	116	of snakes,
vidyud-bhayāt	vidyudbhayā[t]	vaidya-bayā	vidyubhayāt	vidyudbhay(āt)	117	of lightnings,
yakṣa-bhayāt	ya[kṣa]bhayāt					of yakṣas,
taptavāluka-bhayāt	taptavāku[ka]-bhayāt				118	of hot sand,
suvarṇa (-**pak-ṣa**)-bhayāt	suvarṇi-bha[yā]t	svarṇapakṣa-bayā	suvarṇapaksa-bhayāt	[16]suparṇi-bhay(āt)	119	of garuḍa (the golden winged one),
vyāḍacaṇḍa-mṛga-bhayāt		vyāṇḍacaṇḍa-maga-bayā	vyāṇḍa-caṇ-ḍamṛga-bhayāt		115	of malicious and cruel animals,
(sarva-)īti-upadrava-upa-sarga-bhayāt	sarve[t]yupa-dravopasarga-bha(y)[ā]t				120-122	of calamity, acci-dents and troubles,
graha-bhayāt	gṛhābhayāt				124	(and) of posses-sions:
deva-grahāt	[de]vagrahāt	deva-grahā	devagrahāt		125	possession (caused by) devas,
nāga-grahāt		nāga-grrahā	nāgagrahāt		126	nāgas,
asura-grahāt		asura-grahā	asuragrahāt		130	asuras,
garuḍa-grahāt		garūṇḍa-grahā	garūḍagrahāt	[22]garuḍa-grah(āt)	131	garuḍas,
gandharva-grahāt		gadharva-grahā	gaddharva-grahāt		129	gandharvas,
kinnara-grahāt	kinnaragrahāt	kainara-grahā	kinaragrahāt		133	kinnaras,
mahoraga-grahāt		mahaurga-grahā	mahārga-grahāt		134	mahoragas,
yakṣa-grahāt		yakṣa-grahā	yakṣagrahāt	[17]yakṣa-grah(āt)	127	yakṣas,
rākṣasa-grahāt		rākṣasa-grahā	rākṣa(sa)-grahāt {garuḍagrahāt gadarvagrahāt kinaragrahāt mahaurgagra-hāt rākṣasa-grahāt}	[18]rākṣasa-grah(āt)	128	rākṣasas,

Reconstructed text of STDh.	BST	KhA	KhB	T no. 944	T₁	Items
manuṣya-grahāt	*manu[ṣ](y)a-grahāt*				135	human(-looking) [demons],
amanuṣya-grahāt	*amanuṣyā-gra[hāt]*				136	non-human(-looking) [demons],
māruta-grahāt	*marūtagrahāt*				132	*mārutas,*
preta-grahāt	*pretagra[h]ā[t]*		*preṭagrahāt*	[19]*pretagrah(āt)*	138	*pretas,*
piśāca-grahāt	*p[i]ś(āca-g)[r](ahāt)*	*paśāca-grahā*	*piśāçagrahāt*	[20]*piśā-cagrah(āt)*	139	*piśācas,*
bhūta-grahāt	*bhū[ta]grahāt*	*būtta-grahā*	*bhutagrahāt*	[21]*bhūtagrah(āt)*	137	*bhūtas,*
kumbhāṇḍa-grahāt	*kumbhāṇḍa-grahāt*	*kūbaṇḍa-grahā*	*kumbhaṇḍa-grahā*		140	*kumbhāṇḍas,*
pūtana-grahāt	*pūtanagrahāt*	[30]*puttana-grahā*	*putanagrahāt*	[23]*pūtana-grah(āt)*	141	*pūtanas,*
kaṭapūtana-grahāt	*ka[ṭ](ap)[ū]ta-nagrahāt*	[31]*kaṭaputtana-grahā*	*kaṭaputana-grahā<t>*	[24]*kaṭapūtana-grah(āt)*	142	*kaṭapūtanas,*
skanda-grahāt	*skandha-grahāt*	[32]*skadha-grahā*		[25]*skanda-grah(āt)*	143	*skandas,*
**utpāta-grahāt*		[34]*udhapāda-grahā*	*utpādagrahāt*			(bad) omens,
unmāda-grahāt	*unmādagrahāt*		*unmāda-grahāt*	[27]*unmāda-grah(āt)*	144	insanity (causing demons),
chāyā-grahāt	*chāyāgrahāt*	[35]*chāyā-grahā*	*chāyāgrahāt*	[28]*chāyagrah(āt)*	145	nightmares,
apasmāra-grahāt	*[a]pasmāra-grahāt*	[33]*apasamāra-grahā*		[26]*apasmāra-grah(āt)*	146	*apasmāras,*
ostāraka-grahāt	*ostāraka-grahāt*	[36]*austāraka-grahā*	*vastāraka-grahāt*		147	*ostārakas,*
ḍākinī-grahāt	*ḍākini-[g]ra(hāt)*				148	*ḍākinīs,*
revatī-grahāt	*[re]vatīgrahāt*	[37]*raivattī-grahā*	*revatīgrahāt*	[29]*revatīgrah(āt)*	150	*revatīs,*
jāmikī-grahāt	*jāmikī-[g]r(ahā)[t]*				152a	*jāmikīs,*
śakuni-grahāt	*śa[ku]nigrahāt*				153	*śakunis,*
**śamikā-grahāt*	*+++..ṃ.ā-gra(hā)[t]*				155	*śamikās,*
ālambhana-grahāt	*[ā]lambhana-gra[hāt]*				152	*ālambhanas,*
**kaṇṭha-kāminī-grahāt*	*+..ṇ.[ka]-mi++++*				151	*kaṇṭha-kāminīs,*
**kambu-kāminī-grahāt*	*+++mini-grahāt*					*kambu-kāminīs;*
mama svasti-karā bhavatu		*mama satyā-karācasya svasta(ka)ra bavattū*	*mama svasta-(ka)ra bhavatu*			(from them all) salvation be mine (, So-and-so's).

The diversity of spellings that appear in the manuscripts notwithstand-
ing, it is conceivable from this table that both the elements and their
basic order are the same, thus indicating that one single prototype of
the *dhāraṇī* must once have existed.[15] Of course we must admit that
this cannot have been identical with the text of the Landhoo inscrip-
tion, but the given similarities speak in favour of a common tradition
underlying both texts.

The astonishing fact that for one sort of demons, viz. the *bhūta*s, their
female equivalents, the *bhūtī*s (spelled *bhui*), are mentioned separately
in the Landhoo inscription, reminds us of the *dhāraṇī* chapter (ch. 9)
of the Laṅkāvatārasūtra where the same pair occurs two times. Here,
however, the female counterparts are named, in a very modern-looking
way, for the complete list of demons, and both their order and the *bīja*
"verses" carrying the magical spell are far more different from those of
the Landhoo inscription:[16]

*tuṭṭe 2 | vuṭṭe 2 | paṭṭe 2 | kaṭṭe 2 | amale 2 | vimale 2 | nime 2 | hime
2 | vame 2 | kale 2 | kale 2 | aṭṭe maṭṭe | vaṭṭe tuṭṭe | jñeṭṭe spuṭṭe | kaṭṭe
2 | laṭṭe paṭṭe | dime 2 | cale 2 pace pace | bandhe 2 | añce mañce | dutāre
2 | patāre 2 | arkke 2 | sarkke 2 | cakre 2 | dime 2 | hime 2 | ṭu ṭu ṭu ṭu
| 4 | ḍu ḍu ḍu ḍu | ru ru ru ru phu phu phu phu | 4 | svāhā ॥*

*imāni mahāmate mantrapadāni laṅkāvatāre mahāyānasūtre yaḥ kaścin
mahāmate kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vemāni mantrapadāny udgrahīṣyati
dhārayiṣyati vācayiṣyati paryavāpsyati | na tasya kaścid avatāraṃ lap-
syate |*

"These, Mahāmati, are the magical phrases of the *Laṅkāvatāra Mahāyā-
na Sūtra*: If sons and daughters of good family should hold forth, re-
tain, proclaim, realise these magical phrases, no one should ever be able
to effect his descent upon them."

