

## N. L. WESTERGAARD 1815-1878

BY

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The year 1978 marks the centenary of the death of Niels Ludvig Westergaard, one of the pioneers of Iranian and Indian studies.

Ernst Windisch<sup>1</sup> characterizes one of the historical studies of Westergaard<sup>2</sup> thus: *Seine Ausführungen über die verschiedenen Schichten der vedischen Literatur, die mündliche Tradition, die Schrift und die schriftliche Aufzeichnung sind noch heute lesenswert. Seine Anschauungen sind durchaus modern.*<sup>3</sup>

Further Windisch expresses regret that some of Westergaard's works were written in Danish and thus have remained practically unknown to the scholarly world. The works hinted at are: *Bidrag til de indiske Lande Mälwäs og Kānyakubjas Historie*<sup>4</sup> (Contributions to the history of the Indian countries Mälwā and Kānyakubja) and *Om de indiske Kejserhuse fra det fjerde til det tiende Aarhundrede og nogle ældre Fyrsteslægter efter samtidige Aktstykker*<sup>5</sup> (The Indian dynasties from the fourth to the tenth century and some earlier princely families according to contemporary sources).

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie, Grundriss I,1 B*, Berlin 1917, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte*, Breslau 1862.

<sup>3</sup> Windisch, *op. cit.* 2. Teil, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Indbydelsesskrift til Kjøbenhavns Universitets Fest i Anledning af Hans Majestæt Kongens Fødselsdag den 8de April 1868*, Copenhagen 1868.

<sup>5</sup> *Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter. 5. Rk. Hist. og Phil. Afd. 3. Bd.*, Copenhagen 1869.

In the field of Iranian studies one major publication was written in Danish and remains virtually unknown: *Om den anden eller den Sakiske Art af Achaemenidernes Kileskrift*, *Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter. 5. Rk. Hist. og Phil. Afd. 2. Bd.*, Copenhagen 1854. (On the second or Śakian Achaemenian species of arrowheaded writing).

The aim of the present article is to discuss the latter work and to give a specimen in English translation<sup>6</sup> with a sketch on Westergaard and his works. It concludes with an attempt to throw light on the reasons that led Westergaard to seclude himself from the international learned world and to write only in Danish in his later years.

N. L. Westergaard was born in 1815. Already as a schoolboy he had become interested in Indo-European comparative philology and Oriental studies through the example of Rasmus Kristian Rask who then held the Chair of Oriental Languages. Rask, however, died in 1832, one year before Westergaard entered the University, and Westergaard therefore decided to study abroad. He went to Bonn where his teachers were Christian Lassen and August Wilhelm von Schlegel with whom Westergaard studied Sanskrit, Avesta and Persian. Then, after a short stay in Paris, Westergaard went on to London and Oxford where he studied and copied Indian manuscripts. The first result of these studies was *Radices Linguae Sanscritae* (Bonn 1841), which marked a solid advance in the Western understanding of Sanskrit grammar as structured by the ancient native grammarians.

The Danish king Christian VIII to whom this work was dedicated showed his appreciation by financially supporting Westergaard's journey to Persia, the Indian subcontinent and eventually Further India. Upon his return from the East Westergaard was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit at the University of Copenhagen in 1845.

During the three years of travelling from 1841 to 1844 Westergaard concentrated on gathering first-hand material for the study of ancient India and Iran by personally copying many inscriptions in the presidency of Bombay and in and around ancient Persepolis. It was this material, together with manuscripts brought home by himself and by Rask, which formed the basis of Westergaard's later work.

The study of these sources resulted in various articles by Westergaard and other scholars<sup>7</sup> and led to two of Westergaard's

<sup>6</sup> The Kṣaharāta Satrap dynasty, pp. 361-368, §§ 139-147.

<sup>7</sup> *Girnar Inscriptions* (G. L. Jacob and N. L. Westergaard) JBBRAS i, 1844.

*Die altpersischen Keilinschriften nach Herrn N. L. Westergaards Mittheilungen* (Chr. Lassen), Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes vi, 1845.

major publications: *Bundehesh, liber pchlevicus. E vetustissimo codice havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis primi adjecit N. L. Westergaard* (Copenhagen 1851) and *Zendavesta, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited and translated, with a dictionary, grammar etc., Vol. I. The Zend texts* (Copenhagen 1852-54).

This work together with the *Radices* constitutes the cornerstone of Westergaard's lifework. Unfortunately, the Zend texts were never followed up by a dictionary and grammar and in his late years Westergaard turned his attention to Indian history. This resulted in the publication of *Über den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur. Über Buddha's Todesjahr und einige andere Zeitpunkte in der älteren Geschichte Indiens. Zwei Abhandlungen von N. L. Westergaard. Aus dem Dänischen übersetzt* (Breslau 1862). The Danish originals dated from 1860. Finally, in 1868 and 1869 the two historical studies mentioned by Windisch as very little known were published: *Contributions to the history of the Indian countries Māwā and Kānyakubja* and *The Indian dynasties from the fourth to the tenth century and some earlier princely families according to contemporary sources*, also written in Danish and hitherto untranslated.

If the specimen given in English translation here proves—in Windisch's words—*noch heute lesenswert*, a full translation of Westergaard's *Indian Dynasties* will be considered.

