

**Jost Gippert**

## **A Glimpse into the Buddhist Past of the Maldives II. Two Sanskrit Inscriptions**

*In memory of Hassan Saeed  
(14.4. 1938 – 28.5. 2014)*

When I published the first part of the present paper a few years ago,<sup>1</sup> the Maldives were witnessing slow but steady progress in opening the country for scholarly investigations concerning their prehistory, i.e., the time before the twelfth century C.E. when the islands were converted to Islam; the fruitful cooperation with Maldivian scholars in the publication of the Buddhist Prakrit inscription that was the object of my study then is a good example of this. With the first democratic elections of a president and the establishment of a liberal government in 2008, interest in the remnants of the pre-Islamic times grew even stronger, and news about successful excavations of Buddhist artefacts were reported here and there. This progress came to a sudden end in the first months of 2012 when the democratic government was overthrown in a coup d'état, with Islamicists playing a considerable role. One side effect of this was the deliberate destruction of nearly all Buddhist (or Buddhist-looking) artefacts in the National Museum of Male by a group of masked bandits on Feb. 7, 2012.<sup>2</sup> It is not yet clear whether the Prakrit *dhāraṇī* inscription from Landhoo I treated in Gippert 2004a was among the artefacts concerned;<sup>3</sup> what is clear, however, is that this inexcusable act of vandalism did annihilate, in a strange

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<sup>1</sup> For the first part of this paper cf. Gippert 2004a. — My thanks are due to Chlodwig H. Werba, Arlo Griffiths, Martin Delhey, Anne MacDonald, and anonymous reviewers who read a previous version of the present paper and made extremely valuable comments. All remaining errors are mine, of course.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-2a> and <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-2b> for short reports. For lack of an institutional website of the Māle National Museum, readers may consult <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-2c> for an overview of the Museum's exhibitions before the destruction (all internet URLs quoted here were last checked on January 26, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> This is at least suggested by the report on <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-3>.

resumption of twelfth century practices,<sup>4</sup> the most intriguing monuments of written Buddhist Sanskrit on the Maldives, viz., two multi-faced statues with obvious Vajrayāna features and lengthy inscriptions on their surfaces,<sup>5</sup> which were unearthed in the Islands' capital, Māle, in the 1960s and which are generally assumed to date back to the ninth to tenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> For the present investigation, which had planned to provide the first thorough analysis of these artefacts, the loss is indeed disastrous as the available photographs, albeit numerous and of high resolution,<sup>7</sup> do not suffice for the reestablishment of the wording of the inscriptions in every detail. This is due in part to earlier damage to the statues; in some cases, however, a visual inspection of the original artefacts might have supplied decisive additional insights. As the plan to undertake such an inspection *in situ* has now become obsolete, the present paper must confine itself to summarizing what has been accomplished from afar since 2003, which means that some aspects must remain hypothetical or doubtful.

At first glance, the two inscribed statues, which were assigned the shelfmarks IC 009 and IC 010<sup>8</sup> when I last visited the National Museum of Male in 2003, seem not to share many details, except for the fact that they are both made from coral stone, which is the only material available on the Maldives for producing lithic epigraphs, and the fact that several faces are carved on their sides (cf. Fig. 1 and 2).<sup>9</sup> One of the statues, IC 010, is shaped like an inverted cone (ca. 80 × 50 × 40 cm) with rounded edges and a level top; it presents two faces with large earlobes, one above the other, on what is likely to have been its foreside, and one face each on its left, right, and backside and its top. The major part of the inscrip-

<sup>4</sup> The destruction of Buddhist artefacts (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* in the Maldivian copper-plate grants (so-called *lōmāfanus*); cf., e.g., the Isdū grant of ca. A.D. 1194 ("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 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 [sic!] beheaded them." For the name of the king which should rather be read *gaghanādītya* ~ skt. *gaganādītya* "sun of the sky", cf. Gippert 2003: 34, n. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gippert 2005 for a preliminary account of these inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Naseema 1999: 5/19 and Tholal 2002: 13-14 for details.

<sup>7</sup> My thanks are due to Naseema Mohamed and the staff of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, Male, who supported me from 1993 to 2003 in taking the photographs underlying the present paper.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Tholal 2002: 14. For a more recent description based on the same scholar's information cf. Mackintosh-Smith 2010: 74-75.

<sup>9</sup> Images of IC 009 as exhibited in the Māle National Museum in 2011 are available on <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-9b> and <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-9c>.

tion on it runs in a spiral around the four sides of its upper part and continues, in spiral shape again, on the top; minor parts are written on the sinistral (proper left) side and between the two faces on the foreside. In contrast to this statue, IC 009 is shaped like a rectangular block (ca. 60 × 40 × 30 cm). It has six faces as well, with a similar distribution (the face on the top is heavily worn); all are adorned with thick lips and moustaches, and the big face on the foreside also has large earlobes. Its inscription is located on the foreside, distributed into four parts, with an additional two-line fragment on the dextral (proper right) side. Both inscriptions are written in an archaic variant of the Insular Brāhmī cursive script that is sometimes styled *evēla akuru*, i.e., script (Maldivian *akuru* < skt. *akṣara*) of yore (*e vēla* “that time”), which bears much more similarity with the script of the early Islamic period (used, e.g., in the Islamic copperplate grants of the twelfth century) than with that of the Landhoo inscription.<sup>10</sup>

Considering the differences in the outer appearance of the two statues, it may seem astonishing that the text of the inscriptions they bear reveals itself to be virtually the same. Its beginning is missing on IC 009 where it must have comprised two lines above the text visible today, split into two halves on the upper part of the foreside, left and right of the remnants of the lower part of the face on the top (cf. Fig. 2 and 4); these lines were presumably washed off because the top of the statue was not buried in the ground and thus remained exposed to erosion by water and sand. The visible part of the inscription continues with the two lines on the dextral angle, then in the dextral and sinistral areas below the ears of the main face on the foreside. On IC 010, the inscription starts right above the top of the nose of the upper face on the foreside and runs upward spirally, then continues on the top (in inward direction); its end is added on the lower part of the sinistral and back side. The two text lines between the two faces on the foreside have no counterpart on IC 009 and can therefore be regarded as an explanatory addition; an assumption which is supported by the decipherment of the texts under discussion and their identification. To visualize the complex arrangement of the texts, the inscriptions are redrawn in colours in Fig. 3ff., with identical colours indicating identical content on both statues.

It has been suggested for IC 009 that it may have represented a *vighnāntaka* serving the function of a *dvārapāla* or doorkeeper in a sanctuary.<sup>11</sup> On the basis

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gippert 2013: Table 1 for a paleographical synopsis of the scripts used on the Maldives in historical times.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. <http://tinyurl.com/glimpse2-11> (relying upon Romero-Frias 2003: 55-56 with n. 174) for a rough account of IC 009 with excellent images; cf. unit 9 with n. 45 below for the term *vighnāntaka* (recte: *vighnāntaka*) mentioned on the web page.

of the evidence now available, we may safely posit that the statues represent the head of the “Kings of Wrath” of Tantric Buddhism, specifically Yamāntaka, for it is this *krodharājan* that is addressed in the “additional” text on IC 010, and the parallel text of the two inscriptions is a mantra pertaining to his invocation. The mantra in its turn is nearly identical with the versions appearing in the Guhyasamājatantra<sup>12</sup> (GST, within ch. 14)<sup>13</sup> and in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa<sup>14</sup> (MMK, within ch. 1<sup>15</sup> and, with only slight differences, ch. 52,<sup>16</sup> one of the chapters devoted to Yamāntaka).<sup>17</sup>

All in all, the common text of the two inscriptions can be divided into thirty-five meaningful units (not necessarily sentences but rather phrases or syntagms, including vocative formulae and interjections).<sup>18</sup> In Table 1, the proposed read-

<sup>12</sup> The Sanskrit text of the Tantra is available in five editions which exhibit only slight differences in the concerned passages: the editio princeps of 1931 in Devanāgarī script by B. Bhattacharya (here: GST), two further Indian editions in Devanāgarī (Bagchi 1965 and Dwarikadas 1984, the latter obviously a mere reproduction of the former), and two editions in Latin transcription (Fremantle 1971 and Matsunaga 1978). An English translation is provided in Fremantle 1971, which, however, skips the mantras. In addition, Fremantle 1971 contains a full transcript of the Tibetan version of the text. A Chinese version is available in text no. 885 of the Taishō canon (T. 18, p. 469c–511b).

<sup>13</sup> GST p. 79, l. 20 – p. 80, l. 10; Bagchi 1965 ~ Dwarikadas 1984: 65,13-20; Fremantle 1971: 298,10-300,3; Matsunaga 1978: 61,8-25; Tibetan in Fremantle 1971: 299,16-27; Chinese in T. 18, p. 489a,1-23.

<sup>14</sup> The full Sanskrit text of the Kalpa (here: MMK) is represented in a single manuscript from India first edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in three volumes between 1920 and 1925; the second edition by Vaidya 1965 exhibits no noteworthy differences in the passages consulted for the present article (except for a more extensive use of *danḍas* for the delimitation of textual units). An English translation of several mantras of the text is given in Wallis 2002; a French translation mostly of chapter 2 can be found in Macdonald 1962.

<sup>15</sup> MMK I/15,23-16,6 ~ Vaidya 1965: 10,31-11,7. Chapter 1 of the MMK is contained in text no. 1191 of the Chinese Taishō canon (including the mantra in question: T. 20, p. 843b18-844a3).