*devo vā devī vā | **nāgo** vā nāgī vā | yakṣo vā yakṣī vā | asuro vāsurī vā |
garuḍo vā garuḍī vā | kiṃnaro vā kiṃnarī vā | mahorago vā mahoragī vā*

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[15]   Some elements remain doubtful, of course, especially at the end of the list.
Among the *bhaya*-compounds, the authenticity of *yakṣabhaya* is questionable. Pos-
sibly, this reflects the second element of *suvarṇapakṣabhaya*; this is what the
Chinese text suggests by jumping from *suparṇibhaya* directly to *yakṣagraha*. A
thorough investigation into the text of the STDh. cannot be attempted here.

[16]   See Laṅkāvatārasūtra ch. 9, ed. Nanjio 1923: 260ff.; tr. Suzuki 1932: 223ff.
The Chinese translations of the Sūtra by Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda as contained
in the Taishō canon (no. 671 and 672, vol. 16, p. 514-586 and 587-640) each comprise
a transcript of the *bīja* verses (p. 564f./ 624f.), the former also a transcript of the
names of male and female demons (p. 565).

| *gandharvo vā gandharvī vā* | **bhūto** *vā* **bhūtī** *vā* | **kumbhāṇḍo** *vā kumbhāṇḍī vā* | **piśāco** *vā piśācī vā* | *ostārako vaustārakī vā* | **apasmāro** *vāpasmārī vā* | **rākṣaso** *vā rākṣasī vā* | *ḍāko vā ḍākinī vā* | *ojohāro vaujohārī vā* | *kaṭa-pūtano vā kaṭapūtanī vā* | *amanuṣyo vāmanuṣyī vā* | *sarve te 'vatāraṃ na lapsyante ...*

"Whether it be a god, or a goddess, or a Nāga, or a Nāgī, or a Yaksha, or a Yakshī, or an Asura, or an Asurī, or a Garuḍa, or a Garuḍī, or a Kinnara, or a Kinnarī, or a Mahoraga, or a Mahoragī, or a Gandharva, or a Gandharvī, or a Bhūta, or a Bhūtī, or a Kumbhāṇḍa, or a Kumbhāṇḍī, or a Piśāca, or a Piśācī, or an Austāraka, or an Austārakī, or an Apasmāra, or an Apasmārī, or a Rākshasa, or a Rākshasī, or a Dāka, or a Dākinī, or an Aujohāra, or an Aujohārī, or a Kaṭapūtana, or a Kaṭapūtanī, or an Amanushya, or an Amanushyī, — no one of these will be able to effect his or her descent ..."

padme padmadeve | *hine hini hine* | *cu cule culu cule* | *phale phula phule* | *yule ghule yula yule* | *ghule ghula ghule* | *pale pala pale* | *muñce 3 cchinde bhinde bhañje marde pramarde dinakare svāhā* ‖

imāni mahāmate mantrapadāni yaḥ kaścit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vodgrahīṣyati dhārayiṣyati vācayiṣyati paryavāpsyati | *tasya na kaścid avatāraṃ lapsyate* |

"If, Mahāmati, any son or daughter of good family should hold forth, retain, proclaim, and realise these magical phrases, on him or her no [evil beings] should be able to make their descent."

devo vā devī vā | *nāgo vā nāgī vā* | *yakṣo vā yakṣī vā ... sarve te avatāram na lapsyante* | *ya imāni mantrapadāni paṭhiṣyati* | *tena laṅkāvatārasūtraṃ paṭhitaṃ bhaviṣyati* |

"Whether it be a god, or a goddess, or a Nāga, or a Nāgī, or a Yaksha, or a Yakshī ... — no one of these will be able to effect his or her descent upon [the holder of these magical phrases]. By him who will recite these magic phrases, the [whole] *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* will be recited."

The special treatment of *bhūtī*s in the Landhoo inscription may be connected with the fact that of the many names of demons present in it, only this one seems to have a direct descendant in modern Dhivehi,[17] viz. in *Santi Mariyaṁbu*, the name of a female ghost (*devi*) "who carries

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a bag full of teeth".[18] It is clear that this consists of the (Christian) name of St. Mary, most probably introduced into the Maldives by the Portuguese invaders in the sixteenth century, in combination with an otherwise unknown element *bu* that can easily be identified with our *bhui*. The usage of the term in the spoken language may then be responsible for its remarkable spelling which seems better to conform to its presumable Prakrit pronunciation than its male counterpart, *bhuta*, with its Sanskrit *t* preserved.[19] Of the other names of demons, *preta* is represented in Modern Dhivehi, too, in the form *furēta*, "frequently used as a generic term for a whole group of *DHEVI* which is considered malevolent".[20] This cannot be a direct descendant of the Sanskrit name, however, which we would expect to appear as *fē; instead, it must represent a learned sanskritism, re-introduced into the Maldivian language in the same way as, e.g., *farubada* "mountain" (Skt. *parvata*), contrasting with the inherited *faru* "reef" which represents the direct descendant of the same etymon.

As was stated above, the formula perused in the Landhoo inscription has not yet been traced in any other Buddhist text. It seems clear in this context that *bhidāmi* stands for Skt. *bhindāmi*, the thematic (1st class) first person sg. present indicative of √*bhid* which came to replace the older athematic *bhinadmi* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as well as many Prakrits.[21] With its meaning "I cleave" (→ Dhivehi *binnan* "I pluck") it fits well in the given context. Furthermore, the same verb might be concealed in the final phrase of the text, combined with its quasi-synonym √*chid* "to split" in a rhyming pair just as in the formula *chinda-bhinda* "cut-and-smash" occurring in several other *dhāraṇī* texts,[22] including the Laṅkāvatāradhāraṇī mentioned above (p. 92)

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[18] Cf. Maniku 1988: 37 s.v. SANTHI MARIYABU. For a story on this ghost, cf. Fritz 2002: II/171ff. — Sanskrit *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* might be concealed in the Maldivian *devi* names *dakō* and *dagini* (Maniku 1988: 16 s.vv. *DHAKOA* and *DHAGINI*); in the latter case, the *g* consonant (instead of *k*; cp. Pali *yakkhinī*) remains unexplained, though.

[19] Cf. below, p. 101, for details on this and other spelling rules.

[20] Maniku 1988: 19 s.v. *FUREYTHA*.