The study consists of three lectures given at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1865, 1866 and 1867, and published by the same in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter. Femte Række. Historisk og Philosophisk Afdeling. Tredie Bind*, pp. 239-406 in quarto (Copenhagen 1869).

An *Introduction* (pp. 239-245, §§ 1-6) deals with the type of sources available for the period in question, such as inscriptions and coins, and the author tries to define the character and status of the Indian dynasties concerned. *The Gupta dynasty* fills the first chapter (pp. 246-272, §§ 7-36); next comes *The Vaisya dy-*

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*Zur Entzifferung der Achämenidischen Keilschrift zweiter Gattung* (N. L. Westergaard), *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes* vi, 1845. This appeared also in an English translation: *On the deciphering of the Achaemenian or Median species of arrowheaded writing, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord, 1840-1844*, Copenhagen 1844.

*nasty in Kānyakubja* (pp. 272–283, §§ 37–49), followed by *The Valabhī family* (pp. 283–288, §§ 50–56), *The Cālukya dynasty* (pp. 288–315, §§ 57–90) and *The Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty* (pp. 315–347, §§ 91–124). This chapter concludes the main part of the book, on the period from the fourth to the tenth century A.D. Paragraphs 119–124 discuss the chronological order of the dynasties dealt with in the previous chapters and the last paragraph (124) in a *large table* sums up the reigns and relations among dynasties and their single members (A.D. 319–979, pp. 344–347).

*The Pre-Gupta period* (pp. 348–384) is an appendix consisting of (pp. 348–349, § 125) an *Introduction* which deals with the quality and reliability of the sources (mainly cave inscriptions) as they were available in various journals at that time. Westergaard himself had visited the caves and taken copies of a great many of the inscriptions in 1842. The following paragraphs discuss *The Andhras* (pp. 349–360, §§ 126–138) and *The Kṣaharāta Satrap dynasty* (pp. 361–368, §§ 139–147) given in translation below. Then comes *The Sinha (Sāh) Satrap dynasty* (= *the Western Satraps*) (pp. 368–381, §§ 148–163). The last paragraphs of this chapter also contain a discussion of the use of the Śaka Era by the three dynasties and paragraph 161 contains a table of dates (Śaka and Christian Era) of the various rulers. The book ends with a very short passage on *The Ābhīra family* (pp. 382–383, §§ 164–165) and on the role of script in ancient Indian society (pp. 383–384, § 166).

The study is furnished with an extensive *Index of proper names and technical terms* (pp. 385–392) and with a *Summary in French* (pp. 393–406).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Peculiarities of the transliteration of Sanskrit used by Westergaard:

á, í, ú = ā, ī, ū	cch = ch
x = kṣ	ç = ś
ch = c	sh = ṣ

In the chapter on the Kṣaharātas Westergaard uses the numbering of inscriptions introduced by

Stevenson-Brett in JBBRAS, v, 1854  
 West in JBBRAS, vi, 1861 and  
 West-West in JBBRAS, vii, 1865.

For convenience the corresponding numbers in *Lüders' List, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X, Appendix*, Calcutta 1912 are given here:

N. L. Westergaard, *The Kṣaharāta Satrap Dynasty*

§ 139. This dynasty which was destroyed by Gautamīputra is known only from inscriptions, of which two are at Junnar and Kārle and the rest at Nāsik in the great central rock cave.<sup>1</sup> They are in Prākṛit with one exception (Nāsik No. 17) and are mainly due to the daughter of a Satrap and her husband. The majority begin as follows, to quote the Sanskrit version: *Rājñāḥ Kṣaharā-tasya kṣatrapasya Nahapānasya jāmātrā* (or *dihitu*) which J. Stevenson translated, 'The son-in-law (or daughter) of Nahapāna, Satrap or viceroy under king Kṣaharāta'; in this interpretation he is followed by Lassen (Ind. Alt. IV, 81).

It is, however, unlikely that an overlord should be addressed in such an informal manner. The three genitives are probably quite parallel and constitute the titles which Nahapāna had; *Rājan* and *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa* form the full title in the other Satrap dynasty as well. The second word *Kṣaharāta* is obviously of foreign origin even though adapted to the Indian languages.<sup>2</sup>

The Prākṛit equivalent in the inscriptions of this dynasty is *Khaharāta*; as mentioned above, it is found as *Khakharāta* in the

Junnar	No. 12,	Stevenson-Brett	JBBRAS, v 165 =	Lüders' list	1169
Junnar	No. 26,	Stevenson-Brett	JBBRAS, v 169 =	Lüders' list	1174
Kapheri	No. 12,	West	JBBRAS, vi 5 =	Lüders' list	995
Kārle	No. 5,	Stevenson-Brett	JBBRAS, v 159 =	Lüders' list	1099
Nāsik	No. 1,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 47 =	Lüders' list	1148
Nāsik	No. 5,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 48 =	Lüders' list	1145
Nāsik	No. 14,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 49 =	Lüders' list	1135, 1136
Nāsik	No. 16a,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1132
Nāsik	No. 16b,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1133
Nāsik	No. 17,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1131
Nāsik	No. 18,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1133
Nāsik	No. 19,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1131
Nāsik	No. 20,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 50 =	Lüders' list	1134
Nāsik	No. 25,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 51 =	Lüders' list	1125, 1126
Nāsik	No. 26,	West-West	JBBRAS, vii 51 =	Lüders' list	1123, 1124.