<sup>16</sup> MMK III/577,17-26 ~ Vaidya 1965: 449,31-450,6. The second part of text no. 1216 of the Chinese Taishō Canon (T. 21, p. 79b-81a) is regarded as a parallel of ch. 52 of the MMK (cf. Matsunaga 1985: 884 with n. 13; Wallis 2002: 172; Macdonald 1962: 16); it does not contain the mantra, however. Instead, the mantra is found again (in a slightly distorted version) in Taishō text no. 1218 (T. 21, p. 95a29-b23).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Linrothe 1999: 63-83 for a comprehensive account of the iconography of Yamāntaka in the period in question here. — I am heavily indebted to Arlo Griffiths and an anonymous reviewer of the present article who – independently – drew my attention to these two texts and the striking parallels they represent. My thanks are also due to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft which funded my sojourn as a Petra Kappert Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg, in the summer of 2013, thus providing an excellent basis for research into these texts.

<sup>18</sup> Similar – though not necessarily identical – divisions are found in several of the editions of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts mentioned above. They will only be dealt with when they provide crucial evidence.





Unit	Fig.	Line	IC 010	IC 009	Line	Fig.
13	8b		vya-gra-sa-ṛmma-ni-vā-sa	vya-gra-sa/-[ṛ]mma-n[i]- v[ā]-sa	[a5]	18-20
			<i>vyāghracarmanivāsa</i> (You) who are clad in a tiger's skin!			
14	8c		kuru [kuru sa]-ṛmma-n_	k]<uru sa-ṛvva->\ ka-ṛmma-n_	[a6]	18-20
			<i>kuru (kuru) *sarvakarmān</i> Perform, (perform) all deeds!			
15	8d-a		ṣi-n(d)[a] si-nda sa-ṛvva- pa-ra-ma-ntra	si-(n)da / si-n[da] sa-ṛvva- [pa-ra]-ma-(n)<tra>	[a7]	18-20
			<i>chinda chinda sarvaparamantram</i> Break, break all mantra(s) of opponents!			
16	8a-b	(a4)	bi-nda bi-nda \ (pa-ra-) [ma]-n[t]r(ā)-n_	<bi-nda> \ (b)i-(n)da sa-ṛvva-pa/[ra]-ma-(n) [t]<rā>-\[n_	[a8]	18-20
			<i>bhinda bhinda paramantrān</i> Split, split the mantras of opponents!			
17	8b-10	(b1)	yā]-<—>-ka-ṛṣa-yā 'a-(ka- ṛṣa)-[y]<a> sa-[ṛv]<va>-\ (b)ū-ta-[n_	ya]-'a-ka-ṛṣa-(ya) \ <*- **_*>-\[ta]	[a9]	18-20
			<i>ākarṣaya (ākarṣaya) sarvabhūtaṃ</i> Attract, (attract) all living being(s)!			
18	10		[_ni-ṛ]m[mā-]t[ā]-ya ni-ṛmm[a]-ta-[ya sa-ṛ] v[v]<a-**-**> {— — —}	'a-ni-ṛmmi-/<*- **_*-**- **>-\(n')	[a10- 11]	18-20
			<i>nirmāthaya (nirmāthaya) *sarvaduṣṭān</i> Grind, (grind) all evil beings!			
19	10		pra-ve-sa-ya ma-[ṇda]-  [a]-m[a-dy](e)	pra-ve-sa-/<*- **_*-**- > ma-dye	[a10- 11]	18-20
			<i>praveśaya maṇḍalamadhye</i> Let (them) enter into the (middle of the) <i>maṇḍala</i> !			
20	10		va-[yi-vā-sva-tā-nga]- (ga-) [t](i)-ne	vai -(s)[va]-\<*-**- **_*-**>	[b1]	22
			<i>*vaivasvatāṅgaghātine</i> Destroyer of the limb(s) of the Vivasvatid!			

Unit	Fig.	Line	IC 010	IC 009	Line	Fig.
21	10	(b2)	ka-ra ka-ra	<ka>-ra ka-ra		22
				<i>kara kara</i> Doer, doer!		
22	10	(b2)	kuru [kuru] ma-ma ka-[ṛdhā]-n'	ku-ru ku-ru ma-ma ka-[ṛdha]-n_		22
				<i>kuru kuru mama kāryaṃ</i> Do, do the work for me!		
23	10		[da-ya da-ya]	da-ya (da-ya) \		22
				<i>daha daha</i> Burn, burn!		
24	10			<pa-cha> [pa-ch]a	[b2]	22
				<i>*paca paca</i> Cook, cook!		
25	10		ma[-hā vi-la-m]ba ma-hā vi-la-[m]ba	ma-hā vi-la-mba ma-[hā]-(h)ā v(i)-la-mba	[c1]	22-24
				<i>mā vilamba, mā vilamba</i> Do not tarry, do not tarry!		
26	10		sa-ma-ya-m_a-nu-ṣma-ra	sa-(ma-)\ ya-m_a-nu-ṣma-ra	[c2]	24
				<i>samayam anusmara</i> Remember the convention!		
27	10	(b3)	huṃ huṃ huṃ	huṃ \ hūṃ hūṃ	[c3]	24
				<i>huṃ huṃ huṃ</i> Huṃ huṃ huṃ!		
28	10	(b4)	pa-ṭ' \ pa-ṭ' \	pa-ṭ' \ pa-tú pa-tú	[c4]	24
				<i>phaṭ phaṭ (phaṭ)</i> Phaṭ phaṭ (phaṭ)!		
29	12	(c1-3)	vi-ṣ[po]-{—}[ta-ya] \ vi-ṣpo-<ta>-[y](a) sa-\ ṛvva-vi[-ghna]-n'	vi-ṣ(po)-ṭa vi-sū-ṭa-ya sa-ṛvva-vi-g[na]	[d1-2]	24-26
				<i>viṣphoṭaya viṣphoṭaya *sarvaviḡhnān</i> Shatter, shatter all obstacles!		



Unit	Fig.	Line	IC 010	IC 009	Line	Fig.
30	12	(c4)	\sa ri-pu-[n]	\sa-[ya ri-pû-n_	[d3]	26
<i>*nāśaya ripūn</i> Destroy the enemies!						
31	12	(c4-5)	ka-\ ra ka	_ka-ra ka]-\ ra	[d3-4]	26
<i>kara *kara</i> Doer, doer!						
32	12-14	(c5-d1)	(ē) [ba]-ga-vā-{-}-{n'}) va-\dra	(ē ba)-ga-(va-n' va)-\dra	[d4-5]	26
<i>he bhagavan vajra</i> O Lord Vajra!						
33	14	(d1)	ki-n_ṣī-ra-ya	ki-n_si-ra-ya	[d5]	26
<i>kiṃ *cirāyasi</i> Why do you delay?						
34	14	(d2-3)	ma-ma sa-īvva-ya-[r]ttha sa-da-ya	ma-\ma sa-bba-[ya]-\[r]t (tha) sa-d[a]-ya	[d6-8]	26
<i>mama sarva-arthaṃ sādha</i> Let all my purpose(s) succeed!						
35	14	(d4)	sva-ha	sva-[h]a	[e1]	26
<i>svāhā</i> Hail!						
36	16	(e1-2)	'oṃ [y]ya-mā-[nta]-\ka [huṃ]		—	—
<i>oṃ yamāntaka huṃ</i> Oṃ Yamāntaka huṃ!						

1. *namas \*samantakāyavākcittavajrāṇāṃ* “Homage to the Vajras (of) body, speech and mind all around!” The reconstruction is based on the greeting formula introducing the mantra in all versions of GST (including the Chinese and the Tibetan) but not in MMK, where other deities are addressed by Mañjuśrī.<sup>21</sup> The text of IC 010 is defective as the first syllable of *kāya* “body” is missing; as in other subsequent cases, this may be due to a quasi-haplography, here

<sup>21</sup> Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas, Āryaśrāvakas, Bodhisattvas, and Mahābodhisattvas; cf. Macdonald 1962: 25.

caused by the similarity of the *ta-* and *ka-akṣaras* in *evēla akuru*.<sup>22</sup> The rest of the spelling peculiarities can be regarded as typical for the Old Maldivian writing tradition. This is first of all true for the rendering of *ya* (of *kāya*) by way of the plain vowel *akṣara*, 'a, which is the natural consequence of the functional merger of the *ya-akṣaras* with the consonantless series we consistently observe in the documents of the early Islamic period.<sup>23</sup> It is further true for the rendering of *c* (in *citta*) by *ṣ*, as Maldivian no longer differentiated between Sanskrit's sibilants (including *c*) and the rare cluster °*kc*° could thus easily be substituted by more common °*kṣ*°. <sup>24</sup> Third, it is true for the replacement of short *i* in *citta* by long *ī*, which may be regarded as a “hyper-sanskritism” caused by the loss of length distinction in vowels in the prehistory of Maldivian.<sup>25</sup> And fourth, it is true for the replacement of skt. *j* (in *vajra*) by “Maldivian” *d* which is met with regularly in written records.<sup>26</sup> The assumption that we have a compound *a-rakṣita-vajra* “unguarded Vajra!” here as proposed earlier<sup>27</sup> must be given up on the basis of the evidence provided by the parallel in GST. — The spelling of the retroflex nasal in the genitive plural ending, *-ṇām*,<sup>28</sup> is noteworthy as the *akṣara* in the given form might be mistaken for *heṃ*; however, the assumption of a *bīja* syllable *heṃ* (following a vocative *-vajra*) can be ruled out in the given context.