[21] The replacement of the original *bhinadmi* (7th class) must have been based on analogy after the third person pl. *bhindanti*; cp. Fritz 2002: I/204. For the representation of *-nd-* by <d> cf. below.

[22] Cp., e.g., the Chinese transcript of the STDh. (vol. 19, p. 101c, l. 8-9) or the "Dhāraṇī of the Great Guardress" contained, also as a transcript from Sanskrit, in the Chinese canon (no. 1153, vol. 20, p. 620, l. 18f.). The Vajrayāna statues from Māle show the same formula; cp. the forthcoming edition.

where we find *cchinde bhinde* in the *bīja* verses, or the list of "harsh-nesses of speech" in the Vedic Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, *khát phát jahí | chindhī́ bhindhī́ handhī́ kát | iti vácaḥ krūrā́ṇi* (4,27,1),[23] which exhibits the older (athematic) imperative forms *chindhī́ bhindhī́*; should these two forms be meant in [*chidi bhi*]*di* in the Landhoo inscription (§ 5), too? — The alternative proposal to read *nidāmi* as representing Skt. *nindāmi* "I blame" (√*nid*)[24] instead of *bhidāmi* has no advantages, all the more since in most cases, a reading *ni°* cannot be sustained.

As for *toṭa(ṃ)* co-occurring with *bhidāmi* throughout, no such clear solu-tion imposes itself. Of course the word in question cannot be identified with Dhiv. *to'* ← older *toṭu* meaning "ford",[25] a descendant of Skt. *tūrtha-.[26] Instead, it is probable that we have a derivative of the Skt. root √*truṭ* here which, with its alleged meaning of "to be torn or split" or, for its causative *troṭayati*, "to tear, break asunder",[27] matches the context perfectly. In the given syntagm, we might then assume *toṭa(ṃ)* to be an absolutive formation, reinforcing the meaning of *bhidāmi* in the sense of "smashing into pieces".[28] This view would be supported by the twofold occurrence of *toṭaya* in 3:5 if this represents a second person

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[23] In TA 4,37,1, we find a comparable formula, *khán phán mrási*. The charac-teristic syllable *phát* first occurs in VS 7,3 in a *mantra* referring to killing, *dévāṃśo yásmai tvédẹ tát sátyam upariprútā bhaṅgéna hatò 'sáu phát* "God filament (of the Soma plant), what I ask thee for, (let) that be(come) true; … (may) that one, 'crash', be struck"; the *mantra* is quoted in ŚBM 4,1,1,26 (*phád íti*) / ŚBK 5,1,1,21 (*phál íti*), ĀpŚS 12,11,10 and other ritual texts (cp. also KauśS 47,21 with *phaḍ ḍhato 'sau* and 116,7 with *phaḍ ḍhatāḥ pipīlikāḥ*). Another mantric occurrence is to be found in AV(Ś) 4,18,3 (AVP 5,24,3) which is about the usage of witchcraft to kill somebody else (*yáḥ .. anyáṃ jíghāṃsati* "who intends to kill another [per-son]"). These attestations clearly show that *phaṭ* was associated with killing from Vedic times on. For the use of *vácaḥ krūrāṇi*, i.e. "harshnesses of speech", in magical contexts cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 169f.

[24] *nidāmi "I sleep" (Skt. *ni-drāya*-, √*drā/drai* → Dhiv. *nidan* "id.") must of course be ruled out for semantic reasons.

[25] This word constitutes the name of the island *toḍḍū* (Thoddoo), lit. "ford-is-land" ← older *toṭḍuvu* (cf. Fritz 2002: I/19).

[26] Cf. Turner 1966: 337a (no. 5903) for other Indo-Aryan words presupposing this basis (instead of regular *tīrtha*-). In Dhivehi, -*tīr*- seems to be represented in *atiri* "beach" (← *saṃtīraka-?) and *atoḷu* "atoll" (← *ateḷu*, ← *saṃtīrtha-?), the only Maldivian word that has spread into Western languages.

[27] Monier-Williams 1899: 462a.

[28] That the root √*truṭ* has a late appearance (cf. *KEWA* I 536 f.), has no bearing on the present proposal.

imperative of the causative of the same verb.[29] The exact formation of *toṭa(ṃ)* remains unclear, however, all the more since the word-final *anusvāra* is not written consistently in it:[30] Should it reflect an (irregular) *ṇamul*[31] or the nominative form of the present participle[32] of the causative, quasi **toṭayaṃ*, or of the (secondary) full-grade transitive 1st class stem, **toṭa-*, present in Pkt. *toḍaï* = Skt. *tróṭati*?[33]

An alternative solution, which would identify *to* of *toṭa(ṃ)* with the homonymous quasi-ablative ending of Sanskrit, might be suggested by the appearance of a complete list of compounds containing *-grahato* in another Sanskrit text of the *dhāraṇī* type, viz. the Asilomapratisara which has been preserved in a set of manuscripts from the Berlin Turfan collection. It reads:[34]

*rakṣāṃ karomi	I provide protection
*devagrahato	nāgagrahato	asuragrahato	mārutagrahato	garuḍagrahato	gandhar-vvagrahato	kinnaragrahato	mahoraga-grahato	pretagrahato	pūtanagrahato	kumbhāṇḍagrahato	klāṭapūtanagrahato	piśācagrahato	kṛtyakarmaṇa|kakkhorda-vaitāḍagrahato |*	from possession (caused by) *devas*, *nāgas*, *asuras*, *mārutas*, *garuḍas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, *pretas*, *pūtanas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, *kāṭapūtanas* (!), *piśācas*, (and) *kṛtya-karmaṇa-kākhorda-vetāḷs*,

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[29]   If the long *ā*-vowel in the causative suffix is "sprachwirklich" and not just due to a confusion of long and short vowels that must be presupposed for Insular Prakrit (cf. p. 99 below), it might be explained by an influence of the desideratives in *-ā-ya-* discussed in Pischel – Jha 1981: 447 (§ 558). For Skt. *troṭaya-* cf., e.g., the absolutive *troṭayitvā* occurring in the Pañcatantra (2,6,218 = ed. Kale 1982: 132,29) with *pāśa* "snare" as its object.

[30]   In the first occurrence in 1:4, the dot may as well pertain to the <i> *akṣara* of the line above; cp. *ili* in 1:6 which shows both dots on the base line of the <i> character. Note that the many accusatives to be assumed as objects of *bhidāmi* show no *anusvāra* at all.

[31]   For the use of the "gerund in *am*" in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit cf. *BHSG* 171.

[32]   Proposal by Chlodwig H. Werba (letter of 30.12.2003).

[33]   For Pkt. *toḍa-* cf. Pischel – Jha 1981: 403 (§ 486) with a reference to Hemacandra's grammar (4,116). Possibly, the full-grade present stem is attested for Sanskrit too, in the medial form *troṭate* occurring, with *sarvabhūtāni* "all *bhūta* demons" as its object, in the Turfan ms. SHT 906 containing a magic spell (Waldschmidt 1971: 162 [kV, l. 6]); the form *traṭaya* immediately following may as well be read **troṭaya* as the ms. is damaged just where the *o*-vowel mark should be (cf. the facsimile ib., plate 61).

[34]   SHT 60b = Bl. 6, V1-R3, cf. Sander – Waldschmidt 1980: 273. The text published under the same name as no. 843 in Waldschmidt 1971: 86-88 does not contain the list in question.