§ 139,1) The inscriptions are: Junnar No. 26 and Kārle No. 5 (JBBRAS, v 169, 159); Nāsik No. 14, 17, 19, 16b and 18; finally No. 16a and 20 (JBBRAS vii; cf. v 49-53).

§ 139,2) The name is spelt *Kṣaharāta* in the Sanskrit inscription as well as by West, Brett and myself; it is therefore not correct when Stevenson writes *Kṣaharātra* as does also Ind. Alt. IV, 81-82, Note 2.

inscription of the queen, Nāsik No. 26. Here it is taken to be a family name (Kh.-vaṃśa) of the dynasty which her son annihilated. Therefore I have used the word to distinguish this Satrap dynasty from another, younger one (the Sinha or Sāh (= the Western) which ruled in almost the same region).

The Kṣaharāta dynasty was of foreign extraction; this is also suggested by the proper name Nahapāna or Nahabāna as the name is written in Kārle No. 5 with the normal Prākṛit change. The title Kṣatrapa or Satrap was also of foreign, Persian origin; it came with the Yavanas to India and was adopted and preserved by their successors, the Śakas. Although in India this word was given an Indian form with a positive and elevated meaning, since as *kṣatrapa* it could be interpreted as 'the protector of the caste of warriors', it did not take roots in India. It disappeared together with the supremacy of the foreigners.<sup>3</sup>

§ 140. About Nahapāna himself no more is known than can be gathered from his titles, *rājan* and *kṣatrapa*; they show that he was a reigning prince and Satrap or an inferior kind of king under a master who, to judge from the time of his reign, must have belonged to the Indo-Scythians. These people under Kanīṣka and his successors ruled over a major part of India in the first centuries of the Christian Era. It is towards the end of the first or in the beginning of the second century that Nahapāna must be supposed to have lived. As already mentioned, the destruction of his dynasty at the hands of the Andhra king Gautamīputra must have taken place not long after the building of the large central cave at Nāsik and the donation of a piece of land to the congregation there. Nahapāna had high titles too; from the time of this Satrap is found an inscription, Junnar No. 26, situated in the somewhat inaccessible row of caves (marked F on the map). The inscription consists of three lines; only the middle part is preserved—both the beginning and the end of each line have faded away. The inscription was carved at the order of Vaccha-sagota or Vatsa-sagotra, a descendant of the Brahman family of Vatsas.<sup>1</sup>

§ 139,3) Thus Böhtlingk's dictionary has no example of *kṣatrapa* but a few of *kṣatra-pati* from Yajurveda.

§ 140,1) His proper name is indistinct. Stevenson (JBBRAS, v 169) has read it as

The date of the inscription is given in the first line of which only the middle is preserved . . . *ha-khatapasa sāmī Nahapānasa*; this shows that Nahapāna possessed the titles of *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Svāmin* as well. This is the only inscription where these titles of his occur.

§ 141. To Nahapāna's daughter we owe a couple of small identical inscriptions in Prākṛit, namely Nāsik No. 16, line 1-2 on the left wing wall and No. 20 opposite on the right wing wall of the verandah in the great cave, each of them above the door-way to a small cell. The construction of these cells is therefore due to her and the inscription says that they constitute her *deya-dharma*.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from that, the inscriptions contain only her name *Dakhamitrā* which consists of the two Sanskrit words *dakṣa* and *mitra*, and the inscriptions say that she was the daughter of Nahapāna and the wife (kuṭumbinī) of Uṣavadāta, Dinika's son.

§ 142. The rest of the inscriptions come from Uṣavadāta. He built the central hall of the three large cave halls at Nāsik; the fact that it occupies the most eminent position shows that it is older than the two other halls. The main inscription No. 17 runs the full length of the back wall of the verandah. It consists of two parts. The first part is in Sanskrit and constitutes the oldest Sanskrit inscription as yet known, but it reveals a somewhat defective knowledge of that language in its correct classical form.<sup>1</sup> This part

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the genitive *aghamasa* and taken it to be a family name (cf. Ind. Alt. IV, 84). The name can also be read *suyama*; but I do not know whether this occurs as a name.

§ 141,1) The inscriptions end with the words *Dakhamitrāya deya-dhammam ovarako*. This last word is found in Pāli too where it is used as equivalent of *gabbha* (*garbha*), "an inner room, a bedroom" (cf. the collections of Pāli words *Abhidhāna-pradīpika* in Clough's edition p. 26, verse 17); it would correspond to Sanskrit *avavaraka* which, however, seems not to occur whereas the form *apavaraka* is found.