2. *om̐*. In the two inscriptions, the spelling with *candrabindu* occurs regularly in *om̐* (here and in 36 below) and in *hum̐* (three times in 27). Given the frequent neglect of *anusvāras*, this is remarkable indeed as an indication of the eruditeness of the scribes. It may be noted here again that the text of IC 010 is closer to that of GST as MMK 1 has *um̐* instead according to the editions (vs. *om̐* in MMK 52).

3. *kakkakka kai kai* clearly matches the sequence of *bīja* syllables reflecting imperatives of the meaning “eat”, “devour”<sup>29</sup> we find at the given position of the mantra in GST and MMK (in both ch. 1 and 52) in the form *kha kha khāhi*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the paleographic table in Gippert 2013.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gippert 2013: 91 on this phenomenon.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gippert 2004b: 189 (note that *evēla akuru* did not possess a special ligature for *kṣ* as almost all other Indic scripts do).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Gippert 2004a: 99 and unit 35 below on this phenomenon.

<sup>26</sup> The same is true for (later) Arabic loans; cf. Gippert 2003: 41.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Gippert 2005: 216.

<sup>28</sup> In the MMK, the genitive is used instead of the dative in the majority of cases when a plural is addressed in the greeting formula.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Linrothe 1999: 90 for a similar interpretation of the corresponding syllables. On the development of *bīja* syllables from imperatives in general cf. Gippert 2004a: 97-98.



6. *ṣaḍmukha \*ṣaṭcaraṇa* “Six-faced (one), six-legged (one)!” This is the first unit that is attested, at least in parts, in both inscriptions, the ligature *-ḍmu-* being discernible as the first element of the preserved text of IC 009. Leaving aside the confusion of sibilants, the less usual internal sandhi that we find in both inscriptions (*-ḍm-* instead of *-ṇm-*), as well as the missing internal sandhi and the omission of the final syllable of *ṣaṭcaraṇa* in IC 010, we here have a major deviation from both GST and MMK where the latter word is preceded by *caturbhujā* “four-armed” and *caturmukha* “four-faced”<sup>36</sup> instead of “six-faced”.<sup>37</sup> The text restitution proposed here is nevertheless strongly supported by the fact that the statues themselves bear (or once bore) six faces; in addition, there is clear evidence for Yamāntaka being imagined with six faces elsewhere in the Tantric tradition,<sup>38</sup> especially in another mantra in MMK (ch. 2) which contains the phrase *ṣaṇmukha ṣaḍbhujā ṣaṭcaraṇa* (cf. also 13 below).<sup>39</sup>

7. *gaccha* “Go!” With this imperative formula, the text of IC 010 is closer to that of MMK which has reduplicated *gaccha* in both chapters 1 and 52,<sup>40</sup> while GST provides double *āgaccha* “Come!” in most of its witnesses;<sup>41</sup> however, we cannot exclude that an initial *ā-* was omitted, either as an individual *akṣara* or in a sandhi combination, together with the final syllable of *\*ṣaṭcaraṇa* preceding it. The rendering of *-cch-* by *-ss-* is unproblematic (cf. unit 1 above) though the retention of the gemination remains noteworthy.

8. *sarvaduṣṭaprāṇabhāriṇe* “Remover of the breath (of life) of all evil (beings)!” The restitution of the compound is based upon the text of GST again which contains the form *sarvaduṣṭaprāṇahāriṇe* at the same position. The meaning assumed here (“remover” instead of more neutral “carrier”) is suggested by the

<sup>36</sup> In this order in MMK (ch. 1 and 52) as well as the Chinese and the Tibetan versions of GST (搽觀哩部惹搽觀哩目佉殺吒撈囉拏 in T. 18, p. 489a4-5; “TSATURBHUDZA TSATURMUKHA ṢAṬTSARAṆA” in Fremantle 1971: 299,17-18) and in the version appearing in text no. 1218 in the Taishō canon (遮觀盧菩闍遮觀嚧姥佉殺者囉拏 in T. 21, p. 95b7-8). The editions of the Sanskrit text of GST have *caturmukha caturbhujā* instead.

<sup>37</sup> The translation in Macdonald 1962: 25, “Toi qui as six têtes, toi qui as quatre têtes”, is obviously due to a *lapsus calami* (but nevertheless further rendered into English by Linrothe 1999: 64).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Duquenne 1983: 653b on the association of Yamāntaka with six faces.

<sup>39</sup> MMK I/29,4 ~ Vaidya 1965: 19,22; Chin. 沙目佉沙部惹沙左囉拏 in T. 20, p. 850c8 (similarly also in text no. 1214, T. 21, p. 73a29-30: 殺目佉殺步惹殺左囉拏). Cf. Wallis 2002: 38-39 on the mantra in question. — *ṣaṇmukha ṣaṭcaraṇa* further occurs in a mantra in MMK 15 (I/153,20 ~ Vaidya 1965: 115,1-2 ~ T. 20, p. 880b5), and *ṣaṇmukha* alone, in MMK 2 (I/32,12 ~ Vaidya 1965: 22,8 ~ T. 20, p. 852b5-19).

<sup>40</sup> The mantra version in the Taishō text no. 1218 has distorted *gagagachacha* (伽伽伽車車 in T. 21, p. 95b8-9).

<sup>41</sup> *gaccha gaccha* is met with in mss. A and T<sub>5</sub> of GST.

Chinese and Tibetan versions of GST which have more explicit *-apahāriṇe*;<sup>42</sup> the replacement of *-hāriṇe* by *-bhāriṇe* remains remarkable, however, as does the vocative form in *-e* (but cf. 12 and 20 below).<sup>43</sup> In MMK, the unit is missing throughout, as well as in the Yamāntaka mantra of text no. 1218 of the Chinese Taishō canon. In IC 010, we seem to read *-duṣṭi-* instead of *-duṣṭa-* which, however, would not alter the meaning.

9. *\*mahāvighnaghāta* “Great destroyer of obstacles!” The restitution of the defective text of the two inscriptions is again supported by the Chinese and Tibetan versions of GST which, in accordance with MMK (ch. 1 and 52), have *mahāvighnaghātaka*,<sup>44</sup> while the Sanskrit text of GST provides *mahāvighnāntaka* instead.<sup>45</sup> The last compound member is missing in IC 010, possibly by quasi-haplography after *-ghna*, but clearly discernible in IC 009. The spelling of skt. *mahā-* as *mā-* is unproblematic (cf. 5 above), even less so since the inverse effect of the loss of *h* (skt. *mā* “hypercorrectly” spelt *mahā*) occurs elsewhere (cf. 25 below).

10. *\*vikṛtānana* “Ugly-faced (one)!” Different from the restitutions we have undertaken so far, the present one is anything but certain. It is clearly suggested by all versions of the mantra in GST and MMK;<sup>46</sup> however, IC 010 and IC 009 seem to agree in reading *vi-kra-ta-nya-na-ya-na*, which would suggest something like *\*vikṛta-nyānāyana*, a compound unattested otherwise. As Yamāntaka is assigned an ugly face or shape in other expressions, too,<sup>47</sup> a meaning like “Restorer of ugly (things)!” remains unlikely.

<sup>42</sup> 哩嚩耨瑟吒鉢囉拏鉢賀哩尼 (T. 18, p. 489a6-7); “SARBADUṢṬAPRĀṆĀPAHĀRIṆE” (Fremantle 1971: 299,18-19). According to Matsunaga 1978: 61, n. 13, *sarvaduṣṭaprāṇāpahāriṇe* is also found in the Tokyo ms. T<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>43</sup> Vocatives in *-e* of stems in *-in-* seem to be a characteristic feature of the Tantric texts under consideration; cf. also the vocatives mentioned in n. 47 below.

<sup>44</sup> 賀尾伽那伽多迦 (T. 18, p. 489a7-8); “MAHĀBIGHNAGHĀTAKA” (Fremantle 1971: 299,19). The Chinese version of MMK (ch. 1) has 摩賀尾近曩伽哆迦 (T. 20, p. 843b28), the mantra in Taishō no. 1218, 摩訶比近那迦訶迦德 (T. 21, p. 95b9).

<sup>45</sup> According to the editions, a variant *vighnaghātaka* is found in mss. A and T<sub>5</sub>; it remains unclear whether *mahā-* is missing in these cases. The formations *vighnaghātaka* and *-āntaka* are synonymous.

<sup>46</sup> Matsunaga 1978: 61 n. 15 claims *-ne* for the Tibetan text of GST (“T”) but this is not confirmed by Fremantle 1971: 299,19 who transcribes “BIKRITĀNANA” *vikṛtānana* is also found in Taishō no. 1218 (毘訶哩哆那那 in T. 21, p. 95b9); cf. 尾訶哩哆曩曩 in the Chinese version of MMK ch. 1 (T. 20, p. 843b28-29) and 尾訶哩多那那 in the Chinese version of GST (T. 18, p. 489a8).

<sup>47</sup> *mahāvikṛtarūpiṇe* in MMK 2 (I/29,3 ~ Vaidya 1965: 19,21), contrasting with *mahāvikṛtarūpadhāriṇe* (摩賀尾訶哩哆嚩波馱哩尼) in the Chinese version (T. 18, p. 850c5) but in agreement with *mahāvikṛtarūpiṇe* in Taishō no. 1214 (T. 21, p. 73a25-26: 摩訶尾訶哩多嚩比儂). In another mantra, MMK 2 has *citrarūpadhāriṇe* (I/32,15 ~ Vaidya 1965: 22,11) / *vicitrarūpadhāriṇe* (尾唧怛囉嚩波馱哩尼 in T. 18, p. 852b16-17).