śīrṣagrahato | *hṛdayagrahato* | *udara-grahato* | *vastigrahato* | *skandhagrahato* | **bāhugrahato* | **ūrugrahato* | *jaṅghagra-hato* | *pādagrahato* |	from possession (affecting) the head, the heart, the belly, the bladder, the shoulder(s), the forearm(s), the thigh(s), the shank(s), the feet;
ekīyakato | **dvitīyakato* | *tṛtīyakato* | **caturthakato* | ++ *n(i)tyajvarāto* |	from fever (recurring) every day, every two days, every three days, every four days, (or) uninterruptedly;
nakṣatragrahato | **upadhigrahato* | *a-lakṣmīgrahato* | **vidyāgrahato* |	from possession (caused by) (unfor-tunate?) lunar constellations, bond(s) (?), bad luck, (and) magic(al power);
sa[mā]sena *sarvarogam pratiṣedhayami | *tadyathā* |	I prevent all diseases, altogether (by uttering) the (formula)

namo \| *hāhā* \| *hili* \| *pili* \| *hulu* \| *hulu* \| *hulu* \|

Albeit this enumeration contains many items we have met in the Landhoo inscription,[35] it is much less probable that we have the same construction there, too; for in this case, the element *ṭa(ṃ)* would remain isolated, and it would be extremely surprising to find a monosyllabic word beginning with a retroflex consonant here.

For the sequences of *bīja* syllables (or rather disyllabics) occurring in the Landhoo inscription, no exact equivalent has yet been detected either. Most of the individual "words" or pairs of them are found elsewhere in *dhāraṇī* spells, however. This is true, e.g., of the first two elements, *ili mili*, which are met with as such in the Āṭānāṭikasūtra, a text that is explicitly dedicated to the protection against demons.[36] In both the Chinese translation of this *sūtra*[37] and the Tibetan one,[38] *ili mili* are the leading syllables, followed, among others, by *hili*, in the *mantra*s uttered by king Vaiśramaṇa; in the fragmentary Sanskrit text (from

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[35] For the elements of the monstruous compound *kṛtyakarmaṇakakkhordavai-tāḍagrahato*, cp. *BHSD* 190b s.v. *kṛtya* (1) and 175a s.v. *kākhorda*; the function of *karmaṇa* must remain open (supporting *kṛtya* in a figura etymologica?). The same term also occurs in the STDh. manuscripts from Khotan: *sarva-krratya karmauṇya khākaurrda-vekīraṇa-vaittāṇḍa-ca[tte]ca-prraśaka-dūṣachara-dadūttarebūttakebya phaṭa* (Bailey 1963: 363,80ff.) and *sarva-kṛtyakarvaṇya-(khā)khaurrda-(vi?)-kīraṇa-vetāḍa-ci(ca)-prriṣaka-duṣichara-daradura-bhutakebya phaṭ* (op. cit., p. 372,104ff.). – For the lists of "possessed" body parts and fevers, cp. the STDh., nos. 285-293 and 276-278. **upadhigrahato* stands for *uparigrahato* of the published text.

[36] Cf. Hoffmann 1939: 5-6 for its contents. – My thanks are due to D. Maue who drew my attention to this *sūtra*.

[37] Taishō no. 1245: vol. 21, p. 217, l. 23.

[38] Hoffmann 1939: 54.

Turfan), only [*mi*]*le* is preserved.[39] A sequence of *ili, mili, cili, kili* oc-
curs two times, first in a wordwise combination with *ratna* (*ili-ratna iti*,
etc.) in a four-verse stanza, then repeated as a plain sequence of utter-
ances (*oṃ ili*, etc.), within ch. 21 of the Sarva-Tathāgata-Tattva-
Saṃgraha,[40] and so forth.[41] Of the other *bīja* syllables used in the
Landhoo inscription, *khili* is comparable with *khile* occurring, along
with *bidukhile* and *kakhile*, in the Turfan ms. SHT 906[42] where we also
find *dama* and *vidhama* contrasting with *dhama* in the Landhoo text.[43]
jala in the latter might be identified with *jvala* appearing several times
in the Sitātapatrā-Dhāraṇī, etc.[44]

The attempt to cross-verify the *bīja* formulas, meaningless as they seem
to be at first glance, in various texts of the *dhāraṇī* type is justified by
the fact that their occurrence within a given text may be an indication
of its age. Thus, it is important that the oldest Chinese translation of
the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (by Guṇabhadra), of 443 A.D., does not yet
contain the *dhāraṇī* chapter (ch. 9) and the metric Sagāthaka (ch. 10)
closing the Sūtra in the Sanskrit text.[45] A similar divergence between

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[39] Hoffmann 1939: 55 (ms. [K] 531,16 V); the Pali version of the *sūtra* con-
tained in the Dīghanikāya has no equivalent passage (ib.). Double *hili* is met with
as the leading part of another *bīja* sequence later on in the text, preserved even in
the Sanskrit fragments (Hoffmann 1939: 75 [524(,6)]).

[40] Yamada 1981: 421. The Chinese version of text (which is also called Vajra-
śekhara-Sūtra) by Dānapāla (ca. A.D. 1012-1015) gives an exact transcript of the
formula (Taishō no. 882: vol. 18, p. 420a, l. 25ff.).

[41] In a *mantra* of the Ekādaśamukha (Dutt 1984: 39,11-13), we have *ili mili* in
a formula introduced by *dhara dhara dhiri dhiri dhuru dhuru*; a Chinese transcript
of this will be found in the Taishō canon in no. 1069 (vol. 20, p. 104c, l. 10-15; cf.
Lin 1999: 314). A sequence [*mili mili*] is assumed for the Turfan ms. 960 (eV6; cf.
Waldschmidt 1971: 160), leading a *bīja* sequence as well (introduced by the usual
tadyathā). Within the texts of the Chinese canon, we find *ili mili* also in Amogha-
vajra's transcript of the Mahāmāyūrī-Vidyārājñī (Taishō no. 982: vol. 19, p. 416,
l. 10f.); and the Chinese "Dhāraṇī of the Great Guardress" (no. 1153) has, among
others, the sequence *hili mili kili cili sili* (vol. 20, p. 634a, l. 4).

[42] Cp. also Fatian's version of the Śravanasyaputranaḍagupilāya-Kalparāja
(Taishō no. 1288) which has *khili khili* and also *hili hili mili mili* (vol. 21, p. 364b,
l. 20 / 365b, l. 28).

[43] Cf. Waldschmidt 1971: 162 (906 kV1-4).

[44] Cp. also *jvale* occurring in one *bīja* formula in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra
(cf. n. 46, below). *jvala* might well represent a second person sg. imperative mean-
ing "burn!, shine!", and *dhama*, a corresponding imperative of √*dhami* "to blow",
as proposed by Meisezahl (1962: 269). A thorough investigation of *bīja* "words"
and their presumptive linguistic background would be an interesting task.

[45] Cf. Suzuki 1932: xliif.

an older, shorter version and a later, extended one is assumed for the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra where the chapter containing *bīja* formulas (ch. 21) is regarded to pertain to a secondary extension comprising chapters 21 to 26;[46] all of these formulas are included, as transcripts, in the Chinese version of A.D. 601 (by Kumārajīva) as contained in the Taishō canon,[47] however, which gives us a *terminus ante quem* for their emergence. All in all, it seems conceivable that the extended production of *dhāraṇī*s of the given type was a feature of the sixth century of our era.