§ 142,1) Thus the following forms are found: *bhojāpayīlar*, line 1, *ubhato līram*, line 2, *leṇa*, line 3; the Sanskrit equivalent *layana* is found in Nāsik No. 5, placed inside the general's large cave hall above the first cell door to the left; it runs: *deyadharmo upāskāyā Marmāyā layanam*, from a lay woman Marmā whose name

(line 1–3) forms one sentence which is to be read as follows . . . *Nahapānasya jāmātrā Dinika-putreṇa Uṣavadātena* (ten adjectives agreeing with Uṣavadāta) *Govardhane Tiriraśmiṣu parvateṣu dharmātmanā idam leṇam kārītam imā ca poḍiyo*. That means: 'the son-in-law of Nahapāna, the virtuous, has ordered this leṇa to be excavated at Govardhana on the Tiriraśmi hills and these cisterns to be made' (the three last words are in Prākṛit). The name of the son-in-law is here given as Uṣavadāta and likewise in Nāsik No. 16 and 18 and in Nāsik No. 14 but as Usabhadāta in Kārle No. 5 just as in Gautamīputra's edict Nāsik No. 25. His father was Dinika or Dīnika; I am not in a position to say which is the correct form. Both names have at least an Indian flavour about them; it might be just an adaptation, for an Indian derivation does not seem to give any suitable meaning.<sup>2</sup>

§ 143. Wherever his name belongs, he was a follower of the brahmanical creed and a good patron of the Brahmans. The inscriptions which bear witness to his generosity towards the Buddhists show furthermore that his generosity towards the Brahmans was even greater; it is described as being so splendid that one is led to believe that it was mainly because of his wife's faith that he showed kindness towards *her* fellow Buddhists. Among the ten expressions in which he is described and praised in Nāsik No. 17, line 1–3, it is stressed that he had (I) donated 300,000 cows and (III) 16 villages to gods and Brahmans, and furthermore (IV) every year fed 100,000 Brahmans; that he (II) had constructed a

is otherwise unknown to me. Approximately contemporary with the inscription Nāsik No. 17 seems to be the double inscription on the two huge granite rocks near the village of Khunniara in the district of Kangra (32°15'. 76°8') in the Jalandhara region between Vipaśa and Śatadru, edited by E. C. Bayley in JASBengal 1854, XXIII 57 and in JRAS XX 250, pl. IX. One of them is in the vernacular written in Aryan script; the resemblance of this script to the one used on the coins of the Parthian king Pakores (A.D. 61–107) has been pointed out by A. Cunningham; the other one is in a sort of Sanskrit written in Indian script *Kṛṣṇayasasa ārāma* and *Kṛṣṇayasasya ārāmam idam tasya* as it seems to me the letters must be read. Two mystical signs follow.

§ 142,2) Corresponding Sanskrit words are *dīna*, 'day', *dīnikā*, 'a day's wages', *dīna*, 'sad, miserable', *ṛṣabha*, 'bull' and epithet of several heroes and ṛṣis (cf. Böhtlingk's dict. *dāta*, 'split'). Since Uṣavadāta is Prākṛit the last member may correspond to Sanskrit *datta*, 'given'.



bathing place called Suvarṇa-dāna-tīrtha at the river Bārṇāsā; that he (V) at the holy bathing place Prabhāsa had donated a gift<sup>1</sup> to the Brahmans and also (X) at other places offered 32,000 of something I am unable to explain.<sup>2</sup> Of more general benefit were the rest of his good deeds, namely (VI) the construction of quadrangular resthouses in Bharukaccha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorpāraga<sup>3</sup>, (VII) the construction of gardens, tanks and wells

§ 143,1) The text reads clearly *brāhmaṇebhyah aṣṭa-bhāryāprada* and a similar expression in Prakrit is found in Kārle No. 5 *aṣṭa-bhāryā*; *bhāryā* means 'a wife', but I do not understand the context; J. Stevenson interpreted it as 'he was at the expense of the marriage of Brahmans'.

§ 143,2) The expression is in its full length: *Piḍitakāvaḥ Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorpārage ca Rāmātīrthe caraka-parṣabhyah grāme Nānagole dvātrīṣat-nāḍigera-mūla-sahasra-pradana*. The words ending in *-e* are probably all geographical names, cf. Note 3. The word *caraka* means 'a wandering Brahman student' and 'a special school of the black Yajurveda'; *Parṣabhyah* seems to be '*Parṣad-bhyah*', plural dative, from *parṣad*, 'assembly, audience, congregation'. Just as here 32,000 Nāḍigera-mūla were given to the Buddhists so in Nāsik No. 16 were given *datāni nāḍigerāna mūla-sahasraṇi aṣṭa 8,000*. Stevenson reads *Nāḍigera mūla* and takes it to be 'gold mohurs of Nāḍigera currency' and adds 'Nāḍigera seems to have been the name of a town from which the currency was named, thus we have Surat, Chandore rupees etc.'. Probably it was the expression in line 7 of the same inscription which led Stevenson to this interpretation. Line 7 reads: *dina suvarṇasahasrāṇa mūlya* which Stevenson translates by 'worth a thousand gold mohurs', JBBRAS v 51-52, cf. Ind. Alt. IV, 83. As has been remarked by Lassen, *mūla* cannot mean 'coins'; it signifies 'root' in general and 'an eatable root'; therefore the preceding word ought to be the special name of it; *Nāḍigera*, however, does not occur in Böhtlingk's dict., the nearest Sanskrit term is *nāḍikela* or *nārikera*, but that means 'coconut' or 'coconut palm'; *nāllā* is 'an eatable root', *arum colocasia* (Wilson).