11. *sarvabhūtabhayaṃkara* “Causer of fear to all beings!” The compound is again attested in all versions of the mantra in GST and MMK<sup>48</sup> so that the restitution of *-baṃ-* (in IC 010) to *-b(h)ayaṃ-* is justified.

12. *aṭṭāṭṭahāsanādine* “(You) who roar with loud laughter!” Even though the last two syllables are missing in IC 010 again, this restitution is beyond doubt as well, being supported by all versions of the mantra available.<sup>49</sup> On the vocative in *-e*, cf. 8 above; on the missing reflex of *h* in IC 010, cf. 5 above.

13. *vyāghracarmanivāsa* “(You) who are clad in a tiger’s skin!” The restitution proposed here on the basis of both inscriptions deviates from the texts of both GST and MMK which show a different formation in the last compound member, viz. *-nivasana*, either in the vocative case (in MMK including its Chinese version as well as the Chinese and Tibetan texts of GST)<sup>50</sup> or in the locative (or vocative?) case ending in *-e* (in the editions of the Sanskrit text of GST).<sup>51</sup> The question as to which reading is better is related to the decision one makes regarding which root *vas* is to be assumed here, i.e., whether the reference is to “clothing” or “dwelling, residing”. The latter interpretation seems to be supported by the variant *-niveśane* occurring in ms. C of GST, which renders the same concept of “settling” or “dwelling”. However, contradictory evidence can be gained from another MMK passage, in the metric part of ch. 51, where *vyāghracarmanivasana* occurs alongside the bahuvrihis *ṣaṇṇmukha* “six-faced”, *ṣaṭcaraṇa* “six-legged” (cf. 6 above), *krṣṇavarṇa* “black-coloured”, and *vṛkodara* “wolf-bellied” in describing Yamānta(ka) (MMK 51,10). That *-nivasana* must be understood as “wearing” the tiger’s skin wrapped around the hips here, is indicated by the Chinese version which explicitly paraphrases

<sup>48</sup> Also in Taishō text no. 1218: 薩婆菩哆婆孕迦囉 (T. 21, p. 95b10); cf. 薩哩嚩部多婆娑迦囉 in the Chinese version of GST (T. 18, p. 489a8-9) and 薩哩嚩部哆婆焰迦囉 in the Chinese version of MMK (T. 20, p. 843b29).

<sup>49</sup> Including Taishō no. 1218: 阿吒吒訶娑那地爾 (T. 21, p. 95b10-11); cf. 阿吒吒訶娑那爾 in the Chinese version of GST (T. 18, p. 489a9) and 阿吒吒賀娑囊爾 in that of MMK (T. 20, p. 843b29).

<sup>50</sup> 也伽囉左哩摩爾嚩薩囊 (T. 20, p. 843c1-2); 咩伽囉撈哩摩爾嚩薩那 (T. 18, p. 489a9-10); “BYĀGHRATSARMANIBASANA” (Fremantle 1971: 299,20). *-nivasana* seems also to be intended in the mantra version of Taishō no. 1218, which reads 毘耶迦羅摩爾摩娑那部多, but with a strange reduplication of *-ma-* in the middle (*-mama-* instead of *-carma-*) and an otherwise unmotivated *-bhūta* (?) added at the end. Cf. also the dative form clearly referring to a person (*vyāghracarmanivasanāya svāha*) in the Taishō *dhāraṇīs* no. 1111 (T. 20, p. 490a20-22: 尾也伽羅撈麼撞嚩薩囊也娑嚩), 1061 (T. 20, p. 112c21-23: 弭夜佉囉折莽爾嚩娑囊耶莎賀), and 1113A (T. 20, p. 498b7-8: 嚩伽囉左麼拈背沙那野莎賀).

<sup>51</sup> Matsunaga 1978: 61, n. 16 adduces an accusative variant (“-naṃ”) from the Tokyo ms. T<sub>6</sub>.

“making (himself) a skirt with a tiger skin”.<sup>52</sup> The assumption that *vyāghracarmanivāsa* denotes the “wearer” of a tiger’s skin<sup>53</sup> rather than someone “dwelling” upon it thus has a good deal in its favour even though *-nivāsa* as a compound member seems to be more often attested in the sense of “abiding” or “residing” elsewhere.<sup>54</sup>

14. *kuru (kuru) \*sarvakarmān* “Perform, (perform) all deeds!” The restitution proposed presupposes gaps in both inscriptions, IC 010 omitting *-rvaka-* and showing but faint traces of the second *kuru*, and IC 009 leaving room for not more than two syllables before *-karmān* either. However, it seems well enough justified by the MMK parallel which has *kuru kuru sarvakarmāṃ* in both chapters 1 and 52, thus opposing itself to the more regular<sup>55</sup> *kuru kuru sarvakarmāṇi* of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of GST.<sup>56</sup> This is the first of a series of sentences which commence with (reduplicated) imperative verb forms; the common structure also speaks in favour of the restitution.

15. *chinda chinda sarvaparamantram* “Break, break all mantra(s) of opponents!” With *sarpaparamantram* “all mantra(s) of opponents”, here obviously in an accusative singular form (but with no trace of the *anusvāra*) as the object of the reduplicated imperative, the text of the two inscriptions opposes itself to both GST and MMK which have *sarvamantrān* “all mantras” throughout.<sup>57</sup> The insertion of *-para-* “opponent(s)” may have been triggered by the following sentence; this is all the more likely given the rhyming contrast with the

<sup>52</sup> Taishō no. 1216 (T. 21, p. 77c14): 虎皮以為裙; cf. the translation of the complete passage (77c10-14) by Linrothe (1999: 66): “As for painting this image / The likeness of Yamantaka / Six faces, six arms and feet / Black in color, with a big belly / Bearing a skull, his hair flaring out in anger / A tiger skin wrapped around the hips”.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Wallis 2002: 82 who translates “wearer of tiger skins” in the given passage of MMK.

<sup>54</sup> From the dictionaries we may quote, e.g., *vrkṣanivāsa* “dwelling or living in a tree” (*MW* 1008b), *kvanivāsa* “where dwelling?” (*MW* 324b), or *śatapattranivāsa* “abiding in a lotus” (*MW* 1049b).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *BHSG* 99 on the change of *n*-stems to *a*-stems and ib. 58 on “irregular” plural forms of the latter in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

<sup>56</sup> The Chinese version of GST seems to read *-karmām*, thus matching the Sanskrit text of MMK and the Maldivian inscriptions: 酷嚕酷嚕薩哩嚕葛哩淦 (T. 18, p. 489a10-11); the same holds true for the Chinese version of MMK, which, however, has only one *kuru*: 俱嚕薩哩嚕迦哩淦 (T. 20, p. 843c2). The mantra text of no. 1218 reads *-karma* (俱嚕俱嚕薩婆竭摩 in T. 21, p. 95b12).

<sup>57</sup> Including the Chinese and Tibetan versions as well as the mantra in Taishō no. 1218 (瞋陀瞋陀薩婆曼怛囉 in T. 21, p. 95b12-13; cf. 親那親那薩哩嚕滿怛囉 in GST, T. 18, p. 489a11-12, and 砌那砌那薩哩嚕滿怛囉 in MMK, T. 20, p. 843c2-3).

imperatives *bhinda bhinda* contained in it.<sup>58</sup> On the spelling variation concerning the palatal *ch* (*sinda* / *ṣinda*), cf. 1 above.

16. *bhinda bhinda paramantrān* “Split, split the mantras of opponents!” Here again, the text of the two inscriptions differs from that of GST and MMK which have *paramudrām* “the seal of opponents” instead of *-mantrān*; the latter element may well have perseverated into the present sentence from the preceding one. The same effect is also visible in ms. A of GST, which has *paramantrān*, too.<sup>59</sup> The addition of *sarva-* in IC 009 may be due to analogy with the surrounding units.

17. *ākaraṣaya (ākaraṣaya) sarvabhūtaṃ* “Attract, (attract) all living being(s)!” Except for the accusative singular case form assumed here, the sentence agrees with GST again, which has *-bhūtān* in the Sanskrit and Chinese texts and *-bhūtāni* in the Tibetan version.<sup>60</sup> In MMK, the matching formula (*ākaraṣākaraṣaya sarvabhūtāṃ*) is present in ch. 52, while ch. 1 has *sarvamudrām* in the Sanskrit text, obviously by perseveration from the preceding sentence. This is not confirmed by the Chinese version which has *sarvabhūtān*, though with single *ākaraṣaya*.<sup>61</sup> Single *ākaraṣaya* must also be assumed for IC 009 as there is not enough room for both a second *ākaraṣaya* and *sarvabhū-*.

18. *nirmāthaya (nirmāthaya) \*sarvaduṣṭān* “Grind, (grind) all evil beings!” The restitution is again suggested by both GST and MMK, which have *nirmatha nirmatha sarvaduṣṭān* throughout.<sup>62</sup> The causative forms presupposed for the inscriptions, clearly indicated by the double *-ya* in IC 010, may have resulted from an adaptation to the preceding imperatives (*ākaraṣaya*), with no seman-

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Gippert 2004a: 94 on a similar “rhyme” occurring in the Prakrit inscription of Landhoo. Note that the compound *sarvaparamantrāni* does occur elsewhere in the Taishō canon (no. 1131, T. 20, p. 570b9-10: 薩哩嚩鉢囉摩怛埵倪).