Many other words occurring in the Landhoo inscription require further comments. Generally speaking, the text exhibits several traits that must have been characteristic for the Middle Indic stage leading to what has come down to us as written Dhivehi.[48] This holds true, e.g., for the distribution of long and short vowels which seems rather unexpected from the Sanskrit point of view: There are no long *ā* vowels in *pisaccha* = Skt. *piśāca-* or *kummaṇḍa* = Skt. *kumbhāṇḍa-*, but lots of occurrences of long *ā* in the compound member *grāha* which must represent Skt. *graha-* "possession" as is clear from the many parallels found in the *dhāraṇī* texts.[49] The "irregular" seeming spelling will in these cases be due to the fact that in the Insular Prakrit developing into the Maldivian language, the distinction of long and short vowels must have been given up very early, just as in Sinhalese Prakrit; additionally, *h* in intervocalic position must have tended to get lost as well, leading to new long vowels by contraction. Thus, e.g., Skt. *mahā* "big" developed into Maldivian *mā* and is attested in this form many times in the twelfth

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[46] Cf. Vaidya 1960: VIII. The formulas in ch. 21 are: *anye manye mane mamane citte carite same samitā viśānte mukte muktatame same aviṣame samasame jaye kṣaye akṣaye ... amanyanatāya svāha* (ed. Vaidya 1960: 233,17ff.); *jvale mahājvale ukke tukke mukke aḍe aḍāvati tṛtye nṛtyāvati iṭṭini viṭṭini ciṭṭini nṛtyani nṛtyāvati svāha* (234,3-4); *aṭṭe taṭṭe naṭṭe navaṭṭe anaḍe nāḍi kunāḍi svāha* (234,10); *agaṇe gaṇe gauri gandhāri caṇḍāli tātaṅgi pukkasi saṃkule brūsali sisis svāha* (234,19); *iti me iti me iti me iti me iti me | nime nime nime nime nime | ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe | stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe svāha* (235,1f.).

[47] No. 262: vol. 9, p. 58b, l. 19 ff.; 58c, 14 ff.; 59a, 10 ff.; 18 ff.; 59b, 1 ff.

[48] For general observations as to the prehistory of Dhivehi in general and the sound changes involved in particular, cf. Fritz – Gippert 2000, Fritz 2002: I/17-52, and Gippert 2005.

[49] It is true that a long grade derivative *grāha* also existed in Old Indic, but this seems rather to have used as an agent noun, denoting "grasping" animals such as crocodiles; cf. the detailed descriptions of both terms in *PW* II 850ff. and 862f.

century copper plate grants.⁵⁰ *grāha* may then represent a hyper-san-
skritization, based on a contemporary pronunciation of **graha* as
*[grā].⁵¹ Accordingly, we find no indication of long <ū> in *bhuta-* = Skt.
bhūta- or <ī> in *asiti* = Skt. *aśīti-* "80".

The latter word reveals yet another characteristic feature of the Prakrit
prestage of Dhivehi, viz. the total merger of all three sibilants plus the
voiceless palatals into just one /s/ sound (cp. Dhiv. *āhi* "80" which shows
the later development of /-s-/ into a new /-h-/⁵²). Although this effect is
mostly concealed by the writing (which can thus be styled "tradition-
al"), there are some other cases which prove that this stage had already
been reached at the time of the inscription. This is true, e.g., for *cāsaṭṭhi*
"66" which represents Skt. *ṣaṭsaṣṭi-* in a similar way as Pali *chasaṭṭhi-*
does.⁵³ The spelling of a geminate *cch* in *pisaccha* must then reflect an-
other type of hyper-sanskritization.

A comparable oscillation between a traditional, "sanskritizing" spelling
and an exact graphical representation of what was pronounced can be
seen in the rendering of consonant clusters. Thus, e.g., *kummaṇḍa* ex-
hibits both the assimilation of *mbh → mm* and the preservation of *ṇḍ*
(instead of *ṇṇ*).⁵⁴ If the frequent *bhidāmi* stands for **bhindāmi* as pro-

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⁵⁰ Cp., e.g., *mārasun* "great-king" ≈ *mahā-rājan-* in the Isdhoo Lōmāfanu ("L2",
pl. 1, l. 1; pl. 22, l. 2 etc.; ed. Maniku – Wijayawardhana 1986: 1/22). The name of
the Maldives, in its turn derived from the name of the capital island, *māle* (thus,
e.g. L2, pl. 2, l. 5), must contain this element, too, given that it contrasts with that
of the neighbouring island, *huḷule* (the present-day airport Hulhule) < *suḷule* (thus
L2, pl. 10, l. 5; op. cit., p. 10: <sulhile>), which contains *huḷu* < *suḷu* < Pkt. **c(h)uḷḷa*
< Skt. *kṣudra-* "small" (as against Dhiv. *kuḍa/kudu* "id." < Pkt. **khuḍḍa/khudda*
< Skt. *kṣudra-*, for which cf. Fritz 2002: I/163; cp. Pāli *culla* and *cūḷa* besides
khudda). Both names most probably represent *karmadhāraya*-compounds with **lē*
< Skt. *loka* (or, rather, loc. *loke*, cp. Pkt. *loe* mentioned in Pischel – Jha 1981: 164
[§187] and 297 [§366a]; cp. Dhiv. *lē* "blood" < Skt. *lohita*), i.e., **mahāloka* and
*kṣudraloka.

⁵¹ In an even more striking way, the prohibitive particle Skt. *mā* seems to be
represented by hyper-sanskritizing *mahā* in the Vajrayāna statue inscriptions; cf.
part II of this series (forthcoming).

⁵² With unexplained initial *ā-*; cf. Fritz 2002: I/117.

⁵³ For the unexpected long vowel cp. Sindhī *chāhaṭhi* (cf. Berger 1992: 266).

⁵⁴ Presupposing BHS *kumbhāṇḍa-* as its source. It does not matter in this con-
text whether or not this reflects the older word *kūṣmāṇḍa-* (cf. *EWA* I 387 s.v.
kūśmāṇḍa) as a secondary re-sanskritization of Pkt. *kummaṇḍa-* or the like as it
is the preservation of the *ṇḍ* cluster which is crucial here.

posed above (p. 94), its <d> must represent an intermediary stage leading to the Dhivehi geminate nasal in Dhiv. *binnan* "I pluck".[55]

Another typical feature of the Prakrit stage in question must have been the loss of aspiration as a distinctive feature of stops and affricates. Although our text is quite consistent in preserving the older (Sanskrit) spelling conventions, there are at least some indications that confusion had arisen; cp., e.g., Skt. *ṣṭ* substituted by *ṭṭ* in *duṭṭa-* (← *duṣṭa-* "bad", 1:5) but by *ṭṭh* in *cāsaṭṭhi* "66". The unexpected *cch* in *pisaccha* may also be mentioned in this context, as may *rakkusa* (1:4) with its *-kk-* (instead of "usual" **kkh* as in Pkt. *rakkhasa*)[56] if this represents *rākṣasa-*.