§ 143,3) The towns and regions mentioned in Kṣaharāta inscriptions are *Prabhāsa* with the famous holy bathing place (tīrtha); there was a territory of the same name on the West coast, corresponding approximately to present day Konkana, Ind. Alt. I, 572. *Bharukaccha*, modern Broach (21°46' . 73°14'), the great commercial centre of Barygaza described by Ptolemaeus. The town is mentioned in Junnar No. 12 and later on by Varāhamihira as being situated in the Deccan (Bṛhat S. 14<sub>11</sub>, 16<sub>6</sub>) and the princes Bharu-kaccha-pa (5<sub>10</sub>). *Daśapura* is also said to be in the Deccan (Bṛhat S. 14<sub>12</sub>); according to commentaries on Meghadūta 49 it should be North of the river Charmaṇvatī (Chumbul); a commentary identifies it with Rantipura and if this is correct, Wilson supposes that it can be the modern Rantampore (26°0' . 76°18') on the route between Ujjain (23°11' . 75°35') to Tahnesar (29°55' . 76°48'). The inscription Nāsik No. 1 is the work of a lekhaka (scribe) resident of Daśapura; *Govardhana*, cf. § 133, Note 2. *Śorpāraga* has al-

and (VIII, IX) of resting places for travellers as well as the provision of supplies of water at several rivers.<sup>4</sup> To the Buddhists in particular he donated, according to No. 17, only the cave in which this inscription is engraved.

§ 144. To the contents of this part of Nāsik No. 17 correspond two other Prākṛit inscriptions. Concerning one of them J. Stevenson remarks (JBBRAS, v 159) that it is far too indistinct and defective to allow any coherent translation; this is probably the case, but with the help of Nāsik No. 17 quite a few things can be learned from the five lines of which it consists. Like No. 17 it mentions that at the river Bāṇāsā he constructed Suvāṇatītha (Suvārṇa-tīrtha) as it seems to be called here, that at the holy ford Prabhāsa he donated a certain gift (aṭha bhāya) to the Brahmans, and that every year he caused 100,000 Brahmans to be fed. In line 4–5 it is added that he likewise made to the monks of the normal congregation that lived in the leṇa in Kārle a gift of some sort to commemorate which the inscription was made. The other inscription Nāsik No. 14 is placed outside the verandah of Uṣavadāta's cave above a niche decorated with a bas-relief.

ready been identified by Lassen with Śūrpāraka (Mah. II, 1169), Supara in Ptolemaeus, the modern Surāt, Ind. Alt. III, 172. IV, 83. In Kaṭheri No. 12 a *Sopārāga-nēgama*, 'merchaut from Śorpārāga' is mentioned. In Mbh III, 8185–6 a Rāmatīrtha at Śūrpāraka is also mentioned, just as in Nāsik No. 17. In this Nāsik No. 17 moreover occur the following places unknown to me: *Piḍḍitakāvaṭa* (or something like that), *Suvārṇamukha* and a village *Nānagola*, cf. Note 2 and finally the holy lake *Puṣkara* at Ajmīr (cf. § 146). Nāsik No. 14 mentions *Dāhanukā-nagara*, *Kekāpura* and *Ujenī*, the famous Ujjayīni.

§ 143,4) The rivers are even less known to me. *Bārṇāsā* (Prākṛit *Bārṇāsā* Nāsik No. 14, Kārle No. 5) where a holy bathing place was constructed (Suvārṇadāna-tīrtha or Suvārṇatīrtha, cf. § 144). I take it with J. Stevenson to be the Eastern Parṇāsā (modern Banass), which from the Pāriyātra mountains flow East of Ajmīr into Charmaṇvatī; Lassen (Ind. Alt. IV, 82, Note 3) has questioned this. The river does flow between Nāsik and Ajmīr and at a few miles' distance from Ramtanpur which has been identified with Daśapura (cf. Note 3). The rivers mentioned in No. 17, line 2 are *Ibā*, *Pārādā*, *Damaṇā* which Lassen (Ind. Alt. IV, 83) has identified with the river that is also called Damaṇagangā on which Dāman lies (20°25' . 72°58'). *Tāpi*, the same as Taptī, passes Surat. *Karabeṇā*. *Dāhanukā* probably at the town Dāhanukānagara but even the position of this is unknown; there is a seaport named Dānu (19°57' . 72°50') on a river but it is South of Dāman. Finally *Nāvā*, as it seems.

Only the right-hand side is preserved, whereas the beginning of all lines, as well as the lower part, is lost almost in its entirety. It is, however, clear that it belongs to Nāsik No. 17 and adds some new special details. The beginning of Nāsik No. 14 has been constructed grammatically in a somewhat different way from that of the other inscriptions since the name of the donor is in the genitive. Of the two first lines only the end remains:

. . *tasa kṣatrapasa Nahabānasa\* jāmā*  
 . . *śakasa Uṣavadātasa netyakeṣu.*

Judging from the general pattern of the beginnings in these inscriptions, seven syllables are missing in the first line: *Sidham raño kṣaharā-* and in the second line: *(jāmā)tu Dinika-putasa*; next comes the enigmatic and tempting *śakasa* (as if it were genitive from Śaka, the name of the people), then the name of the donor and finally *netyakeṣu* from *netyaka*, which perhaps corresponds to Sanskrit *naityaka* without the normal sound change. The two following lines mention Dāhanukā-nagara, Kekāpura, Ujeni. Finally, his generosity towards the Brahmans and the gift of the Suvarṇa-tīrtha is emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

§ 145. The second part of the main inscription Nāsik No. 17 line 3-4 is engraved with somewhat smaller letters and written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit.<sup>1</sup>

This contributes to the knowledge of the history of Uṣavadāta and means literally: 'And at the command of the emperor I went to Varṣārata in Mālaya to release . . . hirudha Uttamabhadra;

\* editorial note: *Nahaḥānasa* misprint in the original for *Nahaḥānasa*.