<sup>59</sup> *PW* IV/488a, *MW* 587a and *BHSD* 319a note *paramantra* only as a variant of *paramātra* “a high number”, which does not fit here. The interpretation of *paramantra* as denoting a “mantra of opponents” is matched by the STTS (2,6: 178,14), where the word (acc. pl. masc. *paramantrān*) depends on the imperatives *bhañja* “break”, *marda* “squeeze”, and *khāda* “devour”, each of them repeated like *bhinda* in the inscriptions.

<sup>60</sup> “SARBABHŪTĀNI” (Fremantle 1971: 299,22); 薩哩嚩部旦 (T. 18, p. 489a14).

<sup>61</sup> 摩迦哩沙薩哩嚩部旦 (T. 20, p. 843c4-5), vs. 阿迦哩沙野阿迦哩沙野薩哩嚩部旦 in GST (T. 18, p. 489a12-14). — Note that in the Taishō canon, sentence boundaries are indicated between the imperatives and their presumptive objects from here on.

<sup>62</sup> In the Tibetan version treated by Fremantle (1971: 299,22) as well as the Sanskrit text provided by the same author (p. 298,20), the imperatives are preceded by “MATHA MATHA”, i.e., the corresponding forms of the same verb without preverb. The mantra version in Taishō no. 1218 offers the “normal” text again (爾唎麼陀爾唎麼陀薩婆突瑟吒 in T. 21, p. 95b16; cf. 爾哩摩他爾哩摩他薩哩嚩勢瑟吒 in GST, T. 18, p. 489a14-15, and 爾哩摩他爾哩摩地薩哩嚩勢瑟吒 in MMK, T. 20, p. 843c5-6). °*duṣyaṃ* in Vaidya 1965: 450,3 must be a misprint.



tic causativity implied. A mutual influence of units 17 and 18 also seems apparent in IC 009 where *\*nirmātha-* is preceded by a superfluous *'a* and *ākaraṣaya*, by a superfluous *ya*. Note that there is hardly room enough in IC 009 for *-thaya* plus *sarvaduṣṭā-*, indicating that this inscription may have had a different verbal form, possibly *\*nirmitha* (with perseverated *-i-*?), as suggested by the clearly distinguishable *-mi-*.

19. *praveśaya maṇḍalamadhye* “Let (them) enter into the (middle of the) maṇḍala!” Except for the single imperative form, here exhibited by both inscriptions, this sentence matches the texts of both GST and MMK again, which have *praveśaya praveśaya maṇḍalamadhye* throughout.<sup>63</sup> As there is no overt (accusative) object in the given context, we might take the verb form to be devoid of causative semantics as in the preceding sentence;<sup>64</sup> this, however, is less likely as there are clear parallels of evil beings being caused to enter the *maṇḍala* elsewhere in MMK.<sup>65</sup>

20. *\*vaivasvatāṅgaghātine* “Destroyer of the limb(s) of the Vivasvatid!” This restitution is very uncertain, given that only IC 010 provides sufficient material for it. It is modelled after the compound *vaivasvatajīvitāntakara*, lit. “end-maker of the life of the Vivasvatid”, which we find at the same position in GST (including its Chinese and Tibetan versions), ch. 52 of MMK, the Chinese text of MMK 1 and the mantra transcript of Taishō no. 1218,<sup>66</sup> only the Sanskrit text of MMK 1 having shorter *vaivasvatāntakara* instead. *-ghātini* in the sense of “destroyer, killer” occurs several times elsewhere in MMK (e.g., *sarva-ḍākinīghātini* in 2,5d or *vighnaghātini* in 2,9d) so that its assumption seems justified even though the *-t-* is anything but certain. *vaivasvata* obviously refers to Yama, who has been regarded as a descendant of Vivasvat since Indo-Iranian times,<sup>67</sup> the vocative thus carrying the same meaning as Yamāntaka it-

<sup>63</sup> Single *praveśaya* occurs, with the same local object, in the mantra of ch. 2 of the MMK (I/29,6 ~ Vaidya 1965: 19,23) including its Chinese version (曼拏羅末他也鉢囉吠舍野 in T. 20, p. 851a1).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Wallis 2002: 82 and 38-39, where one finds the translation “enter into the (center of the) maṇḍala”. A similar (plain-active) usage is attested, e.g., in the STTS (*oṃ vajrapāṇi mahā<maṇḍale> praveśaya* [2,6: 186,1]), in addition to the true causative *kāye sarvabuddhān praveśayet* in 1,1: 81,5. The causative of *pra-viś* has been attested since Vedic times; cf., e.g., *sārvān vā eṣō 'gnāu kāmān praveśayati* in TB 3,7,1,1.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. MMK 2 (Vaidya 1965: 17,22-24): *krodharājānaṃ bhrāmayitvā kṣipati sma ... taṃ mahāparśanmaṇḍalaṃ śuddhāvāsabhavanaṃ praveśayati sma* (parallel kindly provided by Martin Delhey, personal communication).

<sup>66</sup> 以縛娑哆餌尾且哆羯囉 (T. 21, p. 95b17-18); cf. 吠囉莎旦躡尾旦怛迦囉 in GST (T. 18, p. 489a16-17) and 吠囉濕囉哆躡尾怛哆囉 in MMK (T. 18, p. 843c7; *-ka-* is missing here).

<sup>67</sup> Cf., e.g., RV 10,14,1; 10,58,1 etc. for Old Indic, Y. 9,4 for Avestan.

self.<sup>68</sup> The notation of the *ai* diphthong of *vai* by the double *e*-mark in IC 009 is remarkable; this spelling rarely occurs in the later documents of Dhivehi (the *lōmāfanu* copper plate grants), but cf. 32 below. On the other hand, the text of IC 009 is obviously defective, with the second *va-akṣara* missing by haplography.

21. *kara kara* “Doer, doer!” This formula has no equivalent in either GST or MMK. It might be tempting to take it as a remainder of the compound *vaivasvat(ajīvit)āntakara* provided in the preceding unit by these two texts; however, its reappearance later on in the inscriptions (cf. 31 below) speaks in favour of regarding it as a unit in its own right, with *kara* representing the vocative of the agent noun of *kr*. On the other hand, the co-occurrence of *kara kara* with the subsequent unit strongly reminds one of the beginning of the second mantra concerning Yamāntaka in MMK (ch. 2), which reads *kara kara kuru kuru mama kāryam* as well,<sup>69</sup> thus suggesting that *kara* might also be taken to be a secondary imperative form of the same verb,<sup>70</sup> reinforced by *kuru* in the way *dehi* “give!” can be reinforced by *dadāpaya* (lit. “let give!”) in Tantric mantras.<sup>71</sup> This would not alter the meaning very much though.<sup>72</sup>

22. *kuru kuru mama kāryam* “Do, do the work for me!” Different from the double *kara* preceding it, this unit appears again at the same place in GST and MMK,<sup>73</sup> with only a slight digression in the Tibetan version of the former which has *mama sarvakāryam kuru kuru* instead.<sup>74</sup> Together with the parallel

<sup>68</sup> The translation “O destroyer of the sun” in Wallis 2002: 82 neglects the *vṛddhi* formation and is therefore misleading, even though *vivasvat* may have designated the sun as the “brilliant” one. — Matsunaga (1978: 61,16) writes *vaiva svatajīvitāntakara* in two words, obviously following the *editio princeps* of GST where there is a line break after *vaiva* (with the hyphen missing; see p. 80,5-6). — Cf. units 8 and 12 above regarding the vocative ending in *-e*.

<sup>69</sup> Including the Chinese version (迦囉迦囉俱嚕俱嚕摩麼迦哩焰 in T. 20, p. 850c1-2) and its variant in text no. 1214 (羯囉羯囉矩嚕矩嚕麼麼迦哩間 in T. 21, p. 73a22-23).

<sup>70</sup> Pertaining to a plain thematic present *karati*; cf. *BHSG* 136 (§ 28.13).

<sup>71</sup> Suggestion by Martin Delhey, personal communication; cf., e.g., MMK ch. 13 (Vaidya 1965: 90,6) or 28 (op.cit., p. 243,12).

<sup>72</sup> Due to the object depending on *kuru*, the alternative assumption of a series of *bija* syllables such as *kara kara kiri kiri kuru kuru tara tara tiri tiri* appearing in the Taishō texts no. 901 (T. 18, p. 850a5-6), 989 (T. 19, p. 490c16), and 1116 (T. 20, p. 505a1: 迦囉迦囉枳哩枳哩矩嚕矩嚕跢囉跢底哩底哩) can be excluded.

<sup>73</sup> Plus the mantra version of the Taishō text no. 1218: 俱嚕俱嚕麼麼迦哩近 (T. 21, p. 95b18); cf. 酤嚕酤嚕摩麼迦哩煬 in GST (T. 18, p. 489a17) and 俱嚕俱嚕摩麼迦哩焰 in MMK (T. 20, p. 843c8).

<sup>74</sup> “MAMA SARBAKĀRYAM KURU KURU” in the edition by Fremantle (1971: 299,24); accordingly, the same author establishes “MAMA SARVAKĀRYAM KURU KURU” as the Sanskrit wording (p. 298,22). Compare *sarvakāryāṇi me kuru kuru* appearing in another mantra in MMK 2 (p. 32,16 ~ Vaidya 1965: 22,11; the Chinese version has only one *kuru*: 哩嚕迦哩野尼弭俱嚕 [T. 20, p. 852b16]).

from the mantra in MMK 2 (cf. 21), this seems to be enough evidence to accept the unexpected but apparent spelling *kardh ān* for *kāryaṃ* in both inscriptions; this may be taken as indicating the pronunciation *karjaṃ* (with affrication after *r*?), with skt. *j* rendered by Maldivian *d(h)* as in *vadra ~ vajra* (cf. 1 above).