The treatment of intervocalic stops is inconsistent as well. In the pair of (male) *bhūta-* and (female) *bhūtī*-demons represented by *bhuta* and *bhuï* resp. (1:2-3), we see the traditional spelling (with *-t-* preserved) and the "phonetic" spelling (with **t* omitted) side by side (cf. p. 92 above). In a similar way, *apasmāra*, denoting the demon of "forgetting", becomes *vasmāra* (1:2), with its *-p-* "lenited" to *-v-* which must have occurred when the word-initial *a-* was still there, while *kālamaṭṭa* ← *akālamṛtyu-* shows no such change in its *k* (albeit the condition would be quite the same).[57] *-p-* → *-v-* can also be seen in *suvaṇṇa* which represents the common Prakrit development of Garuḍa's epithet *suparṇa-*.[58]

A special problem is implied in *aṭṭika* which we read in 2:5. Generally speaking, its geminate *ṭṭ* can be derived from various sources, among them an older retroflex consonant cluster *ṣṭ* as in *duṭṭa-* ← *duṣṭa-* (1:5). On the other hand, there is good evidence that the retroflex geminate may also have resulted from a former sequence of /r/ plus dental /t/; this is clearly the case with *kālamaṭṭa* representing *akālamṛtyu-*, the demon of "untimely death". If we further consider that the rendering of older aspirates is inconsistent, esp. in clusters, we arrive at **arthika-* or the like as a possible Skt. source of the word; in the same way, the

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[55] Besides *binnan*, Modern Dhivehi has a verb *bindan* "I break" (used in connection with long objects; information kindly provided by Mrs Naseema Mohamed, e-mail of 17.6.2003) which must represent a causative stem formation **bind-va-*, quasi < **bhinda-paya-*.

[56] Cf. Pischel – Jha 1981: 260 (§ 320) for a list of attestations.

[57] The loss of short vowels in word-initial open syllables must have occurred early in the prehistory of Dhivehi; it is nevertheless astonishing that cases like *akālamṛtyu-* were affected by this rule even though their initial vowel was functionally loaded (*alpha privativum*).

[58] Cf. *BHSG* 602b s.v. *suvarṇa*.

Dhivehi dative ending –*a*' ← older *aṭa* represents Skt. *arthāya* "for the sake of".[59] In the given context, it is clear that we must expect a negative connotation of *arthika-* whose meaning is usually noted as "desireful, wanting"; possibly, it stands for "enemy, adversary" here which is normally expressed by its compound, *pratyarthika-*.[60]

Similar problems are implied with the objects addressed, with high numbers quantifying them,[61] in § 2 of the inscription. Of the four terms in question, only the last one, *bhumikampa*, can be identified with certainty, as representing Skt. *bhūmikampa* "earth-quake" which also appears in the STDh. lists of threatening evils.[62] For *caivaṇa* (2:2-3), no such solution can be offered before-hand. It would be tempting to see Skt. *cyavana* here, which with its primary meaning of "moving, shaking" became the name of a "demon causing diseases".[63] Given the shift of meaning the root √*cyu* underwent in Buddhist (and Jainist) Hybrid Sanskrit where it denotes "dying" in the sense of "to fall down from any divine existence (so as to be re-born as a man)"[64] rather than neutral "moving", *cyavana* might also be understood as a denotation of "death" here, all the more since the term *cutakarmma* following in the same passage is likely to contain the same root, as a Bahuvrīhi compound **cyuta-karma* meaning something like "one whose *karma* has fallen". Nevertheless, the problem remains that the first syllable of the word in question seems to show an *ai* diphthong, which cannot be explained on the basis of *cyavana-*, and the same holds true for the retroflex nasal -*ṇ*- contained in it.

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[59] Cf. Fritz 2002: I/57f. for details.

[60] Cf. *BHSD* 376a for the pair *arthika-pratyarthika*. **sarvapratyarthikebhyaḥ* is contained in a *mantra* passage of the Tibetan version of STDh. (T₁, no. 229; Porció 2000: 18).

[61] In the given constellation, *navuti* must stand for Skt. *navati* "90" (→ Dhiv. *navai*; cf. Fritz 2002: I/117), not *nayuta*, the BHS equivalent of older *niyuta* denoting a much higher number (*BHSD* 291a s.v. *nayuta* gives "100,000,000,000"; Monier-Williams 1899: 552b s.v. *ni-√2.yu* notes "generally a million" for *niyuta*), because 90,000 fits well in the given sequence of 80,000, 66,000, and 100,000. Note that the STDh. speaks of a number of 84,000 *graha*s to be annihilated by the goddess "with the white parasol" (*caturaśītīnāṃ grahasahasrāṇāṃ vidhvaṃsanakarī*: Turfan ms. SHT 631, f1, Sander – Waldschmidt 1980: 276; KhA l. 31, Bailey 1963: 361; KhB l. 39, ib., p. 369).

[62] Note the use of *dhāraṇī* in the sense of "earth" instead of or in composition with *bhūmi* in the STDh. versions.

[63] Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra 1,16,23; cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 403b.

[64] Monier-Williams 1899: 403b s.v. 2.*cyu*; *BHSD* 234b s.v. *cyavati*.

Another solution of the problem is suggested by the STDh. In one of the *mantra* passages of the text, the enumeration of demons and evil enemies contains, among others, several terms that are related to magic and witchcraft. One of them is *śramaṇa* or *śravaṇa*,[65] which normally means simply "monk" and which might also be concealed behind the <caivaṇa> of the Landhoo inscription:[66]

Reconstructed text of STDh.	KhA	KhB	T944	T_1	Items
sarva-devebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-devebya phaṭa*	*sarva-devebhya phaṭ*	[1]*sarva-devebhyaḥ phaṭ*	[232-1]*sarba debebhyaḥ phaṭ*	Crash to all (kinds of) *deva*s,
sarva-nāgebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-nāgebya phaṭa*	*sarva-nāgebhya phaṭ*	[2]*sarva-nāgebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-2]*sarba nāgebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*nāga*s,
sarva-asure-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-aysuraibya phaṭa*	*sarva-asurebhya phaṭ*	[7]*sarva-asure-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[230-8]*sarba asurebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*asura*s,
**sarva-mātṛgaṇ-ebhyaḥ phaṭ* (?)	*sarva-māttraibya phaṭa*	*sarva-maṃtra-tebhya phaṭ*			*mātṛgaṇa*s (?),
sarva-garuḍe-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-garūṇḍai-bya phaṭa*	*sarva-garru-ḍebhya phaṭ*	[5]*sarva-garuḍe-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[230-9]*sarba garu-ḍebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*garuḍa*s,
sarva-gandhar-vebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-gadharvai-bya phaṭa*	*sarva-gandharve-bhya phaṭ*	[6]*sarva-gandhar-vebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-5]*sarba gan-dharbebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*gandharva*s,
sarva-kinnare-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-kainare-bya phaṭa*	*sarva-kiṃnare-bhya phaṭ*	[8]*sarva-kinnare-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-6]*sarba kinna-rebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*kinnara*s,
sarva-mahora-gebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-mahāra-gebya phaṭa*	*sarva-mahārge-bhya phaṭ*	[9]*sarva-mahorage-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[230-10]*sarba maho-ragebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*mahoraga*s,
sarva-yakṣe-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-yakṣebya* [x] *phaṭa*	*sarva-yakṣebhya phaṭ*	[3]*sarva-yakṣe-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-3]*sarba yakṣe-bhyaḥ phaṭ*	*yakṣa*s,
sarva-rākṣase-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-rākṣasebya phaṭa*	*rākṣasebhya phaṭ*	[4]*sarva-rākṣase-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-4]*sarba rākṣa-sebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*rākṣasa*s,
sarva-prete-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-prrattebya phaṭa*	*sarva-pretebhya phaṭ*		[232-7]*sarba prete-bhyaḥ phaṭ*	*preta*s,
sarva-piśāce-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-paśācebya phaṭa*	*sarva-pīśāḍcebhya phaṭ*	[11]*sarva-piśāce-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[231-4]*sarba pisātse-bhyaḥ phaṭ*	*piśāca*s,
sarva-bhūte-bhyaḥ phaṭ		*sarva-bhutebhya phaṭ*	[10]*sarva-bhūte-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	[232-8]*sarba bhūte-bhyaḥ phaṭ*	*bhūta*s,