§ 144,1) Nāsik No. 14, lines 8-10 contain

.....kṣaharā  
 ....na gava śata-sahasradena Uṣa  
 .....haṇana nadiya Baṇṣāya

Thus there is both the family name Kṣaharāta and the proper name Uṣavadāta; but I fail to see what the context is.

§ 145,1) The text runs *Bhaṣṭārakā añatīyā ca gato'smi Varṣāratam Mālaye . . . hirudham utamabhadram mochaḥyitum; te ca Malayā pranāden'eva apayātā, utamabhadrakānam ca kṣatriyānam sarve parigrahā kṛtā; tato'smi gato Pokṣarāni, tatra ca mayā abhiṣekah kṛto, trīṇi ca go-sahasrāni dalānti grāmo (grāmau) ca.*

these Malayas fled at the mere sound and all were subdued by the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thereupon I went to Pokṣarāṇi where abhiṣeka was performed by me and a gift of 3,000 cows and a village (or maybe two villages) was given.' There is doubt about the location of the battle. The word *Mālaya* is not found in Sanskrit as a name of a country<sup>2</sup>; apparently the region inhabited by the Malayas is meant here. Malaya is, as already mentioned, the name of the Southern part of the Western Ghāts and of its inhabitants. Since in Dravidian languages it denotes 'mountains' in general, it may, as a proper name, have had a wider connotation than is the case nowadays. The place Varṣārata<sup>3</sup> to which he went is unknown as is also the name Uttamabhadra.<sup>4</sup> This must, however, denote a tribe of warriors living in that part of the country, who had fallen into trouble because of the Malayas, and now became the vassals of the realm. The name of the prince whom Uṣavadāta set out to release is probably not preserved in its full length. Before the quite distinct *hirudha* the surface of the rock is damaged so that a few, perhaps four or five letters, containing the first letters of his name or a title, may have been lost.

§ 146. After this expedition he went on to Pokṣarāṇi, probably to be understood as *p. tīrthāni*, 'the holy places at the lake Puṣkara'<sup>1</sup>, modern Pokhar, a holy lake famous from ancient times, close to Ajmīr (26°31' . 74°28'). There an *abhiṣeka* was performed; this means 'a religious bathing at a holy place' and perhaps nothing more is implied in the use of the term.<sup>2</sup> The normal meaning is however 'the solemn consecration as king,

§ 145,2) In Böhtlingk's dict. *Mālaya* is found only as an adjective, 'originating from, belonging to Malaya'.

§ 145,3) Lassen (Ind. Alt. IV, 85, Note) suggests part of Khāndeś, with the town Varsa (Wursa), approximately 21°0' . 74°21', near Malaigām.

§ 145,4) *Bhadra* is mentioned in Brhat S. as name of a people living in Central India (14<sub>16</sub>), in the South-east (14<sub>7</sub>), and in the Deccan (14<sub>16</sub>).

§ 146,1) Stevenson has already explained *Pokṣara* as a byform of *Puṣkara* of which the Sanskrit derivation is *pauṣkara* (JBBRAS, v 40).

§ 146,2) The expression is *tatra mayā abhiṣekah kṛto*; the ceremonious consecration was given by an overlord, *kṛtābhiṣeko yuvarāja-rājye Sugrivarājena Tārāsutah*, Bhaṭṭik. 12,50; perhaps one should not attach too much importance to the grammatical correctness of these inscriptions.

heir to the throne, or commander-in-chief' and this is how Lassen (Ind. Alt. III, 587. IV, 85) has understood the expression. In that case his consecration would be either as heir to the throne or commander-in-chief and *not* as rājan or kṣatrapa; his father-in-law Nahapāna was obviously still alive and in possession of these titles, and the power implied by them both at the time of the visit to Puṣkara and later on when this and the other inscriptions were engraved. Moreover Uṣavadāta is in no inscription presented as possessing a royal title or any other title than that of the son-in-law of the Satrap. If 'a solemn consecration' was meant, his sovereign or emperor with the title of Bhaṭṭāraka<sup>3</sup> must have had his court at Ajmīr; however this might be, it is clear that the Indo-Scythian sovereign's power included the region of Nāsik since his command was received and carried out there. Uṣavadāta must have been a distinguished and powerful man in possession of vast riches. Even though his eulogy is expressed in very exaggerated terms, it shows at least that he had the means and the will to be magnificently generous.

§ 147. The remaining inscriptions in Prākṛit are only of minor historical importance. Nāsik No. 19 is placed immediately below the right part of the main inscription No. 17 and is engraved at a later date with much smaller letters. It only states that he has given to the inhabitants of his cave (*mama leṇa vasatāna*) a field which he bought from a Brahman for the sum of 4,000 Kāhāpaṇas.<sup>1</sup> It is this field which Gautamīputra mentions in his edict Nāsik No. 25.

Two more inscriptions are found in this same large cave, Nāsik No. 16b and 18; No. 16b is on the left wall and No. 18 on the back wall of the verandah below the left part of the main inscription to the left of the window. Although they are presented and interpreted by scholars as two separate independent inscriptions, together they form one continuous inscription which starts on the side wall as No. 16b, line 3-6 (Stevenson VI) and con-

§ 146,3) This is the earliest occurrence of the use of this title; it is later used by Chandragupta II as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* in the inscriptions on Udayagiri, cf. § 22.