23. *daha daha* “Burn, burn!” In both inscriptions, the unit is written *daya daya*, thus rather suggesting *jaya jaya* “Be victorious, be victorious!” (with *d* representing *j*; cf. unit 1);<sup>75</sup> however, the unanimous evidence of all versions of GST and MMK<sup>76</sup> forces us to prefer *daha daha* here. This implies the otherwise unattested rendering of *ha* by way of *ya*, which must be seen in the light of the merger of *ya-* and consonantless *akṣaras* (yielding *daya ~ da'a*; cf. 1 above).

24. *\*paca paca* “Cook, cook!” This unit is only attested in IC 009, and that only partially; what is more, its last syllable seems to be represented by an otherwise unknown *akṣara*, here tentatively transliterated as *cha*, which might be taken to represent geminated *ṭṭa* at first glance. That this is not an instance of *phaṭ* as in 28 below is suggested by GST and MMK which, unanimously again, show *paca paca*.

25. *mā vilamba, mā vilamba* “Do not tarry, do not tarry!” The formula is attested in the same form in both GST and MMK<sup>77</sup> as well as in many other Buddhist Sanskrit texts,<sup>78</sup> so that the emendation of *mahā*, which appears in both inscriptions, to the prohibitive particle *mā* is well justified, *mahā* representing a hyper-sanskritized spelling of the latter triggered by the regular equivalence of skt. *mahā* and Insular Pkt. *mā* “big”.<sup>79</sup> The duplication of the second *hā* in IC 009 is due to the arrangement of the unit across two distant parts of the statue.

26. *samayam anusmara* “Remember the convention!” This formula is again matched by all versions of the mantra in GST and MMK and appears in many

<sup>75</sup> An example of *jaya jaya* is found in the STTS (*oṃ jaya jaya huṃ phaṭ* [2,13: 294,9]) or in *sarva-vighnā(ñ) jaya jaya* “overcome, overcome all obstacles” in the Taishō text no. 1153 (T. 20, p. 619a23-24 and 629b20-21: 薩嚩尾觀曩惹野惹野); cf. also no. 1005A (T. 19, p. 633b24) without an object: 唵嚩迦播里低惹耶惹耶吽 *oṃ rokamālinī jaya jaya huṃ*.

<sup>76</sup> The mantra version in Taishō no. 1218 has slightly distorted *dahada dahada* (陀呵陀陀呵陀 [T. 21, p. 95b18]).

<sup>77</sup> The printed editions of the Sanskrit text of GST (including Matsunaga 1978: 61,17) have *mā vilamba vilamba*, which is contradictory in itself and obviously due to a misprint in the *editio princeps* (p. 80,7), given that both the Chinese and the Tibetan versions have the “regular” text (摩尾藍末摩尾藍末 in T. 18, p. 489a18-19; “MĀ BILAMBA MĀ BILAMBA” in Fremantle 1971: 299,24-25).

<sup>78</sup> Cf., e.g., Lañk. p. 14,18, Hay. p. 44,1 and Sarv. p. 58,5 & 74,13, or the periphrastic formation *mā vilambaṃ kuru* in story 31 of the Jaina recension of the Vikramacarita (Edgerton 1926: II/239,32f.).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Gippert 2005: 218-219 for this proposal.

similar texts,<sup>80</sup> among them the second mantra concerning Yamāntaka in MMK (ch. 2).<sup>81</sup> The spelling with *-ṣm-* in both Maldivian inscriptions is remarkable but cannot be taken to prove an authentic pronunciation.

27. *hum̐ hum̐ hum̐* “Hum̐ hum̐ hum̐!” Different from all versions of GST and MMK, the two inscriptions repeat *hum̐* twice, not once. An even longer sequence is found in the second mantra concerning Yamāntaka in MMK (ch. 2) which has sixfold *hum̐*.<sup>82</sup>

28. *phaṭ phaṭ (phaṭ)* “Phaṭ phaṭ (phaṭ)!” Here it is only IC 009 which repeats the syllable two times, IC 010 agreeing with all versions of the mantra in GST and MMK.

29. *viṣphoṭaya viṣphoṭaya \*sarvavighnān* “Shatter, shatter all obstacles!” This and the following two units pose the biggest problems in establishing the text covered by the two inscriptions. First, the corresponding formula in GST and MMK shows (reduplicated) *sphoṭaya* without preverb in nearly all its witnesses;<sup>83</sup> only the Tibetan version of the former has *viṣphoṭaya*,<sup>84</sup> thus supporting the Maldivian text. It has to be noted, however, that in all versions of GST, *viṣphoṭaya viṣphoṭaya* occurs in another mantra following immediately after the present one so that there may be some mutual influence here. This is further suggested by the fact that the same mantra (addressing Vajrakrodha) continues with *sarvavighnavināyakān*,<sup>85</sup> which is fairly close to (though not identical with) the text of the inscriptions. Different from this, GST and MMK continue with a wording that begins with *sarva-*, too, but which raises doubts about its integrity. For the sake of convenience, the available variants are listed in tabular form below.

MMK	<i>sarvāśāparipūraka</i>	
GST Chin. (+ T. 1218)	<i>sarvāśāparipūraka</i>	
GST Skt.	<i>sarvāśāparipūraka</i>	<i>sarvān nāśaya ripūn kara kara</i>
GST Tib.	<i>sarvān nāśaya ripūn kara</i>	<i>sarvāśāparipūraka kara</i>

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Gippert 2005: 215 for this observation.

<sup>81</sup> MMK I/29,6 ~ Vaidya 1965: 19,23 ~ T. 20, p. 851a1-2; correspondingly in Taishō no. 1214 (T. 21, p. 73b5-6).

<sup>82</sup> MMK I/29,6 ~ Vaidya 1965: 19,23 ~ T. 20, p. 851a2; correspondingly in Taishō no. 1214 (T. 21, p. 73b6).

<sup>83</sup> Including the version in Taishō no. 1218 (娑普吒耶娑普吒耶 in T. 21, p. 95b21; cf. 薩普吒野薩普吒野 in GST, T. 18, p. 489a20-21, and MMK, T. 20, p. 843c10-11).

<sup>84</sup> “BISPHOTAYA BISPHOTAYA” (Fremantle 1971: 299,25).

<sup>85</sup> Matsunaga 1978: 62,5-6; T. 18, p. 489b14; Fremantle 1971: 300,10-11 / 301,11-12.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that according to the editions of the Sanskrit text of GST, ms. A adds (a second?) *sarvāsāparipūraka* after *kara kara* (cf. 31 below), and ms. T<sub>5</sub>, *sarvāsāparipūraka he he* after the *he he* following (cf. 32 below).<sup>86</sup> All this strongly suggests that the versions combining *sarvān nāśaya ripūn kara kara* “Destroy all enemies, doer, doer!” with *sarvāsāparipūraka* “Fulfiller of all desires!” are the result of a contamination of two divergent traditions, one having the five-word phrase and the other one, the compound. This is all the more probable as both variants are similar enough to have derived from one underlying formula, given that nearly all sounds contained in *sarvāsāparipūraka* are also present, in the same order, in *sarvān nāśaya ripūn kara kara*. There is one more peculiarity about this, viz. the fact that *sarvān* and *ripūn* are separated by the imperative form in the sentence, a stylistic element that does not occur elsewhere in the present texts. All this leads to the assumption that a) *sarvāsāparipūraka* emerged from a secondary distortion of *sarvān nāśaya ripūn kara kara* (later inserted into the text as an interlinear gloss or the like), and b) *sarvān* did not originally belong to *ripūn*. The Maldivian inscriptions are likely to bear witness to this, suggesting that *sarvān* is the remainder of an independent object (here, *sarvavighnān*) and that *nāśaya ripūn* and *kara kara* were two units in their own right as established below.

30. *\*nāśaya ripūn* “Destroy the enemies!” It is true that neither of the two inscriptions exhibits the full text assumed here, *\*nāśaya* being reduced to *saya* in IC 009 and to mere *sa* in IC 010. Nevertheless, the loss of *\*nā* can be easily explained if we assume a total assimilation with the preceding accusative plural ending (*\*-ān nā- > \*-ānā-*) or, even more, a contamination (via haplography) with the last syllable of *-vighnān* (*\*-nān nā- > \*-nān*).

31. *kara kara* “Doer, doer!” This unit is spelt defectively in IC 010, too, where the last syllable seems to be missing, thus reminding of the reduction of *ripūn kara kara* to *-ripūraka* as assumed in 29 above. However, the text of IC 009 is clear enough to warrant the wording, which repeats unit 21 above.

32. *he bhagavan vajra* “O Lord Vajra!” By adding *vajra* after *bhagavan*, the vocative formula of the inscriptions deviates once more from what we find in GST and MMK. A second deviation consists in the fact that the inscriptions seem to indicate only one interjection, thus contrasting with the *he he* we find in nearly all variants of the mantra in the two texts;<sup>87</sup> only ch. 52 of MMK has

<sup>86</sup> Matsunaga 1978: 61, n. 19 and 20.