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[65] The graphical inconsistency is well known "even in Skt."; cf. *BHSD* 534b.

[66] The passage in question is contained in the two Sanskrit manuscripts from Khotan (KhA: Bailey 1963: 363,72ff.; KhB: p. 372,95ff.) and, as transcripts, in the Chinese version in Taishō no. 944 (vol. 19, p. 101c, l. 10) and in no. 226ff. of the Tibetan text (Porció 2000: 18; the respective passages are indicated by superscript numbers introducing the text). Only the most essential part will be given here.

Reconstructed text of STDh.	KhA	KhB	T944	T₁	Items
sarva-kumbhāṇ-ḍebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-kūbaṇḍe-bya phaṭa*	*sarva-kumbhaḍe-bhya phaṭ*	¹²*sarva-kum-bhāṇḍebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²³³⁻¹ ⁽/ ²³¹⁻⁵⁾*sarba kumbhāṇḍebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*kumbhāṇḍas,*
sarva-pūtane-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-puttanebya phaṭa {sarva-utpādebya phaṭa sarva-chāyebya phaṭa sarvaska-dhebya phaṭa}*	*sarva-putane-bhya phaṭ*	¹³*sarva-pūtanebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²³³⁻²*sarba pūtanebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*pūtanas,*
sarva-kaṭapū-tanebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-kaṭaput-tanebya phaṭa*	*sarva-kaṭapu-tanebhya phaṭ*	¹⁴*sarva-kaṭapū-tanebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²³³⁻³*sarba kaˈṭa-pūtanebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*kaṭapūtanas,*
sarva-skande-bhyaḥ phaṭ		*sarva-skaṇdhe-bhya phaṭ*		²³³⁻⁴*sarba skandebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*skandas,*
sarva-mārute-bhyaḥ phaṭ		*sarva-marute-bhya phaṭ*		²³¹⁻³*sarba māru-tebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*mārutas,*
sarva-utpāde-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-utpādebya phaṭa*	*sarva-utpāde-bhya phaṭ*		²³³⁻⁵⁽/²²⁹⁻⁶⁾*sarbon-mādebhyaḥ phaṭ*	bad omens,
sarva-chāye-bhyaḥ phaṭ				²²⁹⁻⁷*sarba tstsha-yebhyaḥ phaṭ*	nightmares,
sarva-apasmā-rebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-apasa-mārebya phaṭa*	*sarva-apasmā-rebhya phaṭ*	¹⁸*sarva-apasmā-rebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁷⁻¹²*sarba apa-smārebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*apasmāras,*
sarva-ostāraḳe-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-austāra-keḅya phaṭa sarva-austāra-kebya phaṭa*	*sarva-āstārake-bhya phaṭ*		²²⁷⁻¹³*sarba ostāra-kebhyaḥ phaṭ*	*ostārakas,*
sarva-durlaṅghi-tebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-dūrala-gattebya phaṭa*	*sarva-duralaṃ-ghatebhya phaṭ*	¹⁵*sarva-dur-laṅghitebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁷⁻¹*sarba dur-laṃghitebhyaḥ phaṭ*	hostile magic,
sarva-duṣprekṣi-tebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-dūsprra-kṣaittaibya phaṭa*	*sarva-dupṣrakṣa-tebhya phaṭ*	¹⁶*sarva-duṣpre-kṣitebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁷⁻¹⁰*sarba dupre-kṣitebhyaḥ phaṭ*	evil eye,
sarva-jvarebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-jurebya phaṭa*	*sarva-jvarebhya phaṭ*	¹⁷*sarva-jvare-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁷⁻¹¹*sarba dzwa-rebhyaḥ phaṭ*	fever,
…					
sarva-tīrthike-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-ttarukebya phaṭa*	*sarva-tīrthake-bhya phaṭ*	²⁰*sarva-tīrthi-kebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁹⁻⁵*sarba tīrthi-kebhyaḥ phaṭ*	heretics,
sarva-unmāde-bhyaḥ phaṭ		*sarva-udmāde-bhya phaṭ*	²¹*sarva-unmāde-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁹⁻⁶*sarbonmāde-bhyaḥ phaṭ*	insanity-causing demons,
sarva-śramaṇe-bhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-śramaṇe-bya phaṭa*	*sarva-śramaṇe-bhya phaṭ*	¹⁹*sarva-śramaṇe-bhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁹⁻³*sarba ˈshra'-maṇebhyaḥ phaṭ*	monks,
sarva-vidyādha-rebhyaḥ phaṭ	*sarva-vaidyā-dharebya phaṭa*	*sarva-vidyadha-rebhya phaṭ*	²²*sarva-vidyā-dharebhya(ḥ) phaṭ*	²²⁹⁻⁸*sarba bidyā-dharebhyaḥ phaṭ*	magicians …

It will be clear from this list that *śramaṇa* must be understood with a pejorative meaning here, similar to *tīrthika* "heretic" occurring in the same context. This assumption is supported by a passage immediately preceding, which is about the destruction of magic caused by a *nagna-*

śramaṇa, thus indicating that a special group of 'naked' monks was envisaged here. Of the Sanskrit manuscripts, only KhB has this passage;[67] it reads <nagna-śravaṇa-kṛtāṃ vidyāṃ cchidayā̃me kīlayā̃me>, i.e., *nagna-śramaṇa-kṛtāṃ vidyāṃ chidayāmi kīlayāmi* "I cut off and nail down the magic performed by a 'naked monk'".[68] In a similar way, other terms denoting "heretics" obviously refer to magicians in the same formula; this is true, e.g., for *parivrājaka*s, i.e., "wandering ascetics", and *arhat*s, i.e. "followers of Jaina doctrines".[69]

A similar solution might then be sought for *mulaka* or the like we read in 2:3 in the Landhoo inscription. Of the word forms that may be seen here, the feminine *mūlikā* might well fit with the meaning "root used in magic" attested for it in the Pañcatantra and elsewhere.[70] On the other hand, this could be one more term denoting a special group of (heretic) monks, viz. *mūlika*s, i.e., people "living on roots (as an ascetic practice)".[71]

For two further terms of the Landhoo inscription, the STDh. may give a decisive hint again as to their understanding, viz. *gila* and *vica* (2:6). If the latter word stands for Skt. *viṣa* "poison", *gila* may be identified with *gira* which we find combined with *viṣa* in the compound *viṣa-yoga-gira-khākhordam* in the STDh.[72] Taking *gira* and *gila* as equivalent derivatives of $\sqrt{g\bar{r}}$ "to swallow",[73] we arrive at "poisonous drink" as a possible interpretation for them.