§ 147,1) The name of the Brahman seems to be *Aśribhūti*, son of *Vārāhi*; both names are unusual.

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tinues as No. 18, line 1-4 (Stevenson V) on the back wall. The last short seventh line of No. 16 contains only a repetition of the last words of the part of the inscription which is in No. 18, line 4. The rest of No. 18, line 4 and the whole of line 5 form an entirely independent addition. The main section (No. 16, line 3-6 and No. 18, line 1-4) begins: *vase* ✕ *vesākhamaṣaṃ rañño kṣ. kṣ. Naha-pānasa jāmātārā D.-p. Uṣavadātena* etc. and announces that to the Buddhist congregation in general he has donated this cave plus a grant of 3,000 Kāhāpaṇas, the investment and use of which, as far as I can see, is the purport of this section; it also mentions a gift of 8,000 Nāḍi gerāna mūlas (cf. § 143, Note 2). The addition starts *bhūyā nena data vase* ✕ *kārtika-śudhe* and once more mentions his generosity towards the followers of the other creed; on that day as well as in the year ✕ 5 he donated 4,000 Kāhāpaṇas, 35 Suvarṇas and the value of 1,000 Suvarṇas<sup>2</sup> to gods and Brahmans.

Here as in Nāsik No. 14 (line 8 *chetra sudhe*) the normal division of time into years, months and half-months is used. The meaning of the sign for the tens, 𑀘, is not known but must signify one of the three tens 30, 40 or 50 the symbol of which is not yet ascertained since they have not been found in any inscription expressing the number in letters as well. The three dates mentioned here could refer to a personal reign, either that of his father-in-law or that of the emperor, even though one is inclined, from the way they are given, rather to take them as belonging to a standard Era.

(Here Westergaard refers to § 163, Note 3 in this book. Since it may be of interest for the understanding of the present paragraph it is given here: § 163 . . . It was the Satrap dynasty Sinha (= the Western) which in this part of India was the first one to use the Śaka Era. Note 3: Earlier dates could perhaps be found in the Aryan inscriptions from Northern India, interpreted by J. Dowson in JRAS XX as: *samvatsaraye 78* on the Taxila table (p. 222), *Sam 51* on the Vardak urn (p. 256), *Sam 18* on the Manikyāla stone with (as it seems) the name of Kaniṣka (p. 250). Moreover, some uncertain dates occur in the Yusafzai inscriptions from Ohind and Panjtar (p. 233) and on the Hidda pot (p. 230

§ 147,2) Suvarṇa is the equivalent of Kārṣāpaṇa as a certain weight of gold; however, the latter word is also used for the same weight of silver or copper.

and *Ariana Antiqua* 262). Finally, the years of the inscription of the Satrap dynasty Kṣaharāta Nāsik No. 16 and 18 (§ 147) possibly refer to this Śaka Era and, if so, it must be the ten 30 which was expressed by the numeral used there 𑀘 and, in that case, it would have been the Kṣaharāta dynasty which was first to use this Era in South-western India. (End of § 163, Note 3)).

As related in Nāsik No. 26, the Satrap dynasty of the Kṣaharātas was overcome by Gautamīputra who destroyed it completely.

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The translated chapter is part of the treatise which was published in 1869 and was the last major work of Westergaard. As already mentioned, there are two distinct phases in Westergaard's research work: the periods between 1841-1854 and between 1854-1878. The earlier was a very productive one when almost all his studies were published in English or German. The publications of the later period, all in Danish, were of the same high standard, but one may ask for whom they were meant.

It has already been suggested by Vilhelm Thomsen<sup>9</sup> that Westergaard's decision to turn to Danish was motivated by several factors, such as the enflamed political temper in Denmark due to the controversy over Slesvig-Holsten that provoked a nationalist wave and led to a long-persisting isolationism. Another factor was of a private nature. In 1856, after ten years of marriage, Westergaard lost his wife. Not only was this a severe blow for him, but he decided to bring up their four small children all alone, a task to which he dedicated a considerable amount of his time.

Nevertheless, one has to ask how a scholar of international reputation could have been satisfied with writing on highly specialized subjects for a small circle of Danish intellectuals. Westergaard's correspondence<sup>10</sup> throws considerable light on this puzzling question.

<sup>9</sup> Niels Ludvig Westergaard. Ein Vortrag gehalten in der königl. Dänischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften am 11 Oktober 1878. Aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von A. Bezzenberger. Separatdruck aus dem fünften Bande der Beiträge z. Kunde d. Indogerm. Sprachen. Göttingen 1880.

<sup>10</sup> Letters to Westergaard and occasional drafts of his answers, Royal Library, Copenhagen, Add. 582,4<sup>o</sup> with the addition of a few items in Ny kgl. Samling of the same library.