<sup>87</sup> Including the mantra version in Taishō no. 1218 (翳呬曳醯 in T. 21, p. 95b22; cf. 呬呬 in GST and MMK [T. 18, p. 489a22 and T. 20, p. 844a2]).

simple *he bhagavan*. The spelling of the Maldivian interjection is peculiar, too, as it obviously consists of the *akṣara* for consonantless *e* (*e*) with an additional *e* vowel mark; in accordance with the spelling of *vai-* (with twofold *e*-mark) in IC 009 (cf. 20 above), this may be taken to indicate either the *ai* diphthong or a long *ē* (as assumed here in analogy with the historical development observable in Maldivian).<sup>88</sup>

33. *kiṃ \*cirāyasi* “Why do you delay?” Here again, the two inscriptions are defective, the second person verbal ending missing in both of them. This ending, however, must clearly be postulated, given that an imperative form makes no sense in an interrogative sentence introduced by *kiṃ* “why”, lit. “what”, and *kiṃ cirāyasi* is exactly what we find in all versions of the mantra in GST and MMK.<sup>89</sup> A close parallel to this formula can be found in Hay. p. 43,18 where we read *varavajradamṣṭra kiṃ cirāpayasi*, the latter form representing the causative of the plain denominative stem *cirāya-* “be late”.<sup>90</sup> *kiṃ cirāyasi* is also attested outside Buddhist Sanskrit, for instance in a Rāmāyaṇa verse (*kiṃ cirāyasi me putra, pānīyaṃ kṣipram ānaya* // “What are you late for, son, bring me water quickly!”; R. 2,58,5cd).<sup>91</sup> The omission of the second-person ending can be explained by assuming an influence of the surrounding imperative forms.

34. *mama sarva-arthaṃ sādahaya* “Let all my purpose(s) succeed!” This formula matches the texts of GST and MMK, too, except for the fact that the Sanskrit text of GST has reduplicated *sādahaya* according to the editions.<sup>92</sup> The omission of the word-internal sandhi (*\*sarvārthaṃ*) we see in the inscriptions finds its parallel in the Tibetan version of GST, which has *mama sarva-arthān sādahaya*<sup>93</sup> (for the Maldivian spelling with the *ya-akṣara*, cf. 5 above). A peculiar trait is the replacement of *sarva-* in IC 010 by *sabba-*, a “Prakritizing” spelling which occurs frequently in forms like *pūrbba-* (for *pūrva-* “east[ern], former”) in the twelfth-century copperplate grants but nowhere else in pre-Islamic texts from the Maldives.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Cf., e.g., Maldivian *teo* “oil” < Insular Prakrit *\*tēla* < skt. *taila* (Gippert 2013: 88).

<sup>89</sup> Including the mantra version in Taishō no. 1218 (緊者囉夜私 in T. 21, p. 95b22-23; cf. 緊啣囉野悉 in GST, T. 18, p. 489a23, and 緊啣囉野悉 in MMK, T. 20, p. 844a2).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Gippert 2005: 218 for a first account of this parallel.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. also Pañc. I, p. 44,25 where we read *kiṃ cirayasi*. — A similar expression is the analytic construction *kiṃ ciram kṛ* as occurring in Mbh. 1,3,165 (*kṛtam*) and 6,99,43d (*kurutha*).

<sup>92</sup> With the exception of the Tokyo mss. T<sub>5</sub> and T<sub>6</sub>; cf. Matsunaga 1978: 61, n. 21.

<sup>93</sup> “MAMA SARBA ARTHĀN SĀDHAYA” in Fremantle 1971: 299,27.

<sup>94</sup> But cf. Maldivian *farubada* “mountain”, which must be a borrowing from skt. *parvata* (cf. Gippert 2004a: 94).

35. *svāhā* “Hail!” In spite of the spelling with short *a* in both inscriptions, this is the same closing formula as in the corresponding GST and MMK mantras. An early Maldivian example of the same interjection is provided by the Brāhmī inscription from Landhoo.<sup>95</sup>

36. *om̐ yamāntaka huṃ* “Om̐ Yamāntaka huṃ!” This unit is only attested on IC 010, arranged between the two faces on what must have been the frontside of the statue. As the parallel texts show, it does not pertain to the mantra itself but indicates, as an explanatory addition, its “owner”. The spelling is peculiar again because the initial *akṣara* of the word following *om̐* seems to be written as a ligature consisting of two variants of *y* (cf. Fig. 16). As syllable-initial *y-* is likely to have been lost in Maldivian pronunciation by the end of the first millennium, with *ya-akṣaras* thus giving rise to the second series of “plain-vowel” *akṣaras* we met with several times above,<sup>96</sup> the “geminate” spelling might have served the purpose of warranting the pronunciation of the glide required by the Sanskrit name here.<sup>97</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The two inscribed statues, now destroyed, of the Māle Museum preserved the mantra used for the invocation of Yamāntaka, the head of the “Kings of Wrath” (*krodharājan*) of Tantric Buddhism. The text represented by the inscriptions is by and large the same as the one contained in the Guhyasamājatantra and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, with a slightly closer affinity to the former where the versions diverge. In several cases, the text of the inscriptions deviates considerably from both the GST and the MMK; these deviations deserve to be taken seriously if we consider the fact that the inscriptions are likely to represent, together with the Chinese transcripts contained in the Taishō canon, the oldest available witnesses of the mantra. Whether the deviating text passages can be regarded as being more authentic than those of the manuscript traditions cannot be decided off-hand. It is probable for the passage comprising units 29-31 in

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Gippert 2004a: 88.

<sup>96</sup> The “double” series of consonantless *akṣaras* is also met with in all written texts in *evēla* and *dīves akuru* from the earliest copperplate grants on; cf. Gippert 2013: 91.

<sup>97</sup> Given the clear correlation between Yamāntaka and his mantra, other readings can be ruled out. This is true for *syamantaka*, the name “of a celebrated jewel (worn by Kṛiṣṇa on his wrist [cf. *kaustubha*], described as yielding daily eight loads of gold and preserving from all dangers” (*MW* 1273b with references to Viṣṇupurāṇa, Harivaṃśa and other texts, explicitly named in *PW* VII/1397) as well as *śamāntaka*, a name of the god of love (“destroyer of tranquillity” [*MW* 1054a referring to “L.” = lexicographers; cf. *PW* VII/78 naming Trik[āṇḍaśeṣa] 1,1,37).

the transcription provided above, which speaks in favour of a major distortion of the text in the other versions. It is not so clear in the case of Yamāntaka being addressed as the “six-faced one” (vs. “four-faced and four-armed”) in unit 6, however. Further investigation into the mantra and its relationship to other sources will be needed in order to determine whether this represents an older tradition or just a local alternative. Be that as it may, the statues, together with the Landhoo inscription dealt with earlier, bear clear witness to Tantric Buddhism prevailing on the Maldives before the introduction of Islamic faith to the islands.

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Fig. 1: IC 010

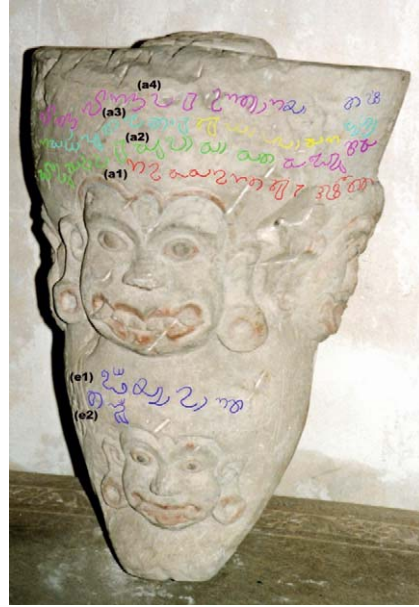


Fig. 3: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 2: IC 009

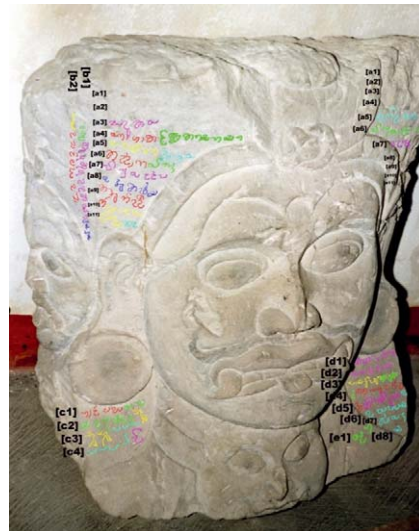


Fig. 4: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 5a-d: The four sides of IC 010 (total view)



Fig. 6a-d: same, with inscription redrawn

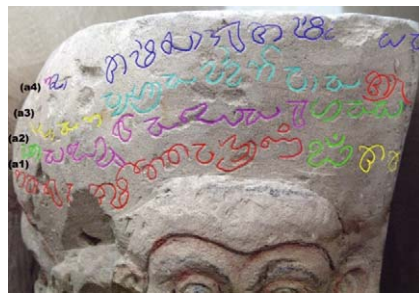
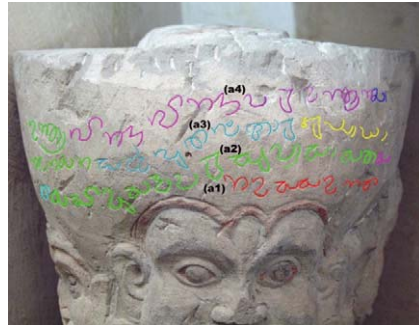