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[67] Lines 88-89 (Bailey 1963: 371); cp. no. 214 in the Tibetan version T₁ (Porció 2000: 16). The Chinese transcripts (nos. 944 and 945) confirm the reading (vol. 19, p. 101b, l. 21f.; p. 140b, l. 21f.).

[68] The Tibetan text of T₁ adds a corresponding formula where the *śramaṇa* is "shaved-headed" (no. 220; Porció 2000: 115).

[69] Cf. Porció 2000: 112, n. 232 and 114, n. 225. The passages in question are in lines 61 and 68 of KhA and lines 80 and 89 of KhB (Bailey 1963: 362/371); they are also contained in the Chinese versions (no. 944: vol. 19, p. 101b, l. 5f. and l. 23f.; no. 945: vol. 19, p. 140b, l. 4f. and l. 23f.) and in nos. 191 and 215 of the Tibetan version T₁.

[70] Monier-Williams 1899: 827a s.v. *mūlaka*.

[71] Monier-Williams 1899: 827a s.v. *mūlika*; *BHSD* 437a.

[72] *vaṣa yāga gaura khākhaurrda* KhA, l. 103; *viṣa yauga gira khākhaurrdam* KhB, l. 134 (Bailey 1963: 365/373). The Tibetan text T₁ has, besides the corresponding phrase (nos. 313-315), a similar quotation in a *mantra* passage (no. 228: *sarba garebhyaḥ phaṭ | sarba biṣebhyaḥ phaṭ | sarba yogebhyaḥ phaṭ*; Porció 2000: 18); the Chinese transcripts (no. 944: vol. 19, p. 102b, l. 28 and no. 945: vol.19, p. 141b, l. 3) seem to have only *viṣayoga*. As against Porció (2000: 123, n. 339), the evidence for *gara* is not better than for *gira*.

[73] For the development of the *l* cf. Werba 1997: 283f.

The question remains what the purpose of the Landhoo monument might have been. Given that the brick-shaped stone is inscribed on all four sides, it can hardly have been used in the construction of a building if the inscription was intended to be readable. A different proposal is suggested by A. Ghosh's account of a stone-slab from India bearing another Buddhist text, which was found in a *caitya*.[74] According to the author, "we have archaeological evidence that this practice of enshrining sacred texts was followed all over India. At Nālandā, for instance, besides some bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* or its shorter version *yē dharmā*, etc., there have been found a large number of terracotta tablets bearing on them the text of some *dhāraṇī*." The same is reported for the STDh. whose *mantra*s " – along with other dhāraṇīs – have ... served as *dharmakāya* relics to be placed in a *stūpa* or statue".[75] The present inscription may well have served a similar purpose.

<div align="center">B i b l i o g r a p h y   a n d   A b b r e v i a t i o n s</div>

ĀpŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
AVP	(Atharvaveda-)Paippalāda-Saṃhitā
AV(Ś)	Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (Śaunakīya)
Bailey 1963	Harold Walter Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies, Being Khotanese Texts, Volume V.* Cambridge 1963.
Berger 1992	Hermann Berger, Modern Indo-Aryan. In: J. Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals*. Berlin – New York 1992, p. 243-287.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD/G	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary/ Grammar*. New Haven 1953 (repr. Delhi 1985).
CBETA	*Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Series*. Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 1-55 & 85. CD-ROM version of the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association. Taipei 2002.
Dasgupta 1974	Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*. Calcutta ³1974.
Dutt 1984	Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Vol. I. [*Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica* 14]. Delhi ²1984.

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[74] *EI* 26 (1941-1942 [1952]) 171.
[75] Porció 2000: xix with reference to Scherrer-Schaub 1994: 719 with n. 114.

EWA	Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg 1986-1996.
Fritz 2002	Sonja Fritz, *The Dhivehi Language. [I] A Descriptive and Historical Grammar of Maldivian and Its Dialects. – II. Material. [Beiträge zur Südasienforschung* 191]. Heidelberg 2002.
Fritz – Gippert 2000	Sonja Fritz – Jost Gippert, Towards a Historical Phonology of Maldivian. In: M. Ofitsch / Ch. Zinko (ed.), *125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz*. Graz 2000, p. 139-152.
Gippert 1996	Jost Gippert, Paläographische Untersuchungen mit dem Computer. *Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica et Anatolica* 2 (1996) 77-100.
Gippert 2003	Id., Early New Persian as a Medium of Spreading Islam. In: Ludwig Paul (ed.), *Persian Origins*. Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian. Collected Papers of the Symposium, Göttingen 1999. Wiesbaden 2003, p. 31-47.
Gippert 2005	Id., Schriftgebrauch zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel. Zur Wechselwirkung zwischen Sprachgeschichte und Schriftlichkeit. To appear in: *Die Sprache* 44,2 (2004[2005]).
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Hoffmann 1939	Helmut Hoffmann (ed.), *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten*. [*Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte* 5]. Leipzig 1939.
Kale 1982	M.R. Kale (ed.), *Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman*. Delhi ³1982.
KauśS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KEWA	Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen / A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*. Heidelberg 1956-1976.
Lin 1999	Lin Kuang-Ming (Tony K. Lin), *Fanzi xitan jumen*. An Introduction to Siddham. Taibei 1999.
Maniku 1988	Hasan Ahmed Maniku, Dhevi. *Vanavaru* 1 (1988) 1-38.
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PW	Otto Böhtlingk – Rudolph Roth (ed.), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg 1855-1875 (repr. Delhi 1990).
Sander – Waldschmidt 1980	Lore Sander – Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.), *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*. Teil 4. [*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* X,4]. Wiesbaden 1980.
ŚBK	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Kāṇvīya recension)
ŚBM	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandinīya recension)
Scherrer-Schaub 1994	C.A. Scherrer-Schaub, Some Dhāraṇī Written on Paper Functioning as Dharmakāya Relics. A Tentative Approach to PT 350. In: P. Kvaerne (ed.), *Tibetan Studies*. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992. Oslo 1994, p. 711-727.
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SHT	Sanskrit-Handschriften aus Turfan (Berlin collection)
STDh.	Sitātapatrādhāraṇī
Sutherland 1991	Gail Hinich Sutherland, *The Disguises of the Demon*. The Development of the Yakṣa in Hinduism and Buddhism. [*SUNY Series in Hindu Studies*]. Albany, N.Y. 1991.
Suzuki 1932	Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki (tr.), *The Lankavatara Sutra*. A Mahayana Text. London 1932.
TA	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
Tholal 2002	Ahmed Tholal, *The National Museum*. Male: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, 2002.
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Vaidya 1960	P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. [*Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* 6]. Darbhanga 1960.
VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā

Waldschmidt 1971   Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.), *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*. Teil 3. Unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Sander-Holzmann. [*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* X,3]. Wiesbaden 1971.

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