In so far as Westergaard's regular correspondence is concerned, all contact with his regular correspondents ceased in the middle of the fifties. They were O. Böhlingk, Chr. Lassen and E. Norris. Hermann Brockhaus then wrote: *Der unselige Krieg, der zwei so nahe mit einander verwandte Stämme zerreisst, wird ja die friedlichen Verbindungen der Gelehrsamkeit nicht hemmen und stören. Ich sehe Ihren Mittheilungen darüber (Neriosengh) mit Ungeduld entgegen.* Westergaard does not seem to have been a diligent letter-writer. Already in 1845 O. Böhlingk addresses his friend with the words: *Mein bester und zugleich mein schlechtester Freund!* as Westergaard was slow in replying. The subject of his correspondence up to the fifties concerned mainly the discussion of problems current in those days. A letter from 1863 shows how Westergaard put an end to that fruitful exchange of ideas by isolating himself. The sender was E. Norris. *My dear Westergaard, I address you in the old style notwithstanding your having cut me so long after having been so many years good friends and correspondents. This is the reason why I make one more attempt to renew the old friendship. Yesterday I saw in a catalogue Westergaard, Om den Sakiske Art af Akhaemenidernes Skrift (cf. Note 5 of this article) I sent for it immediately, and find it dated 1854!!! And yet you never told me you had published it! The fact is that you began to cut me so long ago. I wish you had been so candid as to tell me why, and I wish you would do so now . . .*

One may understand that Westergaard felt less inclined to remain in contact with scholars of his country's enemy, but it is more surprising that he cut off his contact with English scholars as well. A letter from his pupil V. Fausböll who was on a visit in London in 1858 throws light upon this question. . . . *Unfortunately I have to tell you that on the question of Slesvig-Holsten Norris has been led astray by the small German book by Petersen. Norris is convinced that we Danes are wrong in the question of our language being spoken in Slesvig-Holsten . . . His copy of the book was very worn; a great deal of Norris' friends must have read it too. Norris wanted to persuade even me to read it. I answered that I had read enough of that stuff and that he had better burn it. No, on the contrary he intended to let it be bound. Fausböll had promised Norris to explain his standpoint to Westergaard, but he did not succeed.*



A proof of Westergaard's nationalism on the one hand and Norris' view on the other is well illustrated by a letter (not dated) from Norris . . . *What an illiberal creature you must be! Why should not Persian be spoken in the time of Alexander the Great . . . and a thousand years earlier! We all know Irish was spoken in Paradise by Adam and Eve or else it was Basque or Magyar. I dare say, if Prussia had swallowed you up, as she was going to do Sleswick-Holstein the other day, you would have written a treatise to prove Danish was spoken before the tower of Babel was built . . . Don't go and pay the postage like . . . a vikingr; do you think King Knut ever prepaid the postage of a letter?*

So far the political motives. As for the private, only one foreigner seems to have been directly informed about the death of Westergaard's wife. Norris wrote in June 1856 . . . *I was very sorry indeed to see by your last letter that you had suffered so severe a loss, and I do not wonder at your long silence . . . I trust I shall hear from you next time writing somewhat more cheerfully; you must endeavour to find consolation in your labours for science. People here are looking for your Zend grammar and dictionary . . .* As we know, Westergaard did not react to such an encouragement.

As years passed, Westergaard's colleagues seem to have accepted the fact that Westergaard dedicated his work to the Danish cause. Thus Charles Bruce, Professor of Sanscrit, King's College, London, wrote in 1867 . . . *As an Oriental fellow labourer, I venture to ask you if you will assist me, with literary contributions to a periodical called the Chronicle. If you will write on Danish affairs and Danish literature, it will be most acceptable . . .*

Westergaard took an active part in national life by organizing historical journals, a dictionary of Danish and the publications of Danes in Danish by Danish institutions such as the Academy and the University.

When correspondence with foreign scholars was resumed in the late sixties and in the seventies, it was on a small scale and for the most part on non-scholarly subjects. The only exception was the little known E. W. West with whom Westergaard exchanged views and ideas on Indian and Iranian problems. Strangely enough, even though West worked on the same inscriptions that Westergaard used for his *Indian Dynasties*, they did not discuss

them but Zoroastrianism. This correspondence shows that Westergaard still occupied himself with the problems of Pehlevī. He helped his friend with access to valuable manuscripts in Danish collections and suggested emendations of earlier readings.

At that time, a few scholars still asked whether Westergaard was continuing to work on the Zend texts. Thus J. Muir having received a copy of the *Indian Dynasties* and being unable to read Danish asked about the progress of his Zend studies in English. Some appealed to Westergaard for testimonials, like Max Müller in 1860 for the Chair in Oxford and Theodor Aufrecht in 1867 for the Chair in Cambridge. Aufrecht considered it *a great favour* to get the testimonial from Westergaard *as your name is well known in this country*.

Westergaard's friends from his pre-nationalistic period contacted him mainly on account of the then prevailing custom of exchanging photographs. Thus Böhlingk evoked memories of his youth when he sent his picture. (They had not seen each other for twenty years.) So did Norris when he received Westergaard's picture in 1868 . . . *I was much pleased and surprised to see a letter from you last week. Could not help rubbing my eyes to make sure that the date was not 1858 and that I had not found an old letter; but the photograph reassured me; there was a change about the face which puzzled me and I would hardly recognize the features at any rate. I am glad to get it and thank you cordially but I wish you had written on the back of it as I do now on my last done photo . . .*

When Windisch describes Westergaard as an Indologist who later turned to Iranian studies, it is valid only for the period 1841–1854. The much longer phase of 1854–1878 represents the life of a nationalist who published entirely in Danish and discussed his ideas only in letters with a self-taught newcomer. In his letters to West, Westergaard speaks about *my time some thirty years ago*.