Fig. 7a-d: same, upper part

Fig. 8a-d: same, with inscription redrawn

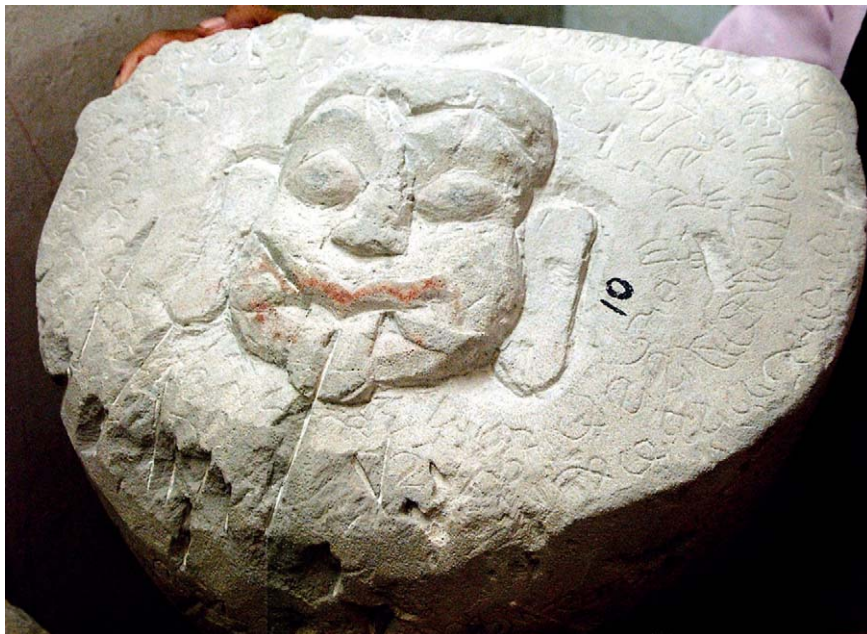


Fig. 9: IC 010, top

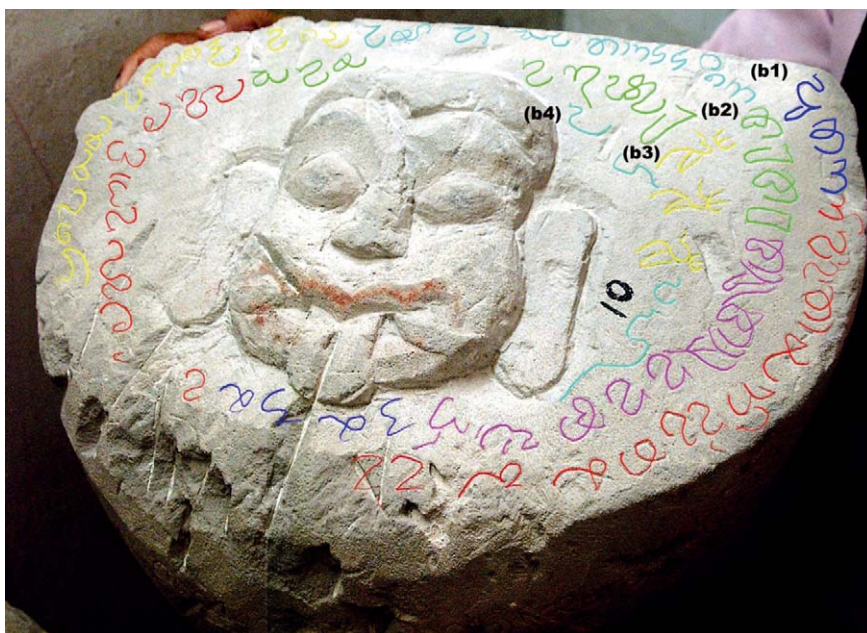


Fig. 10: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 11: IC 010, lower part (beginning)

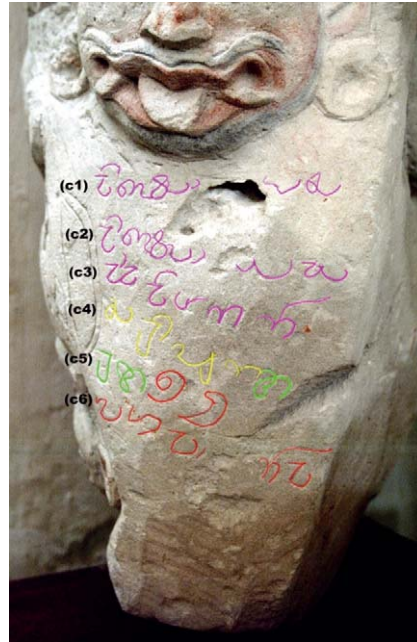


Fig. 12: same, with inscription redrawn

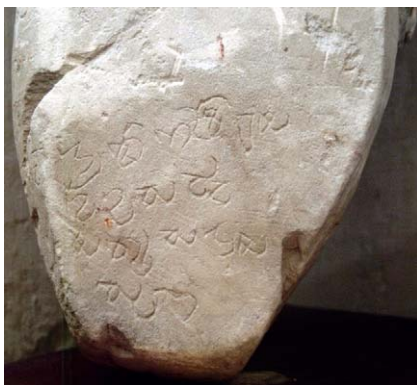


Fig. 13: IC 010, lower part (end)

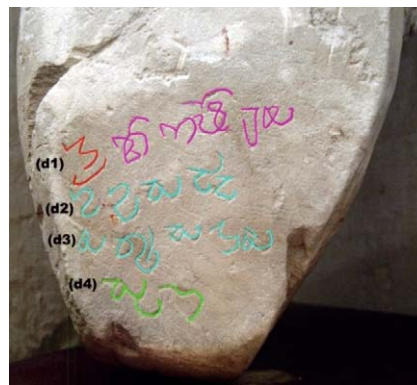


Fig. 14: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 15: IC 010, final part

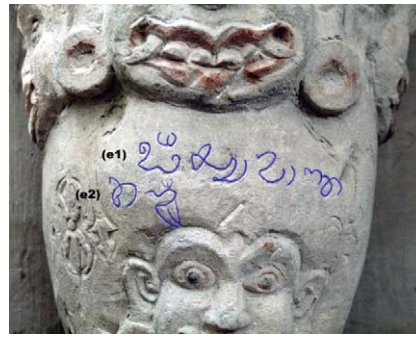


Fig. 16: same, with inscriptions redrawn



Fig. 17: IC 009, beginning (dextral part)

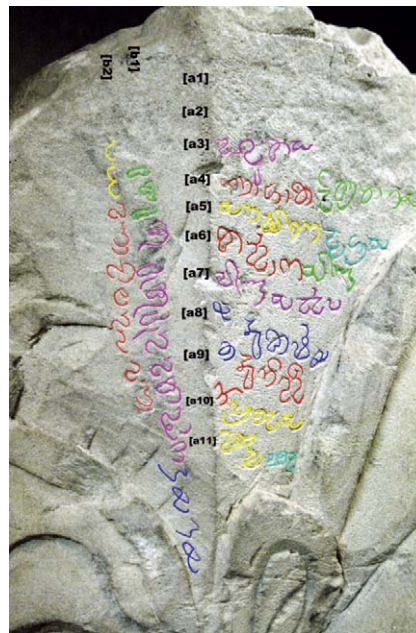


Fig. 18: same, with inscriptions redrawn





Fig. 19: IC 009, beginning (sinistral part)

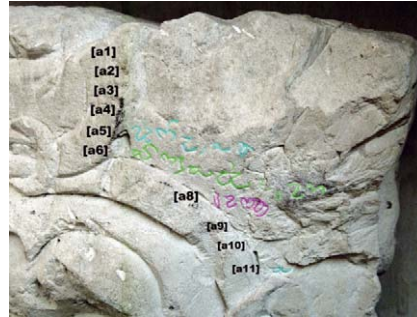


Fig. 20: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 21: IC 009, continuation

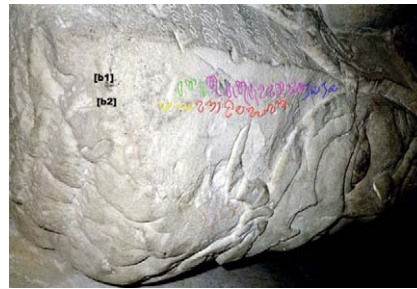


Fig. 22: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 23: IC 009, end (dextral part)

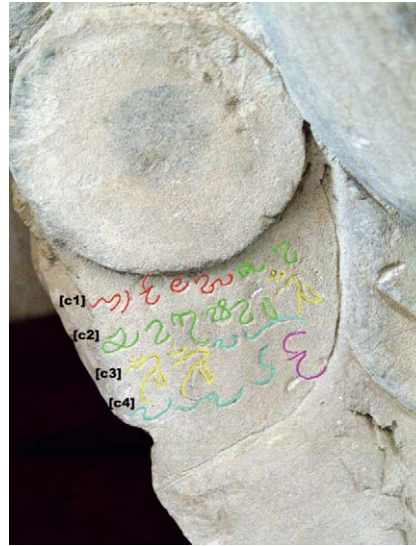


Fig. 24: same, with inscription redrawn



Fig. 25: IC 009, end (sinistral part)

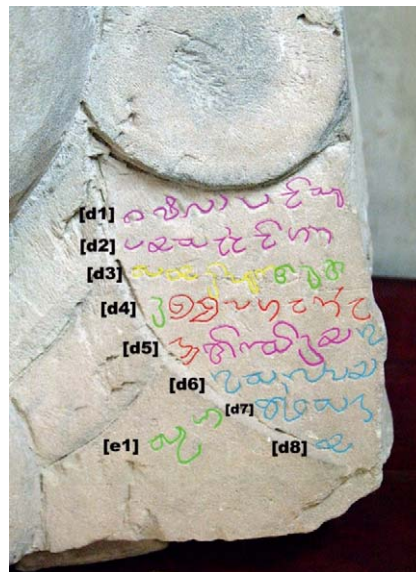


Fig. 26: same, with inscription redrawn